

Africa and its Diaspora Languages, Literature, and Culture



Edited by
Olanike Ola Orié
Akintunde Oyetade
Laide Sheba

Africa and Its Diaspora Languages, Literature, and Culture

Africa and Its Diaspora Languages, Literature, and Culture

Edited by

Olanike Ola Orié, Akintunde Oyetade
and Laide Sheba

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Africa and Its Diaspora Languages, Literature, and Culture

Edited by Olanike Ola Orie, Akintunde Oyetade and Laide Sheba

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2019 by Olanike Ola Orie, Akintunde Oyetade,
Laide Sheba and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3403-0

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3403-2

CONTENTS

Profile of Olasope Oyelaran	viii
Foreword	x
Poem	xxiv
Curriculum Vitae of Olasope Oyelaran	xxxiv
Testimonials	lvii

Part I: Languages and Linguistics

Chapter One.....	2
Oyèláràn on the Sub-Classification of Yorùbá Verbs <i>L.O. Adéwọlẹ</i>	
Chapter Two	8
What do we do with Multifarious Cognate Reflexes in Cross Linguistics? Exemplification from Yorùbá, Ìgalà, and Ìdomà Languages of Nigeria <i>Adégboyè Adéyanjú</i>	
Chapter Three	35
High Vowel Reduction in Yoruba <i>Akinbiyi Akinlabi</i>	
Chapter Four.....	60
Answers to Yorùbá Polar Questions: A Preliminary Report <i>Ọládiipò Ajibóyè</i>	
Chapter Five	77
On the Syntax and Semantics of the Noun <i>Ti</i> in Yoruba <i>Ọladele Awobuluyi</i>	

Chapter Six.....	93
Some Challenges of Modern Yoruba Lexicography <i>Yiwolá Awóyalé</i>	
Chapter Seven.....	117
The Syntax of Pronouns and Interrogative Markers in Mòfòlí Dialect of Yorùbá <i>Felix Abidèmi Fábùnmi</i>	
Chapter Eight.....	130
Analysis of Language Policy Planning and Management in Nigeria <i>Usman Ahmadu Mohammed</i>	
Chapter Nine.....	150
The Incorporation and Function of Lexical Items from English in Yorùbá language Instruction <i>Akinloye Ojo Ph.D.</i>	
Chapter Ten	164
On Proto-Yoruba Vowel Representation Again! <i>Olanike Orié</i>	
Chapter Eleven	179
Documenting the Akoko Languages: A Preliminary Report <i>Francis Oyebade and Taiwo Opeyemi Agoyi</i>	
Chapter Twelve	193
Reconsidering Gender in Yorùbá Proverbs <i>Láidé Sheba</i>	
Chapter Thirteen.....	200
Challenges in the Interpretation of Trinidad Yorùbá Texts <i>Maureen Warner-Lewis</i>	
Part II: Literature	
Chapter Fourteen	210
Creative Writing in African Languages: Problems and Prospects <i>Akintúndé Akínýèmi</i>	

Chapter Fifteen	223
Morality versus Professional Oaths: <i>Ìdààmú Páàdì Minkáílù</i> as a Case of Study <i>Deji Medubi</i>	
Part III: Culture	
Chapter Sixteen	234
The Real life of Jônatas Conceição (†): Ilê Aiyê's Political, Pedagogical, and Cultural Intellect <i>Niyi AfỌlabi</i>	
Chapter Seventeen	273
On the Futility of Examples and the Nuisances of Belief: A Pedagogy of Relevance <i>Michael OládEjO AfOláyan</i>	
Chapter Eighteen	288
Helping Nigerian Trado-medical Practitioners Overcome Their Lexico-grammatical Problems <i>Akinmade Akande, Olayiwola Akinwale and Moji A. Olateju</i>	
Chapter Nineteen	303
Yorùbá Culture in Brazilian Culture: Carlos Diegues's <i>Quilombo</i> and Other Expropriations <i>Robert Nelson Anderson</i>	
Chapter Twenty	322
Honouring Great Men: Language, Memorialisation and Popular Voices in Early Yoruba Print Culture <i>Karin Barber</i>	
Chapter Twenty-One	345
Brazil: A Meeting of Sociocultural Extremes <i>Yeda Pessoa de Castro</i>	

PROFILE OF ỌLASOPE OYELARAN



Professor Ọlasope Oyèláràn was born in Àjááwà, Ọyọ State, Nigeria in 1938. He attended Ogbomoso Grammar School (Nigeria), and later, Haverford College (Pennsylvania) where he received a BA in Classics in

1964. He received his PhD from Stanford University (California) in 1970 under the supervision of Professor Joseph H. Greenberg. His dissertation was on Yoruba Phonology—a seminal contribution, which is still cited today by linguists. Shortly afterward, he was offered his first academic position as a Research Scholar and a Lecturer at the Institute of African Studies, the University of Ife—now Obafemi Awolowo University.

Over the course of his career, he has been a pioneer on many fronts. In 1975, Professor Oyèláràn founded the Department of African Languages and Literatures, now the Department of Linguistics and African Languages. He was the Head of Department for many years, and served at the university level as a member of the University Senate and the Governing Council. He is a strong advocate of indigenous African languages in education and a veritable scholar of African Linguistics and Yoruba Language, Literature and Culture. Professor Oyèláràn has published extensively in his fields of research and teaching, namely, theoretical and African linguistics, especially phonology and syntax. He has addressed issues beyond African linguistics and theory, for example, he has written on language and education, folklore and religion (particularly, Yoruba and Yoruba in the Diaspora), literature in English, French and Yoruba. In all his research, he set an outstanding standard for accuracy of observation and data description and for rigorous analysis of data. He is a member of many scholarly organizations including the New York Academy of Sciences, the Linguistics Association of Nigeria, and the Yoruba Studies Association (see his CV).

From 1988 to 2005, he took up academic positions at the North Carolina Wesleyan College, North Carolina and Winston-Salem State University (WSSU). He became the Director of International Programs in 2000. At WSSU, he made his mark in teaching, research and service both to the university and the community. He left WSSU in 2005 to take up the position of professor and director of global and international studies at Western Michigan University; he made this move in order to support his wife Dr. Eileen Wilson-Oyelaran who was named the 17th President of Kalamazoo College, Michigan in July 2005. He was a Scholar-in-Residence at Kalamazoo College until 2016. Furthermore, Oḷásopé Oyèláràn is the founder and coordinator of the International Colloquium at the Biennial National Black Theatre Festival at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. This colloquium, which he founded in 1993, continues to provide a major forum for lively discussion and debate on real-life issues portrayed in theatre.

FOREWORD

This project was originally conceived in 2008 as part of the activities surrounding the 70th birthday celebration of Professor Oḷásopé Oyèláràn. Although it has taken ten years to arrive at this stage, we are glad that the volume is finally being published. The volume brings together a collection of 21 papers by an international group of scholars, representing four generations of researchers of African and African Diaspora languages, literatures and cultures who have been influenced by Oyèláràn's work in one way or another. The volume presents research on topics in applied- and socio-linguistics, phonology, morphology, syntax, oral and written literature, and Yoruba language and culture in diaspora—Brazil, Cuba, and Trinidad. The constellation of topics presented in the volume aims to enlarge our understanding of the issues in the field of African and African Diaspora languages, literatures, and cultures today. The book makes an important contribution to the expanding work on the linguistic and cultural interface of Africa and its Brazil, Cuba, and Trinidad diaspora.

Content

The papers are arranged to reflect the diversity of Oyèláràn's work. They are organized thematically as follows. The first section contains articles on languages and linguistics: Oyèláràn on the Sub-classification of Yorùbá Verbs (Adewole), What do we do with Multifarious Cognate Reflexes In Cross Linguistics? (Adeyanju), Syntax and semantics of Answers to Polar Questions in Yorùbá (Ajiboye), From High Vowels to Syllabic Nasals: Evidence from Yoruba and Igbo (Akinlabi), On the Syntax and Semantics of the Noun *Ti* in Yoruba (Awobuluyi), Some Challenges of Modern Yoruba Lexicography (Awoyale), The Syntax of Pronouns and Interrogative Markers in Mòfòlí Dialect Of Yorùbá (Fabunmi), Analysis of Language Policy Planning and Management in Nigeria (Mohammed), The Incorporation and Function of Lexical Items from English in Yorùbá language Instruction (Ojo), On proto-Yoruba vowel representation again! (Orie), Documenting the Akoko Languages (Oyebade and Agoyi), Reconsidering Gender in Yoruba Proverbs (Sheba), and Challenges In the Interpretation of Trinidad Yoruba Texts (Warner-Lewis). The second section contains articles on literature: Conceptualising the Reality of the

Millennium Development Goals in Fágúnwàn's Tradition Novels (Adejumo), Creative Writing in African Languages- Problems and Prospects (Akinyemi), and Morality Versus Professional Oaths- *Ìdààmú Páàdi Mínkáílù* as a Case of Study (Medubi). The next group of papers in section three focuses on issues in literature and culture: The Real life of Jônatas Conceição (Afolabi), On the Futility of Examples and the Nuisances of Belief: A Pedagogy of Relevance (Afolayan), Helping Nigerian trado-medical practitioners overcome their lexico-grammatical problems (Akande, Akinwale, and Ọlateju), Yorùbá Culture in Brazilian Culture (Anderson), The Yoruba Àsẹ As A Social Capital Among Afro-Diasporic Peoples In Latin America- Brazil And Cuba (Ayoh'omidire), Honouring great men- language, memorialisation and popular voices in early Yoruba print culture (Barber), Brazil, A Meeting Of Sociocultural Extremes (Yeda Pessoa de Castro). Testimonials are presented by Ayo Bamgbose (Ọlasope Oyelaran: a quintessential linguist and cultural icon), Omotoye Olorode (Concerning Ọlasope Oyelaran), and Ọlabiyi Yai (Ọlasope O. Oyelaran: an Integral Scholar and Intellectual), and Ọladele Awobuluyi (A Tribute to Professor Ọlasope O. Oyelaran).

Summary of Chapters

Part I Languages and Linguistics

1. Femi Adéwoḷé – Oyèláràn on the Sub-classification of Yorùbá Verbs (Obafemi Awolowo University)

This article is a summary of Oyèláràn's methodology of classifying Yorùbá verbs, as it says in the title. His methodology is presented as challenging the traditional classifications of words. The author then gives Oyèláràn's view of how they should be classified and why. The author then cites Awobuluyi as in agreement. The argument is that words should be classified based on their functions in the various clauses in which they can appear, the assumption being that said function can change from clause to clause.

2. Adegboye Adéyanjú - What do we do with Multifarious Cognate Reflexes in Cross Linguistics? (Federal Polytechnic, Nasarawa, Nigeria)

Through an eclectic methodology, which combines re-interpretational ethno-linguistic data, and culture-historical survey, we attempt, in this

paper, to re-examine political and linguistic structures of a proto-language-Akpoto. The thesis of our investigation is that: where all else has failed to foster political and social unity particularly in a plurilingual nation characterised by the wide proliferation of ethnic cleavages, language could well provide the basis for unity among, particularly linguistic genetically related peoples like the Yorùbá, Ìgalà and Ìdomà. The task herein in this paper is predicated on relating history and culture to linguistics. Based on the plethora of evidence amassed, we conclude that a) the multifarious cognate reflexes across Yorùbá, Ìgalà and Idoma languages are relics of Akpoto civilization and origin. These cognates could well be the reflection of a deeper, obscure, yet traceable historical and cultural origin of these peoples, and b), nation building efforts divorced of linguistic input would be defective, at least in Africa, Nigeria specifically because of her susceptibility to covert and overt diverse forces or tendencies. Study findings indicates that cognate reflexes across these languages not only be taken as evidence of genetic relatedness but also could be held as reflecting the likelihood of establishing a commonness in origin of these peoples history and culture.

3. Akinbiyi Akinlabi and George Iloene – From High Vowels to Syllabic Nasals: Evidence from Yoruba and Igbo (Rutgers University, Ebonyin State University)

In this paper, we discuss an interesting alternation between high vowels and syllabic nasals in Yoruba and Igbo, first reported by Oyelaran (1971). We will argue that this neutralization is better viewed as vowel reduction, and reduction of sonority. We show that syllabic nasals may arise from the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/, as well as from the high vowels /i/ and /u/, following research by Oyelaran (1971, 1976, 1991). The core of the formal proposal here is that the high vowel – syllabic nasal alternation in Yoruba represents a case of vowel reduction in a weak environment. This is parallel to the reduction of vowels seen in languages like English in “weak” (or unstressed) syllables. The process is like the reduction of a full vowel to a schwa observed in languages where such is permitted. The weak environment in the case of Yoruba is a “deformed” syllable with a high vowel. The goal here is to provide a formal insight into Oyelaran (1971)’s original observation. In doing so, I rely heavily on data from Oyelaran’s research, while supplying additional evidence from other dialects.

3. Oládiipò Ajíbóyè--Syntax and semantics of Answers to Polar Questions in Yorùbá (University of Lagos)

This paper takes a look at polar questions in Yorùbá, a member of Benue-Kwa language family; with particular focus on the syntax and semantics of their answers. Observe that the structure of Yorùbá polar questions falls into four categories depending on the syntactic distribution of the question words. The yes-no question words may occur in sentence initial as in the case of *Ṣé/Ñjé*, sentence medial (between subject noun and the verb) as in the case of *ha*, sentence final position as in the case of *bí* or a combination of sentence medial and sentence final position as in the case of *ha...bí* and all these question words co-occur with positive and negative questions. As to the forms of responses from this type of question, I show that the affirmative response has two forms, namely, *béè* which is close to English 'yes' but with an additional element *ni* to form *Béè ni* and *Hèn*. As to the negative response, there are at least four variants, namely, *Hèn-hèn* 'no', *Rárá* 'no', *Béè kó* 'so not', *Ó tì* 'expletive Neg'. Thus, a polar question such as *Ṣé Adé ló* 'Did Ade go', will attract affirmative response *hèn* or *Béè ni*, meaning 'yes', whereas the negative response can be either of *Rárá*, *Hèn-hèn* or *Ó tì*. It is demonstrated that *Béè kó* as a response is possible with *Bí*-clauses only. The paper accounts for the relationship between answer particles appearing in isolation and those appearing with full sentential response along the lines of Kramer & Rawlins (2009) and Holmberg (2007, 2011, 2012) claiming that like many other languages (English, Finnish, French), Yorùbá affirmative and negative responses are products of ellipsis. It proposes a FocP structure following Holmberg (2011, 2012) for all answers to yes-no questions and claims that TP is an embedded clause.

4. Oḷadele Awobuluyi - On the Syntax and Semantics of the Noun Ti in Yoruba (Emeritus Professor, University of Ilorin and Ondo state University)

The Yoruba morph "ti" can be classified under any one of five different uses. The fifth is that it is a noun, which has been and continues to be variously analyzed by Yoruba scholars. Thus, while Awobuluyi regards it as a "noun/pro-noun," Bamgboṣe calls it a "genitival particle, emphasis marker" or a sort of "prefix," and has at different times and in different contexts called it a "preposition, genitival particle, prefix, grammatical item." It will be shown here that a careful consideration of the syntax and

semantics of the element indicates that it is indeed a noun or nominal element that always heads a noun phrase containing a genitival qualifier. It will also be shown that, contrary to popular belief, Noun-Noun constructions featuring it convey appositive and possessive meanings, depending upon the context. Evidence for it's being a noun include: (i) Attachment of the Prosthetic Vowel 'i', (ii) Co-occurrence with Qualifiers, (iii) Its Supposed Ability to Intervene between Nouns and Their Genitival Qualifiers, (iv) Its Ability to Occur in Subject/Object Position.

The patterns uncovered show that “The traditional grammarians of the Yoruba language and their modern-day followers are not completely wrong and neither are they completely right in considering all Noun-Noun constructions containing *ti* as possessive in meaning” and “The traditional and general belief that any and every qualifier occurring immediately to the right of *ti* in Noun-Noun constructions is actually in construction with the noun or noun phrase immediately preceding that element is also not correct. In fact, such qualifiers belong to the noun *ti*, by direct inheritance from the possessums replaced by it.”

5. Yiwola Awóyalé - Some Challenges of Modern Yoruba Lexicography (University of Pennsylvania)

This paper attempts to identify and propose solutions to certain challenges that are peculiar to Yoruba lexicography; such a peculiarity being borne by both the nature of the language itself, and certain grammatical properties that the language shares with some other languages of the world. Among the challenges that are peculiar to the language, which have serious lexicographical consequences not only at the microstructure level but more seriously at the macrostructure level are (a) pervasive segment deletion and/or assimilation within complex and compound words; (b) pervasive prefixation to the almost exclusion of suffixation; (c) pervasive serialization of verbs; (d) pervasive reduplication especially among ideophones; (e) discrete nature of the tone system; (f) the open-endedness of proper name formation; and (g) what constitutes a head word in the ‘standard’ as opposed to ‘dialectal’ form. On the other hand are external issues that impact any type of Yoruba dictionary such as (a) continental versus diaspora Yoruba; (b) monolingual versus bilingual/multilingual Yoruba dictionaries; and (c) metalanguage development and borrowing to meet the demand of a globalized technological age. Each of these issues will be discussed in the context of the current Yoruba lexicographical project being carried out at the Linguistic Data Consortium of the University of Pennsylvania.

6. Bidemi Fábùnmi - The Syntax of Pronouns and Interrogative Markers in Mòfòlí Dialect of Yorùbá (Obafemi Awolowo University)

Yorùbá, one of the three major languages in Nigeria, has about 45 million Nigerian Native speakers. The population of the non-Nigerian native speakers of Yorùbá can be averagely put at about 6 million covering Bénin Republic, Togo, Ghana, Côte-D'Ivoire, Sudan, Sierra-Leone, Brazil, Cuba, UK and USA. Yorùbá has many dialectal varieties. Mòfòlí is one of the dialects of the Yorùbá language spoken outside Nigeria. Speakers of Mòfòlí dialect reside mainly in Kétu city, in the Plateau State of the Republic of Bénin. Other Yorùbá dialects whose speakers reside outside the country are Tsábe, Ifè (Togo), Àwóri, Ìdàisà, Isà, Àjàsé, Mánígrì and Ífòhìn. This work, however, focuses on Mòfòlí dialect because, according to Awobuluyi (1998:9), "no linguistic research has ever been carried out on it". In the field of linguistics, the Yorùbá populations outside Nigeria are hardly ever discussed, largely unknown and poorly defined. This research work has shown that the pronouns and interrogative markers of Mòfòlí differ from those of Standard Yorùbá (SY) at a number of points. These differences are the result of linguistic change. Changes that have taken place in one dialect have not taken place in the other. In comparison with the standard Yorùbá however, Mòfòlí has completely different realizations as far as question markers and pronouns are concerned. The tonal and phonemic contrasts specify for the interrogative markers of the two related dialects are totally unrelated. Moreover, the focused elements in Mòfòlí are not obligatorily marked by the operator *ni*. In addition, the pronouns in Mòfòlí differ from those of SY; where SY singular and plural subject/object pronouns have only one form, Mòfòlí has either two or three forms. Further studies on Mòfòlí will highlight those new things the dialect may teach us about the syntax of the Yorùbá language.

7. Usman Mohammed - Analysis of Language Policy Planning and Management in Nigeria (Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna)

Language Policy Planning and Management (henceforth LPPM) have been a matter of concern to governmental agencies/agents and scholars for the past decades, especially with the nation building efforts since the independencies in Africa and Asia of the 1950s onwards. LPPM involve four stages: a) selection, b) codification, c) elaboration and d) implementation. In this paper, we intend to discuss LPPM in Nigeria which a multilingual and multicultural nation. This is with a view to

observing the extent to which these activities are undertaken in order to promote Nigerian languages for “participatory democracy”.

The paper observes that efforts of both governmental language agencies/agents in Nigeria resulted in the standardisation of various Nigerian languages. At present, about 136 languages representing approximately 27% of all Nigerian languages are at various levels of standardisation (cf. Mohammed (2002)). The fragmentation or the development of varieties results in what can be termed as glossotomy. This aspect is more pronounced in the southern part of the country i.e. Nigeria. The situation in the northern part of Nigeria is quite different because Hausa which is a strong Lingua Franca is incorporating minor ethnic and/or linguistic groups. This aspect is referred to as glossogamy. This linguistic phenomenon is as result of strong socio-economic and political backgrounds behind the language i.e. Hausa. LPPM when properly designed serves as an organ of unity among peoples of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. It is through unity that nationhood can be achieved.

8. Akinloye Ojo - The Incorporation and Function of Lexical Items from English in Yorùbá Language Instruction (University of Georgia)

This paper discusses some aspects of the Yorùbá - English language contact situation in the Yorùbá speaking area of Southwestern Nigeria. In Yorùbá, there is a high level of ‘borrowing’ from the English language. The paper considers the three major reasons for the prevalence of English ‘loanwords’ in the Yorùbá language. These reasons are; historical, functional and socio-political. Examples of ‘loanwords’ acquired by the Yorùbá language due to each of these reasons are also provided. The paper also describes some of the phonological processes that occur in the lexical adaptation of English words into the structure of the Yorùbá language. Processes such as epenthesis, consonant deletion, re-syllabification and Word Structure changes are discussed. The discussion of these phonological processes is of some importance to the study of Yorùbá as a foreign language since it illustrates the systematicity involved in ‘loanword’ incorporation in Yorùbá.

9. Ọlanikẹ Oriẹ - On proto-Yoruba vowel representation again! (Tulane University)

There are two competing proto-Yoruba vowel representation theories— nine and seven proto-vowel models. This paper presents a cross-dialectal

study of vowel harmony in support of the seven-vowel proto-system. Based on this evidence, it is argued that proto-Yoruba lacked retracted oral high vowels. It is shown that an analysis which posits underlying retracted oral high vowels misses generalizations and makes incorrect cross-dialectal predictions.

10. Francis Oyebade and Taiwo Agoyi - Documenting the Akoko Languages - A Preliminary Report (Ondo State University)

It is common knowledge among linguists that what was known as the Akokoid language cluster is a mix of many small languages whose true genetic affiliation is still controversial. However, what is still little known is the fact that the languages are highly endangered. The recent publication of a bilingual book titled: *Ikaan Proverbs, Riddles and Stories: Ìwé Òwe, Ìtàn Àròsọ̀ Nínú Èdè Ìkaan* (2007) by Fredrick Adekanye and Sophie Salfner (for Ikaan) and *Nn' Kpasi Àbèsàbèsì: Mo gbọ' Àbèsàbèsì: I Understand Àbèsàbèsì*, (2012) by Taiwo O. Agoyi (for Àbèsàbèsì/Akpes) have had the impact of opening the eyes of at least two Akoko linguistic groups to the need to revitalize their languages.

Various Language Development groups have sprung up from these efforts and an active language maintenance project is in place in this very pluralistic geographical community called Akoko. This is a report of one of such projects.

11. Laide Sheba - Reconsidering Gender in Yoruba Proverbs (Obafemi Awolowo University)

The author re-examines traditional models of interpretation of Yoruba proverbs. Proverbs are powerful tools in society that affect public attitudes. Misogynistic and (often overlooked) misandristic features of Yoruba proverbs should be written out – by replacing words and reworking metaphors – and new proverbs that promote a more equal society produced. She gives several pages of examples of how this can/could be accomplished.

12. Maureen Warner-Lewis - Challenges in the Interpretation of Trinidad Yoruba Texts (Professor Emerita, University of the West Indies)

The synthesis of Yoruba dialect phonologies, syntax, and lexica is evident in the production of sacred and secular songs on the island of Trinidad and

constitutes one of the main difficulties in attempts to decode these texts. Other challenges include the frequent lack of social and ritual contexts of use, the esoteric nature of honorifics, allusions, place and personal names, and the need to recognize metaphors and juxtapositions to establish thematic coherence within texts. Apart from overlapping dialect forms, memory loss and imperfect learning on the part of second- and third-generation speakers are responsible for indeterminate pronouns, misplaced nasalization of vowels, and irregular vowel and consonant substitutions. Some texts reproduced the multilingual historical environment of the performers.

Part II: Literature

13. Akintunde Akínyemí - Creative Writing in African Languages-Problems and Prospects (University of Florida)

The author discusses the history of and current trends in language choice among authors of African literature. Considerations are the audience (international, Pan-African, local), the socio-economic status of the foreign language, the tendency to see African literature as primarily oral, and/or the purpose of the work itself. Literature in the indigenous languages can be a voice for the “suffering majority” and it can be a call to arms to them as well. The author argues that the emergence of indigenous languages as literary languages depends on the aid of institutional support, a more equal distribution of political and economic power, a strengthening of national economies, and literacy development among the less-privileged to promote would-be authors of quality indigenous literature.

He also problematizes the terms “African literature”, arguing that literature on the continent, even that which predates colonialism, is local and reflects the individual’s language and culture. Also, where other societies – or languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, etc) which are synonymous with particular societies – claim their own literatures, this is clearly impossible in Africa, since there is no “African” language that reflects “African” culture.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that, there are two streams of literature on the continent of Africa, namely the much older grassroots literatures composed in over one thousand seven hundred indigenous African languages spread throughout the continent, and literatures written in the languages of the former European colonial powers in Africa.

Finally, not only does African literature need more use of the indigenous languages, but the unequal distribution of literary criticism

must be spread out to cover the works written in indigenous languages. This would bring attention and would help to increase the quality of such works as well. “African literary scholars should, as suggested by Gérard (1981), take the leadership in this matter and set the pace by revisiting literary compositions in their mother tongues and by establishing themselves as the foremost authority in the same way that English critics and scholars have established themselves as foremost authorities in the scholarship of English literature.”

14. Deji Medubi - Morality versus Professional Oaths- *Ìdààmú Páàdi Mínkáílù* as a Case of Study (University of Lagos)

This is a fairly detailed blow-by-blow account of a Yoruba play entitled *Ìdààmú Páàdi Mínkáílù*, in which a priest hears a confession of a killer and refuses to break his silence on the matter, being a representative of God in relation to the killer/confessor. It is a discussion of the relationship between professional ethics and religious morality, and how they sometimes clash, to devastating consequences that would be considered neither ethical nor moral.

Part III Culture

15. Niyi Afolabi - The Real life of Jônatas Conceição (University of Texas, Austin)

The celebration of the living is an honor that the ancestral cannot fully appreciate. In the same vein, the departed must marvel at the futile frenetic wailings of well-wishers after a legend can no longer dance with the living. Professor Oyelaran’s unique contribution to African languages, linguistics, African studies, and the African Diaspora, now draws close to a golden jubilee. This introspective and retrospective study of the life and legacies of Jônatas Conceição, the “cultural intellect” of the Ilê Aiyê Afro-Carnival organization in Salvador-Bahia-Brazil, is not meant to be a comparative parallel for as the Yoruba puts it in their infinite proverbial wisdom, *ewe nla ko ni pada ru wewe*, that is, the magnanimous entity would never become the commoner. Yet. There are some parallels to be invoked for posterity. The term “Ilê Aiyê” (House of the World) is a linguistic puzzle and may well be the metaphoric point of entry into the crossroads of linguistics, culture, politics, and philosophy of language. This essay examines the contributions of Jônatas Conceição to the Ilê Aiyê organization from the viewpoints of his role as the Pedagogic Director and

Editor of the series, *Cadernos de Educação* (Educational Notebooks) as well his own creative and cultural productions. Ilê Aiyê celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2014. In echoing the same significance of the organization in the emblematic persona of Professor Oyelaran, this essay celebrates both cultural and intellectual entities.

16. Michael Afolayan - On the Futility of Examples and the Nuisances of Belief: A Pedagogy of Relevance (Southern Illinois University)

A concomitant acquisition of intellectual and social information within the confines of the classroom of Professor Oyèláràn has been the critical central stage of this essay. In acknowledging and honoring the contribution of Professor Ọ́lásopé Oyèláràn to my intellectual growth and mental development, I have identified specific experiences of my own which I consider to be of pedagogical relevance and cultural enrichment. Citing specific examples, in this chapter, for better or for worse, is a litany of lessons learned from Oyèláràn's Yoruba language/linguistics classroom with the conclusion that teachers, at any level, bring into the lives of their students lessons that transcend the realm of the four corners of the classroom.

17. Akande, A., O. Akinwale, and M. Ọ́lateju - Helping Nigerian Trado-medical Practitioners Overcome their Lexico-grammatical Problems (University of Leeds, Obafemi Awolowo University)

This paper highlighted how Nigerian trado-medical practitioners (TMPs) could overcome lexico-grammatical problems like the appropriate choice of words in English, spelling problems and proper use of tense and articles. By trado-medical practitioners is meant indigenous medical practitioners most of whom had little formal education. The data were from 30 itinerant TMPs at Ife City Stadium in Nigeria. These TMPs come from different parts of Nigeria and at times from other African countries and they move from place to place within and outside Nigeria. The data were collected using cassette recorders, oral interviews and observational notes. Their lexico-grammatical problems were revealed during interviews with them, through their interactions with their clients and writings on their labels. The paper recommended that for TMPs to overcome these problems, language training programs like workshops and seminars on sentence constructions, lexical options in sentences, interactive reading sessions and so on should be introduced to them.

18. Robert Anderson - Yorùbá Culture in Brazilian Culture (Winston Salem University)

It is clear even to the casual observer that elements of Yorùbá culture abound in contemporary Brazil, scattered among domains such as Candomblé religion, regional cuisine, daily folklore, popular arts, and "erudite" cultural production. Even though Yorùbá-speakers and their descendants were numerous in several urban centers, notably Salvador, they were and are still in the minority among the African-descended population of Brazil. Yet, by the mid-twentieth century, thanks both to its local prestige and to an internal diaspora of Yorùbá-influenced people, Yorùbá culture had spread beyond its earlier ethnic and regional contexts. It came to enjoy hegemony as a marker of Afro-Brazilian identity and even, one could say, to be "expropriated" by Brazilian national culture. The fate of Brazilian Yorùbá culture was not unique, since such nationalization had occurred with other Afro-Brazilian or regional practices and cultural complexes, for example, capoeira, samba, and *feijoada*. The goal of this essay is not to trace the trajectory of this diffusion and expropriation, but to examine some of its endpoints. It will include a close analysis of the 1984 film *Quilombo*, directed by Carlos Diegues. Diegues, one of Brazil's best known filmmakers, chose to retell the story of the seventeenth-century maroon state of Palmares with threads from the historical record and heavy doses of late Cinema Novo aesthetic. The latter included using both overt and subtle elements of Brazilian Yorùbá culture, including *orixá* iconography, ceremonial music, and Yorùbá language, to structure and adorn a narrative about a community that historians know to have been founded by and largely populated by descendants of West Central African Bantu peoples and Creole Brazilians. With supporting examples from the panorama of contemporary Brazil, the author seeks to characterize the use made of Yorùbá cultural elements in the imagining of both a Pan-Afro-Brazilian and general Brazilian national cultural identity. The essay concludes with implications for both Brazil and the Yorùbá Diaspora.

19. Karin Barber - Honouring Great Men- Language, Memorialisation and Popular voices in Early Yoruba Print Culture (University of Birmingham)

In the 1920s, five new weekly Yoruba-language newspapers, all with sections in English, were inaugurated in Lagos. Though the immediate trigger for this flurry of activity can be traced to the political interests of

the elite who owned and wrote the papers, they also saw themselves as contributing to a larger project of civic enlightenment, by convening a new, expanded public through print discourse. This chapter looks at one salient feature of this discourse: the continual acts of memorialisation intended to fix, preserve and magnify the reputation of key Lagos personalities. Print, even newsprint, was regarded as conferring permanence - a crucial means by which cultural heritage could be not only preserved, but also edited and augmented so as to serve as the basis for future development. Print in the Yoruba language served a dual purpose: it enabled the newspaper editors to address a larger, more popular reading public; and it stood for the whole of “traditional” culture awaiting reclamation and improvement through inscription and cultural editing. By honouring local pioneers – historians, preachers, political activists – the newspaper editors provided the reading public with vivid examples of the kind of public-spirited, patriotic activity they believed should be the basis of a future progressive and self-governing nation. The chapter explores the ways in which the elite domain of newspaper writing was shot through with texts and voices from popular street culture, as the elite sought to widen their constituency by writing in Yoruba and consciously addressing a less educated public.

20. Yeda Pessoa de Castro - Brazil, A Meeting of Sociocultural Extremes (University of Bahia, Brazil)

The Brazilian language and culture is an amalgamation of European, Latin American, and African influences. The African influence is much more significant than what has hitherto been acknowledged. The unique and most well-known aspects of / contributions to Brazilian culture by its African population have been referred to as uniquely Brazilian, without proper credit given to the African population from which they are derived. This population are descendants primarily of Bantu and West African slaves who, with various motivation and at different points in history, have spread out across the country, events which he traces for most of the article. He also argues that Africans have “opened and conquered space” in several areas of Brazilian society, notably music and festivals. Mention is given to how African-descended women played a unique role as well.

The Editors:

Ọlanikẹ Ọla Oriẹ, (Tulane University, New Orleans)
Akintunde Oyetade (SOAS, University of London)
Laide Sheba (Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife)

Ò JÒ GBỌN ỌLÁSOPÉ OYÈLÁRÀN: OJÍJÌNÌYÀN-ỌKÙNRIN

Pèlẹ níkí Ìbàdàn

Ẹ kú ọwọ níkí Ọyọ

Mọja ni Kétu ní kára wọn

Àgbàrá nìkàn níi kọjá lọ lójúde ọba láláìṣe kẹẹ pé

Lèmí ṣe sọ pé àlááfíà kẹẹ wà bí; ilé ní kọ?

Ọlásopé ọmọ Oyèláràn

Mo lẹẹ kú àfídí kalẹ nìbẹ un

Ọmọ Aráloyin

Ọmọkùnrin jangan-jangan, èkejì ẹkùn

Dìde fùúyà, Àrẹ́o Oyèdìjì

Kóo wá jó kósó

Igi orin so ságbàláà rẹ

Ni mo fi ní kẹ sí ọ wi pé kóo wá jó aro

Àgbà ló nilù àgbá

Ọlọbẹ ló yẹ ká kó ẹkọ tọ lọ, Ọlásopé ọmọ Àsà

Ni mo fi fààjìn dùndùn ọgànjó

Kọ àbàjà orin ewi mi bálàbà bálàbà

Aláyà nílá ló lè gbódó nílá

Sànmòrí alákwé

È máa gbòrò orin ewi mi

Bó bá n pẹga, tó n laruku

Èdè ewi orin akoni kò le yé ògbèrì bọrò

Ó n bẹ nilé ni, àbó ròde?

Torí bẹẹ wá mi, bẹẹ bá mi nílé

Òyìnbó Àjààwà ni mò wá polówó orin bá nílé

Nítorí akéwì tó bá lè fọ ohùn àgbà ọjẹ

Lòòrùn gangan ni kẹẹ jẹ kó wá perí akoni

Ọlásopé Àrẹ̀ò-Ògún ọmọ Oyèláràn

Ọwọ̀ ọ̀sì bí ọwọ̀ ọ̀tún ọ̀lẹ

Oyún baba ayo, iyùn baba àwọn ilẹ̀kẹ

Lóníí ni mo fẹ kan sáará àpónlé

Si ẹnì àyànmọ sà lẹ̀sà, ti sáará ọlá tọ sí

Ọmọ ọba ilú tó fọ́já èrùwà

Dégbàà ọ́já so idà kọ

LátỌyọ ilé wọlé Ògbómòşó

È dábò bá mi kókè ọmọ akin

Kò sí ibi tí kì í gba ògo, ọ̀lẹ nikan làyè wọn ò tiẹ gbà

Èdùmàrè kò ní dá irú Dímkà sáyé mọ

A-şe-ọmọ-ọba şànfààní

A-tóbi-má-ránró, irú rẹ ló kù táyé n fẹ

Ò lamọ nǵà sinmọ délé koko

Ẹ kú bíbí ire

Tòjò tẹ̀tẹ̀rùn ni Àrẹ̀ó n dá mi lórùn bí àsèsèrà ẹ̀wù

Oyédíjì má bá mi jà

N ò lówó ẹ̀bọ nílé

Má sàá mi lórẹ

Ọrẹ rẹ̀ kò ẹ̀é namọ

Àrẹ̀ó-Ògún, olórí pípé bí ẹ̀rọ iṣirò

Ẹ̀wà à-jí-tanná wò bí ọ̀kín

O kúu bíbí iré

A fẹ̀dè kọ̀mọ̀ lédè fọ̀hùn àrà ọ̀tò

Àwọ̀n ọ̀mọ ẹ̀ni tí kò gbọn

Àwọ̀n ọ̀mọ ẹ̀ni tí kò mọ̀ràn

Wọ̀n a ní ‘Ọlásopé gbóná janjan bí idàrọ

Kò ẹ̀é sún mọ, bóbá dorò, í í gbòde ni

Yèrèpè fi gbogbo ara kiwú ijà bámúbámú

Ẹ̀lẹ̀nu mímú bí ojú idà méjèjèjì’

Bí wọ̀n bá sọ bẹ̀tẹ̀ tán

Èmi a ní ‘irọ̀ lẹ̀ fi pa

Iná ò gbóná tewétewé

Iyèrèpè ò rorò tegbòtegbò

Ataare ò gbóná toun tèèpo
Èyàn tí kò bá gbọ tẹnu ẹgà
Ni yòò sọ pé ẹyẹ oko ní pàátó lásán
Ẹni tó bá súnmọ ẹyẹ oko
A sì kófà ohun tẹyẹ ní sọ
Àrẹ̀ó-Ogun ẹni ilú ní bèèrè’.
Lòòótọ́, ẹyin gẹdẹ ni wọn nílẹ Olú-omọ
Wọn kì í bínú sí ẹni ẹlẹni lásán
Wọn kò sí nídíí ọtẹ
Wọn kóriira tẹ̀h̀b̀lẹ̀kun bíi kínla
Níbi ká ti kékeré gbájú mọ̀sẹ ẹni
Èmi ní wá irú Oyédiji Àrẹ̀ó, n ò tii rí
Nílẹ wọn ọlẹ nikan làyè wọn ò tiẹ gbà
Ọlá tó so tó pé
Omọ Oyè tí ò kó ti Ifá ti
Tó tún nílù ifá silé
Tó ní ràn ká rí ká rí bí ọ̀sùpá ilàjì oşù
Èmi fara balẹ̀ wò ọ ní tìbú-tòòró
O dọgba délẹ̀ bí irù ẹşin
Kì í dédẹ̀ bínú, àfí bọmọ àlẹ̀
Bá fẹ ferù pe ara wọn lómọ
Ó dijọ tí iwọ̀fà bá fẹ şe bí omọ oyè lákòdi

Májèsín oníranù nikan ni Àkànbí í kojú ijáá sí
 Ó kóriíra ká máa ẗenu bọlẹ bíi kààsí-nńkàn
 Bọmọ bá lákíkanjú gidigidi, òfùà obì níí sọ wọn dà nígbèyìn
 A máa pakítímọlẹ tí ó ràn wọn lówó
 Gbogbo alátẹ ọrúnlá tí mo mò tó sípá
 Ó ti sọ wọn dí alátẹ ilẹkẹ níhà ọjà ilé wọn
 Àkànbí ò joyè àgbà tán, kó máa wá ẗenu bọlẹ láilẹ sòótọ mọ
 Ó ní a kì í lọba, ká tún lójo lákàtà ilẹ baba ẹni
 Kò sí jẹ ẗenu òtító bàpò
 Bó bá rádélébò tí n tọólẹ
 A yáa ní kì baba rẹ kó wá rán èyàn mú un nilé ọkọ
 Àkànbí tí wọn fẹ mú ò wínlẹ
 A ní pọ̀n-ún là á şéfọ̀n
 Bó bá lẹ şẹjẹ, kó şẹjẹ
 Bó bá lẹ şomi, kó şomi
 Èrín ijà bíńtín, aşoro ó gbámú bí iná lẹńtíríiki
 Lọşọ mọdíí gbàbọn lówó ojo
 Agbada gbóná tetí-tetí, iná lataare
 Ọmọkùnrin karan-karan bí irin ọkọ tuntun
 Ọkò ijà ẗenu ibọn jò
 Àní kì í dìtẹ, kò sí níbi dúkúú ni wọn ní bínú sí
 Şùgbọn láti kéreké rẹ lo ti kóriíra iyànje

Ìgbà náà ló sì ti ya aláḅènú à á sá sí
 Abiṣoore kẹ̀lẹ̀bọ́ bí Elédúmarè
 Àwọ̀n ọ̀rọ̀ ọ̀tẹ̀ ilú nìwọ̀ nìkan án kó lépá
 Lọ̀rọ̀ tí n̄ já tilé toko láyà bí àlàpà tó fẹ̀ wó
 Lọ̀jọ̀ tí gbogbo ilú ò lè wúkọ
 Òun nìwọ̀ nìkan dàyà kọ
 Ta la rí fọ̀mọ̀ ọ̀ba wé, o kú akín ín ẹ̀
 O já bí ọ̀gọ̀rùn-ún èyàn nílẹ̀ ejọ̀
 Lọ̀jọ̀ tí gbogbo ilú n̄ sọ̀fọ̀ ilẹ̀
 Oyédíjì, taa ni yó gbàgbé ajá tó mú yányán
 Tó feyín pa odidi ẹ̀fọ̀n nínú igbó
 Bó bá fún wọ̀n tà, yóó bùn wọ̀n jẹ
 Ilẹ̀ ọ̀fin, buba èdè nilẹ̀ Àrẹ̀ò
 Àlùjọ̀nù elédè tólórí pipe bí ẹ̀rọ̀ ị̀sirò
 Ngbọ̀ taa ló mọ̀ ibi ẹ̀yẹ̀ agbe
 Ti gbé rọ̀gbọ̀n aró dá ?
 Taa sì ló mọ̀ ibi ọ̀kín ti rósùn ẹ̀wà kùn?
 Èmi ò mọ̀ ibi tí Şàngó ti gbé móògùn ilàyà wáyé
 Afòótọ̀ inú rìn bí ọ̀şùpá
 Níbo loo gbé ti róògùn gbètu gbètu ẹ̀
 A lé mọ̀ rẹ̀rẹ̀ bí egúngún, oyún baba ayo
 Èrín ị̀jà bíntín, ọ̀fímọ̀ nàkàn-nàkàn yinmọ̀ nù

Wọn ò tó ọ lẹ̀rù, fifà ni kóo fà wọn lẹ̀wọ̀

Nítórí kan-in-kan-in méje kò tó aáyán

Orúkọ akin rẹ̀ pọ̀ gan-an ni

Igba iròrẹ̀ ò tó kan àparò

Amọ̀dẹ̀ májá, lẹ̀şomọ̀dii gbàbọ̀n lẹ̀wọ̀ ojo

Èrín ijà bintín, òkò ijà tẹ̀nu ibọ̀n jò

Pọ̀njú abẹ̀-lá, alábè-ládùn, aláyà bí ikọ̀

Èkùn ta gírì, gbera rẹ̀ nijà

Èyin ò rí àgbà tó bá yakin, tí ò sì kánjú kú

Làwọn ọ̀mọ̀ rere rọ̀gbàá yíká

Fẹ̀mi Adéwọ̀lé kòfẹ̀şò nílá, ara èso rẹ̀ ni

Eèra şe kẹ̀rẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀ gungi ọ̀sàn

Èmi mọ̀ pé kí í şe gbogbo àgbàdo tó o gbìn sí eşeşẹ̀ àlà ló di erín

Şùgbọ̀n mo bá ọ̀ jó lónií, ibi tójú rí ire dé yií nàá

Ibi ire ni ijinlẹ̀ orin, kiki itumọ̀

Ilá ló moríkì iyán

Gbẹ̀gírì ló moríkì ọ̀kà

Epo pupa ló moríkì àşáró

Èmi mọ̀ iwọ̀ àti ẹnì tí ẹ̀ jọ lẹ̀dí àpò pọ̀

Nígbà tí mo bá yín lágbo, mo dá músò

Níbi tẹ̀ẹ̀ gbé n runbẹ̀ nínú àwo tán-n-ganran

Níbi tẹ̀ẹ̀ gbéjọ̀ n fí panla *hàjòşì* àmàlà

Mo jọ n garùn wò yín láàrín agbo ni
 Awo Wándé Abímbólá Àdìgún ọmọ Ìrókò
 Mo jọ rí yín láàrín agbo ni, ẹ sì n runbẹ nínú àwo tán-ń-ganran
 Níbi tẹẹ gbé jọ n fí panla *hàjọ̀ọ̀sì* àmàlà
 Ìsòlá Akinwúnmi, ẹni tí wọn sù Ẹfúšetán Aníwúra lópó fún
 Mo jọ n garùn wò yín láàrín agbo ni
 Níbi tẹ ẹ gbé n runbẹ nínú àwo tán-ń-ganran
 Níbi tẹẹ gbé jọ n fí panla *hàjọ̀ọ̀sì* àmàlà
 Títí tó fí kan àwòrò ògún, Bádé Eléétú ọmọ Àjùwọn
 Mo jọ n garùn wò yín láàrín agbo ni
 Níbi tẹẹ gbé n runbẹ nínú àwo tán-ń-ganran
 Tó fí dórí wútù-wútù yáákí, Babalọlá Yáì
 Akéré má ju yànjẹ, tente bí èni àmàlà
 Ègùn baba tó ti ilé Ìdàòmì wá
 Afọpọ èdè yangàn fọ mọgà-mọgà
 Sopé Oyèélàrà, ọlọtan Òyìnbó, ọmọ afòkun sọ̀nà
 Èmi tún mẹnì tẹẹ jọ lẹ̀dì àpò pò
 Ìwọ àti Alàgbà Tùndé Olówóòkéré
 Wọn ò bí wọn níbejì ,wọn mọwọ ara wọn ni
 Ọsán le koko bá ọrun gbélé, pàpín baalẹ̀ filà
 Mo jọ n garùn wò yín láàrín agbo ni
 Níbi tẹẹ gbé n runbẹ nínú àwo tán-ń-ganran

È sì tún jọ n fí panla *hàjòòsì* àmàlà

Şùgbọn ẹ kú ara fẹra kù

Fada Ilésanmí àti Abòdúndé tí wọn ti dolòògbé

Àwọn ògiri táa fẹ fi ẹe ọlọjọjọ ọbẹ

Tí ajá ti wọlé gbé lọ

Àşé kì í yẹni yẹni kilẹ ó má sùú

Àşé àwáyèèkú ò sí , ọrun nikan làrèmabò

Nínú àwọn tí ẹ tún jọ sòde àsikò ọhún

Ayò Ọpẹfẹyítimí, Ọpẹ légélégé ọmọ Ọrúnmilà

Alàgbà tí n jẹ Bòdé Agbájé, ẹ dijọ sòde ọhún náà ni

Tó fí dé orí Láidé aya Sheba náà

Akoni-binrin, àbú Olúfẹ akọ èjì-ọmọ

Àşé bójú ò bá fọ ẹşé kì í şinà

Ibi tí ẹ sin ẹka-ẹkọ dé rẹé

È kú àbọye ọmọ

È kú àifàgbà bínú màjèsín

È kú àwẹ-yán-kàn-in-kàn-in

È sì máa wò ó o

Ire sí-hìn-in, ibi sọ-hùn-ún

Lorogùn ún ròkọ, kówó yalé bá wa gbé

Kómọ yalé bá wa jẹ

Tòfò-tàrùn kó máa gbénú ìgbẹ wò ọ

Agẹmọ kì í kú ní màjèsín

Àfi bó bá fopa rin.

Abíódún Ògúnwálé, PhD
Department of Linguistics and African Languages
Ọbáfémi Awólówọ University
Ilé-Ifẹ
Nigeria

CURRICULUM VITAE

OLÁSOPÉ OYÈDÌJÍ. OYÈLÁRÀN
2870 Deerwood Drive Winston-Salem,
North Carolina, 27103-3412
sopeoyelaran@earthlink.net
olasope@kzoo.edu
Residence. (336) 768-7920
Mobile: (336) 692-8660

EDUCATION

Ph.D. (Linguistics), Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA (1971)

Certificat de Formation des Orienteurs Pédagogiques (Applied Linguistics (French)), B. E. L. C 9, rue Lhomond, Paris V, France (1968)

Diplôme (Audio-visual Method in Language Teaching) CREDIF École Normale Supérieur de 92 St. Cloud, France (1968).

A.B. (Classics), Haverford College, Haverford, PA, USA. (1964)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL STUDIES

Certificate (Participant Training, International Program), Mississippi Consortium for International Development Jackson State University (1992)

Certificate (Corporate Strategy for Directors), Nigerian Institute of Management (1984)

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Linguistics—Phonology and syntax of African languages and French; folklore (particularly, Yoruba and Yoruba in the Diaspora); and literature in English, French and Yoruba.

CAREER PATH

- 2009: Consultant, International Programs and Language Treatment, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
- 2005–2007: Visiting Professor and Interim Director of International Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan
- 2000–2005: Member, the Advisory Board of the UNC Exchange Programs, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
- 2000 – 2005: Founding Director, Office of International Programs, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1999 –2000: Member, University SACS Task Force on Student Development, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1999 –2000: Member, Department of English and Foreign Languages SACS Committee on Instructional Technology, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1999 –2000: Member, Search Committee for a Director of the Diggs Gallery, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1999 –2000: Member, WSSU Coordinating Committee on "Leadership and Civil Rights, Retrospectives and Prospective Vision", Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1991–2005: Associate Professor (tenured 1995), Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1991– 2005: Coordinator of International Programs, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem

- 1991– 2005: Member, Univ. of North Carolina Univ. Council on International Programs, University of North Carolina
- 1991– 2005: Member, Advisory Council on the UNC-Exchange Programs, University of North Carolina
- 1991– 2005: National Security Education Programs (NSEP) Campus Representative, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1999: Project Director: “Retooling Education for Diversity” Workshop, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1997-1998: Project Director: “Lamidi Fakeye, African Traditional Master Wood Carver in Winston-Salem/Forsyth Country Schools”, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1996: Reporting Officer and Mentor, African-American Institute (AAI), South African Black Universities Faculty Skill Enhancement Program
- 1994-95: Reporting Officer, Fulbright-Scholar-in-Residence, Council on International Exchange of Scholars (CIES)
- 1993-1994: Project Director: Winston-Salem State University/Salem College Seven Session Seminar Series on “Women Across Cultures and Through the Ages”, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1990-1991: Associate Professor, Department of English and Foreign Languages, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem
- 1990-1991: Special Consultant on International Programs, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, conducted the UNC General Administration mandated internal audit of International Academic Programs and Activities for the institution.

- 1988-1990: Visiting Scholar in Languages, North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount, North Carolina
- 1982-date: Professor of African Languages & Literatures, Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University (Formerly, University of Ife), Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1982-1987: Chair, Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1981: Visiting Scholar, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- 1980-1981: Visiting Scholar, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), 2 rue de Lille, Paris, France.
- 1979-1982 Reader (Associate Professor), Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1977-1979: Chair, Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1974-1979: Senior Lecturer, Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1972-1974: Research Fellow I, Institution of African Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
- 1971-1972: Groundwork for the Establishment and staffing of the Department of African Languages and Literatures.
- 1969-1972: Research Fellow II, Institution of African Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

- 1968–1969: Instructor in Yoruba, Stanford University, Stanford, California
- 1967: Research Assistant, Computer Aids in Linguistics, Stanford University, Stanford, California

ACADEMIC SERVICES

- 1971-1983: Editor, *ODU, A Journal of West African Studies*
- 1976: Janet Stanley and Olasope O. Oyelaran eds., *Odu: Index 1964 - 1975*
- 1982 -1990 Member of Editorial Board, *Studies in African Linguistics*
- 1988-1990 Member of International Advisory Board, *Second Order*, (an African Journal of Philosophy)

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

- 1999-2000: Consultant, Carter G. Woodson Institute, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA
- 1999-2000: Member, Exhibition Committee, North Carolina Museum of Art
- 1993- date: Initiator and Coordinator of the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange on How Black Theatre Reflects Black Life.
- 1991–1997: External Examiner for the degree of Master of Arts in African Literature, University of West Indies, Mona Campus, Kingston 7, Jamaica.
- 1990-1991: Consultant and Member of the Advisory Board on "Project Speak Up," Pitt County Educational Foundation, Greenville, North Carolina.
- 1987-1988: Consultant and Member of the Advisory Board for the Project: Project "Mothers as First Teachers," Van Leer

Nigeria Educational Trust leaving Nigeria, An Affiliate of the Van Leer Foundation of the Netherlands.

- 1983-1988: Chairman, Board of Directors, University of Ife Press Ltd. (Budget: Capital NGN4,500,000; annual recurrent, NGN450,000).
- 1982-1984: Faculty and Staff Representation on the Governing Council (Board of Governors) of Obafemi Awlowo University.
- 1982/1983: Chief Examiner, West African Examinations Council, General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Advanced Level in Yoruba.
- 1977-1987 External Examiner at both Undergraduate and Postgraduate Levels and at various times for Linguistics, Languages and Literatures at: (i) University of Ibadan, (ii) University of Ilorin (iii) University of Lagos, and (iv) Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye.
- 1972-1975: Member, Committee of Vice-Chancellors (Presidents) of Nigeria Universities Joint Working Party on the Orthographies of Nigerian Languages.
- 1971: Member, Nigerian National Delegation to the Second Colloquium on Négritude, Dakar, Senegal, 12 - 18 April, 1971.

GRANTS AWARDED AND ADMINISTERED

- 2015-2016: NBTF International Colloquium, The Arcus Foundation, New York. \$50,000.00.
- 2005-2006: International Programs, WSSU Title III. \$105,000.00.
- 2005: Summer Student Support for Benin, North Carolina Consortium for International/Intercultural. \$10500.00 (\$1850 to one student from each of seven member institutions).

- 2005: Summer Student Support for Benin WSSU “Seminar on African & Diaspora Studies, WSSU Division of Life Long Learning. \$10,500.00.
- 2005: International Programs at WSSU (Capital Campaign Endowment Gift), Sara Lee Branded Apparel. \$350,000.00. Of this, WSSU used \$250,000.00 to attract a University of North Carolina matching grant in order to establish a tenure track faculty position for Portuguese and Lusophone Studies
- 2004: US-Brazil Higher Education Consortium Project (UNC Charlotte, Lead Inst.), FIPSE (USDOE). \$223,000.00.
- 2004-2005: International Programs, Title III. \$96,000.00.
- 2002-2003: International Programs, Title III. \$105,000.00.
- 2002: International Education Week, to screen “Ralph Bunche, an American Odyssey”, Univ. Center for International Studies. \$3,500.00.
- 1999–2000: Language/Learning Lab. Equipment, Title III. \$129,000.00.
- 1998: International Education at WSSU Endowment for Fellowships & Scholarship for Academic Experience, Abroad Atkins, Gleason, Carew Family. \$445,000.00.
- 1998-1999: “Retooling Education for Diversity”, a Collaborative Workshop with University Center of International Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, NC, Univ. Center for International Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill. \$3,205.00.
- 1997: “The Black Family on Stage” 1997 National Black Theatre Festival International Colloquium with multiple Pulitzer Award Winner August Wilson as Keynote Speaker, supported by The North Carolina Humanities Council. \$8,796.00.

- 1997-1998: “Lamidi Fakeye, African Traditional Master Wood Carve in Winston-Salem/ Forsyth County Schools”, The Art Council of Winston-Salem & Forsyth County. \$5,000.00
- 1996: Workshop: “Multi-ethnicity & Citizenship: Implication for Instruction in a Global Society”, (1) University Center for International Studies, UNC, Chapel Hill (\$4,920.00) and (2) Office of the Superintendent, Winston-Salem/Forsyth School (\$1,600.00)
- 1996: South African Black Universities Faculty Skills Enhancement Project, The African-American Institute, New York, N.Y. \$4,000.00
- 1994: Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence, Dr. Buckner Dogbe (Ghana) hosted by Winston-Salem State University (1994-95), funded by Council for International Exchange of Scholars. \$33,000.00 (CIES adopted proposal as model for other grant seekers.)
- 1993: International Workshops, Winston-Salem State University Contribution to the 1993 National Black Theatre Festival, Winston-Salem, NC. (August 1-7, 1993), Hanes Family Foundation. \$1,500.00.
- 1993: Winston-Salem State University/ Salem College Seven Session Seminar Series on “Women across Cultures and Through the Ages” (Feb.-March, 1994), North Carolina Humanities Council (Project # 94-13). \$3,574.00.

AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

- 1996: Curator of African American Art and Culture, North Carolina Black Repertory Company/*Winston-Salem Chronicle*.
- 1967-1968: Study Grant, The Ford Foundation (Administered by the Inst. of International Education), BELC, Paris, France

- 1966: Study Grant, The American Council of Learned Societies, Linguistic Institute, U. C. L. A., CA.
- 1965: Study Grant, the American Council of Learned Societies Linguistic Institute, The Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- 1965-1969: African Graduate Scholarship, US-UNESCO (Administered by the African-American Institute, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.
- 1964: Augustus Taber Murray Research Scholarship, Haverford College, Haverford, PA, Stanford University, Stanford, California.
- 1960-64: A. S.P.A. U., African-American Institute, 866 United Nations Plaza, N. Y. Haverford College.
- 1957-1958: Tuition and Board Scholarship, Ogbomosho Grammar School, Ogbomoşo, Oyo State Nigeria.

SUPERVISION EXPERIENCE

GRADUATE SUPERVISION

Ph.D.

- 1987: Olorode, Catherine Şikęade. "A Study of Translation Equivalence of Culture-Bound Lexical Items in Some English Rendering of Yoruba Texts", University of Ife, Ile-Ife.
- 1982: External Supervisor (Member of dissertation committee, as linguist, phonologist and Africanist): Warner-Lewis, Maureen Patricia. "The Yoruba Language in Trinidad", University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

M.A.

- 1988: Sheba, Janet Olaide. "Orin Aręmoşo ní Aarin Ifę ati Ijęsa ("Orin Aręmoşo, 'lullaby', among the Ife and Ijesa

Peoples), Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife

- 1986: Fagbörun, Joel Gbenga. "Wunreṅ Onitumo-Girama Ninu Ede Yoruba" (Yoruba Function Words), University of Ife, Ile-Ife
- 1985: Oluranti, Olukemi. "Aspects of Yoruba Language Borrowing: A Study of English Lexical Items Among Auto-Mechanics", University of Ife, Ile-Ife
- 1980: Qđetokun, Ademola. "The Yoruba Adverbial Clauses", University of Ife, Ile-Ife
- 1980: Bọlorunduro, Hezekiah Morakinyo. "The System of Tense and Aspect in Yoruba: A Critical Analysis", University of Ife, Ile-Ife
- 1980: Olowookere, Emmanuel Tunde. "Negation in Yoruba", University of Ife, Ile-Ife
- 1980: Ajamu, Oluokun. "Nouns and Nominalizations in Yoruba", University of Ife, Ile-Ife

ON-GOING RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

- (1) African Cross-currents in Atlantic Cultures
- (2) Issues in the Syntax of the Yoruba Languages

PUBLICATIONS

THESIS

Oyélàrán, Qlásopé O. (1971). Yoruba Phonology (Ph.D. Stanford), University of Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan

BOOKS

Oyélàrán, Qlásopé O. and Qládélé Awóbùlúyì. (2017). Iléwọ ikòwé Yorúbá Ọde-òní. Ilorin: Kwara State University Press.

EDITED BOOKS

- 01 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Kwame S. Dawes. Ed. (2015). *Gem of the Ocean: Essays on August Wilson in the Black Diaspora*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- 02 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Lawrence O. Adéwọ́lẹ́. (2007). *Iṣẹ̀nbáyé àti Ìlò Èdè Yorùbá*. Book Series No. 30. Cape Town, South Africa: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).
- 03 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O., Toyin Falola, Mokwugo Okoye, Adewale Thompson (1988). *Obafemi Awolowo, the end of an era?*, Obafemi Awolowo University Press Ltd., Ile-Ife: XV, 977.
- 04 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1977/78). *Seminar Series* No. 1, Parts I (iii, 1–353) and II (354-651; appendix), Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

- 01 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2016). “Ifá, Knowledge, Performance, the Sacred and the Medium,” in Jacob K. Olupona and Rowland O. Abiodun, eds. *Ifá Divination, Knowledge, Power, and Performance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 55-65.
- 02 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2015a). “Introduction” in Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Kwame S. Dawes. eds., ix-xiii.
- 03 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2015b). ‘Wọ́le Soyinka’s Trope, “Othello’s Domain, Immigrant Dominion,”’ in Ọ́lásopé O. and Kwame S. Dawes. eds., 155-158.
- 04 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2015c). “Òwẹ as a Property of the Yorùbá Language: a Prolegomenon,” in *Current Research in African Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Ọ́ladele Awobuluyi*, Ọ́lanikẹ́ Ọ́la Oriẹ, Johnson F. Ilọri and Lenzemo Constantine Yuka, eds, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 434-468.
- 05 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2007). “Oríki,” in Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Lawrence O. Adéwọ́lẹ́. 143-166.

- 06 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Michael Olu Adediran. (1997). "Colonialism, Citizenship and Fractured National Identity: The African Case," in *Citizenship and National Identity*. edited by T. K. Oommen (New Dehli: Sage Publication India Pvt Ltd. pp. 173–198.
- 07 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1988). "Ìtàn Ìdàgbàsókè Èkọ́ Ìmò Èdè Yorùbá láti Ìbèrẹ̀ Pèpẹ̀", *Àpérò ní Írántí J. F. Odúnjo, 1984 (Yoruba: A Language in Transition) Ìdàgbàsókè Èkọ́ Ìmò Ìjìnlẹ̀ Yorùbá*. J. F. Odunjo Memorial Lectures, Lagos, 16-58. (Translation: "Formal Study of the Yoruba Language from the Earliest Beginning").
- 08 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1975). "On Rhythm in Yoruba Poetry", in *Yoruba Oral Tradition* edited by Wande Abimbola (Ibadan University Press) chapter 18: pp. 701-755.
- 09 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1972). "Some Hackneyed Aspects of the Phonology of the Yoruba Verb-Phrase". In *The Yoruba Verb Phrase*, edited by Ayo Bamgbose (Ibadan University Press) ch. 8: 163-196.

CHAPTERS IN CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

- 01 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Ọ́ládiípò Ajíbóyè (2013). "The Challenge of Syntactic Categories: Focus on the Yorùbá Language". In Ọ́laníkẹ Ọ́lari Orié and Karen W. Sanders, ed. *Selected Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Sommerville, MA: Cascadia Proceedings Project, 39-51.
- 02 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2008). "In What Tongue." in *Òrìsà Devotion as a World Religion: The Globalization Yorùbá Religious Culture*. Jacob K. Olupona and Terry Rey, Eds. Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press, 2008: 70-83.
- 03 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1993a). "Anti-Focus in Yoruba: Implications for Creoles," in F. Bryne (ed.) *Focus and Grammatical Relations in Creole Languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins: 163–86.
- 04 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1993b). "Orisà in Aku Culture: Revalorization or Folklorization?" in L. O. Adewole (ed.) *Orisà Tradition* , Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.

- 05 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1991). "Language in Nigeria Towards the Year 2000". In *Symposium: Les Langues en Afrique à l'horizon 2000*, edited by J. -J. Symoens and J. Vandelinden, Institution Africain et Academie Royale, Bruxelles: 109-139.
- 06 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1985). "The Language of Àrò", in *Folklore and National Development* (Proceedings of the 4th Annual Congress of the Nigerian Folklore Society, held at the University of Ife, Ile-Ife, December 17 - 21, 1984), 561 – 573.
- 07 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1982). "Yoruba as medium of Instruction?", an expanded and reoriented version of 2(c) (1969), in *Yoruba Language and Literature*, edited by Adebisi Afolayan (University Press Limited), 300 - 312.
- 08 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1980). "Initial Literacy in Nigeria: Research and Implementation" in *Language in Education in Nigeria*, vol. 2 Proceedings of the Kaduna Language Symposium, October 30 - November 4, 1977, edited by Ayo Bamgbose (The National Language Center, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos), 90 - 99.
- 09 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1975). "Urbanisation, Migration and Language in Nigeria: a Note on Research". In *Proceedings of the Conference on Social Research and National Development in Nigeria*, September 28 - October 4, edited by E. O. Akeredolu Ale, NISER, University of Ibadan, 1976, pp 1106 - 1126.

PUBLISHED ARTICLES

- 01 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (Forthcoming). "Èṣù and Ethics in the Yorùbá World View," submitted to *Africa*.
- 02 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2018). "Oríta Borgu: the Yorùbá and the Bààtonu down the Ages." *Africa* 88 (2): 1-30.
- 03 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1993). "West African Languages: a Window on African American Contribution to the Uniqueness of south Carolina," *Research in Yoruba Language and Literature*, . 4: 10–35.
- 04 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1992a). "The Category AUX in the Yoruba Verb Phrase", *Research in Yoruba Language and Literature*,, 3: 58–86.

- 05 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1992b). "Tense/Aspect in Ọ̀wòrò, a Yorùbá dialect", *Research in Yoruba Language and Literature*, 2: 31–37.
- 06 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Janet Olayide Sheba. (1991a). "Prosodic Contribution to Rhythm in Yorùbá Poetry". In *In Honour of Professor Ayo Bamgbose (Ife African Languages and Literatures, 3)*, edited by F. A. Soyoye and L. O. Adewole, Obafemi Awolowo, University, Ile-Ife: 122-132.
- 07 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1991b). "Theoretical Implications of the Sources of the Syllabic Nasal in Yorùbá". *Research in Yoruba Language and Literature* 1:7-19.
- 08 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1988). "Language, Marginalization and National Development in Nigeria", *Ife Studies in English Language*, vol. 2, No. 1 (March 1988), 1-14. Also published in *Multilingualism Minority Languages and Language Policy in Nigeria*. E.N. Emenanjo. Ed. Agbor: Central Books Limited. 1990.
- 09 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1987). "Ọ̀nà Kan Kò Wọ̀jà: Mọ̀fọ̀lọ̀jì Yorùbá", *Yorùbá* (Journal of the Yorùbá Studies Association of Nigeria) New Series . 1: 25-44. (Tr.: "Alternative Explanations in Yorùbá Morphology").
- 10 Morakinyo, Olufemi and Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1983). "The Translation Factor in the Cross-Cultural Utilization of Personality Questionnaires", *Nigerian Journal of Psychiatry* vol. 2, 5-12.
- 11 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1982a). "If Yoruba was a Creole", *Caribbean Journal of African Studies*, 2/3; also *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria*, 1: 89-100.
- 12 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1982b). "On the Scope of the Serial Verb Construction in Yoruba." *Studies in African Linguistics*, vol. 13, No. 2, 110-146.
- 13 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1980). "Aperçu contrastif Yoruba-français: phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe". *Bulletin des études africaines* vol. 1, No 1, 71-89.
- 14 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1978). "Linguistic Speculations on Yorùbá

History", Department of African Languages and Literatures Seminar Series, No. 1, Part III (University of Ife), 624-651.

- 15 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Ọ́labiyi Babalọ́la Yai. (1976). "Quelques Principes pour l'élaboration d'un inventaire de symboles communs aux langues du Dahomey, Ghana, Haute Volta, Niger, Nigéria et Togo". (Communication présentée au séminaire régional de normalisation et d'harmonisation des alphabets des langues dahoméennes et avoisinantes, Université du Dahomey, Cotonou, Dahomey, 21-23 Aout, 1975). *Bulletin de la Commission Nationale Dahoméenne pour l'UNESCO*, Numéro Spécial, 27-36.
- 16 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1976) "Towards a Yoruba Standard", *Yoruba*, No. 2, 1-19.
- 17 Wande Abimbola, Wande & Olasope O. Oyelaran O. (1975). "Consonant Elision in Yorùbá", *African Language Studies*, vol. XCI, S. O. A. S. London, 37-60.
- 18 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1973). "Yorùbá Vowel Co-occurrence Restrictions", *Studies in African Linguistics*, vol. 4, No. 2 (July 1973), 155- 182, Abstracted in *Language and Language Behaviour Abstracts* vol. VIII, No. 2.
- 19 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1973). "On Yoruba Orthography", *Yoruba* (Journal of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria) vol. 1, 30-61.
- 20 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1971). "Phonetic Realisation of Phonological Tone Registers", *Tone in Generative Phonology* (ed. Ian Maddieson) Research Notes, vol. 3, Parts 2 & 3 (Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan), 59-76.
- 21 Oyèláràn Ọ́lásopé O. (1969). "Yorùbá as a medium of Instruction". (Contribution to a week-end Seminar on Yoruba Language and Literature, Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, December 13-16, 1969) *Nigeria Magazine*, September/November 1969), 542-547.
- 22 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1967). "Aspects of Linguistic Theory in Firthian Linguistics", *Word* 23, 1-2-2, 428-452.

