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The Language of Advertising and Sales Transactions in Traditional Buying and Selling Contexts: A Comparative Study of Popular Nigerian English and Ibibio

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Abstract

Language has a powerful influence over people and their behaviour. This is especially true in the fields of marketing and advertising. The choice of language to convey specific messages with the intention of influencing people is vitally important. This paper attempts a contrastive analysis of the language of advertising (traditional buying and selling) in Ibibio and a variety of Nigerian English, known by Jowitt (1991) as Popular Nigerian English (PNE). To carry out this investigation, the researcher relies on surreptitious tape recordings and his deep knowledge of marketing activities and its language in Ibibio. The paper discovers that while both languages have almost the same marketing schematic structure, the language of advertising is slightly different. The users of Ibibio employ a richer linguistic content in advertising, as the language is theirs and so the innuendos, persuasive and rhetorical devices are easily expressed. PNE though a variety of English that has been 'accultured' to carry the Nigerian experience, still poses a problem to some of its users resulting in frequent code-mixing, code-switching and interference. This research is concluded with the recommendations that language experts and the Nigerian government alike revisit the clamour (by the Nigerian people) for a national language that can suitably detail or express succinctly the collective Nigerian experience. The paper equally suggests that discourse analysts and language experts

discourage the use of restructured English loan words in place of Ibibio equivalents by promoting the proper use of Ibibio.
Keywords: Advertising, PNE, National Language Question, Sales Transactions, Ibibio.

Introduction

Language is an important vehicle for communication. According to Etuk and Akpan (2023), "It is through language that emotions, desires, thought, religious and socio-political views and beliefs of individuals and that of an entire community of people are expressed" (p.69). Similarly, Etuk and Urujzian (2018, p.87) aver that "Humans use language, in a distinct way, to communicate their feelings, desires and beliefs". This is to say that "Language is primarily a social phenomenon" (Urujzian & Etuk, 2024, p.313). However, language becomes more meaningful when an encoder chooses an appropriate context for its usage. In the words of Etuk and Umoh (2024, p.379), "Context could be defined according to the function a certain type of communication performs". What is said and how it is said is always determined by a variety of contextual factors namely: the speaker, the listener or audience, the subject under consideration, medium of transmission et cetera. Language therefore must be fashioned and used in a way that does not only communicate but equally appeal to the listener. In fact, "The mere thought of a world without language elicits depressive boredom and retrogression" (Urujzian & Etuk, 2023, p.271). The foregoing describes the language of advertising especially traditional buying and selling.

Dyer (1982, p.8) sees advertising as that form of communication whose sole purpose is "to promote the sale of a product or service (and) to influence public opinion…." To Gilson and Berkman (1980:3), "advertising is intended to identify, or arouse a desire to buy by promoting sales of a product or particular services, to advance a particular idea and also to influence public opinion." From the definitions, the word "influence" stands out. The word

"influence" connotes persuasion. Persuasion is an effective means of influencing the thinking, feeling and behaviour of people. In traditional buying and selling, both the linguistic and paralinguistic devices are maximally employed by the sellers to capture the interest of the buyers. Thus, since generally "Language is a reflection of one's emotions, beliefs and ideological positions" (Etuk & Okon 2024, p.88), the language of advertising should carry novelty and impression. According to Ogunsiji (2001, p.69), "transaction in trade and commerce deals extensively with the effectiveness of language use so as to arrive at an agreeable conclusion for the parties involved." The language of advertising is more frequently associated with the power of oratory than with commerce.

This paper is concerned with how a variety of the English language; (as used by traders and buyers in Bodija, and Dugbe markets of Oyo State) and the Ibibio language (as used by traders and buyers in Urua Edet Mbat market in Akwa Ibom State) are used in traditional buying and selling. Thus, though advertising moves from mere hawking to media adverts and down to adverts in traditional market settings, this paper shall focus on the last mentioned form of advertisement.

Popular Nigerian English

Braj Kachru (1986) in his famous Three Circles theory rightly observed that English performs various functions according to the circle it belongs. To the Inner Circle, English has a mother tongue status and other circles depend on it for the right norm. Members of the Outer Circle recreate and extend the norm to cover their beliefs, worldview, culture and values. The outer circle includes countries like Nigeria, Malaysia, Kenya et cetera where English functions as a second language (L2). The expanding circle is where English functions as a foreign language. Such countries include: Germany, Spain, France, Russia et cetera.

