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Linguistic, cultural, and religious self-fashioning as strategic market branding: Performing multidimensional identities in Nigerian hip hop

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Abstract - This article investigates how Nigerian hip hop artists construct and circulate multidimensional identities as a core aesthetic and commercial practice. Drawing on insights from scholarship on language, youth subcultures and cultural hybridity, the study focuses on the deployment of linguistic, cultural and religious resources in lyrics and performance. Using qualitative textual analysis of selected tracks and videos by mainstream Nigerian hip hop artists, supported by discourse-analytic concepts such as code-switching, metaphor and “street” personae, the article examines how vernaculars, Nigerian Pidgin, indigenous languages and English are strategically mixed to index authenticity, subcultural belonging and mass appeal. The analysis highlights how artists hybridise global hip hop forms with local musical idioms and cultural symbols, and how they weave Christian and Muslim references into narratives of struggle, morality and success. These identity practices function simultaneously as ideological expressions – challenging cultural imperialism and reasserting Nigerian values – and as deliberate branding strategies that expand fan bases across age, class, ethnic and religious divides. The article concludes that Nigerian hip hop is a key site where identity work, cultural politics and market logics intersect, and that its multilingual, hybrid aesthetics are central to both its local legitimacy and global visibility.

Keywords: Nigerian hip hop; identity; marketing strategies; linguistic hybridity; fan base; cultural branding; code-switching; popular music

1. Introduction

Language, to a great extent, makes human existence worthwhile. One wonders what living in the human society would have been like without language. Among the various functions language performs in human society is serving as a means of identity and creating identity. Individuals’ identities can be traced to language usage in discourse, and the projection of supposed ideas (ideologies) as individuals and groups cannot totally be divorced from language. This explains why language scholars and sociologists have submitted that no linguistic construction exists in isolation and independent of ideology. Language use in the Nigerian music industry, particularly the hip-hop music genre, has gained the attention of language scholars, home and abroad. These scholars, especially sociolinguists have been interested in language-related innovations in Nigerian hiphop music, in terms of its grammar, lexicon and style.

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Works on language use in Nigerian hip hop music include Omoniyi (2005), Omoniyi et al (2009), Adegoke (2011), Liadi and Omobowale (2011), Omoyele (2011), Ajayi (2012), Ajayi and Filani (2014), Gbogi (2016), Ajayi and Bamgbose (2018), and Akinrinlola et al. (2024), to mention but a few. Omoniyi (2006) submits that the linguistic landscape of the Nigerian hip hop music is a reflection of the linguistic situation in the country. He observes that code alternation features predominantly in Nigerian hip hop music. He sees this linguistic strategy as a means by Nigerian hip hop artistes to resist the dominance enjoyed by American hip hop music and culture on the Nigerian hip hop scene. Omoniyi's observation is a valid one. However, we argue that in addition to Omoniyi's claim the use of code alternation by Nigerian hip hop artistes is not only a means of resisting the dominance of American hip hop style and culture; it is also a strategy to create a particular sense of *Nigerianness* by Nigerian hip hop artistes.

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Again, Omoniyi et al. (2009) argues that Nigerian hip hop artistes make light reference to sex in their songs. However, we find this submission unacceptable. This is because one of the predominant features of Nigerian hip hop music that make the genre of music somewhat acceptable to the Nigerian youth is the practice of (un)veiled reference to sex and sensitive parts of the body. In fact, Ajayi (2012) considers the position as overgeneralisation. Adegoke (2011) opines that code switching in Nigerian hip hop music is not only a strategy to resist the influx of the American culture in the Nigerian music industry, but also a means to demonstrate creativity. He concludes that this could also result from the low level of proficiency many Nigerian hip hop artistes have in the English language. Liadi and Omobowale (2011) conclude that code alternation is a major phenomenon responsible for the increasing patronage Nigerian hip hop music enjoys among Nigeria youths. Omoyele (2011) examines the use of Nigerian Pidgin English and Nigerian indigenous languages in the Nigerian hip hop music and submits that the use of these codes by Nigerian hip hop artistes is to create and construct a national and linguistic identity among Nigerian youths.

