

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN CHINUA ACHEBE'S ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH

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Abstract

This study is on discursive strategies employed in the analysis of Chinua Achebe's Anthills of the Savannah. The objective is to examine the political power and ideologies that breeds oppression, intimidation and subjugation that characterize the military junta which perpetrates the history of suffering of the masses in this country; as well as people's resistance to it. Anthills of the Savannah are chosen for this analysis because it chronicles the continuous struggle of the masses to liberate them from the long history of suffering perpetrated by Nigerian leaders. The data employed for the analysis comprise the corrupt political ideologies and psychological issues raised in Anthills of the Savannah. The theory adopted is Critical Social Theory. The primary authors of this theory include Jurgen Habermas, Horkhermer, Adorno, Marcuse, Lowenthal and Pollock. The theory was later expatiated by Leonard (1990) and Johnson (1999). It critiques historically based social and political institutions that oppress people, while at the same time, having a situated practical intent to decrease such oppression. The method of analysis used was interpretative. Analytical tools were used to collect relevant data from the text (Anthills of the Savannah). Findings indicate that the policies of subjugation and oppression perpetrated by Nigerian leaders symbolized by Major Sam and his Cohorts in the text, is an unhealthy, retrogressive practice for the developing (Young and up-coming) nations in Africa.

Keywords: Power, Resistance, Ideology, Anthills of the Savannah, Interpretative.

Introduction

A panoramic view of *Anthills of the Savannah* indicates that the work, as anarrative, is a political cum psychological novel. Achebe consistently breaks down words and meanings contextually as he expostulates the political ideologies in the era of military junta. In this textually mediated approach, the diverse styles adopted indicate relevant motivations of Achebe to reach various calibre of people

in the society using the novel. The text is essentially a quest for good governance desired by the citizens of Kangan. Achebe achieved this through designed discursive strategies.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a new research paradigm which gained prominence in the 1970s as “Critical Linguistics” (CL). The term first appeared in Roger Fowler et al. titled “*Language and Control*” published in 1977 (Fairclough, 102). Critical Linguistics (CL) metamorphosed to Critical Discourse Analysis by another group of scholars: Ruth Wodak (Vienna), Teun Van Dijk (Amsterdam), Norman Fairclough (Lancaster) et al. These scholars met in Amsterdam under the aegis of what they called the “Erasmus network” for a series of symposia aimed at articulating the various theories and methods of CDA (Wodak & Meyer cited in Ezeifeke, 153). They see CDA as taking political stance explicitly and applying critique to the analysis of oppressive, discriminatory, offensive, and repressive language use. Their aim was to locate and reveal opaque power structures in texts, as it was the use and abuse of such power, in order to bring them to the surface for proper scrutiny.

In this novel, *Anthills of the Savannah* Achebe dresses his thoughts and themes diversely using different styles. As Molare Kumar notes it, the author uses this medium to expose the political corruption and moral decadence of the military regimes in the nation, Nigeria. Kumar (30) itemises the themes in the novel such as “a struggle to overcome a history of suffering, radical struggle, corruption, moral decadence, power, betrayal of trust, love and feminism, oppression and political instability.

In his attempts to expatiate the aforementioned themes, Achebe adopts effective narrative techniques which enable him to communicate with the masses. As Crystal and Davy (9) simply define style as “the effectiveness of the mode of expression” which is achieved by “saying the right thing in the most effective way”. It is implicitly stated in this definition that a choice has to be made of the right thing to say from the many things to be said as well as a choice has to be made of the most effective way of saying it from the many alternative ways of saying it. This demonstrates the fact that the concept of choice is a significant factor in the study of style or stylistics (Babajide, 124).

Intimidative Tendency

This segment features some dictatorial languages to intimidate the subordinates of the military government under His Excellency, President Sam. In a meeting with His Excellency, the Commissioner for Information, Mr. Oriko Christopher, made a statement probably to convince him to visit Abazon, a city affected by draught. But His Excellency responds thus:

His Excellency: You’re wasting everybody’s time, Mr. Commissioner for Information. I will not go to Abazon. Finish! Kabisa! Any

other business?

Mr. Christopher Oriko: As your Excellency wishes. But---

His Excellency: But me no “buts” Mr. Oriko! The matter is closed, I said--- why do you find it difficult to swallow my ruling on anything? (Page 1).