TRANSLATION/MONOLINGUAL VERSION OF ENGLISH ORIGINAL

Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (2016). *Ìlẹ̀wó Ìkòwé Yorùbá Òde-òní*. This Yorùbá monolingual version was commissioned in February 2015, and is based on *Modern Yorùbá Writing Manual*, prepared and copyrighted by © Yoruba Cross-Border Language Commission. The monolingual version is, as of June 2016, in the hands of the Commission, after a painstaking revision which took cognizance of observations and suggestions by members of the Commission and other language professionals to whom the Commission submitted the monolingual version. (See #3 under Books , above.)

REVIEW

Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. and R. L. Watson. (1991). "Review of Africanisms in American Culture", edited by Joseph Halloway. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press." *International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 24: 168-175.

TECHNICAL REPORT

- 01 *Winston-Salem State University: Status Report on Internationalization*. (1991). Submitted by Dr. Cleon F. Thompson, Jr., Chancellor, Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to the General Administration of the University of North Carolina. (55pp.)
- 02 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1980). "YORÙBÁ" A Chapter in *Glossary of Technical Terminology for Primary Schools in Nigeria* (Trial Edition), Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos; pp207 - 266; Final version of the report, based on the September 1981 workshop submitted to the National Language Center, November, appeared (1987) as "Glossary in Yoruba", in *A Vocabulary of Primary Science and Mathematics in Nine Nigerian Languages*. Vol. 1:95 - 147.

CONFERENCE/SMINAR PAPERS

- 01 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (2016). "Access, Social Justice, and Citizenship," presented to The Outlook Club Monthly Meeting, Hodge House 136 Thompson Street, Kalamazoo, MI 49006-4537, Tuesday, March 08, 2016.

- 02 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2013). "Ethical Subversion, or the Underbelly of Proselytization," presented to The Outlook Club, (founded for the sole purpose of the exchange of ideas by leading citizens on any subject interesting to them in a forum for intimate and unpublicized discussion), April 09, 2013, Hodge House, Kalamazoo College, 136 Thompson St., Kalamazoo, MI 49006-4537.
- 03 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2011). "African Presence in the Americas: Broad Stroke Distinguishing Markers," presented to The Outlook Club, (founded for the sole purpose of the exchange of ideas by leading citizens on any subject interesting to them in a forum for intimate and unpublicized discussion), Feb. 08, 2011, Hodge House, Kalamazoo College, 136 Thompson St., Kalamazoo, MI 49006-4537.
- 04 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2008a). "Egúngún at Home and in the African Diaspora: a Veritable Window on Yorùbá Cosmology," Colloquium: "Masks, Masquerade & Marionettes," April 9-10; 2008 Ifẹ̀ International Festival of the Arts, Institute of Cultural Studies, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ilé-Ifẹ̀, Nigeria.
- 05 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2008b). "Imperatives of the Mission of the Arts Council," Powerpoint illustrated remarks presented at the October 1, 2008 Annual Meeting of the Arts Council of Greater Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
- 06 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2011). "The Intension of 'Yorùbá Pantheon of 401 Òrìṣà.'" Invited to and presented at the conference "Àgùdà: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Benin," École cu Patrimoine Africain (EPA), Porto Novo, Republic of Benin, Nov. 26-30, 2001.
- 07 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. and Victor Manfredi. (2000). "Weak focus-movement islands in Yorùbá," 31st Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Boston University, 2 - 5 March, 2000.
- 08 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (2000). "Yorùbá as a Predicative Language," a view of the lexicon and syntax of the Yoruba language for machine translation; African Language Project, Spring 2000 Workshop, University of Maryland Eastern Shore, 14-15 April, 2000.
- 09 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1999a). "Oríta Borgu, from the Horse's Mouth," Colloque International "Borgu 98," Parakou and Nikki, Benin, April

- 6–9, 1999. The paper use language and folklore data to argue for a pre-Islamic non Afro-Asiatic antiquity of the Baatonu-Yoruba contact. (Published 2018: “*Oríta* Borgu: the Yorùbá and the Bààtonu down the Ages.” *Africa* 88 (2): 1-30).
- 10 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1999b). “In What Tongue?” Conference on the Globalization of the Yoruba Religious Culture. Department of Religious Studies and African-New World Studies, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, December 9–12, 1999. (Published in Jacob K. Olupona and Terry Rey, Eds, 2008).
- 11 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1996a). “Issues in the Verbal Predicate of African American Vernacular English,” presented at the 27th Conference on African Linguistics, University of Florida, Gainesville, 29-31 March, 1996.
- 12 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1996b). “Reading Linguistic Background and Instructional Strategy from Student Writing,” presented at the 59th Anniversary of the College Language Association Conference, hosted by Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 10-13 April, 1996.
- 13 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1996c). “Literature and Democracy,” Duke University, Center for International Studies Workshop on *Africa in the twenty-first century*, 22-23, March 1996.
- 14 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1994a). “Vowel Mutation and Syllable Phonology,” paper presented at the 25th annual conference on African Linguistics, Rutgers University, 25-27 March, 1993.
- 15 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1994b). “Yorùbá Echoes in the Culture of the Southern United States”, contribution to the symposium, *Yoruba Art: a Living Tradition in Yorubaland and Beyond*, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC, April 9, 1994.
- 16 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1994c). “Verbs and Complements from the Perspectives of ‘Light Verbs’ in Yoruba”, paper to the *Workshop on Comparative Syntax Niger-Congo and Germanic Languages*, University of Leiden, June 1–3, 1994.
- 17 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1991). "Non-Mainstream English Mother

- Tongue and Education in North Carolina". Presented at the conference "Multicultural Education: Breaking the Cycle of Bigotry", October 11 - 12, 1991, North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina.
- 18 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1990a). "Syllable Phonology and Vowel Elision in Yoruba", 21st Conference on African Linguistics, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, 11 - 14 April, 1990.
- 19 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1990b). "Africanisms in African-American Culture", Ibid.
- 20 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1989a). "Morphological and Syntactic Constraints on Verbal Auxiliaries in Yorùbá", presented at the Workshop on Comparative Syntax in Niger-Congo, University of Tilburg, The Netherlands, June 2 - 3, 1989.
- 21 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1989b). "Of Roots and Transplants: The Case of Yoruba Institutions in the Krio Culture." Proceedings of the conference, "Cultural Vibrations: Transformations and Continuities in the Yoruba Diaspora", April 27 - 28, 1989 Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
- 22 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1989c). "Ọ̀wórò, an Instance of Verb Second in Niger-Congo?", presented at the Workshop on Comparative Syntax in Niger-Congo, University of Tilburg, The Netherlands, June 2 - 3, 1989.
- 23 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1987). "Adeboye Babalola, Akómọ̀lédè Àrìkàwé," to appear in Omotayo Olutoye (ed.).*Papers in Honour of Adeboye Babalola*, Macmillan.
- 24 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1986). "Alveolar Nasal in Yorùbá: A bad dream that refuses to dissipate", 17th West African Languages Congress, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- 25 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1985). "Theoretical Implications of the Sources of the Syllabic Nasal in Yorùbá", 16th Conference on African Linguistics Yale University.
- 26 Oyèláràn, Ọ́lásopé O. (1983a). "Implications of Lydia Cabrera's Anago", paper presented at the Second International Congress of the

Orisa Tradition and Culture, Bahia, Brazil.

- 27 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1983b). "Sources and Status of the Syllabic Nasal in Yoruba", Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife, 1983 Seminar Series 1.
- 28 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1980). "Tí 'bí' bá jé ọ̀rọ̀-orúko lóòótó?" Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife Seminar 1970/80, 28 January, 1980. (Tr. "If bí is indeed a Noun?").
- 29 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1978a). *Ìsẹ̀mbáyé àti Ìlò Èdè Yorùbá*, a collection of selected works on Yorùbá Language and Tradition. University Press Limited. (Translation: *Tradition and the Use of Yoruba Language*).
- 30 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1978b). "Notes on Yoruba Culture in Krio Setting", Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife, Seminar Series 1977/78.
- 31 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1977). "On Vowel Change in West African Languages", 8th Conference on African Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles.
- 32 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1976a). "Èyánrò-iṣe Yorùbá". Presented at the Seminar of the Egbé Akómọlédè Yorùbá (The Yoruba Teachers' Association of Nigeria) held at St. Leo's Teacher Training College, Abeokuta, 13th August, 1976, (Tr. "Verbal Determinants in Yorùbá").
- 33 Oyèláràn, Qlásopé O. (1976b). "Oríkì", paper read at the symposium sponsored by the Yoruba Studies Society, Department of Linguistics and Nigeria Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, (To appear in *Ìsẹ̀mbáyé àti Ìlò Èdè Yorùbá*, Oyèláràn ed., (University Press Limited).

BROCHURES OF INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM PUBLISHED

- 2019: Coordinated with James Pope, "The Future of Black Creative/Performing Arts as Liberatory Practice", the National Black Theatre Festival "International Colloquium Series," a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.

- 2017: “The Black Theatre: Reflections of Citizenship, Access, Freedom and (Criminal) Justice”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 2015: “Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in Black Theatre and Performance”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 2013: “Theatre in Black Life / Black Life in Theatre: Form, Space, Audience, Function”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 2011: “Black Theatre and the Critical Canon: a Call to the Culture Bearers”, , the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 2009: “The Voice of Women in Black Theatre”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 2007: “Black Theatre Across the Continent and the Ages: an International Symposium in Honor of August Wilson and dedicated to the Memory of Larry Leon Hamlin.
- 2005: “Black Theatre: Gender and Sexuality”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 1999: “Women in Black Theatre”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 1997: “The Black Family on Stage”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.
- 1995: “The Black Theatre: a Stage Beyond National Boundaries” , the National Black Theatre Festival

“International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.

1993: “Dialogue with the Theatre in Africa in and the Caribbean”, the National Black Theatre Festival “International Colloquium Series,” a Forum for Exchange Beyond Boundaries.

MEMBERSHIP OF PROFESSIONAL BODIES

- 2008 - date: Member, Outlook Club Kalamazoo, Michigan
- 2010 - date: Founding member, Àjọ Idàgbàsókè Àjàáwà
- 1992: Member, New York Academy of Sciences
- 1991: Member, South East Regional Seminar on African Studies
- 1990- date: Member, Modern Language Association
- 1980– 2000: Member, Linguistic Association of Nigeria
- 1975-1990: Member, Phonetics Society of Japan
- 1971: Member, Yoruba Studies Association
- 1969-1996: Member, The Linguistic Society of America
- 1966-1991: Member, The West African Linguistic Society (Member: Elections Committee, 1974-76; Council, 1978 - 1980).

COMMUNITY SERVICE

- 2013-2016: Member, Board of Directors of Michigan Festival of Sacred Music, based in Kalamazoo, Michigan.
- 2009-2016: Member Institutional Review of Borgess Medical Center, Kalamazoo, Michigan

- 2006- 2013: Member, Board of Directors of the Kalamazoo Institute of the Arts
- 1998- 2004: Member, St. Philip's Advisory Committee.
This is committee of experts set up to advise the Salem Congregation and Old Salem, Incorporated on the interpretation of evidence for restoration of Historic St. Philips Moravian Church
- 1998 – 2002: Member, Board of Directors, Future Focus 2020
- 1997-2003: Member, Piedmont Triad Council for International Visitors Member, Board of Directors, 19972000 (I relinquished my board membership as my responsibilities
- 1996 -2005: Winston-Salem Sister City Commission
- 1995 – 2000: Member, Winston-Salem South African Initiative Committee
- 1992–1998: Member, Advisory Board to Diggs Gallery
- 1973-1975: Vice-Chairman, Ogbomòṣṣò Local Government Nine-Member Management Committee (1963: Population 450,000

LANGUAGES

Yorùbá, English, French, Spanish, German, and Latin

ỌLÁSOPÉ O. OYÈLÁRÀN: TESTIMONIALS

Professor Ọlásopé Oyèláràn has had a distinguished career in academia. We have decided to allow some of his colleagues to recount their experiences with Sope Oyelaran (as he is popularly known). For the editors, he was the most important influence in shaping our linguistic, literary and cultural training at the University of Ifẹ (now Ọbafẹmi Awolọwọ University).

Ayo Bamgboṣe, Emeritus Professor of Linguistics, University of Ibadan

Ọlasope O. Oyelaran- A quintessential linguist and cultural icon

On the occasion of the presentation of a well-deserved Festschrift to Professor Ọlasope Oyelaran, it gives me great pleasure to pay a tribute to him in recognition of his contributions to scholarship and teaching, particularly in Yoruba linguistics.

With an academic career spanning a total of 38 years during which he made tremendous contributions in teaching, research and administration, Sope Oyelaran distinguished himself in the positions he held both in his native country, Nigeria, as well as in the USA where he began a new academic career in 1990.

Sope is at home in syntax and phonology and his numerous publications reflect his competence in both fields. Of particular importance is his use of dialectal evidence in support of his analysis. This he has done long before it became fashionable to do so. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was called upon to be an external supervisor of an excellent dissertation on the Yoruba Language in Trinidad. For Sope, Yoruba in the homeland and in the Diaspora are simply a continuum bound together by culture and history. Indeed, he is a worthy cultural ambassador from the homeland to the people of Yoruba descent in the Diaspora.

Sope is one of the pioneers in the use of Yoruba for description and teaching of Yoruba language and linguistics. Apart from teaching Yoruba linguistic classes in Yoruba, he has supervised at least two M.A. theses which are entirely written in Yoruba. He also has published papers written

in the medium of the language. This is, of course, in addition to many other publications in English.

One unmistakable aspect of Sope's academic disposition is that he does not mind standing alone on an issue. In fact, I can simply say that "he dares to be a Daniel". I remember a UNESCO Conference held at Cotonou in the Benin Republic in 1975 which was asked to consider proposals for the harmonization and standardization of alphabets in some countries in the West African sub-region, particularly Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger, Togo and Benin. Because Yoruba is spoken and written slightly differently in some of these countries from the way it is done in Nigeria, the meeting had to review the use of dotted letters for open vowels and one consonant which is the convention in Nigeria as opposed to the use of the Africa Alphabet based on the International Phonetic Alphabet, which is already the convention for writing Yoruba and other languages in the Benin Republic. Sope argued stoutly in favor of changing the convention in Nigeria to the Benin practice, not minding the arguments about superiority of numbers of users of the language in Nigeria or the likelihood of educational authorities in Nigeria rejecting the imposition of an alien convention.

It is interesting to note that Sope continues to do academic work even long after his formal retirement as an academic. Not only does he have on-going research activities, he recently demonstrated his continuing interest in Yoruba studies by undertaking a translation of a Yoruba Writers' Manual (A Guide for writing Yoruba correctly by writers) which was prepared by the Yoruba Cross-Border Language Commission of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN). I confirm that it is an excellent piece of work, in spite of some critical comments I made on it when it was circulated for discussion.

I congratulate Sope Oyelaran on the appearance of the Festschrift in his honor. I understand that the book had been in preparation for quite a while. So I congratulate Nike Orié for giving the final push that has made the publication a reality. Sope, enjoy this book in your honor. We are proud of you.

Ọlabiyi Yai, UNESCO's Chairperson of the Executive Council

Olasope O. Oyelaran—An Integral Scholar and Intellectual

Wọ́n n: 'ba a ba ti ko ni
 beṣe ni a a k ni?
 j nle ohu enu ifa lo ye k n fi ki oṣe mi

Ọlǎ sọpé Àkànbẹ̀ omọ Oyèlǎ ràn.
 Ọgbèrosùn lo ni:

igbo yii wọn o jọgbo a gbé b ni
 ọdàn yi o jọdàn bi mo wà.
 Ba a ba buri buri, ta a bo re re padé,
 wọn a ya jeni a bi ni bi lo.
 A dfa fọ re re eni
 a bù folùkù eni.
 Iya eni
 wọn èè fifa a han ni
 bàba eni
 wọn èè fifa a han ni
 ọre nikan lo fifa hàn mi.
 Ohun t mo ba r ,
 n o ma a bo re re mi je.
 Olùku dàdùnjù.

In the decades 1970 to 1990, very few colleagues, friends and foes alike, can claim not to have benefitted from Ọlǎ sọpé’s knowledge of the African and European humanities, as suggested in the Yoruba expression “fifa a han ni” in the words of wisdom of ọgbèrosùn quoted above. Some who claim to know him trace his brilliant interventions to his training in the best universities of the extreme occident. I, for one, know better. I shall expose my friend by saying that the occident is an accident in the scholarly history of Ọlǎ sọpé, as is usually the case for distinguished African intellectuals with a “blackground”.

My friend was born in the choice place—a palace—where one can imbibe Yoruba language, culture and ethics. He dined and wined, or rather, to tell the truth, he “amalaed” and “emued » with the elders and the best intellectuals in the Yoruba context: Babala wo, Iya lo r sa, On ja la, On ra ra...etc. When he decided to study the language and culture of the colonial master, he unsurprisingly went beyond Shakespeare, Milton and Molière, and opted for Xenophon, Sophocles, Plato and the rhetorics of Cicero—: Yoruba classics and European classics combined. From this critically endorsed double heritage, Ọlǎ sọpé gained a gift rarely encountered in linguistics: the spirit of language. As if this were not enough, this rare bird forayed into the lands of ecology, by immersing himself in agriculture and forestry studies.

Ọlǎ sọpé is an integral scholar and intellectual.

He is rigorous but not rigid. He is a generous and demanding teacher and colleague; a boulimic reader and scrutinizer. Endowed with a rare analytic acumen, 'Sopé will track down the relevant linguistic feature to the minutiae of the unit under consideration and he will unmask the devil absconded in its details. En route, this modern serendip will make you co-author of a copernican revolution in yoruba studie ; verbi gratia: that our language has many more vowels than we were made to believe, that « owe", inadequately translated as proverb, may well be a unit of linguistic analysis than a mere figure of style, that Yoruba, in all likelihood, is a creole....etc.

On that register, I could speak until tomorrow 'mo lè se bayii ọ̀ᵗᵗᵗ'. But I was, I now realize, somehow punitevely, asked to contribute a short paragraph. I therefore shall stop here before I incur, if undeservedly, the wrath of this humble scholar. O tan lénu.....

Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ sopé, as you never tired to tell me:

oorùn to ku taᵗᵗᵗ sọ̀ᵗᵗᵗ saᵗᵗᵗ

and i do concur:

ubi amici, ibi opes.

Ọ́mọ̀toyẹ̀ Olorode, Professor of Plant Science and Zoology, Ọ́labisi Ọ́nabanjọ̀ University

Concerning Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ Sopé Oyèlárán

Although we grew up together in the Ogbomọ̀sọ̀ in the 1950s, it was at the University of Ifẹ̀ in the early 1970s that Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ Sopé and I became very intimate at private and public levels. As a growing young man, Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ Sopé was, for many of us, a role model at Ogbomọ̀sọ̀ Grammar School. For over twenty years, (with the exception of a chance meeting at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in the summer of 1966), I did not have the privilege of the mentorship that *Egbon* Sopé gave me and, in deed many of us, in the last four decades. At the University of Ifẹ̀, in the early 1970s, Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ Sopé was one of the eleven founders of the famous *Ifẹ̀ Dialogue Committee* and its more radical successor, Socialist Forum Collective. In these organizations, faculty and students forged the enduring consciousness that enabled us, as a collective body, to intervene definitively in the mass movements of Nigeria that confronted imperialism and its local collaborators since then! At all levels of private and public engagements, Ọ́lᵗᵗᵗ Sopé has always been a committed and organic intellectual, a humanist

and scholar *par excellence*, a collectivist, and a confident Africanist—an *Omoluabi!*

Oladele Awobuluyi, Emeritus Professor of Linguistics, University of Ilorin, Adekunle Ajasin University

Tribute to Professor Oḷasope O Oyelaran

Sope and I first met in the US. The exact date and place of that meeting I now no longer remember well. What I still remember well, however, is that he told me he was studying Linguistics at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. I then thought to myself what a lucky fellow he was, to be in Stanford University studying Linguistics under Professor Joseph H Greenberg, the great scholar known worldwide for the classification of African languages! Such luck very narrowly eluded poor me at Columbia University in the City of New York, as Professor Greenberg decided to relocate to Stanford University from there just when I was getting started on my own study of Linguistics there.

When we next met, we were both already back home in Nigeria. I was at the University of Ibadan and he was at the then University of Ife, now known as Oḅafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. We met at various conferences and seminars, including the historic 1969 Weekend Seminar on Yoruba Language and Literature in Ile-Ife, where the decision was taken to form the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria (YSAN), so as to further establish Yoruba as an academic discipline and a viable and respectable degree subject. Ever jovial and sociable, he was always ready with a joke and an accompanying apt Yoruba proverb, especially in company with Wande Abimbola, Oḷabiyi Yai, and the regrettably now deceased Akinwumi Iṣola. Of all his valuable contributions at, or arising from, those conferences and seminars, my favorite by far till today is the one dealing with consonant deletion in the Oyo dialect of Yoruba, which he did jointly with Wande Abimbola. The contribution did not only shed bright light on coalescence (by assimilation) in the Yoruba language; for me in particular, it also helped to lay permanently to rest the previously vexed issue of the syntactic or morphological nature and origin of the vowel ‘i’ bearing high tone in *Ó ṣòro iṣe*. ‘It is difficult to do.’

Our most recent and most productive meeting relates to the on-going work of the Yoruba Cross-Border Language Organisation, one of the Commissions of the African Academy of Languages, which is itself a Commission of the African Union. The mandate given to the organization is for it to develop and promote Yoruba for official use in education,

governance, mass communication, etc. within its native communities in Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. By default it fell to my lot to overhaul the orthography of the language, together with other things relating to how it is actually written and used today. Having done the work in English almost completely unaided, I was to also translate it to Yoruba again unaided. When Sope heard that by chance, he promptly volunteered to translate it to Yoruba himself. And not only did he do so, he also, together with the late Abiqla Irele, found a publisher for the work. Thus, that the work is on the market today is due to him rather than to any one of the founding members of the organization.

Because none of our universities here in Nigeria would, on their own, see it as their patriotic duty to fully empower Yoruba for the twenty-first century by consciously creating thousands of new indigenous words and terms for it for use in teaching each and every subject currently taught in universities all over the world, I recently took it upon myself as the current Chairman of the organization to approach one such university and urge it specifically to undertake that kind of project for the language and the Yoruba people as a whole. When I needed help in selling my no doubt 'strange and surprising' idea to the university concerned, Sope once again came to my aid with enthusiasm, this time together with Ayo Bamgboṣe and Sammy Beban Chumbow, a Cameroonian who once worked with me here in Nigeria. In short, Sope is and has been my committed and ever ready right-hand man in that organization.

PART I:
LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

CHAPTER ONE

OYÈLÀRÀN ON THE SUB-CLASSIFICATION OF YORÙBÁ VERBS

L.O. ADÉWOLÉ
QBÁFÈMI AWÓLÓWÒ UNIVERSITY

Establishing Syntactic Categories in Yorùbá

In Oyèláràn (1976), the author presents what he regards as the criteria that could be used in classifying words into categories. Meaning, according to him, is one of the criteria used by some grammarians to classify words into categories and this is why they say that a noun is the name of any person, place or thing. But, in his opinion, any grammarian who subscribes to the definition above will find it very difficult to classify the following words as nouns:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|--------------|
| (1) | (a) Ọ̀pọ̀ | ‘many/cheap’ |
| | (b) Ọ̀wọ̀n | ‘dear’ |
| | (c) Íyà | ‘suffering’ |

Although, none of these words is either the name of a person, place or thing, each of them can be used as a noun as follows.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (2) | (a) Ó ra ojà nàà ní ọ̀pọ̀ | |
| | He buy good the in cheap | |
| | “He bought the goods cheap” | |
| | (b) Ó ra ojà nàà ní ọ̀wọ̀n | |
| | He buy good the in dear | |
| | He bought the goods dear (i.e. “the goods were expensive”) | |
| | (c) Íyà n jẹ́ é | |
| | Suffering is eating him | |
| | “He is suffering” | |

In (2a) and (2b), *òpò* (“many/cheap”) and *òwón* (“dear”) are objects of the preposition *ní* while *ìyà* (“suffering”) is the subject of the sentence; thus, they can be classified as NP or N. Oyèláràn (1976:1) wonders again how one can classify (3a) and (3b) as different categories using meaning as the criterion:

(3a)		(3b)	
Òpò	“many”	pò	“many”
Òbùn	“to be dirty”	dòtí	“to be dirty”

The other criterion is the one based on phonology for the classification of Yorùbá words. With this criterion, it may be claimed that Yorùbá verbs are usually monosyllabic (Oyèláràn 1976:2). This criterion will classify such words as *gbó* (“to hear”) and *wá* (“to come”) as verbs, while at the same time excluding all the italicised words in (4):

- (4) (a) Ó n *wàhàlà* mi
He PROG bother me
“He is bothering me”
- (b) Olówó *geḽeḽe*
Rich stay idle
“The rich stays idle”

Another claim, while using phonology as a criterion, could be that a vowel does not occur at the initial position of a Yoruba verb. Even if this is true, it does not follow that all words with consonants at their initial positions are verbs, as shown by the words *kí* (“that”) and *kìniún* (“lion”). It can also not be said that all vowel initial words are nouns. The following are vowel initial words which are not nouns – *àfi* (“except”) and *àti* (“and”).

A morphological criterion, in Oyèláràn’s (1976:2) opinion, also cannot be used to classify Yorùbá words into categories, especially as Yoruba does not have inflectional morphemes to mark gender, tense and case. Number and person are only marked in the language in pronouns.

The function of a word in a sentence is the only criterion that Oyèláràn (1976:4) says can be successfully used to classify Yorùbá words into categories. With this criterion, any word that can serve as either the subject or the object of a sentence or the object of a preposition, among other criteria, is a noun. With this criterion, all the italicised words in (5) are nouns.

- (5) (a) *Olú ra işu*
 Olú buy yam
 “Olú bought yams”
 (b) *Mo rí Olú ní ojà*
 I see Olú in market
 “I saw Olú in the market”

In (5a), *Olú* is the subject of the sentence while *işu* (“yam”) is the object. In (5b), *ojà* (“market”) is the object of the preposition *ní*.

The Sub-classification of Yorùbá Verbs by Awobuluyi (1978)

There is no denying the fact that Awobuluyi (1978) subscribes to the argument of function that Oyèláràn (1976) claims is the most appropriate criterion for classifying Yorùbá words into categories. Awobuluyi (1978:4) states in part that:

“The only proper way to classify Yorùbá words for syntactic purposes is by the functions that they actually perform in sentences.”

He then goes on to define a noun as any word functioning as the subject of a verb or the object of a verb or preposition in a grammatical sentence in the language (Awobuluyi 1978:7). He defines a verb as “any word functioning as predicator in a grammatical or acceptable sentence in the language” (Awobuluyi 1978:45).

When sub-classifying Yoruba verbs, however, Awobuluyi (1978:xiii) does not adhere to his claim of “consistent employment of function as the only criterion for establishing the major parts of speech of the language”. Instead, Awobuluyi (1978:53) sub-classifies Yorùbá verbs as follows:

- (6)
- (i) **Serial Verbs:** They occur in strings or series of two or more per sentence, e.g. *Ó ra ẹran jẹ* (“He bought meat and ate it”).
 - (ii) **Splitting Verbs:** When used with an object, each verb in this class is always split into two halves and the object is inserted between them, e.g. *Wọ̀n túkà* (“They dispersed”), *Wọ̀n tú wọ̀n ká* (“They were dispersed”).
 - (iii) **Echoing Verbs:** Each of these verbs occurs twice per sentence. The second occurrence could loosely be said to echo the first, e.g. *Rò mí ro ire* (“You should wish me well”).

- (iv) **Complex Verb:** In sentences, they behave exactly like a combination of verbs and their objects, e.g. Wón wàhàlà rẹ (“They gave him a hard time”).
- (v) **Adjectivisable Verbs:** These are verb phrases from which adjectives can be formed, e.g. Aṣọ nàà dúdú (“The cloth is black”).
- (vi) **Nominal Assimilating Verbs:** The construction in which this class functions always contains adverbial phrases where the preposition *ní* is followed directly by the nominalization of the C₁ C₁-type, e.g. Ó dùn ní jìjẹ (“It tastes good”).
- (vii) **Particle Selecting Verbs:** The verbs in this class occur in a construction which features the particle *ní*. The particle has no concrete meaning, e.g. Òjó rán mi ní etí (“Òjó reminded me”).
- (viii) **Report Verbs:** These are the verbs used for reporting or quoting thoughts, e.g. Mo gbọ pé o dé lánàá (“I learnt that you returned yesterday”).
- (ix) **Impersonal Verbs:** These verbs occur in a type of sentence whose subject, *ó*, never refers to anybody or anything in particular, e.g. Ó yẹ kí o lọ (“You ought to go there”).
- (x) **Causative Verbs:** The verbs in this class have the meanings “to cause to do”, “to make to do”, or “to bring about”, e.g. Ó mú mi ẹ bẹẹ (“He made me do so”).
- (xi) **Symmetrical Verbs:** The subject and object of each of the verbs in this class are freely interchangeable, e.g. Inú bí mi/Mo bínú (“I was angry”).
- (xii) **Interrogative Verbs:** This is the class of verbs used for asking questions, e.g. Èyí ní kọ? (“What about this one?”).
- (xiii) **Imperative Verbs:** The verbs in this class are used almost exclusively for greetings or requests, e.g. ẹ pèlẹ sà (“Hello sir”).

Comments on the Sub-classification

In Awobuluyi’s sub-classification in (6) above, (6i), (6ii), (6iv), (6vii), (6viii), (6ix), (6xi), (6xii) and (6xiii) are based on the syntactic behaviour of the verbs and their functions. (6v) is based on morphology or derivation because the criterion used for its classification is the possibility of being able to derive adjectives from such verbs. The sub-classification of (6vi) is based on morphology and phonology. If we take the sentence *Ó mọ ọkọ wà* (“He knows how to drive”) as an example, we first derive *wíwà* (“driving”) from *wà* (“to drive”) to give us the sentence *Ó mọ ọkọ wíwà*. From this sentence, the deletion of the first *w* takes place to give us *Ó mọ ọkọ í wà*. Assimilation then follows to give us *Ó mọ ọkọ wà*. From this

explanation, it is clear that the classification of the nominal assimilating verbs is not based on their function or syntactic behaviour.

If their functions or syntactic behaviour had been used, the echoing verbs should have been in the same subclass as the serial verbs, because they both occur in strings or series of at least two verbs.

Another problem with Awobuluyi's sub-classification of Yoruba verbs is that some verbs occur in more than one subclass. Examples include *gbàgbò* ("to believe"), which occurs under the subclasses of splitting verbs and report verbs; *gbàgbé* ("to forget"), which occurs under the subclasses of complex verbs and report verbs; and *fé* ("want"), which occurs under the subclasses of echoing verbs and nominal assimilating verbs. This is due to the fact that Awobuluyi (1978:53) uses more than one criterion in his sub-classification of verbs. A look at Awobuluyi (1978:2) will show that none of the circles he uses as examples for the sub-classification of items can occur in two subclasses because they are only sub-classified by size.

Conclusion

While discussing the criteria for sub-classifying Yorùbá words, Awobuluyi (1978:5) states that meaning, derivation, syntactic behaviour and function could be used in their sub-classification. He goes further to say that:

"Some grammarians use meaning alone. Others use combination of these, such as meaning and derivation, or derivation and function. But no existing Yoruba grammar uses function only....Classification on the basis of meaning or derivation or syntactic behaviour, or even on the basis of combinations of these, are of limited value for describing Yoruba grammar....The only proper way to classify Yoruba words for syntactic purposes is by the functions that they actually perform in sentences." (Awobuluyi 1978: 3-4).

As can be seen from our discussion above, following Oyèláràn (1976), the criteria used by Awobuluyi (1978:53) to sub-classify Yorùbá verbs are meaning, derivation, syntactic behaviour and function.

References

- Ọládélé Awobuluyi, *Essentials of Yoruba Grammar*. (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1978).
- O. Ọlásopé Oyèláràn, (1976), 'Ìwé Ìlẹ̀wọ̀ lórí Ìsọrí Ọ̀rọ̀ àti Àpólà Èyánṣe', *Ìdánílẹ̀kọ̀ fún Àwọ̀n Olùkọ̀ Yorùbá fún Tùlẹ̀ Oníwèé Méjilá* (University of Lagos, August 1976), 16-21.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT DO WE DO WITH MULTIFARIOUS COGNATE REFLEXES IN CROSS LINGUISTICS? EXEMPLIFICATION FROM YORÙBÁ, ÌGALÀ, AND ÌDOMÀ LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA

ADÉGBOYÈ ADÉYANJÚ
UNIVERSITY OF ABUJA

Through an eclectic methodology, which combines re-interpretational ethno-linguistic data and culture-historical surveys, we attempt, in this paper, to re-examine the political and linguistic structures of the proto-language Akpoto. The thesis of our investigation is that language could well provide the basis for unity among particularly linguistic genetically related peoples like the Yorùbá, Ìgalà and Ìdomà where all else has failed to foster political and social unity, particularly in a plurilingual nation characterised by the wide proliferation of ethnic cleavages. Our task herein is predicated on relating history and culture to linguistics. Based on the plethora of evidence amassed, we conclude firstly that the multifarious cognate reflexes across the Yorùbá, Ìgalà and Idoma languages are relics of Akpoto civilization and origin. These cognates could well be the reflection of a deeper, obscure, yet traceable historical and cultural origin of these peoples. Secondly, we conclude that nation building efforts divorced of linguistic input would be defective, both in Africa generally and in Nigeria specifically, because of her susceptibility to covert and overt diverse forces or tendencies. Study findings indicate that cognate reflexes across these languages should not only be taken as evidence of genetic relatedness but could also be seen as reflecting the likelihood of establishing a commonness of origin of these peoples' history and culture.

On Using Ethnolinguistics and Culture-Historical Methods for Reconstructing the Akpoto Past

At best a study of this nature must be eclectic, and the procedure necessarily ad hoc, and this is the counsel of Isaac George to scholars and researchers attempting a reconstruction of the past:

Each researcher is therefore compelled to devise a means in consonant with his discipline to reconstruct the past.

Therefore, we have felt at liberty to adopt the following components of Armstrong's work as our analytic procedure for this research, which we label Armstrong's law:

- a) To collect the same words from Yorùbá, Ìdomà and Ìgalà languages (taking care to find the same dialects), then test the relative stability of these languages extensively as regards basic vocabulary. The common household words across these languages would change at most slowly, or not at all. Findings should establish that the vocabularies involved show no perceptible change.
- b) Such change(s), if any, should be less than can be accounted for in methodological errors, and should therefore be more plausibly attributed to errors in gathering and recording the data than to lexical change.
- c) Line up lists of basic words from pairs or sets of these languages and then compare them with corresponding lists from areas where the history of related languages is well documented.

Consequently, only linguistic – not political or social definitions – will be used in our enterprise.

Obayemi, however, counsels that the question of the relationship of Ìgalà (and Ìdomà) to the speakers of the Yorùbá dialect (of Kabba Province the North East Yorùbá) would be promisingly approached by making recourse to comparative linguistics. Obayemi disputes the glottochronological time of separation returned by Armstrong of 2000 years between the Ìgalà and Yorùbá, arguing that it must have been more recent than that, particularly if Ìgalà is paired with the north east or Kabba Yorùbá. This could be argued from their close geographical proximity and the mutual sharing of certain words and names for objects between them, for example: -idu for lion, Kiniùn in central Yorùbá; idagba for elephant, erin in central Yorùbá; olu (north east Yoruba for the designation of a traditional title holder), Igalas have onu; both use Ata, Atta or Attah

(which are variants of this term); and ‘*orun ata*’ to describe coconut, *àgbòn* in central Yoruba (Obayemi, Consideration on Early History, 12).

There are other factors that could pointedly identify these peoples as belonging to one homogenising or indeed monolithic (Akpoto) culture and tradition. These include: a) the idea that these peoples (Yorùbá, Edo, Igala, Idoma and Nupe), who are members of the Kwa language group, are assumed to have an eastern origin traceable to either Egypt or Arabia, and that they arrived at their present homeland through migration via the eastern Sudan or appropriately the old Kwararafa confederacy; b) that aspects of the Yoruba-Edo and Nupe cultures could be linked with parts of the Benue valley, the homeland of the *Ìdomà* and *Ìgalà* with whom they are now interconnected; c) the discovery of early clay figurines identified as belonging to the Nok culture manufactured during the early Iron Age in an area overlapping with the homelands of these peoples; and d) the historical fact that both the Oyo and Kwararafa originally depended upon cavalry for defence and subsequently, after the relocation that saw them both lose their horses, they had to depend upon foot soldiers.

On the question of the Multifarious cognate reflexes of Yoruba, Igalla and Idoma languages

- (1) Be (in a place) pws * ba- a single ancestral language.
(Westerman calls it proto-west Sudanic, for Greenberg it is proto-Niger Congo)
Yoruba wa Idoma ba (with plural subject)
- (2) Be near
Yoruba ‘eba’ proximity Idoma ba’
- (3) Two (as in numeral)
Idoma ‘epa’ Yoruba eji Igala eji
- (4) Come pws * -ba, bia
Yoruba wa’ bo’ (E. Yoruba (Kabba) gha’) Idoma waa’, gaa’
- (5) Exist
Yoruba be’ Idoma we’ (identifier or copula)
- (6) Cut off
Yoruba be’ Idoma be

- (7) Be bad, evil pws * -bi-
Yoruba ibi' (n); bu'buru' (adj) Idoma ibi' (n), bobi (adj)
- (8) Child, to bear a child pws * -bi-
Yoruba bi' (vb) Idoma abi', placenta
Western Idoma bi (vb)
- (9) Ten pws * -gyua'
Yoruba 'ewa' Igala egwa Idoma igwo'
- (10) Goat
Yoruba ewu're' Igala 'ewo' Idoma 'ewu
- (11) Dress (vb) pws *ay'a-
Yoruba wo, woso [wo aso]
Idoma wu
- (12) Garment pws *- âÿ (wonderwort)
Yoruba ewu Idoma 'awuru (agbada in Yoruba)
- (13) Steal pws x-gyigyia, gyio
Yoruba ji Idoma wi, uwi (theft)
- (14) Hand pws * a^oyva
Yoruba כַּחַם Idoma äb
- (15) Snake pws*-g^yvå
Yoruba ejò Idoma égwá Igala éjò
- (16) Egg pws*-gi—,gi'a-
Yoruba eyin Igala εε Idoma a'yi
- (17) This
Yoruba e'yi Igala e' i, i
- (18) Sheep
Igala a'la' Idoma a'la' Yoruba ewure' (goat) agu'te
- (19) Shoot
Yoruba ta Igala e'-ta Idoma ta' (shoot, throw)

- (20) Buy
Yoruba ra' Igala e'-la' Idoma la'
- (21) Hunt
Yoruba ɔdɛ Igala ɔdɛ Idoma ɔtɛ
- (22) Count
Yoruba ka' Idoma ka'
- (23) Around, about, fom, curve
Yoruba ka', yika' encircle, Ka'a'kiri, wonder about; o' su'ka' (head pad, circle) Idoma ε'ka (head pad as in Yoruba), a'ka (esp. conical roof); akoo'ko' (clavicle, collar bone a'ka/o'ko'(neck))
- (24) Cock
Yoruba a'kukɔ Igala ai ko Idoma 'ugwu(chicken,fowl)
- (25) Bathe, wash, swim pws*a^{oy}va
Yoruba wɛ' Idoma gwa', 'agwa (swimming) Igala gwa'
- (26) Market
Yoruba oja' Igala a'ja' (=aja Togo Yoruba dialect) Idoma 'oja'
- (27) Cut (vb)
Yoruba ke'=ge' Idoma hɛ'
- (28) Go
Yoruba si Idoma yɛ' also yawu' (walk) iyau' (a journey)
- (29) Snail
Yoruba igbi Idoma igbi Igala igbi
- (30) Three
Yoruba 'eta Idoma 'eta' Igala 'eta'
- (31) Lick
Yoruba la' Idoma pla', la'
- (32) Say
Yoruba ka' (idiomatic) Igala ka' Idoma kɔ'

- (33) Ring (n)
Yoruba oruka Idoma e'likɔ' Igala e'likɔ'
- (34) One
Yoruba oko' Igala oka Idoma e'e'kpo'
- (35) Frog
Yoruba a'ke're' Idoma a'kie' Igala akere
- (36) Die
Yoruba ku' Igala e'-kwu' Idoma kwu'
- (37) Mother
Yoruba iya',ye'ye', iye Igala iye Idoma ene
- (38) Child, bear child, beget
Yoruba o'mo' child Igala oma Idoma m'ɔ bear beget child
- (39) Lighting
Yoruba mo'no'mo'no' Igala o'mɔ'mɔ'nya' Idoma olima'nya
(vary)
- (40) Four
Yoruba erin Igala εε Idoma εεε
- (41) Drink
Yoruba mu (verb) εmu(palm wine) Igala nmo Idoma mu (drink -
for soup only)
- (42) That, the
Yoruba/loo/[n] is an allophone of /l/ and is sounded as [noo], Igala
ε, Idoma olo,ono demonstrative, used in reported speech, εε -all of
them
- (43) Be (identifier)
Yoruba /li/heard as [ni], Idoma ne
- (44) Mouth (noun)
Yoruba enu, Igala alu, Idoma okonu

- (45) Kill
Yoruba kpa Igala kpa, Idoma gmo
- (46) Belly
Yoruba inu, Igala efu Idoma ipu
- (47) Finish
Yoruba ...mo follows other verbs, for example, ma se mo
Idoma mɛ (alone or after other verbs)
- (48) Know
Yoruba mo, Igala ma
- (49) Swallow
Yoruba mi, Igala mi, Idoma mlɛ
- (50) Sun
Yoruba ooru, Igala olu, Idoma ɛno
- (51) Person, human
Yoruba ɛni, ɛniyo, Igala onɛ, Idoma onyɛ, 'who?' onyoonyɛ'
everybody'
- (52) Elephant
Yoruba ɛrin, Idoma inyi (archaic), Igala adagba
- (53) Five
Yoruba arun, Igala ɛlu, (Yala- Cross River Idoma,- ɛruo);Central
Idoma eho
- (54) Yam
Yoruba isu Igala ucu Idoma ihi (Southern Idoma,
isi)
- (55) Build (mud house), mould (pot)
Yoruba mo, build, mould; Igala ko-build, bo (mould), Idoma ma,
mould
- (56) Not (prohibition)
Yoruba ma, maa Idoma mma

- (57) Water
Yoruba omi Idoma enyi, Igala omi
- (58) Fire
Yoruba ino Igala una Idoma ola
- (59) Cow
Yoruba ɛɛla 'humpless cattle', ɛrola (bull) Idoma ɛna Igala okuno
- (60) Tooth
Yoruba eyin Igala enyi
- (61) In, at
Yoruba /li/heard as [ni] Idoma l-
- (62) Animal, meat, muscle
Yoruba ɛron' animal, meat, muscle Igala ɛla Idoma ɛnɛ(in 'ɛnɛbɛ'
muscle)
- Source: Armstrong (1966:33).

What then is the basis for this relationship, if any?

In order to support our thesis that the Yoruba, Igala and Idoma are the original Akpoto ethnic nationality, there are a number of questions that must incontrovertibly be asked. These questions, some of which we now turn to consider, include: what was the location of the proto-language? What course did the spread of the proto-language take, and over which historical-geographical continuum? And can the basis for the claim be sustained?

The Proto-Akpoto Language: A Preliminary Reconsideration

First, and least controversially, Yoruba, Igala and Idoma are not only areally related, i.e. from the point of view of culture. This is particularly obvious if this relationship is contrasted with those between other Nigerian ethnic groups (for example Hausa and Fulani are areally related but are not genetically related). These languages, Yoruba, Igala, and Idoma, are also genetically related with Nupe and Gbagyi as they all belong to the Kwa language group of the sub-family of the Niger–Congo; Armstrong (1964: 1) classifies the language phyla as West Sudanic. Although these peoples

do not occupy the same geographical areas today, it should be recognised that boundaries today are artificialities created to sustain primordial or colonial interests. Tentatively we label this primary language as proto-Akpoto, and this is in agreement with the view of Armstrong that this putative historical, socio-cultural and linguistic complex broke up about 6,000 years ago. Consequently, this was characterized by a split (the three becoming autonomous nations shortly before the colonial period), movement of people, and differences in the dialects of the proto-language. A given continuous geographical area like the Akpoto country developed into a group of distinct states, characterized linguistically by mutually unintelligible languages when non-linguistic events such as migration took place. When this occurred, it resulted in the speakers of the proto-language losing contact with one another and their dialect developing into separate, although related, languages – to cite another example, the Romance languages, such as French and Spanish, are historical continuations of spoken Latin.

Laying aside this ground clearing exercise, it is now necessary to emphasise the tools for demonstrating the genetic relatedness of a language that we have elaborately used herein. These are: 1) the identification of a “fundamental vocabulary item” (George 1976: 45) across Yoruba, Igala and Idoma, or appropriately cognate reflexes including forms like the correspondences in sound and the meanings of words between related languages; discrepancies are observed and accounted for; and an examination is made of the common core of a language like body parts, kinship terminology, and basic human activities like sleeping and eating, whereby these are established as the areas least responsive to borrowing from another language; 2) the identification of culturally related words, for example words dealing with religion, art, occupations, etc., amongst the languages that are deemed to have originally belonged to the same proto-group – this commonness is not peripheral at all and lies at the heart of the common core of language; and 3) confirmation from historical records that may reveal a little detected “core” that binds together the groups using genetically related languages.

The Akpoto: Shifting Facts from Fiction

The Akpoto were once a monolithic group who inhabited the east and west of the River Niger. Their language can, for this enterprise, be labeled proto-Akpoto. While the Akpotos were regarded as the progenitors of the present Igala and Idoma peoples (Erim 1981: 4), it remains necessary to establish where they interrelated with the Yorubas with whom they are

now being interconnected. It was Crowther and Schon (1854: 66), quoted in Erim (1981: 4), who were reported to have declared thus concerning this group's origin:

In the old time the king of Yorubas ... desired the Attah to look out for a suitable locality for his future settlement. The Attah took a canoe and dropped down the river till he came to Idah... There he met the inhabitants who were called Akpoto, and their headman Igara from whom they begged for a place to settle in, which was granted.... (The Attah) being more influential than the Akpoto they gave him precedence. In the course of time the language of the settlers gradually disappeared before the Akpoto.

Crowther, it must be recalled, was Yoruba; therefore it must indeed have been the truth for him and his companion to have suggested, even if deliberately vaguely, that not only were the Akpotos a sub-stratum of the Igala and Idoma peoples, but also that this sub-stratum was indeed laid on a certain Yoruba ethnic group. Therefore, as Erim (1981: 4) concluded, the Akpotos were the progenitors of the Idoma (and likewise the Igala), and it was over these ethnic nationalities that the king of the Yoruba imposed his rule. With this conquest established, it was only a matter of time before the basic 'original' Akpoto element became superimposed upon by the conquering Yoruba. It is also conjectured that, with this conquest, the basic Akpoto now became driven further east and west of modern Anka in what is now Kogi State. Some peoples by this name are still present there today. But what is of interest to us is that several authors (Ballard 1971, Obayemi 1978) have argued that the early dispersal center of the Yoruba could only have been the west of Idah, the present Kabba area in Kogi State – an area which contains the largest concentration of Yoruba dialects in close proximity (Ballard 1971 in Erim 1981: 5); we call this proto-Akpoto. The middle belt of Nigeria, in which these peoples are located, forms the “political hub” for concerted building efforts of other so-called major tribes. In fact James (2000) believes it could be the cradle of Nigerian civilization. The logic for this supposition is that since the early sub-stratum of modern Igala and Idoma were Akpoto, supposedly a Yoruba dialectal group, it would then mean that while the first and second strata of modern Igala were the two Yoruba dialectal groups – the first being the Igara or Idoma (a tradition holds this group as a sub-group of Yoruba), and the second being Akpoto (yet another sub-group of Yoruba) – the dislocation of the Igara (or Idoma) that were reported to have been driven east of the Niger by 1500 would mean that they resettled among the Akpoto, thereby fusing to become Idoma. Armstrong (1970: 79) argues that the ancestors of these groups might have broken up about six thousand

years ago, and that they belonged to one social complex. And as to the argument that the Igala and Idoma peoples derived from the old Kwararafa confederacy, Erim (1981: 6) pointedly declares that the confederacy was made up of many ethnic groups whose migrations from there would not necessarily imply that they belonged to the Jukun kingdom.

Historical literature is almost completely replete with the ‘assumed’ origin of the Yorubas from Ile-Ife. This is almost a given reality. But, as Obayemi has maintained, for all practical and objective scholarly purposes this may be another historical myth (the utility of his argument is that Iyamoye, Awoyo, Ilai, and Ife Olukotun be taken as temporary settlement or stopping places before the dispersal of the Yoruba), particularly when the ‘facts’ presented to back up these claims are subjected to real scrutiny. And if such claims do have any validity and utility, then Ile Ife, the assumed ancestral home of the Yoruba, should be substituted with Central Yoruba land to accommodate the myth as “conscious acknowledgement of belongingness (by the North Eastern Yoruba) within a culture group the participants in which are the Yoruba speaking peoples of Nigeria and beyond” (Obayemi YEAR: 7). In this statement, Obayemi only hints at the linguistic definition of the Yoruba label.

This has demonstrated, as we have argued elsewhere (Adeyanju 2000), that these multifarious cognate reflexes are evidences of not only genetic relatedness, but also of a cultural-historical and maybe political homogeneity dating back to a far distant period, which has been somewhat lost in the new political and social arrangements witnessed first during the colonialist period and subsequently during the management or handling of power by the emergent political, social and economic elites that took power after the colonial powers left. The issue of language(s), where it featured at all in that arrangement, was to polarize people so that they could be further exploited by these power blocks without question or challenge to their authority. Events in Nigeria have since necessitated that a return be made to finding lasting solutions to our divisive tendencies and problems that are ignited to perpetually keep us in servitude by a rather marginal but powerful and self-serving few.

The fate suffered by the languages of the peoples of the geographical area labeled the Middle Belt at the hands of their Hausa neighbours in Nigeria can at best be described in one word: agony. Due to these languages being isolated in their areas, they are easily influenced by neighbouring languages such as Hausa. Hausa has greatly influenced and absorbed almost all the languages in the Middle Belt, which are the basis of this study. The languages of the Middle Belt have borrowed so heavily from Hausa that, if care is not taken, this development might be very

dangerous for them all. Abraham David is currently undertaking a serious investigation of this phenomenon, especially as regards the relationship between Gwagyi and Hausa.

Much is being documented in socio-linguistics about the advantages of bilingualism, but perhaps not much has been done to examine the effects on the individual. One of our problems in this study is that when an individual whose culture and language is considered to be a 'minority' acquires a second language (L2), more often than not he does so at the expense of his mother tongue and culture which are abandoned in order to conform. For example, in northern Nigeria where Hausa has been upgraded to such prestigious heights, it has overwhelmed other minority languages whose speakers not only learn Hausa but also often abandon their own languages in order to climb the socio-economic ladder. When, if they ever do, such an individual uses their mother tongue, then these usages are normally characterised by a deficiency in the phonology, syntax, and semantics of their languages. Little wonder that there are so many loan words and borrowings into these 'minority' languages without similar cross borrowing into Hausa. While these minority languages are being depleted (as their scope of use is limited), Hausa gains more speakers daily.

Northern Nigeria: Linguistic Situation and the Plight of Minority Languages

According to the 1931 census, since which time it has become axiomatic that they are the largest ethnic group in Nigeria, the Hausa numbered 3,639,000; today there are well over 40 million and they occupy most of the northern half of northern Nigeria. The Hausa were never politically united until their conquest by the Fulani in the nineteenth century and admitted to, according to Mabogunje (1965: 19), a common, albeit obscure, historical descent through Bayajidda (Abuyzida), son of Abdullahi, king of Baghdad.

Therefore, except for certain dialectal variations, the Hausa share a common language and profess the Islamic religion, though the indigenous Hausa, called Maguzawa, are non-Islamised. The Islamic teaching and mores to which they subscribe confer on the Hausa a literature and culture, and through the use of the Arabic language they are culturally linked with North Africa. They are excellent farmers, skilled artisans, great blacksmiths and silversmiths, iron smelters, mat and basket makers, great merchants and much traveled traders. They are largely people of negroid origin but are certainly a mixture of many tribes and possess a will to resist

any stubborn and strong invasion. No matter who conquered them, they remain; even though the Fulani defeated the Hausa, the Hausas nonetheless assimilated them such that we now have a distinct group of Hausa–Fulani, whose pedigree was Hausa and Fulani.

Williams (1982) pointedly describes the Hausa thus:

Whatever his origin, it is host in the series of amalgamations with many tribes which has made him what he is. There is, in fact no such thing as “an” Hausa, and yet, despite this Hausa are a nation, due, perhaps, to the fact that the Hausa language is reasonably simple to learn. It is an old language, certainly over one thousand years old, and is hamitic, though the people, now, are seen as much negroid as hamite.

The only explanation for the dominance of Hausa as a language and Hausa as a group is neither the simplicity of their language and culture, nor the fact that it could be written (other northern Nigerian languages have been orthographised), but instead the evolution of an extremely complex Hausa-Fulani system of political organization combined with the consequent economic power it guarantees. Thus Hausa has gobbled-up other cultures and languages in northern Nigeria; cultures and languages too weak to resist the pressures both from within and without. However, Kanuri stands out as an exception. The Kanuri successfully resisted the Fulani Jihad in 1809, unlike the Hausas, and they set up and maintained their traditional feudal administration. But since the turn of the 20th century, Kanuri has caved in to the pressures of Hausa – even though it has a standard orthography and is a subject of study at the University of Maiduguri in Nigeria.

The question they are asked is: Why have the Kunuri languages that have resisted Hausa for political and historical reasons suddenly caved in? One can isolate five reasons.

Firstly, the relative advantage that has accrued to Hausa as a language since the colonial period, leading to the establishment of the Hausa Translation Bureau (1930), the Hausa Literature Bureau (1939), the Northern Regional Literature Agency (1954), and the Hausa Language Board. Hausa has been developed and promoted by these measures, and even the colonial masters of non-Hausa language speakers have provided encouragement to study and pass Hausa language tests for career advancement and social mobility.

Kuju (1998: 8) even reported that bonuses were often paid to British expatriate officers for passing both the lower and higher Hausa examinations: ₦25 and ₦50 respectively. There was no need to promote

other northern Nigerian languages, since the communicative needs were served by Hausa and English.

Another factor was the supposed inferiority of other languages often painted as lacking the subtleness and refinements of Hausa, such that this 'psychological pressuring' resulted in these languages' speakers learning and using Hausa at the expense of their mother tongues. Instrumental to this was the attitude fostered by the rising bilingual elite, the colonialists, and the deliberate policy of not developing other indigenous languages.

Thirdly, the fact of Hausa being the language of commercial and political activities has also meant that the indigenous peoples of northern Nigeria have had to learn and use it. This ensures the vitality and spread of Hausa in other domains of the indigenous languages. Kuju (1998: 10) asserts that the "Hausa language became the veritable factor of political ascendancy of the ruling class", and the situation largely remains the same today.

Fourthly, the Hausa take advantage of the fact that there is an intricate link between Hausa as a language and the religion of Islam, whereby Hausa serves as a vehicle for the spread of Islam to assimilate other indigenous tongues. Most often than not adherents of Islam speak Hausa and the social harmony that a common religious faith guarantees is exploited for the advancement of Hausa.

Lastly, we may agree that the fortunes of Hausa as a stable language have been guaranteed by its innate assimilative tendencies which are the result of all the above factors. Kuju (1998:10), quoting Adamu Mahdi, explains it thus:

[T]he Hausa ethnic unit has shown itself as an assimilating ethnic entity and the Hausa language a colonising one to the extent that many people who were not originally Hausa later became Hausa through assimilation.

The mortality rate of indigenous languages and the depletion of their speakership in Northern Nigeria are, therefore, hardly surprising.

Languages in Nigeria and the Need for Bilingualism

Nigeria has been described variably as "a complex linguistic mosaic" (Adekunle 1985: 13), a "heterogeneous linguistic community" (Ajulo 1989: 47), etc. But what are her actual socio-linguistic realities? What are the challenges for survival of the so-called minority languages in danger of extinction? Lastly, what are the pluri-lingual advantages for national development? To answer these questions, we must first describe bilingualism and then its challenges.

Bilingualism is a characteristic of the individual just as multilingualism is that of a society, and it implies the possession and usage of more than one code or language for social exchange. Bilingualism naturally results from the geopolitical and social proximity of two distinct contiguous speech communities, and it is also the outcome of the desire to facilitate unhampered communication for an individual who needs to vary his communication from one speech community to another for diverse reasons. This linguistic phenomenon has elicited a wide interest from scholars from different disciplines varying from psychiatry to psychology, sociology and linguistics. Therefore, the literature on it has been expanding by the day.

The use of psychosocial profiles allows a convenient classification of bilinguals into two broad types: compound bilinguals refers to individuals who formed 'concepts' simultaneously in their acquisition of more than one language, while coordinate bilinguals are individuals for whom languages are acquired separately over time. From a pedagogical perspective, bilingualism is described either as stable or transitional. Stable bilingualism describes those instances where the goal is long-range; that which guarantees a certain kind of permanence in the needs for acquiring and using the languages. Transitional bilingualism refers to other needs, temporary in nature, wherein a language is needed to aid the individual for a certain period of time, and it is then discarded after it has served its purpose. For example, in Nigeria, the encouragement towards learning one of the 'three major languages' – Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba – rather than the individual Nigerian mother tongue is soon eclipsed by the almost monolingual necessity to use English across all levels of education, administration, judiciary, etc. Therefore bilingualism in Nigeria is almost always more transitional than it is stable.

Newer insights emanating from recent advances in the study of bilingualism and multilingualism have demonstrated both that bilingualism is not evidence of some alleged mental or psychological imbalance of some individuals, but rather that it is a perfectly normal speech habit and behaviour, and secondly that multilingualism is an advantage and a resource just like other resources, which societies that are multilingual and multicultural (and monoculturalism and monolingualism are quite rare in human societies) would do well to exploit.

Therefore, the first challenge is the need for some forms of linguistic management, engineering or planning. Languages have to be apportioned functions based on societal needs in specified domains like administration, education, judiciary, science, technology and engineering (Ajulo 1989; Adekunle 1985, 1995). Usually, this is a product of:

- a) The recognition of (all) languages existing in a speech community.
- b) Their development (standardization, codification, orthographication, etc). Languages are often at different stages of development: some require more work and finance for their development to a standard level than others.
- c) The political and ethnolinguistic directions of the ruling elite who determine policies in a polity.
- d) The population. The percentage of the polity that speaks a certain language sometimes determines which language is given the status of the official, national language, or lingua franca.
- e) The language structure, meaning networks, phonology and phonetics at times determine policy, since languages with simplified structures are easier to learn than those with complex structures, morphology, etc.

Another challenge is that which we may call the ‘attitudinal’ challenge to and of linguistic policy. For instance, in spite of the large percentage of Hausa speakers and the simplicity of the language, why has it not yet been recommended and become acceptable as a national language in Nigeria? This is simply due to non-linguistic reasons, such as the socio-political and psychological views of the language as a language of oppressors and of a particular religion. Nonetheless, individual Nigerians only need it for trade and commerce, and some for social mobility, and would be bilingual if they learned the language.

Adekunle (1995: 73-79) has provided an excellent framework which we adopt and modify in this study to describe and analyse the Nigerian sociolinguistic realities using the Jos Area, which he defines as being “a microcosm, of the multicultural and multilingual Nigerian speech community”. Two factors strongly recommend Adekunle’s model and lie behind our adoption of this model.

Real Economy of Adekunle's Model for Analysing Speech Communities

First, it captures the categorisation of languages used in multilingual speech communities into:

- 1) Non-indigenous languages (mostly foreign and non-national) lacking “ethnic” identities, bases, etc. Examples in Africa include English, Arabic, French, and Portuguese.

- 2) Major Nigerian languages. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba have been afforded this status by section 1 paragraph 8 of the National Policy in Education 1977 (revised in 1981) and also legislated by paragraph 51 of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is noteworthy that this legislation is a consequence of:
 - a) The arbitrary divide of the component sections of Nigeria into three broad – but wrongful – ethnic divisions of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.
 - b) That this division itself is a result of the supplantation by the ethnic class membership of these groups over the rest of the people, demonstrated by the occupation of roles which guarantee policy formulation and execution of policies favourable to their ethnic classes. Though the Nigerian constitution did not grant this status to Nigerian pidgin English, Adekunle (1995) grants it this status, most probably because it serves as a ‘national bond’ across ethnic divides in Nigeria.
- 3) Major local languages. Here Adekunle’s model provides for further recognition of the status of specific languages as major languages in Benue State – for example Tiv, Idoma, and Igede – whereas Etulo, geographically contiguous with Tiv, remains a separate and distinct language with a stable culture. Another example is Plateau State where Birom, Afizere, Jarawa, and Angas are major languages while Aten and Pyem are not.
- 4) Other ‘local languages’. More minor languages are lumped together in this final group.

From the foregoing, therefore, it can be seen that even within a local government area, a non-bilingual is communicatively incapacitated, not to imagine the problem at the state level. This has led Ajulo (1989: 47-80) to advocate trilingualism for maximum results, or, at the very least, bilingualism for a minimum communication exchange of individual Nigerians for both intra- and inter-ethnic communication and national and international exchange

Beyond Adekunle's Proposal: A Revision

As can be seen, Adekunle’s language categorisation is still riddled with the descriptive circularity which we objected to earlier. For our purpose, and avoiding the trap of ‘major-minor language’ classification due to their negative connotations, we propose the following:

- 1) Non-national languages. In Africa, these include English and French. These may safely be called the elitist tongue of about 15-25% of the populace, used about 5-10% of the time.
- 2) National languages. These languages are ‘national’ in the sense proposed by Elugbe (1990), in that they have an ethnic identity and bases, and are truly national in the sense that they are spoken within national boundaries. These are of different types, which for convenience are:
 - a) TYPE A: For Adekunle (1995:73), these constitute those which have been classified as “major Nigerian languages”, such as Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. These have a usage of about 40% for about 60% of the people.
 - b) TYPE B: Adekunle (1995: 74) labels these as major local languages which are used about 80% of the time for about 80-85% of the people.
 - c) TYPE C: These are what Adekunle classified as “other local languages”, but which have an average use in domains of around 90% and used by 100% of the people.

It is only this interpretation that could explain the behavioural language patterns in multilingual communities that Adekunle (1995) isolates and characterises as the following:

- 1) Pattern of Settlement. That people tend to congregate according to their ethnic identity is due to many reasons, amongst which are social closeness and, importantly, for security, in order to be able to ward off attack by stronger groups. Thus we find monolingual socio-ethnic grouping – though they are not strictly monolingual communities, in the sense that they do not possess other language codes – bounded by and situated within a multilingual environment. For example, the Igbo and Yoruba communities of Sabon-Gari in Kano, and the thriving Hausa communities in Apapa and Ajegunle in Lagos. This could also explain the establishment of specific religious practices and worship houses in such locations.
- 2) Languages used in Ministries. What influences language choice so much (contrary to Adekunle’s (1995:75) view) is not so much a language’s availability as it is the dominance of the language(s) of the surrounding environment. For example, even at the Federal Secretariat where people from diverse ethnolinguistic groups are present, only the particular languages represented by the different interlocutors and the choice of their languages take precedence.

- 3) Market Place. Even here, people from the same or closely related ethnic groupings congregate together, but most traders and even shoppers demonstrate impressive language skills. Since this aids buying and selling, one is at an advantage if they can reach their 'customer' in his/her own tongue, however imperfectly.
- 4) Hotels and Drinking Houses. Social etiquette in these locales demands that one does not use too strange a tongue, and which language is chosen and used depends on a number of factors like the category of hotel visited, the owner/proprietress, the ethnic identity, and in which location it is sited.
- 5) Educational Institutions. At pre-primary and secondary school levels, the language of the immediate community takes precedence over English. The institution's type, i.e. whether it is public or private, as well as the calibers of teachers and instructors, also largely determine the language chosen and used. Ultimately, English will be taught and used though since at tertiary level – except in Arabic Studies – English is the only medium of instruction.
- 6) Places of Worship. Services are conducted in particular languages or English because religious adherents come from specific ethnic groups or are a mixed sort of congregation requiring the use of English and translations in one or more local indigenous languages. More often than not, the religion also specifies the language to be used. For example, only Arabic is used for Muslim prayers and preaching, while they are translated into particular local languages for the instruction of adherents.
- 7) The Mass Media. Government notices are in either Yoruba in the southern part of Nigeria, Hausa in the north, Igbo in the east, or in such other local languages as may be determined from time to time and from place to place. Newspapers are published in English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, while some communities are also now producing their own newsletters.

These are the socio-linguistic realities of language choice and use in multilingual Nigeria. So, ultimately, bilingualism is necessary, if not compulsive, if effective communication is to be the approach in Nigeria.

Incontrovertibly, a major manifestation of the phenomenon of languages coming into contact is the borrowing of associated words which arises from cultural borrowing. This is not to dispute the fact that there are psychological resistances to borrowing, or rather to the amount of new words borrowed, or even to new sources of borrowing. It is generally

assumed that the nature and extent of borrowing depends entirely on the socio-historical facts of cultural relations. However, Edward Sapir (1992: 192) strongly believes the distinguishing criterion is that “the psychological attitudes of the borrowing languages (receptor language) towards linguistic material(s) has much to do with its receptivity to foreign words” rather than the above reason. This raises fundamental questions: why do languages borrow? What are the limits a language can set for borrowing from other languages? Are there languages that resist borrowing?

Firstly, geographically contiguous languages between which there is social harmony and exchange must of necessity borrow. Secondly, each language, depending on its relative development and growth, sets limits to what, when and how it can borrow. Lastly, exceptional is the language that can strictly refuse to borrow, especially now, in the face of the rapid communicative, scientific and cultural advancements in the world today.

There are, however, two crucial dimensions to influences in language in contact situations:

- a) The sociolinguistic dimension, which concerns the mode of acquisition and use of the languages, and the emergence of a bilingual elite speaking for Hausa, using one or more Nigerian languages in addition to English, who have largely determined the use of the languages as well as their favourable attitudes to their use.
- b) The linguistic dimension which concerns the way Hausa has permeated the vocabulary of other Nigerian languages, and more conspicuously influences their sound system. The incidence of code-mixing has also modified both languages being code-mixed, with Hausa words or phrases being predominantly inserted into other Nigerian languages’ syntax.

Contrary to the belief of linguists like Bamgbose (1995: 11), for example, that the results of a language contact situation, regardless of its influences, are bound to be mutual, it need not be, and in fact most of the time it is not. Influence is usually one-directional, except in very rare cases exemplified by the Athabaskan languages of America, which have astonishingly refused to borrow at all from their neighbouring languages. According to Sapir (1921: 196), the reason is that:

These languages have always found it easier to create new words by compounding a fresh elements ready to hand. They have for this reason been highly resistant to receiving the linguistic impress of the external

cultural experiences of their speakers. So most languages in Northern Nigeria, for example, have not been resistant to the linguistic impress of Hausa, yielding as it were the social, cultural political and linguistic peculiarities to conform to the cultural, social, political, and economic reasons.

De-ethnification of Indigenous Cultures and Languages’ Endangerment: Some Exemplification

Indigenous people are subordinated to dominant cultures and are consequently immersed in the dominant groups’ languages in two ways:

- a) Through conquest and/or
- b) Through economic and political pressures

In northern Nigeria both factors come into play in the ‘de-ethnification’ of indigenous cultures. We define ‘de-ethnification’ as the cooption, subordination and/or neutralisation of certain cultures and cultural values of people lacking political influence, education, and social advantages; their languages are neither developed nor a curriculum subject. John Ogbu (1987: 322) classifies minorities into two broad groups:

- 1) Involuntary minorities
- 2) Voluntary minorities

Involuntary minorities include African Americans, people descended from African nations in North America, and ancestral minorities everywhere who are constrained by societal and educational structures that have denied them equal opportunities over many generations.

Historically they have encountered an inferior form of education, random racism, and an attendant job ceiling in the field of work. Psychologically they have come to believe that they do not have equal chances when compared to members of the dominant cultural group, and according to Corson (1993: 50) they are characterised by “secondary cultural differences that develop as a response to a contact situation, especially that involving the domination of one group by another.”

