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AFROBEAT AND MULTILINGUAL EXPRESSION: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF JOHA

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Abstract: The study on "Hip Hop Literacy: A Critical Analysis of Code Switching in Asake's Musical Video – "Joha" explores the phenomenon of code-switching in hip hop music, focusing on its role in expressing cultural identity, resistance, and societal critique. It examines the fusion of multiple languages in Nigerian hip hop music to convey messages and project cultural values, highlighting the work of Asake and others. The study employs a sociolinguistic approach to analyze how Nigerian hip hop artists use linguistic diversity to maintain global relevance while promoting their cultural heritage and addressing postcolonial identities. The study reveals that code-switching in hip hop serves as an aesthetic choice, a resistance tool, and a way to engage both local and global audiences, reinforcing the genre's impact on literacy outside traditional educational contexts.

Keyword: Sociolinguistics, Cultural identity, Postcolonial discourse, Language and music, Global relevance, African popular culture

1. Introduction

This research is a critical analysis of codeswitching in hip hop music. The research focuses on hip hop literacy as a form of literacy learnt outside of the class. It is so interesting how musical artists use different linguistic means in passing across their message to their audience. This level of linguistic performance and creativity is evident mostly in Nigerian hip hop music, and the way the artists synergize these different languages in a melodic and rhythmic way to project their cultural values, stances as youths, resistance, identification and correction of societal ills makes it more interesting and worthy of examination. These qualities make this genre of music acceptable and loved by both young and old not just in the Nigerian socio-political area but even worldwide. This resonates with Best and Kellner's affirmation that "hip hop is the music and style for the new millennium" (qtd. Omoniyi 115). One fascinating thing about these hip hop songs is that it is almost difficult for one to listen to them without noticing a fusion of one or more languages with English or its pidgin variety. This brings to mind the different research questions this paper hopes to answer. Why do Nigerian hip hop artists use more than one language in their music? What effect does the use of these multiple languages have on their music and the listeners? Do hip hop artists pay attention to formal literacy in the production of their songs? So much research has been done in this area employing a sociolinguistic approach. Some of such works are Babalola and Taiwo's (2009) "Code-Switching in Contemporary Nigerian Hip - Hop Music" where they speak about the use of languages in modern day Nigerian hip hop music. They look at the musical songs of 5 top Nigerian hip hop artists,

and how they have used different Nigerian languages with the English language and its Pidgin variety in showing some affiliation and recognition of their source as Nigerians thereby projecting certain themes that has to do with promotion of their cultural beliefs and values. Also, Omoniyi's (2009) "So I Choose to Do Am Naija Style: Hip Hop, Language and Postcolonial Identities" examines how Nigerian hip hop artists maintain global recognition and relevance even while making use of a fusion of their mother language or nurture language creatively and aesthetically in their songs. Making use of the songs of some Nigerian artists where the fusion of these local languages with the English language are prominent, he identifies the use of these languages maintaining that these artists have chosen this strategy in establishing their stance. He notes that they (the artists) cannot speak the English language like the native speakers so why lose their heritage and originality imitating them. Hence, the need for codeswitching in a way that represents their lived experiences, maintain their realness and originality, and their songs still get accepted and enjoyed globally. This paper examines how codeswitching has been used aesthetically in "Joha" while maintaining resistance to intimidation and oppression by naysayers employing a sociolinguistic approach considering the kind of data to be analyzed. This emphasizes how Richardson (43) uses "Hiphop literacies" to foreground the ways in which Hiphoppas manipulate as well as read and produce language" (43) in a way that is different from the way it is used and taught in the four walls of a classroom.