In another instance of deliberations:

Prof. Okong: But your Excellency, if I may--- erm--- crave your indulgence--- erm-

--Your Excellency's indulgence – and – erm – put in a word for the Honourable Commissioner.

His Excellency: Which Honourable Commissioner? There are twelve of them, you know? (Page number, please)

Prof. Okong: Your Excellency, I mean the Hon. Commissioner for Information.

His Excellency: He doesn't need a word from you. Remember, he owns all the words in this country – Newspapers, radio and television stations --- What were you going to say for the Commissioner for Information anyway?

Prof. Okong: Your Excellency, it is – erm – about this visit to Abazon.

His Excellency: In that case the meeting stands adjourned.

He gets up abruptly. So abruptly that --- (p.6-7).

Prof. Okong: The crowd that came in an hour or so ago, ---has come from Abazon. It is a peaceful and loyal and goodwill delegation--- And I should say, about time too---

A sudden violent frown on His Excellency's face silenced the professor's re-awakened garrulity.

His Excellency: But I have been made to understand that they also may have a petition about the draught in their region. They want personally to invite me to pay them a visit and see their problems. Well you know

– everybody knows – my attitude to petitions and demonstrations and those kinds of things ---sheer signs of indiscipline. Allow any of it, from whatever quarter, and you are as good as sunk. ---if I should agree to see them, what is there to stop the truck pushers of Gelegele market marching up tomorrow to see me. They are just as loyal. ---I have a standing answer to all of them. No! Kabisa (p.16- 17).

An army car drove furiously in a market path way which nearly crushed a young trader. Every observer within the vicinity was astonished.

Young trader: Oga, you want kill me? Soldier: If I kill you I kill dog.

The on-lookers' observers interpretation of the soldier's response to the victim is that “so therefore, you na dog--- Na dog born you” (p.48). This indicates that the

military administration does not attach importance to the lives of the civilian citizens.

In another instance, Mad Medico and Ikem exchanged pleasantries:MM: How's he?

Ikem: He is flourishing. Last Friday afternoon he placed the entire cabinet on one hour's detention.

MM: He did? How boring, said Mad Medico. You know something, Dick, the most awful thing about power is not that it corrupts absolutely but it makes people so utterly boring, so predictable and ---just plain uninteresting--- What did you do?

Ikem: No, we didn't do anything--- a delegation arrived at the presidential palace from Abazon – you know the draught place – and none of us knew they were coming --- so His Excellency gets mad at us.

MM: He locks these fellow up – not the delegation, mind you, but his own cabinet

--- That must have been the original meaning of cabinet. People you put away in a wooden locker, ha ha ha! (page 56-57).

The cabinet under His Excellency becomes so little a pet that could be toyed with – to be locked up (in a room) for one hour for an offence they did not commit. In his own response, Mad Medico, a white expatriate who knows the value of human right, laughs hysterically, as he ridicules the “Cabinet” which is the apex of authority in Kangan nation. There seems to be ripples and suspicion in the cabinet of the military junta. His Excellency, the president, alleges that Ikem, the Editor of the National Gazette colluded with the Abazon agitators that came on a peaceful visit to the presidential palace to seek assistance.

His Excellency: At last! But God knows I did not ask for it. It's you my oldest friends, you and Ikem who swore for reasons best known to you to force a show-down. What more can I say except: so be it---While investigations continue into Ikem's link with the Abazon agitators he cannot continue to edit the National Gazette--- That is why I sent for you. I want you as Commissioner for Information to issue a formal letter suspending him with immediate effect.

Chris (C for Info): Hold it. Your Excellency. I don't understand. What exactly is he supposed to have done?

His Excellency: Are you serious? You really don't know?Chris (C for Info): I am afraid no.

His Excellency: Well, let's not waste time by getting into who knows what, now-- - intelligence reports have established that he was involved in planning the recent march on this palace by agitators claiming to come from Abazon.

Consequently, on this mere allegation, Ikem Osodi was assassinated, the likes of Chris, the Commissioner for Information declared wanted. This is because Chris was alleged to have foiled the referendum intended to make His Excellency life president two years ago (143-145).

