

Style in Selected Headlines of Niyi Osundare's Columns in *Newswatch*

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Abstract

This study examined 86 headlines in the columns of Newswatch by Niyi Osundare which had been relatively underexplored. The aim was to determine their functional significance based on their peculiar stylistic choices. The study adopted the qualitative method and subjected the selected headlines to general stylistic approach. The findings revealed that the headlines exploit alliterations to reinforce the main points raised. Two types of nominal groups featured prominently in the headlines: the modifier plus head mh and head plus qualifier hq types. They were employed for effective description so as to maximize information and minimize space. Neologism foregrounded the headlines in order to underscore the import of the news story. Allusion provided clues about the contents of the news story. Whereas colloquialism indicated informality between Osundare and readers; through lexical ambiguity, the headlines induced readers in order to make them hold the different interpretations in mind as well as give the interpretations equal serious meaningful value. Idioms served for rhetorical effects and to provide imagery in order to enhance the message communicated. Deliberate misspelling of word was pressed into satirical function. These stylistic devices, undoubtedly, formed the selections which Osundare makes from the resources of language within the genre of newspaper reporting; and they functioned collaboratively to make the selected headlines informative, indicative and persuasive.

Keywords: Columns, Headlines, Newswatch, Style

Introduction

'Headline' is one of the most unique characteristics of newspapers. It is a kind of discourse associated with the written press, and is regarded as one of the most innovative aspects of journalistic writing (Crystal, 1987). Headline is a word, phrase, or sentence printed at the top of a newspaper column which explains briefly what its content is all about. It is similar to headings or titles of a piece of writing that serves to provide readers a clue of what the subject matter of the column is all about. According to Folarin (1997), headline serves as a means through which the most significant point in an editorial is presented succinctly. As one of the most widely read parts of a newspaper, it "grades and indexes the news to tell the reader the importance of the news article and whether it is meant for him/her" (Folarin, 1997: 17). Equally, Van Dijk (1998) opines that headlines are informative for providing readers with the information contained in the text; and also persuasive for inducing them

to read the whole text. In the same vein, Gattani (2005) validates this point when he states that headlines are informative because they give a good idea about the topic of the news story; indicative for addressing what happened in the editorial and finally eye-catching for attempting to capture the interest of the reader by telling them what the news story is about, in a cursory and fascinating manner.

Also, headlines are characterised by density of information and restricted range of sentence structures. They stress the prominence of the news story, summarise it and make the tabloid page striking (Folarin, 1997: 17). From the preliminary discourse, we can validly conclude that newspaper headlines receive the most attention from readers owing to the indispensable roles they play in journalistic writing.

All fields have a specialised language features which are most noticeable at the various strata of linguistic description. Such specialised



use of language is not unusual in the field of journalism which has continued to receive attention from linguistic practitioners. Scholarly efforts have been made to study the complexities of language used in newspapers headlines. Some of these include Taiwo (2004, 2007&2015), Khodabandeh (2007), Sander (2014), Ehineni (2014), among others. The field of journalism and by extension newspaper reporting is distinguished by a broad range of linguistic diversities that are divergent from any other area of language study. Newspaper reporting employs disparate varieties of language styles and newspapers headlines are not exempted as they are also written in an exceptional style that is different from other genres.

This study explores style in selected headlines of Niyi Osundare's columns in *Newswatch* which have been relatively underexplored. The aim is to identify the selections which Osundare makes from the resources of language within the genre of newspaper reporting in order to determine his style within the genre.

Conceptual Framework

The concept of 'style', a complex phenomenon, has been delineated from numerous perspectives. With particular reference to language, it refers to a "perceived distinctive way of expression in writing or speaking" (Wales, 2011: 397); and may also be construed as the manner in which language is used in a given "context, a given person, for a given purpose" (Leech and Short, 2007: 9). In essence, style is the way language is used to express thought. The study of style has been approached from different perspectives. These include style as choice, the man, deviation, conformity, and situation. On style as choice, it is axiomatic that language offers its users with more than one choice in a given situation.

Consequently, there are a variety of choices available to a writer in any given situation (Wales, 2011), which is why style as choice provides the creative writer the opportunity to make choices from the repertoire of language. So, he either makes choices or allows such choices to be made for him (Lawal, 2003: 28). However, style as the man stresses the

distinctiveness of every writer; and that of situation is hinged on the assertion that context influences the language choice of a speaker or writer in any given situation (Finch, 2002). In addition, while style as deviation refers to violation of rules or conventions associated with linguistic structure (Wales, 2011: 110); that of conformity stresses the observance of rules, conventions and regulations that guide the use of language (Carter and Nash, 1990). The concept of style is central to this study because its emphasis is to explore its bearing in the column headlines selected for enquiry.