Though Unoh (1985) notes that English imposes communicative restriction in the Nigerian context, most Nigerians have need of the language to perform many functions owing to the nation's multilingual status. Often, these speakers of the language are not bothered by their level of competence. It is in densely populated areas or cities that Nigerians strive to use English more as people from different ethnicities converge for one business or the other. Since the ability to use English is often enhanced more or less by one's height in educational attainment (and English language skills are acquired mostly through formal education), it is exigent that a great deal of varieties will emerge to serve the needs of people with varying levels of education.

Many scholars have made conscious attempts to categorise these varieties in line with how they conform with or deviate from the rules of English grammar and discourse (Adekunle, 1979; Taiwo, 1979; Banjo, 1970, 1996; Jowitt, 1991, 2000; Etuk & Umoh, 2024). These categorisations are not rigid with static limits as speakers could proceed from a modest variety to an elevated one as they attain greater heights in education or are influenced by the environment.

Jowitt's (1991) Popular Nigerian English will be adopted for assessment as a variety of Nigerian English used by buyers and sellers in a cosmopolitan urban settlement like Ibadan in this work. This is because the researcher has uncovered that in most markets in Ibadan, people from other ethnic backgrounds other than Yoruba converge to buy and sell and thus, use any of the varieties described by the aforementioned scholars. For instance, while a Dugbe market-based Igbo trader's expression would indicate mother tongue interference in 'come and buy my Ojeli customer' – 'come and buy my oil', with the trader frequently code-mixing and code-switching, a Bodija market trader of Yoruba origin may speak impeccable English. This status can be reversed. Thus, Jowitt (1991, pp.46-47) opines: "the term I propose for the set of

all non-SE forms, both errors and variants, that at one point or another on the continuum are idiomatic and regularly occurring forms, is Popular Nigerian English." This work carries out a contrastive analysis of the language of advertising in the popular Nigerian English and Ibibio.

The Ibibio

Ibibio land encompasses a great deal of the Old Calabar province. Its people inhabit various parts of Akwa Ibom State and a sizeable portion of Cross River State. With respect to geography, the Ibibio-speaking people reside in the South Eastern region of Nigeria (Greenberg, 1963; Essien, 1990; Ukpong, 2007). According to Udoka, Umoh and Etuk (2020, p.57), "Genetically, Ibibio belongs to the Central Lower Cross subgroup of the Delta group of the New Benue-Congo family branch". Etuk (2021) adds that "…Lower Cross group of languages (are usually) referred to as Ibibiod" (p.14) (emphasis mine).

The Ekoi and Old Ogoja province have a mutual borderline in the North and North East with the Ibibio; in the West and North West, they are close to the Igbo of Abia State. In the East, they share a common boundary with several ethnic groups of the Cameroon, while the Bight of Biafra and Owerri Province (which currently is made up of Rivers and Imo States) marks the Southern border (Greenberg, 1963; Essien, 1990; Connell, 1994 and Urua, 2000).

Data Collection Methods

To conduct this investigation into the language of advertising (traditional buying and selling), the researcher employed the observation method. Thus, the researcher keenly observed market proceedings, carried out surreptitious tape recordings and equally relied heavily on his deep knowledge of market situations having lived with his grandmother, a trader, for twenty-one years. For a thorough analysis of market transactions, a total of 8 shops, 8 stalls and 16 sales transactions were observed. Data were collected over

a period of six months and were purposively selected based on participants' use of either Ibibio or Popular Nigerian English, as well as the language of advertising and sales transactions. Data were analysed in line with sales transaction activities such as: sales initiation, inquiry or salutation, sales request, sales compliance, sales clarification, purchase, price, payment, change and payment closure as well as the effectiveness of the language employed during transactions.

Data Analysis

The Language of Advertising in Popular Nigerian English Variety

The choice of the Popular Nigerian English variety is borne out of the already stated fact that Ibadan, as an urban area, is a conglomerate of people from different tribes, religions and linguistic groups. Hence, for communication sake there is the need to choose a common code knowledgeable by many. This code is English and most people strive to use it no matter how poor their level of competence is in it. This often results in frequent code-mixing and code-switching. Even a largely monolingual Yoruba trader would struggle with smattering English to address buyers who comprise mostly university students, bankers etc of multi-ethnic origins. Thus, it is common to hear non-standard expressions like:

(a) Customer, I called you first or is she using *jazz*?