Examples of voluntarily minorities include emigrants who have left anywhere in search of better employment opportunities, for political reasons leading to exile, or a plethora of other reasons.

While de-ethnification clearly affects both groups, it affects involuntary minorities the most since the domination over their groups occurs in a contact situation from which they cannot withdraw, since the

setting is their own home and they view the differences that exist between themselves and the majority culture as insurmountable. This view perfectly describes the situation in northern Nigeria, as the following exemplification should establish.

In Bauchi (now Bauchi and Gombe States) the following indigenous languages are going into extinction: Pero, Tangala, Sarawa, Saijawa, Ngizin, Dazlawa, Bamawa and Tuta, fast eclipsed by Hausa. In Plateau (now Plateau, Nasarawa States) the fortunes of Pyem, Aten, Berom and Goemai are dwindling due to the incursion of Hausa into even domains traditional to these languages. In former Sokoto State (now Sokoto, Kebbi and Zamfara States), as Kuju (1998: 6) asserts, most Nigerians would be surprised that there are languages such as Duka, Kambari, Lelum Reshe, Zama and Zuru besides Hausa, as they have all been overwhelmed by the Hausa language. Stacy Churchill (1986) in Curson (1993: 74) provides an excellent classificatory scheme for comparing and evaluating the treatment that minority languages and their speakers received from country to country. This scheme is hereunder presented:

TABLE 1 Evaluating the Treatment Minority Languages and their Speakers Receive

Stage I Learning deficit	View Minority groups are seen as simply lacking the majority language.	Response Provide supplementary teaching in the majority language, with a rapid transition expected to the use of the majority language.
Stage II Socially linked learning deficit	Minority group's deficit is linked to family status (per background resulting from low income, and little or non-education of parents)	Provision of aids, tutors, psychologists, social workers, career advisers, and special measures to help minorities to adjust to majority language.
Stage III Learning deficit from social/cultural differences between the minority and dominant cultures	Deficit is linked to disparities in esteem between the minority groups' cultures and the majority.	Include multicultural teaching programmes, sensitize teachers to minority groups' needs, reduced to racial stereotyping in textbooks and teaching practices.

Stage IV Learning deficit from mother tongue deprivation	What inhibits the transition to the majority language is the cognitive and affective deprivation of minority groups due to the premature loss of their mother tongue.	Provide transitional study of minority languages in schools, perhaps as a very early or occasional medium of instruction.
Stage V Private use of language maintenance	Sees the minority language threatened with extinction if not supported.	Provide the minority language as a medium of instruction, mainly in the early years of schooling.
Stage VI Language equality	Both minority and majority languages are viewed as equal, treated equally, etc.	Recognise a minority language as an official language, providing separate educational opportunities for all children to learn both languages, extending support beyond education to minority groups.

Source: Stacy Churchill (1986) in Curson (1993: 74)

Locating OECD countries along this classificatory scheme, Churchill gives the following countries as examples, as listed against the above stages:

- a) Belgium, Finland, Switzerland – Stage 6 (very old bilingual and multilingual OECD states).
- b) Canada (especially Francophone Canada) – Stage 6, with variation down to Stage 2 across provincial boundaries.
- c) Sweden – provides the only Stage 5 enrichment programme in the world for its Finnish immigrant labour force, but in some places is still at Stage 4.
- d) New Zealand – because of the Maori Language Act 1987, there is a movement towards Stage 5 and ultimately Stage 6, however in relation to other Pacific Islands, it is still at Stages 1, 2, or 3.
- e) United States of America – the USA's Bilingual Education Act locates the country officially at Stage 4. In practice, however, it is still at Stage 1 or 2.

- f) United Kingdom – its major Celtic areas apart, which are akin to the USA, it lies at Stage 3. However, it is actually at Stage 1 in its treatment of new settler minority language users.
- g) Australia – located at several developmental stages because of its national language policy. However, on evidence of its treatment of aboriginal language users, it is at Stage 4 or 5.

It can be conjectured that Nigeria, and indeed several other African countries, are located at Stage 1, where there is a tacit aim in the country's policy to assimilate these indigenous people and their languages.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it needs be stated that although bilingualism, with its resultant code-mixing, code-switching, or even language shifting, has often been the focus of previous investigations, not much thought has gone into relating how the phenomenon of bilingualism – though an advantage to individuals – leads to a process of total abandonment of one language in favour of another.

References

- M.A. Adekunle, "The English Language in Nigeria as a Modern Nigeria Artefact" (postgraduate open lecture at University of Jos, Nigeria, 1985).
- . "English in Nigeria: Attitudes Policy and Communities Realities," in *New Englishes a West African Perspective*, eds. A. Bamgbose, A. Banjo, and A. Thomas (Ibadan: Mosuro/British council, 1995).
- . "Multilingualism and language function in Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 15(2) (1972b): 185-207.
- . "Sociolinguistic problems in English language instruction in Nigeria," in *Sociolinguistics in Cross Cultural Analysis*, eds. David Smith and Roger Shuy (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1992a), 83-100.
- E.B. Ajulo, "The English Language, National Language Policy and Human Resource Development in Multilingual and Multi-cultural Nigeria," *Nigeria Journal of Policy and Strategy* 4(2) (1989).
- R.G. Armstrong *The Study of West African Languages* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966)
- A. Bamgbose, "English in the Nigeria Environment," in *New Englishes* eds. A. Bamgbose et al. (1995).

- D. Carson, *Language, Minority Education and Gender Lacking Social Justice and Power* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1993).
- S. Churchill, *The Education of Linguistics and Cultural Minorities in OECD Countries* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1986).
- Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* (1979, rev. 1999).
- B.O. Elugbe, "National Languages and National Development," in *Multilingualism Minority Language and Language Policy in Nigeria*, ed. N.E. Emenanjo (Agbor: Central Books Ltd., 1990), 10-19.
- Isaac George, "Linguistics Aspects of Ethnic Relations," in *Ethnic Relations in Nigeria* ed. A.O. Sanda (Ibadan/Australia: Department of Sociology/Australian National University Press, 1976).
- Matthew Kuju, "Language Endangerment: An Appraisal of Non-Major Languages," in *Language Endangerment and Language Empowerment in Nigeria: Theory and Reality*, vol. 1, E. Nolue Emenanjo and Patrick K. Bleambo (eds.), 37-57. Aba: National Institute for Nigerian Languages (1999).
- A. Mabogunje, "Land, People and Tradition in Nigeria," in *The Politics and Administration of Nigeria Government*, ed. Franklin Blitz (London/Lagos: Sweet and Maxwell/African University Press, 1965), 11-35. *National Policy on Education* (Lagos: NERDC, 1977, rev. 1981) "Northern Nigeria," in *Language Endangerment and Language Empowerment in Nigeria* Vol. 1, ed. Patrick Bleambo (Aba: NINLAN, 1999).
- A. Obayemi, "Settlement Evolution: The Case of the North East Yoruba" (archaeology seminar at Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, 1 June 1978): 1-14.
- "Ancient Ile Ife: Another Culture-Historical Re-Interpretation," (1979): 1-43.
- "The Masquerade in Nigeria's Culture-History" (paper presented at the 22nd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 1980), 1-16.
- J. Ogbu, "Variability in Minority School Performance" a problem in search of an explanation," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 18 (1987): 313-314.
- E. Sapir, *Languages: An Introduction* (London: Harvst Books, reprint 1970).
- H. Williams, *Nigeria Free* (London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1962).
- Adekunle, M. A. (1985) *The English Language in Nigeria as a Modern Nigeria Artefact*. Postgraduate Open Lecture: University of Jos, Nigeria.

- .(1995) “English in Nigeria: Attitudes Policy and Communities Realities” in Bamgbose A, Banjo A and Thomas, A (eds) *New Englishes A West African Perspective* Ibadan: Mosuro/British council.
- .(1972^b) “Multilingualism and language function in Nigeria” *African Studies Review* vol. Xv, No 2 Sept. pp 185 – 207.
- .(1992 ^a)” Sociolinguistic problems in English language Instruction in Nigeria in David Smith and Roger Shuy (eds) *Sociolinguistics in Cross Cultural Analysis* Washington;: Georgetown, Univ. press pp 83 – 100
- Ajulo, E. B. (1989) “The English Language, National Language Policy and Human Resource Development in Multilingual and Multi-cultural Nigeria” *Nigeria Journal of Policy and Strategy* vol.4, No. 2
- Bamgbose, A. (1995) “English in the Nigeria Environment” in Bamgbose, A, et al *New Englishes*
- Carson, D (1993) *Language, Minority Education and Gender Lacking Social Justice and Power*_Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Churchill, S. (1986) *The Education of Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in OECD Countries* Clevedon: Multilingual matters. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979*, rev.1999
- Elugbe, B. O. (1990) “ National languages and National Development in Emenanjo, N. E. (ed) *Multilingualism, Minority language and Language Policy in Nigeria*. Agbor: Central Books Ltd. Pp 10 – 19.
- George, Isaac (1976)’Linguistic Aspects of Ethnic Relations’ in Sanda, A.O.(ed)*Ethnic Relations in Nigeria* (Ibadan/Australia: Dept. of Sociology/Australian National Univ.Press)
- Kuju,Matthew’Language Endangerment: An Appraisal of Non Major Languages in
- Mabogunje, A. (1965) “Land, People and Tradition in Nigeria” in Franklin Blitz (ed) *The Politics and Administration of Nigeria Government* London/Lagos: Sweet and Maxwell/African Uni. Press pp 11 – 35.
- National Policy on Education* (1977) revised 1981 Lagos. N.E.R.D.C
- Northern Nigeria in Emenanjo,N and Patrick Bleambo (ed) *Language Endangerment and Language Empowerment in Nigeria* Vol.1 Aba:NINLAN,1999
- Obayemi,A (1978)’Settlement Evolution:The Case of The North East Yoruba’ Archaeology Seminar, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University,Zaria,Nigeria,1st June,pp1-14
- .(1979) ’Ancient Ile Ife: Another Culture-Historical Re-interpretation’ pp.1-43
- Obayemi,A (19??) ’The Masquerade In Nigeria’s Culture- History’ presented at the 22nd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria,pp.1-16

- Ogbu, J. (1987) "Variability in Minority School performance: A problem in search of an Explanation". *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 18, 313 – 314.
- Sapir, E. (1921) *Languages: An Introduction* rpt. 1970 London: Harvest Books.
- Williams, H. (1962) *Nigeria Free* London: Robert Hale ltd.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM HIGH VOWELS TO SYLLABIC NASALS: EVIDENCE FROM YORUBA AND IGBO (EZEAGWU)

AKINBIYI AKINLABI

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY AND GEORGE
ILOENE EBONYI STATE UNIVERSITY, ABAKALIKI

1. Introduction: The Problem

Studies of English and other languages are replete with the idea that syllabic consonants result from syllable reduction; that is /əC/ → [C]. The idea is that the coda in these syllables occupy the position vacated by the deleted vowel /ə/. In this paper, we show that one result of syllable reduction is complete category change of the vowel itself, especially in languages without codas. The category change is from a **high oral vowel** to a syllabic nasal. We argue that the way to account for such changes is to see them as forms of sonority reduction. A vowel is reduced to the least sonorous (permissible) segment that can occupy syllable peak in the language; which in these languages is usually a syllabic nasal.¹

Oyelaran (1971, 1976, 1991) argues that Yoruba syllabic nasals may be derived from three sources: a nasal consonant plus high vowel, a non-nasal consonant plus high vowel, or a high vowel. These are exemplified in (1a), (1b) and (1c) respectively. The relevant alternating forms are in bold.

(1a) **mĩ** ò ló → **ŋ** ò ló (**mĩ** → **ŋ**)
 I-NEG-go 'I didn't/wont go'

- (b) **kpíkpe** ni yòò kpé → **ḡmíkpe** ni óò kpé (**kpí** → **ḡm**)
 being-delayed–foc–fut –be delayed ‘It may take long’
- yíye** ní í ye eyelé → **ḡye** ní í ye eyelé (**yí** → **ḡ**)
 being well – FOC – be well – pigeon ‘It is always well
 with the pigeon’
- (c) àwò **ì** wò tá → àwò **ḡ** wò tá (**ì** → **ḡ**)
 flowing-NEG-flow-finish ‘that which flows (of gown)
 without end’
- òrùlé → ònlé / òòlé (**ù** → **ḡ**)
 ‘rooftop’

Iloene (1997) describes examples from Igbo (Ezeagu) gerunds, parallel to the Yoruba gerundial forms in (1b), in which syllables with high vowels alternate with syllabic nasals, as in (2).

(2) Igbo Gerunds

Igbo- standard	Ezeagu		Verb- base	
ò-bù-bè	[òmbè]	cutting	í-bè	to cut
ò-mú-mé	[òmmé]	doing, acting	í- [↓] mé	to do
ò-nú-nó	[ònnó]	swallowing	í- [↓] nó	to swallow
ò-kú-kó	[òḡkó]	telling	í- [↓] kó	to tell
ò-ní-ná	[òḡnná]	going home	í- [↓] ná	to go home
ò-kí-ká	[òḡká]	surpassing	í- [↓] ká	to surpass
ò-jí-jí	òndzí	holding	í- [↓] jí	to hold

The goal here is to provide a formal insight into these observations. In doing so we rely heavily on data from Oyelaran’s research, while supplying additional evidence from other Yoruba dialects, as well as from Igbo (Ezeagu).

The core of the formal proposal here is that the high vowel – syllabic nasal alternations in Yoruba and Igbo represent vowel reduction in weak environments. This is parallel to the reduction seen in languages like English in “weak” (or unstressed) syllables. The weak environments of Yoruba and Igbo are “deformed” syllables with high vowels.

2. Nasal contrast and syllabic nasals in Yoruba

Oyelaran (1976) notes that there are two non-syllabic contrastive nasal consonants /m/ and /n/ in Yoruba. /m/ contrasts with /n/ before /i/, as seen in the left column in (3). ([kp̄], [gb̄] are labiovelar stops.)

(3) Nasal Contrast

ni	‘identity marker’	Sopé ni òta	[sokpé ni òta]
	‘Sope is winner’		
mi	‘I’ (cf. mo)	mi ò lọ	
	‘I didn’t/wont go’		

These nasal consonants can occur as syllabic, constituting the only segment in the syllable. The syllabic nasal assumes the place of articulation of the following consonant. In the Yoruba orthography, only these two nasals in (3) are written ([m] before [b], and [n] before other consonants), as the (orthographic) forms in the right column in (4) show. Throughout this paper, we will sometimes employ both orthographic as well as the IPA transcriptions of the data, to make clear the alternations being illustrated. The syllabic nasal is, of course, not contrastive (See Bamgbose 1969).

(4a) Syllabic Nasals Within Words

Transcription

Orthography

[orombó]	‘orange’	òrombó
[bóńfò]	‘short skirt’	bónfò
[kpanla]	‘stockfish’	panla
[ìjáníjá]	‘bits and pieces (of meat)’	ìjáníjá
[ògòńgò]	‘ostrich’	ògòńgò
[gbanmgbá]	‘plain view’	gbangba

(4b) Syllabic Nasals In Phrases (aspectual marker)

Transcription

Orthography

[ó ń bò]	‘he is coming’	ó ń bọ
[ó ń fò]	‘he is jumping’	ó ń fọ
[ó ń lọ]	‘he is going’	ó ń lọ
[ó ń jó]	‘he is dancing’	ó ń jó
[ó ń ké]	‘he is crying’	ó ń ké
[ó ń hó]	‘it is boiling’	ó ń hó
[ó ń gbó]	‘he is hearing’	ó ń gbọ

Before vowels, the syllabic nasal occurs only in phrases. In this context it is the alternant of the first person pronoun clitic before the negative particle, and it is always produced as a velar nasal. In the orthography, it is written as [n], as in the right column.

(5)	Transcription		Orthography
	mi ò lɔ	→	[ŋ ò lɔ] / [mi ò lɔ] 'I
	didn't/wont go' n ò lɔ		
	I neg. go		
	mi ò ì lɔ	→	[ŋ èè lɔ] / [mi ò ì lɔ] 'I have not gone' n
	èè lɔ		
	I neg. asp. go		

The forms in (4) can be easily accounted for by assuming a PLACE -agreement constraint that calls for the place of articulation of the syllabic nasal to be the same as that of the following consonant. The assumed underlying form of the syllabic nasal is irrelevant in this case. However, if we were to take a rigorous phonemic approach, we would have to assume that the underlying form of the syllabic nasal in all of the forms in (4) is the velar nasal [ŋ], since this is the form that occurs both before the glottal consonant /h/, as well as before vowels in (5) (Bamgbose 1966:8). The place assimilation of the syllabic nasal is an “everywhere” process. The assimilation applies within words, as in (4a), as well as in phrases, as in (4b) and (5).

Descriptively, the assimilation of syllabic nasals before consonants is quite straightforward, within any of the theories of feature geometry (Clements and Hume 1995, and others). The PLACE node of a consonant spreads to the preceding nasal consonant, which, as pointed out above, is a velar nasal. (But see Ni Chiosain and Padgett 2001 who suggest that individual place specifications are spread in assimilations. See Rice (1996) on velars as default.)² There is no consonantal oral place to spread in the case of the glottal [h], or vowels. This accounts for the occurrence of the dorsal place before vowels and before /h/. (See de Lacy 2006 for arguments that some phonetically velar nasals are phonologically glottal.)

3. Syllabic nasal alternations: sources of the syllabic nasal

Among Yoruba scholars, Oyelaran was the first to notice that there is a connection between high (nasal) vowels and the Yoruba syllabic nasal. In a series of papers (1971, 1976, 1991), he made the case that some of the

surface syllabic nasals derive from underlying high (nasal) vowels. Writing in 1970 in the pre-feature geometric days, it was understandably difficult for Oyelaran to derive a consonant from a high vowel, but he concluded in his 1991 paper that high nasal vowels “neutralize” to the syllabic nasal. Superficially therefore, it would appear that the Yoruba syllabic nasals arise from several different sources. The syllabic nasal may alternate with (or derive from) (a) a nasal CV, (b) a nasal high vowel, (c) an oral CV, and (d) an oral high vowel. In the following subsections we split the sources into two: nasal segment sources (section 3.1) and non-nasal segment sources (section 3.2). In addition, we will also discuss another source: word initial high oral vowels in Onko Yoruba dialect. Finally, examples from Igbo reduplication and from verbal nouns show that this alternation is more widespread in Benue Congo.

3.1 Nasal segment sources

In normal speech, vowel deletion occurs in the formatives (with a nasal consonant) in (1a) above and (6a) below, due to the vowel hiatus. The remaining (onset) nasal consonant becomes a (syllabic) nucleus, and homorganic with the following consonant (Oyelaran (1971, 1976), Owolabi (1989:197)) or a velar nasal before a vowel. The forms in (6b) and (6c) are derived from sonorant consonant deletion before high vowels and “nasal syllabification” of the high vowel.

- Nasal Consonant+Vowel** (consonant or vowel could be nasal)
- (6a) /mi ò lɔ/ → [ŋ ò lɔ] ‘I didn’t/wont go’
 I neg. go
 /mo rí i ní ilé/ → [mo rí i nílé]/ [mo rí i nílé] ‘I saw him
 at home’
 I see 3sg. at house
- (6b) /ðmìnira/ → [ð̀ǹnira] ‘independence’ (< ara
 ‘body’)
 /ð̀m̀ù̀ẁè/ → [ð̀ŋ̀ẁè] ‘swimmer’³ (< ẁè
 ‘swim/bathe’)
 /ð̀m̀ù̀g̀ò/ → [ð̀ŋ̀g̀ò] ‘idiot’ (< g̀ò ‘be
 unintelligent’)
- (6c) Personal Names
 /oyèr̀í̀d̀é/ → [oyè̀ǹd̀é] /r̀í/ → [̀ǹ]
 /ɔ̀lár̀í̀d̀é/ → [ɔ̀lár̀ǹd̀é] /r̀í/ → [̀ǹ]

/áyídé/	→	[áyídé]	/yĩ/	→	[ñ]
/òrũtót/	→	[òńtót]	/rũ/	→	[ń]
/ìgbóminà/	→	[ìgbóńnà] ⁴	/mĩ/	→	[ñ]

On the other hand, the syllabic nasal can also result from an underlying high nasal vowel, as in (7).

High (Nasal) Vowel

- (7) $\tilde{u} \rightarrow n$
 [oũɛ] ~ [ońɛ] ‘food’ (< ou + ɛ ‘thing + eat’)
 [òũgbɛ] ~ [òńgbɛ] ‘thirst’ (< ou + gbɛ ‘thing + be dry’)

(Osun dialect, Barber 1976:288)

/òũ ló gbaya è lówó ò mi/ → [n ló gbaya è lówó ò mi]

3sg. foc-3sg take-wife 3sg. from-hand me “It is he who snatched his wife from me”

We can make the following generalizations from the data in (6) and (7). The data in (6a) derives from vowel deletion, and syllabification of the nasal consonant. However, there is *no prosodic motivation* for vowel deletion in the forms in (6b) and (6c). Rather, the data in (6b, c) and (7) derive from consonant deletion (when one is present as in (6b, c) and subsequent change of the high nasal vowel to a syllabic nasal. (But see Oyelaran (1991) for a different analysis.⁵) See Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975) and Akinlabi (1991, 1993, to appear) for deletions of different types of sonorant consonants.⁶

These data reveal that the syllabic nasal can derive from a nasal consonant [n] or [m], as well as from a high nasal vowel. We will provide a unified account of the forms with a high nasal vowel and forms with a high oral vowel in section 4 below.

3.2 Non-nasal segment sources

The more interesting examples are those of syllabic nasals derived from function words Oyelaran (1991). The function words optionally lose their initial consonants, except when they occur utterance initially. We will also split these examples into oral Consonant+Vowel (CV) forms and oral vowel (V) forms. The forms include the gerundive formative (Cí), the relative clause marker [tí] (= CV), and the negative affix [ĩ] (= V), among others. In all cases we must derive the syllabic nasal from a high vowel.

Oral CV

(i) Gerundial formative (focused verb):

The gerund is marked in Yoruba by prefix consisting of high-toned vowel [i] and a copy of the consonant of the verb stem (Akinlabi 2006). This form alternates with one in which the gerund is marked by a syllabic nasal, as in (8a) and (8b) respectively. (**kpé** ‘be late’)

- (8a) **kpíkpe** ni yóò kpé, akólòlò yóò kpe ‘bàbá’
 ([kpíkpe])
 being late – FOC – FUT – be late, stammer – FUT – call – ‘father’
- (8b) **ḡmíkpe** ni óò kpé, akólòlò óò kpe ‘bàbá’
 ([ḡmíkpe])
 It may take long, the stammer will pronounce ‘father’.

The gerund can also occur in ‘incantations’. The forms in (9) show that alternation is possible whenever there is a gerundial formative. (ye ‘be well with, befitting’; rò ‘be soft’)

- (9a) ó ní **yíye** ní í ye eyelé → ní **ḡye** ní í ye eyelé
 ([yíye]~[ḡye])
 3sg. – say - being well – FOC – be well – pigeon He says all is always well with the pigeon.
- (9b) **rírò** ní í rò àdàbà lórũ → **ḡrò** ní í rò àdàbà lóũ
 ([rírò]~[ḡrò])
 being soft – FOC – be soft – dove – at neck It is never difficult for the dove.

The idea in (8) and (9) above is that the consonant of the gerundial prefix ([kp], [y], [r]) is deleted, and the remaining high vowel becomes a syllabic nasal, which then assimilates the place of articulation of the following consonant as usual.

(ii) The relative clause marker [tí]

The consonant [t] of the relative clause marker [tí] may be deleted, leaving behind the high vowel [i]. As in the gerundial prefix the high vowel becomes a syllabic nasal, which takes the place of articulation of the following consonant.

(10)	igbà tímo yègò nígbàlè	→	igbà m̩ mo yègò
	nígbàlè ([tí]~[m̩])		
	Time - that – I – dodge costume – in grove		When I dodged the (egungun) costume in the sacred grove

On the oral CV forms in (8) - (10) above, Oyelaran (1991:15) concludes that:

“when, in Yoruba, derivational morphemes and function words lose their consonants, if the vowel tautosyllabic with the consonant ... is a high front vowel, the vowel may optionally neutralize to a syllabic nasal...”

This statement aptly describes the alternation context. It is important to note that in the forms in (8) - (10), the choice of deriving the syllabic nasal through vowel deletion and consonant syllabification (cf. 1a and 6a) does not arise, because the consonants involved are all oral and do not form a natural phonological class. The point however is that it does not matter whether the (deleted) formative consonant is oral or nasal, and it does not matter whether the (remaining) high vowel [i] is oral or nasal, the process still goes through.

Oral High Vowels

(i) The Infinitive [i]

The infinitive marker [i] can alternate with a syllabic nasal (11a), or assimilate to the vowel of the preceding verb (11d), or remain unassimilated (11b,c), as the following examples from Gelede music show. (11a, b, c, d) mean the same thing.

(11) From Gelede music (Oyedepo 1979:17)
 aṣògèlèdè ... Dancer of Gelede music ...

(a) mo fě **ń** fàdùrà kã I want to say a prayer (infinitive [i])
becomes [ń]
 I – want – **to** – say prayer – one.

- (b) mo fě **í** fàdùrà kã (unassimilated [i])
 (c) mo fě **fi** fàdùrà kã (unassimilated [i])
 (d) mo fě **é** fàdùrà kã (assimilated [i])

- (e) *mo fé **ń** **ń**íàdùrà kã
 (e) *mo fé **í** **ń**íàdùrà kã
 (f) *mo fé **é** **ń**íàdùrà kã

It is crucial to digress at this point to give a unified explanation for the examples in (8) – (11). While it is obvious that the high-tone [í] underlies the syllabic nasal in all these examples, it is not crucial to assume that consonant deletion is involved in all cases. Compare the examples in (11b, c, d) with those in (8) and (9). It is a well-known fact of Yoruba that vowel initial nouns are never also high-tone initial. If we extend this position slightly, we can say that there are other ways in which an initial high-toned vowel can be protected. One is by providing an onset with a copy of a consonant of the stem (as in the (8a), (9), and (11c)). Another possibility is to turn the high vowel [í] into a syllabic nasal, as we see here in (8b), (9) and (10a). A third possibility is assimilating the high vowel to the preceding vowel, as in (11d). In fact, the so-called verb-infinitive high-tone vowel [í] (in 11) is usually assimilated in fluent speech, and never occurs as [í]. (See also Bamgbose (1969) for the opinion that there is a connection between the syllabic nasal and the high tone [í].)

The idea just sketched above follows completely if we assume the proposal that the deverbal noun (or gerundial) prefix is [í] (Akinlabi 2004, to appear) (see also Ola (1995) and Pulleyblank (2004) for similar proposals), and that the copy of the consonant of the verb is necessary to protect the high tone prefix [í], which is otherwise banned in Yoruba.

We will conclude therefore that all of the forms in (8) - (11) involve an alternation between [í] and a syllabic nasal, whether the [í] is underlying or the result of a loss of an onset.

(ii) Reduplication in Aro traditional Yoruba poetry

The syllabic nasal is also derivable from a low-tone [í] via consonant deletion. The deleted consonant itself arises from an obviously reduplicated stem. The first onset consonant is deleted in the (V)-CVCV context because it is identical to the consonant in the next syllable. The remaining high vowel alternates with a syllabic nasal.

- (12) òtítè → ò̀̀títè (<ò̀̀títè)
 ‘stamp’ (of authority) (tè ‘press’)
 ò̀̀gbìgbè → ò̀̀m̀̀gbè (<ò̀̀ìgbè) ‘thirst’ (gbè ‘dry up’)
 ò̀̀kpìkpa → ò̀̀m̀̀kpa (<ò̀̀ìkpa) ‘thresher’ (kpa
 ‘weed’)
 ò̀̀gbìgbĩ → ò̀̀m̀̀gbĩ (<ò̀̀ìgbĩ) ‘planter’ (gbĩ ‘plant’)

òhìhù	→	òḡhù	(<òìhù)
‘germinator/ he who makes germinate’ (hù ‘germinate’)			
òdìdàgbà	→	òṅdàgbà (<òìdàgbà)	‘he who grows/developer’
(dì àgbà ‘become grown’)			

The derived nouns above are related to the forms in (13) below. The first form in (13) has the same shape ((V)-CVCV) as the derived nouns in (12), but there is no separate CV stem in (13). The same process of first onset deletion applies.

(13)	dìde	→	n̄de
	rise, stand up		
	à - jí -dìde	→	àjìnde
	resurrection (Easter)		‘(act of) waking and standing up, rising’

(iii) The negative marker [i]

Finally, the negative formative [i] is employed in a nominalization process, which involves two copies of a verb. The negative formative [i] occurs between the two copies. The verb [tā] “finish” is added (serialized) to the stem, and finally a noun is formed from this complex verbal structure by adding a prefix [à-]. The nominal structure has the meaning “Doing X without end”. In this structure, the negative formative [i] alternates with a syllabic nasal.

(14)	àwó ì wó tã	→	àwó ṅ wó tã
	flowing – NEG – flow – finish		that which flows (of gown)
	without end		
	à je ì je tã	→	à je ṅ je tã
	eating NEG eat finish		that which is consumed (as in glory of God) without end
	à bù ì bù tã	→	à bù ṁ bù tã
	scooping NEG scoop finish		that which is scooped (of liquid) without end

(iv) Noun Reduplication

Awobuluyi (2008:53) ⁷ discusses a form of VCV (minimal noun) reduplication in which the prefixal reduplicant VCV is a complete copy of the initial stem VCV, including both tone and segments (see section 6 for a

second type). Typically, a vowel hiatus may be resolved through vowel assimilation or vowel deletion in Yoruba. In these reduplications however, the hiatus is resolved by changing the initial high vowel [i] of the stem to a syllabic nasal. (The verb bases for the nouns in (15) are **bí** ‘give birth’, **bó** ‘feed’, **bé** ‘cut down’, **sá** ‘run away, avoid’, **já** ‘pluck, break’, **kó** ‘pack, take’, **wá** ‘move towards, look for’, **bà** ‘land (vb.), perch’, **pé** ‘be complete’.

(15)	ibí - ibí		ibí - ìmbí	‘nakedness’
	ibó - ibó		ibó - ìmbó	‘feeding allowance (for a child)’
	ibé - ibé		ibé - ìmbé	‘fresh harvest (as in corn)’
	isá - isá		isá - ìnsá	‘truant, run-away’
	ìjá - ìjá		ìjá - ìjǎ	‘bits and pieces (of meat)’
	ikó - ikó so		ikó - ìkóso / ikò - ìkóso	‘type of mouse trap’
	ìwá - ìwá ara		ìwá - ìwǎ ara / iwà - ìwára	‘hastiness, impatience’
	ibà - ibà ilè		ibà - ìbà ilè / ibà - ìbàlè	‘close to the ground’
	ìpé - ìpé ojú		ìpé - ìpǎ ojú / ìpé - ìpǎjú	‘eyelid’

(v) **Forms derived from /r/ deletion**

The consonant [r] may be deleted before or after high vowel in Yoruba (see Akinlabi 1993 for details). In some of these forms, there is a choice between assimilating the “orphaned” high vowel to the preceding vowel and alternating with a syllabic nasal, in a similar way to the forms in (12).

(16)	/u/ → [n]			
	òrùlé	→	ò̀ǹlé ~ ò̀ò̀lé	rooftop
	òrùka	→	ò̀ṅ̀ka ~ ò̀ò̀ka	ring
(finger)	òrùṅbe	→	ò̀ṅ̀m̀ṅ̀be ~ ò̀ò̀ṅ̀be	thirst (see also the same form in (9))

It is apparent from the foregoing that there are three sources of high vowels turning to syllabic nasals:

- (17) High vowel sources of the syllabic nasal.
 (a) Nasal consonant plus high vowel.
 (b) Non-nasal consonant plus high vowel.
 (c) An underlyingly onsetless high vowel.

The above evidence is compelling enough to show that Yoruba high vowels ([i], [u]) alternate with a syllabic nasal. The important question is how can we derive one from the other? Another way of putting this question is to ask what high vowels have in common with nasals to make this alternation possible. The PLACE-OF-ARTICULATION of the high vowel does not appear to be important, since the surface PLACE-OF-ARTICULATION of the resulting syllabic nasal is determined by that of the following segment.

3.3 Non-high vowels do not alternate with syllabic nasals

To complete the picture it is necessary to show what happens with non-high vowels in function words. Underlying or derived non-high vowels in function words do not alternate with the syllabic nasal, the way high vowels do. An example of this is the aspectual marker [i], which is used in the negative habitual, as in (18).

- (18) /olú kò í lɔ/ 'Olu does not (usually) go'
 Olu-neg.- asp-go

The various possible outputs of the forms in (18) are in (19):

- (19a) [olú kò ń lɔ] 'Olu does not (usually) go'
 (19b) [olú kì í lɔ] 'Olu does not (usually) go'
 (19c) [olú kì ń lɔ] 'Olu does not (usually) go'
 (19d) [olú kè é lɔ] 'Olu does not (usually) go'
 (19e) *[olú kè ń lɔ]
- (20) /olú kò lɔ/ → [olú ò lɔ] 'olu did not go'
 *[olú ò lɔ]

All of the forms in (19) have (18) as their input. The form in (19a) is one in which the high vowel [i] of (18) simply becomes a syllabic nasal. (19b) is the output of (18) with regressive assimilation, which occurs in phrases. (19c) combines (opaque) regressive assimilation with the alternation of [i] with a syllabic nasal. (19d) is the output of (18) when the vowel [o] of [kò] coalesces with the aspectual [i]. Finally, unlike (19c)

which shows that any onsetless [i] can alternate with a syllabic nasal, (19e) shows that [e] cannot alternate with a syllabic nasal (cf 19d). In addition, though it is possible to delete the onset of the negative marker [(k)ò], the onsetless [o] of the negative marker in (20) cannot alternate with a syllabic nasal.

The above shows that Yoruba syllabic nasals actually share a relationship with high vowels. We now turn to account for the alternation between high vowels and syllabic nasals.

4. A Proposal

The goal here is to derive the neutralization of high vowels to syllabic nasals, in a weak environment.

What is a deformed/weak syllable?

There are at least three things that point to the fact that the vowel in the contexts described above is reduced. First, the vowel itself is prosodically weak. The alternation involves a high vowel and never any other vowel. High vowels are known to be prosodically weaker than non-high vowels. Therefore among vowels, they make the worst nuclei (outside of the central vowel [ə]). Secondly, the vowel is located in a syllable that has been deformed by deletion of its onset, or that is underlyingly onsetless. Ola (1995) proposes that the only full syllables in Yoruba are those with onsets, and that vowel-only syllables are only moras and not full syllables. Thirdly, the equivalent of a weak position here is a functional word or a derivational morpheme, which are known to be subject to cliticization.

This neutralization is intuitively similar to sonority driven vowel reduction in stress systems (Crosswhite 1999, 2000), depending on how a “non-prominent syllable” is defined in a non-stress language. We propose that the definition of non-prominence should include both prosodically and morphologically weak positions, as done above.

Vowel reduction may therefore result in category change, from vowel to consonant, through reduction in sonority. By implication therefore, the end result of the reduction may vary, depending on the least sonorous segment the language in question allows in nuclei.

In Yoruba, short of outright deletion, there are two choices available for this deformed syllable to be realized:

- (21) (a) the high vowel may be completely assimilated to the preceding vowel, or

(b) the high vowel may be completely reduced to the least sonorous sound that is permitted to be a syllable peak in Yoruba or Igbo, without an onset. This is the nasal consonant.

5. A sketch of a formal analysis

In this section, we will attempt to give a formal account to the generalization from the preceding section. The generalization is that a weak vowel (high vowel) becomes a weak sonorant (syllabic nasal) in a weak position (an onsetless syllable). We will analyze this as a preference for a syllabic nasal nucleus in a weak position; other onsetless (non-high) vowels do not change to syllabic nasals because they are prevented from doing so. Yoruba prohibits onsets from syllables with nasal consonant nuclei.⁸

It is a well-known fact that vowels differ in their intrinsic sonority. Parker (2002) presents both acoustic and aerodynamic evidence that a height-based scale of sonority (in 22) is cross-linguistically motivated. (See also Kent and Read 2002.)

(22) Relative sonority of vowels:

LOW	>	MID	>	HIGH
æ, a, . . .		e, o, . . .		i, u . . .

That is, low vowels are more sonorous than mid vowels, which are in turn more sonorous than high vowels. (See also Howe and Pulleyblank 2004.) Thus, among vowels, high vowels are the least sonorous. Formally this generally translate to the constraint ranking in (23)

(23) *NUC/highV >> *NUC/non-highV

A non-highV nucleus is preferred to a highV nucleus.

Apparently, if a syllable is deformed such that what remains is the least sonorous vowel, this is further reduced to the least sonorous element that can be moraic in non-stress languages. We will leave the question open as to whether or not such elements are just moras or still full syllables in Yoruba (Ola 1995).

It is also well known that all segments can be grouped into four classes in terms of sonority, vowels being the most sonorous and obstruents being the least sonorous (Clements 1990). Translating this into relative harmony in terms of sonority, we have:

(24) Relative sonority of major sonority classes

vocoid > liquid > nasal > obstruent

Clements (1990) and Clements and Hume (1995) propose the following ranking of the major sonority classes, based on the plus values of their features [sonorant], [approximant], and [vocoid], with vocoids having all pluses and obstruents having all minuses.

(25) Sonority rank of segment classes

Obstruent	0
Nasal	1
Liquid	2
Vocoid	3

Formally, the hierarchies in (24) and (25) translate to the following ranking in terms nuclei.

(26) *NUC/obs >> *NUC/nas >> *NUC/liq >> *NUC/voc

A vocalic nucleus is preferred to a liquid nucleus. A liquid nucleus is preferred to a nasal nucleus. And finally, a nasal nucleus is preferred to an obstruent nucleus.

Based on this hierarchy, we can assume that a nucleus in Yoruba or Igbo must have at least a sonority level of 1. That is, obstruents are banned from the nucleus position. However, what is crucial to our analysis is that taking the harmony in (22) and (24) together, the least sonorous vowels may reduce to the least sonorous segments (allowed as nuclei) in the weakest syllables.

5.1 Constraints and Constraint Ranking

Before proceeding to give the technical formal derivation, it is important to highlight the main points descriptively:

- (27) (a) Among vocoids, high vowel nuclei are the least sonorous, except of course when the language has [ə].
 (b) An onsetless nasal is preferred to an onsetless non-high vowel, which is in turn preferred to an onsetless high vowel.
 (c) Having an onsetless nonhigh vowel is preferred to changing it.
 (d) Changing a high vowel in a weak syllable is preferred to leaving it onsetless.

(e) Finally, since the least offensive onsetless nucleus is the syllabic nasal, this is the result of the high vowel change.

Prince and Smolensky's (1993/2004) prominence alignment have been employed for alignment of segment to syllable positions, sonority driven stress (Kenstowicz 1994), sonority driven vowel reduction (Crosswhite 1999, 2000), etc. Here we propose that a species of these constraints can be employed to account for high vowel/nasal consonant alternations.

We will adopt the same constraint families used by Kenstowicz (1994) to predict stress placement in sonority-driven stress situations:

- (28) (a) Stress targeting low-sonority:
 $*\text{Stressed}/\text{ə} \gg * \text{Stressed}/\text{i,u} \gg * \text{Stressed}/\text{e,o} \gg * \text{Stressed}/\text{a}$
- (b) Stress targeting high sonority:
 $*\text{Unstressed}/\text{a} \gg * \text{Unstressed}/\text{e,o} \gg * \text{Unstressed}/\text{i,u} \gg * \text{Unstressed}/\text{ə}$

Crosswhite (1999, 2000) has extended this model to sonority-driven vowel reductions. However, since Crosswhite dealt with vowel reductions in languages with stress prominence, further extension of this model is necessary to cover the type of syllabic “weak” position as defined above. We propose the following ranking, making only a broad separation between non-high and high vowels.

- (29) Sonority-Driven Reduction in a non-stress language
 $*[\sigma_{\text{HIGH-V}} \gg \dots \gg *[\sigma_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}} \gg \dots \gg *[\sigma_{\text{NASAL-C}}$
 ([σ_X : “x is the first segment of the syllable”])

The ranking in (29) claims that an onsetless nasal consonant is preferred to an onsetless non-high vowel, which is in turn preferred to an onsetless high vowel, in Yoruba.

Howe and Pulleyblank (2004) capture the weakness of high vowels (in hiatus and other contexts) by proposing that faithfulness to them (specifically MAX or DEP) is ranked lower than faithfulness to non-high vowels. We will assume that all faithfulness constraints to high vowels are ranked low, including IDENT constraints.

By itself the ranking in (29) predicts that all onsetless vowels should become syllabic nasals in Yoruba. To account for why this does not happen, the identity of non-high vowels must be protected by the IDENT

(and MAX) family of constraints. We will therefore assume the ranking of IDENT in (30) with respect to the sonority constraints in (29). We will simply use IDENT_{NON-HIGH-V} and IDENT_{HIGH-V}.

(30) IDENT_{NON-HIGH-V} >> * $[\sigma_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}}$

The ranking in (30) proposes that retaining an onsetless non-high vowel syllable initially is preferred to changing it.

The tableau in (31) illustrates this ranking. In (31) an onsetless vowel [ò] from the negative marker [kò] (from (21) above) does not alternate with a syllabic nasal.

(31) /olú kò lɔ/ → [olú ò lɔ] “olu did not go”

kò lɔ	IDENT _{NON-HIGH-V}	* $[\sigma_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}}$
☞ ò lɔ		*
ɲ lɔ	*!	

However, the opposite ranking operates with respect to high vowels.

(32) * $[\sigma_{\text{HIGH-V}}$ >> IDENT_{HIGH-V}

Changing the features of a high vowel is preferred to having it as an onsetless high vowel.

The ranking in (32) is exemplified in tableau (33). Here the onsetless negative habitual marker [í] alternates with a syllabic nasal, instead of remaining a vowel (see 19).

(33) /olú kò í lɔ/ → [olú kò ɲ lɔ] (or [olú ò ɲ lɔ]) “olu does not go”

kò í lɔ	* $[\sigma_{\text{HIGH-V}}$	IDENT _{HIGH}
☞ kò ɲ lɔ		*
kò í lɔ	*!	

The combined ranking of both of these predicts that only onsetless high vowels will change:

(34) IDENT_{NON-HIGH-V}, * $[\sigma_{\text{HIGH-V}}$ >> * $[\sigma_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}}$ >>
IDENT_{HIGH}

Finally, since the least offensive onsetless nucleus is the syllabic nasal, this is the result of the high vowel change, as predicted by the ranking in (35).

(35) $\text{IDENT}_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}}, *[\sigma_{\text{HIGH-V}}] \gg *[\sigma_{\text{NON-HIGH-V}}] \gg *[\sigma_{\text{NASAL-C}}, \text{IDENT}_{\text{HIGH-V}}]$

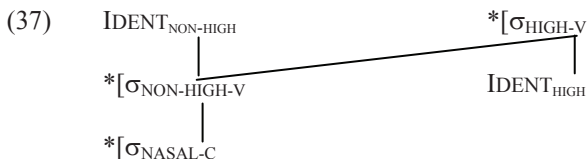
The tableau in (36) exemplifies the optimal form that emerges from the ranking in (35). The relevant form here is the output in which both the negative marker [(k)ò] and the negative habitual [í] occur without onsets. In this case, only the negative habitual [í] can alternate with a syllabic nasal, though both of these vowels occur onsetless in function words.

(36) /olú kò í lɔ/ → [olú kò ń lɔ] / [olú ò ń lɔ] “olu does not go”

k ò í lɔ	ID _{NON-HIGH}	*[σ _{HIGH-V}]	*[σ _{NON-HIGH-V}]	*[σ _{NASAL-C}]	ID _{HIGH}
☞ ò ń lɔ			*	*	*
ń ń lɔ	*!		**		
ò í lɔ		*!			
ń í lɔ	*!	*!		*	

(This tableau excludes constraints responsible for [k] deletion, which is independent of the process under discussion.)

The hasse diagram in (37) presents the overall ranking of the above relevant constraints.



The above broadly accounts for the reduction of onsetless high vowels to nasal consonants. Two remaining issues need to be addressed. First, why is it that not all onsetless high vowels become syllabic nasals in standard Yoruba? For example, high vowels of words in isolation or in absolute initial positions do not become syllabic nasals. We take this to

result from the protection of segments in absolute initial position, that is “positional faithfulness” (Beckman 1998 and others).

Secondly, why is it not possible to turn all high vowels into syllabic nasals, regardless of whether they have onsets or not? After all, nasals do constitute syllable peaks crosslinguistically (e.g. English). We must assume that this is impossible in Yoruba because an onset cannot occur with a nasal consonant as the nucleus. This may be enforced by the consonant clustering ban within a syllable.

6. Further evidence: Onko Yoruba dialect and Ezeagwu Igbo

6.1 Onko Yoruba

Standard Yoruba is not the only dialect in which onsetless high vowels alternate with syllabic nasals. There are in fact other Yoruba dialects that regard all such syllables as weak. In Onko dialect, all onsetless word initial [i]’s in the standard dialect are realized as syllabic nasals.

(38) Cognates in S.Y. and Onko

Onko	SY	Gloss
nlé	ilé	house
nsó	isó	fart
ṣ̀nyà	iyà	punishment
ṣ̀ncé	ifé	work
ntò	itò	urine
ṣ̀m̀gbé	igbé	feaces
mbo	ibo	where?
mmí	imi	feaces
nró	iró	lie

Ola (1995) provides further evidence from distributive reduplication confirming the alternation between initial /i/ and the syllabic nasal in Onko. Distributive nouns are formed by prefixing a minimal noun, a VCV, to the base. If the base is VCV, then the form is copied completely. However, if the base is larger than VCV, then only the initial VCV is copied. (See Akinlabi 1985, Pulleyblank 1988 for details.) The final vowel of the reduplicant VCV assimilates all the features of the following base vowel. The gloss in each case is “noun/every noun”.

	<u>Standard Yoruba</u>	<u>Onko Yoruba</u>	<u>Base</u>	<u>Reduplicant</u>
	<u>Base</u>	<u>Reduplicant</u>		<u>Gloss</u>
(a)	òru night òwúrò òwò-òwúrò	òrò-òru òwò-òwúrò morning	òru	òrò-òru òwúrò
(b)	ilà ̀̀li-ilà ìròlé evening iyálèta dawn	ili-ilà ̀̀li-ilà ìrì-ìròlé iyì-iyálèta	line ̀̀ròlé	̀̀là ̀̀rì-ìròlé ̀̀yálèta ̀̀yì-iyálèta

The forms in (39a) show that distributive reduplication in Standard Yoruba and Onko dialects are the parallel. Furthermore, since the final vowel of the reduplicant VCV is identical to the initial vowel of the base (because of assimilation), we know what the input vowel is. Finally, the examples also show that when the base of the reduplication has a non-high initial vowel, there is no change in the form of the initial vowel.

Now considering the Onko forms in (39b), the nasal only surfaces at the beginning of the reduplicant, but not at the beginning of the base, where we assume the underlying vowel surfaces. These examples do not make sense unless we assume that a form like [̀̀li-ilà] ‘line to/by line’ is derived from /̀̀li-ilà/. The final vowel of the prefix is assimilated to the initial vowel of the base, and the onsetless initial [i] becomes a homorganic nasal. We know that /i/ must underlie this vowel because that is the vowel that surfaces in the following (assimilated) syllable.

It may seem at first look that there is nothing special about the Onko examples. For example it is possible that initial /i/ in S.Y. simply corresponds to an initial nasal in Onko (in 38 and 39). It is however possible to show that the high vowel /i/ underlies the initial nasals in these examples. In verb+noun combinations where the initial /i/ of the noun is not deleted, it shows up as /i/ instead of as a nasal consonant.

(40) /i/ underlies the initial nasal in Onko

ce	+	icé	→	cicé	work (verb) (cf. ̀̀cé
‘work’)					
do		work			

jɛ	+	iyà	→	jìyà	suffer
(verb) (cf. òyà ‘punishment’)					
eat		punishment			
kpa	+	iró	→	kpiró	lie (verb)
(cf. nró ‘lie’)					
kill		lie			

Therefore we must conclude that initial /i/ in Onko become syllabic nasals. Put differently, [ɲcɛ́], the isolation pronunciation, cannot underlie the vowel [i] in [cicɛ́], but [icɛ́] can. The isolation pronunciation [ɲcɛ́] must be assumed to arise from turning onsetless initial [i] to a nasal, since [i] survives when it has an onset in [cicɛ́].

The Onko dialect examples cannot be explained unless we assume the vowel reduction hypothesis, for two reasons:

- (a) As in the Standard dialect, nasalized vowels are prohibited in absolute word initial positions, and so this cannot be explained by assuming a procedure including inserting nasality on an initial vowel and then turning it into a consonant.
- (b) It is not clear why only [i] will attract nasal insertion, and why only initial [i].

6.2 Ezeagwu Igbo

High vowel – syllabic nasal alternation is not restricted to Yoruba and its dialects. Ezeagwu Igbo has various types of nouns that are derived from verbal sources. Examples include the gerunds in (2). However, there are also verbal nouns (41) and other reduplicated forms (42). In all of these cases, syllables with high vowels alternate with syllabic nasals.

(41) Ezeagwu Igbo verbal nouns

Igbo- standard	Olo- Ezeagwu		Verb	
á-kù-kó	ánkó	story	í- [↓] kó	to tell
á-jù-jú	ándzó	question	í- [↓] jú	to ask
ò-bù-bà	òmbà	entrance	í-bà	to enter
ò-gì-gè	òngè	fence	í-gè	to fence off

ò-gbù-gbà	òmgbà	fence around garden	í-gbà	to join together
ò-kù-kù	òṅkù	gourd cup	í- ⁺ kù	to scoop
ò-bù-bó	òmbó	accusation	í- ⁺ bó	to accuse
òzìzà	ònzà	sifter	í-zà	to filter
òsùsù	ònsó	a jab	í-sù	to stab
òtʃtʃó	òntʃó	desire	í- ⁺ tʃó	to seek
ònyunyò	òṅṅò	shadow	í-nyò	to peep

(43)

Igbo- standard

Olo-Ezeagwu

á-kwù-kwó	[áṅkwó]	leaf
ò-kù-kò	[òṅkò]	chicken
à-fù- ⁺ fá	[àṅfá]	eggplant
àtʃtʃà	[àntʃà]	bread/dry cocoyam
ò-zí-zá	[ònzá]	answer
ò-mí-mí	[òmmí]	depth
í- ⁺ gí-gá	[íṅgá]	round basket

We see a parallel alternation in the above forms from Ezeagwu Igbo verbal nouns, and the Yoruba gerunds in (8) and (9). The same idea proposed for the Yoruba data above can be employed in their derivation. Here, the Ezeagwu forms are derived by deleting the onset consonant of the high vowel prefix because of identity with the following consonant, and the high vowel becomes a syllabic nasal. The (Ezeagwu) Igbo forms suggest that this alternation may be more widespread in Benue Congo, and confirm that vowel reduction may result in category change.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that the high vowel – syllabic nasal alternation in Yoruba and Igbo represents a case of sonority reduction in a weak or non-prominent environment. We have proposed a definition of non-prominence that includes both prosodically and morphologically weak positions. We conclude that vowel reduction may therefore result in category change, from vowel to consonant, through reduction in sonority. By implication therefore, the end result of the reduction may vary, depending on the least sonorous segment the language in question allows in nuclei. The specific cases discussed here are from vowels to syllabic nasals.

Endnotes

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented at CALL 36 (2006) in Leiden, and at GLOW XXX (2007) in Tromsø, WALC 27 (2011) in Abidjan, and LALIC 1 (2014) in Maleté by the first author. We are grateful to the audiences at these conferences, especially Firmin Ahoua, Oladele Awobuluyi, Ayo Bamgbose, Ben Elugbe, Adebola Isaiah, Maarten Mous, Thilo Schadeberg and Eno Urua, for comments and suggestions. We are especially grateful to Oladele Awobuluyi for his help with additional Yoruba data. We have benefited from discussions with Paul de Lacy, Victor Manfredi, Hope McManus, and Olanike Ola-Orie in preparing this version of the paper, and we thank them for input on the theory and analysis. They are in no way to blame for the errors in the paper.

² But see Bamgbose (1966), Oyelaran (1971) for alternative proposals that the CORONAL PLACE is underlying in Yoruba syllabic nasals.

³ Oyelaran (1991:13) proposes /*òninira*/ and /*òwìwè*/ as the respective underlying forms for [ò̀̀nira] ‘independence’ and [ò̀̀wè] ‘swimmer’. While his suggested inputs make the derivations easier the actual surface alternations are between the input and output forms in (6b).

⁴ Thanks to Adebola Isaiah for this example.

⁵ It is also possible to assume that the examples in (6a) are derived by deleting the nasal consonant and consequent change of the high vowel to a syllabic nasal, just as in the examples in (6c) and (7). The problem with this is three-fold. First we must assume that nasal consonants are delete-able in this context. Secondly, the well-known Yoruba [l] ~ [n] alternation is no longer one between [l] and [n], but one between [l] and a high vowel. Thirdly, this solution raises a problem for the independent process of vowel deletion, which regularly deletes “high vowels” before another vowel in this context. Because of these problems, I assume that it is the nasal consonant, rather than the high vowel, that underlies the syllabic nasal in (6a).

⁶ The nasal consonant deletion in (6b) is unproductive.

⁷ We are grateful to Professor Oladele Awobuluyi for pointing us to these examples in his book. See also Awobuluyi (2013).

⁸ This prohibition may be simply due to the ban on consonant clusters in Yoruba, or a specific onset ban the occurrence of two [+consonantal] segments in a Yoruba syllable. In this paper, we will simply assume that the prohibition of consonant clustering takes care of this.

References

- Abimbola, W. and O.O. Oyelaran (1975) 'Consonant Elision in Yoruba,' *African Language Studies*, XVI 37-60.
- Akinlabi, A. 1985. Tonal Underspecification and Yoruba Tone. Ph.D dissertation, University of Ibadan.
- . 1991. "Supraglottal Deletion in Yoruba Glides," in Dawn Bates, ed., *Proceedings of The Tenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, CSLI, Stanford, 13 - 26.
- . 1993. "Underspecification and the Phonology of Yoruba [r]," *Linguistic Inquiry*. 24/1, 139-160.
- . 2004. "Fixed Segmentism in Yoruba Deverbal Nouns," *Forms and Functions of English and Indigenous Languages in Nigeria: A festschrift in Honour of Ayo Banjo*. Kola Owolabi and Ademola Dasyuva (eds.). Group Publishers, Ibadan. Pp. 273-295. Akinlabi, A. to appear. *Yoruba, A Phonological Grammar*.
- Awobuluyi, Oladele 2008. *Èkọ̀ Iṣẹ́da-Ọ̀rọ̀ Yoruba*. Montem Paperbacks, Akure, Nigeria.
- . 2013. *Èkọ̀ Girama Ede Yoruba*. Atman Limited, Osogbo, Nigeria.
- Bamgbose, A. 1966. *A Grammar of Yoruba*. Cambridge University Press, London.
- . 1969. 'Yoruba,' in E. Dunstan (ed.), *Twelve Nigerian Languages*. Africana Publishing Corporation, New York.
- . 1990. *Fonoloji ati Girama Yoruba*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Beckman, Jill. 1998. Positional faithfulness. Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Clements, G.N. 1990. The role of sonority cycle in core syllabification. *Papers in Laboratory Phonology I: Between the grammar and physics of speech*, ed. by J. Kingston and M. Beckman: 283-333. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clements, G.N. and E. Hume. 1995. The internal organization of speech sounds. In Goldsmith, John (ed.) *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. 245-306. Oxford: Blackwell..
- Crosswhite, Katherine M. 1999. Vowel reduction in Optimality Theory. Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA
- . 2000. Sonority-driven Reduction. *Proceedings of BLS 26*.
- De Lacy, Paul. 2006. *Markedness: Reduction and Preservation in Phonology*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 112. Cambridge University Press.
- Halle, M. 1995. "Feature Geometry and Feature Spreading," *Linguistic*

- Inquiry* 26, 1-46.
- Howe, Darin and Douglas Pulleyblank. 2004. Harmonic Scales as Faithfulness. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 49:1-49.
- Kenstowicz, Michael. 1994. Sonotiry-Driven stress. Ms., MIT.
- Kent, Ray D. and Charles Read. 2002. *The acoustic analysis of speech*. 2nd edition. Albany:Thomson Learning.
- McCarthy, J. 1988. 'Feature Geometry and Dependency: A Review,' *Phonetica* 43, 84-108.
- Ni Chiosain, M. and J. Padgett. 2001. "Markedness, Segment Spreading and Locality in Spreading." In Linda Lombardi (ed.) *Segmental Phonology in Optimality Theory*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 118-156.
- Ola, Olanike. 1995. Optimality in Benue-Congo prosodic phonology and morphology. Ph.D.Thesis, UBC, Vancouver.
- Oyedepo, S.O. 1979. Gelede Songs. B.A. Long Essay, Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- Oyelaran, O. O. 1971. *Yoruba Phonology*. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- . 1976. "Further notes on the alveolar nasal in Yoruba and the phonological status of the syllabic nasal," paper read at the round table meeting on nasals and nasalization in generative phonology, University of Ibadan.
- . 1991 "Theoretical Implications of the Sources of the Syllabic Nasal in Yoruba," *Research in Yoruba Language and Literature* 1: 7-19
- Parker, Stephen G. 2002. Quantifying the sonority hierarchy. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Prince, A. & Smolensky, P. 1993/2004 *Optimality Theory: Constraint Interaction in Generative Grammar*, Technical Report #2 of the Rutgers Center for Cognitive Science, Rutgers University.
- Pulleyblank, D. 1988. Vocalic Underspecification in Yoruba. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.2: 233-270.
- . 2004. "Patterns of reduplication in Yoruba," In Kristin Hanson & Sharon Inkelas (eds.), *The Nature of the Word: Essays in Honor of Paul Kiparsky*. The MIT Press.
- Rice, Keren. 1996. "Default variability: the coronal-velar relationship," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 4.3: 493-543.
- Sagey, E. 1986. The Representation of Features and Relations in Nonlinear Phonology. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANSWERS TO YORÙBÁ POLAR QUESTIONS: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

ỌLÁDÍÍPÒ AJÍBÓYÈ
UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

Introduction¹

The polar question (otherwise known as the *bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni-bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ* “Yes-no” question) in Yorùbá, a member of the East Benue-Kwa language family (Manfredi 2009), though fairly well-documented (Ward 1952:117; Bamgbose 1966:51-54, 1967:43, 1990:183,185; Rowlands 1969:35-37; Ogunbowale 1970:103-106; Awobuluyi 1978:123-24), has not been given a systematic and detailed account in one single work to the best knowledge of this writer (cf. Ajiboye 2012). Worse still is that no account of answers to the polar question in this language has been given at all. In this paper, the focus is an attempt at understanding the various answers to polar questions. Specifically, I will look at the semantic composition and connotations of the various answers to polar questions as well as their syntactic distribution.

In this introduction, I want to show that Yorùbá polar questions fall into four categories depending on the syntactic distribution of the question words. Some of these question words occur in sentence initial position (1a), sentence medial position (between the subject and the noun and the verb/verbal element) (1b), sentence final position (1c) or a combination of sentence medial and sentence final position of the proposition (1d).²

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|----|--|
| (1) | a. | [_S Şé/Njé/Àbí...] | b. | [_S ... ha ...] |
| | c. | [_S ... bí] | d. | [_S ... ha ... bí] |

In (2), we have examples of sentences showing this distribution.

- (2) a. **Ṣé/Njẹ** Ọdẹkúnlé pa ẹran b. Ọdẹkúnlé **ha** pa ẹran?
Did Ọdẹkúnlé kill a game? Did Ọdẹkúnlé kill a game?
c. Ọdẹkúnlé pa ẹran**bí**? d. Ọdẹkúnlé **ha** pa ẹran**bí**?
Did Ọdẹkúnlé kill a game? Did Ọdẹkúnlé kill a game?

A number of questions arise from (1) and (2):

- a) Why do we have more than one affirmative and negative answer as a response to certain polar questions?
- b) What (if any) are the semantic differences of the answers to Yorùbá polar questions?
- c) What is the syntax of the answers to polar questions?

This paper will attempt to answer the above questions. In section 2, I give some hints regarding the semantic differences among the answers that we find to Yorùbá polar questions, which may not be unconnected with the kind of polar question that elicits the answers.

Answers to polar questions

There can be at least two types of answers to polar questions, which are affirmative and negative. A third kind falls in between the two. An affirmative response is a kind of agreement to the speaker's statement and has two forms, shown in (3).

- (3) Positive answer
a. Hẹn "Yes" (b) Bẹẹ ni "So yes"

A negative response or disagreement, on the other hand, may have up to four different forms, from which a speaker is obliged to pick one (4).

- (4) Negative answer
a. Hẹn-ẹn "No" b. Bẹẹ kọ "So not"
c. Rára "No" d. Ó tì "It not"

The third type is the one which involves an uncertainty, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. Bóyá "Maybe/maybe not"
b. Ó ẹé ẹ "It is possible"

A number of observations can be made concerning the answers in (3)-(5). Firstly, *hẹn* and *hẹn-ẹn* seem to be a less polite answer if the person who asked the question is superior to the person to whom the question is directed. As such, they are only used in non-formal contexts and among peer groups.

- (6) a. Sé o ti jẹun? “Have you eaten?”
 b. Hẹn/Hẹn-ẹn “Yes/No”

Secondly, it appears *bóyá* and *Ó ẹsé ẹ* are only suitable in probability answers. Thirdly, *bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ* occurs only in restricted contexts, shown in (7).

- (7) Q: Njẹ/Ẹ́ bí ọmọ Yorùbá ẹ ń kìniniyẹn?
 Q like child Y.do PROG greet-person be-that
 “Is that the way a Yorùbá child greets?”
 A1. Bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ
 A2. Hẹn-ẹn/Rára/Ó ti

In any case, any of the responses can be followed by a full sentence. However, the form of the response depends on the form of the proposition. It may seem to be surprising that negative answers are grammatical to this question as well. However, in polar questions with *ha* and *bí*, or a combination of the two, *bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ* becomes an unacceptable answer.

- (8) Q1: Ọmọ Yorùbá **ha** ń kí ni báyẹn?
 Child Y Q PROG greet-person be-that
 “Does a Yorùbá child greet that way?”
 A1. *Bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ
 A2: Hẹn-ẹn/Rára/Ó ti
- Q2: Sunny Adé ń lu ilù **bí**?
 S.A. PROG beat drum Q
 “Does Sunny Ade beat drums?”
 A1. *Bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ
 A2: Hẹn-ẹn/Rára/Ó ti
- Q3: Sunny Adé **ha** ń lu ilù **bí**?
 S.A. Q PROG beat drum Q
 “Does Sunny Ade beat drums?”

- A1: *Bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ́
 A2: Hẹ̀n-ẹ̀n/Rára/Ó tì

The fact above raises a number of questions. Why is *bẹ̀ẹ̀ kọ́* not an acceptable answer to questions with *ha* and *bí*? Is it because (8) is an adjunct question rather than a question with a broad sentential scope, or would it also be surprising for any negative response? For example, in English it makes no difference if one asks the question:

- (9) a. Did/Can John dance?
 b. Did/Can John dance like that?

The answer to either one, if negative, can be selected from the full repertoire of possibilities:

- (10) a. No
 b. Not at all

Another question which always comes up is what determines the situation in which *kọ́* can be followed by *ní*? I will attempt to provide answers to these questions in the rest of the paper.

Answer types to Yorùbá polar questions

We consider some polar questions and answer types in this section, beginning with neutral questions.

Neutral questions

It is observed that questions with *Ẹ̀jẹ̀*, *şé àbí* and *tàbí*³ as question words are neutral in the sense that there is no supposition intended (contra Rowlands 1969). The response can therefore be either affirmative or negative, irrespective of whether the statement that is being questioned is in the affirmative or negative.

- (11) **Affirmative answers with positive/negative questions:**
 Q1: Şé ó dára A1: hẹ̀n/bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní
 Q it be-nice “Yes”
 “Is it nice?”

Q2: **Şékò dára?** A2: hẹn/bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni
 Q NEG be-nice “Yes”
 “Isn’t it nice?”

(12) **Negative answers with positive/negative questions:**

Q1: **Şé ó dára** A1: hẹn-ẹ̀n/rára/ó ti (kò dára)
 Q it good “No”
 “Is it nice?” A2: *bẹ̀ẹ̀ kó

Q2: **Şékòdára** A1: hẹn/bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni (kò dára)
 Q Neg good “Yes”
 “Isn’t it nice?” A2: *bẹ̀ẹ̀ kó/ hẹn-ẹ̀n/rára/ó ti (kò dára)

As far as we can say, it appears it doesn’t really matter which Q-word is used (any of the other question words (*Njé/Ha/bi*) can be used as well) to get the same response. Instead, what is crucial is if the sentence is negative or not. If it is negative, one can expect an affirmative answer of *hẹn/bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni*. As will be shown later, any of the responses to a polar question can be followed by a full sentence. However, the form of the response depends on the kind of suppositions the question conveys. The full sentence following the answer shows that not all instances of “yes” are affirmative.

Questions expecting an affirmative answer

In the next set of questions, an affirmative answer is expected. In (13), A1 would be acceptable in a situation where a daughter comes out of her room to show her mother an outfit which her father considers to be inappropriate, but A2 would not be expected.

(13) **Affirmative answer to a negative question**

Q1: **Èyí kò dára tó bí?/** Q2: **Njé/Şé kò dára tó?**
 this neg good enough Q Q this NEG good enough
 “Isn’t this good enough?” “Isn’t this good enough?”

A1: **Hẹn/Bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni, (kò dára tó)⁴** A2: ***Hẹn-ẹ̀n/Ó ti/Rára**
 yes, it good enough “No”
 “Yes, it is good enough”

A2 is not a possibility in this context, only in another context where the daughter wants her mother to support her choice of dress. Consider (14),

which is uttered by someone who does not know the kind of meat that is forbidden for Muslims to eat.

(14) **Negative answer in the same context: the unexpected?**

Q: *Şé/Njẹ̀ Mùsùlùmí kì í jẹ̀ ẹ̀ran ẹ̀lédè?*

Q M. Neg HAB eat meat pig

“Isn’t it the case that Muslims don’t eat pork?”

A1: **Hẹ̀n/Bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní** (*Mùsùlùmí kì í jẹ̀ ẹ̀ran ẹ̀lédè*) (expected)

so be M Neg HAB eat meat pig

“Yes, Muslims don’t eat pork meat”

Here, a negative answer such as *Ràrá/Ó tì/Hẹ̀n-hẹ̀n* could mean the opposite, i.e. Muslims can eat pork, as in A2.

A2: *Ràrá, Mùsùlùmí lè jẹ̀ ẹ̀ran ẹ̀lédè nígbà miiran o* (unexpected)

no M. can be-eat meat pig in-time another emphasis

“Muslims can indeed sometimes eat pork meat”

We now turn to another case where a negative response is expected.

Questions expecting a negative answer

This type of question is formed as a negative with a question word like *Şé/bí* in order to elicit a negative response.

(15)

Q: *Kúnlé kì í ha jẹ̀ ẹ̀ja òkú-èkó bí*

K. Neg tense Q eat fish iced Q

“Doesn’t Kúnlé eat iced fish?”

A: *Bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní/Hẹ̀n* [*Kúnlé kì í jẹ̀ ẹ̀ja òkú-èkó*]

so be/yes Neg HAB eat fish iced

“Yes, Kúnlé doesn’t eat iced fish”

The context for (15) is that the speaker has noticed that Kúnlé has left all the fish on his plate after eating the food. What we do not expect here is an affirmative answer, as in (16).

(16) *Ràrá, Kúnlé n jẹ̀ ẹ̀ja òkú-èkó*

No Kunle HAB eat fish iced

“Yes, Kunle eats iced fish”

If (16) is the expected answer, it suggests that Kúnlé did it for one of any number of reasons: the pieces of fish may be small, the fish may not be properly cooked, it may be a species he doesn't eat, etc.

What remains to be addressed and understood is if the various polar answer words and phrases (both positive and negative) above are dedicated answers to polar questions, or if they have other functions that they perform outside being answers to polar questions. We must take an excursion to the grammar of the language to find the answer to this.