2. Background/Review of Research

2.1 African Hip Hop

Hip hop music starts in 1970 at the introduction of Black parties among African Americans in Bronx, New York City (Babalola and Taiwo 5). African hip hop can be said to have its root in the American "hip hop culture" (Adedeji 1) which has been worldly accepted by young adults making it more popular than the native songs in their locality (Adedeji 1). Adedeji (1) has used "conscious hip hop" to refer to hip hop music that are deliberately made to spot out societal ills whether politically, socially, economically or in whatever area or sector the artists want to address. He uses this phrase to talk about this kind of hip hop because the artists have made use of that mechanism intentionally to call out culprits. Most of the time, as musical artists, the only and fastest way they can address societal ills is via their songs (without having to be direct), but of course, those concerned know when they are being addressed or called out especially for those in government who think they have immunity, and no one can apprehend them in office or in power. This makes Chuck D refer to this genre of music as "Blackman's CNN" because the song just like its African American counterpart is meant to address the issues faced by the masses, promote their interest, and preach good morals and communal living (Adedeji 3). This does not mean hip hop generally has not received some back lash especially those ones that have deviated from what it used to be in terms of its contents or message, music style, use of video vixen, materiality and the likes, but it has not failed to maintain its popularity and uniqueness among other genres. African hip hop is not just about the lyrics of the songs, but even the costume and the dance vibes that depict the energetic spirit, materialism and lifestyle of the young adults (Adedeji 1). Omoniyi (114) agrees that African hip hop is a stem from the American hip hop, but he is also of the opinion that there is no hip hop without "keeping it real" which is what African hip hop hopes to achieve – not accepting the Western way of doing hip hop hook line and sinker but revamping it by owning their realness, identity and originality while building a brand that can be called theirs. African hip hop cannot be called an "imitation" of that of the US because the 2 hip hop realities are different in terms of their lived experiences, everyday situations and sociopolitical settings. African hip hop entails the realities of Africans, even if African hip hop have something similar to that of the US, it can never be the same. The two lived realities cannot be perceived and handled the same way (Omoniyi 116). This aligns with one of the 2 ways in which

Omoniyi views the relationship between the US hip hop and African hip hop as "contemporary mutation of local and global in the formation of a new identity; a relationship of asymmetry and mutuality" (114). Best and Kellner talk about the origin of hip hop as an art from "New York dance and party culture of the 1970s" (Adedeji 115) that include "dance and performance, visual art, multimedia, fashion and attitude" (Adedeji 115). Ifekwunigwe (2023) reemphasizes that hip hop as "an expressive and empowering form of musical resistance has been transformed and reborn in its journey through the African diasporas of the United States, Europe and Brazil" (Adedeji 117). Even Bisade Ologunde, in his song "Afrocalypso" tracks down the song of Africans abroad to the time of slavery and colonization where Africans were taken from their native lands to a foreign one. This is seen in some excerpts of the song as "...they took away my forefathers from Africa to America, my forefathers took along their music and some became jazz, some became soul, some became rhythm and blues, swing, big band, bop, hip hop, funk, jazz, rap, reggae, ragga, and some became calypso" (Adedeji 118). This restates the changes that have occurred since the exposure of the songs to the American setting, what many of these scholars have been saying about hip hop originally belonging to the blacks, and the fact that African hip hop differs from American hip hop because of the sociopolitical realities.

2.2 Nigerian Hip Hop Music (NHHM)

According to Adedeji (1), hip hop "as an expressive art and one of the fastest growing youth – driven popular cultures in the world" has come to stay, and everyone is conversant with this genre of music such that every occasion has a touch of it in their events and parties. This is to spice up the life of the party with all of the vibes and energy that comes to dancing to its rhythm and beats. No wonder many people believe that there is no party without a hip hop music to dance to. In fact, Jayne Ifekwunigwe (2023) says hip hop "is the single most powerful contemporary influence on music and youth culture world wide" (qtd. Adedeji 117). Nigeria hip hop also known as "gbedu" has a fusion of many of the lived experiences and real-life situations being faced by Nigerians, and Nigerian hip hop artists are so crafty and creative in the way they employ the nurture or native languages, common language use and whatever possible means relatable to their audience in appealing to them in order to identify with these realities for the necessary solidarity and empathy that the song deserves (Adedeji 1). Adedeji (2) traces the "radical" emergence of hip hop music in Nigeria to the 1990s when the country is faced with "economic" problem under the military regime and the beginning of "Structural Adjustment Programme (S.A.P)" which affect many entrepreneurs including musical artists who could barely cater for themselves at the time, and this brings about the migration of many of them outside the country leading to a lot of damage to the music industry and the music producers also have to stop their businesses due to lack of the needed support and finance to continue. This causes a big hitch in the music industry in Nigeria at the time. The 1990s also bring about technological development, evolution and awareness such that upcoming artists can avail the technological affordances around them in developing their skills and talents. Despite the fact that many upcoming Nigerian artists at the time do not have the needed mentorship and access to producers, they record their songs on discs for radio stations and Disc Jockeys. This brought about the circulation of the songs even if they do not get the necessary financial value accompanied with it (Adedeji 2). This has also brought about different changes and evolution in the entertainment industry as many artists evolve from the use of American English to more localized, native Nigerian languages and inclusion of different Nigerian musical beats and songs; revamping the genre to depict "Nigerianness" (Adedeji 2). Omoniyi (113) refers to Nigeria hip hop in this light as having "identity related claims." Nigerians have always had the attitude of liberating themselves in different forms, and music is one of the mechanisms in which they tend to do this. Through songs, musical artists enlighten people and bring awareness to certain