Customer, I called you first or does she use magical powers?

(This occurs where a customer picks a certain seller and ignores calls from other sellers).

The use of Nigerian pidgin is equally common:

(b) Customer, I get solid materials here.

Customer, I have good or quality materials here.

The above summation clarifies our stance that in a cosmopolitan city like Ibadan, we may not find a singular variety of English being used in the act of buying and selling hence our use of the term popular Nigerian English, to cater for "both errors and variants" (Jowitt 1991), code mixing and code switching,

interference etc. The basis for the selection of a certain code, which may be unwitting, is often based on the context of situation.

The language of advertising in the Popular Nigerian English variety is hinged on the following market activities: (sales initiation) ^(inquiry or salutation) < ^(sales request, ^sales compliance) ^(sales clarification) ^purchase ^(price) > ^payment ^(change) ^(purchase closure). The symbols could be interpreted as follows:

1. ^ - Ordering, often with recourse to another stage.
2. ( ) – Optionality
3. < > - Recursiveness (at once)
4. { } – Recursiveness (as a whole)

It is however, pertinent to note that this schema is not always followed to a conclusion. There are instances where haggling may end unsatisfactorily and the buyer would have to leave either at the point of sale request, sale compliance, sales clarification, purchase or price. Each of these stages has its own language and method.

The stages in the schema are not dependent exclusively on linguistic criteria but on paralinguistics as well. Sales could be initiated by either the buyer or the seller: A buyer could walk-up to a shop or stall to enquire their choice of item or they could, in the course of sweeping their eyes around the market in search of an item, be called by a seller. In some other cases, a buyer may not be looking for any of the items sold by a seller, but may still be invited by the seller to assess certain goods. Such an instance was recorded and hereby serves as our Text 1:

Seller: Pss sh, egbon, look here, e dey here

Elder brother, look at our goods, we have what you are looking for.

Buyer: I have checked. You don't have what I'm looking for.

Seller: Wetin? Look *now*

What is that? Come and check.

In this particular instance the buyer walked away. However, there are instances where the buyer would be persuaded to buy an item he had not planned or may get into haggling if that was the item he

wanted. Thus, the invitation techniques used by sellers as well as the body language of buyers are classified under sales initiation. Sales initiation is optional as some times a buyer may just walk into a shop to pick an item he wants without waiting to be called.
Transaction begins from the process of salutation or inquiry. Once the buyer responds to the call by the seller, he could greet the seller (if the seller is older than him/her) or wait to be greeted (if he is older than the seller). Salutation could equally serve as an invitation technique. However, salutation is an optional item in the schema. It may or may not take place before transaction.

Questions could equally be used to begin the process of transaction. This could be from either party. For example, let us examine Texts 2 and 3.

Text 2
Seller: What do you want?
Buyer: (No response)
Seller: (Continues persuasively) Come *now*, look at my shop.
Buyer: Madam, what I want, you don't have it.
Seller: What is that? Look, I have it.
Buyer: I want to buy weave on.
Seller: Okay, I don't sell weave on…come and buy from my sister or come and sit down…sit down let me bring for you.
Which type?
Buyer: Madam, don't worry. Let me check them myself.
Seller: Okay, next time buy something from me o.

Text 3
Buyer: How much do you sell this material? (Feeling the material in his hand),
Seller: It is 3,500 per bundle.
Buyer: How much is a yard?
Seller: Pay 2000 Naira; it's a fine material. Ten years, you will still be wearing it.

Buyer: Let me pay 1500.
Seller: I no even buy am like that (I did not even buy it at that price)
Buyer: Let me check another place *now*.
Seller: Okay, next time.
Inquiry is equally optional as it is not used in all cases to begin transactions.

Sales request kick-starts the actual process of bargaining. From our investigation, bargaining often starts from the buyer. The reason is not far to seek. The buyer would attempt to find out the price of an item they want to buy. Text 3 is an example. Sales request is an obligatory part of the schema on market activities. However, during sales request, the buyer requests and assesses the item they want to buy, if it satisfies their demand, they start the haggling process. Sales compliance occurs when the buyer accepts/admires an item and equally negotiates a favourable price. Text 3 shows that haggling may end either satisfactorily or otherwise. Sales compliance is obligatory in a satisfactory buying process.