The status of various answers outside polar questions

It is necessary to state that, unlike the Yorùbá polar questions which have dedicated words for asking these types of questions, the answers to them do not seem to have dedicated words. Understanding the syntax and semantics of various entities that stand as answers to the types of questions under review outside of the domain of polar questions will therefore be a good starting point to any analysis that will be herein proposed.

bẹ̀ẹ̀ in Yorùbá Grammar

According to Abraham (1958), the syntactic category of *bẹ̀ẹ̀* is that of a noun meaning “the fact of being thus”. However, it performs a number of functions in the grammar of the language. Consider the following.

(i) *As an object noun*

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|----|-------------------|
| (17) | a. | Ó rí bẹ̀ẹ̀ | b. | Ó sọ bẹ̀ẹ̀ |
| | | RP be so | | 3sg say so |
| | | “It is so” | | “S/he said so” |

(ii) *As a focused constituent*

- (18) **Bẹ̀ẹ̀** ni ó rí
soFoc-marker it be
“It is thus/so”

(iii) *As an introducer, with meanings including ‘similarly X’ in a complex sentence (19a), ‘then X’ (19b), and ‘therefore X’ (19c).*

- (19)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | Kíi ẹ̀e iwo, | bẹ̀ẹ̀ -ni | kíi ẹ̀e Ọ̀jọ̀ ni yóò lọ |
| | neg be you, | introducer | neg Ojo Foc will go |
| | “Neither you nor Ojo will go” | | |

- b. Kò wá **bẹ̀ẹ̀**-ni kò dá mi lóhùn
 neg come introducer neg contribute me in-voice
 “He did not come nor did he reply to me”
- c. Bó ti fẹ-ẹ̀ lọ **bẹ̀ẹ̀**-ni mo jẹ kó lọ
 as-3sg already want-to go **introducer** 1sg allow that-3sg go
 “As s/he wanted to go therefore I allowed him/her to go”

With the examples in (17)–(19), in the case of *bẹ̀ẹ̀* we have support for the claim made earlier that the status of answers to polar questions is difficult to ascertain. There is, however, at least one issue raised by the distribution of *bẹ̀ẹ̀*. For example, though it functions as a noun in (17), there remains the question of why it is found only in the object position. The example in (18) further confirms its status as a noun. Let us now turn to the next case, namely *rárá*.

rárá in Yorùbá Grammar

Awobuluyi (1978: 75) describes *rárá* “at all” as one of the post-verbal adverbs which occur after the verb or after the object of such verbs.

- (20)a. Adé kò sùn **rárá** b. Adé kò ra iwé **rárá**
 A.neg sleep at-all A. Neg buy book at-all
 “Ade did not sleep at all” “Ade did not buy books at all”

This description does not fit into our analysis here. Moving *rárá* to the sentence initial position will show the inaccuracy of this claim, as the only available interpretation is “no”.

- (21)a. **Rárá**, Adé kò sùn b. **Rárá**, Adé kò ra iwé
 no A. NEG sleep no A. NEG buy book
 “No, Ade did not sleep” “No, Ade did not buy books”
 * “At all, Ade did not sleep” * “At all, Ade did not buy books”

The only other possibility is to claim that there are two *rárá* in the lexicon.

tì outside of polar questions

Abraham (1958: 642) claims that *tì* is used as a reply to a question meaning “oh, no”, but in addition to this, he further claims that the particle also functions as a component of a compound verb meaning “unable to X”:

- (22)a. Ó lọ òtì
3sh go NEG
“He was unable to go”
- b. Mo şe é òtì
1sg do 3sg NEG
“I was unable to do it”

Lastly, as a verbal element, it can derive a noun through the use of a prefix, as in *ẹ̀-tì* “impossibility”.

kọ as a negative element

Bamgbose (1990: 218) refers to *kọ* as a negative marker that is found in Yorùbá focus construction. On the other hand, Abraham (1958: 384) refers to it as a “quasi-verb that follows a noun, but not a true verb, as the noun preceding it does not obey the Tone Rule governing noun-subject of verbs.” Defining its precise meaning, Abraham states that *kọ* means ‘it is not X’ and when it combines with *bẹ̀ẹ̀*, it gives the meaning “no”.

ni as a multi-functional element

Last but not least is *ni*, an element that has received serious attention and analysis in the literature. There are at least four different *ni*, as shown in the following sentences.

- ni* as a copula verb: Òjọ ni mí “I am Ojo”
Ojo be 1sg
- ni* as a possessive verb:
his body/himself” Adé kò ni ara rẹ “Ade doesn’t own
A. NEG own body his
- ni* as a focus marker e.g. Ìwé ni Adé rà
book FOC Ade buy
“It is a book that Ade bought”
- ni* as an equative/identifier verb: Ọ́gá ni Fẹ̀muwẹ vs. Fẹ̀muwẹ ni Ọ́gá
master EQUATIVE F. EQUATIVE
master
“Femuwe is master”

(Manfredi 1994, Oyelaran and Ajiboye 2013)

To recap, one can safely conclude that Yorùbá answers to polar questions have other functions which they perform in the grammar of the language, unlike polar question words.

The place of Yorùbá within the parameters of answers to polar questions

In understanding the syntax of the various answers to Yorùbá polar questions, a number of parameters have been adopted cross-linguistically. I herein consider three such parameters. The parameters revolve around the kind of linguistic elements required to answer polar questions and how confirmation or denial of proposition contained in the language is obtained.

One parameter concerns the form of answers for an affirmative response. These forms can be obtained in one of two ways. Firstly, it is possible for a language to be well disposed to use certain dedicated particles, e.g. the use of “yes” in English. Secondly, it is equally possible for a language to make use of other mechanisms such as the use of the echoing of finite verbs, as in Finnish (Holmberg 2011:2). Yorùbá partly belongs to the particle type, in the sense that both affirmative and negative answers to polar questions can be rendered with the single particles *hèn* or *hén-èn* and *rárá*. However, Yorùbá has another type of answer as well, using *béè ni* in place of *hèn* and *béè kó* and *ó tì* in place of *hén-èn* and *rárá*. These latter answers are neither particles nor an echo of the verb. With the evidence of the latter, a more correct claim would be that Yorùbá uses a mixture of particles and phrases as responses to polar questions.

Another parameter focuses on the confirmation of the negation of the question. Holmberg (2011) identifies two types of system: polarity-based and truth-based. A language can either belong to one or the other.

Polarity based system: This system is where the answer particle agrees, as it were, with the negation of the question.

Truth-based system: On the other hand, the truth-based system affirms the truth of the negation in the question (Holmberg 2011: 2-3).

Evidence emanating from the data so far presented and discussed suggests that Yorùbá belongs to the truth-based system. Like Cantonese and Russian, the answer particle in Yorùbá “affirms the truth of the negation in the question: ‘Yes, (it is the case that) they don’t...’” (Holmberg 2011: 2). Consider the illustration in (23).

- (23) Q: Èyí kò dára tó bí A: **Hèn**, kò dára tó
 this neg good enough Q yes, NEG good enough
 “Isn’t this good enough?” “Yes, it is not good enough”

What we do not get in Yorùbá is a denial of the negation of the proposition, hence the unattested use of *Rárá, ó dára tó* as an answer to the question: *Èyí kò dára tó bí?*

The third parameter concerns how to contradict the negation in a question. Yorùbá again pairs with Cantonese as a language which operates a truth-based system, as the example in (24) affirms the truth of the negation in the question rather than contradicting it.

- (24) Q: **Şé** Olú kò jẹ ẹja A1: Olú jẹ ẹja
 Q O. neg eat fish no be so O. NEG eat fish
 “Didn’t Olu eat fish?” “/*No, Olú did not eat fish”

In other words, Yorùbá has an affirmative answer to contradict the negation in the question to obtain the reading: “it is the case that he didn’t eat fish”.

In the last part of this paper, I will attempt a syntactic analysis of the data on the various answers for polar questions in Yorùbá. Precisely, I propose two analyses, namely “Answer particles are adverbs” and “Answer particles are focused affirmative or negative features”. We now turn to these in turn.

Answer particles are adverbs (AdvPs)

There is a wide claim in the literature that answer particles in isolation stand for an entire proposition in a polarity question and the proposal that analyzes the fragment as the product of ellipsis. Following this, one possible analysis is to propose the structure in (25), which claims that the answer to a polarity question has a (minimally) focused affirmative or negative feature in the CP-domain, plus a clause which is the proposition of the question, and therefore is usually not pronounced (cf. Holmberg 2010).

- (25) [*béjẹ* [*ni* [IP ...]]]
 [AFFIRM] [FOC]

With respect to the other answers to polar questions, I assume that *hẹn, hén-èn* and *rárá* are particles just like *yes* and *no* in English in the spirit of Kramer & Rawlins (2009) and Holmberg (2010). I claim that these particles are actually adverbs (or AdvPs) in the CP-domain of clauses which have the proposition of the question as IP, and that they also assign

an affirmative or negative value to the proposition of the question. The structure of the answer in (24), for example, will be roughly (26). In most cases, what we pronounce is the particle alone thus excluding the proposition of the answer. Note that this elided IP proposition is identical to the IP of the question treated as involving ellipsis.

(26) [CP Hɛn[C Ø] [IP Olú kò jẹ ẹja]]
[AFFIRM]

Observe too that Kramer and Rawlins assume a special head Σ in place of C. However, for the purpose of simplicity I refer to it as a phonetically empty C.

As regards the particles *hénhèn* and *rárá*, I also assume that they are “reversing particles”, which reverses the value of the speaker’s supposition. If the question expects an affirmative answer, *rárá* means that the true answer is negative. If, on the other hand, the question expects a negative answer then *rárá* means that the true answer is positive.

Affirmative and negative responses are sentences

Following the wide claim in the literature that a “yes” and “no” response in isolation stands for an entire proposition in a polarity question and the analysis that treats the fragment as product of ellipsis (Merchant 2004; Kramer & Rawlins 2009; Barros 2011; Holmberg 2007, 2011), one possible analysis for the Yorùbá particles *béjẹ ni* and *béjẹ kọ* is to propose the structure in (27) claiming that the answer to a polarity question has a (minimally) focused affirmative or negative feature in the CP-domain, plus a clause which is the proposition of the question, and therefore is usually not pronounced.

(27) [*béjẹ* [*ni* [IP ...]]]
[AFFIRM] [FOC]

Such a proposal has some problems with *béjẹ kọ* for two reasons. First, the negative value is quite clearly encoded not by *béjẹ* but by *kọ*. Second, there is also the fact that the negation *kọ* is not one of the negations corresponding to the answer ‘no’, but a negation corresponding to ‘not’, a sentential negation.

Consequent upon the problems identified with the proposal, I assume that both affirmative and negative responses are indeed sentences. This is borne out of the fact that the negation *kọ* is the usual sentential negation.

- (28) Àrẹ̀ ànà kọ́ ló ná owó ohun ìjà ogun fún ètò idibò
 President yesterday NEG be-he spend money thing fight war for
 arrangement election
 “The former President was not the one who spent the money for
 the purchase of weapons for election”

In this case, *bẹ̀ẹ̀* would be just like ‘so’ in English, which pronominalizes the predicate. The Yorùbá case is indeed quite similar to “So it is” in a sentence such as “John is happy, and so is Bill”, i.e. Bill is also happy (Holmberg, personal communication). The underlying structure of the affirmative answer would be (29), and I here treat *ni* as a verb/copula meaning “be”.

- (29) [IP [I INFL [VP *ni* [NP *bẹ̀ẹ̀*]]]

This is a kind of sentence with an empty subject. In English, the subject would be filled by “it”. However, in Yorùbá, this subject position is null. Then, the predicate NP moves to that subject position:

- (30) [IP [NP *bẹ̀ẹ̀*]_i [I INFL [VP *ni* *t_i*]]

This again corresponds closely to the English phrase “It is so”, except that instead of inserting “it” as a subject, the predicate NP (which is a predicative pronoun) is moved to the subject position. The structure for a negative answer would be (31), where the copular verb is null or unpronounced.

- (31) [IP [I INFL] [*kọ́*]_{VP} V [NP *bẹ̀ẹ̀*]]]

Again, the predicate NP pronoun is moved to the subject position.

- (32) [IP [NP *bẹ̀ẹ̀*]_i [I INFL] [*kọ́*]_{VP} V *t_i*]]

We are now left with *ò ò*, which will be treated like the English “It is not so”, with *ò* as the expletive “it”.

Conclusion

This paper has examined one aspect of Yorùbá grammar that has thus far been completely neglected in the literature, namely, answers to polar questions. It managed to place Yorùbá in the truth-based polar system,

similar to Cantonese and Russian. It also showed that Yorùbá is partly like English, in that there are particles of the yes/no equivalent, but at the same time differs from English because it also uses certain constituents that are bigger than words. Yet, it is not like Finnish which uses an echo verb. As to its syntax, the paper put forward two analyses. The first analysis claimed that answer particles are adverbs (or AdvPs) in the CP-domain of clauses which have the proposition of the question as IP. The particle assigns AFFIRMATIVE or NEGATIVE **value** to the proposition. The second analysis claimed that an answer to a polarity question is a sentence which possesses a focused AFFIRMATIVE or NEGATIVE **feature** in the CP-domain, plus a clause which is the proposition of the question. It claimed that this sentence is usually not pronounced under the ellipsis analysis. Since this is just a preliminary study, any conclusions drawn within the work at this stage will not be fully formulated. However, what I have managed to do here is to present data (albeit not comprehensive) from Yorùbá and propose a tentative analysis along the lines of the existing literature. That said, there is still much more to understand about the polar questions and answers than has been revealed in this paper.

Areas for further research

A number of questions which this paper has not addressed include the following:

- a) Why does Yorùbá (a language with dedicated words for polar questions) employ multiple words for performing what looks like one and only one function?
- b) Why are the polar question words found in different syntactic positions?
- c) What, if any, is the additional information that each of the question words contributes to the kind of question they elicit?
- d) Why does Yorùbá have two affirmative and at least four negative answers to polar questions?
- e) What does the use of these multiple answers tell us about the Yorùbá expression of affirmative and negative answers?
- f) What determines the use of a particular answer word or phrase?
- g) Is there any additional information that each of the answer words or phrases contributes to the kind of question that elicits them?
- h) Where do we place the answers reflecting uncertainty or probability in the analysis of answers to polar questions?

The next stage of this research will pursue these questions with the intention of finding adequate answers to them.

Endnotes

¹ This paper was first presented at a workshop on the syntax of answers to polar questions at Newcastle University in 2012 and subsequently at Kwara State University in 2014. It received many comments and useful suggestions from Anders Holmberg at the Newcastle workshop and Emeritus Professor Ayo Bamgbose at KWASU conference, as well as from others including Professor Olasope Oyelaran, Victor Manfredi, Tólá Ọsúnúgà, Abisóyè Èlẹ̀shin and Yusuf Fádáíró. Their comments and questions have been of immense help in allowing the paper to assume its present form. Nonetheless, any remaining errors and shortcomings are entirely those of the author.

² Note that a polar question can sometimes be expressed by merely raising the pitch of the voice (Rowland 1969:35) or with raised eyebrows (Awobuluyi 1978:124). Note that this cuts across most languages. For details on the syntax of polar questions, readers are referred to Ajiboye (2013).

³ A recent work (Adéoyè 2015) has shown that *tàbí* and *àbí* are not polar question words. Rather, they are basically conjunction words that join two matrix clauses together in a compound sentence. However, when ellipsis takes place, such that one of the clauses is deleted, *tàbí* or *àbí* may occur in the sentence initial or sentence final positions of such a reduced clause and still retain its construal as a polar question. Consider the following illustration:

- (i) *Şé Ọ̀jògbòń Oyèláràn tí fẹ̀yíntì tàbí kò tí fẹ̀yíntì?* (Has Professor Oyelaran retired or not?)
- (ii) *Şé Ọ̀jògbòń Oyèláràn tí fẹ̀yíntì?* (Has Professor Oyelaran retired?)
- (iii) *Tàbí kò tí fẹ̀yíntì?* (Or has he not retired?)
- (iv) *Ọ̀jògbòń Oyèláràn tí fẹ̀yíntì tàbí?* (Professor Oyelaran has retired, right?)

Interpreting a compound sentence with *tàbí* and *àbí* as a polar question seems to be a misnomer brought about through a long period of admitting such a construction as a polar question. Note that, independent of the case under review, a simple declarative sentence with pitch raising can earn a polar answer. For details on the status of *(t)àbí*, see Adéoyè (2015).

⁴ In English, such questions are formed either as a negative question, or with a negative tag on an affirmative statement: “Isn’t she pretty?” (Said by a mother showing a photo of her daughter) / “She’s pretty, isn’t she?” (Holmberg, personal communication).

References

- Oladiipo Ajiboye, 2013. "A Comparative study of Yes-no Questions in Àwóri, Ìgbómìnà, Ìkálẹ̀, Mòbà and Owé dialects of Yorùbá," in *Readings in African Dialectology and Applied Linguistics*, eds. F.A. Fábùnmi and A.S. Sàláwù (2013), p. 3-24.
- "Syntax of Answers to Polar Questions in Yorùbá" *Workshop on Syntax of Answers to Polar Questions* (presented at Newcastle University, UK, June 8-9 2012).
- "A comparative study of Yes-no questions in Àwóri, Ìgbómìnà, Ìkálẹ̀, Mòbà and Owé dialects of Yorùbá" in *Readings in African Dialectology and Applied Linguistics* (Lincom Europa, Muenchen. Germany, 2013), 23-24.
- Oladele Awobuluyi, *The Essentials of Yoruba Grammar* (Oxford University Press, Nigeria, 1978).
- Ayo Bamgbose, *A Grammar of Yoruba* (University Press, Cambridge. London, 1966).
- *A Short Yoruba Grammar* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, Ibadan, 1967).
- *Fonólójì àti Gíràmà Yorùbá* (University Press, Ibadan, 1990).
- Mathew Barros "Sluiced Fragment Answers: Another puzzle involving islands and ellipsis," Ms. (Rutgers University, USA, 2011).
- Lilian Haegeman, *Introduction to Government & Binding Theory* (Blackwell. Oxford, UK, 1991).
- Anders Holmberg, "On the syntax of yes and no in English," *Newcastle Working Papers in Linguistics*, 18 (2012): 52-72.
- "Null subjects and polarity focus," *Studia Linguistica* 55 (2007): 141-174.
- Ruth Kramer and Kyle Rawlins, "Polarity particles: an ellipsis account". To appear in *NELS* 39 (2009).
- Victor Manfredi, *Morphosyntactic parameters and the internal classification of Benue-Kwa (Niger-Congo)* (2009).
- "Syntactic (de)composition of Yorùbá 'be' and 'have'," in *Langue set Gramaire; Actes du Premier Colloque*, eds L. Nash and G. Tsoulas (Département des Sciences du langage, Université Paris, 1994), 237-252.
- P.O. Ogunbowale, *The Essentials of Yoruba Language* (University of London Press Ltd. Great Britain).
- Olasope Oyelaran and Qládíipò Ajíbóyè, "The Challenge of Syntactic Categories: Focus on the Yorùbá Language," in Selected Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics: Linguistic

- Interfaces in African Languages, eds. Olanike Ola Orié and Karen W. Sanders (USA, 2013), 39-51.
- E.C. Rowlands, *Teach Yourself Yoruba*. (The English Universities Press. London).
- Ida C. Ward, *An Introduction to the Yoruba Language* (Cambridge, England, 1952).

CHAPTER FIVE

ON THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE NOUN *Ti* IN YORUBA

ỌLADELE AWOBULUYI

1. Introduction

There would appear to be at least five different items spelt and pronounced **ti**, with lexical mid tones, in the contemporary form of the Yoruba language. These are:

- 1.
- (a) **ti**, *perfective aspect marker*, as in “Mo **ti** dé”. lit. I perf. arrive, i.e. “I have come back.”
- (b) **ti**, *preverbal adverb*, as in “Kí o şáà **ti** lọ ni!” lit. Comp. you (sg) just *ti* go Foc, i.e. “You should just go (there), that’s what counts!”
- (c) **ti**, *conjunction*, as in “**ti** ọmọdẹ **ti** àgbà”. lit. and children and adults, i.e. “both young and old.”
- (d) **ti**, *preposition*, as in “Mo **ti** **ti** Ìbàdán dé”. lit. I perf. from Ibadan arrive, i.e. “I am already back from Ibadan.”
- (e) **ti**, *noun*, as in “**Ti** ọba ni”. lit. thing-owned king Foc, i.e. “It belongs to the king.”

The fifth instance of **ti**, called a noun here, has been and continues to be variously analyzed by Yoruba grammarians. Thus, while Awobuluyi (1978: 8; 2008: 94, 258; 2013: 20-21) regards it as a “noun/pro-noun”, Bamgboşe (1967: 20; 1990: 120) calls it a “genitival particle, emphasis marker” or a sort of “prefix”, while (Ajiboye 2004, 2008, 2010, 2014) has at different times and in different contexts called it a “preposition, genitival particle, prefix, grammatical item.” It will be shown here that a careful consideration of the syntax and semantics of the element indicates that it is indeed a noun or a nominal element that always heads a noun

phrase containing a genitival qualifier. It will also be shown that, contrary to popular belief, Noun-Noun constructions featuring it convey appositive and possessive meanings, depending upon the context. For the discussion that follows, Bamgboṣe (1967: 20-21) will serve as a convenient starting point.

2. Evidence for the Nominal Status of **Ti**

(i) Attachment of the Prosthetic Vowel ‘i’

According to Bamgboṣe (1967: 20), “There are certain junction features between a noun head and its noun or pronoun qualifier. For example, the final syllable of the noun head is lengthened on a mid tone before a consonant-initial noun”, for example:

2. ilée bàbá ‘father’s house’

What Bamgboṣe calls “lengthening on a mid tone” here in traditional parlance has since been reformulated by Awobuluyi (2008, 2013) as no more than a simple case of vowel assimilation involving the final syllable of the noun head and a prosthetic vowel ‘i’, which is compulsorily attached (see the last paragraph of Section 3 below) to the beginning of all consonant-initial noun qualifiers in all Noun-Noun constructions in the language. Thus, in Awobuluyi’s terms, every consonant-initial noun (= genitival) qualifier must take a prosthetic vowel ‘i’ in structures like (2), now recast as:

3. ilé ibàbá → ilé ebàbá ‘father’s house’

Continuing further, Bamgboṣe (1967: 20) says, “There is a genitival particle **ti** which may be prefixed to a noun or pronoun in genitival relation with the noun head”, for example:

4. ilé ti ọba (ilée ọba) ‘the king’s house’ (in Awobuluyi’s representation: ilé iti ọba → ilé eti ọba/ilé eọba ‘the king’s house’)

As can be seen in examples (3) and (4), the element **ti** is obligatorily accompanied by the prosthetic vowel ‘i’ in Noun-Noun constructions, exactly as consonant-initial nouns are. This being the case, consistency demands that the element be also regarded as a ‘consonant-initial noun’ in the language.

(ii) Co-occurrence with Qualifiers

Readers are further told by Bamgboṣe (1967: 21) that “Pronoun qualifiers [= possessive pronouns] [can be] preceded by **ti**.” In other words, the element **ti** occurs qualified by possessive pronouns, and one might also add by noun (= genitival) qualifiers. E.g.:

5. tirẹ (← ti irẹ) ‘his/his own’ (Bamgboṣe 1967: 21)¹
6. Mo gba ti Délé (← Mo gba ti iDélé) ‘I got Dele’s’ (Bamgboṣe 1967: 25)

That **Délé** is indeed a noun (= genitival) qualifier in (6) is shown by the fact that it is readily replaceable with the third person singular possessive pronoun **irẹ** ‘his/her’, as in:

7. Mo gba tirẹ (← Mo gba ti irẹ) ‘I got/received the one belonging to him/her’

In Yoruba, as in many other languages, qualifiers of whatever kind only enter into construction with nouns, not with any other word classes. Furthermore, **irẹ** ‘his, her, its’ only functions as a qualifier in (7) – nothing else. This being the case, consistency would once again demand that **ti** be regarded as a noun on the evidence contained in (5) and (7). This explains why Awobuluyi (1978: 21) calls it a “genitival head noun” in the sense of a noun that always heads a noun phrase containing a genitival qualifier.

(iii) Its Supposed Ability to Intervene between Nouns and Their Genitival Qualifiers

With the exception of Awobuluyi, all contemporary Yoruba grammarians hold tightly to the view that (3) and (4), repeated below for the readers’ convenience, illustrate the genitival construction in the language, with the noun **ilé** as head, and **bàbá** and **ọba** as that head’s genitival qualifiers:

3. ilé bàbá lit. father house, i.e. ‘father’s house’
4. ilé ti ọba lit. house thing-owned king, i.e. ‘the king’s house’

In effect, however, that view shoots itself in the foot, so to speak, by claiming in the same breath that the element **ti** ‘thing owned’ in the middle of (4) is a genitival particle, prefix, preposition, grammatical item, etc. It is an easily ascertainable fact of the Yoruba language that no lexical item

other than a qualifier may intervene between a noun and its accompanying lexical or phrasal qualifiers (Awobuluyi 1992: 34; 2013: 66). Bamgboṣe (1967: 24) would seem to imply as much with his “sequence of qualifiers” given as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5
Head	Noun qualifier	Adjective	Numeral	Clause	Demonstrative
	or				
	Pronoun qualifier				

The effect of violating the constraint in question is exemplified by (8), with **ḡba** ‘king’ as a genitival qualifier, **dúdu** ‘black’ as an adjective, and **ní** ‘in’ as a preposition:

8.

(a) *ilé ní ḡba náà, lit. house in king the (= a nonsensical utterance in Yoruba)

Cf. ilé ḡba náà “the king’s house”

(b) *mòtò ní dúdu náà, lit. car in black the (= a nonsensical utterance in Yoruba)

Cf. mòtò dúdu náà “the black car”

In the light of the constraint exemplified above, if **ti** were actually a genitival particle, prefix, preposition, or grammatical item in (4), the latter would be an ill-formed utterance in the language – as ill-formed as (8a-b). However, it is unexceptionably well formed, and the correct conclusion to draw from that, therefore, has to be that that element is definitely not any one of the various things that it has been called by the overwhelming majority of Yoruba grammarians. Now, if (3) and (4) truly exemplify the genitival construction in Yoruba, then by definition they both manifest Noun-Noun combinations. Furthermore, if **ilé** is the first noun in (4), as it truly is, then the second noun has to be the phrase **ti ḡba**, with **ti** as the noun and **ḡba** as its noun (= genitival) qualifier.

Determined to save the view that **ti** is a preposition, prefix, or similar, Ajiboye (2014) says **ti** could not possibly be a noun for two different reasons. First, if it were a noun as claimed, it would be the only monosyllabic noun in the entire language. And second, **ti** would also be the only noun in the language that cannot occur without a qualifier accompanying it. These, however, are objections that were accurately anticipated and fully addressed as long as nearly forty years ago. In

addition to **ti**, Awobuluyi (1978: 8, 17) called the following monosyllabic lexical items nouns in the language: **bí/bá** ‘manner, way’, **kí** ‘what?’, and **ta** ‘who?’. The following should now be added to these: **wà** ‘moment’, as in *wà yìí* ‘this moment’, and **gá/gó** ‘possessions’, as in *Kò ní gá kò ní gó*. lit. not have **gá** not have **gó**, i.e. ‘As a poor man, he has no earthly possessions’, as well as **pá/po** ‘news’, as in *A ò gbọ pá a ò gbọ po láti igbà tó ti lọ*. lit. we not hear **pá** we not hear **po** from time that-aspect-marker perf. go, i.e. ‘There has been no news of him ever since he travelled out’. Among some of the nouns listed by Awobuluyi (1978: 32) as rarely occurring without accompanying qualifiers are: **irú** ‘type, kind, variety’, **iró** ‘sound’, **iṣẹ́jú** ‘minute’, **wákàtí** ‘hour’, **ọjọ** ‘day’, **òṣẹ** ‘week’, and **oṣù** ‘month’; cf. **Mo ṣe oṣù níbẹ̀./Mo ṣe oṣù kan níbẹ̀* lit. I did month there/I did month one there. i.e. ‘*I spent month there. / I spent a/one month there.’ To these nouns the following should also be added: **ìsìn** ‘time’, as in *ìsìn yìí* ‘now, just now’, and **iwò** ‘time’, as in *iwò yìí ọ̀lá* ‘this time tomorrow’.

(iv) Its Ability to Occur in Subject/Object Position

Any two linguistic elements functioning within a true Noun-Noun construction could not have become nouns or noun phrases only after being admitted into that particular relationship. On the contrary; they must have been bona fide or independent nouns or noun phrases before being at all eligible for admission into that relationship. That implies that such nouns or noun phrases must be able to occur totally independently of each other in positions associated exclusively with nouns or noun phrases in the sentence structure (Awobuluyi 2015, footnote 2). True to this expectation, Yoruba noun phrases headed by **ti** ‘thing owned’ routinely independently occur in those positions, as in:

9.

(a) *Mo gba ti Délé*, ‘I got Dele’s’ (Bamgboṣe 1967: 25)

(b) *Mi ò gba ti sisí nàà*, ‘I don’t fancy the girl’ (Awobuluyi 2013: 24)

(c) *Èmi ò níí lọ ní tẹ̀mi* (← *ti èmi*), ‘As for me, I won’t go’ (Awobuluyi 2013: 23)

In a further attempt to save the view that **ti** is a particle, preposition, prefix, or similar, Ajiboye (2014: 178) declares all utterances of the types shown in (9) as ill-formed. He says that, for him as well as for others who reportedly share his view, the true objects or complements of the verb **gbà** ‘get, receive’ in (9a-b) and of the preposition **ní** ‘in, at’ in (9c) are all

missing through being deleted, presumably in error or simple ignorance. But that view is gravely mistaken. First, its meaning, in effect, is that linguistic elements functioning within Noun-Noun constructions can never occur independently of each other. That, however, is both counterfactual and impossible by definition. Second, if the true objects or complements of the verb **gbà** in (9a-b) had been deleted for any reason whatsoever, its tone would have automatically become low, as in:

10.

- (a) Tùndé gba lètà, èmi nàà gbà/*gba, lit. Tunde receive letter, I too receive, i.e. ‘Tunde received a piece of mail, and so did I’
- (b) lètà tí Tùndé gbà/*gba, lit. letter that Tunde receive, i.e. ‘the piece of mail that Tunde received’

Finally, the fact that the verb has a mid tone in (9a-b) is proof positive that it is indeed in construction with a suitable and required object. In the Yoruba language that one is familiar with, that object could only be either a noun (phrase) or a nominalization (Awobuluyi 1978:52; 2013: 99; cf. Bamgbose 1967:31; 1990:133). The latter option must be ruled out, however, as no token of it actually occurs as an object in (9a-d). Much the same thing can be said for the preposition **ní** in (9c), which would not have been able to occur there if there were no true and suitable noun or noun phrase immediately following it. Thus, the claim that the verb and preposition in (9) have both had their true or underlying objects deleted is not borne out by the facts. Consequently, far from being ill-formed, all the utterances in (9) are actually unexceptionably well formed, as other speakers of the language well know. That is proof positive that the noun phrases beginning with **tí** there all contain that particular element as their noun head (Yoruba noun phrases, as is known, being uniformly head-first).

3. The MTS in Noun-Noun Constructions

The general and traditional view of the Noun-Noun constructions under consideration here is that they all are tokens of the genitive (= possessive) construction in the Yoruba language. This view is exemplified by:

11.

- (a) ilé e-bàbá, lit. house MTS-father, i.e. ‘father’s house’
- (b) ilé e-tí bàbá, lit. house MTS-thing-owned father, i.e. ‘father’s house’
- (c) ilé ọba, lit. house king, i.e. ‘the king’s house’

According to this view (recall Section 2(i) above), a mid-toned v-shaped syllable (MTS) automatically shows up before the second noun or noun phrase in (11a-b) because it is consonant-initial. However, it does not appear before the second noun in (11c), because the latter begins with a vowel rather than a consonant. The automatic mid-toned v-shaped syllables (MTS) in (11a-b) are said to be ‘a genitive marker’ or ‘a genitive morpheme’, signifying a genitival relation between the two nouns within the two utterances. However, Awobuluyi (1978: 40, footnote 1) demurred, saying:

One possible exception ... is *ilé eti irẹ̀* ‘his (own) house’, where the noun *ti* plus its qualifier seems to function as appositive qualifier to *ilé*.

In other words, in his view, the MTS does not only occur in genitival (= possessive) constructions, as the traditional view implies. Much later, in reaction to Ajiboye (2004), he went on to call attention to the following expressions where the MTS regularly shows up in non-genitival expressions in the language (cf. Awobuluyi 2004, published as Appendix II in Awobuluyi 2008):

12.

- (a) oḵọ ọ-Mòńdè, lit. day MTS-Monday, i.e. ‘Monday’
- (b) èní in-Sátidé, lit. today MTS-Saturday, i.e. ‘today, a Saturday’
- (c) ilú u-Kánò, lit. town MTS-Kano, i.e. ‘the town, Kano’

The Noun-Noun expressions in (12) all display the supposedly genitive-marking MTS, yet they are indisputably appositive in meaning. They therefore show that the supposedly genitive-marking MTS does not infallibly signify a genitival (= possessive) relationship. To make matters worse, (11c) above, which indisputably has a genitival (= possessive) meaning, does not contain any genitive-marking MTS at all. For him, therefore, the only logical and valid conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the supposedly genitive-marking MTS, in fact, signifies no such thing anywhere in the Yoruba language.² Accordingly, for him, the MTS is to be seen as no more than the morphophonemic reflex of the prosthetic vowel ‘i’ that was previously automatically used to normalize all nouns that otherwise lacked initial vowels in the language, as is still done in many contemporary dialects of the language in Èkiti, Mòbà, and Àkókó-Ondó areas of Yoruba land (Awobuluyi 2008: 248-252). As for how possessive and non-possessive meanings are actually signified in the language, he said “whether a given NP₁ NP₂ construction signifies possession or mere apposition in the language is actually a function either of the context or of

the meanings or semantic classes of the individual lexical items involved” (Awobuluyi 2008: 246).

4. Noun Phrases Headed by *Ti* in Noun-Noun Constructions

Two general comments need to be made here. The first is that the two nouns within the Noun-Noun constructions of the type under consideration here may be in either genitival (= possessive) or appositive relationship; and whereas two nouns or noun phrases in genitival relationship never have an identical reference, those in appositive relationship always do. As a result of this semantic difference, whereas equative statements based on the former are never truthful, those based on the latter always are. Thus, (11c), a genitival expression par excellence in the language, will not yield any truthful equative statement:

11(c) *ilé ọba*, lit. house king, i.e. ‘the king’s house’

This can be seen in (13):

13.

- (a) *ilé ọba* → **ilé nàà ni/jẹ ọba*, lit. house the Foc/be king, i.e. ‘*The house is the king’
 (b) *ilé ọba* → **ọba ni ilé nàà*, lit. king be the house, i.e. ‘*The king is the house’

By contrast, the expression *ilé etirẹ* ‘his (own) house’ in the excerpt from Awobuluyi (1978: 40, footnote 1) as well as the appositive expressions seen earlier in (12), all of which are repeated below in (14) for convenience, invariably yield truthful equative statements, even with the order of their constituents reversed.

14.

- (a) *ọjọ ọ-Mọndè* ‘Monday’ → *Ọjọ nàà ni/jẹ Mọndè*. ‘The day was a Monday’. → *Mọndè ni ọjọ nàà*. ‘The/that day was a Monday’.
 (b) *èní in-Sátídé* ‘today, a Saturday’ → *Èní ni/jẹ Sátídé*. ‘Today is Saturday’. → *Sátídé ni èní*. ‘Today is Saturday’.
 (c) *ilú u-Kánò* ‘the town, Kano’ → *Ìlú nàà ni/jẹ Kánò*. ‘The town is/was Kano’. → *Kánò ni ilú nàà*. ‘Kano is/was the town’.
 (d) *ilé e-tirẹ* ‘his own house’ → *Ilé nàà ni/jẹ tirẹ*. ‘The house is/was his/hers’. → *Tirẹ ni ilé nàà*. ‘The house is/was his/hers’.

As is clear from these examples, *ilé etirẹ̀*, featuring a noun phrase headed by **ti**, behaves exactly like the appositive expressions considered earlier and repeated here in (14). The inescapable conclusion from this is that all expressions like (14d) are indeed appositive in structure, as earlier indicated by Awobuluyi (1978: 40, footnote 1; 2008: 257).

The second general comment that needs to be made follows from classifying **ti** among ‘genitival head nouns’, which “function as heads of genitival phrases ... only” (Awobuluyi 1978: 21) and as “**Arópò-Orúko Ìní ... tí ó máa ń dúrò fún ohun ínì tàbí ohun tí ó ní ẹ̀ ẹ̀ni tàbí ohun kànkán ...**” “**Pro-Nominal Substitute for the Possessum ...** which regularly stands/substitutes for anything owned or anything connected with some being or thing ...” (Awobuluyi 2013: 35). The general conclusion arising from these observations is that the noun **ti** stands for the possessum (= the thing owned) in all its occurrences; that is, wherever it occurs in the sentence structure, it is a substitute for the possessum. This is exemplified by (15), where **ti** is a replacement for *şòṣòbù* ‘shop, store’, which is the possessum to *Şadé*:

15. Olẹ̀ fọ̀ şòṣòbù Títí; wọ̀n ò fọ̀ tí Şadé
 thief break-into shop Titi; they not break-into thing-owned Şade
 ‘Some thieves broke into Titi’s shop, but not into Şade’s’.

In appositive expressions with noun phrases headed by the noun **ti** as the second element of structure, not only do the two noun phrases involved always have identical references, but the head of the leading noun or noun phrase, which is always a possessum, is also always identical to the possessum replaced by the noun **ti**. In other words, the underlying and surface structures of appositive expressions containing noun phrases headed by the noun **ti** always are of this kind:

16. $N_1 + (Q_1) N_1 + Q_2 \rightarrow N_1 + (Q_1) ti + Q_2$ (Condition: Obligatory (?); N_1 = possessum; Q_2 = Possessor)

Thus, according to this formula, the expression *ilé etirẹ̀* ‘his/her (own) house’, for example, was derived obligatorily (?) as follows:

17. $ilé (= N_1) ilé (= N_1) + irẹ̀ (= Q_2) \rightarrow ilé iti irẹ̀ \rightarrow ilé eti irẹ̀ \rightarrow ilé etirẹ̀$

Cf. *ilé náà, ilé irẹ̀ ni*, lit. house the, house his/her Foc., i.e. ‘The house is his/hers’.

→ (a) *ilé náà, tirè ni*, lit. house the, his/her own Foc., i.e. ‘The house is his/hers’.

→ (b) *tirè ni ilé náà*, lit. his/her own Foc. house the, i.e. ‘The house is his/hers’.

Cf. *ajá tó jẹ ajá Olú*, lit. dog that be dog Olu, i.e. ‘a dog that Olu owns’.

→ *ajá tó jẹ ti Olú*, lit. dog that be that-of Olu, i.e. ‘a dog that is Olu’s own’.

The expression in (17) has an appositive meaning by virtue of the simple fact that N_1 and N_1 , both of them possessums, are identical and consequently have the same reference.

Should the two nouns in (16) be unidentical, however, which is also a possibility, we would have (19) instead of (17):

17. $N_1 + (Q_1) N_1 + (Q_2)$

19. $N_1 + (Q_1) N_2 + (Q_2)$

The resultant expression in this case would be genitival in meaning, by virtue of the fact that N_1 and N_2 are distinct and consequently lack identical reference. As in the case of (16), N_2 in (19), being a possessum (= the thing owned), would be optionally replaceable by the noun **ti**, as follows:

20. $N_1 + (Q_1) N_2 + (Q_2) \rightarrow N_1 + (Q_1) ti + (Q_2)$ (Condition: Optional; Q_2 = possessor)

However, most probably because the possessum replaced here is distinct from the companion possessum immediately to its left, unlike in (16) where the two possessums are non-distinct, in (20) **ti** would convey an additional meaning not conveyed in (16). In addition to the simple meaning of ‘the thing owned’ conveyed by **ti** in (16), it would also convey the meaning of ‘the entity either mentioned earlier or known to the speaker and the hearer from shared knowledge’. In other words, quite apart from indicating ‘the thing owned’, it would also come with the presupposition that the entity involved came up in some earlier discourse. In effect, therefore, the identity requirement that holds at close range for N_1 and N_1 in (16) also holds for N_2 within (20), though at a distance, and another N_2 outside it. This is exemplified by (21):

21. *ilé ajá irè*, lit. house dog his/her, i.e. ‘the kennel for his/her dog’

→ *ilé eti irè* → *ilé etirè* ‘the kennel for his/hers’

Cf. *ilé ajá Olú*,³ lit. house dog Olu, i.e. ‘the kennel for Olu’s dog’
 → *ilé eti Olú* → *ilé etOlú* ‘the kennel for Olu’s (own)’

In this scenario, ‘*his/hers*’ and ‘*Olu’s (own)*’ stand for or refer to some dog mentioned earlier.

14(d) *ilé e-tirè* ‘his/her (own) house’

Thus, the same expression in (14d) that was said and shown to convey an appositive meaning earlier can also convey a genitival (= possessive) meaning, depending upon whether the possessum replaced by the noun **ti** is of the type in (16) or of the type in (20). In other words, although it was not generally realised before, the expression is actually ambiguous and is, in fact, more accurately glossed as ‘his or her (own) house / house for someone or something connected with him or her’. This is not surprising for, as pointed out by Awobuluyi (2008: 247), most appositive expressions in Yoruba can be construed as genitival (= possessive) in meaning, given appropriate or favourable contexts. For example:

22. *dókítà òyínbò* ‘a white doctor / a doctor for the Whites’ (as in apartheid South Africa)
 doctor white-man

5. Conclusion

The traditional grammarians of the Yoruba language and their modern-day followers are not completely wrong, but nor are they completely right in considering all Noun-Noun constructions containing **ti** to be possessive in meaning. Where they are wrong is that, unknown to them, such constructions also can have appositive meanings, depending upon the kind of second possessum replaced (children who say *ti tẹ̀mi ni* for *tẹ̀mi ni* ‘It’s mine’ would appear not to have yet acquired the rule, implicit in footnote 3, that says “Never replace the first or leading possessum with **ti**”). The same grammarians’ belief that **ti** ‘the thing owned’ is a particle, prefix, preposition, grammatical item, etc. in such constructions is inconsistent with the actual facts of the language. Those facts show that **ti** behaves like regular consonant-initial nouns and, consequently, must be regarded as a regular noun. However, in its every occurrence, the element is actually a substitute for a regular noun – just as numerals are often substitutes for regular nouns or noun phrases in the language (Awobuluyi 2013: 37-40). For this reason, Awobuluyi (2013: 35) also calls it *àdàmọ̀dì arọ̀pò-orúkọ*

‘a quasi-pronoun or pro-noun’, a temporary categorization pending a definition that better captures and reflects its syntactic and semantic capabilities. The traditional and general belief that any and every qualifier occurring immediately to the right of **ti** in Noun-Noun constructions is actually in construction with the noun or noun phrase immediately preceding that element is also not correct. In fact, such qualifiers belong to the noun **ti** by direct inheritance from the possessums replaced by it. Following this latter observation, Ajiboye’s (2014) earlier quibble to the effect that **ti** as a noun would be the only noun in the entire language that must always be accompanied by a qualifier can now be salvaged somewhat and made a lot more appropriate by being recast as the question: why should **ti** always be accompanied by qualifiers in the Yoruba language? The answer to that question, only dimly seen much earlier in Awobuluyi (1978: 21) but now shown very clearly above, is that the noun always heads a genitival construction, and a genitival construction would not be a true genitival construction if it did not have a genitival qualifier accompanying its head.

Endnotes

¹ Combinations of the element **ti** ‘thing owned’ and the first person singular possessive pronoun in the language always come out as **tèmi**. Quite surprisingly, Bamgboṣe (1967: 21) makes no mention of this expression at all, and leaves it out completely from the table that should have contained it. In so doing, he inadvertently creates the erroneous impression that the expression does not exist in the language, whereas it actually does. The only explanation one can find for his silence on the expression is that his work is simply unable to account for it. As noted by Awobuluyi (2013: 11), no formal works that adopt the traditional monosyllabic orthographic form of the possessive pronoun concerned (as in Bamgboṣe 1967: 20; 1990: 116), nor any such works that assume the wrong initial vowel for its disyllabic underlying form (as in Awobuluyi 1978: 39), can successfully account for how the expression is derived. Only works that assume that the possessive pronoun’s disyllabic surface form is also its underlying form (as in Awobuluyi 2008: 90-91; 2013: 29) can do so.

On that assumption, combinations of the element **ti** ‘thing owned’ plus **èmi** ‘my’ or **irẹ** ‘your (sg)’ are derived by obligatory vowel deletion, rather than by ‘prefixation’, as in:

***ti èmi** → **tèmi** ‘mine’

***ti irẹ** → **tirẹ** ‘your (sg)’

In these two cases, it is only the vowel element of **ti** that is actually deleted, leaving the initial vowels of the possessive pronouns intact. The same thing happens, but optionally, when nouns are involved, as in:

ti oḅa → **tḅa** ‘the king’s own’

This suggests an exceptionless rule (and an exceptionless rule is always to be preferred to one that has exceptions) that says, “Delete the only vowel of the element **ti** obligatorily before all possessive pronouns and optionally before all nouns functioning as genitival qualifiers” (Awobuluyi 2013: 10-11). The operation of the rule invariably leaves the vowel ‘i’ standing immediately before the so-called consonant-initial nouns, as in:

ti Délé → **tiDélé** ‘Dele’s own’

(in Awobuluyi’s representation: **ti iDélé** → **tiDélé**)

This is taken here as confirming the reality of the prosthetic vowel ‘i’ postulated word-initially for all such nouns when they occur phrase-internally in Standard Yoruba – exactly as in expressions like *eó iDàda* ‘Dada’s money’, heard in Èkiti and Mòḅa dialects of the language (Awobuluyi 2008: 254).

² Ajiboye (2008; 2010; 2014) countered this conclusion by claiming (so far without offering any proof that interested native speakers of the language have been able to see) that the genitive-marking MTS actually occurs when the second noun or noun phrase in a Noun-Noun possessive construction begins with a vowel, but is invariably deleted before reaching the surface structure because of a rule in the language that prohibits sequences of three vowels belonging to different words.

However, this claim firstly fails to explain why the MTS also occurs in appositive expressions, as in (12) above. His initial way of taking care of this problem was to say that appositive and genitival constructions are, in effect, tokens of one and the same construction type. But this cannot be correct in view of the well-known semantic differences between the two constructions – nouns in appositive relationship always have an identical reference, while those in genitival relationship never do; nouns in genitival relationship also indicate possession, while those in appositive relationship do not. Furthermore, in languages that display case marking, as in Classical Latin, nouns in genitival relationship never display the same case, while those in appositive relationship always do, as in *Brutus Portiam Caesaris uxorem vidit*, lit. Brutus Portia Caesar’s wife he-saw, i.e. ‘Brutus saw Portia, Caesar’s wife’. In this example, *Portiam* and *uxorem* are in apposition in the accusative case, while *Caesaris* and *uxorem* are in genitival relationship, with *Caesaris* in the genitive case and *uxorem* in the accusative. What now looks like his latest way of taking care of the problem posed for his view of the MTS is to call the latter an **atḅka èyán** “indicator of qualifier status” (Ajiboye 2014: 174). The thinking behind this new name would appear to be that the MTS would now properly group appositive and genitival constructions together, as desired, on the undeniable grounds that they each feature a qualifier as an integral if not an actually defining element of their structure. In fact, however, this seemingly new finding actually only goes to show that the MTS is indeed a true index of nominal status (Awobuluyi 2004; 2008; 2013). For the so-called “indicator of qualifier status” only occurs with consonant-initial nominal qualifiers (i.e. consonant-initial nouns functioning as qualifiers), as in *òkò ọ-Dúdú*, lit. vehicle MTS-Mr Black, i.e. ‘Mr Black’s car/vehicle’. It never occurs with any of

the several other types of qualifiers in the language, as exemplified by *òkò dúdú*, lit. vehicle black, i.e. ‘a black vehicle/car’. For this reason, it cannot rightly be called an “indicator of qualifier status”.

In the second place, the claim that the MTS is compulsorily deleted before vowel-initial nouns in possessive Noun-Noun constructions because of a rule that forbids sequences of three vowels would seem to be falsified outright by *Dàdà ó í Adé* lit. Dada perfective see Ade, i.e. ‘Dada saw Ade’, which may be contracted to *Dàdó í Adé* ‘Dada saw Ade’ in the Ondó dialect; by *A ò ò ì lọ* lit. we not yet go, i.e. ‘We haven’t gone yet’; or by *Mo sọ pé a ò ò ì lọ* lit. I say Comp. we not yet go, i.e. ‘I said we haven’t gone yet’ in Standard Yoruba. When temporizing over what to say next in Standard Yoruba, one could say for example, *òrọ̀ ọ...* *Ajibóyè*, lit. word er... Ajiboye, i.e. ‘Ajiboye’s er... issue/matter’. These examples all show that, contrary to what readers are told, sequences of three vowels actually never have any of their members deleted before reaching the surface structure in the language.

Finally, the theory-inspired analysis of the so-called genitive-marking MTS as functioning either by itself or in combination with **ti** as a genitive marker in between two nouns in a genitival relationship (Ajiboye 2014: 180) would seem flawed for multiple reasons: in the first place, by contradicting the claim that, contrary to the facts established earlier with respect to all expressions in (9), the deep structure of all Yoruba genitival constructions is always NP₁ ti NP₂ (Ajiboye 2014: 176; cf. Bamgboṣe 1990: 119-120) by now implying that it could also be NP₁ NP₂; in the second place, by not fully reflecting on or catering for the facts of the language pointed out and/or alluded to above in Section 3; in the third place, by assuming wrongly that the expressions concerned are all genitival in structure, whereas – as is shown in (14) in the first half of Section 4 below – they are actually appositive in structure; in the fourth place, by its inability as a result of that false assumption to account for the ambiguity, pointed out towards the end of Section 4 below, of (14d) *ilé etirè* ‘house belonging to him or her / house belonging to someone or something connected with him or her’; and finally, as well as fatally, by being inconsistent with the constraint (mentioned towards the middle of Section 2(iii) above) which forbids any lexical item other than a qualifier from coming in between any noun and its accompanying lexical or phrasal qualifiers, thereby making it an impossibility in Yoruba.

³ Possessive expressions like this can be said to have a nesting structure, namely, one in which every succeeding noun is a possessor, while every preceding one is its possessum. In the present case, for instance, **Olú** is a possessor to **ajá**, while the latter is a possessor to **ilé**. In reverse order, **ilé** is a possessum to **ajá**, while **ajá** is a possessum to **Olú**. In expressions with this type of structure, only the first and last nouns are exempt from being substituted by **ti**. As a consequence, an infinite number of tokens of **ti** can in theory co-occur one after another. In practice, however, anything more than two such tokens of co-occurring **ti** becomes difficult to interpret or process semantically. Consider *ilé ajá ọmọ Olú*, lit. house dog child Olu, i.e. ‘the kennel for the dog belonging to Olu’s child’. This only has two possessums that are eligible for replacement by **ti**, as follows: *ilé ti ti Olú*, lit. house thing-owned thing-owned Olu, i.e. ‘the kennel for the one owned by the one belonging to Olu’. By contrast, *ilé ajá ọmọ ọrẹ̀ ègbón Olú*, lit. house dog child

friend elder-sibling Olu, i.e. ‘the kennel for the dog belonging to the child of Olu’s elder sibling’s friend’ contains four possessums that can be replaced by **ti**. Replacing them yields *ilé ti ti ti ti Olú*, lit. house thing-owned thing-owned thing-owned thing-owned Olu, i.e. ‘the kennel for the one owned by the one owned by the one owned by the one owned by Olu’. This is virtually uninterpretable, and would seem to have stretched the ability of **ti** to replace possessums far beyond its limit.

References

- Oladiipo Ajiboye, “Genitive Construction in Yoruba,” (paper presented at the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., April 2-4, 2004).
- , “Ìṣẹ́ Fáwẹ̀lì Olóhùn Àárín Inú Àpólá Onibàátan Yorùbá: Èrì láti Inú Àwọn Èdè Míìràn (The Mid Tone Syllable in Yoruba Genitival Constructions: Evidence from Other Languages),” *Yorùbá: Journal of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria* 5(1) (2008): 1-24.
- , “Ìṣẹ́ Fáwẹ̀lì Olóhùn Àárín Inú Àpólá Onibàátan Yorùbá: Èrì láti Inú Àwọn Èdè Míìràn – A Reply to Awobuluyi’s Rejoinder,” (paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria, Federal College of Education, Òṣìlẹ̀, Ogun State, Nigeria, October 5-10, 2010).
- , “Wúnrẹ̀n tí Inú Àpólá Onibàátan kí í Ṣe Ọ̀rọ̀-Orúko (The Element *ti* within Yoruba Genitival Constructions Is not a Noun),” *Yorùbá: Journal of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria* 7(3) (2014): 168-184.
- Oladele Awobuluyi, *Essentials of Yoruba Grammar* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- , “Aspects of Contemporary Standard Yoruba in Dialectological Perspective,” in *New Findings in Yoruba Studies* (J F Ọ̀dúnjọ Memorial Lecture Series, No. 3), ed. Akinwúmi Ìṣòlá (Ibadan/Lagos: J F Ọ̀dúnjọ Memorial Lectures Organising Committee, 1992), 1-79.
- , “On the So-Called Genitive Morpheme in Standard Yoruba,” (paper presented at the 24th West African Languages Congress, University of Ibadan, August 1-6, 2004). (Published as *Àfikún II* (Appendix II) to *Awobuluyi* (2008)).
- , *Èkọ́ Ìṣẹ̀dà-Ọ̀rọ̀ Yorùbá* (A Course in Yoruba Morphology) (Akure, Ondo State: Montem Paperbacks, 2008).
- , *Èkọ́ Gírámà Èdè Yorùbá* (A Course in Yoruba Grammar) (Ọ̀soḡbo, Ọ̀ṣun State: Atman Limited, 2013).
- , “Àwọn Èkọ́ tí Èdè Yorùbá àti Èdè Àfá-Òkèàgbè Kọ́ Wa nípa Ara Wọn’ (What Standard Yoruba and the Language of Àfá-Òkèàgbè Teach Us about Themselves),” (paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria, Adekunle Ajaṣin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State, October 12-16, 2015).
- Ayo Bamgboṣe, *A Short Grammar of Yoruba* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1967).
- , *Fonólọ́jì àti Gírámà Yorùbá* (Yoruba Phonology and Grammar) (Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1990).

CHAPTER SIX

SOME CHALLENGES OF MODERN
YORUBA LEXICOGRAPHY

YIWOLÁ AWÓYALÉ
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Abstract

This paper attempts to identify and propose solutions to certain challenges that are peculiar to Yoruba lexicography; this peculiarity is borne out both by the nature of the language itself, and by certain grammatical properties that it shares with some other languages of the world. Among the challenges that are peculiar to the language, which have serious lexicographical consequences not only at the microstructure level but more seriously at the macrostructure level, are: (a) pervasive segment deletion and/or assimilation within complex and compound words; (b) pervasive prefixation to the almost total exclusion of suffixation; (c) pervasive serialization of verbs; (d) pervasive reduplication, especially among ideophones; (e) the discrete nature of the tone system; (f) the open-endedness of proper name formation; and (g) what constitutes a head word in the ‘standard’ as opposed to the ‘dialectal’ form. On the other hand are external issues that impact any type of Yoruba dictionary, such as: (a) continental versus diaspora Yoruba; (b) monolingual versus bilingual/multilingual Yoruba dictionaries; and (c) metalanguage development and borrowing to meet the demand of a globalized technological age. Each of these issues will be discussed in the context of the current Yoruba lexicographical project being carried out in the Linguistic Data Consortium at the University of Pennsylvania.

1. Introduction: Dictionary vs Database

A dictionary of a language is the list of words in that language which provides information about each word's pronunciation, spelling, meaning, part of speech, etymology, morphemic composition, usage, etc. This variety of information is regarded as the fields for the word's lexical entry in the dictionary. For convenience, the words on the list are arranged alphabetically as head words. If multiple languages are involved, the dictionary may be bilingual or multilingual. A database is similar to a dictionary in the amount and variety of information it handles, however a database's files (e.g. fields) would be highly structured, such that its structure would be accessible to and searchable by a database management system.

A dictionary may be viewed as mental or visible. It is mental if it exists in the mind of the language user, and it is visible if it exists in a tangible, written or published format. If it is visible, then it is compiled either by a machine or by a manual human hand. This raises a few questions, such as: (a) the purpose for which the dictionary is compiled; (b) the audience for which it is compiled; and (c) how it will be used or accessed. The purpose for which a dictionary is compiled will determine the quantity and quality of the fields of information to be included for each head word. For example, a pronunciation dictionary is different from a pictorial dictionary; an etymological dictionary is different from a general dictionary; and a learner's dictionary is different from a general or an unabridged dictionary. The audience for which a dictionary is designed can be human or a machine. If the audience is human, there are further variables as they may be children or adults, a first-language or second-language user, etc. If it is a machine, then the level of minute details, accuracy and precision would be considerably higher. If a dictionary is compiled with the intention of handling machine translation between two or more languages, it will be an even tougher task. The manner of use or access to a dictionary may be electronic or manual.

1.1. Internal Structure of a Lexical Entry

Because of these differing needs, we have worked out different lexical entries for the words of the different languages in our database: Yoruba, Anago-Lucumi, Gullah and Trinidad-Yoruba. The structure of a lexical entry in our database for the Yoruba → English database is as follows:

(01)

\w	word (simplex, complex, compound)
\p	part-of-speech
\d	definition in English
\v	variant spelling
\c	comment of grammar, usage, borrowing, etc.
\cf	cross-reference
\o	morphemic composition
\eg	Yoruba example
\gl	English gloss

The entry structures for Anago-Lucumi, Gullah and Trinidad-Yoruba are not as detailed or complicated:

(02)

\LUK	Lucumi
\SPA	Spanish
\ENG	English
\YOR	Yoruba

(03)

\try	TrinidadYoruba
\eng	English
\yor	Yoruba

(04)

\GUL	Gullah
\ENG	English
\YOR	Yoruba

We can illustrate (02), (03) and (04) with the following entries for the Ògún divinity:

(05)

\LUK	Ògún - Cabrera (1970/1986:242)
\SPA	orisha, dueNo de los hierros y de la guerra. Catolizado San Petro y San Pablo y San Juan Bautista - Cabrera (1970/1986:242)
\ENG	orisha, owner of iron/metals and of war. Catholicized as San Pedro and San Pablo and San Juan Bautista

\YOR Ògún (<ògún) “one the national divinities of the Yoruba nation, who is believed to be the divinity of iron, smithing, hunting and war”

(06)

\try Ogun – MWL (1996:89, 228)

\leng (“Ogun gave mankind the cutlass, machete and hoe on which to found civilization”, “there are 4 Ogun: St. Michael, St. George, Uriel, Raphael, Archangel Gabriel, St. John” - MWL (1996:89, 228)

\yor Ògún (<Ògún) (“war deity; patron of blacksmiths and users of metal”) - MWL (1996:89, 228)

(07)

\GUL Ògún2 (masculine personal name) - Turner (1949/1969:143)

\ENG (1) one of the national divinities of the Yoruba nation, who is believed to be the divinity of iron, smithing, hunting and war (Turner (1949/1969:143); (2) any metallic trap; (3) “kind of basket” - Turner (1949/1969:143)

\YOR Ògún1 (<ògún) - Turner (1949/1969:143)

2. The Nature of Words in Yoruba

The Yoruba language is isolating in its verb system but agglutinative in the noun system. What this means is that the majority of the verbs are monosyllabic and monomorphemic, which is probably the basis for the serialization of the verbs at the next level up of conceptualization. On the other hand, the majority of the nouns are polysyllabic and polymorphemic, drawing extensively from the combinations of the monosyllabic and monomorphemic verbs as stems. The overall consequence of this kind of architecture is an enriched nominalization system that has produced open-ended Yoruba proper names in their thousands.

Therefore, in order to do proper justice to a word in a Yoruba dictionary, we believe that a potential head word must include not only simplex but also complex and compound words.

2.1. Simplex Word

By simplex word we mean a word that is monomorphemic, regardless of the number of syllables it may contain. This is fairly straightforward for

the purpose of dictionary-making. A dictionary will contain all the simplex words of a language.

2.2. Complex Word

A complex word in Yoruba is produced by a contraction of two or more morphemes, usually from different word classes. The normal procedure is for a vowel and/or tone to drop at the morpheme boundary, followed by a contraction which erases or neutralizes the existing morpheme boundary. For example, *kòrin* ‘sing (a song)’ is a complex word derived from *kò-orin* through the deletion of the vowel [ò] followed by a contraction of the resultant form to yield *kòrin*. The nature of the language is such that *kòrin* will have to be listed as a head word in a Yoruba dictionary, separate from *kò* and *orin*.

2.3. Compound Word

A compound word consists of two or more morphemes from the same word class. Examples are:

(08)

<i>ojú-irin/ojúurin</i>	‘rail line’
<i>omọ-òdò</i>	‘servant’
<i>omọ-iṣẹ́/omọṣẹ́</i>	‘apprentice’
<i>etí-òkun/etikun</i>	‘coast, beach’

A compound word in Yoruba may exist in three forms. Firstly, if it is a noun, the two components may be separated by a hyphen, as in *ojú-irin*, with each component retaining its full pronunciation and/or spelling. In the case of verbs, a compound may be treated with or without hyphenation, as in *gbàlà* ‘rescue’. Secondly, a compounded noun may undergo vowel and tone deletion, as in *etikun* ‘coast, beach’. Both *etí-òkun* and *etikun* have the same meaning and are freely interchangeable in usage. Thirdly, a compounded noun may undergo assimilation, as in *ojúurin*. Both *ojú-irin* and *ojúurin* have the same meaning and are freely interchangeable in usage.

2.4. Levels of Pronunciation

What makes the Yoruba language somewhat unique is not the existence of simplex, complex and compound words – all languages of the world have

the resources and mechanisms to create these. In English, the words ‘black’ and ‘board’ would independently carry their stress in isolation, but in a compound such as ‘blackboard’, ‘black’ would carry the primary stress while the secondary stress would go on ‘board’. However, this variation in stress does not need to be reflected in the spelling, nor is there any segment loss as a result of the compounding. All that may be required in an English dictionary may be to show that ‘blackboard’ is written as a compound, with or without hyphenation. This has been the case in all standard English dictionaries.

In Yoruba, however, both complex and compound word formation can have serious consequences in pronunciation and spelling. Two levels of pronunciation are simultaneously maintained for forms that yield complex or compound forms. Even structures that should not have been considered complex or compound by definition will, as a result of elision, contraction, or assimilation, yield complex or compound forms. For example, *je iṣu* ‘eat yam’ is a plain verb phrase. However, through the application of vowel elision followed by contraction, *jeṣu* is produced as a complex form without its meaning necessarily changing. One level of pronunciation is retained for the full form, while there is another level of pronunciation for the short or contracted form. In addition, both forms are used interchangeably in Yoruba speech and writing. Unfortunately, as of today, we still have no way of predicting accurately which vowels drop or stay at morpheme boundaries. Another example is *ará Ìbàdàn* ‘someone from Ibadan City’, which can become ‘*aráàbàdàn*’ by vowel assimilation; this may not necessarily be a compound, but the assimilated form has to be written together like a compound, given that the morpheme boundary has been neutralized by vowel assimilation. Whether or not segment deletion or assimilation applies, two levels of pronunciation will still be available for these forms.

2.5. Pervasive Segment Deletion and/or Assimilation within Complex and Compound Words

From the preceding section it can be seen that the two major processes that have contributed immensely to the instability of Yoruba spelling and pronunciation are segment deletion and assimilation. These two processes negatively impact the formal representation of head words in a dictionary. Their application to complex and compound words opens the way for a contraction or fusion process which erases or neutralizes whatever underlying morpheme boundary may have been present.

2.6. Segment Deletion

Segment deletion can affect either a vowel or consonant on the one hand and tones on the other, with serious consequences for the form of a given complex or compound word at the level of pronunciation. Once any of these processes is applied, contraction or fusion will automatically follow to neutralize the underlying morpheme boundary. In order not to complicate the spelling further, we have avoided the use of any apostrophe marks in our database to indicate the possible location of an elided vowel or consonant segment. The rationale is that what the mind does not see, the eye does not see.

2.7. Vowel and/or Consonant Deletion

Examples of vowel and/or consonant deletion in complex words are:

(09)

FULL FORM	SHORT FORM	
dá-ara (<dá-ara)	dáa	'be fine or acceptable'
gbó-ara	gbóra	'be mature'
sọ-òrọ̀	sọrọ̀	'talk, speak'
bí-inú	binú	'be angry'
ké-igbe	kégbe/kígbe	'scream, yell'
ja olè	jalè	'engage in stealing'
etí òkun	etíkun	'beach'
sí ilẹ̀	sílẹ̀	'to the ground'
yọ ẹnu	yọnu	(1) 'stick out the mouth'; (2)
'worry'		
ọmọdẹ-ọkùnrin	ọmọdékùnrin	'young boy'
ọmọdẹ-obinrin	ọmọdébínrin	'young girl'
erú ọkùnrin	erúkùnrin	'male slave'
erú obinrin	erúbínrin	'female slave'

2.8. Vowel Assimilation

Examples of vowel assimilation include:

(10)

FULL FORM	SHORT FORM	
kú áárọ̀	kááárọ̀	'good afternoon!' (greeting)
ọmọ Ịbàdàn	ọmọ̀bàdàn	'indigene of Ịbàdàn City'

gbọ òórùn	gbòòórùn	‘smell a smell’
kú ilé	kúulé	‘hello at home!’ (greeting)
ojó iwájú	ojóowájú	‘future’
ilé-ìwé	iléèwé	‘school’

2.9. Tone Deletion

Just as a vowel can delete at a morpheme boundary, so can a tone. Some examples are:

(11)

FULL FORM

kó òbẹ
ra iwé
gbọ ọ̀rọ̀
utterance’
gbọ ọ̀ràn
etí-òkun

SHORT FORM

kóbẹ (low tone deletion) ‘pack of knives’
ràwé (mid tone deletion) ‘purchase a book’
gbọ̀rọ̀ (low tone deletion) ‘hear or listen to an
utterance’
gbọ̀ràn (low tone deletion) ‘take to correction’
etíkun (low tone deletion) ‘ocean beach’

2.10. Tone Assimilation

Examples of tone assimilation include:

(12)

oorórí (<orí-orí) (regressive mid tone assimilation) ‘every head’
ejeejò (<ejò-ejò) (regressive mid tone assimilation) ‘every snake’
ẹ̀jẹ̀ẹ̀jọ (<ẹ̀jọ-ẹ̀jọ) (regressive low tone assimilation) ‘every eight’
ẹ̀wẹ̀ẹ̀wá (<ẹ̀wá-ẹ̀wá) (regressive low tone assimilation) ‘every ten’
òbòòbẹ (<òbẹ-òbẹ) (regressive low tone assimilation) ‘every knife’

The existence of these variants in pronunciation and spelling has both macrostructural and microstructural consequences for dictionary-making. It may be sufficient for a dictionary for a native speaker of the language to list only one form and derive the others in the body of the lexical entry. However, for a non-native speaker or a machine, the application of the rules of elision/assimilation and contraction will radically change both the pronunciation and the spelling of the derived forms, such that the derived forms are no longer easily and readily accessible.

In our database, we have chosen to list all these forms as individual head entries, with cross-references to each other. Each form of a word, whether basic or derived, must be made available in the lexical entry for

the seeking user, whether the user is human or non-human. The following represent cases of lexical entries where elision (13) and assimilation (14) applies:

(13)

\w etíkun
 \p n
 \d (1) edge of the sea or ocean
 \d (2) coast, beach
 \v eti-òkun
 \cf bèbè
 \o etí-òkun

(14)

\w ojúurin
 \p n
 \d railway track, rail line
 \v ojú irin, ojú-irin
 \o ojú-irin

These two examples show how the changes in both the pronunciation and the spelling can affect the macrostructure of an entire folder. A choice between either *etíkun* or *etí-òkun* on the one hand, and *ojúurin* or *ojú-irin* on the other hand as a head word will affect where each one shows up alphabetically in a dictionary/database.

