Imagery in Fuji Music: Saheed Osupa as an Examplar

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Abstract

Existing studies on Fuji music have investigated the genre and its artistes from the angles of origin, market value, invectives, and propaganda. However, its artistic deployment of imagery for communicative purposes has not enjoyed robust scholarly attention. This study investigates the use of imageries in selected live performances of Saheed Osupa, a popular Fuji musician, using Charteris-Black's critical metaphor and Mey's pragmatic acts theories. The study finds that imagery is deployed in Osupa's music for the communicative purposes of self-exaltation and us-them dichotomy. He sauced his performances with food, animal, music, and celestial imageries to realize the themes. He also used other figures of speech such as pun, hyperbole and personification within the imageries to vivify the themes. The study concludes that imagery serves both artistic and thematic functions and is also used to reflect ideological stances in the music of Saheed Osupa.

Keywords: Imagery, Fuji music, Saheed Osupa, us-them dichotomy, metaphor

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1. Introduction

Existing studies on fuji music have focused on the historical origins and cultural preservation (Olaoluwa 2011; Klein 2017), literary aspects (Adeniji 2008), political marketeering (Oyedele 2018), invective and verbal altercation (Sunday 2011) as well as propaganda purposes (Bamgbose 2016). In the process, few of these studies have focused on language use, particularly the use of imagery to represent socio-cultural realities in the fuji music genre. Fuji music is diverse in terms of content and context, embodying endless figuration and stylistic resources that function to represent socio-cultural experiences of the Yoruba in southwestern Nigeria. Klein (2017) considered the historical origin of Fuji and submits that its origins are eternally bound to the Ramadan fasting festival. Olaoluwa (2011), on his part, argued that the origin of fuji is as old as the domestication of Islam among the Yoruba people of western Nigeria. The two studies agreed that Fuji owes its origin to Islam among the Yoruba of Nigeria. Adeniji (2008) investigated the literary worth of Fuji music and justify its classification as 'literature', thereby emphasising that it is worthy of serious academic attention. He found that Fuji is aesthetically and culturally rich just like written literature. Oyedele (2018) examines popular Fuji musicians as political marketers in Nigerian elections.

The study reveals that unlike the pioneering Fuji musicians, Abass Akande and Wasiu Ayinde failed to serve as watchdogs and social crusaders against societal ills that are promoted by Nigerian politicians. Perhaps the closest studies to the present study are Sunday (2011) and Bamgbose (2016) on account of the fact that they paid attention to the use of language by Fuji musicians. Drawing insights from critical discourse analysis and politeness theory, Sunday (2011) examined verbal banters and altercations between Sikiru Ayinde Barrister and Ayinla Kollington as they contested who really originated Fuji music. Bamgbose (2016) is especially related to the present study because it looked at Saheed Osupa's songs from the linguistic perspective. The study examined Saheed Osupa's use of language with a view to revealing how he stamps his superiority to his eternal rival, Wasiu Alabi Pasuma. Bamgbose concluded that the language of Fuji is ideologically loaded. Nevertheless, imagery, which

is expressively used in this music genre, has not enjoyed adequate attention. This study, therefore, undertakes a critical examination of the use of imagery in Fuji music to depict entrenched socio-cultural identities for a fuller understanding of the place of imagery in fuji music among the Yoruba of western Nigeria.

2. Conceptualising Fuji

Fuji music is very popular among the Yoruba. It serves different functions among the people, ranging from festivals, weddings, burial ceremonies, etc. It has been established that Fuji is an artistic synthesis of *Sákárà, Àpàlà Wákà* (Graham 1976; Adeniji 2008). According to Graham (1976:46), "This style first emerged in the 1970's as a development of various traditional Yoruba forms like *Àpàlà*, *Sákárà* and *Wákà*. Fuji assimilated various elements from each to transform what had initially been a religious and philosophical form into a secular and highly popular style." Reinforcing Graham's submission with regards to Fuji's historical ties to *Sákárà*, *Àpàlà* and *Wákà*, Ademowo (1996: 6) opines that "to talk of WERE, FAAJI, FURUJI or FUJI music without making reference to *Àpàlà*, *Sákárà*, Dundun and Sekere is not complete". This is because, apart from the fact that these types of music have "their roots in the tradition of a particular sect (Islam) and tribe (Yoruba), they are interwoven" (Ademowo 1996:6). What can be deduced from the observations of both Graham (1976) and Ademowo (1996) is that *Sákárà*, *Àpàlà* and *Wákà* gave birth to Were which in turn metamophorsed into Fuji.