Ajayi (2012) investigates how Nigerian hip hop artistes engage in verbal warfare through their songs. Accordingly, Nigerian hip hop artistes employ language to promote rivalry and self-aggrandisement among themselves. Ajayi and Filani (2014) examine the pragmatic function(s) of pronouns in Nigerian hip hop music. They note that Nigerian hip hop artistes strategically employ the use of pronouns to associate or identify with their fans and followers on the one hand, and dissociate themselves from perceived enemies and rivals, on the other. Gbogi (2016) explores slang and slangifying in the Nigerian hip hop music genre. He notes that many slangy expressions found in the language practice of contemporary Nigerian youths owe their origin to Nigerian hip hop and their artistes.

Ajayi and Bamgbose (2018) explore the lyrics of selected Nigerian hip hop artistes within the purview of Yoruba *omoluabi*. They observe that the (non)linguistic practice of Nigerian hip hop artistes, as evident in the lyrics of their songs, contravene the principles of Yoruba *omoluabi*; a development strongly linkable to the many social vices noticed among contemporary Nigerian youths. Akinrinlola et al. (2014) demonstrate how Nigerian hip hop artistes promote social vices, especially cybercrimes and criminality through their songs. Essentially, these studies have done justice to some critical issues as far as the discourse of Nigerian hip hop is concerned in the Nigerian context. However, none of the works has emphasised how Nigerian hip hop artistes project different identities in their songs, to appeal to the emotional sense of the fans and followers, and as a pragmatic marketing strategy. This is a fundamental that this study aims to establish.

Research on Nigerian hip hop has largely focused on language, identity, decolonisation and youth culture, with marketing and strategic branding often treated only implicitly. Foundational work shows how Nigerian hip hop artists deploy complex multilingual practices – code-switching, slang, double meanings and pronominals – to fashion multiple identities and sustain an urban youth subculture (Gbogi (2016); Liadi (2024). Vernaculars, Nigerian Pidgin and indigenous languages index “Nigerianness”, street authenticity and in-group solidarity, challenging readings of Nigerian hip hop as mere imitation of US rap (Gbogi (2016); Babalola (2023); Adeduntan (2022).

Other studies emphasise how vernacular language constructs cultural and national identity and resists linguistic and cultural imperialism, turning hip hop into a site for nationalist ideology and political critique (Okunola (2024); Gbogi (2024); Liadi (2024).

However, most of these studies stop at identity and resistance, without systematically linking multilingual identity performance to audience segmentation, market positioning or branding logics. Recent work reads Nigerian hip hop as decolonial meta-rap, where “realness” is tied to linguistic de-anglonormativity and critique of colonial continuities (Gbogi (2024). Parallel research shows how hip hop lyrics and visuals contribute to broader decolonisation discourses, even while still seeking external validation via global awards (Onanuga (2023).

Nigerian hip hop is thus framed as a contradictory cultural product: resisting imperial structures yet entangled in global commercial circuits (Onanuga & Akingbe (2020); Onanuga (2023); Babalola (2023). These studies richly theorise **cultural and political identity**, but still underdevelop the notion of identity as *strategic self-fashioning for translocal markets* – a key gap for work on “strategic market branding”. The “street” construct has been analysed as a mass-mediated identity resource built through slang, place-naming, materialism and attitudes to sex and drugs (Adedeji, 2022; Onanuga, 2020).

Studies of metaphors and masculinity show how gendered and classed identities are constructed around wealth, crime, virility and deviance, but also occasionally social reform (Ajayi, D. (2020); Akinrinlola & Farinde (2024); Adeyemo et al. (2024); Chukwuma & Onwuekwe (2022). Research on computer-mediated communication and internet fraud metaphors reveals how digital slang and scam discourse encode crises of youth identity and postcolonial precarity (Onanuga (2020); Shaguy & Olojede (2023). These works demonstrate that **semiotic resources are tightly tied to aspirational and commercial imaginaries**, but rarely name them as deliberate branding architectures targeting specific consumer publics.

Table 1: Dominant Findings and Conceptual Gaps in Prior Studies

Claim	Evidence Strength	Reasoning
Language mixing constructs local, youth and street identities in Nigerian hip hop.	Strong	Multiple detailed discourse and semiotic analyses show multilingualism and slang as central to identity work. (Gbogi (2016); Adedeji (2022); Onanuga (2020); Akindele & Mayokun (2025); Liadi (2024).
Nigerian hip hop functions as a decolonial and nationalist cultural project.	Moderate	Studies theorise anti-anglonormativity, vernacular pride and critiques of colonial power, though with some contradictions. (Gbogi (2024); Onanuga & Akingbe (2020); Onanuga (2023); Okunola (2024); Babalola(2023).
Identity performance is rarely theorised explicitly as strategic market branding.	Moderate	Most research foregrounds culture and politics, mentioning popularity and diffusion but not branding frameworks. (Onanuga & Akingbe (2020); Babalola (2023); Onanuga (2020); Liadi (2024); Tekena & Ochuba (2022).