3. Pervasive Prefixation to the Almost Total Exclusion of Suffixation

Yoruba morphological processes of affixation are limited to prefixation, interfixation and reduplication. There is no suffixation on either noun or verb stems. It is only among polysyllabic ideophones that we have what appears to be suffixal copying.

3.1. Interfixation

What we refer to as interfixation is intermingled with reduplication. Examples are:

(15)			
omọ-kí-omọ	omọkómọ (vowel deletion)	(1) ‘any child’; (2)	
‘bad child’			
i-sọ-kú-i-sọ	isọkúso (vowel deletion)	‘reckless utterance’	
opẹ-ni-opẹ	opẹlọpẹ (vowel deletion)	‘thanks to X’	

In these examples, the reduplication of the nominal stems is made possible by some intervening morphemes which serve as a wedge between the original and a copy. The number of such interfixes is very limited and their application is most common among disyllabic nouns. They pose no serious consequences for the macrostructure of the dictionary.

3.2. Prefixation

Prefixation in Yoruba is the attachment of a prefix to either a verb or ideophonic stem, essentially to create nominal structures. Some examples of such prefixes are: i- (abstract or instrument); ò-/ò- (routine agent); a- (agent or theme); à- (state or condition); àì- (negative state); oní- (ownership, dealership, characteristic); òh- (routine agent); etc. The relevant point about these prefixes to dictionary-making is whether or not to enter the forms to which they have been attached as separate entries from the base forms. Their strategic position at the beginning of a word structure places them where they can have a direct bearing on the macrostructure of a dictionary. Given that it is their inherent features that attract the base forms, redundant or duplicate information would be avoided if one lists them on their own and leaves out the potential base forms to which they can be attached. This would be cost-effective and space-saving, since the macrostructure of the dictionary would remain unaffected. Unfortunately, the problem of prefixation is not as simple as this. One can take any standard dictionary of the English language to verify this. Derived forms with prefixes are entered endlessly. In our database, we have entered as many of these derived forms as space and time would allow in order to open up the language, at the risk of redundant or duplicate information. The prefixes cut across regular nouns, proper names, place names, processes, etc.

4. Reduplication

Two principal types of reduplication are noticeable in Yoruba: full and partial reduplication (cf. Awoyale 1988).

4.1. Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication or copying can either be regressive or progressive depending on the word class of the relevant stem. It is regressive when it converts a verb stem to a gerund, as in the following:

(16)

lọ	[>lí-lọ]	lílọ	‘going’
wá	[>>wí-wá]	wíwá	‘coming’
sùn	[>sí-sùn]	sísùn	‘sleeping’
sòrò	[>sí-sòrò]	síṣòrò	‘speaking, talking’

This pattern of partial reduplication is very predictable. The i-vowel is permanent, and it attaches to a copy of the initial consonant of the verb stem. Given that the pattern is predictable, it will have to be decided whether to list the reduplicated form under the relevant verb or as a separate head entry. If the reduplicated form is listed under the relevant verb, there will be no serious consequences for the macrostructure of the dictionary. However, if the reduplicated form is treated as a separate head entry, the overall alphabetization of the head words will be affected. On the one hand, not listing the reduplicated form will be economical and cost-effective for the macrostructure but may become invisible to a machine. To list it may make it visible to a machine but redundant to the human mind. Because of their huge numbers, we have used our discretion in our database in whether to list such predictable forms or not.

Progressive partial assimilation, on the other hand, applies to a variety of stems from the class of words that we refer to as ideophones, as in the following polysyllabic stems:

(17)

BASE	REDUP1	REDUP2	
fẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀ or condition’	fẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀-fẹ̀	fẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀rẹ̀	‘of a mild situation
bẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀ extend out far’	bẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀bẹ̀	bẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀rẹ̀	‘of entities that
rògòdò entity that bulges out’	rògòdòdò		‘of a roundish heavy
gòdògbà entity that is massive’	gòdògbàgbà		‘of a roundish heavy

These forms pose no serious consequences for the macrostructure of a dictionary, since the reduplicant comes after the base form. A lexicographer would have to decide whether to list the reduplicated form under the base form or as a separate head entry. In our database, each such reduplicated form is listed separately with a cross-reference to each other.

4.2. Full Reduplication

Full reduplication applies extensively in the language across word classes, and such application has generally been progressive. This application may or may not involve identical tonal patterning between the base form and its reduplicant. The progressive nature of the application does not make the resultant forms pose any serious problem for the macrostructure of the database. For dictionary-making purposes, a decision has to be made about whether or not a reduplicated form is to be handled as a separate word entry or as a part of the base form. In our database, a full reduplicated form is treated as a separate word entry, because full reduplication in non-ideophonic forms can yield a different word class, as in the following:

(18)

jẹun	‘eat’	jẹun-jẹun	‘eater’
gbọmọ	‘abduct a child’	gbọmọ-gbọmọ	‘child abductor’
sọrọ	‘talk, speak’	sọrọ-sọrọ	‘talker’
sibẹ	‘over there’	sibẹ-sibẹ	‘nevertheless’
tilẹ	‘of the home’	tilẹ-tilẹ	‘all household’
nínú	‘inside’	nínú-nínú	‘far inside’
lòòótọ	‘in truth’	lòòótọ-lòòótọ	‘verily, truly’

Among the ideophones, the reduplicant may or may not retain the original tonal patterning of the base form. In our database we have treated the reduplicated form similarly as a separate entry with cross-references to other related forms as appropriate, as in the following:

(19)

\w	rẹkẹtẹ
\p	ideo
\d	of a weighty entity being short and extended
\cf	rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ; rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ; rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ; rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ-rẹkẹtẹ; rẹkẹtẹtẹ; ọrẹkẹtẹ; arẹkẹtẹ
\o	rẹkẹtẹ

5. Pervasive Serialization of Verbs

The serialization of verbs is a morpho-syntactic process where verbs, together with their arguments, line up in a sentence to express complex semantic notions, which may sometimes be expressed by single words in other languages of the world. For example the word ‘congratulate’ is expressed with two verbs *kí...kú-orire* in Yoruba. Similar examples are:

(20)

ENGLISH	YORUBA
bring	mú/gbé wá
flee	sá lọ
promote/elevate/enhance	gbé ga
rescue	gbà là, kó yọ
bless	bù kún
criticize	bù kù; tàbùkù fún
humiliate	dójú tì
sentence	ṣe-idájọ fún
evacuate	ṣí lọ
establish	fí lólẹ̀
found	dá silẹ̀

What this set of data is suggesting is that it will be inadequate to deal with only basic or monomorphemic verbs in a dictionary of Yoruba verbs. The challenge will be to accommodate all the diverse pairing possibilities among these verbs in relation to each other on the one hand, and their arguments on the other. The end result of these pairing possibilities is to explore the commutability potential of every verb at the level of conceptualization. A verb may occupy a V1 position in relation to another verb in one pattern of pairing, but may find itself in a V2 position in another pattern of pairing, depending on the relevant conceptual possibilities and limitations. These verb pairings play a very strategic role in making possible countless serial verbal sentences on the one hand, and in serving as stems to countless nominal structures through prefixation on the other. For example, from *bù..kún* ‘bless’, prefixation can yield the following:

(21)

ìbùkún (<i>i</i>-bù-kún)	‘blessing’ (abstract)
àbùkún (<i>à</i>-bù-kún)	‘blessed; blessing’
bíbùkún (<i>bí</i>-bù-kún)	‘blessing’ (gerund)

abùkún (<a-bù-kún) 'blessor'
 oníbùkún (<o-ní-ì-bù-kún) 'owner of blessing; characterized by blessing'
 olùbùkún (<o-ni-ì-bù-kún) 'giver of blessing'

The serial verbs therefore serve as a regular input to both sentence structures and word formation processes.

From the point of view of dictionary-making, these serial verbs pose two major problems for lexical entry. Should their pairing possibilities be handled under each head verb or should they be entered as separate complex pairs? It would have been simple if all the possible pairs for each verb could be predicted and entered under each verb. However this would not only be impossible in terms of space, but such an entry would be so unwieldy that it would not be accessible. If the possible pairs are to be entered as complex pairs, this too raises its own problems. The entry of serial verbs as complex structures can be carried out in one of three ways: (i) as a complex word with no space in between them; (ii) as a complex word with space in between; or (iii) as a complex word with a dotted line. For example, the choice between *bùkún*, *bù kún*, and *bù..kún* as a head word entry in a dictionary will depend on the strategic choice made by the lexicographer. Each choice will have its own consequences for the macrostructure of the dictionary, much more so in an electronic database. In the present database, we have chosen *bùkún* as the form to be entered as a complex head word.

In essence therefore, our database would list all the pairing possibilities for each verb as head words, either as V1 or V2. We are not unaware of the risk of redundancy, but this is the only way that justice can be done to all the pairing possibilities of individual verbs.

6. Discrete Nature of the Tone System

The discrete nature of tones in Yoruba makes them rival the vowels in their behavior. There are two crucial points that must be noted about the behavior of tones that affect dictionary-making. First, the Yoruba language has three discrete tones – low, mid and high. The orthography does not mark the mid tone; only the low and high tones are marked. How much tone marking should be done in writing depends on the type of users for whom a text is being written. It may be possible to get by if the audience is a first-language speaker who can guess his or her way through the text. However for a second-language learner or a machine, the tones must be accurately marked. A lexicographer has no other choice than to mark all the relevant tones as accurately as possible, since the dictionary will serve as the final judge of

the accurate spelling and pronunciation for the language. If the dictionary is to serve as the final judge, then the tones pose many problems for dictionary-making. First, in the contexts of homophones, minimal pairs, triplets, etc., uniformity will dictate that a decision be made on which tone to start with. For example, for *bi* ‘vomit, throw up’; *bi* ‘ask someone’; and *bi* ‘give birth to’, would one start with the low tone entry or with the high tone entry? In our database, we have chosen to start with the low tone, proceeding to the mid tone and finally the high tone. This is purely for consistency’s sake. One can choose to start with any of the three. Similarly, the homophones *bí1* ‘give birth to’, *bi2* ‘letter b’, and *bí3* ‘if’ are treated separately, just as *bi1* ‘ask someone’ and *bi2* ‘suffer nemesis’ are. On the other hand, where multiple forms are differentiated only by tones, such as *òrò* ‘place name’; *òrò* ‘plant name’; *òró/òròrò* ‘verticality’; *oro* ‘meanness’; *orò* ‘rite, festival’; and *oró* ‘poison’, consistency would dictate that we list the forms that start with a low tone ahead of the others. Just as vowels can undergo elision or assimilation, so can tones independently.

6.1. Tone Elision

Tone elision at morpheme boundaries can be seen in the following examples:

(22)

<i>jade</i>	(< <i>já-òde</i>) (low tone elision)	‘go/come out’
<i>enikan</i>	(< <i>eni-òkan</i>) (low tone elision)	‘someone, one person’
<i>róşo</i>	(< <i>ró-aşo</i>) (mid tone elision)	‘wear a wrapper dress’
<i>erúkùnrin</i>	(< <i>erú-òkùnrin</i>) (mid tone elision)	‘male slave’
<i>gbe</i>	(< <i>gbé-e</i>) (high tone elision)	‘lift it’
<i>bọ</i>	(< <i>bọ-ọ</i>) (high tone elision)	‘take it off’

6.2. Tone Assimilation

The following are examples of a joint application of vowel and tone assimilation, where they both follow the same direction of application:

(23)

<i>oroorí</i>	(< <i>orí-orí</i>) (mid tone assimilates high tone)	‘every head’
<i>ẹgbẹẹgbọn</i>	(< <i>ẹgbọn-ẹgbọn</i>) (low tone assimilates high tone)	‘every older sibling’
<i>òròru</i>	(< <i>òru-òru</i>) (low tone assimilates mid tone)	‘every late night’
<i>oboobi</i>	(< <i>obi-obi</i>) (mid tone assimilates low tone)	‘every kolanut’

The mystery about the tones is that the semantic significance of their association/linkage with the relevant vowels or syllabic nasals that carry them is only strictly encoded and enforced at the underlying level of structures. Whatever else survives of their permutations at the intermediate and final derivations of structures can carry on independently of the original linkage arrangement. Therefore, the tone that a vowel carries at the initial level of structure may not be the one that it will end up with at subsequent levels (cf. Bangbose 1966, Awoyale 1980, Awobuluyi 1981). Yet, for all semantic purposes, the original linkage arrangement is easily recoverable. Irrespective of numerous and frequent applications of elision or assimilation, no surviving syllable will become toneless at the pronunciation level of structures. So, despite the fact that tones and vowels undergo similar processes of elision, assimilation and contraction, these processes operate on each type of structures simultaneously and independently of each other. In the final analysis, there has to be some degree of accommodation of each in order to avoid chaos as each level of structures goes its different ways. The accommodation is to make both the pronunciation and spelling of Yoruba structures primarily tone-driven. It is the accommodation of the tones that will determine the location, quantity and manner of the full realization of vowel glides consequent upon the application of elision and/or assimilation. Take the following examples:

(24)

FULL FORM	STANDARD	VARIANT	
kò iwé	kówèé	kòṣṣwé	‘get education’
ní ọ̀la	lọ̀la	lọ̀lọ̀la	‘at tomorrow’
ọ̀rọ̀-kí-ọ̀rọ̀	ọ̀rọ̀kọ̀rọ̀	ọ̀rọ̀kọ̀rọ̀	‘any word; bad utterance’
gbọ̀ oòrùn	gbóòòrùn	--	‘experience some smell’
kú àárọ̀	kááárọ̀	--	‘good morning!’
kú alẹ̀	káalẹ̀	--	‘good evening!’
Yorùbá	Yorùbá/Yoòbá	--	‘Yoruba’
ì-yà-orí	iyàrí	iyarí	‘hair brush/comb’
Oyè-é-dé-ilé	Oyèédélé	**Oyèdélé	(male personal name)
Awo-éè-ṣe-ikà	Awóṣikà	Awóòṣikà	(male personal name)

For the purposes of dictionary-making, it is the forms listed under ‘standard’ that would be entered as head words while the variants would be handled in the body of the lexical entry.

7. Yoruba Personal Names

Yoruba personal names have posed two very serious problems for dictionary-making: (i) their open-endedness in formation; and (ii) resistance to orthographic modernization. We will address these issues one by one.

Three major word-formation processes converge to produce open-ended proper names in the language: prefixation, noun-compounding, and sentence compounding.

7.1. Prefixation

(25)

FULL FORM	STANDARD	VARIANTS
A-dé-kún-ilé (name)	Adékúnlé	Adé, Dékúnlé, Kúnlé (male personal name)
À-là-bí	Àlàbí	Alálàbí, Làbí (male personal name)
À-ṣà-bí	Àṣàbí	Aláṣàbí, Ṣàbí (male personal name)

7.2. Noun-Noun Compounding

(26)

FULL FORM	STANDARD	VARIANTS
Ọlá-Olú (name)	Ọlá-Olú	Ọlálólú, Ọlólólú, Láólú, Lóólú (male name)
Idà-Ògún (name)	Idà-Ògún	Idàògún, Idòògún, Dòògún (male name)
Ṣàṣà-èniyàn Ṣàṣèyàn	Ṣàṣà-èniyàn	Ṣàṣàèniyàn, Ṣàṣèèniyàn, Ṣàṣàèèyàn,
Okùn-adé	Okùn-adé	Okùnadé, Kùnadé (male name)

7.3. Sentence Compounding

(27)

FULL FORM	STANDARD	VARIANTS
Ifá-èè-gbà-mí-gbé Fáàgbàmígbé (name)	Ifágbàmígbé	Ifáàgbàmígbé, Fágbàmígbé,
Awo-èè-ṣe-ikà (male name)	Awóṣikà	Awòòṣikà, Wòòṣikà, Wóṣikà
Adé-kún-ilé Kúnlé (male name)	Adékúnlé	Adé, Dékúnlé, Adékún,

Oyè-é-ní-àràn Oyèélàrà̀n Oyè, Yèélàrà̀n, Làrà̀n,
Oyelaran (male name)

The interesting point here is that these three word-formation processes also apply regularly and productively in the language, but in this present context they have enhanced the open-endedness and abundant creativity of proper names. Babalola's (2000) monumental compilation of 20,000 Yoruba personal names is the tip of the iceberg in the endless formation of Yoruba proper names.

The questions for dictionary-making are two-fold: (i) whether or not a general dictionary of Yoruba should include personal names; and (ii) if it should, to what degree. The inclusion of Yoruba personal names in a general dictionary of the language is unavoidable. Apart from the fact that these names are derived similarly to the thousands of other nouns, many of them have become the names of traditional chieftaincy titles, places, families, wards, streets, institutions, etc. The extent to which these names are included in a dictionary will depend on the amount of space available and the overall discretion of the lexicographer. Our database has included thousands of them.

Secondly, Yoruba proper names have been known to be resistant to orthographic modernization. This resistance occurs in two vital areas. Despite the fact that the Yoruba orthography is generally tone-driven, because many of the names are written without the tones, many of them have passed into public records with incorrect spellings. It has become almost impossible to effect the corrections, most especially because the changes would affect bearers' lives most profoundly. Many names are written in violation of their grammar and meaning. They cannot be read or pronounced as they are written. Examples are:

(28)

WRITTEN FORM	PRONUNCIATION
Fagbamigbe	Fáàgbàmígbé
Fashanu	Fáṣàánú
Oyelaran	Oyèélàrà̀n
Oyedele	Oyèédélé
Odusanya	Odùúsànyà
Orogbemi	Oròògbèmí
Awosika	Awóòṣìkà
Olaitan	Ọláiítán
Ajeigbe	Ajéìígbé, Ajéèégbè
Akinbiyi	Akínbìyí

Adebiyi	Adébiyí
Olabiya	Ọlábíyí
Akinnaso	Akín-innásò
Owodunni	Owódùn-únní

The tonal glides in these names have disappeared from their written forms, and even educated bearers of these names have accepted the fact that their names would always be written officially in the wrong way. In our database, however, we have allowed consistency to determine that such names should be entered with their correct spellings, while the wrong spelling, for the sake of official records, would show up under the variant field, as in the following:

(29)

\w	Oyèédélé
\p	n
\d	chieftaincy title has reached the home
\c	personal proper name
\o	oyè-é-dé-ilé
\v	Oyè, Yèédélé, Délé, Oyedele

8. Head Word in the ‘Standard’ as Opposed to ‘Dialectal’ Form

Through the influence of formal education, the media, official publications, Christian and Islamic publications, etc., what has come to be known as ‘Standard Yoruba’ in Nigeria has been based on what was spoken originally around the old Ibadan and Ọyọ districts. There was certainly also a contribution from the pool of other dialects such as Àkókó, Àkúrẹ, Anàgó, Àwóri, Ègùn, Èkiti, Èkó/Èyọ, Ègbá, Ègbádò, Onko, Ibòlò, Ibùnù, Ifẹ, Igbómìnà, Ijẹbù, Ijẹsà, Ijùmú, Ikalẹ, Ilàjẹ, Ilorin, Mòbà-Èkiti, Oǹdó, Oǹwé, Ọ̀wò, Ọ̀wọ̀rò, Ọ̀yọ, and Yàgbà. Our database has been constructed on the form of Yoruba that is found on the radio, television, newspapers, schools and colleges, popular literature, academic and government publications, etc.

9. Metalanguage and Borrowing

With the rise of Yoruba as a formal discipline in Nigerian universities in the latter part of the 20th century, the need arose to engage in a massive expansion of the lexicon of the language in order to teach not only Yoruba

itself but also other academic subjects such as mathematics, science, technology, engineering, medicine, literature, education, social sciences, etc. While on the one hand, the NLC (1981/1987) and NERDC (1992) represent direct government-funded lexical expansion projects, Bamgbose (1984) and Awobuluyi (1990) were the results of organizational efforts to expand the words of the language to meet classroom needs. There have been other private efforts such as Odetayo (1993) and Fakinlede (2003) which specifically focused on science and engineering.

Yet anyone who has attempted to use Yoruba to teach or discuss mathematics, pure science, politics, medicine, technology, computer science, etc. would quickly realize the enormity of the problem of doing so in Yoruba. This is despite the fact that the Yoruba academy conceded that it would be proper that borrowing would only be used as a last resort whenever it becomes impossible to come up with an accurate Yoruba word. For example, ‘mathematics’ is not the same thing as *‘ìṣirò’* which has been reserved for ‘arithmetic’; so, ‘mathematics’ has been borrowed as *‘matimátíikì’*. Our database has incorporated all the existing terms in the printed literature as well as hundreds of others gleaned from published works such as Gbile (1984) and Verger (1995).

10. Examples of Usage

Given that the Yoruba language cannot yet boast of an extensive written literature that dates back centuries, as the English language can, examples of usage in the works of the ‘masters’ of written literature are hard to find. What the language does have, however, is thousands of proverbs, folktales, riddles and idioms (cf. Ajibola 1947, Delano 1966, Adesua 1978, Fabunmi 1969, Owomoyela 1988, 2000), which we have found to be extremely useful examples of usage while compiling the database.

11. External Factors

11.1 Continental versus Diaspora Yoruba

Given the ever-increasing importance that the Yoruba language is beginning to assume worldwide, it is becoming increasingly difficult to limit the compilation of a database for Yoruba to the Yoruba language spoken only in Nigeria. Yoruba is also the mother tongue of thousands of people in the Republics of Benin and Togo. We therefore refer to the Yoruba spoken in the contiguous belt stretching from south-western Nigeria to Togo as continental Yoruba. On the other hand, some versions

of the Yoruba language have become the language of liturgy and music in such countries as Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Trinidad, Jamaica, certain parts of the United States and Canada. In response to these external needs, our database has been extended to Anago-Lucumi (Cuba), Gullah (South Carolina State), and Anago (Trinidad and Brazil). There is abundant evidence that remnants of Yoruba origin have survived in Freetown in Sierra Leone and Monrovia in Liberia, where many Yoruba words have been mixed up with the Krio language. In addition, many people in these communities still officially bear Yoruba names. We refer to this latter group as diaspora Yoruba.

11.2 Monolingual versus Bilingual/Multilingual Yoruba Dictionaries

Despite some modest attempts in the past (Delano 1958), the Yoruba language is yet to have an up-to-date monolingual dictionary based on either continental or diaspora Yoruba. It is not that the need has never been felt, quite the opposite in fact given the needs of hundreds of thousands of Yoruba people in Nigeria. It is instead the overwhelming pressure from English and other neighboring languages that has made a monolingual dictionary of the language unprofitable.

On the other hand, the need for a bilingual and/or multilingual dictionary has become irresistible. The existing bilingual/multilingual dictionaries of the language have been in favor of the English language. When we started our project, our original database was a two-way bilingual dictionary of Yoruba → English and English → Yoruba, the latter section being an electronic reversal of the Yoruba → English part. The Yoruba → English part has grown to 130,000 head entries, while the English → Yoruba section is double that amount. Within Nigeria, there is a growing need to compile bilingual/multilingual dictionaries between the Yoruba and Hausa, Igbo, Edo, Nupe, Epira, and Batonu languages. It may not be too far-fetched also to consider Yoruba-French dictionaries, since Nigeria is largely surrounded by Francophone countries. In the diaspora, nothing short of multilingual dictionaries would do. Our database has included AnagoLucumi-Spanish-English-Yoruba (based on Cabrera 1970), Gullah-English-Yoruba (based on Turner 1949/1969) and TrinidadYoruba-English-Yoruba (based on Warner-Lewis 1996). It is hoped that, in future, the work will include Anago-Portuguese-English-Yoruba from Brazil and Krio-English-Yoruba from Sierra Leone. The following is our re-constructed entry for *Ọbaa-Kòso* (the title of *Şàngó* divinity) in Yoruba, Lucumi and TrinidadYoruba in our database:

- (30)
- | | |
|----------|--|
| \w | Ọbaa-kòso |
| \p | n |
| \d | king of Kòso |
| \c | Kòso is an imaginary place associated with the Ẓàngó |
| divinity | |
| \v | Ọbaa Kòso, ọba-a Kòso |
| \o | Ọba-a-kòso |
- (31)
- | | |
|------|--|
| \LUK | Obákoso (Cabrera (1970/1986:223) |
| \SPA | Rey de Koso, (Chango) (Cabrera (1970/1986:223) |
| \ENG | King of Koso, (Chango) |
| \YOR | Ọbaa Kòso (<ọba-a kò so) 'the king of Kòso town' |
- (32)
- | | |
|------------|---|
| \try | Obakuso (MWL (1996:228) \cf Ọbakuso, Abakoso, |
| Abakuso | |
| \eng | (honorific of Shango) (MWL (1996:228) |
| \yor | Ọbakòso (<ọba-kò-so) 'the king did not hang' (honorific |
| of Shango) | (MWL (1996:228) |

The flip side of this situation is to compile dictionaries that would link Yoruba to all those non-English languages worldwide in whose domains Yoruba is being used or taught as a subject. Presently, Yoruba is being used and/or taught formally or informally in countries such as Germany, Russia, France, Japan, Italy, and all the way to China.

12. Conclusion

The challenges that confront dictionary-making for direct human use are different from those confronting a database for machine use. For a machine, the information has to be one-hundred percent accurate and precise. A missing or misplaced dot, tone or letter will make a difference to how a machine will process a word. Once the database has been accurately and precisely constructed, a machine, through a search engine, will search out the information wherever it is put in the database, whether in the head word or in the body of a lexical entry. The alphabetization of head entries may not necessarily be a huge problem for a machine.

It is quite a different situation for the human eye and mind, for which information must be linearly and accurately arranged and structured. All

the problems associated with the application of segment elision, assimilation, contraction, affixation, reduplication, compounding, etc. must be delicately and accurately resolved, as these affect both the microstructure and the macrostructure of the dictionary, before the dictionary can meet and achieve the highest level of use by the human mind.

References

- R.C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (Yoruba-English), London: University of London Press, 1958.
- A. ÀLÓAdesua. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1978.
- J.O. Ajibola, *Owe Yoruba ti a tumo si Ede Geesi: oruko Yoruba fun ojo ose ati osu odun*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- B.T.S. Atkins, "Theoretical lexicography and its relation to dictionary-making", *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 14 (1992/93): 4-43.
- O. Awobuluyi, "Vowel Assimilation in Yoruba", West African Languages Congress, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria (1982).
- , *Yoruba Metalanguage (Ede-Iperi Yoruba) Vol. II (A Glossary of English-Yoruba Technical Terms in Language, Literature and Methodology)*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd., 1990.
- Y. Awoyale, "Vowel elision and assimilation in Yoruba: the interface of syntax and phonology" presented at the sixth annual conference of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria (1985).
- , (under preparation) *Dictionary of Contemporary Yoruba* (University of Pennsylvania Linguistic Data Consortium, Philadelphia).
- , (under preparation) *Dictionary of Yoruba Ideophones* (University of Pennsylvania Linguistic Data Consortium, Philadelphia).
- A. Babalola, *A Dictionary of Yoruba Proper Names*, University of Lagos Press, 2000.
- A. Bamgbose, "Assimilation and Contraction in Yoruba", *Journal of West African Languages* 2:1 (1965): 21-27.
- , (ed.), *Yoruba Metalanguage (Ede-Iperi Yoruba) Vol. I (A Glossary of English-Yoruba Technical Terms in Language, Literature and Methodology)*, Lagos: Nigeria 1984.
- L. Cabrera, *ANAGO: Vocabulario Lucumi (El Yoruba Que se Habla en Cuba)*, C. R., Miami, Florida, 1970.
- I.O. Delano *Owe Lesin Oro*, Ibadan: University Press Limited, 1966.
- M.A. Fabunmi, *Yoruba Idioms*, Ibadan: African Universities Press, 1969.

- K.J. Fakinlede, *Modern Practical Dictionary (Yoruba-English English-Yoruba)*, New York: Hippocrene Books Inc., 2003.
- Z.O. Gbile, *Vernacular Names of Nigerian Plants (Yoruba)*, Ibadan: Forestry Research Institute of Nigeria, 1984.
- A.S. Hornby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary on CD-ROM*, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- B. Levin, *English Verb Classes and Alternations (a preliminary investigation)*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- NERDC, *Quadrilingual Glossary of Legislative Terms (English-Hausa-Igbo-Yoruba)*, Lagos: Federal Cabinet Office and Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 1992 (QGLT).
- N.L.C., *A Vocabulary of Primary Science and Mathematics in Nine Nigerian Languages Vol. 1 Fulfulde, Izon and Yoruba*, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education National Language Center (1981/1987) (VPSM).
- J.A. Qdétáyò, *Ìwé Atúmò-òrò Ìmò-Àrìgbéwòn (Yoruba Dictionary of Engineering Physics)*, Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1994.
- O. Owómóyèlá, *A Kì í – Yoruba Proscriptive and Prescriptive Proverbs*, Lanham, MD University Press of America, 1988.
- , *Yoruba Proverbs* (2000) <http://libr.unl.edu:2000/yoruba/>, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2000.
- L.D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1949/1969.
- P.F. Verger, *Ewe: The Use of Plants in Yoruba Society*, Sao Paulo: Companhia das Latras, 1995.
- M. Warner-Lewis, *Trinidad Yoruba (from mother tongue to memory)*, Tuscaloosa & London: The University of Alabama Press, 1996.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SYNTAX OF PRONOUNS AND INTERROGATIVE MARKERS IN MÒFÒLÍ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ

FELIX ABÍDÈMÍ FÁBÙNMI
OBÁFÉMI AWÓLÓWÒ UNIVERSITY

1. Introduction

The Yorùbá population is distributed across the three frontiers of Nigeria, the Republic of Benin and Togo, and Yorùbá outside Nigeria are considered as forming a sort of Yorùbá diaspora. In the field of linguistics, however, the Yorùbá population outside Nigeria is hardly ever discussed, largely unknown and poorly defined. This prompted Igue and Yai (1973), while noting the trend as a defiance of history, to opine that:

there are two types of Yorùbá: those in Nigeria and the others. The former are well known; it is enough simply to mention the existence of the latter... in the field of linguistics, the situation is hardly more encouraging. (Igue and Yai 1973:2-3)

They cited many examples which proved the exclusion of the whole Yorùbá area outside Nigeria from research findings, especially among Yorùbá scholars.

However, in their classifications of Yorùbá dialects into various subgroups, Oyelaran (1976) and Awobuluyi (1998) identified Sábè-Kétu (Dahomey) and Ifè (Togo) as part of the SWY¹. Awobuluyi unequivocally declares thus (translation ours):

SWY: speakers of the dialects in this subgroup reside largely outside

Nigeria, in countries like Dahomey (Republic of Benin) and Togo. We are not going to discuss this dialect subgroup because no linguistic research has been carried out on them. (Awobuluyi 1998:9)

If the term Yorùbá is understood as the association of several sub-groups bound to one another by language and tradition, “the Yorùbá of Dahomey and Tógò”, according to Igue and Yai (1973:9), “number some 400,000 inhabitants”. They are divided into ten sub-groups: Àwóri, Ifòhin, Òhòrí, Àjàs é, Kétu, Tsábe, Ìdàísà, Isà, Ifè and Mánìgrì. Each of them is distinguished by its own dialect and occupies a defined geographical area.

Kétu is best known of all the Yorùbá groups in Dahomey. During our fieldwork, we discovered that the language of the ‘Ketou’² people is commonly referred to as Mòfòlí. Following Capo (1989), therefore, Mòfòlí itself is a dialect of the Defoid³ group. The Defoid group occupies:

a compact geographical area starting as a thin belt in the central part of Togo Republic, expanding towards the sea in the Republic of Benin... (Capo 1989:276)

Of all the dialects in the Defoid group, only the SWY are still lacking any known linguistic development as postulated by Awobuluyi (1998:9). In addition, Igue and Yai have since proposed a detailed description of the different dialects, with a phonological analysis of each one of them, and a map showing the isoglosses based on linguistic factors.

There is no known response to the need for research in this area by linguists. Our present research finding intends to bring the SWY dialects into the linguistic limelight, as well as to serve as a response to the call of Awobuluyi (1992:71) for scholars to start studying the dialect of Yorùbá in order to determine what new things the dialects may teach us about the Yorùbá language.

In this paper, therefore, we shall describe the Mòfòlí pronouns and question formation, and show how they differ from or resemble Standard Yorùbá (SY) which we also regard as a dialect:

Yorùbá be viewed as a lect within the cluster, which has its distinctive characteristics... Èdè Yorùbá will then be a dialect, but still the most prestigious dialect of the cluster and the standard of the whole area. (Capo 1989:277)

Our corpora are largely taken from oral interviews conducted among Mòfòlí native speakers. This was done in order to avoid introspection. Outside Nigeria (i.e. in the Republic of Benin where speakers of Mòfòlí reside) one

will begin to come in contact with the Mòʔfòʔlí dialect in cities like Porto-Novo (Àjàsè), Wondo, Tsákete, Kpòbé and Ketou.

2. Question Formation in Mòʔfòʔlí

‘Question’ is a term used in the classification of sentence functions and defined sometimes on grammatical, semantic or sociolinguistic grounds. Syntactically, a question is a sentence with an inversion of the subject and first verb in the verb phrase as in (1a) and (1b), commencing with a question word as in (2), or ending with a question tag as in (3). (1) contains examples of yes-no questions, i.e. questions which typically require ‘yes’ or ‘no’ for an answer. Although instances of subject-aux inversion are not found in the Mòʔfòʔlí dialect, there is evidence of yes-no questions in Mòʔfòʔlí, as shown in (2), (3) and (4). These are interrogative sentences which contain overt question markers. The Mòʔfòʔlí dialect also displays instances of interrogative sentences without any overt question markers, as shown in (5a). Here, the sentence is pronounced with raised eyebrows to connote interrogation. Otherwise, as in (5b), it implies a declarative sentence. Nevertheless, (1a) and (1b) are completely foreign expressions as far as Mòʔfòʔlí syntax is concerned. Otherwise, we will only end up with (6) and (7), which are undesirable sentences in the dialect.

- 1a Will Báýò fix the car?
 1b Can Bólá play the piano?
 1c He’s coming, isn’t he?
- 2a Ké ó dé?
 Q-M FOC happen
 “What happened?”
 (SY: Kí ni ó dé?)
- 2b Lè ó pomo oba?
 Q-M FOC kill-son king
 “Who killed the king’s son?”
 (SY: Ta ni ó pa omo oba?)
- 3a Ilé fe?
 home Q-M
 “How is your home?”
 (SY: Ilé ñkó?)
- 3b Oì ñ bèèrè ñ te?
 person PROG ask me Q-M

“Where is the person looking for me?”
(SY: Eni tí ó n̄ bèèrè mi dà?)

4a Tsé dàdà mò bá in̄?
Q-M well I meet you
“Do I meet you well?”
(SY: Sé dàadàa ni mo bá yin?)

4b Tsé Adé jetsu?
Q-M Adé eat-yam
“Did Adé eat the yam?”
(SY: Sé Adé je isu?)

5a Eéko t̄emi?
name Ass-me
“You mean my name?”
(SY: Orúko t̄emi?)

5b Eéko t̄emi
name Ass-me
“That’s my name”
(SY: Orúko ti èmi)

6. * Ó ké dé?

7. * Ó lè pomo oba?

Awóbùluyi (1978:123) identifies (8) as “question words” that are traditionally utilised in SY utterances, opining that “they occur in interrogative sentences only”. Bámgbósé (1990:183), in addition to those markers in (8), also lists another set shown in (9), which he labels as “question items”. Both (8) and (9) are used by SY speakers in interrogative sentences, as depicted in (10).

8. ta, kí, èwo, èlò, mélòò,]
dà, ñkó, sé, ñjé, bí] Q-M

9. Sebí, èkelòò, ibo, tí ì,]
dan, kè, tàbí] Q-M

10a. Ta ni ó rán o sí òdò r̄è?
Q-M FOC he send you PREP person him
“Who sent you on an errand to him?”

- 10b. Kí ni mo se?
Q-M FOC I do
“What did I do?”
- 10c. Şé Olú ti lo?
Q-M Olú PERF go
“Has Olú gone?”
- 10d. Ilé ñkó o?
home Q-M it
“How is your home?”
- 10e. Omo tó sè mí dà?
child RC-he offend me Q-M
“Where is the child that offended me?”
- 10f. Èwo ni o fèràn?
Q-M FOC you like
“Which one do you like?”
- 10g. Ibo ni o ti ñ bò?
Q-M FOC you PERF PROG come
“Where are you coming from?”

Some of the SY question markers in (8) and (9) above are found in Mòʔfòlí utterances, except those listed in (11) below. This implies that, as far as the corresponding question markers are concerned, Mòʔfòlí has completely different realisations for the SY sentences in (10a-e) above. For instance, for the Mòʔfòlí interrogative markers, we can specify (12) as the NP subject, (13) as the verbs, and (14) as the modifiers. We could not however specify that of the modifiers.

11. Lè, ké, fé, tē, tse] Q-M
- 12a. Lè ó ran lédo re?
Q-M you send PREF-person him
“Who sent you on an errand to him?”
(SY: Ta ni ó rán o nísé sódo rè?)
- 12b. Ké ó mò tse?
Q-M you I do

“What did I do?”
(SY: *Kí ni mo se?*)

13a Ògégé n fe?
cassava me Q-M
“How about my cassava?”
(SY: *Ègè mi ñkó?*)

13b Omu ú tsè n te?
child RCoffend me Q-M
“Where is the child that offended me?”
(SY: *Omo tí ó sè mi dà?*)

14a Tse kò tsí àwíjìyàn wen-èn?
Q-M NEG no controversy such
“Did such controversy happen?”
(SY: *Sé kò sí irú àrìyànjiyàn bèè?*)

14b Tse omu ù tsùn?
Q-M child the sleep
“Did such child sleep?”
(SY: *Sé omo náà sùn?*)

Meanwhile, Awóbùlúyì (1998:4) pointed out, although without any examples, that some NEY dialects use *lèé* or *lè* as question words while interrogating about human nouns. Nonetheless, Mòfòlí is a dialect in the SWY subgroup, and is not part of the NEY subgroup. If anything, however, this only proves the interrelatedness of Yorùbá speakers outside Nigeria with those residing in the country. In the context of phonemic and tonal contrasts, *ta*, *ńkó* and *dà* (as in (8) above), which are found in SY, are completely unrelated to *lè*, *fe* and *te* (as in (11) above), which are found in Mòfòlí. So, Mòfòlí question markers differ from those in SY. Although the same analysis might explain the derivation of *kí* and *ké* -cf (10b) and (12b), and *sé* and *tse* - cf (10c) and (14a) and (14b), partial differences still exist either in their phonemic or their tonal contrasts.

Another feature of differentiation that has sharply marked and distinguished the Mòfòlí question formation principle is the *ni* - item. The *ni* - item is always completely deleted in Mòfòlí *ni* - clauses, as witnessed in (2a), (2b), (12a) and (12b) above. The deletion of the *ni* - item in those Mòfòlí interrogative sentences does not render the sentences ungrammatical, whereas in SY, if the *ni* - items are deleted, as in (10a-b) and (10f-g) above, the

sentences will be completely unintelligible, as demonstrated in (15).

- 15 a. * Ta ó rán o sí òdò rè?
 b. * Kí mo se?
 c. * Èwo o fèràn?
 d. * Ibo o tí ñ bò?

This phenomenon could perhaps be explained within Oyèláràn's (1993:164-165) illustration of topicalisation in Yorùbá. What we have in (2a-b) and (12a-b) implies that the focused elements i.e *lè*, *ké*, are not "obligatorily marked (followed) by the operator *ni*". Likewise, anti-focus could not be established in those interrogative sentences because the element *ni* is not "moved to the end of the phrase". What we can therefore presently establish is that the focus operator is always completely deleted in the Mò'fò'lí question formation process. Should the operator *ni* obligatorily mark the focused elements, the same SY ungrammatical utterances in (15) would also occur in Mò'fò'lí. (16) testifies to this:

- 16 a. * Lè ni ó rán lédò rè?
 b. * Lè ni ó pomo oba?
 c. * Ke ni mò tse?

3. Pronouns in the Mò'fò'lí Dialect

The words of any dialect can be divided into two broad types of categories: closed and open. Pronouns belong to the closed category. This is a lexical category whose members can replace a noun phrase. Following Bámbósé (1967:10), therefore, a pronoun:

is a word which cannot have a qualifier in the nominal group. Pronouns have a system of number (singular and plural) and of person (1st, 2nd and 3rd person). They also have different forms of different syntactic positions.

3.1 Pronoun Subject

SY pronouns in the syntactic position are shown in (17a) while those in Mò'fò'lí are in (17b). A comparative analysis of (17a) and (17b) depicts that while both SY singular and plural pronouns have only one form, those of Mò'fò'lí are different. Some of the Mò'fò'lí singular pronouns have two or three forms as exemplified. For the third person singular pronoun which has three forms in Mò'fò'lí, notice sentences (18d) and (22b).

17a.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	17b.	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
i.	mo 'I'	a 'we'	i.	mò 'I'	a/á 'we'
ii.	o 'you'	e 'you'	ii.	o/o 'you'	e 'you'
iii.	ó 'he/she/it'	wón 'they'	iii.	ó/ó/é 'he/she/it'	é 'they'

The use of any of the Mòfòlí singular pronoun forms in (17b), following Adéwolé's (1996:57) submission, depends on the "tenseness or laxness of the vowel of the first full verb in the predicate". The only exception in Mòfòlí is the first person singular pronoun, where the tenseness is not overtly realised. The lax vowels 'a, e, o' take mò/o/ó or é (I, you, it/she/he), as shown in (18), while the tense vowels é, i, o, u' take o/ó (you, it/she/he), as shown in (19).

18a. Mò tsitsé lónàá
I do-work at-yesterday
"I worked yesterday"
(SY: Mo se isé ní àná.)

18b. O kò lo lóko
you NEG go at-farm
"You didn't go to the farm".
(SY: O kò lo sí oko.)

18c. Ó tá ñ lípàá líkù
he kick me at-leg at-belly
"He kicked me in the belly".
(SY: Ó ta mí ní ipá ní ikùn.)

18d. Ègùn lé é jé
Dahomeyan FOC he is
"He is a Dahomeyan".
(SY: Ègùn ni ó jé.)

19a. Ìwo likàn o búmo méri
you alone you give-birth four
"You alone gave birth to four children"
(SY: Ìwo nìkan ni o bí omo mérin.)

19b. Eli ó tselé iwé lí gbó fàtsé.
person he go-house book is hear french
"The person that goes to school will speak French."
(SY: Eni tí ó lo sí ilé-ìwé ní gbó fàransé.)

It can again be noticed that only the first person plural pronoun in Mòfòlí has two forms; the others have only one form, as shown in (17b). None of the pronouns are di-syllabic. The formative that marks the third person plural subject pronoun in Mòfòlí is *é* ‘they’. This is different from *wón* ‘they’, which is found in SY, as exemplified in (20).

20a. Questions in SY

- (i) Ìyàwó méléóó ní wón ní?
“How many wives do they have?”
- (ii) Okò méléóó ní e rí?
“How many vehicles did you see?”

20b. Answers in Mòfòlí

- (i) *É* tó méta
they about three
“They are about three”
(SY: *Wón* tó méta.)
- (ii) *É* rí máu
they see five
“They saw five of them”
(SY: *Wón* rí mārùn-ún.)

3.2. The Pronominals

A pronominal is a noun which resembles a pronoun by having systems of number and of person. Awóbùlúyì (1978:22) says they are “related nouns which occur with qualifier”. Pronominals in SY and Mòfòlí are shown in (21).

21	SY		Mòfòlí	
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
i.	èmi ‘I’	àwa ‘we’	èmi ‘I’	àa ‘we’
ii.	ìwo ‘you’	èyin ‘you’	ìwo ‘you’	èin ‘you’
iii.	òun ‘he/she/it’	àwon ‘they’	òu ‘he/she/it’	‘àon ‘they’

A feature of differentiation between the pronominals in (21) is in the plural forms: where Mòfòlí displays an intervocalic consonant elision, SY does not. This is witnessed in (22).

- 22a. Èmi pèlú in-in la à jo lo.
I and you(pl) PREP-we together go
“You and I will go together”
(SY: Èmi pèlú yín ni a òò jo lo.)
- b. É lóu mée fê.
he say-he will marry
“He says he will marry her”
(SY: Ó ní òun máa fê e.)
- c. Mò fê ba èin lo lóko.
I want go you go to-farm
“I want to go to the farm with you”.
(SY: Mo fê bá èyin lo sí oko.)

3.3 Pronoun Objects

Mòfòlí pronouns in the object syntactic position are shown in (23a) while those of SY are in (23b).

23a. <u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	23b. <u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
i. mi/n ‘me’	a ‘us’	(i) mi ‘me’	wa ‘us’
ii. o/e ‘you’	in-in ‘you’	(ii) o/e ‘you’	yín ‘you’
iii. vowel of verb	on ‘them’	(iii) vowel of verb	won ‘them’

It can be noticed that the preceding verb dictates the tone of the pronouns. According to Awóbùlúyì (1978), the pronoun has a mid tone after a high tone verb, and a high tone after a low or mid tone verb. This is shown in (24a) for Mòfòlí and (24b) for SY.

Mòfòlí

24a

- i. Ó pè á. ‘He called us’.
ii. É rí on. ‘He saw them’.
iii. Ó tsẹ mí. ‘He ruffled me’.
iv. Ó mú in-in. ‘He arrested them’.

SY

24b

- (i) Ó pè wá. ‘He called us’
(ii) Wón rí won. ‘He saw them’.
(iii) Ó sẹ mi. ‘He ruffled me’.
(iv) Ó mú un yín. ‘He arrested them’.

We observed in our analysis that, contrary to what is specified for SY, where the tone of the vowel of the second person plural pronoun object is always high, that of Mòfòlí has a mid tone. In addition, whenever the preceding verb in SY has a high tone, the tone of the vowel of the verb is always lengthened

on a mid tone as shown in (24b iv). However, as revealed in (24a iv), this does not exist in the Mò'fò'lí utterances.

Moreover, Awóbùlúyì (1992:26) gives an hypothesis for the derivation of the third person singular object pronoun in both SY and Mò'fò'lí, which describes the process of changing *un* (the vowel of the verb) to the vowel of the preceding verb in both dialects, as depicted in (23a iii) and (23b iii) above. Precisely, he says it:

has now shown that the third person singular object pronoun, *un*-undergoes assimilation, more specifically Rule 1, only when it is not co-referential with the speaker.

Rule 1, which underlies the assimilatory process that he referred to, runs thus:

$$V1 + V2 \quad v \quad V1 + V1$$

where $V2 = i, un$.

4. Conclusion

We have shown in this paper that question markers in Mò'fò'lí differ from those in SY. This may be in accordance to the operation of glottochronology which specifies the rate of the loss of items in the basic core vocabulary in related dialects. So, the differences are the result of linguistic change. We have shown that the *ni* - item is always completely deleted in Mò'fò'lí *ni* - clauses, whereas it must be retained in SY. In addition, pronouns in Mò'fò'lí differ from those in SY; while SY singular and plural subject/object pronouns have only one form, Mò'fò'lí has either two or three forms. From our analysis in this paper, it is revealed that changes that have taken place in the SY dialect have not taken place in the Mò'fò'lí dialect. Further studies on Mò'fò'lí will highlight new things the dialect may teach us about the syntax of the Yorùbá language.

Endnotes

* The central ideas of this paper were included in a paper entitled *Aspects of the Syntax of Mò'fò'lí: A Yorùbá Dialect (A Preliminary Statement)* presented at the Departmental Seminar in the Department of African Languages and Literatures at Obafemi Awolowo University on August 13th, 2005. I am grateful to Professor L.O. Adéwolé for his detailed comments on an earlier version. My thanks also go to other commentaries on the version. I am indebted to the secretary to the Alaketou of Ketou, Republic of Benin, Mr. Oládélé Omótsábí, for his assistance with the data.

¹ The following abbreviations correspond to:

SWY	Southwest Yorùbá	Q-M	Question Marker
NEY	Northeast Yorùbá	NEG	Negator
NWY	Northwest Yorùbá	FOC	Focus Construction
CY	Central Yorùbá	RC	Relative Clause
SEY	Southeast Yorùbá	PROG	Progressive Aspect
ASS	Associative Marker	PREP	Preposition
PERF	Perfect Aspect		

² We noticed a difference in the pronunciation of the word ‘Ketou’ in comparison to ‘Ketu’, used by SY speakers. Ketou of the Republic of Benin is not the same as the Ketu of Lagos, Nigeria.

³ Capo (1989) adopts the term ‘Defoid languages’ as a non-transparent coinage.

References

- Adéwolé, L.O. 1996. ‘Ifẹ Pronouns in Polylectal Grammar’, *Journal of Nigerian Languages and Literatures* 2, 56-63.
- Awóbúlúyì, O. 1978. *Essentials of Yorùbá Grammar*. Ìbàdàn: Oxford University Press.
- . 1992. ‘Aspect of Contemporary Standard Yorùbá in Dialectological Perspective’, in *New Findings in Yorùbá Studies*, edited by A. Isola, pp. 1-79. Ìbàdàn: JF Odunjo Memorial Lecture Series.
- . 1998. ‘Àwon Èka-Èdè Yorùbá’. Paper presented at the Conference of the Yorùbá Studies Association of Nigeria, Pastoral Institute, Ìbàdàn, November 24 - 26.
- Bámgbósé, A. 1967. *A Short Yorùbá Grammar*. Ìbàdàn: Heinemann Educational Books.
- . 1990. *Fonólóji àti Gírámà Yorùbá*. Ìbàdàn: University Press Limited.
- Carnie, Andrew. 2002. *Syntax: A Generative Introduction*. Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.
- Capo, H.B.C. 1989. ‘Defoid’, in *The Niger-Congo Languages*, edited by J. Bendo-Samuel pp. 275-290. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.
- Fabunmi, F. A. 2003. ‘A GPSG Appraisal of Sequential Distributions of Auxiliary Verbs in Ìjẹṣà Dialect of Yorùbá’, *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 12, 3:355-371.
- . 2006. ‘Tense and Aspect in Mọfọlì Dialect of Yorùbá’, PhD Dissertation, Department of African Languages and Literatures, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.
- Igue, J. and O. Yai. 1973. ‘The Yorùbá-Speaking People of Dahomey and Togo’, *YORUBA Journal of the Yorùbá Studies Association of Nigeria*, 1, 1-29.
- Oyèláràn, O. 1976. ‘Linguistic Speculations on Yorùbá History’, in

Department of African Languages and Literatures Seminar Series 1,
edited by O. Oyelaran, pp. 251-264. Ifè: Department of African
Languages and Literatures.

—, 1993. 'Anti-Focus in Yoruba: Some Implications for Creole', *Research in
Yoruba Language and Literature* 3, 162-183.

Roberts, Ian. 1997. *Comparative Syntax*. London: Edward Arnold.

Trudgill, P. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Edinburgh:
University Press.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE POLICY PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

USMAN AHMADU MOHAMMED
NIGERIAN DEFENCE KADUNA

Introduction

Language Policy, Planning and Management (henceforth LPPM) have been a matter of concern to governmental agencies/agents and scholars for the past several decades, especially with the nation building efforts since the independencies in Africa and Asia from the 1950s onwards. LPPM involves four stages: a) selection, b) codification, c) elaboration and d) implementation. In this paper, we intend to discuss LPPM in Nigeria which is a multilingual and multicultural nation. This is with a view to observing the extent to which these activities are undertaken in order to promote Nigerian languages for ‘participatory democracy’.

The paper observes that efforts of both governmental language agencies and agents in Nigeria resulted in the standardisation of various Nigerian languages. At present, about 136 languages representing approximately 27% of all Nigerian languages are at various levels of standardisation (cf. Mohammed 2002). The fragmentation or the development of varieties results in what can be termed as glossotomy. This aspect is more pronounced in the southern part of the country, i.e. Nigeria. The situation in the northern part of Nigeria is quite different because Hausa, which is a strong lingua franca, is incorporating minor ethnic and/or linguistic groups. This aspect is referred to as glossogamy. This linguistic phenomenon is the result of strong socio-economic and political backgrounds behind the language, i.e. Hausa.

LPPM, when properly designed, serve as an organ for unity among peoples of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. It is through unity that nationhood can be achieved.

Analysis of Language Policy, Planning and Management

Language Policy, Planning and Management (LPPM) have been a matter of concern to governmental agencies/agents and scholars for the past several decades, especially with the nation building efforts since the independencies in Africa and Asia from the 1950s onwards. LPPM have preoccupied the minds of governments, agencies and scholars interested in the development of language(s) for various purposes. The task is carried out in order to: a) address linguistic diversities in multilingual and multiethnic nations with a view to ensuring smooth coexistence among linguistic groups; and b) promote and develop a language or languages in order to fulfil certain public and/or official functions. Whatever the aims and objectives of the LPPM carried by those interested in language development, various considerations are taken to ensure the success of the exercise. These may include social, political, economic and cultural considerations, which are vital for the success of the LPPM. According to Fishman (1987a: 287), Language Planning “refers to the organized pursuit of solutions to the language problem, typically at the national level”.

Historically, LPPM were carried out by the governments of monarchs and theocrats. The governments of monarchs used to impose a unique language to the detriment of other languages. The imposed language was used for the achievement of political and/or territorial ambitions. For instance in France, French (which was then Francien) was favoured to the detriment of other national languages. Francien then enjoyed the privilege of being “*la langue du Roy (sic)*” (i.e. the language of the King). Since then, Francien was developed and spread throughout France. Its position was reinforced by the first politolinguistic declaration referred to as the “*Ordonnance de Villet Coteret*” in 1632(?). It was then fashionable in Europe that the language of the King was automatically the official language. In Britain, English was the ‘language of the Queen’. In Spain, Castellana was what later became Spanish. On the other hand, the governments of the theocrats were concerned with the spread of religion. For the theocrats, the language that was favoured was that which was used to spread religion, e.g. Hinduism in India through Sanskrit, Islam in the Middle East and Africa through Arabic, Christianity in Europe and Africa through Greek and Latin, etc.

Since the Renaissance, the practice of LPPM by monarchs resulted in the suppression of some languages with lesser political and/or demographic importance. For instance in France, Francien/Parisien was the language that received the support of the then monarchical administration, which led to the suppression of languages such as Breton,

Basque, Flamand and Occitan, to mention but a few. The result of such LPPM was the extinction of languages that were either absorbed or pushed to the periphery or unaccessible areas. For instance, Basque could only survive in the mountainous areas of southern France. In England, after Henry VIII, towards the middle of the 15th and 16th centuries, English was imposed, resulting in the suppression of Welsh, Irish/Galiga and Scottish. In Spain, Antonio de Nabrija laid down the grammar of Castilian/Castillano in the “*Grammatica de la Lingua Castellana*”, which was the basis of Spanish. Ferdinand, the then King of Spain, promoted Castilian, and in 1492 he provided Christopher Columbus with the “*Grammatica de la Lingua Castellana*” for his discovery of the Americas. According to the King of the Spain “...*que siempre la Lengua fue companera del imperio...*” (...language is the companion of the Empire...) (De Nabrija 1989). This implies language, used as a tool of governance, extends the influence of the Empire. This resulted in the spread of Spanish through the American continent. Presently, the language is second only to English in America. Another example came in 1861, when Italian was chosen to be the national language of Italy. It was monitored and promoted by one of the first Academies in Europe, the Academia de la Crusca, which was established around the 16th century.

What transpires from these LPs in various European nations is that various ‘minority languages’ were neglected to the detriment of a unique language. The unique language, which was always referred to as the ‘King’s language’, was developed to serve national interests. The concentration on unique languages ensured the development and spread of these languages which served to consolidate national unity within the polity and to protect interests abroad. In order to monitor the development of these languages, various academies were established, particularly in the Romance-speaking European nations. In France, l’Académie Française was established in 1634 with the unique task of laying down procedures beginning with the production of a standard dictionary, a grammar, and so on. The French academy lay down various registers with a view to standardising French, which became the national language as a result of the “*Edict de Villet Cotteret*”. The establishment of academies was purely the idea of Romance nations; the Germanic nations did not establish academies in order to avoid the legislation of their languages. In 1794 the French Directorate adopted a more systematic approach to LP, which made the use of French compulsory throughout the nation. The then French Minister of Education, Jules Ferry, introduced Universal Primary Education and a total centralization of French. The LP succeeded in the unification and protection of France against external aggression.

Whilst the 19th century saw the proliferation of European, Central and South American Language-Nation-States, the 20th century witnessed multilingualism in Africa and Asia. The multilingual and multi-ethnic nature of the developing nations was a matter of concern to governments, agencies and scholars who had to contain the situation. According to Whiteley (1971), the multilingual and multilingual nature of the developing nations constituted “a source of cultural strength but it is a potential source of weakness”. The situation since then warranted the need for a linguistically technical approach. The problem was first identified by the Church which drew the attention of the West African Missions to the advantages – and indeed the necessity – of teaching children to read in their own language in order to be useful to their parents and countrymen by reading the scriptures and religious tracts (cf. Spencer 1971). The linguistic diversity of the developing nations presented threats to the unity of the ethno-linguistic groups.

In 1829 the French Governor-General issued instructions to the French colonies in these developing nations that teaching must concentrate on the use of French because, according to the Governor-General, “*pour effacer par une éducation commune la différence des mœurs et de la langue...*” (the teaching of French would aim at eliminating cultural and linguistic diversities...). Here, we have two distinct approaches aimed at containing the multilingual and multi-ethnic nature of the developing nations. On the one hand, the colonial administrations in the developing nations were in favour of the standardization of the indigenous languages, an approach that was shared by the protestant missionaries who held the ‘*propaganda fide*’ philosophy practiced all over Europe since Luther, who had been the first to translate the Bible into the vernacular. On the other hand, the colonial administrations in the developing nations adopted an LP aimed at neglecting the indigenous languages in favour of exogenous languages, i.e. the languages of the colonial masters. Though the latter type of LP was aimed at eliminating the cultural and linguistic diversities of the developing nations, a language(s) was imposed to the detriment of the local languages which were neglected while the concentration was on developing and spreading the exogenous languages. Spencer (1971) argues that the distinction between the two types of LPs adopted by the colonial administrators in the developing nations may be illustrated by two instances: “either the colonial administration adopted an LP which was totally in favour of the rejection of vernacular languages in official, administrative and educational sectors or the colonial administration adopted an LP where there was an attempt to find some functions for the

vernaculars within the educational system.” Two distinct LPs could be envisaged at this level.

Brann (1983) identifies three types of LPs adopted by the colonial administrations in the developing nations, which were aimed at addressing the multilingual and multi-cultural diversities of the developing nations. The first is the Afro-Saxon language policy, which is the LP adopted by the British and Flemish colonial administrations which were in favour of the development of some indigenous languages with significant demographic strengths. The British colonial administration succeeded in developing various languages in their colonies in West Africa, e.g. Efik, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Fante and Twi. The Flemish colonial administration on the other hand developed various languages in the Flemish colonies in East Africa. These languages include Lingala, Kicongo, Ciluba and Kiswahili. The Afro-Saxon LP adopted by the British and Flemish administrations developed, standardized and promoted these indigenous languages which were used in various domains. The Flemish administration later adopted the four languages of Lingala, Ciluba, Kicongo and Kiswahili as ‘national languages’ in their colonies in East African nations, while the British colonial administration adopted the indigenous languages in official and public sectors. The second language policy is the Afro-Roman LP that was adopted by the French and Portuguese colonial administrations, which practiced ‘cultural centralism’ and ‘*Assimilado*’ respectively. The LP adopted by these colonial administrators was aimed at linguistic and cultural assimilations, resulting in the suppression and neglect of indigenous languages. This type of LP was first enforced in 1539 in France by an edict referred to as the “*Ordonance de Villers Cotteret*” which imposed French as the unique language in all governmental activities. This was the first polito-linguistic declaration which enhanced the status of French and marked the beginning of a serious development of French. This approach to linguistic diversity influenced the French colonial administration’s approach in their colonies. Though the policy imposed a unique language for the purposes of unity and protection of the nation against external aggressors, it did not allow the local indigenous language or languages to prosper for the same purpose in their colonies. Consequently, all indigenous languages suffered neglect and suppression to the detriment of an exogenous language, which was French. The third is the Afro-Arab LP, which was enforced in North Africa, more precisely in the Maghreb, as a result of which various Berber languages were suppressed until recently when they could make their voices heard. The Afro-Arab LP is similar to the Afro-Roman LP in two ways: a) the policy does not promote indigenous languages, and b) the

policy imposes an exogenous language, i.e. Arabic, which had been imposed in the Maghreb since the Ottoman conquest in the 7th century.

LPPM depend to large extent on the composition of those in the seats of power. When the centre of power weakens as a result of a change, linguistic agitations begin to manifest themselves. Language groups try to push their individual languages forward for the government's attention. This may be the reason for the frequent changes in the outlook of LPs in individual countries. For instance, in those nations where the LP is influenced by either the Afro-Roman or the Afro-Arab policy which were both characterized by the neglect of indigenous languages, the situation has now changed since those languages which suffered suppression and neglect are coming to claim their rights of existence. As a result of this policy many languages disappeared, and those languages that did survive could only be found in the peripheries, e.g. Basque in France, the Berber-related languages in the Maghreb, etc. On the other hand, those nations which are influenced by the Afro-Saxon LP experienced a sharp increase in the number of languages that needed attention, e.g. Nigeria, where the LP has been constantly changing since the country's independence. The LPs introduced by the colonial administrations in the developing nations continued to influence governments' decisions on linguistic matters even after winning their independence. In the British and Flemish colonies in Africa, for instance, a number of language committees and/or bureaux were set up in order to address the multilingual and multiethnic natures of the then newly independent countries. In the British colonies in East Africa, specifically in Tanzania, various language-oriented institutions were established. The Swahili Academy, which was established by the colonial administration in 1932, was followed by the Baraza La Kiswahili La Taifa (the National Kiswahili council) in 1968. The council was affiliated to the Institute of Kiswahili research in the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar-es-Salam. The Kiswahili Academy and the Kiswahili Council were set up primarily to enrich and promote the use of the Swahili language within and across international borders. In Ethiopia, another British colony in East Africa, the same efforts have been observed. The Baherawi Merha Lisan (the National Academy of Languages) was established in 1973 with a view to modernizing and standardizing Ethiopian languages, including Swahili, which has a far greater number of mother tongue speakers than in Tanzania where it received more attention. This is probably due to the connection of the language to Islam, which was not the religion of Ethiopia.

Analysis of Language Policy, Planning and Management in Nigeria

Nigeria was a British colonial administrative structure that was put in place in 1914 by the amalgamation of two protectorates – the Northern and Southern protectorates – into a single political entity. In 1946, three regions were created. Later in 1963, another region was added, followed in 1967 by twelve States. The number of States rose to nineteen in 1976, to twenty one in 1987, and to thirty States in 1991. Six more States were created in 1996, increasing the number to thirty six States. The total number of Local Government Areas (LGAs) currently stands at 774. The LGAs were created more or less on an ethnolinguistic basis. The creation of the LGAs took minority languages and dominant languages in the LGAs into consideration. This opportunity allowed each LGA to standardize its own dominant language. Nigeria, with its tripartite political structure (Federal, States and LGAs), is thus able to manage its language resources, which is estimated to consist of between 250 and 655 languages (cf. Crozier and Blench 1991; there is no consensus on the exact number of Nigerian languages) which can be demographically classified as: Decamillionaire languages (which are spoken by over 10 million speakers), Millionaire languages (which are spoken by over 1 million speakers) and Centimils (which are spoken by over 100,000 speakers).

The efforts of both governmental agencies and agents in Nigeria resulted in the standardization of various Nigerian languages. At present, about 136 languages representing approximately 27% of all Nigerian languages are at various levels of standardization (cf. Mohammed 2002). The fragmentation or the development of varieties results in what can be termed as glossotomy. This aspect is more pronounced in the southern part of the country, i.e. Nigeria. The situation in the northern part of Nigeria is quite different because Hausa, which is a strong lingua franca, is incorporating minor ethnic and/or linguistic groups. This aspect is referred to as glossogamy. This linguistic phenomenon is the result of strong socio-economic and political backgrounds behind the language, i.e. Hausa. This language has enjoyed prestige since Usman dan Fodio conquered the Hausa lands. Hausa was used to spread Islam, which was the concern of the caliphate of dan Fodio. Since then, Hausa has spread dynamically, which was further enhanced by the colonial administration. In fact it is interesting to note that the conqueror did not impose his language, i.e. Fulfulde, which was the standard practice all over the world; an exception to the rule is the Normans, who conquered France in around the 5th century. They did not impose their language but rather dropped their own

and picked French, which they later imposed when they conquered England in 1066.

In 1985, UNESCO declared that each child should receive education in his/her mother tongue. Although there are educational advantages to education in one's mother tongue, the situation seems practically impossible for a country like Nigeria with a large linguistic inventory. The tendency of both governmental and individual language boards, agencies and agents was to develop indigenous languages. This was a legacy from the British colonial government, shared by protestant missionaries with their '*Propaganda fide*' philosophy. This policy is referred to by Brann (1984) as the Afro-Saxon LP, distinct from the Afro-Roman and Afro-Arab language policies, which tend to suppress indigenous languages in favour of an exogenous language. There are a few exceptions to this rule where some dominant autochthonous languages are developed for restricted functions, while the exogenous language remains in use for administrative, educational and mercantile functions in the colonial structure.

In Nigeria various language boards and/or committees were set up to serve as small academies. These language-oriented centres were in charge of the promotion, development and spread of various indigenous languages in both the southern and the northern parts of the country. In the southern part of the country, the Society for the Promotion of Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) was created in order to take care of the development of the Igbo language, which was then the powerful language in the region. The SPILC tried in 1980 to unify Igbo dialects, but their efforts were in vain because the Igbo Union that was presented to the House of Assembly was rejected. The creation of these language-oriented centres, which started during the period of colonial administration in order to reflect the type of LP adopted by individual governments, was adopted from the colonial administrations. Since Nigeria was a former British colony the type of LP was the one referred to as the Afro-Saxon LP. In the northern part of Nigeria, the Gaskiya Corporation was established in 1945, followed by the Northern Region Literature Agency (NORLA) in 1954, the Hausa Language Board (HLB) in 1955, the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (NNPC) in 1966 and lastly Harsunan Nijeria in 1970. The objective of these centres was to develop and spread the Hausa language in the northern part of the country in spite of its linguistic heterogeneity. The prestige of Hausa in the region was down to various reasons, including: a) historical reasons related to the Jihad of Usman dan Fodio, in which Hausa played an important role in the mobilization and administration of the region; and b) economic reasons tied to the use of the

language, e.g. when trading with various peoples. These and other reasons warranted the attention given to Hausa by various governments.

The Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in Nigeria, which was intended to promote Hausa in the northern States, has been met with much hostility in some areas due to its linguistic bias, especially in the middle belt. Although the policy has recorded some successes in most of the northern States of Nigeria, it has also been the subject of resentment where people rejected the LP introduced by the central authority through the UPE programme.

The attention that Hausa received is similar to that of Swahili in East Africa. Presently in Nigeria, various language boards and committees called Centres for Nigerian Languages are set up across the nation. These centres play the role of language academies aimed at developing and standardizing local and state languages in their respective catchment areas. It is pertinent to note that the linguistic approach to the development and promotion of indigenous languages, especially in the former British colonies in East and West Africa, was motivated by a certain number of decisions. In 1943 the memorandum on language in African School Dedications recommended the need to teach in the vernacular, i.e. the mother tongue (henceforth MT), in the early stages of education. In Nigeria, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme upheld this view. The policy warranted the development of various languages in order to undertake the programme. Since education in the individuals' MT would be a difficult task, the programme selected the area's strongest lingua franca to be used as the medium of instruction in the early stages of education. In most States of northern Nigeria, Hausa was either used as the medium of instruction or as a subject taught in schools, while Igbo was used in the south and Yoruba was used in the south-west. This LP tends to create three big nations within 'the Nation' called Nigeria. It also gave a boost to the three Nigerian languages of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, which were constantly enriched and modernized in order to serve in various sectors. The policy has continued on the recommendation of subsequent language committees on education, e.g. the Polit-Bureau (1985 (?)). Other motives contributed to the development of Nigerian languages with lesser demographic strength. Among the motives that led to the development of indigenous Nigerian languages is the protestant missionaries' philosophy of '*propaganda fide*', which aimed at evangelising people in their individual MTs. This philosophy dates back to the Reformation period in Europe and was championed by Luther, who was the first to translate the Bible into the vernacular. The philosophy stipulates that the gospel should be carried in the MT no matter how small the number of speakers and/or

identifiers. This philosophy has contributed immensely to the development of various Nigerian languages, especially in the southern part of the country which is predominantly Christian. The works of Professor K. Williamson and other protestant missionaries in the southern part of Nigeria were based on this philosophy. Their work led to the fragmentation of larger linguistic units into smaller ones, and culminated with the fact that varieties and/or dialects of the same languages were standardized and used primarily for religious purposes and education. This phenomenon may be referred to as glosotomy. Although it helps to maintain cultural identities, it may result in higher linguistic consciousness which in turn may lead to disunity among peoples of the same ethnolinguistic background.