As a matter of fact, critical observation shows that the language used in newspapers headlines tends to be creative as headlines need to convey in concise form the most salient point in a news article (Folarin, 1997). Since headlines crafting relies heavily on the creative use of language owing to the need to abridge the news story and make the tabloid page more arresting, the concept of choice has been a major style in journalism as it relates to the writing of headlines.

Analytical Approach

The present study adopts the general stylistic approach. Crystal and Davy (1969) emphasise that the stylistic approach seeks to examine language patterns in order to discover from the widespread of linguistic attributes common to English as employed on every possible instance. According to them, the levels of analysis are phonetics / Graphetics, Phonology / Graphology, Grammar / Lexis and semantics. The headlines of Niyi Osundare's columns are studied and analysed along phonology, syntax and semantics parameters.

Methodology

Data for this study comprised selected columns of Niyi Osundare, a Nigerian columnist and social critic. The columns were contributed to *Newswatch*, a Nigerian weekly news magazine, published by Newswatch Nigerian Communications Limited. Eighty-six (86) column headlines (published between June 1986 - February 2003) were examined along the different levels of linguistic description: phonology, syntax and semantics in order to



determine the stylistic devices used in their configuration.

Linguistic Analysis of the Selected Column Headlines

The study draws insights from style as choice seeing that its focus is to explore the selections which Osundare makes from the resources of language in the configuration of his headlines. The linguistic analysis of the column headlines is conducted from the syntactic, sound and lexico-semantic angles of language description as captured below.

1.1 Syntactic Features in the Column Headlines

1.1.1 The Group Structure

The syntactic analysis begins with the group structure with specific focus on the nominal group (henceforth, NG). A group is the rank in the lexicogrammar between clause and word. It functions in clauses and is composed of words. The NG is one of the three main categories of groups recognised by systemic functional linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). The constituents of the NG in English comprise the modifier (m), headword (h) and qualifier (q). The modifier and qualifier are discretionary constituents while the headword is the only mandatory constituent in the structure. The constituents *m*, *h*, *q* are the elements of structure whose particular configuration (h, mh, hq, mhq) will form the configuration of any given NG.

A close study of our corpus (see appendix) reveals that the *mh* structural type has thirty-four frequency of occurrence. This structure is followed by the *hq*-type with thirty-three frequency of occurrence. Next to this is the *mhq*-type which appeared seventeen times. The least NG used in the headlines is the *h* structural type. However, one would expect that the *mhq* structural type, which seems to be the most complex because it has both the pre and post-modifying item(s), would be the predominant NG type used in the headlines seeing the opportunity it provides Osundare in other genres (like poetry, plays, autobiography etc.) to effectively communicate his artistic vision. On the contrary, the reverse is the case with the choice of NG types used in configuring the headlines.

Osundare's preference for the *m* hand *hq*-types, apart from being structurally less complex, is to condense and make the headlines captivating. From the frequency of occurrence of NG types presented (see appendix), it can be concluded that the *mh* and *hq* structural types of NG are the most commonly deployed in the headlines.

A remarkable point to be made on Osundare's exploitation of the group structure is the varied functions performed by NG in the column headlines. For example, the *mh*-type as in *the real abusers* (1993), *Nigeria's image problem* (1995), *mad times* (1994) and *crocodile tears* (1998) are used for effective description. In *the real abusers*, the functions as a specific determiner; *real* is an adjective and *abusers* is a noun. However, in *Nigeria's image problem*, *Nigeria* and *image* are nouns but have been used as adjectives to effectively describe the headword *problem* in the NG structure. Whereas the adjective *mad* in *mad times* functions as an epithet to describe the headword *time* in the NG structure, *crocodile* in *crocodile tears* is a noun functioning as an epithet to describe the headword *tears*.