Graham (1992: 22) describes fuji as "a percussion orchestra of enormous power and stamina."Its origin has been traced to the 1960s post-independence Nigeria when Sikiru Ayinde Barrister (1948-2010) transformed *wéré/ajísàrì* music to *fújì* (Klein 2017). The *wéré/ajísàrì* music refers to special songs by Muslim faithful meant for fasting Muslims during the Ramadan fast. Commenting on the African feel to *fújì,* Stewart (2000) emphasises its employment of percussion instruments such as talking drums, bata drums, bells and shekere as signatures of its 'Africaness'. Euba (1989:13 citing Waterman 1986: 280) avers that an emblematic *fújì* ensemble usually "utilize some or all of the following instruments in various combinations; *dùndún*,

gángan or *adamo* talking drums; *igbá* calabash idiophone, played with ringed fingers; *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀;* rattles and maracas; *agogo* (iron bells)... and various locally produced conga-type drums; and *double toy* (bongos)." This in a way agrees with assertions by Stapleton & May (1987:91) and Johnson et al. (1990:33) who have described *fújì* "as more African in feel than the more Westernised Juju." Abandoning western instrumentation is a pointer to a "re-acknowledgement of traditional roots" (Stewart 2000:33). However, Graham (1992:23) observed that Kollington introduced the Hawaiian guitar into the Fuji style in the late 1980s, "adding a slightly lighter touch without sacrificing percussive power." In terms of instrumentation, there have been other appropriation. Adedeji (2010: 87) observes that the famous *fújì* musician, Pasuma Wonder, **"**now includes a keyboardist, bass guitarist and a saxophonist in his brand of Fuji music. "In spite of the appropriation, Fuji music in contemporary times in Nigeria still retains its pure Yoruba traditional percussion and to a large extent the Yoruba Islamic music identity. Nevertheless, in the words of Adedeji (2010:88), "it is now secularised, modernized and enjoyed by all and sundry, and while most of its lyrics still possess extraction of quranic texts and citations, as an art form it is totally panegyric in nature toeing the line of Juju in terms of its dependence on the patronage of the rich and powerful."

There are many recognised generations of fuji musicians in Nigeria. Aside from its pioneer generation which include fuji musicians such as Ayinde Barrister and Ayinla Kollington, there have been other generations such as those of Wasiu Ayinde Marshal, Adewale Ayuba and the contemporary generation which includes Saheed Osupa, Pasuma, Muri Thunder, etc (Olaoluwa 2011). Among the contemporary generation, we are interested in the songs of Saheed Osupa whose brand of Fuji is drenched in the Yoruba worldview, mythology, and culture. Oyedele (2018:93) argues that Fuji music has striking features with popular music, "a cult following, identification with the masses, high commercial value, and a large audience base, but it has an advantage over popular music in that it combines traditional and cultural values." Discussing the relationship between human behaviour and music, Merriam (1971) identifies the song text

as central to understanding this relationship. Texts, for Merriam (1971:187), are "language behavior rather than music sound, but they are integral part of music and there is clear-cut evidence that language used in connection with music differs from ordinary discourse." Fuji songs, especially Saheed Osupa's brand of Fuji music, express socio-cultural realities. Bearing in mind the observation of Barber (1987:2) that popular arts "most important attribute is their power to communicate", we are interested in imagery in the songs of Saheed Osupa as they can be likened to language texts in the mould of literary texts (Adeniji 2008).

3. Theoretical Framework

Metaphor is one of the avenues through which meanings are conveyed in music (Igwebuike 2017). Quite a number of scholars, Zbikowski (2002; 2008; 2009), Spitzer (2008), Bråthen (2012), and Igwebuike (2017) have paid attention largely from both linguistic and ethnomusicological perspectives to the role of metaphor in music. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT) is one of the most prominent areas in cognitive linguistics. Existing studies in the areas of music and metaphor have deployed CMT to unearth how thoughts are structured in music. Within the field of cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor refers to how one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another. Here, the concept of 'source domains' and 'target domains', and 'mappings' are terminologies for discussing the linguistic and conceptual phenomenon of metaphor. All the sub-categories of figurative language and language domains in general can be subsumed under conceptual metaphor. It usually shows mapping between two different conceptual domains and it is usually expressed as a statement, e.g. sex is music, life is a journey, and musical ornamentation is good food. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3): "Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thoughts and actions. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature." Metaphor has two very unique characteristics: first, they are tools of cognition that help individuals to conceptualise the world; second, they help to deal with

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abstractions by "conceptualising the world in terms of something more concrete in our experience of the world (Igwebuike 2017:66)."