Whiteley (1971) describes this phenomenon as “cultural strength and political weakness”. Since language rotates around two poles, i.e. communication and identification, people form a linguistic consciousness that makes them believe that they are different from other speakers of varieties of the same language. For instance, Izi, Ika, Ikwere and Izaa belong to the same cluster. Their standardizations as individual languages in which various materials such as Bibles, Scripture portions, Primers, etc. were produced led to the belief that they are different languages. However, language developments are vital to the development of individual speakers; the identification, promotion and implantation of a ‘standard form’, i.e. Union language, is desirable otherwise the effort would lead to the fragmentation of peoples. Scholars, linguists, sociolinguists and even political figures who consider unity as a vital ingredient for a nation’s development have made efforts to unify varieties. For instance, in South Africa in 1932, Clement Doke successfully unified various Shona dialects. The former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkruma advocated the unification of Akan dialects. The works on the unification of Igbo dialects by the SPILC and language agents/agencies were not successful, however, due to several factors including the unnecessary standardizations of dialects and/or varieties of the same language(s) which led to ethnic fragmentations instead of unity around the same central standard form.

Hausa, for instance, is a language which has several dialects – Kananci, Katsinanci, Sakkwatanci, Dauranci Hadejiyanci, Zazzaganci and Bausanci (the Bauchi dialect; cf. Abubakar 1983) – and various varieties used in social milieux (cf. Mohammed 1995). The standard form is heavily based on the Kananci dialect, which is widely spread due to its association with trade. In exoglotic areas, i.e. non-Hausa speaking areas, Kananci is used in all aspects of life for various purposes. The monitoring and evaluation of its use, especially in social institutions, is vital in order to

avoid variety differentiation and parallel developments of the language that may lead to unnecessary fragmentations. Economic, political and religious ambitions may be among the factors that are behind glossotomy which eventually leads to ethnotomy. These ambitions are nurtured in order to benefit from certain advantages. This phenomenon is rampant in the southern part of the country, i.e. Nigeria, where there is a high degree of linguistic consciousness. The creation of States, for instance, follows ethnolinguistic considerations. We can observe that Akwa-Ibom State was created with a view to promoting Ibibio (a dialect of Efik) when Akwa-Ibom was part of Cross-Rivers State. This includes States such as Abia, Bayelsa, Delta, Imo and Rivers. All these States were actually created to promote varieties such as Umahia Igbo, Izon, Aka, Asaba, Igbo, Abakaliki Igbo and Owerri Igbo. These are all essentially varieties of Igbo that were under the domination of the ‘prestigious dialect’, which received governmental support.

As argued above, the fragmentation or the development of varieties for religious or other purposes – otherwise referred to as glossotomy – was pronounced in the southern part of Nigeria, where agencies, missionary agents and linguists have deployed tremendous efforts in the drive for standardization. The situation is the opposite in the northern part of Nigeria, where Hausa, as a strong lingua franca, is incorporating minor ethnic and/or linguistic groups. This linguistic phenomenon is the result of the strong socio-economic and political background to the Hausa language. The prestige that Hausa is enjoying in the northern part of Nigeria is similar to that of Igbo before the Nigerian civil war in 1967. Many factors contributed to the glossotomy and ethnotomy in the south. Among the most prominent are: a) the zealous work of the Christian missionaries and linguists to evangelise people in their MT no matter how small the number of speakers and/or identifiers are; and b) the aftermath of the Nigerian civil war, which did not end in favour of the south. Linguists are of the view that ‘a language is a dialect with an army’. This view presupposes that a language has a socio-economic background. On the contrary, in the predominantly Islamic north the ‘al-Umma philosophy’ (i.e. ‘the coming together’) has helped a lot in shaping the LP in northern Nigeria, whereby small linguistic and ethnic groups were incorporated into major linguistic groups. The ‘major linguistic group’ which enjoyed the ‘incorporation theory’ in the northern part of Nigeria was Hausa. The language received significant attention from governments from the colonial administration to the postcolonial period. The ‘incorporation theory’ “established harmony among the northern peoples who depended on the language, i.e. Hausa, for various communicative, identification and

political advantages. It appears that language rotates around three concepts: a) communication, b) identity and c) political ambitions. Brann argues that there is a “possibility of harmonization of multi-ethnic and multilingual groups in Nigeria where the tripartite structure of Governance i.e. Federal, State and Local Governments can accommodate the “Triglotic Configuration” i.e. Mother Tongue (MT), Other Tongue (OT) and Further Tongue (FT)” (Brann 1980). In Nigeria, for instance, the creation of States and Local Government Areas (LGAs) were based on ethno-linguistic considerations. Each LGA has a dominant language called the ‘local language’, which is used for local administration. The State considers the dominant language(s) in the State as ‘State language(s)’. The Federal Government considers the dominant language(s) as ‘Federal’ or ‘national languages’. According to Brann (1993), the “Triglotic Configuration” establishes vertical and horizontal communications between the divisions of the tripartite administrative structure (i.e. the Federal Government, the State Governments, and LGAs).

LPPM have taken different paths when faced with managing multi-ethnic and multilingual situations. In the past, rigid or draconian approaches have been used in order to promote a language or languages either for the purposes of colonial administration or political ambitions in Africa and Asia. Some policies initiated by colonial administrations – especially the British, who practiced the Afro-Saxon type of policy – helped to promote indigenous languages in their colonies in West and East Africa. Among the languages that benefited from the Afro-Saxon policy are Hausa and Kiswahili, which are currently strong lingua francas in the West and East African sub-regions. These two languages are currently used in various domains including the media, which people depend on for news and innovations in order to participate successfully in the ‘global village’. In the new world order of political dispensation, a much softer and more technical approach to LP is desirable. In fact the provisions of the constitutions of individual countries have either explicitly or implicitly declared the right for individuals to use them for communicative purposes and identification.

Various scholars have advocated theories on LPPM (see, for example, Brann 1985, Mackey 1988). The consensus among these scholars with regard to LPPM is that the exercise comprises various conscious efforts taken step by step in order to ensure the policy has a successful outcome. According to Mackey (1988), LPPM comprises four main activities: “a) selection, b) codification, c) elaboration and d) implementation or implantation”. The selection process is an exercise that requires political decisions when choosing from several languages, varieties and/or dialects.

Questions including the following must be carefully answered: what language(s), variety(-ies) and/or dialect(s) should be considered? How viable is the language under consideration? For what purpose(s) will the language under consideration be used? Codification (or graphisation) is the process of reducing the language or variety chosen to writing, and consists of the careful selection of the phonemes of the language under consideration. Elaboration is the phase of language development that is aimed at providing the language with sufficient and adequate vocabularies for the task(s) which the language is expected to carry out. Finally, implementation (or implantation) is the fieldwork phase aimed at testing, fixing and ascertaining the whole exercise. Each of the four activities needs special, unique considerations in spite of the fact that they are all related to each other. It is pertinent to note that some steps are more interrelated than others. For instance, selection and implantation are steps related to policy, while codification and elaboration are purely linguistic activities aimed at language development, enrichment and standardization. These conscious efforts, if properly guided by the principles required by the LPPM, would produce a functional language capable of effective communication, interpretation and dissemination of ideas and innovations in all fields of endeavours, be they political, technological or scientific. It is important not only to maintain the sequential process of the LPPM but also to maintain continuous checks and balances with a view to capturing significant changes that the language must adjust to. For instance, the LPPM must continuously enrich and develop the language in order to express new ideas and innovations.

It is pertinent to note that LPPM has its own merits as well as challenges when considering certain dynamic social and political factors. For instance, when we consider the UNESCO declaration and the provisions of the constitutions of several countries which stipulate that every individual has the right to education in his or her MT, during the selection phase we end up with a gigantic and practically impossible task considering the multilingual nature of most countries, including Nigeria. Grimes (1988) argues that there are currently 6,170 languages in 170 countries, which is an average of around 36 languages per country. The number may vary from one country to another; for instance, Mann and Blench (1992) identify 512 in Nigeria alone in the second edition of the *Index of Nigerian Languages*. Furthermore, the number of languages does not include dialects. This may lead to the problem of selecting the criteria to determine what a language is and what a dialect is. There are also cases where some dialects of the same language may be mutually unintelligible. The implications of giving equal attention to all languages are enormous.

Two positions have been taken on the treatment of languages: that of the 'maximalists', who are of the view that all languages should be given the same treatment, and that of the 'minimalists', who consider only a few. Realistically speaking the selection exercise would consider criteria such as demographic strength, geographical spread, and the level of standardization. In northern Nigeria, Hausa, which is currently a strong lingua franca in the region, has received significant attention from governments based on these and other criteria. To consider all languages for the processes of LPPM would be too much of an economical burden on the government. It is therefore advisable to narrow the choice to a language or languages with a wider communication range, which can serve as a community language for as many people as possible. The selection exercise does not discard those languages tagged as 'minority'; on the contrary, they are considered at an appropriate functional level in the administrative hierarchy. Brann's (1985) "Triglot Configuration" provides a typology that can accommodate and manage multilingual and multi-ethnic situations in the country. According to Brann, the "Triglot Configuration" presents three categories of languages, i.e. the chthonolects or the languages of the soil, to be selected for standardization for use in LGAs. These categories of languages constitute the base. The 'State language' or the 'basilect' are languages that are dominant in the State. This category of languages constitutes those languages that may be used in the State administration. The Federal Government makes use of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba (the three sisters) in addition to English, which is considered as an 'acrolect'. This typology seems to be workable in Nigeria with its tripartite administrative structure. Hausa is selected due to its functions in: a) endoglotic States, i.e. States where Hausa is the autochthonous language such as Kano, Katsina, and Sokoto; and b) exoglotic States, i.e. States where Hausa is not an autochthonous language, such as Plateau, Adamawa, and Borno. The next stage of the LPPM after the selection exercise is codification, i.e. the reduction to writing. This stage is not without its own problems. For instance, the question of the alphabets and phonemes of the language must be harmonized with a view to ensuring consistency with sound correspondence. Hausa orthographies were continuously reviewed and improved upon by various organizations such as UNESCO and OAU which sponsored several workshops aimed at standardizing and harmonizing orthographies of selected African languages, including Hausa. There are instances where languages possess several writing systems. For example, in India, Santali possesses five writing systems: a) the Roman system; b) the Devanagari system, derived from Sanskrit; c) the Olce system, especially designed for the language; d)

the Oriya system; and e) the Bengali system. All of these writing systems are aimed at representing the language in writing. The latter two systems, i.e. Oriya and Bengali, are regional systems. In these cases, a decision has to be made about what type of system to adopt in the LPPM process. The best system is that which has a high level of sound–symbol correspondences. Once this has been determined, the next step is to determine the phonological and phonetic properties of the language. Hausa has a fair consistency in its sound-symbol correspondence. The inconsistency in Hausa is reflected in the misrepresentation of /f/, which is phonetically realized as [Φ], as in /*fada*/ > [Φ*ada*]. There are also suprasegmental features, i.e. tone and vowel length, which have phonemic functions but are not alphabetically represented. The lack of these suprasegmental features in orthography results in ambiguity. For instance, “*fa*” (saying) and “*fa*” (fighting/quarrel) both have the same orthographic representations – the distinctive function is possessed by the tone, which is not orthographically represented. The vowel lengths are also not alphabetically represented, e.g. /*gaabaa*/ (enmity/hostility) and /*gabaal*/ (the front). These words are orthographically represented as “*gaba*”. For more examples of inconsistencies reflected in Hausa, see Lami (2001). Apart from these inconsistencies, there is one to one sound-symbol correspondence in Hausa unlike in English or French, which are highly inconsistent in their sound-symbol correspondence. These inconsistencies are a result of the development of French and English in their phonology and the stagnation in their orthography through the years. It is important to take care of these and other problems right at the codification stage of the LPPM. The determination of the phonetic and phonological aspects of the language does not involve linguistic activities such as grammatication, i.e. the establishment of rules that govern the proper use of the language. Elaboration, i.e. language development/enrichment, is an activity handled at different levels in the LPPM process. These linguistic activities involve various considerations that are carried out by agents/agencies, and are of two types as distinguished by Brann (1983) in his typology for Language Policy Planning in Africa. Among the internal agencies are the governmental/official and the non-governmental/unofficial. In Nigeria, the official and governmental language bodies, according to Brann (1983), “have tended either to represent individual languages as with Hausa Language Board (HLB) (established in 1955 with the sole aim of monitoring and developing Hausa), Kanuri Language Board (which tried hard in the establishment of Kanuri orthographies), the former Bendel State language committees or the State Literacy Boards”. The non-governmental and unofficial language bodies are more efficient and

resolute in their duties. These bodies include the Society for the Promotion of Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) and the several religious bodies which form language committees, whose aims and objectives include the design of orthographies for the purpose of writing scripture. These language agents are more efficient because of the lack of bureaucratic bottlenecks, which hamper the development of the organization. Both the governmental and the non-governmental language committees are aimed at promoting and developing a language or languages for the purpose of official and/or public or social function(s). These language-oriented organizations are also found elsewhere in various countries in Africa. For instance, in Morocco the government has established a language agency called the *Institute pour l'Arabization* (the Institute for Arabization), whose function was to develop Arabic to the detriment of various Berber-related languages, which were either absorbed or pushed to the periphery until recently when they made their voices heard. In Tanzania, there is the *Baraza La Kiswahili*, which is in charge of the development and promotion of Kiswahili. In the Republic of South Africa, a governmental agency was instituted in 1996 for the development and promotion of eleven official languages as per the provisions of the constitution. In Nigeria, several of these language committees/boards were established to take care of indigenous languages. In the northern part of the country, i.e. Nigeria, Hausa (one of the strongest languages in the region) benefited from various language boards and committees. Among these were the Gaskiya Corporation, the Literature Bureau, the Northern Nigeria Publishing Company (NNPC) and the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages. The efforts of all these agencies were geared towards the promotion, development and spread of Hausa language and literature.

Thus far, we have discussed two stages in the process of the LPPM. The two stages involve the political decisions and institutionalisation of central bodies that line up and coordinate activities for the promotion and development of language(s). The last two stages of elaboration and implementation are purely linguistic activities. These activities depend to large extent on the linguistic needs of the public and/or official domain(s) where the language(s) is intended to fulfil a certain function(s). Since elaboration consists of language enrichment and modernization, it is imperative for governmental agencies such as the Ministries to take up the task. Each Ministry for instance needs to focus on the terms and concepts that will provide better services to the public in their respective fields for the enrichment and development of the language. That exercise is to be carried out at all the three tiers of government, i.e. Federal, State, and local governments. It should also be carried out in conjunction with the various

Departments of Languages and Linguistics in the country's universities and organizations such as the Language Development Centre and the Institute for Nigerian Languages.

In their efforts to inform and educate the public about socio-political and cultural developments, social institutions have to liaise with these organizations through an agency which collects terms and concepts in a data bank, which will be consulted by translators in various media establishments in the country. This will ensure 'in-house' consistencies as well as 'out-house' consistencies in their use of the language. Equally, the establishment of a central language body will rule out differences in dialectal and/or linguistic competences. The ultimate aim in this standardization drive is uniformity in the use of the language. For instance, Hausa, which is used in more than twenty states across Nigeria, has several dialects: Kananci, Sakkwatanci, Zazzaganci, Katsinanci, Hadejiyanci, Dauranci and Bausanci (the Bauchi dialect); the standard form is heavily based on Kananci (the Kano dialect). The unification of these dialects in order for Hausa to be used in social institutions is highly desirable for the purpose of effective communication, i.e. the dissemination of ideas and innovations in various fields of endeavour. The unification of dialects dates back to the times of Luther at the beginning of the 16th century, when *Union German* was based on the standard of the Saxon court chancery in Germany. In Nigeria, Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther chose the prestigious dialect of Oyo for the translation of the Bible. Clement Doke unified various Shona dialects in South Africa, while former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkruma saw the importance of blending the Twi, Fante and Akwapim dialects into a standard form, which was called Akan. Less successful standardization drives include that of Igbo. This started with Schön, who presented the *Isoama Igbo* as the standard form of Igbo in 1840; later attempts followed by Archdeacon Denis with the *Union Igbo* in 1918, Ward and Green who made an effort to present *Central Igbo* in 1938, and lastly the efforts of the Igbo Standardization Committee (ISC) which produced the *General Modern Igbo*. All these efforts were partly or completely rejected due to various socio-political reasons. The case of the Igbo standardization drive reflected the fact that the whole process of the LPPM should not only take into account linguistic considerations as criteria for the acceptability of the exercise, but also socio-political considerations which are vital to the whole exercise. In the case of Hausa, individual efforts are currently being made to enrich and develop the language, especially by media practitioners in order for them to be able to discharge their duties.

Standardization, as it relates to LPPM, is a complex exercise that is highly demanding in terms of time and both human and material resources. The exercise requires various socio-political and linguistic considerations for its successful completion. It is desirable for the standardization drive to either be carried out by a language agency and/or to be genuinely determined to produce a functional language. It is a continuous exercise because the language must be updated and well-equipped to interpret current ideas and innovations in all fields of endeavours. A sufficiently well-equipped language enables individuals and governmental organizations, such as Ministries and parastatals, to discharge their duties to the public efficiently.

LPPM, when properly designed and conducted, serve as an organ for unity among peoples of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. It is through unity that nationhood can be achieved.

References

- A. Abubakar, "Generative Phonology and Dialect Variation: Study of Hausa Dialects" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of London, 1983).
- M.A. Adekunle, (1976) "National Language Policy and Planning". The Nigerian Situation," *West African Journal of Modern Language* (1976): 23-29.
- Adekunle Adeniran, "Language Planning and Practice in Africa," in *Afrikan notes* Ibadan, 11(1)(1987): 1-7.
- E. Annamalai et. al. (eds.), *Language Planning Proceedings of an Institute*, (Mysore, CIIL, 1986).
- Antonio de Nabrija, *Gramatica de la Lingua Castellana* (Editorial Centro de Estudios Areces, 1989).
- Ayo Banjo, *To Make a Virtue of Necessity (English in Nigeria)* (I.U.P, 1996).
- Roland Breton, "The Handicaps of Language Planning in Africa," in *Marcha* (1991): 153-173.
- C.M.B. Brann, "Standardisation des Langues et Education au Nigeria," in *African Languages* (London, I, 1975), pp. 204-224,
- . "Mother Tongue, Other Tongue and Further Tongue," (Inaugural Lecture, University of Maiduguri, 1980).
- . (1983) *Language Policy, Planning and Management in Africa: A Selected Bibliography* (Quebec, International Centre for Research on Bilingualism, 1983).

- .“Afro-Saxons and Afro Romans Language Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *History of European Ideas* (Oxford, 5(3) (1984): 307-321.
- .“Language Policy, Planning and Management in Africa: A Bird’s Eye view,” in *Sociolinguistics* Missoula Mont, 15(1) (1985): 30-32.
- .“Democratisation of Language Use in Public Domains in Nigeria,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* Cambridge, 31(4) (1993): 639-6.
- .“Language Choice and Allocation in Nigerian Broadcasting Services,” *Afrika und Uebersee* 78 (1995): 261-81.
- .“Elements of Language Policy Planning and Management (LPPM) in Africa,” Lagos (Windhock, 1997).
- A.D. Cluver, *A Dictionary of Language Planning Terms* (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1993).
- Robert L. Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1989)
- D.H. Crozier and R.M. Blench, *Index of Nigerian Languages* (2nd edition) (Dallas, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., 1991).
- Norbert Cyffer et. al. (eds.), *Language Standardisation in Africa* (Hamburg, Buske, 1991).
- J.A. Fishman, “Reflections on the Current State of Language Planning,” in *Laforge* (1978a), 407-428.
- Einar Haugen, *Blessing of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1987).
- Barbara Grime, *Ethnologue: Languages of the Word* (11th edition) (Dallas, Texas, S.I.L.1988 [12th ed. 1992]).
- Ibrahim Lami, “Orthographic Ambiguity in Hausa Texts: A Case Study of “Ruwan Bagaja,” (Unpublished M.A Dissertation. Dept. of Languages and Linguistics University of Maiduguri, 2001).
- W.F. Mackey, “La Politique Linguistique devant la Norme,” Mouton SILF XV^e Colloque International de Linguistique Fonctionnelle (CRLA) Université de Mouton [18-24 Août 1988], 1978), 27-37.
- Mann and Roger Blench (eds), *Index of Nigerian Languages* (2nd edition.) (Dallas S. I. L., 1992)
- P. Ndukwe, “Standardising Nigerian Languages,” *JOLAN* 1(1) (1982).
- Joan Rubin, *Directory of Language Planning Organisations* (Honolulu: The East-West- Centre, 1979)
- John Spencer, “Colonial Language Policies and their Legacies,” in *Current Trends in Linguistics* Vol. 7, Sebeok A. Thomas (ed.) (Netherlands: The Hague, Mouton, 1971).
- A.M. Usman, “Phonological Variation of Spoken Hausa of Kanuri Native Speakers in the Mainly Kanuri Area of Maiduguri,” (M.A. Dissertation

Department of Languages and Linguistics University of Maiduguri, 1995).

A.M. Usman, "The Standardization Processes in Nigerian Languages," (Festschrift for K. Williamson, for the Study of Languages and Linguistics in Nigeria, 2003).

UNESCO, *The Definition of a Strategy for the Promotion of African Languages* (Paris: UNESCO Headquarters, 1982).

—, *Les Langues Communautaires Africaines et leur Utilisation dans l'Enseignement et l'Alphabétisation (African Community Languages and their use in Education and Mass Literacy)* (Dakar/BREDA, 1985).

W.H. Whitely, (1971) "Language Policies of Independent African States," in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 7, Seebok A. Thomas (ed.) (Netherlands: The Hague, Mouton, 1971).

CHAPTER NINE

THE INCORPORATION AND FUNCTION OF LEXICAL ITEMS FROM ENGLISH IN YORÙBÁ LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

AKINLOYE OJO PH.D.
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Abstract

This paper¹ discusses some aspects of the Yorùbá - English language contact situation in the Yorùbá speaking area of southwestern Nigeria. In Yorùbá, there is a high level of ‘borrowing’ from the English language. The paper considers the three major reasons for the prevalence of English ‘loanwords’ in the Yorùbá language. These reasons are: historical, functional and socio-political. Examples of ‘loanwords’ acquired by the Yorùbá language for each of these reasons are also provided. The paper also describes some of the phonological processes that occur in the lexical adaptation of English words into the structure of the Yorùbá. Processes such as epenthesis, consonant deletion, re-syllabification and word structure changes are discussed. The discussion of these phonological processes is of some importance to the study of Yorùbá as a foreign language since it illustrates the systematicity involved in ‘loanword’ incorporation in Yorùbá.

0. Introduction

When languages come into contact with each other, they often exchange lexical and phrasal items. This process is known as ‘borrowing’. As a definition, ‘borrowing’ can be said to be the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another (Haugen 1950). It is the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from

another language or dialect (Hock 1991; Malik 1995; Jones 1976). As a sociolinguistic phenomenon, 'borrowing' is universal. It usually entails a phonological or syntactic reconstruction of the 'borrowed' item.

0.1 Terminological Issues

Terminologically, 'borrowing' is something of a misnomer, both inadequate and inappropriate for describing what the process entails (see Haugen 1950; Hock 1991; Ojo 1997). As discussed in Ojo (1997), if the exchange of lexical items is a matter of 'borrowing', then such words in the would-be 'debtor' language should be able to return to the 'creditor' language. This is of course not what happens, nor could it since, once 'borrowed', a word can no longer fit into the structure of the 'donor' or source language. I suggest that the term 'borrowing' should be replaced by a more suitable term without these problems of meaning and usage. I will use the term 'word incorporation' in this paper, which seems to be a better label for the process of restructuring words from one language and adding them to the lexicon of another language. In adopting this terminology, we will be eliminating the problems of inconsistency and inaccuracy that 'borrowing' involves. If a process is universal and meaningful, so should the terminology that is used to represent it. More importantly, using a term that does not represent the content of the process to which it refers is definitely not the ideal situation.

0.2 General Motivations for Word Incorporation

Contact between languages can extend over long or short periods of time. Irrespective of the length of the contact, there are various motivations for the exchange of lexical items between the languages, especially when one considers processes, such as pidginization, that occur due to language contact. Jones (1976) noted that there are various motivations for word incorporation, the most basic being the lack of suitable designation for a particular novelty. This is an especially prevalent motivation because of the rapidity of technological and socio-cultural developments in the world today (Hock 1991). Other motivations include the existence of social groups that may be occupational, educational, political or sectarian, and which, due to a high level of bilingualism or multilingualism, may develop their own sociolects with considerable input from a particular foreign language. Depending on the group's prestige, the sociolect may be imitated by other groups. In extreme cases where a high degree of bilingualism is reached, the native language, insofar as it is used at all, may be massively invaded by incorporated words given preference over

existing native equivalents. The extent of imitation determines the degree to which the incorporated words spread in such a situation. Hock (1991) summarizes the motivations for word incorporation as *need and prestige*.

1. The Yorùbá Language and Contact with English

This section provides a brief description of the form of the Yorùbá language, the location where it is spoken, and its speakers. The contact which the language has had with the English language is also considered in this section. Within the discussion of this contact situation, the paper also describes the role that the English language presently plays within the Yorùbá speech community.

1.1. The Yorùbá Language

The Yorùbá language is spoken as a first language by about thirty to forty million people spanning eight states in the western parts of Nigeria, West Africa. It is also spoken in the neighboring countries of the Republic of Benin and Togo. A Kwa language, it belongs to the Yoruboid group under the Niger-Congo phylum. Yorùbá is a dialect continuum that includes distinctive dialects (Bamgbose 1966). Estimations of the total number of Yorùbá dialects vary from twelve to twenty-six (Ojo 1977; Adetugbo 1982; Oyelaran 1970, 1992; Mustapha 1987). While the speakers of these dialects are referred to by their sub-group labels, the entire Yorùbá speech community members are known as the Yorùbás, and there are forms of cultural and religious homogeneity among the peoples within this region. Yorùbá is one of the three national languages in Nigeria and is spoken along with about three hundred and forty-nine other indigenous languages. Due to factors such as the influx of foreign religions, politics and economic developments, the language has been in contact with many other languages. Among these are Hausa, Arabic, French, Sierra Leonean Krio, other indigenous Nigerian languages, and, most significantly, English.

1.2. Contact with English and Its Role within the Yorùbá Speech Community

Yorùbá, like many languages in the western region of Africa, had its initial contacts with European languages due trading contact between Africans and Europeans. Yorùbá has had contact with different European languages, most of which did not have much impact on the lexicon of the language, such as Spanish, Portuguese and French. But in addition to trade, the contact with English had continued due to the fact that English

was the language of colonialism in Nigeria, the country in which Yorùbá is spoken.

The end of colonialism did not halt the use of English within most, if not all, Nigerian societies. Many, if not all, of the Nigerian languages have had contact with English and contain residues of these contacts. The decision by the federal government of Nigeria in 1960 to have English as the official language of a multilingual Nigeria, with 350 distinct indigenous languages, was a form of political insurance against ethnic rivalry. Within the Yorùbá speech community, the English language has grown to occupy an important linguistic position and it plays various important roles in different domains.

Within the Yorùbá speech community, various levels of competence in Yorùbá and English (and other languages) exist. The discussion here focuses on native speakers within the eight Yorùbá speaking states in Nigeria. Among this group, there are monolinguals and bilinguals. The monolinguals are native speakers who speak only the Yorùbá language, while the bilinguals are people who speak Yorùbá and English. While there are monolinguals who do not speak English, there are only a few native Yorùbá who are English monolinguals. Some of the bilinguals have English as their first language and Yorùbá as their second language. These last two cases are mostly found among the highly educated, affluent and urbanized sections of the Yorùbá speech community.

Despite its important roles in the Yorùbá speech community and in Nigeria more widely, there are however many people (including this writer) who believe that Yorùbá (or one of the other national languages, Igbo and Hausa) can grow to play the official roles presently played by English. Given the proper language policies, funding for further pedagogical development of the national languages and government support of language development institutions as well as applied linguists, a healthy competitive growth of these national languages will bring about this seemingly outlandish proposal as well as provide significant conditions for the development of other Nigerian languages. Further support for this interesting idea is the fact that these three 'Nigerian' languages already have large speech communities and are widely spoken enough, either as a first or second language, to become the official language of the country. Each serves, to a large extent, as the default official language in their respective regions and each is sustained by a vibrant spirit of clandestine linguistic nationalism.

2. Motivations for English Incorporated Words in Yorùbá

As noted earlier in section 0.2, there are various motivations or rationales for the occurrence of incorporated words in languages as a result of their contact with other languages. The prevalence of English incorporated words in the Yorùbá language can generally be ascribed to three major reasons: a historical rationale; a functional or need motive; or a socio-political explanation.

2.1. The Historical Rationale

As noted in the previous section, English was the language of colonialism and in postcolonial Nigeria it became the official language of the country. This was partly due to its having been established in many domains and also because it served a unique and useful role in the multilingual Nigeria. English had become a very prestigious language in the country, particularly in the Yorùbá speech community. It was in this area of the country that the center of the British government's rule was located. Several colonial institutions, governmental and educational, were built here. The colonial government administered the country as representatives of the Queen of England and instruction was available at all levels of education. In many cases, several Yorùbá (and Nigerian) scholars were also sent to England. The language that was used for all these purposes was English. It was also in this area of the country that the advent of Christianity began in Nigeria, and the Bible was translated from English into Yorùbá. Hence, the English language became the language of prestige and of alliance with authority.

This trend was firmly entrenched and by the end of colonial rule in 1960, the English language had become the dominant language in various domains in Yorùbáland. In government, it was the language of administration at all levels and in the various arms of government, and in education it was the language of instruction at all levels. In fact, instruction in Yorùbá language classes was done in English at university level until the late 1970s. Due to this historical – but still ongoing – contact, a lot of English words have been incorporated into the Yorùbá language. Examples of these abound in the government domain and the domains of education and religion within the Yorùbá speech community, as in (1), (2) and (3) below.

1) Education:

a) sóòkì	chalk	b) lèèdì	(lead)pencil
c) tísà	teacher	d) irèsà / irèèsì	eraser
e) páàsì / fèèlì	pass / fail	f) káàdì	card
g) girámà	grammar	h) sùkùù	school

2) Government:

a) gómìnà commissioner	governor	b)	komísónà
c) kóòtù	court	d) kánsélò	councilor
e) lóyà	lawyer	f) ófiìsì	office
g) máníjà	manager	h) kánsù	council

3) Religion:

a) bíbélì / báíbù	Bible	b) pásítò / páítò	pastor
c) lérìdà	lay-reader	d) krístì	Christ
e) sóòsì	church	f) Jénésíìsì	Genesis
g) Rúùtù	Ruth	h) sààmù	Psalms

2.2. Functional or Need Motive

As pointed out in the introduction to the paper, one of the most prevalent motivations for word incorporation is the lack of terms to refer to certain items, which is often the result of technological developments. This is also true of the Yorùbá language. The Yorùbá speech community is located in a highly modernized section of Nigeria, where there is a lot of modern infrastructure and several urban centers. This modernization, along with the emergence of technological and socio-cultural terms, notions and concepts, has necessitated the insertion of English words into Yorùbá so as to provide a representation for these things in the language. Therefore, the words incorporated for this reason are mostly technical terms or terms referring to new innovations that can become readily integrated into Yorùbá culture. Examples of these are technical incorporations into Yorùbá from English, as in (4) below:

4)	a) póm̀p̀ù	from	pump
	b) fàwéèlì	from	vowel
	c) sápinà		from sharpener
	d) gáàsì	from	gas
	e) masíni	from	machine
	e) èlétíríki	from	electric

2.3. The Socio-Political Explanation

Closely related to the first two reasons for the prevalence of English incorporated words in Yorùbá is the socio-political explanation. As pointed out in section 1, the English language has gained a lot of prestige in Nigeria, and there now exist large social groups within the Yorùbá speech community, consisting of mostly educated English - Yorùbá bilinguals. These groups have developed a high level of bilingualism (and code-switching) that uses inputs from the English language. These groups are seen as prestigious not only because of the language but also because they are mostly the highly placed elites in the speech community. Due to this prestige, a lot of other speakers imitate these prestigious groups. Although it has been a gradual process, there has been a significant amount of incorporation of English words into the lexicon of members of these groupings and their imitators. Given the prestigious position of English in the socio-economic life of the speech community and the country, almost everyone seeks to establish some level of competence in the English language.

The fact that there are no incorporated words from Yorùbá that can be found in English despite the extensive contact between the two languages is of significant socio-political interest. Compared to the other two reasons, the socio-political reason has been responsible for the incorporation of many English words in Yorùbá. In addition, this reasoning about English and the elite group users has led not only to new or unique words in Yorùbá but has also brought about the incorporation of English words either to be used as substitutes to existing native equivalents, as shown in the examples in (5) below, or to be used concurrently along with previously existing native forms, as in the examples in (6) below.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| 5) | Previous | New/Substitute | English |
| | a) ojú àìkú ‘day of no death’ | sòndè | Sunday |
| | b) ojú ajé ‘day of profit’ | mòndè | Monday |
| | c) ojú ìségún ‘day of victory’ | túsidè | Tuesday |
| | d) ojú rú ‘day of sacrifice’ | wésidè | Wednesday |
| | e) ojú àbáméta ‘day of 3 motions’ | sátidè | Saturday |
| 6) | Native form | English incorporation(s) | |
| | a) efun ikòwé | sòòki | ‘chalk’ |
| | b) okò | mótò / káà | ‘motorcar’ |
| | c) awakò | dírèbà | ‘driver’ |
| | d) sòkòtò | túròsà | ‘trousers’ |

e) fèrèsé wínr̀d̀ò ‘window’

3. Selected Phonological Processes involved in Yorùbá Word Incorporation

English words incorporated into the Yorùbá language undergo various processes of reconstruction in their adaptation. Before we examine some of the processes by which these words are reconstructed, we should give a brief description of the phonological structure of the Yorùbá language.

3.1. Sketch of the Phonological Structure of Yorùbá

There are, in the sound system of Yorùbá, eighteen consonant and seven vowel phonemes. These are orthographically represented as follows:

I) Consonants (C): b, d, f, g, gb, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, s (j), t, w, y
II) Vowels (V): a, e, e, i, o, o, u

Five of these vowels can be nasalized and represented as:

III) Nasalized Vowels (Vn): an, en, in, on, un

Yorùbá is a tonal language. It has three surface tones of varying pitch levels. Vowels and syllabic nasals are the tone bearing units in the language. The tones and their orthographic representations are as follows:

IV) Tones:	High	´	as in	Kólá	‘a male name’
	Mid	unmarked	as in	aago	‘watch’
	Low	`	as in	dòdò	‘fried plantain’

The basic syllable types in Yorùbá are V and CV, so there are no closed syllables in the language. There is also some form of vowel harmony in the language. This brings about restrictions as to the types of vowels that can co-occur in a (C)VCV sequence in the language. Yorùbá is very strict with regard to its prohibition on closed syllables. In terms of word structure, nouns begin mostly with vowels and verbs with consonants; there are also no words within the standard Yorùbá language that begin with the vowel (u). The initial tone of any noun that begins with a vowel may only be mid or low. There are, however, no fixed rules in the language as to the number of possible syllables within a word. English words are thus reconstructed to fit into the phonological structure of the Yorùbá language as briefly described above.

Like many other languages such as French, Hausa, Japanese, Oshikwanyama and the Dravidian languages, Yorùbá does not exhibit much flexibility in the incorporation of these English words or words from other languages. The incorporated word has to fit into the Yorùbá word structure or be reconstructed. This is an unwritten but constant requirement in the language through which imported words are adapted or ‘nativized’ to fit the Yorùbá phonological system. In spite of this unwritten requirement, the incorporated words do, on some level, form a special class of words. For example, Yorùbá nominals with initial high tones are mostly incorporated English words, as in the following examples in (7).

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 7) | a) table ----> tábili. | b) bread ----> búrédi |
| | c) globe ----> gílòòbù | d) scarf -----> sikaáfù |
| | e) barber ----> bába | f) tailor -----> Tèlò |

3.2. The Lexical Adaptation Processes

There are various ‘nativization’ processes that incorporated English words go through in Yorùbá. For instance, Yorùbá phonology does not permit consonant clusters and consonant final words. Therefore, any word coming from English with any of these features undergoes the phonological process of vowel insertion (i.e. epenthesis), medially and/or finally. Alternatively, the final consonant is sometimes deleted. Examples of such incorporated English words include the following in (8) (cf. Bamgbose 1990).

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 8) | a) brush -----> búróòsì | b) doctor -----> dókítà |
| | c) frame -----> féré mù | d) crane -----> kéréni |
| | e) gold -----> gòólù | f) pound -----> pón-ùn. |

English vowel and consonant sounds which are unavailable in Yorùbá are replaced with similar segments, or segments which share some significant feature with the sound. Instances of these include the replacement of the consonants [p] and [v], which are not available in the Yorùbá sound system, with their available voiced and voiceless counterparts [b] and [f] respectively. Examples of these include words in (9) below.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (9) | a) rubber ----> róba | b) nurse ----> nóòsì |
| | c) church ----> sóòsì | d) paper ----> béba |
| | e) varsity ----> fásìtì | f) television --> telefísàn |

There are also word structure changes in the incorporation of English words into Yorùbá. There are no closed syllables in Yorùbá, therefore a Consonant - Vowel - Consonant (CVC) word structure is not permitted in Yorùbá. English words with this structure become CVVCV, as in (10a). Nasal segments in Nasal-Consonant (NC) structures in English become syllabified in Yorùbá, as in (10b).

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 10a) | court ----> kóòtù | shop ----> sóòbù |
| 10b) | window ----> wínnḡdò | lantern ----> lántàni |

A related word structure change occurs to monosyllabic English words in Yorùbá. There are no monosyllabic nominals in Yorùbá, therefore monosyllabic nominals from English become bisyllabic, as in (11).

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------------------|
| 11) | a) key ----> kii | b) tea ----> tíi |
| | c) car ----> káá | d) chair ----> síá |

Lastly, Yorùbá is a tonal language whereas English is stressed. Therefore syllabification with tones also occurs such that, rather than stressed syllables, tones are added to each syllable in the incorporated word in Yorùbá as in (12a) below. Thus, it is possible to have two incorporated words in Yorùbá from one English word source, as in (12b).

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|
| 12a) | tailor ----> tẹ̀lò | barber ----> bábà |
| | caterpillar ----> katapílà | radio ----> rédíò |
| 12b) | number ----> nonba (immunization for children) | |
| | ----> nónbà (numerals) | |

3.3. Implications for Learning Yorùbá as a foreign language

From the brief description in 3.2, it can be seen that the incorporation of English words into Yorùbá is done in a very systematic manner. It is not that these words are directly incorporated into Yorùbá or that the speaker simply chooses to change the form any which way. This fact would have implications in various ways for the study of Yorùbá, particularly for the many foreign students who are native speakers of English. To these learners, these words in Yorùbá might no longer be recognizable, but knowledge of the incorporation system would assist them in recognizing these words. This would bring about some level of familiarity with terms in what is rightly assumed to be a different and foreign language. Secondly, the knowledge of the system involved in word incorporation in Yorùbá would be of considerable help as the learner advances. At

advanced levels, the learner begins to deal with modern Yorùbá society with all the manifestations of modern devices and notions of its culture and language.

In this situation, the student who is aware of the methods of incorporation would firstly be more comfortable and secondly would quickly be able to figure out the terms for notions and devices. Ultimately, knowledge of the system of incorporating English words into the structure of the Yorùbá language would make it easier for the learner to identify objects or understand some of the notions which are incorporated from the English language in Yorùbá. Examples of such items that could be found within the classroom are in (13) below.

13)	a) tábili	table	b) sòòki	chalk
	c) síà	chair	d) péèni	ink pen
	e) pénsùlù / léèdi	lead pencil	f) bébà	paper

Another closely related issue is the effect of borrowing on the structure of the Yorùbá language. As Ojo (1997) reported, a new segment – the sound /p/ (the voiceless bilabial stop) – is now being critically used as an allophone of the voiced bilabial sound /b/ as a result of the English-Yorùbá language contact situation. It is remarkable considering that /p/ has been variously described in non-academic settings as existing in the Eko dialect (or Lagos dialect) of Yorùbá. This ‘new’ Yorùbá sound has been reported largely in the language usage of educated Yorùbá speakers, particularly in their writings (Ojo 1997). The insertion of this segment into the Yorùbá sound system will bring about significant phonological changes in the language sound system. This would mean that there has to be a significant adjustment made to the representation of Yorùbá sounds within the orthography. There is anecdotal evidence that this replacement of the double articulated [kp] sound with the bilabial [p] is mostly occurring in the speech of these educated speakers. Some of the noted occurrences of these, particularly in the word initial, prevocalic positions in the speech of the observed speakers, include the examples in (14) below:

14)	Borrowed item	Yorùbá spelling / pronunciation	Noted change (speech of English educated speakers)
a)	paper	bébà [beba]	[pépà] not [kpekpa]
b)	pen	péèni [kpeeni]	[peeni]
d)	pant	panti [kpanti]	[panti]
e)	parlor	palo [kpalo]	[palo]

This remarkable phenomenon of the phonological structure of the English language (from which a word is being incorporated into the Yorùbá language) interfering, or at least affecting, the phonological structure of Yorùbá incorporated words requires further extensive study. If this noted trend becomes widespread amongst English educated speakers of Yorùbá, it will entail changes in ways in which the Yorùbá sound system is described, learned and taught. For English speaking learners of Yorùbá, this new sound would have to be taught with references to its allophonic counterpart in the English sound system. This will seemingly benefit the teaching of the Yorùbá sound system by creating a 'stepping stone' close to the double articulated voiceless labia-velar segment /kp/. However, the phenomenon of a new sound being introduced into the Yorùbá language via borrowing would (or should?) become a concern for Yorùbá linguists and pedagogists. It is hoped that this development will be further researched.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the process of the lexical expansion of the Yorùbá language as a result of its contact with the English language. The paper provided a brief description of the Yorùbá language, its speakers and the contact it has had with the English language, and the role that English plays within the Yorùbá speech community. A discussion, with related illustrations, of the three major reasons responsible for the prevalence of English incorporated words in the language has been undertaken and the phonological processes of lexical adaptation that these words undergo in entering into the structure of Yorùbá has been discussed and exemplified. The paper also considered the inadequacy of the term 'borrowing' for this particular process of lexical expansion and suggested an appropriate alternative to eliminate the problems of inconsistency and inaccuracy associated with the term 'borrowing'. Due to the observed systematicity in the different processes of lexical adaptation, the paper also noted the possible implications these might have on learning Yorùbá as a foreign language.

Summarily, historical contacts and new developments in Yorùbá society such as the importation of concepts and ideas, technological innovations, and an increase in scholarship are elements of the three major reasons for the prevalence of incorporated English words in Yorùbá. These incorporated words undergo reconstruction before their adaptation into the language, not only for them to fit the structure of the language but also to make the foreign objects, entities and notions meaningful to the

native speakers of the Yorùbá language. The process, described by its factors and phonological processing, has become an essential part of corpus creation and management in Yorùbá.

Appendix

List of Twenty Incorporated English Words in Yorùbá

These words further illustrate the discussion in the paper.

Yorùbá	English
rélùwéè	railway
mótò	motor
táyà	tire
petírò(lù)	petrol
kerosíni	kerosene
rédíò (rédíyò)	radio
lántà	lantern
dókítà	doctor
nóòsì	nurse
osibítù	hospital
tái	tie
tírósà / túrósà	trousers
séèti	shirt
fàini	fine (as in court cases)
sójà	soldier
fàànù	fan
gárààjì (gárèèjì) ²	garage
fírìjì	fridge
béèdi	bed
bánki	bank
telifóònù	telephone

Endnotes

¹ A version of this paper was published as ‘*The Incorporation of English Words into Yoruba.*’ In Kelechukwu Ihemere (Ed.). 2011. *Language Contact and Language Shift: Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Munchen: LINCOM Academic Publishers.

² *gárààjì* in Nigerian English refers to both a place to park a car and a bus station or car park, in contrast to a place to park or repair a car in American English.

References

- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1990. *Fonoloji ati Girama Yorùbá*. UPL, Ibadan Crozier, D.H & Blench, R.M [Eds.]. 1992. *An Index of Nigerian Languages*. SIL. Dallas.
- Haugen, Einar. 1950. "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing" in *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Haugen, Einar*. Selected by Anwar Dil. 1972.
- Hock, Hans Henrich. 1991. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Mouton de Gruyter. New York.
- McCreary, Don. R. 1990. 'Loanwords in Japanese' In *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. Vol.1. No. 1. 1990.
- Ojo, Akinloye. (1997). *Incorporation of English Words in Yorùbá: A Sociolinguistic and Phonological Analysis*. M.A. Thesis, Dept. of Modern Languages and Linguistics (DMLL), Cornell University
- Ojo, Valentine. 1977. *English-Yorùbá Language Contact in Nigeria*. Ph.D. dissertation. fur kulturwissenschaften der Univer. Tübingen.
- Owolabi, Kola. 1989. *Ijinle Itupale Ede Yorùbá (1)-Fonetiiki ati Fonoloji*. Onibonje Press.

CHAPTER TEN

ON PROTO-YORUBA VOWEL REPRESENTATION AGAIN!*

OLANIKE ORIE
TULANE UNIVERSITY

There are two competing proto-Yoruba vowel representation theories— a nine proto-vowel system and a seven proto-vowel model. This paper presents a cross-dialectal study of vowel harmony in support of the seven-vowel proto-system. Based on this evidence, it is argued that proto-Yoruba lacked retracted oral high vowels. It is shown that an analysis which posits underlying retracted oral high vowels (for example, Bakovic 2000) misses generalizations and makes incorrect cross-dialectal predictions.

1. Introduction

The representation of proto-Yoruba oral vowels is much debated: according to the nine proto-vowel model (Adetugbò 1967, Fresco 1970, 1973, George 1972, Akinkugbe 1978), Yoruba had nine oral vowel phonemes [i ɪ e ε a ɔ o u]; according to the seven proto-vowel model (Oyelaran 1973, Capo 1985), there were seven oral vowel phonemes in proto-Yoruba [i e ε a ɔ o u]. At issue is whether retracted oral high vowels [ɪ ʊ] existed in the proto-language.

This paper argues, based on cross-dialectal harmony, that retracted oral high vowels were not part of the vocalic inventory of proto-Yoruba; rather, they were present in YEAI, the West Benue-Congo language group encompassing Yoruboid, Edoid, Akokoid and Igboid (Williamson & Blench 2000). By the time YEAI split into major sub-language groups, retracted oral high vowels were lost in Yoruboid (proto-Yoruba) roots but retained in Akokoid, Edoid and Igboid. Across dialects, the loss of retracted oral high vowels manifested itself in two ways. In dialects such as Ekiti, the extinction is both phonological and phonetic. That is, root

retracted oral high vowels became advanced and transmitted advancement to preceding non-high vowels. In dialects like Standard Yoruba, the loss is phonetic, not phonological; hence, some phonetically advanced oral high vowels function as retracted vowels in harmonic contexts. Although this ambiguous behavior might lead one to posit underlying retracted oral high vowels in Standard Yoruba (Bakovic 2000), I will argue that such an approach misses generalizations and makes incorrect cross-dialectal predictions. A plausible account of the ambiguity of root oral high vowels is that the loss of retraction involved transferring the linkage of RTR from a root-final high vowel to a preceding non-high root vowel.

2. The Data

2.1 Basic Yoruba vowel harmony patterns

Although dialects exhibit certain harmonic variations, there are two properties which are shared by all dialects. First, complete harmony is observed in underived roots consisting of mid vowels, as shown in (1):

(1) Mid vowel roots must harmonize completely

	MID-MID		
-ATR	ètè	‘leprosy’	*etè
	ɔko	‘husband’	*ɔko
+ATR	ètè	‘lip’	*etè
	oko	‘farm’	*oko

Secondly, in all dialects, advanced and retracted mid vowels may follow a low vowel, but only retracted mid vowels may occur before a low vowel. The harmonic pattern exhibited by MID-LOW sequences demonstrates that harmony is regressive in Yoruba. That is, the final vowel determines the harmonic value of non-final vowels, as shown in (2):

(2) Roots with low vowels: regressive harmony applies when a root ends in a low vowel

LOW-MID		MID-LOW	
apé	‘applause’	àsà	‘a river’
àpé	‘beloved’	èsà	‘genre’
abó	‘bowl’	*osa	
abo	‘female’	*esa	

2.2 Cross-dialectal oral high vowels

Having established that harmony is regressive in Yoruba, in this section, I describe the harmonic properties of oral high vowels in ten dialects.

First, as shown in (3), whereas CV verbs with advanced high vowels are common across the sampled dialects, those with retracted oral high vowels are unattested:

(3) CV roots in ten dialects: (Ci, Cu, *Ci, *Co).

S Y	Onk o	Oy o	Ond o	Ikar e	Ijeb u	Yagb a	If e	Ijeṣ a	Ig.Ekit i	Glos s
bí	bí	bí	bí	bí	bí	bíí	bí	bí	bí	give birth
bú	bú	bú	bú	bú	bú	buú	bú	bú	bú	abus e
ṛí	ṛí	ṛí	ṛí	tí	ṛí	tṛí	ṛí	ṛí	ṛí	push
tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tú	tuú	tú	tú	tú	untie
lù	lù	lù	lù	lu	lù	luù	lù	lù	lù	beat
kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kí	kíí	kí	kí	kí	greet
kú	kú	kú	kú	kú	kú	kuú	kú	kú	kú	die
hù	wù	hù/ ù	fù	hù	fù	fuù	hù	ù	ù	grow
ǰí	sí	sí	ǰí	ǰí	ǰí	ǰíí	sí	ǰí	ǰí	open
wí	wí	wí	wí	wí	né	wíí	ǰí	í	í	say

Second, in dialects such as Ijeṣa and Ekiti, retracted oral high vowels may occur in initial position when the final vowel is also retracted, as shown in (4):

(4) *Initial high vowels*

	SY	Ekiti	Gloss
a.	ide	ode	'brass'
	iyò	oyò	'salt'
-ATR	igbá	ogbá	'calabash'
b.	igbó	ugbó	'bush'
	ilé	ulé	'house'
+ATR	ifu	ufu	'yam'

However, across dialects, retracted oral high vowels never occur in final position, the position of a harmonic trigger:

(5) *Final high vowels*: (eCi, eCu, *eCi, *eCu)

SY	Onk o	Oy o	Ond o	Ikar e	Ijeb u	Yagba	Ife	Ijes a	Ekit i	Gloss
èb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	eb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	èb ₁	fault
etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	etu	antelope
èw ù	èwù	èw ù	èwù	èwù	èwù	awu/ ewu	èw ù	èù	èù	garmen t
èrí	èrí	èrí	èí	èrí	èrí	erí	èrí	èrí	èrí	evidenc e
èrù	èrù	èrù	èù	èrù	èrù	aru/er u	èrù	èrù	èrù	fear
etí	etí	etí	etí	etsí	etí	etí	etí	etí	etí	ear

Third, when final high vowels are in combination with initial mid vowels, two harmonic patterns are possible. The first pattern, observed in dialects such as Ife, Ijesa and Ekiti, is one where mid vowels preceding a final oral high vowel are obligatorily advanced. In other words, advancement is always transmitted from a final oral high vowel to mid vowels occurring to its left. The behavior of final high vowels in the second case is ambiguous. In dialects like Standard Yoruba (Oyo, Onko, Ondo, Yagba, Ikaré, Ijebu), final oral high vowels function ambiguously as retracted (as in 5a) or advanced (as in 5b):

(6) *Final high vowels*

	SY	Ekiti	Gloss
a.	etu	etu	'antelope'
	èb ₁	èb ₁	'guilt'
	ewìrì	ewìrì	'bellows'
	èbùrú	èbùrú	'shortcut'
b.	etí	etí	'ear'
	orí	orí	'head'
	èrìgì	èrìgì	'molar'
	ògiri	ògiri	'wall'

Fourth, medial high vowels in mid-high-mid or mid-high-low sequences exhibit three patterns (Orie 2003). In Standard Yoruba (Oyo, Onko, Ondo,

Ikare, Ijebu and Yagba), medial high vowels are advanced and opaque to the transmission of retraction; in Ife, they are advanced and transparent; in Ekiti and Ijesa, they undergo harmony:

(7) *Medial high vowels*

a.	MID-HIGH-MID			
	Standard	Ife	Ekiti	Gloss
	(opacity)	(transparency)	(fully harmonic)	
-ATR	orúkɔ	ɔrúkɔ	ɔrɔkɔ	‘name’
	oǫíde	oǫíde	oǫíde	‘parrot’
+ATR	èbúte	èbúte	èbúte	‘harbor’
	ewúro	eúro	eúro	‘bitter-leaf’

MID-HIGH-LOW (low vowels are invariably retracted)

b.	Standard	Ife	Ekiti	Gloss
	òrìfà	òrìsà	òrìfà	‘deity’
	òrùka	òrùka	òròka	‘ring’
	òjùpá	òsùpá	òjòpá	‘moon’
	ewùrà	eùrà	eòrà	‘water- yam’

In summary, we have seen that oral high vowels exhibit unique harmonic behavior in Yoruba dialects. First, oral high vowels must be advanced in CV roots. Second, they are invariably advanced in root-final position. Third, in some dialects (Ife, Ekiti), final oral high vowels consistently transmit advancement to preceding mid vowels; in other dialects (Standard Yoruba, Oyo), they function ambiguously as advanced or retracted vowels. Fourth, in medial position, three patterns are attested: in Standard Yoruba (Oyo, Onko, Yagba, Ondo, Ikare, Ijebu), they are opaque, blocking the transmission of retraction from one mid vowel to another; in Ife, they are transparent; in Ekiti/Ijesa, they are retracted. The following section discusses the implication of these patterns for two Yoruba vowel reconstruction models. It is shown that the data are especially problematic for the proposal that proto-Yoruba had retracted oral high vowels.

3. Cross-dialectal oral high vowels and proto-Yoruba vowel reconstructions

3.1 ‘Nine proto-vowels’

From the perspective of the proponents of the ‘nine proto-vowel’ model (Adetugbò 1967, Fresco 1970, George 1972, Akinkugbe 1978), dialects like Ekiti and Ijeṣa, which have nine surface vowels, provide evidence that Yoruba historically had nine oral vowels. That is, the advanced and retracted oral high vowels [i ɪ u ʊ] were phonemic in proto-Yoruba.

(8) ‘Nine proto-vowels’: [i ɪ e ε a ɔ o ʊ u]

According to this model, in dialects such as Ijeṣa and Ekiti, the proto-system is retained. However, sound changes have occurred in dialects such as Ifẹ and Standard Yoruba that have resulted in the loss of retracted oral high vowels. This loss produced systems with seven oral vowels.

While ‘nine proto-vowels’ seems to explain why some dialects have nine oral vowels and why some have seven, it faces three major problems. First, it provides no explanation for why there are no CV roots with retracted high vowels in any dialect of Yoruba (bú, wí *bʊ *wɪ). Second, this proposal does not explain why retracted high vowels cannot be in root-final position, the crucial position for the transmission of harmony (eí, etu *etu). The third and most serious problem is that if retracted oral high vowels are posited in root-final position, as proposed, for example, in Bakovic (2000), incorrect predictions are made for cross-dialectal patterns involving medial high vowels occurring in mid-high-high sequences. For instance, given that non-final mid vowels derive their harmonic specification from the final vowel, in cases like *ɛwiri* ‘bellows’, the initial mid vowel must derive its retraction value from the final high vowel. The problem is that medial high vowels are advanced and opaque in Standard Yoruba. Thus, even if a retraction value is present in root-final position, it cannot be transmitted across the medial high vowel to the initial mid vowel (èlùbó, *èlùbó). Consequently, the predicted form is the unattested **ewiri*, not the attested *ɛwiri*. Furthermore, given that medial high vowels are transparent to the propagation of retraction in Ifẹ, the predicted form is **ewiri*, not the attested *ewiri*. Finally, the same problem is observed in Ekiti, a fully harmonic dialect. In this case, the expectation is that medial and initial vowels ought to exhibit retraction harmony. But they do not: the attested form is *ewiri*, not **ewiri*. Data illustrating the differences between the predicted and attested forms appear in (9):

(9) Medial high vowels and ‘nine proto-vowels’

Opacity (Standard)		Transparency (Ife)		Full Harmony (Ekiti)	
Attested	Predicted	Attested	Predicted	Attested	Predicted
ɛwìrì	*ɛwìrì	ɛwìrì	*ɛwìrì	ɛwìrì	*ɛwìrì
èbùrú	*èbùrú	èbùrú	*èbùrú	èbùrú	*èbùrú
èbìtù	*èbìtù	èbìtù	*èbìtù	èbìtù	*èbìtù
èkìrì	*èkìrì	èkìrì	*èkìrì	èkìrì	*èkìrì

A way of resolving the problem posed by the data in (9) is to have different underlying representations for Standard Yoruba and Ifẹ/Ekiti (Bakovic 2000). According to this view, final oral high vowels would be phonetically and phonologically advanced in Ifẹ and Ekiti, and the advancement of the preceding vowels would follow from this specification. That is, *ewiri* is expected, not **ɛwiri* or **ɛwiri*.

As for Standard Yoruba, which permits forms like *etu* and *ɛwìrì*, the assumption would be that some high vowels are phonetically advanced but phonologically retracted. That is, in underlying representations, some oral high vowels are retracted, but on the surface they are advanced. Thus, in *etu*, the initial mid vowel would derive its retraction value from the final oral high vowel in the underlying representation ($\epsilon\tau\upsilon$). A mechanism would then be set up to convert the retracted value to an advanced value on the surface ($\epsilon\tau\upsilon \rightarrow \text{etu}$).

The first problem with this approach is that the underlying retracted oral high vowel undergoes absolute neutralization on the surface. As is well known, absolute neutralization leads to undesirable opaque phonological systems because the underlying representation cannot be recovered from the surface form (Kiparsky 1973a,b). The second problem involves cases such as *ɛwìrì* (9), which are incorrectly predicted to surface as **ɛwiri* because of the presence of the medial opaque high vowel. Hence, we see that having separate underlying representations does not solve all the problems posed by the data in (9).

In summary, I have shown that positing underlying retracted oral high vowels faces three important problems. First, it misses the generalization that CV roots do not have retracted oral high vowels in any dialect. Second, it misses the generalization that retracted oral high vowels are not harmonic triggers in any dialect; hence, they never occur in root-final position. Third, it makes incorrect predictions concerning harmonic co-occurrence patterns in MID-HIGH-HIGH sequences across Yoruba dialects.

3.2 “Seven proto-vowels”

I have argued above that the proposal of ‘nine proto-vowels’ does not account for the interdialectal high vowel patterns. In this section, I will examine the alternative proposal—the proposal that proto-Yoruba had seven oral vowels (Oyelaran 1973, Capo 1985). From the perspective of the ‘seven proto-vowel’ model, since there is no evidence that Yoruba had phonemic retracted oral high vowels at any stage, the proto-form could not have had retracted high vowels. That is, only advanced high vowels existed in the proto-language.

(10) ‘seven proto-vowels’: [i e ε a ɔ o u]

In this model, the difference between dialects like Standard Yoruba and Ekiti is that Standard Yoruba still retains the proto-form. There is an innovation in Ekiti, however, which creates retracted oral high vowels in non-final positions when a retracted non-high vowel occurs in final position (for example, *ugbá* ‘calabash’, *èlòbó* ‘yam flour’).

The proposal described above has many advantages. First, this model explains why only advanced high vowels are phonemic in all dialects. Second, it explains why CV roots have advanced high vowels but not retracted high vowels. Third, in dialects such as Iješa and Ekiti, the positional asymmetry in the placement of oral high vowels in disyllabic and trisyllabic nouns is explained: only phonemes occur in the dominant final position. If retracted oral high vowels are not phonemes, they are predicted not to appear in final position (*etu*, **etu*).

While the ‘seven proto-vowel’ model does a better job of explaining the cross-dialectal vowel patterns, it also faces a problem. As shown earlier in section two, the final vowel determines the harmonic specification of other root vowels. Given this property, the specific question that arises for ‘seven proto-vowels’ is the following: what is the source of retraction in Standard Yoruba (*Qyọ*, *Onko*, etc.) in forms such as *etu* ‘antelope’, *èbi* ‘fault’, and *ewàrì* ‘bellows’ where retracted mid vowels occur before final oral high vowels, which are invariably advanced?

A plausible answer is found in the work of Qla (1992). According to Qla, the initial retracted vowels in cases such as *èbi* are non-alternating prefixes in Standard Yoruba. That is, these prefixes have their own harmonic specification and do not harmonize with the final vowel of the root as expected. There are two major problems with this solution. First, although this proposal accounts for the non-alternating character of the initial vowel in forms such as *èrú* ‘testimony’ (*è-rí*: prefix-see = ‘testimony’), it does not explain why does this prefix alternates in forms such as *èrú* (prefix-confuse) ‘dishonesty’, *èyí* (prefix-this) ‘this one’,

èso (prefix-bear fruit) ‘fruit’, *è/ṣ* (prefix-watch) ‘guard’, and so on. The second problem is that the nouns in question (*etu* ‘antelope’, *ewìrì* ‘bellows’) are monomorphemic roots. There is no evidence that their initial vowels are prefixes. Therefore, the argument cannot be made that the initial vowels in these roots have independent retraction specifications.

4. Historical considerations

As noted above, data involving MID-HIGH and MID-HIGH-HIGH sequences are puzzling. On the one hand, it was noted above that there are several problems with positing retracted oral high vowel phonemes for dialects of Yoruba. On the other hand, dialects such as Standard Yoruba seem to require retracted oral high vowels in the phonology even though high vowels are never retracted on the surface. The ambiguous behavior of final high vowels in Standard Yoruba raises the following questions. Given that retracted oral high vowels are not phonemic in any dialect of Yoruba, what could the source of retraction be in cases such as *etu* ‘antelope’? Do these forms suggest that retracted oral high vowels existed in the proto-language and that advanced and retracted oral high vowels merged at a subsequent stage in the development of the language?

Historical considerations provide the answer to these questions. Most language groups that are identified as YEAI (Yoruboid-Edoid-Akokoid-Igboïd) within the West Benue-Congo family (Williamson & Blench 2000) have harmonizing vowel systems, and retracted oral high vowels occur in roots and stems. For example, Elugbe (1982) shows that Edoid languages have retracted and advanced oral high vowels, which function as harmonic triggers in roots and stems. According to Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche (personal communication), Akokoid languages, too, have both advanced and retracted oral high vowels, which trigger harmony in roots. Furthermore, Welmers (1973) reports that Igbo also has retracted and advanced oral high vowels, which are harmonic triggers. The situation in Yoruboid (proto-Yoruba) is different. As demonstrated in section two, only advanced oral high vowels are phonemic in Yoruba dialects, retracted oral high vowels are not. In addition, there are dialects where advanced oral high vowels are harmonic triggers but there are no dialects where retracted oral high vowels trigger harmony.

Since the majority of the YEAI language groups have retracted oral high vowels, it is possible that Yoruboid also had retracted oral high vowels at the time the four major language groups constituted a single West Benue-Congo language family. By the time YEAI split into major sub-language groups, however, retracted oral high vowels were lost in

Yoruboid (proto-Yoruba) but retained in Akokoid, Edoid and Igboid. Table 1 shows the pattern of change from YEAI into Yoruboid, Akokoid, Edoid and Igboid.

Table 1. Reconstructed oral high vowels in YEAI

YEAI	Yoruboid	Akokoid	Edoid	Igboid
Advanced:				
*i *u >	i u	i u	i u	i u
Retracted:				
*ɪ *ʊ >	i u	ɪ ʊ	ɪ ʊ	ɪ ʊ

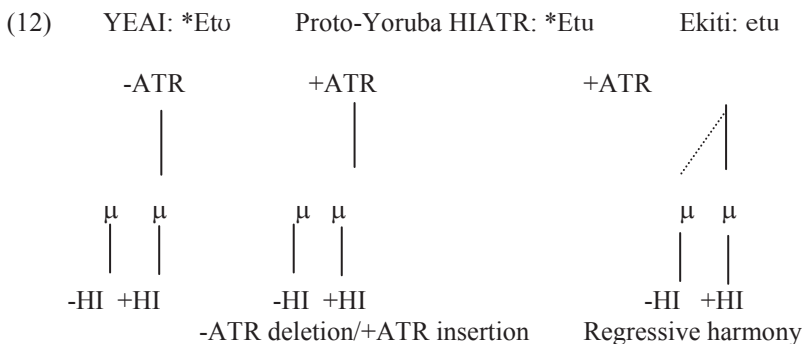
The proposal that retracted oral high vowels were lost in proto-Yoruba at the time of the split explains observed cross-dialectal facts. First, it explains why retracted oral high vowels are not attested in CV roots. Second, it explains why retracted oral high vowels never occur in root-final position.

The natural questions to ask now are—first, what motivated the loss? Second, what happened to the lost retraction value? I address each question in turn. Grounding theory provides the answer to the first question. As shown by Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994), phonetic principles explain why high vowels in general may be advanced, not retracted. In pulling the tongue body upward, there tends to be sympathetic advancement of the tongue root (for example, Ladefoged, DeClerk, Lindau and Papçun 1972). Hence, physiologically, the raising of the tongue body tends to correlate with tongue root advancement. This phonetic property is phonologized as HI/ATR in Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994):

(11) HI/ATR Condition: If +high then +ATR; If +high then *not* -ATR

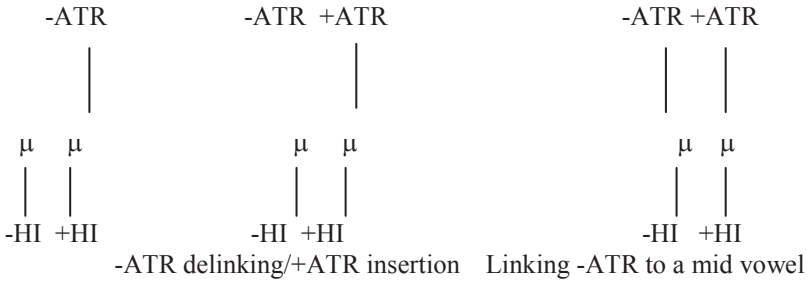
I propose that the loss of retracted oral high vowels in proto-Yoruba was motivated by the enforcement of the HI/ATR condition in root final position. Hence, retracted oral high vowels in CV roots and those in final syllables in VCV and VCVCV roots became advanced. Today, only advanced oral high vowels occur in root-final syllables; retracted oral high vowels do not. In addition, retracted oral high vowels are unattested everywhere in Standard Yoruba, Qyọ, Onko, Yagba, Ondo, Ikare, Ijebu and Ife. However, in dialects such as Ekiti and Ijesa, retracted oral high vowels occur in initial and medial positions when there is a retracted vowel in final position (4).

Synchronic harmonic patterns provide the answer to the question of what happened to the lost retraction value. As shown earlier in section two, root-final oral high vowels in dialects like Ekiti are advanced and they propagate advancement to non-high vowels occurring before them. This pattern shows that the retraction feature of oral high vowels was deleted in Ekiti at the time of the loss. Following deletion, the high vowels became advanced, based on the requirements of HI/ATR. The advancement feature was then transmitted to preceding non-high vowels. The process of change for *etu* ‘antelope’ is illustrated below (I use the capital letter to indicate that harmonic value is not marked since non-final vowels derive their harmonic specification from root-final vowels):



The situation is different in dialects such as Standard Yoruba (Oyo, Onko, Yagba, Ondo, Ikarẹ, and Ijẹbu). Forms such as *etu* ‘antelope’ suggest that the loss of a root retraction feature was phonetic, not phonological. That is, root-final retracted oral high vowels became advanced but the retraction value was transferred to the initial mid vowel. Thus, when HI/ATR-ROOTFINAL caused retracted oral high vowels to become advanced, the retraction value of [ɔ] in YEAI **Etɔ* was delinked and set afloat. The floating feature then linked to the initial mid vowel, resulting in the present day form of *etu*. The following representations depict the proposed changes:

(13) YEAI: *Etu Proto-Yoruba HI/ATR *Etu Standard Yoruba: etu



The advantages of the proposed changes in (12) and (13) are firstly that observed cross-dialectal variations are derived from the same source, with different rules applying to the same underlying representation. Second, the absence of retracted oral high vowels in root-final position across dialects is explained. Third, the surface preservation of root retraction features (Standard Yoruba) or the lack thereof (Ekiti) in MID-HIGH and MID-HIGH-HIGH sequences is explained. Fourth, incorrect predictions are not made for cross-dialectal harmonies.