The *mhq*-type as in *the real gains of SAP* (1989), *the evil that men do* (1998) and *the distance of power* (1987) are used to maximize information. For example, in *the real gains of SAP*, the functions as a specific determiner; *real* is an adjective; *gains* is a noun and *of SAP* is a prepositional phrase. While the specific determiner functions as deictic element to introduce *gains*, which is the headword in the NG structure; *real* on the other hand is an epithet functioning to modify it. The prepositional phrase is a qualifier serving complimentary role by supplying additional information to the headword. The complimentary role performed by the qualifier aids the headline to effectively increase information. In the same vein, the specific determiner *the* in *the evil that men do* operates to introduce the noun *evil* as the headword and the clause *that men do* as the qualifier in the NG structure.

Also, the *hq*-type as in *Truth of my politics* (2001), *Tears for my country* (2002) as well as the *h*-type as in *Abominations* (1996) and



Home-coming (1989) are used for thematic projection and to minimize space. For example, the noun *truth* in *Truth of my politics* and *tears* in *Tears for my country* function as headwords in the NG structure. Both headwords are succeeded by the prepositional phrases *of my politics* and *for my country* which operate as qualifiers to complement the headwords in the NG structure. The headlines *Abominations* and *home-coming* are single words functioning as the headword in the NG structure. They are used to project discourse themes. As we conclude our analysis on the group structure, it is important to mention that stylistically, the column headlines exploit modifiers (consisting of adjectives) and qualifiers (comprising prepositional phrases and noun clauses) to achieve the aforementioned functions. Whereas modifiers allow readers to identify the headword, qualifiers on the other hand provide extra information about the headword. Overall, the frequent usage of *mh* and *hq*-types of NG is to minimize space.

1.1.2 The Clause

Apart from the group, the clause constitutes another important stylistic feature which Osundare exploit in the configuration of the column headlines. Tomori (1977: 19) defines a clause as “a grammatically coherent linguistic texts that has a verb”. There are two broadest types of clauses, namely, main or independent and subordinate or dependent clauses. These clauses are all ranking clauses which imply that they form a separate rank on the rank scale. Among the various types of clauses recognized, rank shifted clauses (also sometimes referred to as down ranked or embedded clauses) feature prominently in the column headlines. Rank shifting is the process whereby a unit of one rank is moved down the rank scale to serve as if it were a unit of a lower rank as an element within another unit. Some examples from our data (see appendix) include, *Playing for time* (1995), *Wailing for Wilmot* (1987), *Remembering Tukur* (1989) as well as *When government steals* (1993). These clauses are rank shifted because they have the form of a clause, but are really functioning as part of clause constituent.

1.1.3 The Sentence

The choice of sentence types employed in the headlines is explored from the structural and functional perspectives. As regard the structural aspect, the headlines exploit simple sentences consisting of statements and questions. The nominal expressions, *The evil that men do* (1998), *A parable called Mandela* (1990) and *Leave the lawmakers alone* (1999) illustrate statements. These simple sentences are made up of one subject and verb. For example, in *the evil that men do*, the noun phrase *the evil that men* serves as the subject of the sentence while *do* functions as the verb. In the same vein, in *a parable called Mandela*, the noun phrase *a parable* represents the subject, *called* is the verb and *Mandela* is the complement.

On the use of interrogatives, we observe that between the Yes/no and WH-interrogatives, Osundare shows preference for the Wh-interrogative as captured in the following headlines *Where is your tie?* (1987), *Who is afraid of Biwott?* (1992) and *What's that degree worth?*(1987). These interrogatives have different structural configurations. For example, in *where is your tie?*, *where* functions as adjunct, *is* operates as finite verb, *your tie* represents the subject. Also, in *Who is afraid of Biwott?*, the Wh-marker *who* is the subject, *is* functions as the finite verb, *afraid* is the predicate while *Biwott* is the complement. Finally, in *What's that degree worth?*, *what* functions as the complement, *is* represents the finite verb, *that degree* is the subject and *worth* is predicate. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 134), the WH-interrogative serves to “specify the entity that the questioner wishes to have supplied”. For this reason, Osundare exploits them to draw attention to the queries raised in the headlines. His aim is to prompt readers to peruse the news story. For example, the attention of the reader is drawn to the writer's rhetorical use of the nominal expression *What's that degree worth?*. Therefore, he (the reader) is impelled to peruse the news story in order to satisfy his curiosity. Equally, readers who do not know the person addressed as Biwott, would easily want to peruse the editorial in order to discover the personality of Biwott and



what the writer has to say about him.