A relatively new critical linguistic theory which draws insights from Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis is Critical Metaphor Theory. Charteris-Black (2004) propounded the Critical Metaphor Theory which is aimed at identifying intentions and ideologies underlying language use in general. In the present study, we integrate ideas from Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) to investigate the deployment of imagery in Fuji music. Chateris-Black's Critical Metaphor Theory considers metaphor to be both a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon, predisposing how individuals understand one reality over another, connecting the cognitive dimension to the social context, in addition to the verbal context of metaphor use (Charteris-Black 2005; Igwebuike 2017). According to Charteris-Black (2004: 28), "metaphor is central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality." Critical Metaphor Theory performs linguistic, conceptual and communicative functions. The linguistic function is realised by words, clauses and sentences, and caters for the expressive meanings; the conceptual function caters for how ideas are mapped via concepts and propositions. The communicative function is concerned with the intended illocutionary effects of utterances (Igwebuike 2017). The present study utilises Critical Metaphor Theory because of the relevance of the theory in unravelling the linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive features of metaphors.

Mey's (2001) Pragmatic Act Theory complements CMT to account for discourse resources through which ideological representation of social realities are analysed and evaluated in this article. Pragmatic Act Theory is motivated by the criticism of the speech acts theory by Fairclough (1989) and Mey (2001). Mey's Pragmatic Act Theory, a function-based approach to the study of meaning, interprets data based on contextual knowledge. In the words of Mey (2001:221): "a pragmatic act is instantiated through an "ipra" or a "pract", which realises a "pragmeme" as "every pract is at the same time an allopract, that is, a concrete instantiation of a particular

pragmeme". A pract is decided mainly by participants' knowledge of interactional situation and the probable effect of a pract in a given context. Odebunmi (2006) opines that practing resolves the problem of telling illocutionary force from perlocutionary force. According to Mey (2001:751): "The explanatory movement is from the outside in, rather than from the inside out: Instead of starting with what is said, and looking for what the words could mean, the situation in which the words fit is invoked to explain what can be (and is actually being) said." To Mey, the focus is not on the "said" but what is left "unsaid."

There are two components in understanding a pragmeme: the textual part and the activity part. The activity part is characterised by options such as speech acts, indirect speech acts, conversational ('dialogue') acts, psychological acts (emotions), prosody (intonation, stress) physical acts, etc. These options are readily available to interactants in interaction. Pract in a given communicative events is built on the textual parts, particularly when a speaker communicates his intention (Mey 2001; Odebunmi 2006). Interactants have the opportunity to employ 'inf' representing inference, the 'ref' representing reference, 'rel' relevance, 'vce' voice, 'ssk' shared situational knowledge, 'sck' shared cultural knowledge 'mph' for metaphor, or 'm' for metapragmatic joker. The study employs the textual part because of its contextual relevance.

4. Methodology
The study analyses imageries in Saheed Osupa's music drawing its data from the artiste's live performances. Fuji artistes produce two kinds of recordings known as records and lives. The former is often recorded in the studio while the latter is usually performed on stages in events. The latter is chosen for this study given its uncensored nature. Fuji artistes tend to address real issues in the industry in their live performances. Also, live performances usually feature more moments of talking in form of singing, praises and other informal acts; unlike a record which follows a formal pattern.

The study draws its data from four live performances namely *Àkùkọ Ọmọ́le Kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ Ọkọ́ta, Eko Mix, Oba Nla* and *Ta ń ta Rubber,* which were released on sale between 2005 and 2016. The researchers

watched the video compact discs of these musics as most live performances are sold out in this form and made a random selections of lines containing relevant imageries in the songs. The researchers also had to interview some Fuji enthusiasts, especially people who sell audio/video compact discs, to get contextual understanding of certain lines in the in the songs. The analysis is basically descriptive in nature.

5. Data Analysis
The analysis below is presented at different but interwoven layers. First, the excerpts are grouped into two broad categories based on their thematic foci. Each thematic focus is afterwards discussed in line with the different imageries that are used to foreground the theme. The discussion is grounded with the analytical tools of the chosen theories to reveal how the different themes are pragmatically implied through the deployment of different imageries.

5.1. Deploying imagery for self-exaltation
The data reveals that among other things, imagery is utilised in the music of Saheed Osupa to exalt himself. The exaltation captures his competence, popularity, firmness in the industry and wealth. These attributes are revealed through different imageries.

5.1.1. Exaltation through music imagery
The imagery of music is used by Saheed Osupa to reveal his sexual competence and artistic craftmanship. He plays on musical items in different metaphorical manner to depict his ability to give a woman desired sexual satisfaction and he also used the image of music to depict himself as a great singer:

Excerpt 1
Èmi tí mo lè kọrin mójú b'írin ṣẹ́ mi ò bá gbiná 1
Àgàgà kó j'ọ́mọge tóun gan lè tàdí réke 2
Tó ń gbe súnmọ́ mi témi gan ń ṣe kùrùkẹrẹ 3
Èmi tí mo l'àlùjó tó lè m'ọ́mọ gbàgbé ilé 4
Mo máa ń gbági mọ́lù bí i pé ma lùlù yẹn bẹ́ 5
Obìnrin fẹ́ràn àlùjó tó ki tó rinlẹ̀ daada 6   Eko Mix