Sales clarification is an optional activity. This sometimes occurs when the buyer seeks further clarification on probably why a certain brand has changed a product's package or otherwise. This activity can be omitted in a buying process. As soon as both the buyer and the seller come to an agreement, purchase is made. Thus, purchase is obligatory. Price is an optional item as a buyer who is familiar with the price of an item can go ahead to purchase without asking for the price again.

Immediately the price has been settled, payment is made. Payment is obligatory, as without it there is no trade. Even when an item is given on credit, it is assumed that payment will be done at a later date. Sometimes, the money given as exchange for an item may require a change. This is to say that a change is an optional item.

Purchase closure is equally an optional item in traditional buying and selling in the PNE variety.

The word "now" in Text 1, 2 and 3 is not used as a temporal deictic. Rather, it functions as an intensifier meaning "please". For instance, the utterance, "come *now*…" in text 2, will not be interpreted as a command as a native speaker would but will be regarded as a plea first by a Nigerian until they are made to understand otherwise. The text studied above reveals a great deal of code-mixing and code-switching. Common among many Nigerian users of English is the substitution of the alveolar plosives for the dental fricatives even when the voice state is retained. Thus:

Thank is pronounced tank

/θæŋk/ /tæŋk/

These dental fricatives are absent in the local languages and are, therefore, substituted with the speech sounds closest to them in terms of features. The texts also display characteristics of the Pidgin English.

The observations above show that Nigerian bilinguals are living in a multi-dimensional socio-linguistic space in which stylistic and social pressures determine their language choice and output, and there is a positive correlation between their level of formal education and exposure to the metropolitan culture, and code variation and mixing.

The Language of Advertising (Traditional Buying and Selling) in Ibibio

The language of traditional buying and selling in Ibibio basically follows the schema enunciated above. However, some of the activities optional in PNE are obligatory in Ibibio.

The schema is presented below:

(I) Sales initiation (II) Inquiry or Salutation (III) Sales request (IV) Sales compliance (V) Sales clarification (VI) Purchase (VII) Price

(VIII) Payment (IX) Change (X) Purchase closure. It could be formalised thus:
(Sales initiation ^(Inquiry) or salutation <^{Sales request, ^Sales compliance), ^(Sales clarification), ^Purchase ^(Price)} > ^Payment, ^(Change), ^Purchase closure.

Before this schema is explained, it is pertinent for us to understand that the Ibibio language (in advertising) under study is as used by rural dwellers in traditional buying and selling. Thus, it is greatly enriched by the cultural practices of members of the Ibibio community. Sales initiation is an optional activity in the Ibibio act of buying and selling, as a buyer may willingly go to the stall of a seller he/she knows or prefers. All the same, sellers (in Ibibio nation) use kinship and endearing words and names to draw the attention of would-be customers to their goods.

So, even though kinship terms are equally used in the PNE variety, the Ibibio language speakers go deeper to describe the physical qualities of the buyer. Text 4 provides an illustration:

Seller: Ufan ima, uyai, nso oyem? Di ke mme nie
Friend love, beauty what look+prog for come+pres I have
My beloved friend, beauty, what are you looking for? Come, I have it
Di se ngadi mmi nanha ayaya iso
Come see garri my as fine face
Come and see how nice my garri is

Buyer: Eka, mme kid, ado nyemme ngadi
Mother I see+pstpart but I don't want garri
Mother, I have seen it but I don't want garri

The use of such endearing words is intended to show the communal and familial link that each and every Ibibio person is believed to be joined to.

While a buyer may, without further enquiry, go to a stall on seeing the items they want displayed, salutation is an obligatory element

of the schema in Ibibio. Salutation depends heavily on the age difference between the buyer and the seller. If the buyer is older than the seller, the seller is required to greet, failure of which may prompt the buyer to leave the stall for another. If the seller is older than the buyer, it is expected that the buyer greets the seller or may not receive 'usin' – bonus, on the items bought. Sales request is also an obligatory element. It usually begins with the buyer who would enquire about the availability of the product they want especially if it has not been displayed on a stall.