Critical Social Theory

The concept, Critical Social Theory according to Johnson (1999), attempts to explore the relationship between language use and the social conditions of that use. The word “critical” according to him, is associated with “critique” and agrees with Fairclough’s (1985) notion of “making visible the connectedness of things”. The critical linguist, according to Johnson, views the world as social structures manifesting different ideologies, and studies the way language use reflects these (Ibiley, 205).

The critical social theory, Ibiley notes, is rooted in Marxist ideology and the literary traditions of literary criticism. According to Leonard (1990), the theory attempts to critique historically based social and political institutions that oppress people, while at the same time having a situated practical intent to decrease such oppression. The primary authors of this theory include Jurgen Habermas, Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Lowenthal and Pollock. The theory has as one of its chief goals in the advancement of the emancipatory role of knowledge. Adorno (1979) remarks that criticalness of the theory hinges on its commitment to “expose the dialectical tensions in modernity, such as between authoritarianism and enlightenment. Powers and Rivers (1980) note that critical social theory describes how people groups exist in relation to the historically based dominant ideologies that structures their experience. This, perhaps, is why the theory advocates the bringing about of self-liberating practices among people, using awareness of oppressive conditions, brought to light through research. Horkheimer, one of the founding fathers of the theory notes, concerning its critical nature, that it seeks to liberate human being from the circumstances that enslave them (Ibiley, 203).

ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH: A SYNOPSIS

Anthills of the Savannah was written in 1987 by Chinua Achebe. It chronicles the continuous struggle of the masses to liberate themselves from the long history of suffering perpetrated by Nigerian leaders. The novel exposes the post-colonial socio-political problems that Nigeria faces. It is essentially a protest novel by Achebe against various forms of insensitivity and injustice perpetrated by the military regimes in Nigeria.

The author uses radical and outspoken Ikem to crusade for total reformation of the entire polity in Kangan. Consequent upon his honesty, equity and truth, he becomes an enemy of His Excellency. Molare (8) comments that Ikem’s assassination is a portrayal of numerous political assassinations which have trailed

military regimes in Africa since independence.

Anthills of the Savannah is also used as a symbol by the author. *Anthills of the Savannah* is termite mounds which are rampant in Africa; the author uses it to represent the selfish colonies where every successive leader perpetrates suffering upon the masses. The region where a legitimate demand by the people for their rights is misconstrued as insurrection that must be quelled.

Abazon and Negative Eventuality

Abazon as a city in Kangan nation is affected by drought – a natural disaster. They cry out to His Excellency who has the “yam and the knife” for help, but he would not oblige. Prior to this time, His Excellency sent a referendum to Abazon which supposed to enthrone him (His Excellency), as a life – president but they unanimously refused to sign. As a punishment for their negative attitude towards him, when the drought affects the city, His Excellency also refused to attend to them even when they sent a peaceful delegation of elders to him. Despite the Executive Council’s (Cabinet’s) appeal to His Excellency to assist Abazon, he would not.

The legend of Abazon (according to the author) is frightful and their history of suffering is recurrent. The people, now called Abazon, were attacked by severe drought which was likened to brush fires when trees had become hydra-headed bronze statues and household animals were all dead; first the pigs fried in their own fat; and then the sheep and goats and cattle choked by their swollen tongues. The author describes the severity of the scorch of the sun as a period when “morning no longer existed”. This time, it is the anthills that survive to tell the newgrass of the Savannah about last year’s brush fires (p.31).

The geneology of the present Abazon is connected to the terrible scorch of the sun: No one could say why the Great Carrier of Sacrifice to the Almighty was doing this to the world, except that it had happened before, long, long ago in the legend. The earth broke the hoes of the grave-diggers and bent the iron tip of their spears. Then the people knew the time had come to desert their land, abandoning their unburied dead and even the dying--- They travelled by starlight and lay under the shade of their mats by day until the sands become too hot to lie upon--- every night when the journey began again many failed to rise from under their mats and those who did stagger up cast furtive glances at the silent shelters and set their stony faces to the south--- the remnant fellows (of now Abazon) set upon a sleeping inhabitants of a tiny village of Ose and wipe them out and drank the brown water in their wells and took their land and renamed it

Abazon (p.32-3).