I that can *sing* till daybreak if my *instrument* does not go ablaze 1
Especially if it's a lady who can also twist her buttocks 2
Who brings it close to me and I also approach in a dazzling manner 3
I that have got *percussion* that can make a lady forget her home 4
I hit the *rod* on the *drum* as if I want to tear the *drum* 5
Women love a *percussion* that is strong enough to get down well 6

Excerpt 2
Òòṣà orin táyé ti mọ̀ tipẹ́ ni 1
Òòṣà orin tó lo ti *dàkúnlẹ̀bọ* 2
Ta ni ò dóòṣà mọ̀ nínú olórin ẹ ṣèbà fun 3 Oba Nla

(He is the *music deity* that the world has known for long 1
He is *the music deity* that is now *being worshipped* 2
Who doesn't know *the deity*? Everyone should bow to him. 3)

The first excerpt conveniently maps the source domain of music to the target domain of sex. Using the cognitive conceptualisation of metaphor, the cognitive mapping of target domain is source domain will generate the conceptual mapping of sex is music. This mapping does not give itself out explicitly, especially in the first line where the singer had only said he could sing all night if his instrument does not go ablaze. The following lines where Osupa implicitly mentions *omoge* (a lady) makes it clear that the song he refers to in the first line is sexual intercourse and the instrument he had in mind is his penis with which he carries out the metaphorical musical act. The ground for this comparison is pleasure. The artiste creatively maps the pleasurable experiences of listening to a good music on sexual intercourse. He portrays himself as being capable of making a woman enjoy a sexual act. He does this by symbolically representing sexual organs and engagement with musical instruments and acts.

The communicative import of the musical instruments used by the artiste in form of direct and indirect speech acts in the excerpt can be understood through the textual elements of pragmatic act. Line 1 which is an indirect speech act gives no suspicion of any connotative meaning as it simply talks about the ability of the artiste to perform

his act for a very long time. The explicit and direct form of line 2 which mentions words like *lady* and *buttocks* will however return the listener to the inherent connotations in line 1. It then becomes clear that *song* in line 1 refers metaphorically to the act of love making and the *instrument* being talked about is the penis with which he performs the act. The pragmatic import of his instrument going ablaze is to mean his inability to sustain erection. It is inferable that the artiste's intent in line 1 is to say he can have sex all night for as long as he sustains erection. In line 4, the artiste uses the noun *percussion* to capture his sexual dexterity which will make a lady want to remain with him. *Drum stick* and *drum* in line 5 are euphemistic metaphors for penis and vagina respectively and he reveals implicitly how energetic he can be during sexual intercourse by saying he can use the drum stick so hard on the drum that it would seem like he wants to tear the drum. Finally, he implies through the use of *percussion* in line 6 that women enjoy good sex which he is capable of giving. The totality of the artistic composition in this excerpt gives the pract of exalting as Osupa uses both direct and indirect speech acts to imply that he has got sexual competence.

Excerpt 2 is a direct comparison of two dissimilar entities; a deity and a singer. This comparison generates the conceptual mapping of a good musician is a deity. This mapping transfers the attribute related to the source domain of *deity* to eulogise the target domain of a good musician by which Saheed Osupa refers to himself. The features of a deity are carefully mapped by the singer upon himself at two levels:

1. Òòṣà-orin táyé ti mọ̀ tipẹ́
   'the music deity that the world has known for long.'

At this level of comparison, he implicitly implies that just like the deity has been since time immemorial, he too has enjoyed longevity in the field of music, hence:

2. Òòṣà-orin tó lo ti dàkúnlẹ̀bọ
   'the music deity that is now being worshipped'

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The artiste, Saheed Osupa, speaks of himself as a music entity that has to be worshipped in the manner of a deity. The artistic efficacy of this comparison becomes clear to any listener who has the shared cultural knowledge (sck) of how the Yoruba adore their deities. The Yoruba people who still practise the traditional religion, adore, praise and worship their deities Osupa is therefore enacting the pract of exalting by comparing himself to deities that stand tall in the hearts of their worshippers.

5.1.2 Exaltation through food imagery
Imagery relating to food are also used by the artiste to exalt himself in different capacities. In the excerpts presented below, the first eulogises the artiste as a competent love maker and the other depicts him as an excellent singer.