Sales clarification is an optional activity. It could describe when a buyer attempts to find out about an item or negotiate a favourable price. Immediately, after a deal has been struck, purchase is made. Purchase is obligatory in the schema, that is, if both the buyer and the seller come to an agreement. The buyer may then seek to know the price of the item or pay if they are already familiar with how much the item goes for. It is to be noted that the activities from, "sales request" to "price" could be repeated all over again if the buyer was unsatisfied with the first item and wants to go for another.

After the price of an item is known, the buyer would have to offer payment in order to be allowed to part with the item. Thus, payment is equally an obligatory element in the schema. Change is optional as the buyer may offer the exact amount an item is sold for. Purchase closure is an obligatory element in Ibibio language of advertising. Purchase closure does not follow age difference. It is mandatory for the seller to thank the buyer for buying their goods, irrespective of the age of the buyer. This becomes important, as it forges a bond between the seller and the buyer who would definitely want to patronise the seller another day.

A Comparative Study of Both the PNE and Ibibio Language of Advertising: Similarities

The speakers of Ibibio and the PNE variety both employ persuasive tendencies in the language of advertising. When a buyer

walks through the market passing different stalls in the process, they are likely to receive invitation from different sellers at different stalls. The invitation could be a simple hiss like "psssh" or words like "Brother, check here", "eyeneka di yak nyam uno" (Brother, come let me sell it to you). If they eventually visit any of these stalls, the sellers would, in a subtle manner, try to convince the buyer that they have what the potential buyer wants or that the product they are offering (should they not have the one the customer is looking for) is the better quality. To achieve this, certain speech types like, "it is the original", "the best" and at times "imported" are used. These expressions are subtle and persuasive with the intention of enticing the buyer to transact a successful business with the seller.

It is equally common in both Ibibio and the PNE variety to find the use of kinship terms in the language of advertising. Data show numerous examples of terms like "Daddy," "Eyen eka – my brother", "sister", "Ebe mmi – my husband" etc. These terms do not indicate any blood relationship between the buyer and the seller but are employed to create a relaxed, intimate and friendly mood for easy transaction.

The language of advertising in Ibibio and the PNE variety basically has a similar discourse structure. In this case, dialogue between the buyer and the seller progresses on the principle of turn-taking. This means that the seller may speak at a time, then the buyer will take the turn and vice versa. Unless where there is a communication breakdown, initiation is usually followed by a response. Such is the structure of text 6:

Buyer: Eka, ayam die iba ami?
Mother sell+pres how pant this
Mother, how much is this pant?
Seller: Ado ekpat Nnaida ition
It's Bag Naira five
It's Five Hundred Naira

Buyer: Akpatre?
Last
What is the last price?
Seller: Ben ke – ekpat Nnaida inaañ
Take at Bag Naira four
Pay Four Hundred Naira
Buyer: Mma ha Iba ami, amenie afad eba?
Like not pant this you have bra
I don't like this pant, do you have bra?

This is an orderly structure in which turn-taking is properly followed. It forms the discourse structure of both languages under study.

Differences in the PNE and Ibibio Language of Advertising (Traditional Buying and Selling)

Traders who use the PNE variety in Ibadan markets are mostly bilinguals – the majority with a deeper knowledge of the Yoruba language and a fair knowledge of the English language. In fact, a great deal of them only embrace English because it helps them communicate with people from other linguistic backgrounds and would gladly dump English if there were an alternative. As a result of this, expressions in Yoruba are transliterated into English, with the structure in L1 retained in L2. A common and striking example of this, as observed in the expressions of traders in Ibadan metropolis, is "customer, please help me buy", transliterated from the Yoruba expression. "E jowo e bami ra – please help me buy".

Ibibio, on the other hand, though equally influenced by English does not have English expressions transliterated into Ibibio by its users but rather, some English lexical items borrowed are restructured to fit its phonological pattern. The consonant clustering and closed syllable features of loaned words of English origin are also restructured to fit the Ibibio phonotactics. For instance, English words: "tumbler," "eye glasses", "tin" etc have been restructured by buyers and sellers, even in rural areas, as "tumbed", "agrasi eyin" and "tian" respectively.