The derivation of MID-HIGH-HIGH (*ewìrì* ‘bellows’) sequences is consistent with the cases in (12) and (13). For example, in Standard Yoruba, *ewìrì* is derived by delinking the root -ATR from the final high vowel and linking it to the rightmost non-high vowel. That is the initial mid vowel. In Ekiti, the root -ATR is deleted, not delinked; thus, the +ATR value inserted in response to the requirements of HIATR-ROOTFINAL is transmitted regressively to other vowels within the root, producing *ewìrì*.

To summarize this section, if historical factors are taken into consideration, the puzzle posed by data such as *etu* ‘antelope’ in Standard Yoruba has a straightforward explanation. Such roots had final retracted oral high vowels in YEAI. The retraction value was however transferred to a preceding non-high vowel when all high vowels became advanced in proto-Yoruba. In Ekiti, Ijẹṣa and Ifẹ, final retracted oral high vowels lost their retraction feature completely. That is, final oral high vowels neither retained retraction nor transferred it to a preceding vowel. Hence, MID-HIGH and MID-HIGH-HIGH sequences surface with advancement values.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, based on cross-dialectal patterns, I have argued that proto-Yoruba had no phonemic retracted oral high vowels. First, no dialect has CV roots with retracted oral high vowels. Second, retracted oral high vowels are not attested in root-final position – the position that determines the harmonic specification of root vowels. Third, positing retracted oral high vowels in root-final position makes incorrect predictions. However, the presence of retraction in some roots containing MID-HIGH sequences in dialects such as Standard Yoruba, Oyo, Onko, Yagba, Ondo, Ikarẹ and Ijebu suggests that some final oral high vowels were retracted at a stage in the development of Yoruba. Based on properties observed in Edoid, Akokoid and Igbooid, I suggested that the retraction value in such MID-HIGH sequences has its roots in YEAI, the mother language of Yoruboid, Edoid, Akokoid and Igbooid. That is, some root-final oral high vowels were retracted in YEAI, but when Yoruboid became an independent language group, all root-final oral high vowels became advanced. The retraction value set afloat as a result of the change was lost in dialects like Ekiti, while in dialects such as Standard Yoruba, the floating retraction feature linked to the preceding non-high vowel.

Endnotes

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at ACAL 32 in 2001. I would like to thank the audience at that conference for their input. I especially thank Larry Hyman, Ian Maddieson, Laura Downing, Kay Williamson and Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche for their helpful comments and criticisms. Their suggestions inspired a new section in the final version of this paper. Thanks also to the following Yoruba speakers for discussing their dialects with me and for supplying data: Oluşegun Ilesanmi (Ijeṣa), Tunde Olowookere (Igede Ekiti: Ig. Ekiti), Mrs. Oluwole (Ijebu), Iyabo Ogundare (Yagba), and Olajide Lawore (Onko). Other sources of data are Adetunji (1988: Ondo), Oyetade (1980: Ikarẹ), Oyebade (1980: Yagba), and Omişore (1989: Ifẹ). Data from Standard Yoruba (SY) and Oyo are based on my own intuitions.

I have known Professor Olasope Oyelaran since the 1980s, as a student at Ifẹ. I took many classes with him. He is one of the most significant influences on my thinking as a linguist. I was always amazed at how much he knew about Yoruba and linguistics, especially phonology. He taught me how to bring data to bear on phonological theories. There are two ‘Oyelaran expressions’ which have stayed with me in over the years I have been doing research—*E ṣàkìèsì* ‘pay attention!’ and *Ṣaá wò ó* ‘present your case/evidence’. He is an extremely talented linguist and has made invaluable contributions to Yoruba studies and linguistics. I salute him—*ẹ ẹ pẹ fún wa o lágbara Edùmàrè*.

References

- Abiodun Adetugbo, “The language in Western Nigeria: its major dialect areas” (Ph.D. dissertation Columbia University, 1967).
- Olukemi Adetunji, “Agbeyewo sintaasi oro-oruko ninu eka-edo Ondo” (B.A. Long Essay, University of Ilorin, 1988).
- Femi Akinkugbe, 1978. “A comparative phonology of Yoruba, Isekiri, and Igala” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ibadan, 1978).
- Diana Archangeli and Douglas Pulleyblank, *Grounded Phonology* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1994).
- Eric Bakovic, “Harmony, dominance and control” (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 2000).
- Hounkpati B.C. Capo, “On the high non-expanded vowels in Yoruboid,” *Studies in African Linguistics* 16 (1985): 103-121.
- Ben Elugbe, “The vowels of proto-Eḍoid,” *Journal of the Linguistics Association of Nigeria* 1 (1982): 107-115.
- Edward Fresco, “Topics in Yoruba dialect phonology,” *Studies in African Linguistics* Suppl. 1 (1970): 1-219.
- Isaac George, “Vowel harmony: why so restricted in Yoruba?” (Linguistics Seminar, University of Ibadan, February 3, 1972).
- Paul Kiparsky, 1973a. “Phonological representations: how abstract is phonology?,” in *Three dimensions of Linguistic theory*, ed. O. Fujimura (Tokyo: TEC, 1973): 5-56.
- . 1973b. “Phonological representations: abstractness, opacity and global rules,” in *Three dimensions of Linguistic theory*, ed. O. Fujimura (Tokyo: TEC, 1973): 56-86.
- P. Ladefoged, J. DeClerk, M. Lindau and G. Papçun, “An auditory-motor theory of speech production,” *Working Papers in Phonetics* 22 (1972): 48-75.
- Qlanike Qla, “Vowel harmony in Yoruba” (MA Thesis, SOAS, 1992).
- Folaşade Omişore, “A comparative study of Ife, Ijeşsa, and Ekiti dialects” (B.A. Degree Essay, University of Ilorin, 1989).
- Qlanike Qla Orie, “Two harmony theories and high vowel variability in two Benue-Congo languages,” *The Linguistic Review* Vol 20 (2003): 1-35.
- Francis Oyebade, “Aspects of Yagba phonology” (B.A. Long Essay, University of Ilorin, 1980).
- Qlasope Oyelaran, “Yoruba vowel co-occurrence restrictions,” *Studies in African Linguistics* 4 (1973), 155-182.
- Akintunde Oyetade, “Ayewo fonetiiki ati fonoloji eya Yoruba Ikarę” (B.A. Degree Long Essay, University of Ife, 1980).

- W. Welmers, *African language structures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
- Kay Williamson and Roger Blench, "Niger-Congo," in *African languages: an introduction*, ed. Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11-42.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DOCUMENTING THE AKOKO LANGUAGES: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

FRANCIS OYEBADE
AND TAIWO OPEYEMI AGOYI
ADEKUNLE AJASIN UNIVERSITY

Abstract

It is common knowledge among linguists that what was previously known as the Akokoid language cluster is a mix of many small languages whose true genetic affiliation is still a controversial topic. However, what is little known is the fact that the languages are highly endangered. The recent publication of two bilingual books titled *Ikaan Proverbs, Riddles and Stories: Ìwé Ọ̀wẹ̀, Ìtàn Àròsọ̀ Nínú Èdè Ìkaan* (2007) by Fredrick Adekanye and Sophie Salfner (for Ikaan) and *Ní' Kpasi Àbèsàbèsì: Mo gbọ' Àbèsàbèsì: I Understand Àbèsàbèsì* (2012) by Taiwo O. Agoyi (for Àbèsàbèsì/Akpes) has had the impact of opening the eyes of at least two Akoko linguistic groups to the need to revitalize their languages.

Various language development groups have sprung up from these efforts and an active language maintenance project is in place in the very pluralistic geographical community called Akoko. This paper is a report of one such project.

1. Introduction

Akoko, located in the old Western region of Nigeria, covered all four Akoko Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Akoko Ondo State and the present Akoko Edo LGA in Edo State. Most locations in Akoko were governed from Ikaramu in the past. During the colonial era, the seat of government was in Ikaramu.¹ At this time Akoko was part of the Northern Protectorate. It is important to note that all Akoko land was a war zone,

and inhabitants were migrating from one settlement to another in search of peace and security. In this paper our focus is on the Akoko in Ondo State. The map of the Akoko divisions in Ondo State, indicating the four LGs in the division, is shown in Figure 1 below.

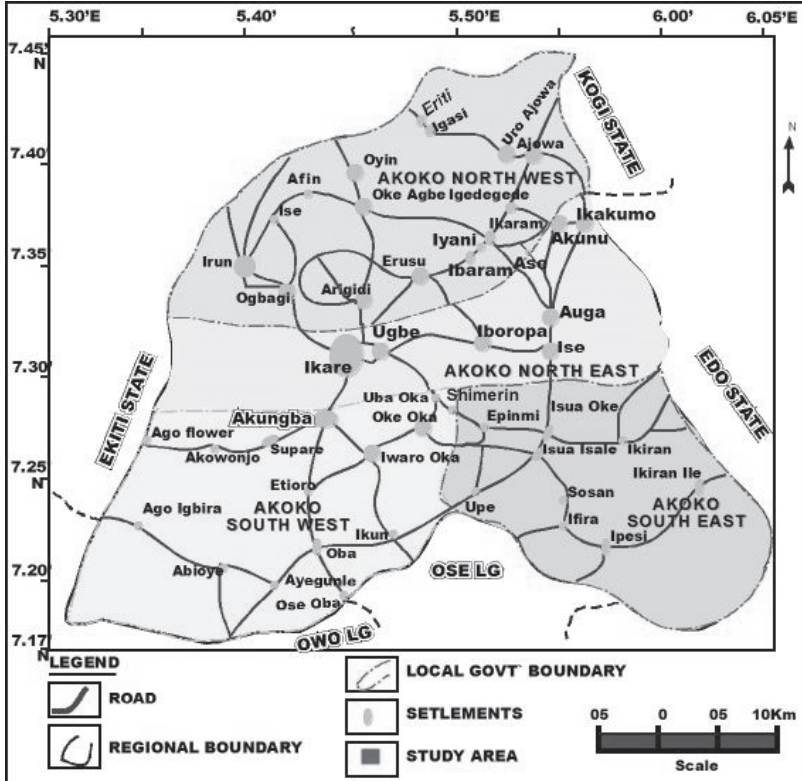


Fig .1: Regional Map of Akoko showing the Four Akoko Local Government Areas.

2. Demographic Information

The total Akoko population in Ondo state is 701,785. This figure is made up of populations of 179,092 in the Akoko North East LGA, 211,867 in the Akoko North West LGA, 82,443 in the Akoko South East LGA, and 228,383 in the Akoko South West LGA (NPC 2006). Akoko is a multilingual community. From our study, about six distinct linguistic groups are identified in Akoko. These are Àbèsàbèsì (Akpes), Ọwọ̀n Àfá,

Úkaan/Aika, Ukue, Úhàmi, and the Yoruboid group (Ào, Úkàré, Ọgbàgì, Ìrùn, Àfin, Ìrọ̀ Àkùngbá, Súpàré, Ọkà, Ọbà, Ìkún, and Àfò, among many other farm settlements in the area). It is important to note that a substantial number of Èbirà are found in each of these communities. It is difficult to determine the exact number of speakers of each of these languages. The inhabitants are bilingual, acquiring both the local language and Yoruba simultaneously from childhood. We are not able to state the exact number of speakers of these languages for various reasons, which include the problems with the 2006 national population census that released figures concerning local government areas. Going by the census, the Akoko North East LGA, which has a population of 179,092, contains speakers of the following languages: Akpes, spoken in Àkùnú; Ukaan/Aika, spoken in Auga, Ishe and Ikakumo; Yoruboid, spoken in Iborokpa, Ugbe, Ikare; and many other camps around each linguistic community.

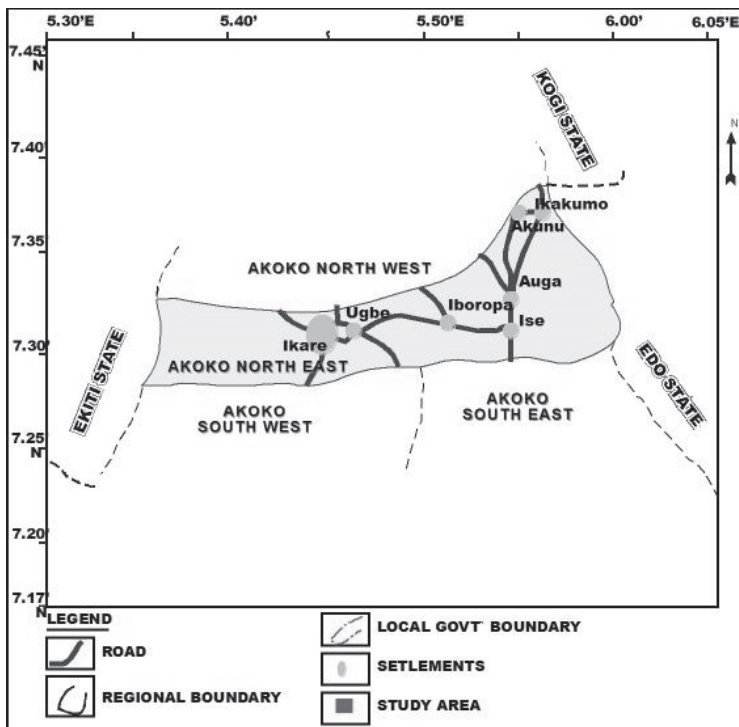


Fig: 2. Map of Akoko showing the study area (AKUNGBA) in Akoko South West Local government.

SOURCE: Ministry of Works Akure (reproduce in macromedia)

The population of the Akoko North West LGA is 221,886; this figure includes eight of the Àbèsàbèsì speaking communities – Àsẹ̀, Ìkàrà̀mù, Ìyà̀nì, Ìbàrà̀mù, Gèdègèdè, Èṣùkù, Dája and Ìlú̀dòtun² – and other distinct linguistic communities. Other linguistic groups in the LGA are: Ọ̀wọ̀n Àfá (spoken in Uro Ajowa, Ìgáshì, Èriti, Oyín Ògè, Ìdò, Àjè, Àfá, Àrigidi, Èrúṣú and Iyè) and Yoruboid, which includes Ahàn (spoken in Ọ̀jọ̀ and Èfifá in Àjowá), Àfin, Ọ̀gbàgì Èṣé and Ìrùn.

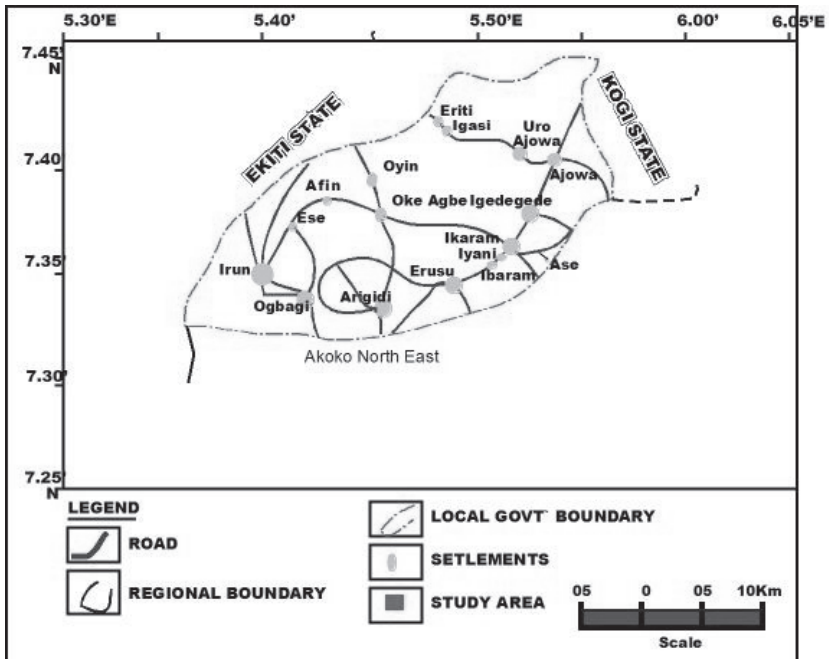


Fig. 3. Map of Akoko North West Local Government showing the study area.

SOURCE: Ministry of Works Akure (reproduce in macromedia)

The Akoko South East LGA has a population figure of 228,383. This LGA contains the Edoid languages such as Ukué, which is spoken in Ipe Gbede, Iba Ipe, and Isinodo; and Uhùàmì, which is spoken in Isua, Oyara, Epinmi and Sosan. Ao, a Yoruboid language, is spoken in Ipesi and Ifira (see the map in Figure 4 below).

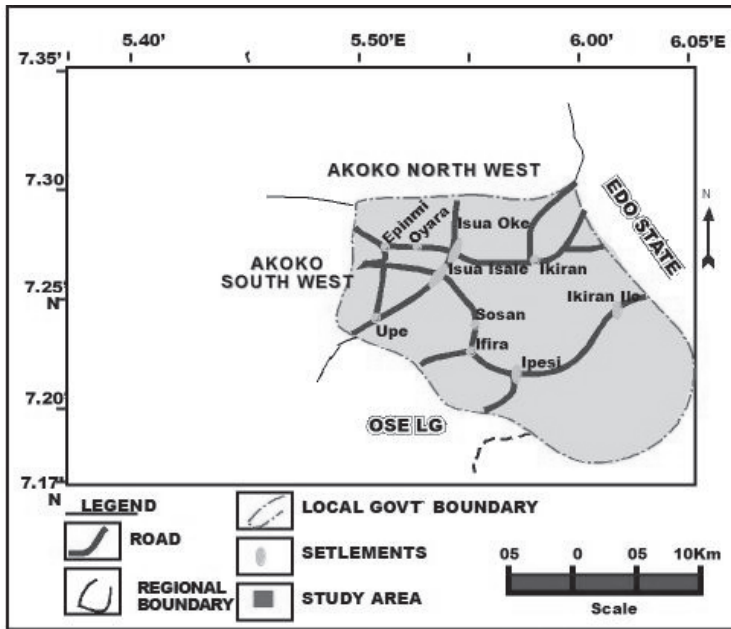


Fig 4. Map of Akoko South East Local government.

SOURCE: Ministry of Works Akure (reproduce in macromedia)

The Akoko South West LGA, with a population of 82,446, is almost exclusively a Yoruboid speaking area, although there is a scattering of Ebira, Igala, Idoma and Gara in various camps and farm settlements in the LGA. Some of the communities in the LGA are Akungba, Supare, Etioro, Ayegunle, Ikun, Oba, Ago Ajayi, Àgòyeye, Ọ̀sẹ̀ Ọ̀bà, Àgò Ọ̀kà Àgò Suberu, Àgò Sule, and Şimêrin, not to mention other numerous camps within the LGA’s geographical area. The map of the Akoko South West LGA is shown in Figure 5 below.

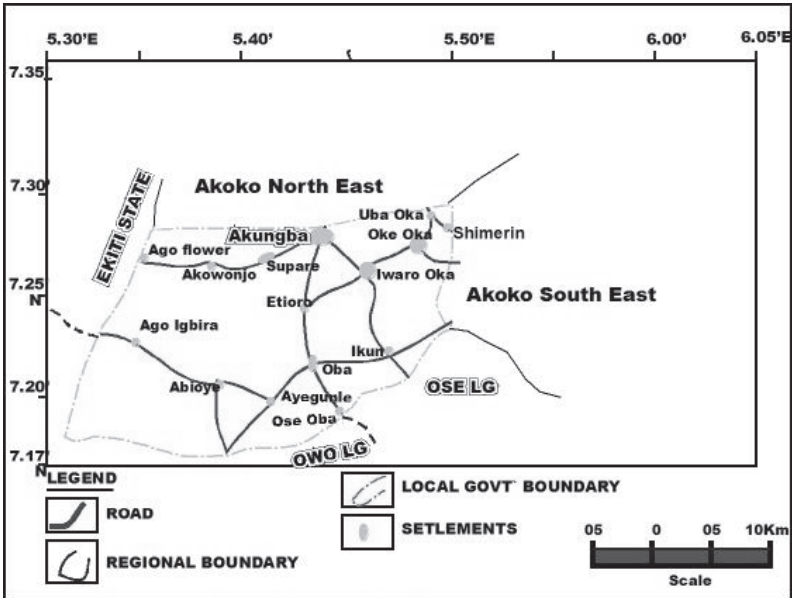


Fig .5: Map of Akoko South West Local Goverment Area.

3. The Language Situation in Akoko

The population of each Akoko community is made up of people who have migrated there from different places outside the zone. The immigrants were mostly farmers and hunters in search of arid agrarian land for farming. Some of them were warriors, some were aggrieved individuals who sought refuge in neighbouring communities, while others were displaced persons as a result of war ravaging their old settlement or for political reasons.³

Akoko communities are linguistically multilingual, although Akoko was and still is under Yoruba domination. Children from the communities who speak linguistically distinct languages acquire the local language and Yoruba simultaneously. It is important to note that all the inhabitants of all the communities claim descent from Ile-Ife, the cradle of the Yoruba people.

However, when we confronted the inhabitants with the evidence of distinct languages from Yoruba, most of the inhabitants of the Edoid (or Akedoid, as suggested in Elugbe 2012) language-speaking communities claimed they had migrated from Ile-Ife through Benin.⁴ Efforts are

ongoing to research further into the history of this controversial group of settlers in Akoko.

In Akoko, Yoruba is generally the language of interaction at home. It is the language of socialisation among peer groups at play, at school, at social gatherings and at community meetings. The local languages are spoken by elders interacting with peers or as secret codes to hide information from others. Individuals aged between 1 and 40 in most communities no longer use their local languages. Folk tales in the local languages are rare. Ekiti songs are adopted in most of the communities as cultural songs, but for the Yoruboid-speaking communities, *oríki* (praise singing) are formed in Yoruba. In all the communities we visited, we recorded the chant

omọ olókè mòkè gígùn	Children, Mountain-born, expert in mountain expedition
omọ olóbi pòròpòrò àròkò	Children of providers of kola-nut for sign language
omọ oníṣu òrógùrò bẹ	Children of those who provide big yam tubers

Yoruba is the language of instruction in all the communities' lower primary schools. English and Yoruba are the languages of instruction in high classes in primary and secondary schools, while church and mosque services are conducted using Yoruba as the medium of communication.

In the last decade it has become fashionable in the communities to use Pidgin English for all purposes. Nursing mothers speak pidgin to the suckling child. The child then acquires Yoruba from their immediate environment. The implication is that the local languages are not passed on to younger generations; this situation, if not checked, may eventually sentence the local languages to extinction.

4. The Endangered Status of Akoko Languages

Our experience in the field reveals that the indigenous Akoko languages are endangered. Children did not speak the local languages in any of the communities we visited. The youth are ashamed of speaking the language in public. Adults think it is a sign of 'civilization' to be able to speak Yoruba and/or pidgin English in a gathering. Parents expect children to communicate with them in English, pidgin English, or at least in received Yoruba after school hours. A child sent to school at the age of 2 is expected to recite the English poem he is taught after food at home. Any child who fails to obey is scolded for not learning anything that day. The

implication is that children are not encouraged to speak the local languages in their communities. Parents take delight in telling others that their children are not competent in speaking the local language because the local language is not useful enough to the child's education. However, our discussions with the older generation showed that they are worried at this development. They expressed fear that the local languages may soon go into extinction.

5. Linguistic Study of Akoko Languages

Linguists at various levels have studied Akoko languages. Some of the linguists who immediately come to mind are Abiodun (1984, 2001), who studied Ukaan; Akin B. Oyetade (1996), who compares some Akoko words with Edo; S.O. Oyetade (2007), who looked at language endangerment in the Akoko North West LGA; and Arohunmolase et al (2006), who worked on the documentation of Ukaan. Arohunmolase et al's research was a UNESCO-sponsored language documentation project of Íígáú (Auga) and Ìyinó (the language of Ayorun in Edo State). Agoyi had the privilege of serving on the team. The research proposed a uni-dialectal orthography for each community. Attempts were made to write reading and teaching guides, as well as teacher and student guides, for the local language speakers. The booklets were accepted in the communities. The Ayanran communities wanted a review of the pamphlet. The committee was about to kick start the review and made moves to arrange a launch of the booklet when the leader of the group died. It was difficult to move on with the project because all the documents were in the leader's custody. The remaining members of the committee also saw the project as their leader's pet project, which should be handled by his family.

Another linguist, Sophie Salffner, has been documenting Ukaan in the field for some years now. Her focus is on the Ikakumo Aworonke community. Her arrival and interest in the language has rekindled the interest of the indigenes, especially the children, in the language. Her publication of proverbs and folk tales in the language challenged the local speakers. The last time Agoyi visited her in the village, young and old alike followed her around, using Ukaan to communicate with her. She was nicknamed 'the princess of Íkákùmọ'.

Undergraduates at various universities have written long essays on each of the Ukaan speaking communities, including Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba –Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria; Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria; and the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. All the

linguistic descriptions were attempts by linguists to document the languages for academic purposes.

5.1 Ọwón Àfá/Arigidi Cluster

The Ọwón Àfá/Arigidi cluster is another Akoko language group whose linguistic descriptions are sketchy. The status of the language is yet to be determined. The language is known as Amgbe in some literature, while others simply refer to it as the Arigidi cluster; Awobuluyi (1972), meanwhile, suggested the name Ọwón for the language. Some linguists at undergraduate and postgraduate levels have attempted grammatical descriptions of the speech forms of each Ọwón linguistic community. There is no known literature on attempts to propose an orthography for the language.

5.2 The Edoid Linguistic Family

The Edoid linguistic family contains the Àbèsàbèsì (Akpes), Úhàmi, Ùkùè, Sosan and Epinmi languages. Of these languages, Sosan and Epinmi are highly endangered. In our visit to the communities, only very few elders still spoke the language.

In Sosan Oke and Sosan Isale, the Yoruboid variant Ao is more commonly used than the Edoid local variant. It is important to note that not much work has been done on the documentation of these endangered languages, although a considerable amount of linguistic work has been done on Ùkùè, Úhùàmi and Àbèsìabèsì. The linguistic research includes undergraduate long essays and PhD theses. Agoyi (2012) discussed the numeral systems of Èkìròmì and Úhùàmi, and she is currently working on the Ùkùè numeral system. She has already reported her research on the documentation and revitalization of Àbèsàbèsì at the Joint West African Language Congress (WALC) and the 26th conference of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (26 CLAN) held at the University of Ibadan, 29th July-2nd August, 2013.

5.3 The Yoruboid Group of Languages

Languages within this group include Àhàn, Ìbòròpà, Ùkàré, Àfín Èsè, Ìrùn, Ògbàgì, Àkùngbà, Şúpàré, Ọkà, Ọbà, Ikún and several camps within the Akoko South West LGA. Pidgin English has endangered these Yoruboid languages. Akungba, Supare and Ọkà, as university towns and towns in the vicinity of a university, are fast losing their local linguistic variants.

Linguistic research on these languages includes undergraduate long essays on the speech of each of the linguistic communities. The essays include dialectal research on the language continuum, their phonology and sociolinguistic situations in the communities.

5.4 Report on the Effort of the Department of Linguistics and Languages to Document Akoko Languages

In 2011, a research team of about five members was formed in the Department of Linguistics and Languages at Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Ondo State. The committee's chairman was Professor Oladele Awobuluyi; the other members were Professor Francis O. Oyebade, Dr O.T. Olumuyiwa, Dr Taiwo O. Agoyi (secretary) and Dr Johnson F. Ilori. The university awarded the committee a grant of NGN 1,555,000, and a sum of NGN 800,000 was released for the team's field work. Professor Awobuluyi developed the templatic syntactic data, Dr Agoyi prepared the morphological template, and Dr Olumuyiwa prepared the template for the sociolinguistic survey. We visited each of the communities for data collection, starting the project with the Abesabesi linguistic communities. Because the university is close to the linguistic communities, we always departed from the university for field work every Saturday. Our experience in the field showed that the people that the community identified as the best speakers of the languages had problems with providing some of the data we requested. The people argued among themselves on the correctness of the variant that the language helper supplied. This often led to arguments and accusations from one indigene about the genuineness of another's indigenous status. We took note of all these field experiences in our recordings because the comments provided sociolinguistic information about the endangered status of the languages. It also showed the level of consciousness of the speakers about the endangered status of the language, though they were ignorant of what to do to solve the problem. During the sociolinguistic survey of these linguistic communities, we observed that the elders in each community were not happy with the turn of events in relation to the local languages. They listed the advantages of speaking the mother tongue and decried the rate at which the youth abandoned the mother tongue in the name of civilization. The people promised to support any effort to revitalize their languages. Some young people from Auga promised to seek admission to study linguistics at Adekunle Ajasin University, in the hope that exposure to such a course of study would help them to protect the language from dying out.

The speakers of Úhùàmì were also eager to work on the language. Dr Olatunji, a member of the Department of Philosophy at Adekunle Akasin University, told us how he once attempted to compile a list of lexical items in Úhàmì but gave up the idea because his effort was not appreciated. He has offered to be his community's representative when an Akoko language development committee is established.

The Úkùè speakers were not left out of the move to encourage youths and children to speak the language. The only fear is that the language is only useful in the local community, because the government is not receptive to the idea of implementing the National Policy that recommends the use of the (indigenous) languages of the immediate environment as the language of instruction for the first three years of a child's primary education. Parents want their children to be introduced to the English language as early as pre-nursery classes because English is highly rated in the country.

The Yoruboid group see no value in revitalizing their dialects. Some of them see the effort as a waste of time. But almost all of them want their culture, lives and customs to be documented, and some also called for efforts to modernize the culture of the community.

6. Challenges

We encountered some difficulties in our efforts to document the Akoko languages. The main challenge, however, is related to the issue of time. As lecturers we fully engaged with lecturing and other related activities, and consequently only had weekends for the project. The only day we had the opportunity to conduct field work was Saturday. We maximized our time fully, but because Akoko is a very large geographical region with many communities, we were not able to complete visits to each community for data collection. While we were still struggling to collect as much data as possible, the rainy season set in, and the bad roads in the region made it almost impossible to visit the villages as a group, as we had planned. Dr Agoyi had to do much of the travelling for the data collection to ensure the project did not fall behind schedule. At that point it became obvious that the project required more time and funding than had originally been envisaged. The team had to truncate the project at the point when the funding ran out and had to continue more informally using personal funds.

Another challenge was the problem of collecting structured data, as language informants found it difficult to understand the structured sentences. The implication dawned on us that the more natural data collection procedure of inducing spontaneous speech would have been a

better option. Having learnt from that experience, the team has gone back to the drawing board and is developing a new strategy for the documentation of the languages in the Akoko geographical area.

7. Conclusion

This article is an initial report of the research efforts directed at documenting the languages in the Akoko area of Ondo State by the Department of Linguistics and Languages at Adekunle Ajasin University. In this report, we have documented our successes, failures and inadequacies. The research is ongoing and much is expected at the end of the project. A salutary outcome of the project is the fact that the communities have become highly sensitized to the endangered status of their languages and are showing a reassuring eagerness to participate in a language maintenance project.

Endnotes

¹ This information was sourced from (Sgd.) R. V. Wikes' District Officer's Report on 34 independent villages lying to the north of the Kukuruku Division of Benin Province, dated 1st April 1940.

² Èşùkù, Dája and Ìlúdòtun are in Àjowá.

³ An example is the late Mr Asoro, a herbalist in Ìkàràùmù, who left Òkè Ìrùn to settle in Ogbónmọ in Ìkàràùmù. His first son married an Ìpawọ Èkítì woman. Following the breakdown of the marriage, she relocated to Ìpawọ with her children. Mr Asoro's second son decided to make Èrúsú (his mother's home town) his place of abode. Some of their children are in Òkè-Àgbè, others in Ìkàràùmù. Àkùnnù claimed to have migrated from Ifẹ Kúsóje near Bida. After settling in various places such as Shintaku in Kogi Arama, the immigrants claimed they had displaced the Ìjàn people, who inhabited the present settlement. The point at which the Ìjàn people were displaced has been called Òkè-Ìnjàn in Àkùnnù to the present day. We presume some captured Ìjàn have been subsumed in the community. Furthermore, Àjowá, a border town between Ondo North and Kogi State, was formed in 1955 when eight communities were moved from different areas to the present location for political reasons. The Ìpè, Ìsùà and other Akoko communities share a similar history.

⁴ In Ìkàràùmù today, there is ongoing controversy concerning the migration history. Some of the younger generation are eager to know the actual history, but most elders feel that relating the history as it actually happened would bring bad blood. The most contentious group is the ruling family, who were the last group to arrive in the community. The fear is that a history of what truly happened would expose them and disqualify their claim to the throne. Work is ongoing in order to document the different views on the history of each group of immigrants in Ìkàràùmù. Other communities feel the history of their existence should not be investigated.

References

- Abiodun, M (1991) Vowel Harmony in Igede in *Studies in African Linguistics*; Vol 22, April 1991.
- (2001) A Comparative Phonology and Morphology of Ukaan Dialects in Akoko division of Nigeria, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis; University of Ilorin: Nigeria.
- Adekanye F. and Salffner S. (2007) Ikann Proverbs, Riddles and a Story Iwe Owe, Alọ ati Itan Arosọ niEde Ikann (Publisher not stated).
- Agoyi T. O. (2001) “Category of Number in Ekiromi”: *Inquiry in African Languages and Literatures 4* (2001) 64-80.
- (1997) *Ìsọrì Òrò nínú Èkìròmì*: Unpublished M. A. thesis; University of Ilorin, Ilorin.
- (2010) “ATR + Roundness in Abesabesi: The case of Akpes” in *Akungba Journal of Linguistics and Literature* August 2010:85-102, Akungba-Akoko.
- (2012) “Morphology of Àbèsàbèsi Numeral: A Case of Èkìròmì” *International Journal of Business and Social Sciences Vol.3 No 20* (Special Issue October, 2012:231-240) Centre for Promoting Ideas, New York, USA
- (2012) “Àbèsàbèsi Orthography” *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (JHSS) Volume 6, Issue 2* (Nov-Dec. 2012: 41-45), Poland.
- (2012) “ATR+ROUND and Low Vowel Harmony in Àbèsàbèsi : A Case Study of Qşùgù” *International Journal of Business and Social Sciences* Vol. 3 No 23. (December 2012), Centre for Promoting Ideas New York, USA
- (2013) “Ìşùà Numeral System” *Scottish Journal of Arts, Social Sciences and Scientific Studies Volume 8, Issue I*: January, 2013:3-11.
- (2013) “Ń ń Kpasi Àbèsàbèsi: Mo gbọ' Àbèsàbèsi: I Understand Àbèsàbèsi” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* Volume 2-Issue 2 (February 2013 Version 1), India.
- (2013) “Language Invasion and Insecurity: The History of Àbèsàbèsi”, *American Journal of Social Issues and Humanities Vol. 3 No. 2 March, 2013:68-77* Texas, USA.
- (2014) “Àbèsàbèsi Language Documentation and Maintenance”, *The International Journal of Engineering and Science* Volume 3 Issue 7 July 2014:1-7.
- Arohunmolase L. O., Agoyi T. O et al (2006) *The Orthography of Iigau and Iyinno* UNESCO:(Lekoba Publishers Ondo).

- (2006) *A Brief Linguistic Description of Iigau and Iyinno, the Outline of the Social and Historical Situation of the Language and their Communities* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
 - (2006) *Iigau Alphabetical Word Lists and Vocabulary Items* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
 - (2006) *Iyinno Alphabetical Word Lists and Vocabulary Items* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
 - (2006) *Iigau I bi Yonun (I)* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
 - (2006) *Iyinno Winnigin (I)* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
 - (2006) *Teaching Manual: A Handbook Giving Instruction On How To Speak, Read, Teach, Learn Iigau and Iyinno* UNESCO: (Lekoba Publishers Ondo).
- Awobuluyi O. (1972) The Morphophonemics of Ọwọ̀n Àfá : Research Notes 5:25-44. University of Ibadan.
- Oyebade F, O, and Agoyi T.O (2011) The Pronoun, Tense and aspect System of Ukare In Oyebade and Olumuyiwa O. T (2010:221-237) *New Findings in the Study of Nigerian Languages and Literature; Festsch in honour of Oladele Awobuluyi* Montem Paperback: Akure.
- (2004) “The Endangered Status of Marginalized Languages: Sosan and Ukue As Case Study”: in Akinlabi A. and Adesola O. (eds.) *Proceedings, 4th World Congress of African Linguistics*, New Brunswick 2003 Köln: Rüdiger Köppe 2004 pp 519-52
- Oyetade, Akintunde B (1996) Comparative Number Words of five Akoko Dialects and Edo with Standard Yoruba. *Journal of Nigerian Languages and Literature* 2:17-46
- Oyetade S. O. (2007) Language Endangerment in Nigeria: Perspective on Akoko South West, Nigeria. *International Journal of Sociology of Languages* 184:161-84
- Salfner S. (2010) Tone in Phonology, Lexicon and Grammar of Ikann. PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- (2011) Downstep in Ikan, Unpublished paper, CUNY Conference on the Phonology of Endangered Languages. City University New York, URL <http://www.cunyphonologyforum.net/endan.php>

CHAPTER TWELVE

RECONSIDERING GENDER IN YORÙBÁ PROVERBS

LÁIDÉ SHEBA
QBÁFEMI AWÓLQWQ UNIVERSITY

Introduction

Albert Isaac (2002) argues that feminist studies have a lot of methodological problems, especially as scholars ignore the opinions of men before making their conclusions. Consequently, he believes that feminist scholars are female-biased in their data collection and analysis. He therefore concludes by saying that “What a good society should try to discourage is bad habits, which of course include poor gender relationships” (Isaac 2002: X). In this paper, we shall not only attempt to discourage such bad habits and sayings associated with gender, we shall also attempt a critical assessment and re-examination of gender-related Yorùbá proverbs. We shall challenge the general opinion that a proverb expresses a fundamental truth and will try to debunk the falsehood in some gender-related proverbs, and we will also try to provide or create new archetypes that befit present times and enhance good gender relationships.

The choice of this topic has been motivated by certain observations and considerations. Firstly, there is the issue of oppression of women by men who have not given them the chance to prove their worth. This is an effect of (modern) society where cultural norms, attitudes and values continue to render women powerless (cf. Sheba 2006). There is therefore a need to start creating positive proverbs that will enhance and empower women. This is because, in order for women to take their rightful place in the societal power structure, cultural attitudes and socialization practices need to be reconfigured. The inferiorization and demonization of women, so that they lack the will and self-esteem to actually seek and gain power, must also be overcome. The issue has always been castigating the role of

the colonial authority in relegating women and promoting gender complexity. We never at any time venture to examine the havoc rendered by our literature in promoting or endangering gender.

Secondly, it is assumed that Yorùbá proverbs are misogynous, i.e. anti-female (Mieder 1985; Yusuf 1994). This has thus prevented the analysis of the anti-male nature of proverbs in Yorùbá. This study will therefore consider the other side of the coin by expounding how males are demeaned in a sample collection of Yorùbá proverbs. The paper will encourage sincerity on the part of the gender concerned. We shall also recommend that society discards some of the proverbs and re-writes others.

Thirdly, there is a need to look at the enduring effects of proverbs on the people's outlook. The dynamics and mechanisms of metaphor in proverbs could be seen as an extension of human capacity. The control and regulation of Yorùbá society can be said to be largely due to the fact that society consciously or unconsciously accepts some metaphors that then become strong influences on their thinking and actions. Therefore, through the usage, understanding and appreciation of proverbs, models of the social world, of individual personalities, and of the relationships that hold the individual and society together can emerge. The proverb is the most prevalent of all the modes that enhance directive language usage among the Yorùbá. This is why Kóláwólé (1997: 62) says that the use of proverbs have been central to the inculcating of certain gender-related values in the African set-up. So, this paper looks at and discusses how gender and sexist thoughts foreground the realities of the Yorùbá sociological worldview.

From the onset it should be noted that gender is not sex, and sex is not gender. Genders are the stated roles that are ascribed to men and women based on what is perceived to be their sex in society; it is a culturally shaped group of attributes and behaviours given to the female or to the male. In the simplest sense, it involves masculinity and femininity in the Yorùbá language. These two divisions are however revealed in the language by the use of sex-coded words in construction. Such words include *akọ* (male) and *abo* (female), which are mainly for human and non-human animates; and *ọkùnrin* (male) and *obìnrin* (female), which are only used for human beings when we have other animated gender examples, e.g. *àkùkọ* (cork) or *àgbébo`* (hen).

Yorùbá Proverbs and the Male Gender

The Yorùbá view of maleness (in any situation) is that the man should show sterling qualities, ideas and functions such as efficiency, toughness,

resistance, hardness, sharpness, and grandeur. However, the picture of masculinity reflected through some Yorùbá proverbs is sometimes different (see the examples cited below). Such proverbs often put masculine folk at an undue disadvantage, as they make them readily susceptible to brute exploitation. Despite the Yorùbá view of maleness, negative and inferior characteristics are sometimes ascribed to the male. Consider the following example:

- 1a) Ìyá ni wùrà, baba ni dínjí.
(Mother is gold while father is glass.)

Though mother is the antonym of father, it is not the same for gold and glass. Gold is a valued, precious and durable element while glass is less valued and fragile. The fragility of glass plays down the concept of masculinity and equates it with a shorter lifespan, as opposed to the popular belief that women are the weaker vessels. Since the ultimate goal is to discourage bad and derogatory sayings associated with gender, the proverb is better rendered thus:

- 1b) Bì iyá àti bàbá ti jẹ'... wùrà náà ni won jẹ'... dínjí.
(As both mother and father are gold, so also are they glass.)

This implies that as both father and mother are valuable and precious, they must both serve as models for their children. In other words, the two genders should complement each other. Both should be seen as precious, valuable and important and the two should serve as good examples (mirrors/glass) to their children. Let us consider another example.

- 2a) Òkóbó kì í bímọ sí tòsí.
(An impotent man does not claim to have a child nearby.)

This proverb is labelling the masculine as a false claimer in contrast with society's worldview about them, while the counterpart, akíríbotó (tight vagina woman), is not presented as such in proverbs. Viewed from another angle, the man who is labelled as such may actually be fertile, but only behaves in such a manner so as to protect his children from harm. As such, the proverb is better rendered as:

- 2b) Òpùrọ́ kì í bímọ sí tòsí.
(A liar does not claim to have a child nearby.)
where òpùrọ́ (liar) is gender neutral.

The second depiction of maleness in Yorùbá proverbs is in the issue of negative masculine personification. In such proverbs, fatherhood symbolizes the source of unfavourable forms of behaviour like obstinacy, disobedience, covetousness, unscrupulousness and cringing, as can be seen in the proverbs listed below:

- 3a) Aláṣejù baba àṣetẹ́....
(Obstinate is the father of the disgraced.)
- 4a) Àìgbọ̀ràn baba àfojúdí.
(Disobedience is the father of insolence.)
- 5a) Ojúkòkòrò baba òkánjúà.
(Covetousness is the father of avarice.)
- 6a) Ààlọ̀ àṣejù baba ojo.
(Too much cringing is the father of cowardice.)

These proverbs are means of relegating the male gender. A better way of de-gendering them is to replace the masculine label, *baba* (father), in each of them with *ni ó bí* (gives rise to/be the cause of) to give the following:

- 3b) Aláṣejù ni ó bí baba àṣetẹ́....
(Obstinate gives rise to disgrace.)
- 4b) Àìgbọ̀ràn ni ó bí baba àfojúdí.
(Disobedience is the cause of insolence.)
- 5b) Ojúkòkòrò ni ó bí baba òkánjúà.
(Covetousness is the cause of avarice.)
- 6b) Ààlọ̀ àṣejù ni ó bí baba ojo.
(Too much cringing gives rise to cowardice.)

Yorùbá Proverbs and the Female Gender

What other scholars have said about women and proverbs, especially on the misogynous aspect of proverbs, does not need to be repeated here. That said, it is essential to point out that, regardless of the word used to denote a woman, Yorùbá proverbs by and large depict women in derogatory terms. In addition, a lot of negative images about women are presented in Yorùbá proverbs. The proverbs use words conveying a condescending attitude towards women. Some see a woman as someone to laugh at and keep in contempt, or as one who has close connections to evil spirits and cannot be trusted, or as one who is more cunning, clever and dangerous than a man. As such, negative representations of women abound in proverbs. As has been rightly and sufficiently documented, proverbs of all nations do not do

justice to women and create a very unfavourable picture of them; a cursory glance at any collection instantly reveals proverbs' basic anti-feminism. Since men authored the majority of proverbs, they have included instructions in them as to how women should conduct themselves: they should be quiet, industrious during the day, pious in the morning, and devoted to her home. They also included messages on how men should handle them – roughly, by beating them, etc. – and a lot of warnings were given to men on how to deal with women who were seen as a threat to their world. We shall now reconsider the female gender in Yorùbá proverbs with sample proverbs to guide our discussion:

- 7a) Qmọ burúkú ti iyá rẹ ni.
(A bad child is the mother's portion.)
- 8a) Ọrọ̀ ò dùn lẹnu iyá olẹ.
(The mother of a thief should be less boastful in her speech.)

The two proverbs above should be seen as misnomers. The Yorùbá worldview is predominantly family-oriented, and the sociological set up of their society calls for cooperation and responsibility on the part of the parents. As such, both parents should be ready to share in the (mis)fortune of their child. Our proposition is to replace *iyá* (mother) with *òbí* (parents) in each of the two proverbs, in order that they read thus:

- 7b) Qmọ burúkú ti òbí rẹ ni.
(A bad child is the parents' portion.)
- 8b) Ọrọ̀ ò dùn lẹnu òbí olẹ.
(The parents of a thief should be less boastful in their speech.)

The reason for such replacement is that both parents should be held responsible for any misdemeanour by their children.

Let us also look at the following examples:

- 9) Obinrin tí a fẹ... lójú ijó, iran ni yóò wò lọ.
(A woman that is wooed at a party (dance floor) will go away with another man when she goes to another party.)
- 10) Obinrin tí a n bá sùn tí ó n só, ohun tó fẹ bí ni ó n bí.
(A woman that is farting while having sexual intercourse has already got what she wants.)
- 11) ẹní fẹ aṙewà níyàwó ti fẹ iyàwó gbogbo ayé.
(Whoever marries a beauty has married everybody's wife.)

Are these all really true statements? The so-called ‘truthfulness’ of these proverbs cannot stand the test of time. Such proverbs ought to be discarded by now. The examples (9) and (11) are semantically rendered falsehoods, as events within the life of couples in society reveal. In the case of (9), solid examples from real life have pointed out the success recorded by marriages that initiated from social gatherings. Likewise, for (11), beauty should not be associated with promiscuity, and it is not necessarily true that whoever marries a beauty marries everybody’s wife. Example (10), however, is an exaggeration. The lessons of cleanliness and good or civic decorum are not expected from the woman alone, but also from the man.

Women are often castigated or misrepresented when expressing their minds, or prevented from doing so altogether. The fundamental right to freedom of expression is not guaranteed to the woman in Yorùbá proverbs. As such, they are labelled negatively in such proverbs like:

- 12) Akóbáni iyáwó onímọ̀tò, wọ̀n lọ̀kọ̀ rẹ̀ ñkọ̀, ó ní ó lọ̀ kẹ̀rù.
(A driver’s wife, who gets one into trouble when asked about her husband’s whereabouts, says he has gone to pack (other people’s) property.)
- 13) Àṣẹ̀jù ní ‘ọ̀kọ̀ mi kò dó mi dáa,’ Ọ̀lọ̀run níí ṣọ̀mọ̀.
(It is sheer exaggeration to say ‘my husband doesn’t have sexual intercourse with me properly’, it is God that can give children to couples.)

In this age, when good family living and national integration is encouraged everywhere, Yorùbá proverbs should be coined in such a way as to encourage this. As such, proverbs that are likely to antagonise such efforts, like the ones above and similar ones mentioned below, should be discouraged and discarded:

- 14) Obínrin tó pé nílẹ̀ ọ̀kọ̀, àjẹ̀ níí yà.
(A woman that has stayed in her husband’s house for too long becomes a witch.)
- 15) Obínrin lọ̀dàlẹ̀’, obínrin lẹ̀kẹ̀; kénìyàn ó má fínú hàn fóbínrin.
(Woman is a treacherous person, woman is a liar; let no one keep a secret with a woman.)

Although example (15) is not a proverb in the strict sense of the word, it is an Ifá verse that is often analysed as the appellation of ancient Ifá priest(s). It has been included here because of its popularity and the way men cite it

as though it is a proverb; its contents are portrayed to be true of women in general. These are archaic proverbs and sayings that can lead to misconduct. A married woman who knows everything about a home she built and has lived in for many years should not be seen as evil in any sense.

Conclusion

From the observations above, it should be noted that women respond to social challenges as they relate to their person, families, jobs and societies. It is high time we (re)created proverbs in a way that reflects the true power and visibility of women and demystify those chauvinistic gender codes that have enhanced the male domination of power structures as noted by Kòláwòlé (1997: 69). Present society and the examples given in this paper call for a rethink on Yorùbá proverbs, in order to reconstruct gender images through proverbs. We need to create and recreate proverbs in order to aim for gender conciliation. We must deconstruct proverbs in order to delineate a true picture of both genders.

References

- Albert, Isaac. (2002). "Rethinking the impact of patriarchy on feminist epistemology and methodology in Nigeria." In Christopher E Ukhun (ed.) *Critical Gender Discourse in Africa*. Vol. 1, 59-78. Ibadan: Hope Publishers.
- Kolawole, M.E.M. (1997). *Womanism and African Consciousness*. New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- Mieder, Wolfgang. (1985). "Popular Views of the Proverb." *Proverbium: International Yearbook on Proverb Scholarship*, 2, 109-143.
- Sheba, Laide (2006). *Yoruba Proverbs with Feminine Lexis*. Ibadan: Spectrum.
- Yusuf, Y.K. (1994). "The Ethical Value of Women's Speech in Yoruba Proverbs." *Proverbium: International Yearbook on Proverb Scholarship*, 11, insert page numbers

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CHALLENGES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF TRINIDAD YORÙBÁ TEXTS

MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

Introduction

The synthesis of Yorùbá dialect phonologies, syntax, and lexica is evident in the production of sacred and secular songs on the island of Trinidad and constitutes one of the main difficulties in attempts to decode these texts. Other challenges include the frequent lack of social and ritual contexts of use, the esoteric nature of honorifics, allusions, place and personal names, and the need to recognize metaphors and juxtapositions to establish thematic coherence within texts. Apart from overlapping dialect forms, memory loss and imperfect learning on the part of second- and third-generation speakers are responsible for indeterminate pronouns, the misplaced nasalization of vowels, and irregular vowel and consonant substitutions. Some texts also reproduce the multilingual historical environments of the performers.

The book *Yoruba Songs of Trinidad* (Warner-Lewis 1994) presents texts of 157 songs and prayers, as generated by second- and third-generation Yorùbá descendants on the island of Trinidad in the southern Caribbean.¹ Recordings of these texts were made over the period from 1966 to 1972. The book also offers English translations of these texts, accompanied by cultural and linguistic annotations, while musical notation is supplied for a very small number of items. In the book's Preface, I refer to the exercise of providing language correspondences as involving not merely translation but also reconstruction and interpretation. Reconstruction was sometimes necessary as the texts suffered in varying degrees from distortions caused by memory loss and imperfect learning on the part of their performers. For

its part, interpretation was demanded since the underlying coherence of a text needed to be made patent in the target language and/or by way of annotation. Interpretation, after all, is the translator's function.²

My intention in this chapter is to illustrate some of the instances of baffling text and elusive meanings that are faced by both native and non-native Yorùbá speakers who are confronted with the exercise of interpretation. While I myself suffered from the deficiencies of a non-native Yorùbá speaker, difficulties of interpretation were not erased by mere linguistic familiarity on the part of the native speaker, as there were several instances when Yorùbá speakers gave widely differing interpretations of phonological sequences. My principal translation advisors were two Yorùbá language undergraduates at the University of Ifè in Nigeria (now the Obáfèmi Awólòwọ University) in 1975: Tẹlẹ Nadi and Tòkunbọ Shyllon Adétúnjí. Professor "Wándé Abímbọlá of the then Department of African Studies at Ifè University also gave assistance, as did Adémọlá Onibọ̀nòkúta, drummer and cultural specialist, in 1984 and Professor Ọlásopé Oyèlárán in 1989.

The sometimes startling divergences in Yorùbá-speaker interpretations were brought about by various reasons, such as the particular decoder's limited knowledge of variations in Yorùbá lexicon, dialect phonology and idioms; by a deceptive anticipation of familiar or expected phonological phrases; and no less by limitations in the decoder's knowledge range of indigenous Yorùbá cosmogony and practice. This includes their familiarity with the honorifics of deities and knowledge of various proverbs. A binary proverb pointed to the usefulness of seemingly insignificant parts: *ahéré a rehin oko o, ààta ni o de kehìnlé* "the farm-shack will outlive the farm, the rafter outlasts the house". On another occasion, the idiomatic formula for conveying broken relationships was *(i)pàkúta meeta*, literally "the breaking/separation of three stones", a reference to the fire surrounded by three stones on which cooking pots were placed. This idiom was preceded by another metaphoric reference to fire suggesting the occurrence of some hurtful event: *bina bá jó mi, màá berùle, bina ba jo mi, màá berù onà* "if fire should burn me, I will fear the home [where it happened], if fire should burn me, I will fear the wide world". The cryptic *afefẹ rúrú lórèrè* in a chant the singer described as 'a song to creation' was eventually identified as Olódùmarè himself, the Supreme Deity, who had sent Ọbàtálá to found a human settlement at Èjigbò, one of the ancient cities cited in Yorùbá sacred literature. The phrase itself translates as 'the pure breath in the distant heavens'.

My own handicaps were also challenges to the native speakers, except that, in my case, non-familiarity with Yorùbá lexicon, phraseology, and

culture was more acute, despite much reading and some personal experience of life in Yorùbáland. Nevertheless, I had the eventual task of evaluating the validity of the varied interpretations, using several criteria for final judgement: closeness to the contexts of use where these had been provided by the performers of the texts, and the thematic trajectories within the informants' interviews. In addition, I had to bring my literary background into play by making allowance for the deployment of devices such as metaphor, simile, and pun, and thus seeking out, by means of extensive dictionary searches, synonyms and near-synonyms for words which I sensed had been too prosaically interpreted by my translation collaborators.³ Frequent consultation of R. C. Abrahams' *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (1958) in several instances revealed new interpretations, and multi-layered semantic possibilities.

Sometimes covert juxtaposition clarified the reason for a sequencing of surface-level disconnections. In a song sung in three versions, formulaically linked nominal sets – such as the bird *agbe* and its ownership of indigo dye, and the bird *àlùkò* and its ownership of camwood dye – are established in two consecutive lines, which precede the statement that *oba òyìnbó ló kó a wá* “the European king/government it is that captured us and brought us [here]”. The uprooted Africans are therefore robbed of agency and remain in the power of others. But the next line counters this situation with the assertion that, while the singers are indeed owned by God Almighty, they gain power from this association: *Ọlorun okè ló ní wa o* “it is God on high who owns us”, or the variant *Olóore lókè ó làyè o* “the compassionate God above, he owns the world/everybody”.

Among the major linguistic challenges in decoding the texts was the elision of one of the adjacent vowels in a language where the basic word morphology is (V)CV. This posed problems regarding the establishment of word divisions and the identity of verbs in Verb + Object sequences. Another difficulty was the instability of pronoun forms and of vowels generally. Other challenges were syllable syncope and the contraction of double vowels to single ones; variant dialect lexemes; multilingualism within the texts; tonal erosion; and the occasional occurrence of nonce phrases.

Several of these linguistic challenges were posed because Trinidad Yorùbá (TY) was a koine of several Yorùbá dialects, suggesting some of the main regions from which the first-generation immigrants had come. Èkìtì and Ìjẹ̀ṣà were prominently represented, with fewer Ègbá and Ìjẹ̀bú phonological and grammatical forms, and some Oyo and Ìgbómìnà features as well.

Pronominal Indeterminacy

Pronominal indeterminacy sometimes resulted from informants' memory degradation. However, it also emerged from the crossing of Yorùbá dialect paradigms and the inconsistent application of vowel harmony rules between Subject and Verb, combined with the non-application of such rules in some dialects. Thus, in an Ògún oríkì describing the deity's wrapper: *ẹ ẹ kalẹ ~ á ẹ kalẹ* "he let it touch the ground". In a Şàngó oríkì, memory loss produced the line: *Şàngó o o kó lònà*, which had to be reconstructed as *Şàngó o mo kó lònà* "Şàngó o, I am clearing out of your path", based on a similar motif in other chants.

Syntactic Contradictions

Overlapping dialectal grammars could also lead to conflicting translations. Of Ògún's wrapper it was said: *ó mọ balẹ*, in which *mọ* could be interpreted as the *Oyọ* emphatic pre-verb marker, thus "it certainly touched the ground", as opposed to *mọ* being interpreted as the *Èkìtì/Ìjẹsà* negative pre-verb marker, thus "it did not reach the ground". And was *ko bale* in this chant *kí ó balẹ* "so that it reached the ground" or *kò balẹ* "it did not reach the ground"? Given the general tonal erosion of TY, either interpretation is possible. Since Yorùbá melody retains the tonal contours of speech, one might have expected that tonal distinctions would assist in sorting out these cruxes. However, there is evidence that the micro-tonality typical of some sacred Yorùbá songs had been deleted to a large extent, no doubt as a result of contact with European melodic patterns which had replaced the melisma of Middle Eastern and Arabic singing styles found in certain genres of Yorùbá singing.⁴

Lexical Variants

Dialect lexical variants occurred both within the same song and between versions of the same song. Thus *ẹjẹ* and *ije* "blood", *irá* and *ará* "people", *onyà* and *ènià* "people", *ulé* and *ilé* "house", *isónsó* and *isónşó* "tip/point", *sùré* and *sáré* "run", *èrù* and *erù* "fear", *sárikò* and *sàrèkò* "in the nick of time", *àwé* and *oré* "friend", *ùgbà* and *ìgbà* "time", *fifun* and *funfun* "white", *pipa* and *pupa* "red", *títò* and *tútù* "fresh", *léní* and *lóní* "today", *kò sù* and *kò sí* "there does not exist", and *ààrò*, *àdirò* and *èmúná* "forge".

Consistent vowel correspondences, in the following case between *i* and *u*, helped me solve several cruxes, among which was a line in a chant to the Earth: *omiwe lodo*. This could have been interpreted as *omi wẹ lódò*

“water/Qşun⁵ washes/bathes in the stream”, or, as some native speakers interpreted, *ó mí wẹ lódò* “he [continuous] bathes in the stream” or *émí n wẹ lódò* “I [continuous] bath/bathed in the stream”. Eventually I read this as the agglutinative noun phrase *òmùwẹ lódò*, the first word being a compound of *ò-* indicating an agent + *mù* “dive” + *wẹ* “bathe/swim”. Another consistent and frequent vowel interchange affected *o* and *a*. Şàngó’s praise as *Ayira bere nko mu yaya*, which echoed an earlier line where his club was described as *mú yáyá* “exceedingly sharp”, was eventually decoded as *Àyirà berẹ n kòmọ yoyọ* “Arira stoops [continuous] [and] gathers children numerous”. This meaning recommended itself, despite the chant’s aggressive allusions to Şàngó’s avenging powers in preceding lines. This opposition in the characteristics of an *òrişà* “deity” was consistent with the thematic structure of other *oriki*. Similar *o ~ a* correspondence occurred in *Ògún rọşọ* and *Ògún rọşa*, and in the *Oyo*-influenced phonology of *Ìjẹbú í ba, sá lu má* rather than *Ìjẹbú í bọ, sá lù mọ* “The *Ìjẹbu* are coming, run, hide”, and *òjò mani àwà* rather than *òjò ò mọni ọwọ* “rain is no respecter of persons”.

Denasalization

One idiolect demanded the substitution of denasalized vowels to sensibly decode meaning. The singer sang: *Ọlọrun fọ fọyẹn*. With a denasalized final vowel the line read: *Ọlọrun fọ fọnyè* “God of the Heavens spoke, breathing life”. The same speaker used *ikọ kan* as an attribute of *Orunmila*. That phrase translated as “finger one”, but decoded as the noun phrase *ikoka* constructed of *ì-* “the one who” + *kọ* “wrote” + *kà* “read”, it accorded with the god of divination’s introduction of the skill of reading shapes imprinted in sand or flour by a sacred string of beads.⁶ Another crux presented by the same informant was the spoken apostrophe to Şàngó: *an soju wolemanja*, which suggested to me that *Yemanja/Yemoja* was the reference. Conversely, a native speaker proposed: *o bojú wólé bání jà* “you show your face at a man’s house to bring a fight to him”. However, certain consonant changes here appear to me to be too remote from the string produced by the informant. I propose instead: *ó n s(in) ojú wole máá n jà* “he opens his eyes, sees the thief, and fights him”.

Consonant Substitution

The last example brings us to the occasional need for consonant substitution in order to arrive at hopefully intelligent interpretations. Sometimes this substitution of alternative consonants was suggested by

other song versions. Where one singer produced *odi okpo*, literally “city wall pillar”, whose inversion of the normative Part + Whole word order was suspect, another person sang *òdi ògbó* “the back side of the club”, which was an allusion to the club as one of *Şàngó’s* insignia. Glide substitution was also evident in *Àyirà* as a version of *Àrìrà* “the thunderer”, one of *Şàngó’s* sobriquets. *r ~ h* substitution surfaced in the line *o wẹrin wọrun* which, in the context of a song about broken relationships and grief, made more sense as (m)o *wẹhin*, *wọhún* “I looked here, I looked there”. The interchangeability of *r ~ l* occurred in *ara* and *ala* “body”, and *ká rẹlé* and *ká rẹrẹ* “let’s go home”.

6 See Bascom 1969: 109.

Context and Interpretive Choices

In orature, there is rarely one fixed text. Rather, there are verbal variants of a text, and these variants may or may not serve the same function. There are also differing texts with differing functions that all utilize a similar melody. One therefore needs to accord integrity to variant texts. For example, in one version a chant to *Ọsanyìn* started with the sobriquet *òyígi-yígi* ‘the indestructible’, and in another (sung by my linguistically most competent interviewee) with *o-imi-imi*. The former phrase is readily understood in present-day Yorùbá as an appellation of the Christian God. Phonologically, the closest appellation to *ò-ìmi-ìmi* for *Ọsanyìn* is *agbe méèjì* ‘two Touraco birds’, representatives of this deity who controls the secret knowledge of birds, spirits, witches and herbs. However, based on one TY instance of an appellation for *Ọsanyìn* as *a-gbè-mí-jí* ‘he who supports the breath of life’, I interpreted the singer’s *imi* as a form of *èèmi* ‘breath’, and have rendered the reduplicative *ò-ìmi-ìmi* as ‘the breath of life itself’.

Contextual coherence⁷ was again the pivot for my interpretation of a song sung by visitors to a home. Variant phrases in some versions of the song were *àgò àlàà* and *àgò lònà*. The context of the song’s use, as explained by one singer, involved a call-and-response between the visitors and the home-dwellers. The differential wording therefore seemed attributable to a request by the visitors on the roadway who were seeking permission to enter the premises in contrast to those within the home consenting to the visit. In this light, then, *àgò lònà* meant that permission was asked to enter the path to the property, literally, ‘let the path be open’, while the response *àgò àlàà* meant ‘permission is given [to cross] the land boundary’.

A lament in the face of exile was sung with different wordings by three performers, its opening lines varying just as its penultimate line did. Each version demanded an acknowledgement of its own integrity and internal coherence. The penultimate line asserted in one instance that *oba òyìnbó ló kó a wá* ‘the European king/government it is that brought us come [here]’, another version stated it was *baba òyìnbó ló kó a wá* ‘the fathers of the Europeans captured us and brought us [here]’. The song could also begin with either *Ọlorun ẹrẹ màà gbóhùn ẹrẹ* ‘Your God Almighty will hear your voice’, or *Mo gbèdè ẹrẹ, mo gbọrọ ẹrẹ* ‘I understand your [the foreigners’] language, I understand your words’, or *Mo gbédèrè, mo gbé àrè o* ‘I understand the language of foreigners, I live in exile’. Furthermore, one version substituted the line *agbe ló láró, lo láró* with the outspoken comment on an unjust world which had engineered their enslavement: *ole ló láyè, ó láyè* ‘thieves own the world, own the world’.

Glosses and contexts provided by the singers always proved helpful, but occasionally they too needed to be subjected to query. In a song which announced the death of an infant, the singer translated the first two lines of *omọ Rekure, iwọ lọ kọ* as ‘Rekure’s child, you have a husband’. I, however, preferred to dismantle the undecipherable name and convert the phrase to *omọ ẹrẹ kú, rẹ̀é* ‘your child died, alas!’, and the following line as *iwọ lọkọ < iwọ ni ọ kọ* ‘it is you that have been bereft’. The last line of the song blamed this loss on *ayé* ‘world’, a word of variable meanings, including the notion of ‘witches’, that is, evil spiritual forces. Another probably inaccurate glossing took place with respect to the phrase *baram, baram, baram*, which concluded a chant to the Earth. The singer suggested that it was an ideophone, which captured the sound of waves dashing against the shore. However an advisor knowledgeable about Yorùbá religious invocations heard it as a syncopation of *gbàrà mí < gbà rà mí*, literally ‘take buy me’, meaning ‘make me completely yours’.

Multilingualism

In a few instances, the French Creole *mwe* ‘I’ replaced the Yorùbá *mo*.⁸ In those cases where English Creole lines were intercalated with Yorùbá ones, these were easy for me to spot. But there was an interesting song whose gloss by the singer alerted one to its incorporation of Hausa. This chant, though mostly in Yorùbá, carried Hausa in its last line, which the singer did not gloss. Rather she interpreted the song’s meaning as a series of attributes of Allah, the Arabic name for the Almighty God: ‘He is the first, He is the last, He is the onliest [only] one’. This last formulation echoes the Muslim credo: *La ilaha Billallah* ‘there is no God but Allah’.

The previous two phrases in the song were also among the attributes of Allah: *al-Awwal* ‘the First’ and *al-Akhir* ‘the Last’. Then followed the singer’s exclamation: *Yé Ala o! Ala o! Baba!*, which she then explained in inverted order as: ‘My Father, my God!’ The chant itself began with *alado*, which had occurred in several chants to SOàngó and acclaimed him as *aládò* ‘the possessor of many amulets’, and who was therefore invincible. This was followed by an honorific to ÈsOù, *alààròyé* ‘the cause of contentions’. But interpreted in the context of Islam, the following interpretation could be made: *Allah dò* ‘Allah stands firm/endures/is everlasting’, *a-là-àròyé* ‘He who cures grievances (the Compassionate)’. The chant continued: *Allah rí òye* ‘Allah is intelligent (all-Knowing)’. The final line says: *Baba zali balaka*. This most reasonably appears to be an attempt to reproduce the Hausa phrase *Baba sarki ba Allah ba* ‘There is no *sarki* (emir, literally/god, metaphorically) except Allah’. *Ba*, a negator, occurs for emphasis both at sentence-initial and –final, and acts as an exclusionary device preceding ‘Allah’.⁹

Tags

Ayé was a frequent line-end tag, which could sometimes be incorporated into the meaning of the line, but at other times appeared to be a means of addressing the audience. Another frequent line-final tag was *oge* ‘ostentation’, an exclamation perhaps encouraging dance display. Another was *fa*, though far more common was *o*, which accorded with Yorùbá speech practice. Some singers often began their renditions with *yé* ‘listen’, and *mo ní* ‘I say’, which are not uncommon devices in oral communication. Another mode of address was *omọ Ajini* ‘children of Guinea (French *Guinée*)/Africa’ and the French Creole equivalent *fwe Jinai* ‘brothers of Africa’. The ejaculation *sakuluma* in a masquerade song seems meaningfully decoded as *sá kùró mọ* ‘run leave hide’, while *ojonpere* in a work song could be disaggregated as *ojú ñ péré* ‘[our] eyes [continuous] be complete/meet’, meaning ‘we are all together’.