As regard the functional perspective of the sentence, whereas the simple sentences perform declarative functions by stating facts and providing information; the questions perform interrogative functions by eliciting response from the readers. Unlike In other genres such as poetry, plays and essays where Osundare employs a variety of clauses and sentence types in relaying his artistic vision; his preference for rank shifted clauses and simple sentences is part of his effort to adhere to the style of headline writing which stresses brevity. The foregoing shows the choices from the syntactic codes which Osundare draws upon in the configuration of the headlines. All these contribute towards making the headlines informative and indicative.

1.2 Sound Features in the Column Headlines

We observe instances of the use of alliteration in the column headlines. Jeffries and McIntyre (2010: 36) describe alliteration as a “pattern based on consonance sounds”. They add that it refers to “adjacent words beginning with the same letter” (37). Among the various types of phonological features (alliteration, assonance, consonance, rhyme) available in the language code, Osundare draws considerably from alliterations. For example, the use of repeated voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ sounds in *Soul and Sale* (2001), the voiced bilabial semi-vowel /w/ sounds in *Wailing for Wilmort* (1987), voiced alveolar liquid /r/in *Robeson remembered* (1991) and the voiced bilabial nasal /m/in *Mayhem in May* (1986) etc. are effective for making the headlines memorable. Alliteration creates aesthetics beauty; give pungency to the point raised as well as aid to achieve an emphatic effect of meaning in the news story.

1.3. Lexico-semantic Features in the Column Headlines

The stylistic devices explored under the lexico-semantic level of linguistic description are neologism, acronym, colloquialism, deliberate misspelling of word, idiomatic expression, allusion and ambiguity. The next sub-section takes on neologism.

1.3.1 Neologism

Neologisms a lexico-semantic feature

which provides Osundare the avenue to exceed the normal use of the resources of language. In the words of Leech (1969: 42), neologism is described as “the invention of new words”. In the same vein, Wales (2011: 287) says it denotes “a newly invented word”. From both delineations, neologism can be interpreted as a new meaning acquired by an existing word or expression. It results from the tension between what Osundare has to utter and the lexemes to employ in uttering it. In his crave to promote his unique vision; Osundare discovers that the lexemes that exist in the dictionary are already inefficient to transport the weight of his message. He, thus, starts to fashion new ones which serve to draw attention to the news story while also intensifying communicative impact (Adagnonyin, 1999). In fact, a close consideration of our corpus (see appendix) discloses that some words used were newly created. For example, neologism in *Songtime at Centre* (1991) is achieved through coinage where the lexical item *songtime* is derived from a combination of the nouns *song* and *time*. In the same vein, in *Wonder kids and superment* (1986), the neologism is derived from the fusion of the adjective *wonder* and the noun *kid*. Neologism, as used above, aids to foreground the headlines in order to underscore the import of the news story.

1.3.2 Acronym

Acronym is another stylistics device to be discussed. It is a technique of word construction by which lexemes are fashioned from the first letters of a group of word (Wales, 2011: 3). For example, in *The SFEM revolution*(1987), the acronym *SFEM* signifies Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market. Similarly, in *the real gains of SAP*(1989), the acronym *SAP* denotes Structural Adjustment Programme. Whereas ‘FIFA’ in *The FIFA magic* (1995) signifies Federation International Football Association, *NTA* as used in *NTA at 40*(2000) denotes Nigeria Television Authority. Acronyms are employed for reference purposes, as well as to maintain brevity in the headlines. This equally helps to minimize space.

1.3.3 Colloquialism and Deliberate Misspelling

Two other stylistics devices from which



Osundare draws from are colloquialism and deliberate misspelling of word. Colloquialism is seen in the expression *What's that degree worth?* (1987). Observe that the Wh question marker *what* and the verb *is* are contracted to form *What's*, an informal language feature employed to maintain informality. However, deliberate misspelling on the other hand is the conscious misspelling of a word, phrase or name for rhetorical purpose. This is frequently done by swapping a letter with another letter as in *Nigeria Errways* (2001), where Osundare employs *errways* instead of *airways*. The letters *Ai* in *Airways* are replaced with *Er*. This stylistic device, apart from redirecting focus to the misspelled word, is used to satirize Nigeria's poor aviation maintenance.

1.3.4 Idiomatic Expression

Idiomatic expressions provide an important resource for the configuration of the headlines. Idioms are words established by convention as having a connotation not "deducible from those of the individual words" (Douglas, 2004: 293). The following nominal expressions *Crocodile Tears* (1998), *A silver lining*(1994) as well as *Salt to injury*(1995) illustrate the use of idiomatic expression. Since readers are more likely to be interested in the only particular phrase or clause that is crafted with idiomatic expression, this stylistic feature is, thus, employed for rhetorical effects and also to provide imagery in order to enhance the meaning relayed in the news story (Okesipe and Okolo, 2013: 143).