Equally, while the schematic structure of marketing may be said to be almost the same in PNE and Ibibio, the users of Ibibio employ richer linguistic devices in the act of buying and selling as the language is theirs (acquired not learnt) and so the innuendos and other devices are effortlessly expressed. PNE, though is English that has been 'accultured', 'domesticated' and 'bent' to capture the Nigerian experience, culture and worldview, may still not adequately capture what is in the mind of either the seller or the buyer. For instance, while the seller may say in PNE," I want to sell for you, please price well as my first customer" which is rather too long and less striking, an Ibibio user may just say "mbere iso urua" – open face market, translated in a dynamic equivalent method as "may your purchase bring me good luck".

While both the users of PNE and Ibibio for advertising employ endearing and kinship terms to draw the attention of would-be customers to their wares, traders using PNE apply it minimally. On the contrary, Ibibio users apply it to the maximum. PNE tends to have few endearing expressions. Thus, after the seller says:

"My brother, check it here" and "how is the family?" He or she may lack expressions to continue. However, the Ibibio trader who uses Ibibio may not just stop at:

Eyen eka di dep nkpo, mbon ufok o?
Child mother come+pres buy something, people house?
My brother come and buy something, how is the family?

They may continue thus:

Uyai, ase to uke? Ame dung akpere?
Beauty do you come where? Do you live close?
Beauty, where do you come from? Do you live close by?

The reason could be that users of Ibibio are more at home with the language being theirs.

It has equally been observed that users of PNE in advertising have often resorted to code-mixing and code-switching when they cannot readily provide the equivalent in L2 or when they lack

lexical items to express what they have in mind. In contrast, the Ibibio user (unless the user is young) would rather restructure borrowed lexical items to fit the Ibibio language pattern than outright code-mix or code-switch. The researcher specifically observed that an Ibibio person who uses English during the act of buying and selling would thereafter be mocked.

Hierarchy of Problems and Possible Solution(s)

This research discovers that users of PNE in the act of buying and selling sometimes run into difficulty when trying to express certain thoughts. The frequent code-mixing and code-switching of PNE and other languages during transaction is not meant to show the seller's ability in the use of two or more languages, but rather to point out the seller's difficulty in using PNE competently. PNE, though a variety of English domesticated to express our (Nigerian) experience, still poses a problem to traders who have to either code-mix or code-switch to fill in lexical gaps.

The need for a national language becomes more necessary than before. The nature of advertising demands a language in which the seller is familiar with and can adequately utilise to create a bond with a potential customer. Traders in traditional buying and selling need a language they have acquired from birth, a language in which they can adequately express their thoughts, not a language they hurriedly adopt for a single purpose. So far, Nigeria does not have a national language and pidgin has sometimes been given this role. However, the pidgin language has not been standardised and its use has been erroneously associated with the illiterates in our society, thus forcing traders to go for the 'language of pride' which may not adequately serve its purpose. Linguists, discourse analysts and the government need to revisit the issue of a national language for Nigeria so that traders and other Nigerians can enjoy the benefits of using a language they are more at home with.

This paper equally discovers that the overbearing influence of English on Ibibio may likely drive Ibibio to extinction. For instance, some borrowed lexical items of English origin (earlier mentioned) which have been restructured to fit the Ibibio phonological pattern, have their equivalents in Ibibio. The avoidance of the use of these equivalents in Ibibio for the restructured "tumbed", "Agrasi eyin" et cetera from the above English loaned words sometimes results in a misunderstanding between the present and the older generation. This is to show that "Language system is a combination of symbol, meaning and use" (Etuk & Urujzian, 2024, p.199); 'symbol, meaning and use' have to be conventional in order to enhance effective communication. Thus, there is the need for language experts and linguists alike to revive the use of core Ibibio lexical items to resolve this communication problem and equally save the Ibibio language from possible extinction.

Conclusion

The language of advertising is an embodiment of rhetoric. Its effective employment could be a potent tool for persuading and convincing would-be customers. This paper has attempted an assessment of language attitude and use by market participants in the Bodija, Dugbe and Urua Edet Mbat markets of Oyo and Akwa Ibom States. It has tried to establish that the use of kinship and endearing terms by the sellers create a friendly atmosphere for transaction. Thus, sellers display an energetic attitude, adopt an efficient language strategy and promote congeniality with the customers not just for the immediate but even for subsequent transactions.

The paper equally discovers that users of PNE sometimes run into difficulties when attempting to express their thoughts. To resolve this difficulty, they code-mix or code-switch to keep communication going. On the other hand, Ibibio users feel more at home when using the language for advertising.

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