Identity refers to the characteristics of determining or portraying a close similar affinity of an institution whose features could be determined from certain behaviour. It is a pure construct of an individual and may not reflect any reality (Jacob, 2008:507). Identity reflects the social, cultural, religious, etc. features of a person such that these distinct features would serve as a reference to distinguish the person in question. In the sub-field of sociolinguistics, many scholarly works have examined identity in relationship with linguistic, economic and social situations. Some of these works are Goffman (1967), Gibson (2004), and Korth (2005). Goffman (1967)

examines the concepts of identity and face. He sees face as the self-image individuals project in public discourse. It is the recognition of this self-image of specific individuals that establishes their consciousness of their identity. Goffman opines that identity is the way of identifying us, and how we identify ourselves.

Gibson (2004) gives more insights on the definition of Goffman, claiming that the speaker can influence the way the other sees them, but ultimately, the speaker's identity is formed by the hearer and this identity may be entirely different from the speaker's desired identity. This situation is said to pose a conflict which is exacerbated if the hearer is in a position of power and is capable of imposing a certain image on the speaker. Gibson (2004) studies identity and acculturation and explains that acculturation and identity have a reciprocal relationship which involves the process of adaptation along two vital dimensions. He asserts that the first dimension deals with the values and behaviour of a receiving culture while the second deals with the retention of values and ideas. Also, Korth (2003) stresses the tendency among bilinguals to identify with a group whose language they speak, and in this way highlights a mixed or heterogeneous identity. He further explains that the languages involved in this code switch represent identity, actually preferred by the individuals; hence the use of multiple languages in conversation has implications for convergence and divergence.

Music is the art or science of combining vocal or instrumental sounds (or both) to produce beauty of form, harmony, and expression of emotion. During the act, dancing, clapping or other gestures are included. Music performs so many functions and this makes it to be embraced by many and in recent time, there is no form of music that does not include dancing or other kinds of gestural expression. Today, hip hop music is one of the fashionable means through which globalization spreads across the world. According to Ajayi (2012), hip hop as a music genre started in the mid-1970s in South Bronx and then northeast (New York). It is a genre of music that has its culture, as reflected in the dressing style, language culture and generally in the lifestyle of many youths across the globe. It is a brand of music that evolved when DJs in New York began to isolate the percussion break from funk or rock songs so that the audience could dance to it.

Commenting on the definitional fuzziness of hip hop, Shani (2004) submits attempts to define hip hop have been a challenging task. This is informed by the fact that different scholars have different orientations about the phenomenon. Boyd (2003), for instance, sees hip hop as a testament to the strength of the oppressed and it has continued to become a veritable tool often employed to overcome the obstacles that American life often imposes on inner-city urban communities, most especially the youth.

Rose (1994) says:

Hip hop is a cultural form that attempts to negotiate the experiences of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the cultural imperatives of African American and Caribbean history, identity, and community. It is the tension between the cultural fracture produced by post-industrial oppression and the binding ties of black cultural expressivity that sets the critical frame for the development of hip hop (cf. Ajayi, 2012: 4).

Following the opinion of Rose (1994), Westbrook (2002:64) sees hip hop as:

The artistic response to oppression. A way of expression in dance, music, word/song. A culture that thrives on creativity and nostalgia. As a musical art form, it is stories of inner-city life, often with a message spoken over beats of music. The culture includes rap and any other venture spawned from the hip hop style and culture

However, a critical appraisal of the evolution of hip hop in Nigeria reveals this genre of music could not have emerged as a protest against oppression or marginalisation. It is a brand of music that surfaced in the Nigerian music space as a result of creativity on the part of Nigerian hip hop artistes. It is a genre of music in the country that features a mixture of the American and Nigerian indigenous cultures. This mixture of the African American and Nigerian cultures

1 is perhaps what has made this genre of music have immeasurable influence on many youths in the country (Ajayi & Filani, 2014).