1.3.5 Allusion

Allusion, in the words of Abrams (2009: 11), refers to a "passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, to another literary work or passage. Osundare uses this stylistic device in a great deal to enhance communicative value. For this reason, we shall be giving it some considerable attention. Some instances of the use of allusion in our corpus include: *The SFEM revolution* (1987), *The Real Gains of SAP* (1989), *June 12 and after* (1994), *A Parable Called Mandela* (1990), *Abacha's Legacy* (1999) and *Who is afraid of Biwott?* (1992). A close study of

these headlines shows that the references made are to reputable personalities and memorable events. For example, in *The SFEM Revolution*, reference is made to the Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market, a second official foreign exchange market that opened in September 1986 and was effective until middle of 1987. This is followed by the Structural Adjustment Programme in *The Real Gains of SAP*, an economic policy introduced by the government in 1986 to improve the wellbeing of Nigerians. In the same vein, the phrase *June 12 in June 12 and after* refers to the first presidential election held on 12 June 1993 in Nigeria in which the result was a victory for Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola of the Social Democratic Party.

Whereas these headlines illustrate references made to events; reference were also made to persons. In *Who's Afraid of Biwott?*(1992), the reference made is to Nicolas Kipyator Kiprono Arap Biwott who was a Kenyan businessman, politician and philanthropist. Similarly, Nelson Mandela and Sani Abacha are equally referred to in *A Parable Called Mandela*(1990) and *Abacha's Legacy* (1999) respectively. Allusion, apart from helping to provide clues about the contents of the news story, is used to illustrate, expand upon or enhance the subject being referred.

1.3.6 Ambiguity

Ambiguity is lavishly exploited by Osundare in the headlines. Wales (2011: 16) defines an ambiguous expression as one "having more than one interpretation". Ambiguity can be syntactic or lexical. Syntactic ambiguity refers to a linguistic expression that has multiple structural interpretations while lexical ambiguity arises as a result of a lexical item having multiple meanings. Writers can exploit both types of ambiguity depending on the purpose they intend to achieve through their headlines. A close study of our corpus (see appendix) reveals Osundare's use of lexical ambiguity. The lexeme *hard* in *Hard water* (1988) constitutes ambiguity. The lexeme in that sentential context could imply: [a] *difficult to handle* [b] *without sympathy* and [c] *not afraid*. These three denotations are unrelated making the reader to wonder what is meant by the word *hard*.



Similarly, the lexeme *press* in *A Press in Chains* (1994) can be given the following multiple senses: [a] *an act of pressing* [b] *any apparatus for pressing* [c] *a printing press* [d] *newspapers or journalists* [e] *a crowd* [f] *to iron* and [g] *to insist on something*. The occurrence of *chains* in this headline serves to limit the meaning possibilities, which in turn, allows the reader to understand that the *press* being referred to by Osundare is option [e]. Ambiguity in *The spirit of January 85* (1990) is triggered off by the lexical item *spirit* which has the following denotations: [a] *animating or vitalizing* [b] *essence or force that motivates* [c] *a supernatural being* [d] *imaginary creature* [e] *soul*[f] *courage/determination and*[g]*mind or feelings*.

However, if the contextual parameters are brought to bear on the ambiguous lexeme, the meaning will undoubtedly narrow down to the last two denotations (that is, options [f] and [g]). Finally, the lexeme, *winds* in *Winds of revolution* (1986) is ambiguous because it has two distinct meanings such as [a] *air that moves quickly as a result of natural force* [b] *to wrap or twist something around*. In all these examples, context indicates which meaning is most likely in a given instance. Lexical ambiguity, as used above, is not meant to impede the meaning relayed but rather to capture interest as well as make the reader hold the different interpretations in mind and to give them equal serious meaningful value (Wales, 2011: 16).

Conclusion

Studies on Niyi Osundare's columns published in the print media have been conducted from different perspectives. This study has however distinctively investigated the stylistics devices in headlines of Osundare's columns in *Newswatch* in order to determine his style within the genre of newspaper reporting. The study has shown that headlines employ constructive language to relay their contents. Stylistic devices such as the nominal group, rank shifted clauses, neologism, acronym, alliteration, idioms, allusion, and ambiguity aid to foreground the message of the headlines, give pungency to the point raised, achieve an emphatic effect of meaning, capture attention as well as provide imagery in order to enhance the message relayed.