Excerpt 3
Àgàgà kó jé fresh èlè bí yin gan báyìí 1
láàárín *wákàtí kan* tẹ bá gọ'ra yín 2
mo lè jẹyín tán o 3
Ó ní ṣ'ájànàkú t'ọ́dẹ benbe ò ní lè pa 4
Sado mo ya lóhùn p'ọ́dẹ aperin lèmi ń ṣe 5
Àkùkọ Ọmọ́le Kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ Ọkọ́ta

(Especially if it's a pretty lady such as you 1
within an hour if you get oblivious 2
I *can eat the whole of you* 3
She said was I referring to an elephant that a baby hunter can't kill 4
and I, Sado, replied her that I am a hunter of elephants 5)

Excerpt 4
Mo ti jẹ orógbó sóhùn mi wí pé kóhùn mi le gbó o 1
Mo ti j'ọ̀gẹ̀dé mìmì sóhùn mi wí pé kóhùn mi lè kẹ o…2
Àkùkọ Ọmọ́le Kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ Ọkọ́ta

(I have eaten bitter kola on my voice that it may be bold 1
I have also eaten a strong banana on my voice that it may be clear 2)

The first of the excerpt in this category maps the target domain of food on the source domain of women to generate the conceptual mapping of women are consumables. The cognitive basis for this mapping is the notion that whatever is consumable gives some kind of satisfaction. The *tertium comparationis* is, therefore, a comparison of the satisfaction one gets from consumables to that which is derived from a sexual intercourse. The adverbial *within an hour* is essential for the understanding of the pract of exalting which is pragmatically conveyed by the artiste. It is essential to state that imagery dwells on other figurative expressions. In excerpt 3 for instance, there is an element of hyperbole (exaggeration) in the artiste's claim that he *could eat* the whole of a lady in one hour. This points at a creative attempt to exalt oneself.

The artiste in excerpt 4 depicts himself as one who has done the needful so as to perfect his musical art. The target domain of fruit which comes within the broad imagery of food is mapped on the source domain of voice to generate the conceptual mapping of Fruit make for a melifluous voice. The artiste maintains that he *has eaten* a sufficient quantity of the fruit needed to make his voice sonorous for an all-time palatable musical performance. The imagination created in this excerpt is aided through a play on words (pun). Attardo (2004) holds that the realisation of pun revolves around either phonological mechanisms such as homophony or semantic ones such as polysemy. The rhyme generated by the second syllable of the word *orogbo (bitter kola)* coincides with the phonological realisation of the adjective *gbo (bold)* and not only does this achieve a musical effect but it also creates a cultural affiliation with the Yoruba audience who share the cultural knowledge of how the consumption of certain fruits can be symbolic of certain virtues. Osupa therefore shows the pract of exalting by implying that he has eaten all that is needed for him be the best at what he does.

5.1.3. Exaltation through celestial imagery
Celestial attributes such as moon, stars, sun are symbolically used to represent light as against darkness. Literary and artistic writers and

musicians are known to largely deploy these celestial features not only for artistic purpose but also for communicative purpose. The excerpts below reveal the utilisation of the celestial feature of "moon" for self-exaltation by Osupa.

Excerpt 5
Sáré wá wògo 1
Sáré wa wo ìtàná ògo 2
Ògo ògo ò tOlúwa ni 3
ògo tí mo wí yìí tàn débi pé 4
já ìtànná tó ń tan iná gan o halẹ̀ to 5
Kò séèyàn tó máa lóun ò mòṣùpá … 6

(Rush to see *a glory* 1
Rush to see *the brightness of a glory* 2
This glory belongs to God 3
This glory I am talking about is so bright 4
that the flower that beams light is not as bright as it 5
There is no one who would claim not to know *the moon* 6)

Excerpt 6
Ìràwọ̀ fẹ́ jọba amọ́roro, 1
Òòrùn fẹ́ jọba amọ́roro 2
Oṣùpá náà ò fẹ́ gbà, ó lóun gan-gan lòun á jọba. 3
Bí *ìràwọ̀* bá jọba amọ́roro, bó bá pégba kò lè mọ́lẹ̀. 4
b*óòrun* bá jọba amọ́roro, tó bá mọ́lẹ̀ kò ṣe é súnmọ́. 5
ṣùgbọ́n b*Óṣùpá* bá jọba, ó máa mọ́lẹ̀ ju ìràwọ̀ lọ,
ó dẹ̀ ṣe é súnmọ́ ló jẹ́ kọ́n f*Òṣùpá jọba*. 6

(The star wants to be the king of the sky 1
the sun wants to be the king of the sky 2
 and the moon too said he must be the king of the sky. 3
If the star becomes the king of the sky, even two hundred of it cannot brighten the sky. 4
If the sun becomes the king of the sky, even if it brightens the sky, it cannot be approached 5

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If the moon becomes the king, it will be brighter than the star and it is approachable and that was why the moon was made the king. 6)

The celestial images convoked in excerpts 5 and 6 are carefully crafted by the artiste to exalt himself as a singer. This artistic craftsmanship is particularly convenient for use by the artiste given his pseudonym—Osupa, which means the moon. In excerpt 5, the singer creates the conceptual mapping of Osupa is a glory through a careful blend of the celestial source domain of glory to the target domain of moon which serves as his pseudonym. The ground for the comparison is brightness which he expresses in the statement *the brightness of a glory*. The ground *brightness* and the target *moon* enters into a convenient syntagmatic relation to reveal the pract of exalting since there is a polysemous sense of the word moon in the context of the song to simultaneously refer to the celestial feature and to the artiste himself, given his pseudonym. Osupa likens himself to a glory, that quality in a person which secures general praise or worship, and states clearly that the glory is one which has emanated from God. He eventually makes explicit the basis for the reference to himself as a glory when he expresses in the last line of the excerpt that no one will claim not to know him, Osupa, the singer. Evidently this last claim by the artiste is an exaggeration but it well expatiates the imagery conveyed in the excerpt.