happenings around especially with government policies, how they affect the citizens, teaching of morals and how they should react to these tenets. Different musical artists have served on different entertainment platforms with different genres of music ranging from Highlife to Juju to Fuji to Apala, Gospel Music and Afro beat which all have gained international recognition via artists like Fela Anikulapo Kuti, King Sunny Ade, Chief Ebenezer Obey, Majek Fashek, Mercy Chinwo, Osinachi Kalu, Tope Alabi and co (Adedeji 4). This has even made Nigeria to be referred to as the "musical heartbeat of Africa" (qtd. Adedeji 4). A true Nigerian believes that it takes a village to train a child, and one of the ways to pass on societal etiquette is via songs. Nigerian hip hop also known as "Afro hip hop" (Adedeji 4) has not failed to serve this purpose and employ this means among the youths since they are used to this genre of music more and tend to listen to it from time to time. Several criticisms have also risen many a times when modern hip hop artists deviate from the trajectory of what Nigerian hip hop music is known for. The purpose and intent the song is meant to serve is queried by the fathers who know what pace Nigerian music have set in times past when the new folks and youths do not perform up to standard probably in terms of the kind of video vixens, content, material display in form of lavish spending, wild life, shaking and banging of buttocks and drinking (Adedeji 6). The conventional way of how a hip hop lyric is written is different from that learnt in a formal educational setting, and this can be seen in the response of a Nigerian MC, Lanre Ogunmefun (Vectortheviper) as reported by Adedeji (122). It is seen that many of the artists show being razz as a form of resistance and a depiction of the reality in Lagos, Nigeria where most of them domicile. One has to show some level of 'craziness,' and act smart in order not be looked down upon or cheated. This can be seen in the excerpt of the email correspondence of the MC "... Grafiti in Nigeria is crazy. Check the walls of Igbosere Street close to city hall, lagos island. And in unilag there are tons of Mc's who do nothing but battle every friday. They range from your mama jokes to you yourself" (Adedeji 122). This further buttress the point that Nigeria hip hop music is peculiar because aside the hip hop music itself, the graffiti and party MCs that serve as one of the promoters is another aspect to focus on. From this email correspondence, one will also decipher that artists are not interested in the correctness of grammar or language, so far the needed message is passed across and understood by the recipient.

2.3 Language Use in Nigeria

The language use in Nigerian setting affects the medium in which the hip hop artists communicate in a way that even those in the rural area can be carried along. The use of these nurture languages also serve as a form of exclusionary mechanism such that the Nigerians who understand these languages and those who are being directly attacked (verbally) alone can decode. At this point, most of the time, the global audience vibe with the rhythm and beats not necessarily the lyrics. There is a saying among Nigerians that only Nigerians are allowed to abuse or insult Nigeria as outsiders (those who are not Nigerian) cannot know how Nigerians feel, and where their shoes pinch as only the wearer knows where it does. This might be the reason for the exclusion in order to prevent spreading too many of our dirty linens in public. In my opinion, since most of the themes in the Nigerian hip hop music are issues that affect the masses, the kind and style of language use is in line with what Omoniyi says about "do am Naija style" since the artists cannot speak English phonetically and even correctly, as the case may be, like the native speakers of English so why not use the lingua franca that will align with the realities of the target audience. Again, in line with Omoniyi (125), the use of the nurture languages and the Pidgin English is to build a form of resistance from the colonizers and thereby enforce solidarity with the masses as they can all relate to the oppression and bad treatment from bad governance and even damages caused as a result of the interference of the colonizers. It should be noted that most of the songs of these hip hop artists also depict their linguistic

competence reflecting the heterogeneous Nigerian society as a place with diverse kinds of languages and people. So, most of their songs find them playing around words and languages via the richness of the artists' linguistic competence displayed via their performance.