The people of Abazon, in this era, cannot say “I did it because death stared through my eye” (p.33). Thereby move ahead to kill or maim or devour or wipeout another village to take over their possessions. Hence, they endeavour to followdue process by sending a deputation of elders to the Government to salvage the deadly situation they are into.

The author, by this story line, tries to scrutinize the use of power by Major Sam to deny the people of Abazon the opportunity to have access to the social amenities availablein the country. His Excellency’s desire to become a life-president stems from his visit to president – for – life. Ngongo (p.52-3).

To Major Sam, the drought in Abazon serves as a revenge mission. The failed referendum, to him, was a big loose by which he was deeply wounded. Beatrice remarks:

Chris said: And all this he tied to his mind with his failed referendum for life-president. The pain still rankles. But after the failure of the referendum he complained bitterly to Prof. Okong that I had not played my part as commissioner for information to ensure the success of the exercise and that you had seen it fit to abandon your editorial chair at that crucial moment and take your annual leave.

To Chris, His Excellency revealed his bitterness that his oldest friends abandoned him and allowed him to be disgraced (p.147).

Emancipatory Role of CDA in the Society

One of the ways by which the theory facilitates this liberation, Ibileye remarks, is by challenging the representation that encourages oppressive ideologies, and so make people the victim of exploitation. The influence of Critical Social Theory on CDA is seen in the former’s commitment to liberation of people from ideological bondage, imposedon them by society, by presenting them with a more objective and realistic interpretation of social realities which is the goal of CDA (Ibileye, 203).

From its inception, CDA was designed to question the status quo by detecting, analyzing, and also resisting and counteracting enactments of power abuse as transmitted in private and public discourse, and herein lies its criticalness, which according to Van Leeumen (1996) is viewed in terms of its explicit and unapologetic attitude towards the forces of oppression and dominance in the society. In doing this, CDA is seen by Wodak and Fairclough as seeking to expose the manipulative nature of discursive practices in the society which manifest as class conflict, false consciousness, exploitation, or power relations conceived and perpetrated through the habitualization of unquestioned and long

held ideological beliefs and attitudes which are concealed in the language behaviour of the members of a society (Ibibleye, 206).

Dominance in van Dijk's opinion is the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, which result in social inequality including political, cultural class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality. Although most CDA research according to Van Dijk (1991) pay attention more to "top-down" power relations of dominance, than "bottom-up" relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance; power and dominance are usually not unilaterally imposed on people. Most times, according to him, power abuse are usually "jointly produced". A very apt example of this is the religious domain where the faithfuls are taught to accept the fact that "dominance" and "inequality" which manifest as "virtues" of "submission" within the context of religious practice, are "natural", and so should not be opposed or challenged-- (Ibibleye, 208).

Symbols are objects, characters, figures, or colours used to represent abstract ideas or concepts. "The draught in Abazon", as Molare Kumar (2021) notes it, symbolizes the denial of people access to basic and fundamental social amenities. It is a form of punishment for the wrong doers. This natural phenomenon is used in *Anthills of the Savannah* to symbolize the natural drought that bad government and inhuman leadership has subjected a people to. Ironically, it is during this time of drought that Major Sam (the president) denies the Abazon people access to water as a punishment for not supporting the referendum for his ambition to become a life president. "The death of Chris and Ikem Osodi" raises a lot of psychological turmoil in the novel. Chris is a prototype of Christ Jesus who died to save humanity. Chris dies in his attempt to save Adamma from the evil sexual desire of a police man while journeying in the same vehicle to Abazon (p.215). Similarly, Ikem Osodi was killed in his attempt to preserve human rights under Major Sam, when he, Sam became a dictator (page 165).

"The Cell and the Firing Squad"

The cell and the firing squad created in the palace are fierce symbols of oppression and subjugation instituted by the military junta. Prof. Okong is invited by his Excellency after he informs His Excellency that the delegation from Abazon was a peaceful one. When he receives the invitation, he fearfully and jokingly informs the cabinet members that "he goes to make the cell ready for them" (page 10).

The ploy for oppression, subjugation and murder continues to unfold in the novel.

The writer shows high level of amazement thus:

Excerpt

But it wasn't authority that worried me really; it never does. It wasn't those officious footlings either. It wasn't even the four who were mangled. It was the thousands

who laughed so blatantly at their own humiliation and murder. As the four men were led out of the Black Maria the shout that went up was not like any sound I had ever heard or hoped to hear again. It was an ovation. But an ovation to whom for Christ sake? (page 41).