In excerpt 6, the artiste uses the discursive strategy of argumentation to create the conceptual mapping of the moon is the best candidate for kingship. The source domain in the excerpt is made up of the celestial features, star, sun and moon who all contest for the kingship of the sky. The star though is not harsh on the skin, the artiste argues that two hundred pieces of it cannot brighten the sky. The sun though is bright, its harshness will discourage anyone from moving close to it. The moon, according to the singer, is most suitable for the kingship since it is bright and calm. Saheed Osupa definitely is the referent of the moon since this is his pseudonym. However, the pragmatic import of the song is clearer to the genre enthusiasts who have shared situation knowledge of the struggle for kingship among the different Fuji artistes.

Fuji musicians conceive of their music genre as a community which needs a head. Different Fuji artistes have therefore ascribed kingship of the abstract clan to themselves at different times in their songs. Wasiu Ayinde calls himself the king of Fuji, Sulaimon Malaika calls himself the king of new generation; among a number of others. Although it is not explicit who Osupa refers to as the star or the sun, he evidently shows the pract of exalting by illustratively depicting himself as the real and right king for the Fuji clan.

5.2. Deploying imagery for us-them dichotomy

Invectives and confrontations have been part of Fuji music since inception (see Bamgbose, 2016; Sunday 2011). These acts of us-them dichotomy have always been ideologically embedded into the music of Fuji artistes through the use of implicit and explicit language forms. Saheed Osupa depicts himself in the positive relf-representation and some other Fuji artistes in the negative other-representations as the excepts below would show. Imageries have always been one veritable artistic device in the hands of Fuji musicians for expressing their distance and differences as seen in its various utilisations below.

5.2.1. Us-them dichotomy through animal imagery

Animals exhibit certain features which could be positive or negative. Sometimes, these features are also culturally defined among different ethnic groups. The excerpts below show how the images of animals are mapped upon human beings in the music of Saheed Osupa as an instrument of dichotomy. This symbolic representation of people with animals and features exhibited by animals becomes communicable to the lovers of the genre who share the contextual realities of the artistes' worldview.

Excerpt 7
Bólógìní bá pàdé èkúté 1
Àwọn eku kéékèèké wọn á ya sáré à-sá-fatí 2
Ṣùgbọ́n bámọ̀tẹ́kùn bá ń lọ tó ṣe kòńgẹ́ ẹkùn 3
Kò sí gìrì léyìn kọ́n fìrù yọ'rawọn 4

(When the cat runs into the rat 1
The smaller animals run away fast 2
But when the leopard is walking and runs into the lion 3
There cannot be any problem except to share salutation 4)

The scenario painted in the excerpt depicts Osupa as a fearful entity in the Fuji industry when one pays attention to the blend of the source domain of animal and the target domain of humans which generate the conceptual mapping of Saheed Osupa is a dreaded musician. The shared situation knowledge of the divides among the Fuji artistes at the time this song was sung helps to decipher that Osupa is the referent of *ológìní (cat)* and *àmọ̀tẹ́kùn (leopard)* who is feared by *èkúté (rat)* and saluted by *Kìnìún (lion).* It is widely believed too with the shared situation knowledge that *èkúté (rat)* is used to refer to Wasiu Alabi Pasuma and *ẹkùn (lion)* refers to Wasiu Ayinde.

It is important for the purpose of clarity to give a brief account of the divide among the Fuji artistes at the time of this song. On the one hand, Wasiu Ayinde is the head of a sect he named *Arábánbí* where he had Pasuma as his deputy at the time (although the latter has also created his sect now). Osupa, on the other hand, has his own sect called *Olúfimọ.* It is inferable from this sectional groupings and the malicious relationship between the sects that Osupa is deploying litotes (a figure of speech which understates) to ridicule Pasuma who is his contemporary by derogatorily referring to him as a rat and to himself (Osupa) as a cat; known to be a threat to a rat. A known feature of us-them dichotomy is positive self-representation and negative other-representation (see, van Dijk 2004). This is to depict his superiority to Pasuma who is his all time rival (Bamgbose, 2016). Osupa rivals himself with Wsiu Ayinde by calling himself a leopard and the latter, a lion. Evidently, the lion and the leopard are two strong animals that, in many fables and allegories, are known to struggle for supremacy. This deployment of animal imagery is of course an artistic tact by Osupa to positively represent himself with attributes such as bravery and boldness and negatively represent Wasiu Ayinde with cowardice and inferiority complex; knowing full well that the latter is older in age and in the business of music. Saheed Osupa therefore

implicitly conveys the pract of dreading; depicting himself as someone who is feared by both his contemporaries and older ones in the Fuji music industry.