9 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) forms the analytical framework for this study. CDA views language as a social construct, showing how discursive events influence the context in which they occur and how the context in turn influences the discursive events. CDA adopts a more social aptitude to show how language through its discursive elements is central to the formation of subjectivity and structures of inequality (Fairclough, 1989; 1995). In the opinion of van Dijk (1998), CDA is a field that is interested in studying and analysing written and spoken texts to show or depict the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.

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10 This field of study equally examines how the said discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts (Ajayi, 2016). Similarly, Fairclough (1992) contends that CDA is a discourse analysis approach which is primarily concerned with how to systematically explore often covert relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, on the one hand, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes on the other, with a bid to examining how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. From the above, it then suffices to submit that the goal of CDA is to make transparent the connections or relationships between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures.

3. Method

Data for this study comprised lyrics of five randomly selected songs featuring eight popular and linguistically creative Nigerian hip hop artistes. These artistes have distinguished themselves in the Nigerian music industry, particularly in the hip hop music genre, having been in the industry for not less than ten years. The artistes were Lil Kesh; Tiwa Savage; Harrysong; Olamide, 9ice, Asa; Kaycee and Inyanya. The selection of the sampled songs was done from the pool of numerous hip hop songs by several Nigerian hip hop artistes initially listened to. From observations, the linguistic practice of Nigerian hip hop artistes that forms the thematic focus of this study is a common feature of all the songs, thus five have been randomly sampled to avoid repetition. The specific songs from which data were elicited were *Reggae blues* (Harrysong featuring Olamide, Kaycee and Inyanya), *Semilore* (Lil Kesh), *Eleda Mi O* (Olamide), *Olorun mi* (Tiwa Savage), and *Petepete* (9ice featuring Asa) Data, as constituted by relevant excerpts from the selected songs, were transcribed and subjected to the principles of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1998).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Results

This section is devoted to data presentation and discussion. For systematicity, the various forms of identity identified in the data are discussed one after with the linguistic choices used in their creation.

3.1.1 Theistic identity

Several studies, including Adejumo et al (2015), Chukwuma (2017), and Ajayi (2020), have established the fact that Nigerians are a very religious lot. In other words, to demonstrate their sense of theism, most Nigerians identify with one religion or the other. Among the numerous religions in the world, Lamidi (2016) identifies Islam and Christianity as the main religions recognised by the Nigerian State. He claims that the third (Traditional Religion) is socially but not officially recognized. However, it is noted that there are some other ideological movements that have religious intricacies in the country. These include the Grail Message, Eckanker, and the Guru Maraji, among others. Nigerian hip hop artistes' religious inclinations and identities could easily be noticed in their lyrics, as they often make allusions and references to God in their lyrics. The excerpts below showcase instances of theistic identities reflected in our data.

Excerpt 1

Ó da ẹ jẹ ka fògo f'ólúwa ò,
People let us give glory to God
 Yeh yeh yeh
 Because we pop champagne we pop meet today
 Because we go sayé we go troway today
Because we will enjoy so much today
 Torípé o ẹ mí lóre mé le gbàgbé oo (4ce)
Because he has done me favour
 Bàbá ẹmí lore mé le gbàgbé oo (4ce)
Father (God) has done me a favour I can't forget
Lil Kesh (Semilore)

In the above excerpt, the artiste's composition is highly woven around theism, as the lyrics of the song centre on the acknowledgment of God, thanking and praising Him for what He has done. In the song, Lil Kesh projects the Christian ideological stance that God is the source of anyone's success in the world, including himself. Although no part of the song overtly refers to Christ or Christianity, making recourse to the tenets of CDA, particularly around the notion of language constituting a social practice (van Dijk, 1998), helps reveal the artiste's identification with Christianity, hence the projection of his theistic cum Christianity identity. For instance, the church-like manner of the rendition of the song and the use of lexical items such as *Oluwa*, *ògo*, *bàbá*, which are common choices in the vocabulary of Yoruba Christians in Nigeria (see Ajayi, 2015), depict the religious identity and inclination of Lil Kesh as a Christian.