3. Code switching in Hip Hop Music

According to Babalola and Taiwo (2), code switching is as a result of linguistic access to more than one language. It is the switching between languages based on the linguistic competence of a speaker which affects their linguistic performance. The use of two different languages interchangeably by a multilingual speaker is referred to as "interlingua" code switching while the use of different dialects is referred to as "intralingua" code switching (Babalola and Taiwo 2). Omoniyi (128) opines that "codes witching is an identity marker for the Nigerian brand within the global Hip Hop community." It is how the Nigerian hip hop artists project their brands and affiliate to the Nigerian hip hop culture. Omoniyi (128) also sees this "codes witching" reflect in the artists' costume and fashion style with all of the "blings," baggy jeans and free style as a form of communication that involves mixtures of different socio-cultural representation and affinity though not verbal but expressive in a way that make them identify themselves with the Nigerian hip hop brand. Unlike the usual use of three languages by most Nigerian hip hop artists which Omoniyi refers to as "trilingual codes witching" (128), "Joha" employs what can be referred to as "polylingual" codes witching – the use of six languages in the succession of the musical lyrics? This is not without a reason because most artists intentionally craft out the lyrics of their songs based on their linguistic competence and musical effects they hope to achieve on the audience with their songs.

Biography of the Artist

Ahmed Ololade (Asake) is born on 13 January 1995. He is a Nigerian, an Afrobeat singer and a songwriter. He is a graduate of the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Osun State, Nigeria. His stage name, Àsàké, is to celebrate his mother. Ololade is signed to Yahoo Boy No Laptop (YBNL) Nation and Empire Distribution by the label leader, Olamide, on February 2022 which leads to his rise to stardom. As an upcoming artist, Asake has been releasing songs since 2018, but his musical career progresses further in 2020 when he releases the single "Mr. Money." The turnaround for him is when he drops the 2020 single, Lady. Asake's style of music is uptempo Afro and Amapiano with a fusion of Fuji. Asake releases his debut studio album *Mr. Money with the Vibe* on September 8, 2022. The album contains hit singles "Terminator," "Peace Be unto You" and the "Sungba" remix with Burna Boy. The album receives so much applaud from fans in Nigeria, as well as across the world as he breaks several records globally such as organizing a global tour for his debut album, selling out the O2 Academy Brixton in London and on October 21, 2022, the crypto currency platform, Roqqu, unveils him as their latest brand ambassador.

Data Analysis

5.1 Code Switching in the Data

"Joha" talks about Asake's indifference and resistance to persecution and hearsays from people as he continues his hustle and progress in the music industry. Three instances that are used to depict this in the musical video are: when the reporters came to interview him, and he was not intimidated or scared to answer whatever question they pose at him, another instance was when he went ahead to feed a lion with a feeding bottle indicating his fierceness, and the last instance was where a white man came to confront him on the street. He made him realize that he has been "on the street" (used to refer to those that are not born with silver spoon and have been trying to fend for themselves) for a very long time, and the team he moves with are not puppets which he represented with "feeders." These represent all the many distractions that come with fame and wealth. Asake seems not to be bothered about

this as he continues doing his thing. Also, most hip-hop artists are not seen walking alone, they walk with different kinds of people from their record signees to securities, friends and the likes. This restates that those he has chosen to walk with are not just anybody but the smartest in "the street game." In "Joha," the verses interchange between Spanish, French, Igbo, Yoruba, NPE and English with the last three dominating the entire song. The song has a fast beat, and the chorus call is often echoed by fans which is an unusual way for a call and response. Many a times, the lead singer calls while the backup singers respond. One will think he adopts this style so he can dictate what he wants as response instead of just telling people what to say or do. It can also be seen as a rhetorical means to enforce his resistance that he chooses to do whatever he pleases with whatever belongs to him, and he cannot be dictated to on how to live his life. The initial four lines of the first verse of the song are in French, Spanish and Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) in order to identify with a more diverse global audience because hip hop artists are conscious of the fact that they have fans everywhere in the world. He is also conscious of his local affinity, and he reiterates it with the use of the NPE. This act obviously reflects his linguistic competence in his performance. The kind of code switch used in the first four lines is intersentential being that it occurs mostly as a complete switch at the discourse level. Different conversational messages are passed in turn in three different languages in the four lines consecutively. Apparently, this is not like taking a conversational turn in a speech act, but it is used in a way that reminds the audience that he is aware of his known and unknown audience who are diverse. It can also be seen that he is pulling some resistance that he cannot be intimidated in his space. In a way, it can be egoistic such that he boasts in being a polyglot which is not a common trait or ability of an average person. This can be seen in lines 1 - 4 below:

C'est comment les freres

This is how the brothers

C'est mon le gars de l'argent

I'm the money guy Hola, como estas?

Hi, how are you?

They want make I change my style

They want me to change my style

Also, the use of French and Spanish in the first 3 lines by Asake may be in order to hide an information from the reporters or to intimidate them because from the scene in the video, the interrogation they had with him has to do with questioning the source of his wealth. One will also see that the inter sentential codeswitching has been used here to exclude those that do not have the linguistic knowledge of what has been said. So, language has been used here just like in many other instances in the song to serve as an affinity, a sense of belonging to a sect and a medium of identity to a particular group or brand of music. Even though lyrics of music just like scripts of plays are written before the visual representation or production, one will see the creativity and aesthetic application to sync the lyrics with the visuals. The independent clauses codeswitched at these inter sentential level are declarative and interrogatory. The use of the interrogative sentence in line 3 seems symbolic. It may have been used to water down the seriousness of what the reporters came for because the succeeding statement in NPE which is what almost everyone understands talks about them wanting him to change his style; probably he should not be too loud, or he should keep his head cool.

In addition, the chorus is a call and response, and the title of the song is taken from there. The call is "Joha" while the responses are in Yoruba, and it is a kind of follow up on the call. This can be seen in lines 11 - 43 below:

Call: Joha Joha

Response: Moni sowa I say, is it available

Call: Joha Joha

Response: To ba wa

If it is available

Call: Joha Joha

Response: Ko jade si ta Let it come out

Call: Joha Joha

Response: Enu o shey durella the mouth is not durella

Call: Joha Joha

Response: Emi Godzilla I am Godzilla

Call: Joha Ioha Maradona Response: Maradona Call: Joha Joha Response: Jo lo Coachella Dance very well Coachella Call: Joha Joha Response: Emmanuella Emmanuella Call: Joha Joha Response: Joha Joha Joha Call: Joha

Response: Jo joha Jo Joha

Call: Joha Joha I say Joha Response: Mo ni joha Call: Joha Joha Dance Joha Response: Jo joha Call: Joha Joha Response: Mo ni joha I say Joha Call: Joha Joha Dance Joha Response: Jo joha

Call: Joha
Response: Mi o fe wahala
I don't want problem

Call: Joha Joha

Response: Jo jo joha Dance, dance, Joha

Call: Joha Joha

Again, the features of code switching in lines 5, 8, 10 and 51 respectively show how

English expressions are used within Yoruba expressions. In line 5, the use of the English nominals "boys" and "federal" as complements in the rhetorical questions are symbolic. The word may sound too raw if the exact Yoruba words for them are used. Hence, the use of synecdoche - using a part to represent the whole, so that those that understand can decide what they mean. "Boys" may be taken to mean "Yahoo Boys" while "Federal" may be taken to mean the clients that are scammed to get the "boys" reimbursed. So, they do not need to worry about losing their money because if they do, they will get it back. The use of "fire dey go, ko de ni suwa" – continue the hustling, we will not be tired, in line 8 talks about the unrelenting hustling spirit of every Nigerian Youth who will not rest until they succeed or "hammer" as they will say. If he says these words in British English, they will

lose their meanings and the gravity of the words said. Most hip hop artists try to infuse things that depict women as sexual beings in their songs which can be seen as derogatory to the cisgender female. This is seen in line 10 with the use of "Fami gan gan" – hold me tight. This talks about the tenacity he wants attached to how the lady should pull him closer to herself which elicit the succeeding word "halleluyah" – joy that comes with sexual satisfaction. It has a sexual connotation, and it is very suggestive. If he says it in English, it will not be properly captured, and it may sound too vulgar. "Apala" in line 51 is a musical genre associated with the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria. The rhythms are complex, and it is influenced by the Cuban music. Comparison of this kind of music to American soccer is to talk about the dexterity and complexity in the 2 kinds of sport. "Apala" and American soccer are two different realities of two different geopolitical setting which take different kinds of energy, expertise and skill in executing them. Codeswitching as used in these lines are instances of intra sentential codeswitching. These can be seen in lines 5, 8, 10 and 51 below respectively: Ki lo kan boys, ki lo kan federal What concerns boys? What concerns Federal?