Excerpt 8
Bàbá jẹ́ kí n lẹ́yìn nídìí iṣẹ́ orin kí n gbayì títí dalẹ̀. 1
Jọ̀wọ́ jẹ́ kí n lẹ́yìn nídìí iṣẹ́ orin kí n gbayì dojọ́ alẹ́. 2
Torí láyé ìgbà kan t'ẹ́ṣin bá ma wí, á lóun ṣá lògá o tó bá jẹ́ t'aré sísá. 3
Ṣẹ ri nígbà yẹn eré ń bẹ lẹ́sẹ̀ *màlúù* gan-an. 4
Okùn ẹsẹ̀ ló ń ṣe ìfàsẹ́yìn fun. 5
Àtẹṣin tó ń sáré àti màlúù tó ń rìn o, 6
Gbogbo ẹ gbogbo ẹ lórí iyì náà ni. Ṣẹ wá ri nísẹ̀nyí aré ẹṣin ò níyì mọ́, 7
Ṣẹ wá rí màlúù ló wá ń gbayì nísẹ̀nyí, 8
Gbogbo aramàlúù ló wádi kìkì owó. 9

(Oh Lord let me reign till the end of my career in the music profession.
Because back then whenever the horse wanted to talk, 2
he would claim the champion of any race. 3
But you see there was actually race in the cow's legs then 4
but the rope in its legs was serving as a setback. 5
Both the running cow and the walking horse are in search of fame. 6
But now the race of the horse has lost value; 7
it is the cow that is valuable in the society now. 8
All parts of the cow can now generate money. 9 (Àkùkọ Ọmọ́le,
Kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ̀ Ọkọ́ta))

This excerpt can also be said tobe an expression of rivalry between Saheed Osupa and Pasuma as dictated by contextual clues. The source domain of animal is mapped on the target domain of human superiority to generate the pragmatically loaded conceptual mapping of Saheed Osupa is a profitable cow. In the excerpt, Osupa represents himself as a cow and Pasuma as a horse. The ideological underpinning of this imagery by Saheed Osupa is to positively construct himself as being more affluent than his rival, Pasuma.

A shared situation knowledge which helps understand the pragmatic import of this deployment of animal imagery is the fact that Pasuma came to limelight before Saheed Osupa; both in fame and

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wealth. This knowledge is what Osupa pragmatically codes as a race wherein the horse announces himself as the winner. He goes on to say the wins of the horse at those times in the past are not to say the cow was lazy but was only incapacitated by certain challenges which he symbolically represents as the rope in the cow's leg. He moves on to say that the essence of the rivalry between the cow and the horse is a struggle for honour and the cow which, as implied by the artiste, represents Saheed Osupa has suddenly become the preferred and more honourable animal since he has got more potential to generate money than the horse which only runs. The basis for the artistic scenario created around the cow by Osupa is the common knowledge that aside that the cow is edible, every part of it, including its horns, are marketable for money. Osupa therefore appears to artistically constructs himself as a more marketable singer that has got many sides just like the cow while representing Pasuma as a horse which can only run.

5.2.2. Us-them dichotomy using food imagery
Images of food ranging from food stuff, to the process of cooking and the process of eating can all be conjured to depict to create the impression of enmity and malice by Fuji artistes. Especially of such as used by Osupa are shown in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 9
Ẹjọ́ là ń jẹ, 1
Bàbá Suliya ẹjọ́ là ń jẹ, a tún ti gbẹ́jọ́ kaná, bẹ́jọ́ bá ti wá jiná. 2
Bẹ́jọ́ bá jiná ó d'oúnjẹ etí nìyẹn, àgàgà f'ẹni tí kì í gbọ́ràn tó létí ikún 3
A jẹ níbẹ̀ a fún pàdí ẹ jẹ 4

(It is talk that we eat 1
Suliyat's father, it is talk that we eat and now we have put talk on the cooker and whenever it's done 2
Whenever it's done it becomes the food for the ears 3
Especially for people who are ardamant, they will eat from it and also serve their allies. 4)

Saheed Osupa creates the atmosphere of disparity and enmity through the depiction of food as an edible substance with which he will feed people who show disregard to him. A pragmatic reading of the excerpt shows that Osupa uses the source domain of food to project the target domain of war/quarrel/malice and since mapping is explicated in terms of target domain is source domain, these domains will generate the conceptual mapping: war is food. Osupa implicitly implies that war is food for him and he is ready to nurture anyone with it, especially whoever proves to be adamant. He posits that talk is food to him and he is already cooking his talk (line 1 and 2). In line 3, Osupa uses personification as he personifies the ears as being capable of eating (this time around not food but words). He moves on in line 4 that this food packaged in words will be for the adamant who will not eat alone but also feed their allies with the food of words.