By creatively importing these 'Christianity elements' into the lyrics of the song, the artiste hopes to appeal to the emotional sense of fellow Christians, particularly Yoruba Christians, for social acceptance. This becomes expedient in view of the public perception of hip hop artistes, particularly in Nigeria as people without the knowledge of God (perhaps in view of their somewhat questionable lifestyle, when weighed on the scale of biblical doctrine). This practice (of importing church or religious lexemes into hip hop lyrics) has now become very common among many contemporary hip hop artistes in Nigeria, and it has been strategically deployed by them to subtly 'close' the imaginary ideological chasm between the church and the social worlds. In fact, contrary to what used to be the practice, in recent times, on account of this strategic linguistic practice, some Nigerian hip hop artistes have got invites to perform in Christian gatherings and churches (see Ajayi and Lawal, 2025).

A similar linguistic practice is observed among artistes who identify with Islam, as evident in the excerpt below as extracted from Olamide's song

Excerpt 2

Ma kole, ma ra'le
I shall own a land and build a house
 ma a lowo se, ma a ni moto
I shall have enough money and own a car
 ma segun oso, ma segun ota
I shall conquer my enemies the wizards enemy...
 ...we wey wear dunlop
those of us wearing dunlop slippers
 Olorun je ki a se konge ire
may God lead us to encounter favour
 Wabiilliahi Taofeeki (Islamic recitation)
may God lead us to encounter favour
Olamide (Eleda Mi O)

Just like Lil Kesh in the previous excerpt, Olamide brings in elements of Islam in his song, through his reference to the Arabic phrase/expression *Wabiilliahi Taofeeki* which translates as 'may God lead me to encounter favour' to evidently demonstrate his identification with Islam. The expression is an Arabic prayer that shows the artiste believes in God as the one that directs

the affairs of humans, including ensuring they come in contact with favour and fortune in life. The inference that one can draw from this is that these artistes, while exhibiting or displaying hip hop culture largely believed to be 'anti-order' still recognise the place of God in their activities and daily lives; hence they are 'godly' in their own way.

3.1 2 Cultural identity

Cultural identity refers to elements that constitute an outlook belonging to a cultural referent of a certain group of people. It is often a part of oneself conception and self-perception in relation to one's culture. There are so many cultures in Nigeria; hence the nation can be described as a multi-ethnic-cum-cultural society with diverse cultural aesthetics. The hip hop artistes in Nigeria hail from different cultures of the country, hence their exhibition of distinct and different cultural identities representing their different cultural groups. Within the spheres of culture, there are norms and values that are clearly understood by native speakers; people in a given cultural environment exhibit these features in their relationship with people within or outside their cultural environment. These cultural cum identity norms are often reflected in the songs of many hip hop artistes in Nigeria. Let us consider excerpt 3, for instance.

Excerpt 3

Pètè pètè t'a nà ní pòpá
The muddy water beaten with a stick

Èni to bá tabà, kó ma fi binu, ko lẹ tun be se ni...
whoever is affected should not be angry but such should adjust

S'èbè lẹ ma sùn
Are you going to sleep there

Tẹbá sọ pé ẹ o mọ nùkan kan
If you claim you don't see anything

Èyìn àrò lẹ ma wà
You will be behind the fireplace

Méwa ní selè o
A lot is happening

S'ebe l'ema sun (sebe le ma sun)
Are you going to sleep there

Bi eni wo'seju akan o
Just like someone observing the crab winking its eyes

Eyin aro l'em a wa a (mewa n sele o)
You shall be behind the fireplace

9ice featuring Asa (Petepete)

The excerpt above is mainly in Yoruba, and the artiste, being Yoruba, displays the use of a series of loaded expressions to achieve certain pragmatic goals in line with the practice among the Yoruba. It is a common phenomenon in the Yoruba communication system to employ the use of loaded expressions such as parables, idioms and witty sayings to correct, condemn and lampoon social and political maladies in the society (Odebunmi, 2008; Ehineni, 2016, Bolaji and Kehinde, 2017); which the artiste, 9ice, has demonstrated in this song. Many artistes have equally adopted this language practice to project their cultural identity and beliefs. Sometimes, as a demonstration of their cultural beliefs, some of these artistes go as far as embellishing their songs even with incantations. In excerpt 3, the artiste resorts to the unconventional use of language to embellish his criticism against the untoward political atmosphere of the country.