Ikem uses his editorial as a herald against the firing squad which President Sam inherited from the civilian regime:

The next day I wrote my first crusading editorial calling the president to promulgate forthwith a decree abrogating the law that permitted that outrageous and revolting performance. I wrote the editorial with so much passion that I found myself ending it with a one verse hymn to be sung to the tune „Lord Thy Word Abideth“:

The worst threat from men of hell may not be their actions
cruel far worse that we learn their way. And behave more
fierce than they (p.43).

It was Chris and Ikem who jointly invited Sam, their boyhood friend, a military officer from Sandhurst to come and take the leadership of Kangan nation but Sam becomes a dictator, Chris becomes fearful and he criticizes Ikem. “Chris was critical of my tone and of my tactlessness in appearing to command His Excellency. But when the said Excellency proceeded to do exactly what I commanded, Chris had to come up with a new tune--- from now on you can go ahead and stew in your own waters” (page 43-44).

From the foregoing, Achebe uses *Anthills of the Savannah* as a template to establish that the act of governance is herculean and complex than we can imagine as well as to indicate that the utopian government is far from reality. In the same vein, Kumar (16) remarks “as far as history is concerned the quest for good governance has been the bane of many nations in the world, especially those in Africa. After the extermination of colonialism, neo-colonialism came with its attendant evils. Every successive military regime comes with more oppressive policies and the people continue to fight to their own peril”.

The concept of style as choice is predicated upon the fact that every phenomenon has many possible alternatives. The choice an individual makes from a plethora of possibilities is determined by factors such as the need for appropriacy and effectiveness in relation to both discourse and context of situation. Therefore, choice refers to the conscious selection of a set of linguistic features from all the possibilities in a language at the lexical and syntactic levels (Babajide, 126).

Elewa visits Ikem (her boy friend). After all said and done, she desires to go home at midnight since Ikem would not like her to spend the night in his house.

Elewa becomes aggressive and nags for fear of armed robbers:

You explain what? I beg you, no make me vex--- Imagine!
Hmm! But woman done chop sand for dis world-o---
Imagine! But na we de causam; na we own fault. If I no kuku
bring my stupid nyarsh come dumb for your bedroom you
for de kick me about like I be football? I no blame you. At
all (p.34).

In this novel, Achebe uses several stylistic choices to enable him to reach his audience conveniently. He employs different codes to ensure that no calibre of persons is left unreached. He employs pidgin as a means of communication with the illiterate and the uneducated in the society.

Another instance of use of pidgin:

Agatha: One soja-man from President house de for door; he say na president sendam make he go bring Madam.

Beatrice: Tellam make he sidon,--- I de nearly ready. Beatrice apologises for her maid's manners in not offering him a seat.

Soja: No be like dat madam --- Your girl polite well well. So no be her fault at all madam. Na me one refuse for sidon. You know this soja work na stand-standwork e be (p.71). This is the extent that Beatrice, a holder of first class degree in English condescended to enable her communicate with the low- rank soja.

When the man-hunt for Chris by the state police becomes intensified, he tries to escape to the north of the city. He wore Braimoh's everyday clothes and cap to match, and a few small smudges of pot black on his face and neck and arms totone down his natural complexion; as he takes on a new status and profession – “a retail dealer in small motor-car parts”. This is the profession Chris is expected to quote to the police and soldiers as they have about eight or nine odd security road- blocks to cross. Braimoh (the driver) helps to disguise Chris the more by offering him three kolanuts and says in pidgin:

Excerpt:

Braimoh: Make you de chew am for road. And one who see you de knack am so go think say you never chop breakfast.

As the journey continues, Chris suggests to his companion that to walk through check- points would seem to be their best bet henceforth.

Excerpt?

His companion: You think you no go forget your job again? He asked teasingly. “When you no fit talk again that time, fear come catch me proper and I begin pray make this man no go introduce himself as Commissioner of Information!”

Chris: Me commissioner? At all. Na small small motor part na him I de sell.

Original and Taiwan.

His companion: "Ehe! Talkam like that. No shaky-shaky mouth again. Pidgin is the language code that Chris uses to blend his discussion with Braimoh (the driver), his companion and the security operatives along Abazon road.