Headline writing involves lot creativity. It is this innovative utilisation of language that motivates and spurs readers to consume the contents in the news story. From our analyses and discussion, it is evident that the identified stylistic devices serve to grade and index the headlines in order to apprise the reader of the importance of the news story and whether they are meant for him/her. Overall, the identified stylistics devices function collaboratively to make the headlines informative, indicative and persuasive as validated by Van Dijk (1998) and Gittani (2005). This study adds to the literature on the study of the language used in Osundare's literary crafts within the genre of journalism and also provides a platform for understanding his journalistic style

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APPENDIX

Nominal Group Structure of the Selected Column Headlines

1. Parable from Koma (hq), 2. Scars of the Season 1(hq), 3. The SFEM Revolution (mh), 4. Names as Idioms (hq), 5. Deep in the Maddening Crowd (hq), 6. Europe's Dustbin (mh), 7. Not Mess Transit (mh), 8. Home-coming (h), 9. Requiem for a Cocoa Farm (hq), 10. The Real Gains of SAP (mhq), 11. Earth Days (mh), 12.The Real Abusers (mh), 13.The Right to Know (mhq), 14.Tale of Two Queues (hq), 15. The Fifa Magic (mh),16. Nigeria's Image Problem (mh), 17. Angel in the Crowd (hq), 18. Lagos Rains (mh), 19. Crocodile Tears (mh), 20.The Evil that Men Do (mhq), 21. Dear OnyekaOnwenu (mh), 22.The Untouchable (mh), 23. Fuel Fires and After (mhq), 24. The Ogunbiyi Phenomenon (mh), 25.Readers' Tribunal (mh), 26. A Press in Chains (mhq), 27.The Talking Picture (mh), 28. Ants of the Hill (hq), 29.Songtime at the Centre (hq), 30.Untimely Eclipse (mh), 31. Soul on Sale (hq), 32. Wailing for Wilmort (hq), 33.A Titan for all Times (mhq), 34.Remembering Tukur (mh), 35. The Ajayi Phenomenon (mh), 36.The Spirit of January 85 (mhq), 37. A Parable Called Mandela (mhq), 38.Okara's Error (mh), 39.Toni Morrison in Madison (mhq), 40. Robeson Remembered (mh), 41. Song for Enahoro (hq), 42. Ige at 70 (hq), 43. Agony of Remembrance (hq), 44.Wonderkids and Supermen (hq), 45.Inaugural Lecture as Theatre (mhq), 46. The Other Minilla Thriller (mh), 47. Mayhem in May (hq), 48. What's that Degree Worth? (hq) 49.The Teacher and the Song (mhq), 50. Rhythms of Violence (hq), 51.A Silver Lining (mh), 52. The Distance of Power (mhq), 53.The Critic as a Scapegoat (mhq), 54. Once upon a Debt (hq), 55.No-Go Legislatures (mh), 56.A Nation Adrift (mh), 57.Rehoboam's Scorpion (mh), 58. Seasons of Blindness (hq), 59. The Limits of Opportunism (mhq), 60.Language virus (mh), 61.June 12 and after (mhq), 62. Matter of Principle (hq), 63. Mad Times (mh), 64. Limits of Eloquence (hq), 65.Twelve Hearty Cheers (mh), 66. Playing for Time (hq), 67. Salt to Injury (hq), 68.Abominations (h), 69.The Unthinkable (mh), 70.Abacha's Legacy (mh), 71.The Right Honourables (mh), 72. Limits of Demagoguery (hq), 73. Truth of my Politics (hq), 74. Winds of Revolution (hq), 75. Murders, Be not Proud (hq), 76. 60 Minutes in the Cockpit (mhq), 77.Basilica Yamoussoukro (mh), 78.Nigeria's Errways (mh), 79. Tears for my Country (hq), 80.New Year Gift (mh), 81. NTA at 40 (hq), 82. Where is your tie? (hq) 83.Hard water (mh), 84. Who's afraid of Biwott? (hq), 85. Leave the lawmakers alone (hq), 86. Matter of principle (hq).

Nominal Group Type	Frequency of Occurrence
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h	2
mh	34
mhq	17
hq	33