He feels he could achieve his aim, without being necessarily tagged apolitical, through the use of this language manipulation. This is achieved with the preponderant use of cultural elements such as proverbs, idioms and axioms to demonstrate his intentions. For instance, the axiom 'Pètẹ̀ pètẹ̀ t'anà ní pọ̀pá, Èni to bá ta bà, kó ma fi binu, ko lọ tun be se ni' is a proverbial statement in Yoruba that is often used as a preface to or part of a statement carefully deployed by an individual to pointedly address an untoward situation in a particular context. Similarly, *Eyin aro*, as used by this artiste, is a metaphoric phrase that denotes 'a dishonourable state/or position' in Yoruba, and as such an individual so discursively projected as staying 'behind the fireplace' *Eyin aro* is indirectly being told they have lost their honour and as such shameless or not considered respectable in the society. Resorting to this proverbial and indirect castigation of his objects of 'verbal attack' portrays the artiste as one who does not only have linguistic competence in the language but one that also demonstrates communicative competence in the language.

3.1.3 Linguistic identity

Linguistic identity refers to the sense of belonging to a community as mediated through the symbolic resource of language. This has to do with the preferred language used by an artiste or artistes. Ansaldo (2010: 617) argues that linguistic identities are shaped by the "plurality of linguistic codes." In our data, there is a clear observation of some linguistic patterns which serve as an indication of the linguistic repertoire of the artistes. There are linguistic elements such as code-mixing (switching), lexical borrowing (outside the artiste's social identity), slangs, proverbs and idiomatic expressions. From the lyrical presentation of each artiste's songs, one could easily predict the linguistic identity(ies) of the artistes. This explains why some Nigerian indigenous languages such as Yoruba and Igbo, feature in the lyrics of many Nigerian hip hop artistes. It is also a common phenomenon among Nigerian artistes to mix Nigerian Pidgin with their respective indigenous languages. This, as argued by Adegoke (2011) and Liadi and Omobowale (2011), is a deliberate strategy to identify with and reach out to the vast majority of Nigerian youths for social acceptance and patronage.

3.1.4 Bilingual identity

Nigerian hip hop artistes make use of different codes to pass across their messages to their audience. This practice, apart from adding to the aesthetics of their lyrics, helps the artistes showcase their linguistic prowess, as well as projecting their bilingual identities. Code alternation features prominently in the excerpts 4 to 6:

Excerpt 4

Ó da ẹ̀ jẹ́ ka f'ògo f'ólúwa ooo, yeh yeh yeh
Now let us give thanks to God

Because we pop champagne we pop meet today, yeh yeh yeh

Ó da ẹ̀ jẹ́ ka f'ògo fólúwa ooo, yeh yeh yeh
Now let us give thanks to God

Because we go shaye we go troway today, yeh yeh yeh
Because we will enjoy today

Torípé ó ẹ̀ mí loore mé le gbàgbe òò(2ce)
Because He has done me favour I can't forget

Wón ní ẹ̀ ma wo Kesh ẹ̀ ma wo Kesh ọmọ pásító waaa
They said look at Kesh, our pastor's son/child

Ẹ̀ wò ó bó ẹ̀ ma n rap bóse ma n kọrin
Look at how he raps and how he sings

Lóri television wa; ẹ̀ wò ó bó ti ẹ̀ blow tó n ti lọ show ...
On our television, see how he has become prosperous
Tí wọ náà bá fẹ́ make ẹ̀ ko o kọ'jú mó 'we...

If you to want to make it, face your studies

Lil Kesh (Semilore)

Excerpt 5

8 ...And this time I promise to tell you how much I care
 4 And to hold you close cause you mean everything to me dear
 Olórun mi, gbàdúrà mi
My God answer my prayers
 When you take all the ones we love
 We'll carry on and it won't be long
 I pray to be strong
 Olórun mi, gbàdúrà mi...
My God answer my prayers
Tiwa Savage (Olorun mi)

Excerpt 6

3 Bobo see Baddo wey dem dey bu
See Baddo that was being booed
 Dey bu, deybu
One that was booed
 He dey tell Amokachi the bull
He is telling Amokachi the Bull
 The bull, the bull
 See money for floor like swimming pool
 The pool, the pool
 Eh dey gimme wings like Redi bull
It gives me wing like Red Bull
 The bull, the bull
 3 Baby anything you want make I do
Baby, anything you want I will do
 I do, I do
 I no be tiger back to my bull
I am not a tiger back to my bull
 3 My bull, my bull
 Oya now, our master oh
Now, our master
 E deygbadun oh
He is enjoying
 If your body touch omoge she go get belle
If your body touches a lady she will become pregnant
Harrysong ft. Olamide, Kaycee and Inyanya (Reggae Blue)