Some Panicky Situations

The use of language occurs in varying situations. The contexts in which man's activities are conducted determine the level of language use. His Excellency, Prof. Okong and the cabinet members become panicky and agitated as the president gives an urgent order concerning the delegation from Abazon. Achebe presents various themes in the novel based on prevailing situations. For instance, the delegation from Abazon arrives at the presidential palace. His Excellency is highly angered by their presence and said that such gathering is his "funeral". He ordered Prof. Okong to take action:

Excerpt:

Now run along and deal with that crowd and report back to me as soon as it's over. No rush though. After they've had their say and you have replied I want you to stay with them and act as a host on my behalf. I have arranged for them to be entertained to drinks and some chop.

Because of the urgency in the voice of His Excellency, Prof. Okong crashed full tilt against the heavy narrowly swing-door bringing in the orderly: Outside the door he stood for a while trying to regain full control of his legs---He was sore afraid that he hardly knows that he was on a national assignment. He stopped walking again and says "I am in disgrace" he said aloud. "God, I am in disgrace". "What did I do wrong?". Suddenly, an orderly barked from behind him "You still de here?". Then Prof. Okong sprang into life once more. By this scenario, the author portrays a situation of fear, confusion and panic which the cabinet members under major Sam have been thrown into (19-20).

Secondly, Ikem's suspension was announced on the national news. Elewa gets the wind of it and she was greatly destabilized. She bursts into tears and violent crying which briefly exploded the atmosphere in Christ room. This situation caused intrusive emotion for the three of them (149). Similarly, Ikem finds it difficult to control his emotion when he heard the news about his suspension. "Then all of a sudden he was stung as if by a scorpion and he screamed and leapt to his feet". Ikem: "Oh no!" he shouted. They can't do that! Chris did you hear that? And you say I should lie low. Lie low and let these cannibals lay their dirty hands on a holy man of the earth? (150). In his situation, Ikem and Elewa were in total disarray. The hostile situation gave Ikem Osodi very serious mental torment.

Achebe uses times of adversity as ripe period to foster relationship between the icons of administration in Kangan nation. Recall that Ikem and Chris (estranged friends) come to talking terms when Major Sam's regime becomes a threat to their lives and the entire nation.

Discussion and Finding

Anthills of the Savannah chronicles the continuous struggle of the people of Kangan to overcome the suffering perpetrated by series of bad governance especially by the military junta. The sad reality that characterizes Governance in Africa is power without responsibility. In this novel, Achebe exposes the abuse of power that perpetually subjugates and oppresses the masses; Major Sam and his cohorts in the military junta maintained this chain of suffering.

The terror gargets (cell and firing squad) instituted in the Presidential Palace have actually traumatized the Kangan nation to the extent that their key officers (Chris and Ikem) have lost their sense of right judgement. For instance, Ikem uses his editorial crusader to instruct His Excellency to stop the idea of killing by firing squad, which he (His Excellency) adhered. But, Chris still disassociates himself from Ikem due to the fear that looms around.

Molare (12) in his commentary observes that every regime in Africa, military or civilian comes with its own oppressive mechanism and the people continue to suffer. Arguably, he says, the death or exit of one oppressive military dictator in Africa does not in any way eradicate or assuage suffering, rather, it is an entrance of another dictator who comes with his cohorts to perpetrate more sufferings. Achebe portrays Ikem Osodi as a crusader for social reformation in the entire polity. He has passion for honesty, equity, truth and justice; hence, he becomes an arch enemy of Major Sam and his cohorts.

Symbolically, the authorial intention portrays the oppressive activities of the military junta as well as the responses of the society to such media of intimidation. The stylistic devices or strategies employed serve as channels to communicate effectively with different calibre of characters in the novel. Hence, the use of style as choice of code with which to communicate, choice to deviate from regular forms of writing and the varying situations in which man's activities are conducted which determine the level of language use.

Effectiveness of mode of expression majorly depends on the individuality / personality approach of the author in presenting his themes in the text. For instance, the author, gives a "voice" to Elewa (the uneducated character) as she vents in pidgin:

Excerpt:

I beg you. No make me vex---
Imagine! Hmm! But woman done chop sand for this world

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