Make we just dey fire dey go, ko de ni suwa

Let's just keep hustling, we will not get tired Shey your bumbum, fa mi gan gan, ki le gbe Halleluyah

See your booty, pull me closer, so I

Can shout halleluyah

Apala now be soccer, see my team dem no be feeders Apala is different from soccer, see my

Team, they are not feeders

As it has been established that many of the Nigerian hip hop artists showcase their lived realities in their songs, a usual practice among stage artists is to acknowledge those that are behind the scenes in making the song melodious and interesting to hear such as the instrumentalists and other backup singers or soloists. They do this by calling out their names and showering them with encomiums. The singer also do not leave themselves out. They eulogize themselves and sing praises of themselves. This projects the aesthetics in music. Instances where this is used is seen in lines 20 and 47 below:

Emi Godzilla

I'm Godzilla

Joanna jubadi bi omo Ghana

Joanna whine your waist like a Ghanaian

The use of "Godzilla" in line 20 can be taken to connote his physical strength as a fierce and strong man. Many African men like to be seen as being powerful, strong and energetic in all sense of it, and most times when they eulogize themselves that is what they insinuate. Most Ghanaian ladies are known for having a figure 8 (perfect or near perfect) kind of shape, and they are able to whine their waists with their sizable booties. Hence, the need to recommend that Joanna learns from them by whining her waist the way they will do.

The way one can codeswitch from NPE to English, one can also code switch from NPE to Yoruba as seen in lines 6, 8, 46, 50 and 52 below respectively:

Mr. Money no dey waste time, shey you no remember

Mr. Money does not waste time, can't you remember?

Make we just dey fire

dey go, ko de ni su wa Let us build consistency with our hard work,

we will not be discouraged

Me I don dey hideI have been hiding them since like marijuana them tey tey marijuana

Me I don Dey Street since when dem sing gongo aso have been on the street since the inception of Gongo aso

Premier league is not UEFA, small body my engine bigger gan Premier league is not UEFA, small body with a big engine

"Gan" as used in line 52 is a Yoruba intensifying word that is used to mean "very" or "even." Other typical Nigerian Pidgin expressions as seen in lines 6, 8, 46 and 50 are "dey" – copula "Be" and all its variants and "tey tey" – since, in line 46.

6. Conclusion

This paper has identified how codeswitching is used to achieve certain effects on the music and the audience as a way to project aesthetics, affinity, resistance and a sense of belonging. Codeswitching as used across and within sentences inter sententially and intra sententially is also critically analyzed to show these effects. The creative use of multiple languages to pass across the message as a form of hip hop literacy expresses the unique linguistic codes and cultural realities. The use of these multiple languages also further emphasizes the consciousness and intentionality of the hip hop artists to show an affinity and acceptance by their local and foreign audience both known and unknown through their songs as established by Bentaliha and Davies (2006). This means that the languages code switched are with the consciousness of a global community of fans not neglecting the local fans that are representation of the source of the artists – their root. The fact that most of the hip hop musical artists use their nurture languages in projecting their songs reflect their originality, authenticity and ties to their source and not some kind of "wanna be." It is also a subtle way of reminding youths that nothing can be sweeter and expressible as it being said in one's nurture or native language no matter the level of exposure and education. The Nigerian hip hop brand is made up of variety of components and peculiarities that makes it popular and accepted not only among the educated, but also the uneducated within and outside the Nigerian geographical space because to a very large extent, they understand the message and identify with the culture. A hip hop artist is not concerned about the correctness of the language used but the reception and understanding of the message being passed across. The listener of the hip hop music sees through the lens of the artists and the realities of the lived experiences of their domicile.

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