In excerpt 4, Lil Kesh switches between Yoruba, English and Nigerian Pidgin. The preponderance of Yoruba in the song, however, could point to the language as his mother tongue, a major means of projecting his identity as Yoruba. In excerpt 5, Tiwa Savage alternates the use of English and Yoruba, and very much like Lil Kesh, Yoruba features more in this particular song. In excerpt 6, Olamide mixes Nigerian Pidgin, English and Yoruba. This practice is a pragmatic self-marketing strategy by hip hop artistes in Nigeria to reach out to people and individuals outside their immediate linguistic 'world' to increase their fan base. In fact, from observation, this phenomenon is so commonplace among Nigerian hip hop artistes that it is difficult to come across hip hop songs in which artistes restrict themselves to the use of just one language. This phenomenon has essentially projected many Nigerian hip hop artistes as possessing mixed linguistic identities.

Although Adegoke (2011) has argued that the reason why code-alternation in Nigerian languages and English, for instance, features preponderantly in the lyrics of Nigerian hip hop artistes is their low level of proficiency, especially in English, we contend in this study that this

practice (of code alternation) is a marketing and aesthetic strategy by them to expand their fan base.

Our submission is predicated on the observation of the fact that, while it might be true that many Nigerian hip hop artistes do not have much 'formal education' and as such are not proficient in English, quite a lot of them are university and polytechnic graduates who have a good mastery of the language (English). And even if the position of Adegoke holds true for the Nigerian languages-English mixing, does it explain why the phenomenon also features among Nigerian languages, which these artistes speak natively? It, therefore, suffices to argue that code-alternation is more of an identity-negotiating phenomenon than being a sign of lack of linguistic proficiency on the part of Nigerian hip hop artistes.

4. Conclusion

We have examined identities in Nigerian hip hop music. In particular, we have brought to the fore, through our analysis, how Nigerian hip hop artistes create different kinds of identities for themselves in their songs. We have demonstrated the fact that Nigerian hip hop artistes oftentimes display religious, cultural and linguistic identities in their songs. We argue that this practice is a marketing strategy among Nigerian hip hop artistes. Perhaps this strategy explains why many of these artistes have their fan base cutting across different categories and classes of people (the young, the old, the conservative, the liberal, the religious, and 'the not-so-religious') in Nigeria and beyond.

This study has examined the construction of identities in Nigerian hip hop music. In particular, it has foregrounded how Nigerian hip hop artistes creatively fashion multiple and shifting identities for themselves in and through their songs, drawing on a complex repertoire of linguistic, cultural, religious and ideological resources. Existing scholarship shows that Nigerian hip hop is not merely an imported replica of its African American progenitor but a localized, hybrid form that reflects the lived realities, aspirations and anxieties of Nigerian youth in a rapidly changing society (Onanuga & Akingbe (2020); Babalola (2023)). Within this broader context, the analysis here has demonstrated that identity work is central to how artistes position themselves in the Nigerian and global music markets.

One major finding is that Nigerian hip hop artistes routinely mobilise **linguistic identities** through strategic multilingualism, code-switching and the use of vernaculars such as Nigerian Pidgin, Yoruba, Igbo and other local languages alongside English (Okunola (2024); Liadi (2012); Liadi (2024); Gbogi (2016)). This linguistic hybridity functions simultaneously as a marker of authenticity, a sign of "realness," and a means of indexing membership in urban youth subcultures (Gbogi, 2024); Gbogi (2016). By "signifying," "slangifying," and deploying double meanings and coded expressions, artistes carve out distinctive personal and group identities and maintain in-groupness with their fans (Gbogi, 2016).

Such practices also enable them to circumvent cultural censorship and to speak obliquely about sensitive issues, from sexuality to cybercrime (Adedeji, 2022; Onanuga, 2020; Shaguy & Olojede, 2023). In this regard, language is not a neutral vehicle but a core semiotic resource for identity construction, ideological positioning and meaning making (Okunola, 2024; Liadi, 2024; Gbogi, 2016).