Although there are no evident pragmatic cues to the authors as to whom Osupa might be referring, the use of the noun phrase *an adamant person* to whom he wants to dish his meal of talk makes the authors safely conclude that *talk* here is in the negative realm of malice, quarrel or verbal war which the artiste is ready to get into with anyone. The scenario around this excerpt therefore conveys the pract of warning from the artiste to whoever is concerned to tread carefully.

Excerpt 10
… Òtúnba tij'akàn torí ó ti jẹèyí tó kàn án 1
Àwa jedé jedé ló kù tatúnlè jẹ'mí ìn si 2

(Otunba has eaten crab and he has eaten his portion 1
Only we the crayfish eaters can eat more 2)

Osupa deploys the animal imagery in this excerpt to give his voice to a controversy surrounding the kingship of Fuji music; especially after the death of Sikiru Ayinde Barrister who is the commonly acclaimed originator of Fuji. The pragmatically relevant mapping in the context of this excerpt is Pasuma is a crab eater with Pasuma as the target domain and crab eating as the source domain. A shared cultural knowledge is needed to understand the pragmatic import of this

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mapping. In the Yoruba cultural milieu, it is traditionally held that the prince who is the heir to a thrown should not eat crab. Anyone who has a shared situation knowledge of the happenings in the supposed Fuji kingdom will infer the implicature of this animal imagery as a call to order by Osupa.

As gathered from informants who are enthusiasts of Fuji, Pasuma was for a very long time affiliated to Wasiu Ayinde (an acclaimed Fuji king) as his deputy; described as *otunba* in Yoruba. They fell apart at a point and Pasuma chose a nomenclature for himself (Oganla) and dropped the *Otunba* title. Osupa had at this time been coronated as the king of Fuji music by the Fuji originator himself (Sikiru Ayinde Barrister) before he died. Osupa therefore conceives of Pasuma's autonomy and new nomenclature, Oga Nla which means "a big boss" as a conspiracy and subtle step towards wanting to call himself the king of the Fuji clan too someday. He (Osupa) therefore quickly adopts the title of Obanla (the big king) to caution Pasuma against aspiring the kingship of the Fuji music. The metaphor of a crab eater who cannot become a king therefore becomes apt for the culturally informed as it serves as a pract of warning to Pasuma that he cannot become a king having been deputy (Otunba) to another acclaimed king in the past. Being a deputy to some other king in the past is the inference of crab eating which prohibits anyone from becoming a king. Osupa thereafter mention that it is only crayfish eaters like him who can "eat more". By this, he implies that he, and not Pasuma, can ascend the kingship of the abstract Fuji kingdom.

Conclusion

This study has investigated the use of imagery in Fuji music; using the music of Saheed Osupa as an example. It showed that imagery serves both artistic and communicative functions in the music of Fuji artistes as it reveals the artistic craftsmanship of the musicians and help drive home the thematic foci of their songs. The sampled data showed that Saheed Osupa deploys imagery mainly for self-exaltation and for us-them dichotomy. While these two thematic preoccupations in Saheed Osupa's music have always been a trend among Fuji musicians, the study showed how imageries are deployed in the conveyance of these

themes. Four kinds of imagery namely music imagery, food imagery, celestial imagery and animal imagery were used in depicting the two themes.

The study relied on Charteris-Black's critical metaphor theory to show how the imageries are carefully used to foreground the themes. The analysis is corroborated by the textual part of Jacob Mey's pragmatic act theory to shed light on the pragmatic import and the implicature of the imageries in the realisation of meanings in the data. The shared situation knowledge and shared cultural knowledge for instance help to make sense of the imageries used in the songs in terms of their relevance to certain happenings in the Fuji music industry and some cultural norms of the Yoruba. The textual element called reference helped in deducing the identities represented by the different images which in turns lead to inference making for the understanding of the songs. The study found that in the use of imageries, the artiste enacts the use of other figurative expressions such as personification, hyperbole and pun.

In terms of relevance, the study has added to the existing literature on Fuji music by attempting a descriptive analysis of an aspect of its artistic enrichment and its thematic preocuppations. The study also has implication for the understanding of the Yoruba language as it demonstrated how proverbs and implicit expressions can be used to buttress discourses. A further research can investigate how two or more Fuji artistes engage in banters and invectives through the use of imageries.

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