The study has also underscored the prominence of **cultural and national identities** in Nigerian hip hop. Artistes routinely blend global hip hop aesthetics with local musical forms (highlife, Afrobeat, juju, reggae), visual symbols, and narratives rooted in Nigerian everyday life, thereby participating in processes of glocalisation and hybridisation (Eze, 2020); Onanuga & Akingbe, 2020); Babalola, 2023); Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021). Through these mixes, they contest straightforward narratives of cultural imperialism and instead re-centre Nigerian and broader African experiences, often engaging themes of decolonisation, nationalism and Afrocentrism (Onanuga, 2023; Babalola, 2023); Adedeji, 2022; Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021). The use of Yoruba and other indigenous cultural contents in lyrics and videos, for instance, has been shown to

positively influence youths' perceptions of local cultural values and to challenge hegemonic Western cultural dominance (Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021).

At the same time, Nigerian hip hop remains entangled with global circuits of validation, awards and aesthetics, revealing the ambivalent, negotiated nature of these identity projects (Onanuga, 2023); Babalola, 2023). Religious identities likewise surface strongly in many tracks, as artistes invoke Christian and Muslim imagery, biblical and Qur'anic allusions, and moral vocabularies to frame their life stories as journeys of divine favour, struggle and eventual breakthrough. This religious self-styling coexists with, and sometimes sits uneasily alongside, representations of glamour, consumerism, sexuality and the "street" ethos that are equally salient in the genre (Adedeji, 2022); Adedeji, 2022; Eze, 2020).

The coexistence of piety, pleasure, protest and material aspiration illustrates how Nigerian hip hop provides a flexible platform on which artistes can inhabit apparently contradictory selves – devout believers, street philosophers, global celebrities and local patriots – without fully resolving these tensions (Onanuga & Akingbe, 2020); Adedeji, 2022); Babalola, 2023; Adedeji, 2022; Eze, 2020). Such layered identities resonate with the complex subject positions of their audiences, who are themselves navigating intersections of faith, modernity, class mobility and global media culture.

Crucially, the analysis has argued that these religious, cultural and linguistic identity displays are not only expressive or ideological moves; they also operate as **deliberate marketing strategies**. Research on Nigerian hip hop demonstrates that multilingualism and the fusion of local and global codes significantly broaden the appeal of the music across ethnic, class and religious boundaries (Eze, 2020); Liadi, 2012); Liadi, 2024); Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021). By mixing languages and registers, artistes lower comprehension barriers, create a sense of inclusion for diverse listeners, and cultivate multiple overlapping fan communities that cut across conventional social cleavages (Liadi, 2012); Liadi, 2024); Gbogi, 2016).

Similarly, the incorporation of recognisable religious motifs and moral narratives enables them to speak simultaneously to conservative and liberal audiences, as well as to fans who may not identify as strongly religious but are familiar with these discourses as part of everyday Nigerian life (Adedeji, 2022); Eze, 2020). In a crowded and highly competitive music industry, such strategies help artistes differentiate their brands, enhance memorability and secure loyal followings.

Evidence from audience studies supports this marketing interpretation. Multilingual lyrics in Nigerian hip hop have been explicitly identified as tools to "reach and unify" heterogeneous audiences, overcome language partitions that limit older genres, and signal which constituencies artistes seek to attract (Liadi, 2012); Liadi, 2024). Hybridised hip hop that blends indigenous cultural elements with global sounds has been shown to enjoy strong youth endorsement and to travel more easily across local and transnational markets (Eze, 2020); Babalola, 2023); Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021).

At the level of global consumption, streaming and listening data indicate that music audiences tend to be widely overlapping rather than neatly segmented, reinforcing the need for artistes to reach out beyond narrow niche groups and design identities capable of appealing to diverse listeners (Anesbury et al., 2022). Nigerian hip hop's multilingual, multi-identity aesthetic aligns closely with such a broad-reach marketing logic.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the capacity of Nigerian hip hop artistes to build fan bases that span the young and the old, the conservative and the liberal, the religious and the "not-so-religious" is deeply rooted in how they construct and perform identities in their songs (Onanuga & Akingbe, 2020); Eze, 2020); Babalola, 2023); Liadi, 2024); Ojebuyi & Fafowora, 2021); Gbogi, 2016). By weaving religious, cultural and linguistic resources into compelling sonic and visual narratives, they do more than entertain: they engage in sophisticated forms of branding, cultural politics and social mediation that speak to the heterogeneity of Nigerian society and the global Black diaspora. Future research might extend this work by examining how digital platforms, algorithmic curation and fan practices further shape the reception and evolution of these identity strategies over time.

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