Conclusion

The task of decoding these TY texts has been challenging, haunting, and arduous. It is an intermittently on-going project, as I do not consider the reconstructions or the interpretations given here to be final. Nor are the contexts I have been offered or have offered exclusive, since the cultural functions and settings have been and continue to be dynamic. Many of the secular songs have disappeared, but some have survived in religious

settings. Meanwhile *òrìs* *Òà* worship continues to strengthen in Trinidad, in addition to its being fed by streams from other sites of Yorùbá religious culture in Nigeria and in the West Atlantic, such as in Bahia, Cuba, and the United States. One therefore anticipates updates, critiques, and alternative decodings of these and other texts in the vast Yorùbá-Atlantic repertoire.

Endnotes

¹ These were descendants of persons captured for the transatlantic slave trade but who, coming after the official cessation of the trade in 1807 and after the emancipation of the enslaved in British colonies in 1838, were retained in the territories as indentured workers for periods of between three and five years. No conditions were provided for their return to Africa.

² See Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984: 18-31.

³ See Baker 1992: 119, 202-3.

⁴ See Warner-Lewis 1991: 147.

⁵ *Omi* ‘water’ is a metonym for the river goddess *Øβun* (*Øshun*).

⁶ See Bascom 1969: 109.

⁷ See Nida and Taber 1974: 14-24.

⁸ French Creole was in fact the mother tongue of most of my informants. It had been the *lingua franca* in Trinidad during the nineteenth century, though it was being jostled for that position by English Creole by the early twentieth century.

⁹ See Warner-Lewis (1991: 67-68; 2000: 121) for discussion of the singer of this chant. Thanks to Ibrahim Hamza for helping illuminate this line.

References

- Abrahams, R. C., 1958. *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba*, London: University of London Press.
- Baker, M. 1992. *In Other Words: a Coursebook on Translation*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Bascom, W. 1969. *Ifa Divination*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Nida, E. and C. Taber. 1974. *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Leiden: United Bible Societies.
- Seleskovitch, D. and M. Lederer. 1984. *Interpreteur pour traduire*, Paris: Didier Erudition.
- Warner-Lewis, M. 1991. ‘The Influence of Yoruba Music on the Minor-Key Calypso’, *Guinea’s Other Suns: the African Dynamic in Trinidad Culture*, Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press, pp. 141-157.
- . 1994. *Yoruba Songs of Trinidad*, London: Karnak House.
- . 2000. ‘Ethnic and Religious Plurality among Yoruba Immigrants in Trinidad in the Nineteenth Century’, *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, (ed.), Paul E. Lovejoy. London and New York: Continuum, pp. 113-128.

PART II:
LITERATURE

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CREATIVE WRITING IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

AKÍNTÚNDÉ AKÍNYĚMÍ

Creative writing in African languages poses a number of challenges to African writers today, and no serious writer can ignore them. Several scholars, including Daniel P. Kunene (1992), Penina Muhando Mlama (1990), and Mazisi Kunene (1992) have already discussed some of these challenges.¹ One of the central debates, and also one of the most heated, on critical discourses on African literatures in the second half of the twentieth century was concerned with the issue of which language African creative writers should express themselves in: the languages of the former European colonial powers or the indigenous languages of Africa. Numerous viewpoints have been advanced by writers, critics, and linguists about whether or why African writers ought or ought not to write in their mother tongues. For reasons of space we will not repeat those arguments here (see the works of David Westley (1992), Kirsten Peterson (1988), and Karin Barber (2006) for some of the positions already covered). Suffice to say here that we are familiar with the existing divisions among writers and critics on whether or not the African writer should write in his/her mother tongue.

Arguments against the choice of African languages and the consequent preference for foreign languages have included the clamour for an international audience. And indeed, the literary production infrastructures (such as schools, publishers, book marketers, literary awards, and prizes) make the international audience a coveted goal for the African writer, and using a foreign language is an invaluable tool for reaching that goal. However, a stronger explanation for using a foreign language is the foreign-development and socio-economic structures in which the writers and the entire African continent are trapped. Within that structure are the class alliances which determine the writer's choice of language as well. It has been argued that many African writers are writing for the elites rather

than the common men and women who form the majority of the African population (Isola 1992; wa Thiong'o 1986, 1993). Thus, they choose English, French, or Portuguese, the languages of the privileged few, as opposed to the indigenous African languages of the majority of the population. Those scholars and creative writers who were opposed to the 'colonization of African literature' ask if it is politically correct or even just acceptable for African writers to continue to write solely in the languages of the former colonial masters, or if they should instead compose their literary works in 'their own' indigenous African languages. They also query the logic behind the adoption of what Nichols (1981: 124) refers to as a "hybrid language", that is, "English that is purely local...which expresses the experience of the Africans...authentically", by the likes of Chinua Achebe and Ọlá Rótímí in their works. Even if this were acceptable, they wonder if the various strategies of appropriation would not be subversive and liberating acts of cultural emancipation, as suggested by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (1989).

The phenomenon of a social elite affecting a language different from that of the majority of the people in a society is not new in the history of the world, nor is the eventual replacement of the impostor languages by the ones they once displaced. For instance, the English elite spoke Norman French after the Norman conquest, but it gradually yielded to an indigenous English over the course of several centuries. In addition, French was the language of choice among Russian elites well into the nineteenth century, but as Owomoyela (1992: 91) rightly observed, "Russian was the vehicle of one of Europe's major literatures" by the end of the century. In both cases, the national language reemerged only with the aid of institutional support for its use as an official, social, and literary medium of communication. The dangers of ignoring threats to the survival of one's national language are clear. For instance, both Marianne Mithun and Wallace Chafe (cited in Owomoyela 1992) have documented the drive by the Mohawk people of Canada to rescue their language from near-oblivion. The first generation of Mohawks who grew up speaking only English were obliged to face the fact of their difference when they found themselves among white colleagues in school, but they could not define this difference. They therefore embarked on a painful search for identity, but if they had become proud of being Indian, it was just at the time that the clearest symbol of their Indianness, the Mohawk language, had become lost to them. Recognizing the seriousness of this situation, they instituted aggressive measures to recapture their linguistic heritage. Teachers acquired proficiency in the language in order to teach it to Mohawk children, and their intention was not simply to teach 'a

translation skill', but rather a way of thinking in order to establish a direct link for children between the Mohawk language and their world. Research undertaken on these measures reports the triumph felt by teachers and members of the older generation when children succeeded in correctly forming new sentences in Mohawk.

Several countries in East and Central Africa have taken similar steps by adopting measures to install Swahili as their national language.² Nigeria has also enacted a national language policy that designates Hausa, Igbo, and Yorùbá as the country's national languages, although the same policy classifies English as the country's *de facto* official language, and French as a strategic language of interest. The fate of the other 1,700 or so indigenous languages scattered across the continent of Africa remains uncertain. Apart from eloquent declarations of allegiance to them, and in spite of announced intentions to rehabilitate them,³ little has been done to assure them of a major role in contemporary African societies.

From previous debate, we know that there is no questioning the right of African languages to serve as the medium for communication and literary expression among African people. But we are also aware of the historical forces that have denied or suffocated that right and imposed English, French, and Portuguese upon those people, as well as the colonial and neo-colonial conditions that have ensured the continued dominance of these foreign languages, not only over indigenous African languages but also over other types of communication. But the choice to write creative works in African languages, as it has been in the past, is a difficult one. It is difficult because the problems raised during the past three decades have not been resolved. Indeed, many of those problems have been intensified by the socio-economic realities of the African continent. For instance, ethnic differences have intensified in many African countries due to the realization that ethnicity has fostered the unfair distribution of political and economic power. In addition, through the intensification of capitalism in Africa, the control over the book production industry has fallen increasingly into the grips of multinational companies whose economic interests are served by the promotion of the international languages. Failing national economies have thwarted local book production ventures established to encourage, among other things, writing in indigenous African languages.

Consequently, we cannot continue to pretend to be indifferent to the relevance of literature in indigenous African languages to societal development in this era of globalization because, in the words of Ngugi (1986: 28), literature "in...an African language, is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggles of...African peoples." Therefore, the political

aspect of the general issue of language in contemporary African literature cannot be over-emphasized. Indeed, debates on language have been particularly acute in post-colonial Africa, largely because, as Fanon (1986) argued, language is a technology of power. Therefore, the choice of language is obviously crucial to all African writers, most importantly because they are writing in multilingual societies where levels of illiteracy are extremely high. Perhaps it is for this reason that the debate over the choice of the appropriate language for African writers has raged for decades.⁴ In a thorough and informative survey, Lee Nichols (1981, 1984) interviewed eighty-three African writers from different parts of the continent on many aspects of their writing, including their choice of language. His findings revealed that it was the audience and what a writer perceived as the purpose of the work of literature that determined the writer's choice of language: was it to draw attention of the world at large to internal problems in the writer's country? Or was it to involve one's own people in resolving their own conflicts? Or was it the less noble motive of easy fame and fortune?

The choice to write in an African language is often a choice for obscurity and a renunciation of the international limelight that writing in any of the languages of the former African colonial powers could offer a writer. It was Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, the famous Kenyan activist writer, who first drew international critical attention to writing in indigenous African languages when he abandoned English and began to publish his creative works in his native Gikuyu language in the late 1970s. He calls for an immediate "return to" African languages in order to "decolonize the mind" and "move the centre" (see wa Thiong'o 1986, 1993). Barber and Furniss (2006), however, warned recently that although wa Thiong'o's argument is powerful and appealing, the issues that he raised are complex and require careful historical teasing-out if we are not to fall into a crude binary model where native language equals authenticity and colonial language equals alienation and dispossession – a model, incidentally, that owes more to early 19th century European Romantic nationalism than to indigenous African conceptions of relations between language and being. They argued that critics need to pay attention to how these things were actually perceived and experienced at the time, acknowledging the widespread desire for English language-based cultural nationalisms. They also argued for the need to avoid models that suggest that African language writing was strangled at birth by the iron hand of colonial linguistic, literary, and documentary domination. They did not deny the existence of such domination, but argued that it only played out in

unexpected ways and often encouraged African language productivity as well as denigrating it.

Several other African writers preceded wa Thiong'o in the use of indigenous African languages in their writings, but only a few of them have attracted national or international recognition. Literature in African languages began to attract attention as early as the beginning of the twentieth century (Bódúndé 2001: 5). For instance, Thomas Mafolo's *Chaka*, which was originally written in Sotho and published in 1908, was one of the early texts. An earlier tradition was recorded in Swahili writing, which witnessed the production of about 359 prose works between 1900 and 1950. Furthermore, as early as the mid 1930s, publishing companies in Nigeria, for instance, had much to show for their interest in literatures in indigenous languages. The decision of prominent African writers to write in their indigenous languages is by no means unique because they are indirectly commenting on the relation of language to culture and international politics.

The choice to write in an indigenous African language is not merely an impulse for African writers. Those who choose to write in indigenous African languages belong to a class of writers who are willing to take risks, who are writers who respond to the challenges posed by the realities of African society today. Such writers find it more difficult than ever before not to say something about the pathetic situation of African people. In their role as communicators of ideas and feelings, writers can no longer stand by and let the current humiliating era continue. It is also difficult for such writers not to take the side of the suffering majority. These writers find it difficult to suppress the urge to use the pen to communicate their people's anger and frustration, often preferring to announce their audience's position, to conscientize and to mobilize the audience into understanding, and to analyze their plight. Even though the situation seems bad, the writers feel the need to tell the audience not to be hopeless, and the bolder writers exhort them to stand up and fight. But what chances does a writer have in reaching the majority of his/her suffering masses? Responding to this question, wa Thiong'o (1985: 151) submits that an African writer should write in a language that will allow him/her to communicate effectively with peasants and workers in Africa. In other words, s/he should write in "an African language...literature published in African languages will have to be meaningful to the masses and therefore much closer to the realities of their situation."

The communication sector, for instance, has already awoken to the inadequacy of the mass media, as manifested by the ongoing search for grassroots-based communication media. Efforts in this direction involve

not only giving a grassroots character to radio, film, or the print media; there has also been an increasing recognition of the importance of indigenous communication media at the local level. Interpersonal communication and the traditional arts, such as dance, story telling, songs, and chants are being accorded a communication role once denied them and formerly often overshadowed by the externally controlled mass media. Many development programs in adult education, primary health, environment, women's projects, and so on now use the indigenous media – especially oral, literary and performing art forms – in their communication. A good example is that of the “Theatre For Development” movement, which has gained considerable significance in Africa over the last 25 years because its utilization of indigenous African communication media has opened up the opportunity of communicating, analyzing, and solving development problems to the grassroots level. These efforts have brought indigenous languages to the fore because, by working at the grassroots level, one automatically works with local languages. People's participation is heightened by the use of their indigenous languages with which they are most familiar. In recent years, development agents have adopted a more tolerant view of African indigenous communication media, at the centre of which are the indigenous languages.

If we see a contemporary African writer as a man or woman of culture, one who preserves, rejuvenates, and guides his/her society's perception of an acceptable way of life, its morals, values, and attitudes, its integrity and identity, we thereby raise another set of challenges and questions. This is because writing for African people today is writing for a people who have largely lost their perception of what constitutes ‘African’, their ability to determine or influence their own way of life, their indigenous values and attitudes, and their identity as a people. Somehow, someone came up with the label ‘African’ to characterize a whole host of activities and concepts, including ‘African literature’. The origin of the term is no mystery. ‘African literature’ is a relatively new concept, not because there was no literature in Africa before colonialism, but because those who created it in their indigenous languages did not perceive what they were doing as an ‘African’ activity. For them, it was an activity relevant to their own individual languages and cultures. For instance, when an oral poet narrates the Nyanga epic of Mwindo in twelve days of singing, narrating, dancing, and miming, he is affirming Nyanga culture as surely as the group of Yorùbá *ijálá* chanters affirms Yorùbá culture in its twenty-one day *irèmojé* funeral dirge in honour of a departed Yorùbá hunter/warrior. Neither would consider themselves ‘African’, even though they would no doubt

recognize any linguistic and/or cultural continuities spreading out from where they are.

While a writer may play many roles to correct this anomaly, indigenous languages also become important as the carriers and tools of a people's culture. Literature is about people, their society, their culture, and their institutions. It is also, and more importantly, about language; the medium through which the people's society, culture, and institutions are expressed. We can submit, therefore, without any fear of contradiction, that to talk about literature is to talk about language. World literatures are more often than not categorized according to the languages in which they were composed. In contrast to Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Russian, and several other literatures, African literatures represent an anomaly in the sense that their practitioners have felt the need to stake and concede natural proprietary rights in them. Biodun Jéyifò (1990: 37) has previously noted this anomaly, but when he asks, "who would deny that Chinese literature 'belongs' to the Chinese, Japanese literature to the Japanese, and Russian literature to the Russians?", his question is rhetorical only in the sense that all his examples, except the African one, announce their 'natural' proprietorship in terms of the languages with which they are associated.

Language is the means by which a creative writer reveals his/her soul, and, similarly, the writer's language is the vehicle whereby the reader or critic attempts to fathom the depth of feeling s/he conveys. Owómóyèlá (1992) argues that we can only begin to comprehend, in a small way, the totality of the writer's worldview and identity – his/her religious beliefs, folklore, myths, proverbs, superstitions, humor, and attitude towards life and death – if we know his/her language. Obviously, there is no language called 'African', any more than there is a language called 'European', because Africa is not a country but a continent with about 1,700 indigenous languages. This linguistic dilemma was further compounded by the conquest and subjugation of most of Africa by European colonial powers, who imposed their respective languages (English, French, and Portuguese) as one of their administrative strategies. Soon, the phenomenon of colonialism and its attendant evils were spread throughout much of the continent. Consequently, literature written by African elites in the languages of the colonialists was intentionally created to confront the colonial powers. Yet, despite the languages they were written in, the emerging literature of African writers was not considered to be admissible to the club of English, French, or Portuguese literatures, and thus the idea of 'African literature' was born. This was the beginning of the woes of writers and critics of 'African literature'. Although it was through no fault

of their own, African creative writers have been painted into a corner by history, and the peculiar circumstances under which they function in current society reminds us daily of the tragedy of Europe's violation of the integrity of African societies. The beginning of Africans' articulation of their discontent with their situation, while not simultaneous in all the colonies and settler areas, was nonetheless a sweeping, snowballing movement that was soon observed as an African, rather than a disarticulated country-by-country or region-by-region, phenomenon. We should also not forget that, during this time, there was a strong sense of pan-Africanism, a sense that the continent shared the same destiny, and that bridges were being built between and among the elites of the different African cultural and linguistic groups.

In spite of the 'discovery' of an 'African literature' by the African elites and their colonial collaborators, creators of literature in African languages continued to ply their trade, largely ignoring this 'discovery', if not totally unaware of it. However, bits and pieces of the much older African grassroots literatures composed in indigenous languages were siphoned into the stream of the 'African literature' through translation. For instance, Thomas Mofolo's *Chaka* has long enjoyed unprecedented attention throughout Europe and the United States, as well as in many parts of Africa, since F. H. Dutton translated it into English in 1931. The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that there are two streams of literature on the continent of Africa, namely the much older grassroots literatures composed in over 1,700 indigenous African languages spread throughout the continent, and literatures written in the languages of the former European colonial powers in Africa. Several African writers have written, are writing, and will continue to write in their own mother tongues. Similarly, there are African writers who have also written, are writing, and will continue to write in English, French, or Portuguese.

In January 2000, there was an historic conference of African writers and literary scholars in Asmara, Eritrea, on the theme 'Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the Twenty-First Century.' A communiqué that was issued at the end of the conference, tagged the 'Asmara Declaration', averred that the question of culture, literature, and languages cannot be separated from the economic problems of African countries created by colonial and neo-colonial forces and their local allies. Therefore, the ten-paragraph declaration charged in part that, "at the start of a new century and millennium, Africa must...affirm a new beginning by returning to its languages and heritage." Unfortunately, even nearly two decades on from the Asmara Declaration, the ongoing debates about postcolonial literature and society in Africa show that critical works on

African literature written in the languages of the former African colonial powers are still being pursued without any acknowledgement of the existence of a whole body of other literature written in indigenous African languages. For instance, George Kahari (1990) laments that his critical book on Shona novels – the outcome of thirty-five years of research work – is in a discipline in which he has been almost the sole contributor, and which has been ignored by the intellectuals of Zimbabwe. According to him, novels in Shona and Ndebele languages outnumber Zimbabwean novels in English nine to one, but when it comes to the number of scholars studying them, the ratio is reversed. This and other studies, which bear witness to the brilliance, variety, and profusion of African language writing, also testify to its marginality in the academic sphere.

The reasons for this situation, according to Barber and Furniss (2006), are not far fetched. They include, on the one hand, the “hyperprivileging” of European languages, and especially English – first as the language of a colonial power, now as the language of global communication – and on the other hand, the comparatively small size of most African language reading constituencies. Lying behind this, they argue, is a tenacious paradigm that divides Africa’s literary production into the oral, African language, and traditional on the one hand, and the written, European language, and modern on the other; a paradigm that renders African language writing invisible. In this paradigm, African language creativity appears only as an oral source on which European language written literature draws in order to achieve a distinctively African mode of expression.

Scholarship on African literature cannot continue to pay exclusive attention to literatures written in European languages while ignoring those written in African languages. African literary scholars should, as suggested by Gérard (1981), take the lead in this matter and set the pace by revisiting literary compositions in their mother tongues and by establishing themselves as the foremost authorities on the topic in the same way that Anglophone critics and scholars have established themselves as foremost authorities in the scholarship of English literature. Despite his lack of knowledge of the languages he was writing about, Gérard’s meticulous scholarship contributed significantly to the historical study of literatures in African languages. It is also to his credit that Gérard (1981: X) admits that “cogent critical comment on the works that have been written in their own languages” can only be made by “African scholars, for they alone are both able and entitled to offer” such comment. The 1987 Organization of African Unity’s Plan of Action for Africa states that:

Language is at the heart of a people's culture and [...] the cultural advancement of the African peoples and the acceleration of their economic and social development will not be possible without harnessing in a practical manner indigenous African languages in that advancement and development.

It is difficult to imagine the African writer today making a significant contribution to asserting the African people's cultural identity without having recourse to African languages. In fact, language is the only feature that presently gives African societies their cultural identity. However, writing in indigenous languages alone is not enough for the use of the African languages to be meaningful. African writers writing in these languages must extend their areas of interest outside the realm of literary creations. These areas include the struggle to give indigenous African languages a respectable standing in national ideological systems such as education. Writers also need to assist in promoting efforts to provide literary skills to the still illiterate masses of their individual countries. What use is it to write in Bambara, Gikuyu, Hausa, Swahili, or Yorubá when the majority of the audience the writer needs to address cannot read? We should also point out that writing in indigenous African languages alone does not necessarily produce good or committed literary work. In confronting all these challenges, good quality work in terms of both form and content is necessary to prove that, when it comes to literary creations, African languages are as good as any other language in the world.

Endnotes

¹ The subject matter is still attracting attention through conferences and publications today. Examples are the January 11-17, 2000 conference titled "Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the 21st Century" at Asmara, Eritrea and an international conference held at the University of Mainz, Germany, between April 17-20, 2004 on "Creative Writing in African Languages: Production, Mediation, and Reception." The premier journal on African literatures, *Research in African Literatures*, also devoted its Fall 2006 edition to critical essays on creative writing in African languages today.

² Swahili is spoken in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Zaire), Kenya, Tanzania (including the island of Zanzibar), and Zambia. Some writers like Ngugi and Sáyínká have suggested the adoption of Swahili as the African lingua franca because of its dominance in East Africa. However, Gabriel Ruhumbika (1992) calls attention to the resistance to such a suggestion by a few powerful and influential African educated elites who cling to the privileges reserved for those who know the European languages of the former colonial masters.

³ See, for instance, the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union)'s *The Language Plan of Action for Africa*. Council of Ministers Forth-Sixth Ordinary Session, Res. CM/Pes 1123 (XLVI) Addis Ababa, 1987.

⁴ Frantz Fanon explored the problem as early as 1959 at the Congress of Black African Writers in Rome, and later it became an overriding issue at the 1962 conference of writers of English expression at Makerere. Several African writers have also addressed the issue in print. For some of the different scholarly opinions on the language question in African literatures, see, for instance, the special editions of *Research in African Literatures* 23.1 (1992) and *African Literature Today* 17 (1991).

References

- Chinua Achebe, "The African Writer and the English Language," in *Morning Yet on Creation day: Essays*. First Edition. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 91-103.
- B.W. Andrzejewski, S. Pilaszewicz, and W. Tylock, eds., *Literatures in African Languages – Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*. (Cambridge: CUP; Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1985).
- Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literature*. London (New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Karen Barber and Graham Furniss, "African-Language Writing," *Research in African Literatures* 37(3) (2006): 1-14.
- Karin Barber, ed., *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).
- . "African-Language Literature and Post-colonialism," *Research in African Literature* 26(4) (1995): 3-30.
- . "Time Space and Writing in Three Colonial Yorùbá Novels," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 27 (1997): 108-129.
- Charles Bodunde, ed., *African Languages Literatures in the Political Context of the 1990s* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth (University) African Studies Series, 56, 2001).
- Onwuchekwa Jemie Chinweizu Chinweizu , and Ihechukwu Madubuike, *Towards the Decolonization of African Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Howard UP, 1983).
- Emmanuel Chiwome, *A Social History of the Shona Novel* (Kadoma: Juta, 1996).
- Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann, (New York: Grove Press, 1967 (edition used, London: Pluto Press, 1986)).
- Albert S. Gérard, *Four African Literatures – Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
- . *African Language Literatures: An Introduction to the Literary History of Sub-Sahara Africa* (Washington: Three Continents Press, 1981).
- George Kahari, *The Rise of the Shona Novel: A Study in Development 1890-1984* (Gweru: Mambo, 1990).
- Akinwumi Isola, "The African Writer's Tongue," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 17-26.
- Bíôdún Jeyifo, "The Nature of Things: Arrested Decolonization and Critical Theory," *Research in African Literatures* 21(1) (1990): 32-47.

- P. Daniel Kunene, "African-Language Literature: Tragedy and Hope," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 7-16.
- Mazisi Kunene, "Problems with African Literature," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 27-44.
- Penina Muhando Mlamba, "Creating in the Mother-Tongue: The Challenges to the African Writer Today," *Research in African Literatures* 21(4) (1990): 5-14.
- Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Polemics: The Dead End of African Literature," *Transition* 3(11) (November 1963): 7-9.
- Lee Nichols, *Conversations with African Writers*, (Washington, D.C.: Voice of America, 1981).
- . *African Writers at the Microphone* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1984).
- Oyekan Owómóyèlá, "Language, Identity, and Social Consciousness," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 83-94.
- K. Peterson, ed., *Criticism and Ideology: Second African Writers Conference*, (Stockholm 1986. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1988.)
- Gabriel Ruhumbika, "The African Language Policy of Development: African National Languages," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 73-82.
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedom* (London: James Currey; Portsmouth, N. H.: Heinemann, 1993).
- . *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: James Currey Ltd, 1986).
- . "On Writing in Gikuyu," *Research in African Literature* 16(2) (1985): 151-156.
- David Westley, "Choice of Language and African Literature: A Bibliographical Essay," *Research in African Literatures* 23(1) (1992): 159-172.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MORALITY VERSUS PROFESSIONAL OATHS: *ÌDÀÀMÚ PÁÀDÌ MÍNKAÍLÙ* AS A CASE OF STUDY

DEJI MEDUBI
UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

1. Introduction

In this paper, we want to discuss the role of Páàdi Mínkáílù (as portrayed in *Ìdààmú Páàdi Mínkáílù*) vis-à-vis his personality, his role in relation to other characters in the play, and his community at large. Since society is run according to certain principles of law, there will be cause to recall such laws and their functions in society. For a clearer picture, we follow Omoregbe (1987) for our definition of the terms morality, ethics, religion and law, as these are the kernels of this discourse.

To Omoregbe (1987:3-6), morality, ethics, religion and law can be seen in the unity that exists amongst those concepts. Thus he maintains that:

The relationship between ethics and morality is similar to the relationship between logic and thinking or the relationship between theology and religion. In each of these cases the latter is the basis of the former... Hence morality is the basis of ethics, the latter is the explicit reflection on, and the systematic study of, the former... Like ethics, law too deals with the norms of human behaviour. Both ethics and law are normative and prescriptive, and both presuppose human freedom. They are both concerned with how men ought to behave in society; they both prescribe certain kinds of actions and prohibit others. Ethics and law therefore have some basic similarities, but they also have some basic differences. In the first place ethics is wider in scope than law, for law itself is a subject-matter of ethics. Whether a law deserves to be obeyed or ought not to be obeyed is an ethical question; ...Ethics is the judge of law, for morality takes precedence over law and is itself the standard for law. Law is at the service of morality and dares not contradict morality without ipso facto

ceasing to be law and losing its right to be obeyed... Like ethics, religion is also concerned about the morality of human conduct, and both presuppose human freedom and responsibility. But religion is not primarily concerned with morality; the direct object of religion is not morality but worship, adoration through rites, prayers etc. Religion deals with morality only indirectly as a necessary condition for true worship; but not as its primary concern.

2. Synopsis of the play

The play *Ìdààmú Páàdì Mínkáílù* is written by Faleti, a prolific Yoruba writer. The play, though published in 1972, is relevant and will always be relevant to civil society.

Páàdì Mínkáílù, a Catholic priest, is appointed as a member of the Ejigbo town council by the State governor. This is done in order to forestall embezzlement and uphold accountability. No sooner is he appointed though than his problems start. Jubirilu, the Elejigbo, is the chairman of the council, Ajingòdò is the treasurer, Ibrahimu is a member, Yunusa is the financial secretary, while Salu, the Elejigbo's son, works as an office assistant in the council.

The council is to receive four thousand Naira from the headquarters in Ibadan for the construction of a bridge on the Aj8ng0d0 river. The money is brought to Ejigbo all in cash! Yunusa connives with Ibrahimu and Salu to rob the treasury. Setilu moves the money to the safe custody of Minkailu through his wife Saratu before the thieves could strike, but he gets shot and is assumed dead by his assailants. The timely arrival of Saratu and Minkailu saves the situation and Setilu is taken to the hospital at Ibadan. The money is returned to Ibadan.

Minkailu reports Setilu as dead. The people react to this report with mixed feelings. Salu goes to Minkailu to confess his sins before him and to pray for God's forgiveness. Police detectives move in to unravel those responsible for the crime. Minkailu wants Salu to confess and hand himself over to the police, but he refuses and implores the Reverend Father to do that on his behalf. Minkailu holds tenaciously to the tenets of his religion of Catholicism – where the confession of sins is top secret – as the Reverend Father is only 'God's representative on earth'. Minkailu is faced with a moral problem here, for to keep a sinner's secret is to be an accomplice in the sinner's crime. The gangsters implicate Jubirilu, who is arrested and detained for interrogation. Rafilu, who eavesdrops on the discussions of the marauders, is killed. Multiple deaths follow this before the situation is brought under control by the police detectives; only one of

the culprits – Ibrahimu – is brought before the law as the others are already dead.

3. The big question

Why did Minkailu allow the situation to degenerate to this level?

The silence of Minkailu is symbolic. This can be seen in light of the fact that he is a Reverend Father. His Catholic doctrine sees confession of sin(s) as sacred. Even though confession is done before the priest, he is only an agent of the Almighty God; he is an intermediary – a means to an end (forgiveness) and not the end itself. We may ponder: can forgiveness be achieved when the sinner covers up his sin? Can God be mocked? (cf. Galatians 6:6-7).

Minkailu is bound by the oath of secrecy of confession of sin not to reveal such confession(s), even at the point of death. However, we may ask, what is the justification for keeping an oath while he is an accomplice in or an accessory to a murder? That is the crux of the matter!

The tragic series starts when Salu approaches Paadi Minkailu to confess his sins (pp. 40-42) in the secrecy of the Reverend Father's courtyard. Having been granted his request, Salu kneels before Minkailu. Minkailu adorns his stole and they both make the sign of the cross before the confession.

It is clear that Salu has confessed his sins. He names his victim, Setilu, but would not mention the names of his partners in murder; despite the fact that he has confessed his sin, he is not alone in the crime. The Reverend Father is insistent and urges Salu to give himself up, but Salu is hesitant since he is under an oath not to name his co-offenders. Both Salu and Minkailu are under oaths of secrecy and allegiance to their different courses. One is prompted to ask, why wouldn't Salu give himself up and name the others? He would have broken an oath by so doing. This selfish oath is diabolical. That is why he insists that the Reverend Father should do it on his behalf (even though he is sure that the Reverend Father is bound by oath not to do so). Why wouldn't the Reverend Father give Salu up as requested in order to save the situation of searching elsewhere for the criminals? He too is bound by oath. What would have happened here if the police came to know the perpetrators of the crime from either Salu himself or Minkailu? The play would have ended here as all the culprits would have been arrested and convicted for attempted murder. Faleti does not want the play to end yet, as ending the play here would mean that it would not be a tragedy. Thus he makes Salu and Minkailu hold

tenaciously to their firm beliefs and their pledges. To both of them, belief supersedes morality here!

This leads us on to the interrogation of the suspects by the police detectives, Inspector Adegboye and Corporal Yesufu. The interrogation is held in Minkailu's courtyard as he is regarded as a man of God who would not ordinarily condone evil. Salu connives with the other suspects in his gang to implicate his father, Jubirilu (p. 60).

Salu has implicated his own father. This wouldn't have happened if either he or Minkailu had informed the police on time. When Salu is stayed with the interrogators for too long, Minkailu obtains permission to have a tête-à-tête with him. This granted, a dialogue ensues (pp. 61-62). Minkailu tries to prompt and cajole Salu into giving himself up to the police as the opportunity has presented itself. But Salu is wise enough to cajole Minkailu to help him do the confession. Salu is caught between two worlds – the law of the land and the wrath of his companions in crime. He cannot give himself up in order not to offend his colleagues in crime. He holds on firmly to his oath of allegiance, even though he believes he has killed Setilu. Minkailu, on the other hand, seems to be more flexible in his approach, since he is aware that the supposedly dead Setilu is still alive, and thus he tries to use persuasion. Salu is adamant though, and Minkailu will not break his own oath! This is a moral problem: a lack of courage to accept the consequences of one's use of one's own free will!

The attempt to interrogate the other suspects would not yield any further information, as the gangsters, Salu, Yunusa and Ibrahimu, collude and implicate Jubirilu. Jubirilu, the Elejigbo, is detained in Minkailu's courtyard for further interrogation after this. One would have thought that Minkailu would wade in at this point to save the head of the Oba by handing Salu over to the police, but this would have been difficult. The priest is in a dilemma. Salu regrets his actions which have implicated his own father, however he is reassured of his gains and safety by Yunusa (pp. 68-69).

Meanwhile, Salu's younger sibling, Rafilu, is suspicious of his nocturnal outings, coupled with the former's lackadaisical attitude towards their father's ordeal. Salu's mother invites Minkailu to help persuade him to clear himself from the insinuations going round town about his dubious conduct (pp. 71-75).

During their discussion, there are promptings from Salu and Minkailu who both claim ignorance before Salu's mother. They both conceal the secret, thereby lying. One may ask, is it morally right for any of them to lie at this juncture? Why would Salu not confess before his mother to save his father's head? Why would Minkailu not divulge Salu's secrets before his

mother to save Elejigbo's head? Moral laxity, of course! If Salu confesses now, this may lead to his arrest and, after a thorough interrogation, he may either name the others (thereby breaking an oath) or refuse to name them and suffer the consequences alone. It may even go further than that – if he is arrested, the others might try to get at him and silence him before he mentions their names. Salu at this juncture wants to use Minkailu as bait before his colleagues in crime. Minkailu, on the other hand, is prompting Salu to voice it out himself before his mother, so that she would report the news first hand to the police; Minkailu would then only stand as a witness and not as a direct link to the leaking of the secret. When this game of cat and mouse fails, Salu walks away and Reverend Father Minkailu departs on the note that everything would soon be all right.

The probing continues as Rafilu persists in setting posers before Salu. A meeting takes place at Salu's residence in Elejigbo's palace. This shows the extent of the gangsters' callousness and moral laxity. Their meeting has hardly commenced when Rafilu, who is assumed to have been fast asleep, burst in on them from where he has been eavesdropping. Rafilu is shocked at his findings and threatens to expose the bandits. In doing so, he bites off more than he can chew. He does not live to tell the tale of what he saw, as he is stabbed and murdered in cold blood that horrible night by one of the gangsters, Yunusa.

This is the first real death recorded, but the gangsters assume it to be the second, the first being Setilu's death. This death could have been prevented if Salu or Minkailu has been bold and truthful enough to inform the law enforcement agents appropriately. In this regard (by concealing this secret cum fact) they are both accomplices to murder, which is against the law. It is also morally wrong, but it is ethically justified by their professions, though to varying degrees; Minkailu is on the benevolent side, while Salu is malevolent.

Jubirilu is saddened by the death of his son, Rafilu, even though he is still being held in detention. He shows this in his lamentations before Minkailu (pp. 78-79), but all Minkailu can offer him is that everything should be left to God, the discernor of man's destiny.

Setilu is secretly brought from Ibadan to Ejigbo as he is recuperating. His wife, Saratu, is overjoyed to see her husband again. Jubirilu and Minkailu register their joy with Setilu also. A little while after this reunion, Jubirilu resumes his lamentations. He is gripped with mixed feelings and wishes his dead son, Rafilu, could come back to life like Setilu (p. 82).

Police detectives Adegboye and Yesufu set to work by experimenting with a powder to detect finger prints on the items at the scene of crime.

Having got wind of this device, the companions in crime, Yunusa, Ibrahimu and Salu, rush ahead of the detectives to wipe away the powder spread on the items. In the process, Salu is caught while the others escape (p. 83). Salu refuses to mention the others since they could not be recognised in the dark. The two detectives are taken aback by this development (p. 84).

Having shocked the detectives by his utterances, Salu is arrested and his father is informed about the development. Jubirilu's condition is worsened by this sad news. However, it is good news for Minkailu, who has been battling with his conscience since the day Salu made his confession before him. He is happy that Salu has been caught in the act at last, yet Salu holds on to his stance not to mention the others. Minkailu's relief can be seen in his utterances, when he starts to thank God profusely (p.85).

One may ask at this juncture, will Salu hold on until the end without mentioning the others? Shortly after this, the other culprits are arrested (p. 86). Yunusa and Ibrahimu maintain their innocence about the crime. This prompts Yesufu to reveal to them that one of their gangsters (Salu) who was arrested is still alive. The two rekindle their stand by requesting Salu be brought before them to testify in the case (p. 87). However, it is Salu's corpse that greets them when he is invited from his confinement! To Yunusa and Ibrahim, there is no case to answer since the purported witness is no more.

One is taken aback by this development. Was Salu tortured to the point of confession before the detectives? Was Salu poisoned by his colleagues in crime in order to seal his lips against mentioning them? Did Salu die as a result of mentioning them, hooked by the potency of his oath? The logical conclusion seems to be that Salu was tortured to the point of falling into a coma. This must have jolted him into naming the nameless (p. 87), while the potency of the oath binding them together must have paid him with death for his betrayal. Salu may have held on until the end if he had not been caught. But then, if Minkailu had given Salu up, would he not have confessed? Salu would have ended up the way he did if Minkailu had reported his confession to the police. This is so because of the potency of the oath (pp. 12-13). The only antidote to Salu's death is the concealment of the others. And if Minkailu had given Salu up earlier, he would have violated his professional ethics. Salu cringed at a point and died, while Minkailu held on tenaciously to his oath of office.

Meanwhile, Yunusa and Ibrahimu are happy and confident that the only witness that could incriminate them is no more. Infuriated by Salu's sudden and mysterious death, Adegbeye calls in the last of the witnesses:

Setilu, the supposedly dead council secretary! The two criminals, Yunusa and Ibrahimu, do not expect this (p. 89). The sight of Setilu confuses the whole situation, as only a few of them know that he is not dead. Knowing full well that the end has come, Yunusa would not leave without an accompaniment. Thus, he jumps at Setilu and stabs him in the chest before stabbing himself in the abdomen! After this, he shouts at Ibrahimu to do likewise before he passed on (p. 90).

Police inspector Adegboye is fast enough to grip Ibrahimu's hands, thereby preventing him from stabbing himself to death. Four preventable deaths have now occurred: Rafilu, Salu, Yunusa and Setilu. One could attribute Yunusa and Setilu's deaths at this stage to negligence on the part of the police detectives. The suspects should have been frisked to rid them of any dangerous weapons. The situation becomes pathetic as Saratu faints at her husband's death, while Salu's mother and father are in agonising pains, having lost two sons.

Physically, at this stage, only four deaths have been recorded. But the obvious conclusion is that many more deaths would follow. Ibrahimu is liable to be sentenced to death after conviction; Jubirilu and his wife are likely to die very soon, owing to old age and the pains of the deaths of their sons and their new state of childlessness; Saratu is likely to become insane and could die shortly after because of excessive worry. Thus, there are four other potential deaths that could be recorded after the original four!

Who is to blame for all these woes? Minkailu could have been arrested and prosecuted if he had established that Salu confided in him. Aside from this, he would have betrayed Salu and renounced his professional ethics and code of conduct as a Catholic priest who is God's agent, an arbiter between man and God. Will Minkailu's conscience be free henceforth, or will he continue to wallow in his own dilemma? Will the police detectives take the blame for Yunusa and Setilu's deaths which were caused by their negligence?

Epilogue

On the surface of the matter, or secularly, one is tempted to hold Reverend Father Minkailu as an accomplice to murder. He would be regarded as morally wrong to have harboured Salu's secret, and this action would have been termed conspiracy in law. The law of the land has no protection for a criminal or his accomplice. On these grounds, Father Minkailu is morally wrong and is guilty of being an accomplice and accessory before the fact, and even after the fact as he never mentions his knowledge of Salu's acts

even after Salu has been arrested; he even feigns ignorance when Salu's mother invites him to prevail on Salu to confess. If Minkailu had handed Salu over to the police, no deaths would have been recorded at all; only a jail sentence would have been passed on the criminals.

Considering the matter from a religious perspective, it is difficult to apportion blame to Reverend Father Minkailu. He is God's representative before Salu, and thus he couldn't have revealed Salu's secrets, which are revealed between him and God to other mortal beings. That is why he procrastinates and even employs the prompting gimmicks on Salu to confess his sins publicly. The fear of breaking his oath of allegiance to God drives Minkailu into a frenzy, holding onto the hope for so long that Salu would own up to his crime himself. Minkailu believes that he would shoulder the responsibility and suffer the repercussions alone if he gives up Salu. He would have failed his doctrine and creed of secrecy of confessions, and would have suffered the wrath of the Almighty! Therefore, Minkailu is blameless in this regard. Nobody except Salu is aware that Minkailu knows about the crime. Moreover, the knowledge only comes to light when Salu voluntarily confesses before him. If it were a situation whereby Salu was caught by Minkailu, it would have been easy for him to hand him over to the law enforcement agents.

The individual criminals – Salu, Yunusa and Ibrahimu – are to blame for the murders, while the police detectives are to blame specifically for Yunusa and Setilu's deaths, for their negligence and lapses in handling the criminals. This sequence of deaths qualifies the text as a classic tragedy. The message is on modern man's self-centredness.

We may ask, is this good for our society? Does this permit growth or progress? Does it breed injustice and retardation in society? Our responses depend on the individual's angle of perception of what morality, religion, law and professional ethics are both individually and collectively, on the one hand, and how the society views them all on the other hand.

The moral problems of Minkailu and Salu both emanate from their respective professions: priesthood (Minkailu) and robbery/burglary (Salu). Both exhibit human frailty; no one is perfect spiritually or morally. This is a pointer to the high levels of corruption in contemporary society. Is there any way forward? Will society ever strive to improve morally? The playwright seems to downplay this. His silence may be hinged on the fact that it is a societal problem.

Conclusion

Morality supersedes professional ethics in traditional African society (devoid of foreign influence on our culture). There is no basis for being an accomplice to a series of murders where no death would have otherwise been recorded. Concrete instances abound where priests of traditional African religions would even give up their wards in such situations in order to sanitise society. Consequently professional ethics would give way to morality, and priests would be forgiven when their ethics clash with morality, especially when lives are at stake. In this play, morality is relegated to the background by the recurrent actions of *Pààdi Minkáílù*.

Oath taking in a profession, for an African, must not go against societal norms, as it is not personal. The actions of *Pààdi Minkáílù* here are a representation of a foreign influence trying to recolonize us in an abridged form of imperialism. Foreigners take away our goods and tell us to look to our rewards not here on Earth but rather in heaven. To them, this earth can be desecrated, since it is not *our* home, it is only heaven that must be vigorously pursued for salvation. The human is alienated from his environment, only left to gasp towards the celestial. Western religion cannot suggest growth and development. It thrives on double standards. We must go back to our roots, though in a modified form.

References

- Faleti, A. (1972), *Ìdààmú Pààdi Minkáílù*, Ibadan: Onibonoje Press and Book Industries (Nig.) Ltd.
- Omoregbe, J. (1987), *Ethics: A Systematic and Historical Study*, Lagos: CEPCO Communication Systems Ltd.
- Nwosu, D. (1985) *Religious And Moral Education Methods For West Africa*, Enugu: Ochimba Press (Nig.) Ltd.
- Idowu, B. (1962), *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief*, Lagos: Longman Nigeria Ltd.
- The Holy Bible
- The Holy Koran

PART III:
CULTURE

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE REAL LIFE OF JÔNATAS CONCEIÇÃO (†): ILÊ AIYÊ'S POLITICAL, PEDAGOGICAL, AND CULTURAL INTELLECT

NIYI AFOLABI

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

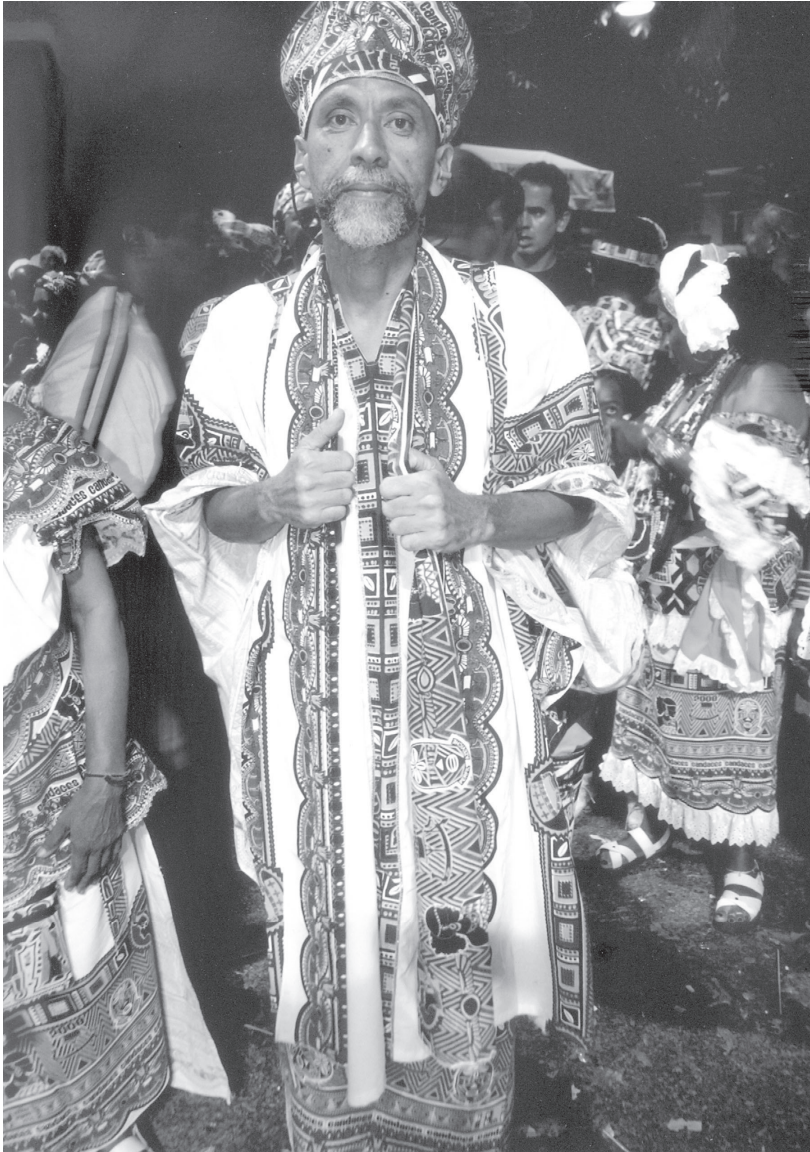
Introduction

The celebration of the living is an honor that the ancestral cannot fully appreciate. In the same vein, the departed must marvel at the futile frenetic wailings of well-wishers after a legend can no longer dance with the living. Professor Oyelaran's unique contribution to African languages, linguistics, African studies, and the African Diaspora now draws close to a golden jubilee. This introspective and retrospective study of the life and legacies of Jônatas Conceição, the "cultural intellect" of the Ilê Aiyê Afro-Carnival organization in Salvador (in Bahia, Brazil), is not meant to be a comparative parallel, for, as the Yoruba put it in their infinite proverbial wisdom, *ewe nla ko ni pada ru wewe*, that is, the magnanimous entity would never become the commoner. Yet, there are some parallels to be invoked for posterity. The term 'Ilê Aiyê' (House of the World) is a linguistic puzzle and may well be the metaphoric point of entry into the crossroads of linguistics, culture, politics, and philosophy of language. This essay examines the contributions of Jônatas Conceição to the Ilê Aiyê organization from the viewpoints of his role as the pedagogic director and editor of the series *Cadernos de Educação* (Education Notebooks), as well his own creative and cultural productions. Ilê Aiyê celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2014, and in echoing the significance of the organization in the emblematic persona of Professor Oyelaran, this essay celebrates both cultural and intellectual entities.

Festive and Pensive Jônatas Conceição



Jônatas Conceição During Carnival



This chapter weaves together the analysis of the *Cadernos de Educação* (Education Notebooks) series produced by Ilê Aiyê under Jônatas Conceição and the life of the author as a poet, educator, radio producer, and critic. “In his absence, we appreciate his presence even more.” This is the reflection that comes to my mind as I try to put on paper what Jônatas Conceição represents for the Afro-Bahian community he left behind on that fateful April 3rd, 2009. The closest parallel comes in the character of Domingos Xavier in a novella that gives the book its title, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, by the Angolan writer José Luandino Vieira. Having resisted colonial manipulations to get him to betray his people, Xavier was considered a hero by the end of the narrative, and his life was celebrated with a *farra* or a *feira* (party) rather than a funeral. In the middle of the party, the narrator states: “My fellow Angolans. A brother has come to say that they have killed our comrade. He was called Domingos Xavier and he was a tractor driver. He never harmed anyone, only wanted the good of his people and of his land. I stopped this dance only to say this, not for it to end, for our joy is great: our brother carried himself like a man, he did not tell the secrets of his people, he did not sell himself. We are not going to weep any more for his death, because, Domingos Xavier, you begin today your real life in the hearts of the Angolan people...”¹

Similarly, Jônatas Conceição is celebrated for his ideological stance against racial discrimination and all forms of racial injustice and inequality. This chapter examines the significance of Jônatas Conceição to the educational and ideological life of Ilê Aiyê. It is in the context of his position as Ilê Aiyê’s director of pedagogical extension that his overall literary and critical corpus and his import to Afro-Brazilian intellectual life, culture, and politics must be assessed and understood.

I first met Jônatas Conceição in 1998, at a send-off organized by Vovô in my honor. I had gone to Brazil to bring my son back with me to the United States. As a student of Afro-Brazilian studies, I had heard of Conceição in the *Cadernos Negros* circles in São Paulo where he was a contributor and a revered intellectual who pursued the ideals of the United Black Movement to the letter. When we were introduced at the party, I was surprised by his timid demeanor. Softly spoken and verbally virile at the same time, his response to my call for dialogue, based on the all-inclusive Afro-Brazilian project I was working on at the time, was a simple gesture of “this is not the right place to talk about me.” I understood then that, based on an informal hierarchy, the level of respect Ilê Aiyê’s directors had for Vovô was unmistakable. Talking about something other than what they had assembled to accomplish was inconceivable.

I postponed my interview until the summer of 1999. This time, I had sent postcards to all potential interviewees informing them of my estimated arrival time and the duration of my research visit. Conceição was in the group of writers I planned to interview for my book, *Afro-Brazilians*. I called him as soon as I arrived, and we agreed to meet at the former CEAO (Center for Afro-Oriental Studies in Salvador-Bahia) located in Terreiro de Jesus Square in Pelourinho. He had injured himself and was wearing a brace on his left arm. We had an initial conversation and proceeded to a full-scale interview at the *Casa do Benin* in Pelourinho, which had just opened a very Africanized restaurant where we ate from traditional African plates. Conceição spoke less of himself and more about his vision for his people: mental, social, and political freedom and an end to racial discrimination. He expressed his frustration at being unable to get into the university system as a professor, even after having earned his Masters degree and started work on his doctorate. Most of the privileged white professors in Bahian universities as we know them were not in any way better qualified, and though some of them admired him, they could not jeopardize their careers by lending him a helping hand. The interview session was emotional as well as political. I felt privileged that I was interviewing an intellectual who also saw me as privileged—he commented that I could afford to take him to a decent restaurant and figured that my ability to pay for our meal was part of the research/interview incentive, which, according to him, was not accessible to the Afro-Brazilian. I told him of my own personal sacrifices in researching a topic that would cost me twice as much and frustrate me twice as much as treating a popular topic such as Carnival instead of marginalized Afro-Brazilian writers. From that fortuitous interview, I came back to the USA with a psychological burden: how can such a humble intellectual be overshadowed by the politics of race and (il)legitimacy?

The answers to my queries came through delving into his creative works and critical writings on other Afro-Brazilian writers. Having been trained in Portuguese language and Afro-Brazilian literature and culture, he obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Bahia before serving as a radio producer for the State of Bahia. As a writer, teacher, and coordinator of the Pedagogic Extension of the Ilê Aiyê Afro-Carnival Association, Conceição assumed the responsibilities of maintaining and sustaining the educational sector of the organization by reforming the informational pamphlets into thematic booklets that capture the mission and character of every year's Carnival in the larger context of educating the community about African values. A scholar-activist by all conventional standards, Conceição was the author of a number of poems

and short stories published in various issues of *Cadernos Negros*, co-editor (with Lindinalva Barbosa) of *Quilombo de Palavras: A Literatura dos Afro-Descendentes* (2000), *Vozes Quilombolas: Uma Poética Brasileira* (2004), *Miragens de Engenho* (1988), and *Outras Miragens* (1989), as well as the author of many essays in journals and edited books such as *Afro-Ásia* 16 (1995), *Escravidão e Invenção da Liberdade* (1988), and *História da Sedução Inventada na Bahia em 1798* (1975), in addition to numerous issues of Ilê Aiyê's *Cadernos de Educação*. In synthesizing his work, it is clear that Conceição's passion was challenging the Western modernist and postmodernist projects that saw in the Afro-Brazilian a subaltern, a marginalized figure, a ghettoized entity in need of hegemonic help in order to shed his/her skin of precarious marginality. Instead of accepting these fallacious and racist assumptions, Conceição confronted the dominant paradigm by pointing out the values in the traditional gaze of the Afro-Brazilian when juxtaposed with colonialism and slavery. The primary center of formation for his ideals came from the radicalism provided by the MNU (United Black Movement).

The untimely ancestral passage of Conceição received many expressions of irreplaceable loss, solidarity, and condolences from many quarters of the Afro-Brazilian world. From Ilê Aiyê's February 2010 issue of *O Mundo*, *Jornal da Negritude*, *Jornal em Ação*, MNU, SEPIR, SEMUR, Quilombohoje and *Carnaval Ouro Negro* to other Afro-Carnival groups in Bahia such as *Olodum* and *Filhos de Gandhi*, the sentiment was the same: the Afro-Brazilian community had suffered a great loss that no amount of time could redress. He was described by Leonardo Nascimento thus: "Poet, radio producer, a doctorate holder in Literature and Linguistics from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), he was active in many groups in the struggle against racism and in the valorization of black identity and culture. Resident of Engenho Velho de Brotas, he embodies a profound linkage with his roots in Saubara, his fatherland which he appropriately invoked in 'Invisible Saubaras.'"² Conceição had been active in the black consciousness movement since the 1970s while still in São Paulo, where he participated in the first public declaration and manifestation that launched the MNU. When he returned to Bahia, he joined hands with other black intellectuals to reorganize and reconstitute the Bahia sector of the movement. He later joined Ilê Aiyê, where he helped to professionalize the educational sector by creating the *Education Notebooks* series, which not only archived thematic materials of Ilê Aiyê's annual Carnival, but also served as educational material to teach the community about Africa and the African diaspora. He worked closely with many activists, especially his long-time friend from Rio Grande do Sul,

Oliveira Silveira, who also passed away in 2009. At the very young age of 56, Conceição joined his ancestors and, to the living, he became an invaluable ancestral strength and vision to both younger and older generations.

MNU and Ilê Aiyê: Connections/Contradictions

Of all Ilê Aiyê's members, Conceição seemed to be the most experienced and active in the MNU. What the movement considers political rather than simply cultural – the subtle distinction between organizing protests and drumming to symbolize protest – was constantly a matter of ideological contestation for Ilê Aiyê, and the organization has always consequently been at odds with the criticism levied against its 'culturalism' as opposed to the political agitation that the movement stands for. In answer to a question posed by Charles Rowell, editor of *Callaloo*, which dedicated a special issue in 1995 to Afro-Brazilian literature, Conceição invoked the significance of Ilê Aiyê within the context of his own cultural production as well as the larger ideological mission that Ilê Aiyê set out to achieve side by side the MNU, despite their strategic differences:

ILÊ AIYÊ was founded with the goal of expanding African culture here in Brazil, and that simple goal becomes highly complex, in the sense that Brazil is a racist country and that it wants to exterminate anything of African origin. The issue of the control over production, over artistic creation, is no mystery; what there is, is a very strong and very powerful political determination to combat that Brazilian ideology that we blacks cannot have our own productions. To that end, a board of administrators was created. The people on this board are charged with creating cultural productions for the liberation and expansion of African values in Brazil. And this is to expand, to educate, to show that, in spite of all the marginalization, we have the conditions to produce good things. Even with all the Brazilian racist system trying to counteract our objectives.³

In this succinct description of Ilê Aiyê's mission is both the complexity of navigating the contradictions of the racist system that denies racism on the one hand, and the basic negation of African contributions through instrumentalities of the state on the other. The question then is how Ilê Aiyê counters this eliminatory, brutal, and violent posture of the state in order to achieve its otherwise noble vision of racial equality. Conceição refers to that strategy as a "strong and powerful political determination" to suggest that it takes a sense of will (that implicitly means by all means necessary or at the cost one's life) to bring down a system of hate and humiliation that has twisted the fate of many as they challenged the status

quo towards a sense of liberation. Conceição himself lived and died for such a cause—perhaps at the expense of his health and well-being.

A number of emergent studies have focused on the black consciousness movement from historical and cultural perspectives in recent years. From Hanchard's *Orpheus and Power*, Twine's *Racism in a Racial Democracy*, Butler's *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, Covin's *The Unified Black Movement in Brazil*, Daniel's *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States*, Afolabi's *Afro-Brazilians: Cultural Production in a Racial Democracy*, and Pinho's *Mama Africa*, each work provides a cogent but divergent opinion on the significance of Afro-Carnival groups such as Olodum and Ilê Aiyê. Seeing Carnival as a staged performance in the “lessons of memory, state, and culture”⁴, Hanchard argues that “symbolic inversions” which Afro-Carnival is seen to represent “rarely offer alternative formulations of how things could or should be, emphasizing instead the reversal of dominant-subordinate relations” (Hanchard 1994: 151). Hanchard could not be more out of touch with the reality on the ground, as what is considered “symbolic” is the only option left for socio-political mobilization. Twine equally evoked the Vasalian community she studied in Rio de Janeiro as one that is conditioned by the power of the Other, since they were simply invited to perform as an exotic African group during Carnival and paraded without any sense of incorporation, true participation, or inclusion (Twine 1998: 128). Rather than the symbolic simplification of Carnival suggested by Hanchard, Butler invokes the issue of religiosity that whites were mostly “threatened by” (Butler 1998: 171) due to the force of the sacred drums and rhythms. For Covin, the sensationalism of the newly created Ilê Aiyê during 1975's Carnival was a welcome manifestation of protest and provocation of the racist establishment, signaling the era of inevitable change whether acknowledged or not. Covin, maintaining the racial argument, subscribes to the “inferiority complex” associated with African ancestry (Covin 2006: 44). Afolabi queries the extent of participation within Afro-Carnival groups, especially Ilê Aiyê (Afolabi 2009: 159), while Pinho argues that the “uncentered notion of Africanness becomes unappealing” (Pinho 2010: 145) as it segregates more than unites. Despite these divergent observations, black consciousness remains the only empowering ideology that brings about change, whether its manifestation through Carnival is symbolic or not.

The ‘symbolism’ or ‘culturalism’ argument, which some activists within the MNU are victims of, is nothing short of myopia, and is clearly represented by Hanchard, a cogent political theorist looking in from the outside. When one considers the many years of police brutality and

violence against religious and cultural entities such as *Candomblé* shrines and *Casas de Samba* (Schools of Samba), episodes of imprisonment and confiscation of religious paraphernalia by the police, one can only appreciate the distances that organizations such as Ilê Aiyê and Olodum have come. Having been created within the *terreiro* (shrine), Ilê Aiyê is indeed considered by Vovô as a kind of Afoxé (such as Filhos de Gandhi), given the influence of Candomblé-infused chants, music, and dance rhythms. During an interview with Vovô in which the interviewer insinuates that the creation of Ilê Aiyê and the defiant parade of all-black groups may well be a strategy of confronting the system of past and present repression against religious groups, Vovô responds quite assertively that being black is something he was born with and that he did not need to go to school to be taught how to be black—unlike some MNU activists who criticized the culturalist approach of Ilê Aiyê:

I did not study to be black. I was born black, in a black family, with due family values within the household. When I studied at the Escola Parque in the Caixa d'Água neighborhood, there were about 5,000 students and it was dangerous to even accept that one came from a Candomblé household because at that time, to accept this was asking for trouble. And within the household, my mother (Priestess Mãe Hilda) taught us the importance of education, of being refined, of having character.⁵

The enactment of Afro-Carnival, in this regard, ceases to be a mere cultural performance and instead conjures up a series of elements of protest and revindication, since it provides the setting for displaying some religious manifestations that were once censored but are now masked under the pretext of a Carnival parade.

Conceição and Vovô do share a commonality that makes them more of a vortex in the representation of the Afro-Brazilian experience than individuals with separate missions. While Vovô grew up within a sacred institution (Candomblé) that was home for him for many years, he did not need to acquire the values of African identity by listening to speeches, whereas Conceição was a political-cultural intellectual who participated in the reorganization of the MNU in Bahia. Between the praxis of Vovô in the struggle for equality, and the theoretical and sophisticated discourse of Conceição, both appreciate what Vovô insists—that “we needed not get rid of tradition in order to be modern.”⁶ By that statement, Vovô was comparing Ilê Aiyê to Olodum in terms of how the latter has somehow managed to reorganize and commercialize while Ilê Aiyê continues to maintain its African traditions, losing money and potential sponsors in the process. Vovô decries these antipathetic groups as racist rather than

capitalist, and claims they would rather lose money just to avoid having anything to do with blacks, black organizations, or black communities. When seen in the context of the MNU, Ilê Aiyê and Olodum differ strategically in terms of their philosophy and how they want to be perceived by the community in relation to black consciousness. Santana's interview with Vovô clarifies this basic distinction, which led to Conceição's involvement in Ilê Aiyê rather than Olodum:

RS: What divergences do you have in relation to Olodum?

Vovô: Philosophy. Olodum disagrees with our philosophy. They even go as far as saying that our system is completely locked tight and hopeless. This whole criteria issue of not allowing whites to be members, of insisting on traditional African, Candomblé-infused music, of not including the so-called modern or funky instruments to make ourselves look more pop.... They started suggesting that we were backward just like our message as well. So, they wanted us to change and make "progress" since they saw themselves as more modern.

RS: Do you believe them?

Vovô: No. We need not lose tradition in order to be modern.

RS: Don't you think the fact of being less pop also impedes your commercialization?

Vovô: I think what is impeding us is our message, our philosophy.

RS: But isn't it worth trying to open things up to commercial possibilities?

Vovô: We need to see how far our vision takes us. What I am seeing is that Olodum started off like a compressed engine and is now decompressing. It is now returning to call itself an Afro-Carnival group and it is concerned about having better relations with the black community, because it is coming to terms with its initial illusory appeal and current disillusionment.⁷

It is in this sense that Ilê Aiyê differs from Olodum, and likewise Conceição distinguishes himself as one of the intellectual voices that helped Ilê Aiyê to maintain and articulate its educational and political-cultural missions more aggressively and convincingly.

In his contribution to an edited volume on slavery and freedom in Brazil, Conceição focuses primarily on the case study of the black consciousness movement in Bahia, in which he was not only very active but also decisive. Evoking Miriam Alves' poem titled "MNU" as an epigraph, a part of which is worth quoting as follows, the cultural-political

theorist sets up what could be seen as a poetic preface to the United Black Movement or the MNU:

I know:
 —there was a knife
 traversing the eyes
 filled with hopes
 there was a burning iron
 toasting the backs
 maintaining the struggles
 there were strong repressions
 censoring the order
 of words.⁸

Structured within a militant and activist discourse, Conceição traces the emergence of the Afro-Bahian Carnival in the context of the black consciousness movement of the 1970s. It combated racial discrimination through allegories invoked in the Carnival music, costume, and ideology of the *blocos afro* and *Afoxé*. The *blocos afro* were considered to be cultural entities, while the politics were connected to the militant arm of the movement—hence the debate between the culturalists and the politicists, in which the former were seen as passive while the latter were considered ‘activists’. Regardless of which position the reader takes, Conceição convincingly situated Ilê Aiyê as a movement, even before the movement, based on its ideals and political agitation, brought about racial equality and justice to Afro-Bahians and Afro-Brazilians in general.

Conceição’s article historicizes and analyzes the formation of the MNU in Bahia, drawing upon the practical public acts that informed the foundation of the movement in its decisive moment in 1978—especially in São Paulo. Divided into two main parts – namely, “The Violent Beginnings” and “Black Movement in Bahia” – with an appendix itemizing the declarations of contestation and resolutions of change that were adopted by the MNU membership, the tripartite essay provides the fundamental essences that nourished the movement and the variations of the different members, whether they were culturalists or activists. As a preamble, Conceição cites certain decisive events in São Paulo, such as the publication of Cuti’s *Poemas de Carapinha* in 1978. *Cadernos Negros* published its first issue of the series in the same year, while the black consciousness movement was created on June 18, 1978, a movement that was second only in its national dimension to the Frente Negra Brasileira. The first part lists the different acts performed in solidarity with the MNU, especially the decisive act of 1978 in which 500 people read an open letter of protest against racial discrimination in front of the Municipal Theater:

“Today we are on the streets in a campaign of protest! A campaign against racial discrimination, against police oppression, against unemployment, underemployment and marginality. We are on the streets to protest and condemn the miserable conditions of life in the black community. Today is a historic day. A new day begins for blacks. We are leaving the meeting rooms, the conferences and we are going to the streets. A new stance has been taken against racism.”⁹

The different groups that came together for this public act of protest included the CECAN (Center for Black Culture Black Art), the Cultural Association of Brazilian Youth, the Afro-Latin American Group, the Afro-Brazilian Grandchildren of Zumbi Group, and entities from other states such as Bahia, Pernambuco, Pará, and Rio Grande do Sul. The celebration of this singular act by Conceição was significant locally as well as nationally, with ripple effects felt by the entire black population in Brazil and in the Pan-African world.

The second part of the essay, focusing on Bahia, draws a comparative parallel with São Paulo while detailing the specifics of the Bahian experience of the MNU. In São Paulo, the manifestations were strictly political with protesters distributing pamphlets and making public proclamations in public squares. In Bahia, the protesters adopted cultural strategies as a means to arrive at the political goal of racial equality. For Conceição, the movement’s experience in Bahia was three-pronged: the cultural, the political, and the gendered coexisted without any contradictions towards the same goal of putting an end to racial discrimination.

Drawing on the case study of Ilê Aiyê (which was founded in 1974, four years before the creation of the MNU itself), Conceição argued that despite two different strategies, the objective was the same. Ilê Aiyê consolidated its cultural and political agenda within three years of its existence (by 1977), during which the membership quadrupled to approximately 1,000 Carnival paraders. Paulinho Camafeu’s song “*Que bloco é esse*” (What group is that?) was an instant success and has become almost a classic in the organization. From the viewpoint of the cultural-political divide, Ilê Aiyê has grown to become an enterprise that is self-sustaining for the most part while seizing every opportunity for partnership with foundations, businesses, and city or government entities. Beyond the gendered polarities and inequalities that fragmented the black consciousness movement, the association has made significant strides in the correction of social inequalities that are predicated on racial discrimination. In his own practical life, Conceição embodied the crucible

of politically and culturally grounded affirmative activities without any contradiction.

In another article, which focuses more specifically on Ilê Aiyê and is courteously dedicated to Vovô, Conceição revisited the significance of the organization from the viewpoint of black consciousness and the lyrics of its musical performance during selected Carnival years, namely 1989 and 1991, the years preceding the 500th anniversary of the ‘discovery of the Americas’ by Columbus. The year 1992 was celebrated worldwide from different perspectives. For Conceição, it was an opportunity to assess the history and resistance of the Afro-Bahian Carnival groups, especially the significance of Ilê Aiyê. “*O Querer é o Eterno Poder*”¹⁰ (The Will is the Ultimate Power) captures the strategic essences of Ilê Aiyê as it navigates the waves of racial oppression, exclusion, financial deprivation, and deliberate non-recognition of Ilê Aiyê’s contributions by the state, especially within the context of the now blatantly faulty Brazilian ‘racial democracy’. Conceição’s title, taken from one of the four musical cuts selected and analyzed (“*Revolução*” by William Reis), serves as a rallying call to encourage activists that Ilê Aiyê is emblematic of the black struggle.

In the foregoing historicism of the black struggle, Conceição affirmed that the exclusion of blacks from political and economic power was a systematic process that dates back to the slave trade, followed by the ideology of whitening which silenced blacks under the threat of political genocide, propagated and applied by white elites in order to ensure the mental and physical control of blacks, even after the abolition of slavery. During the slavery era there were a number of resistance efforts, such as the actions of the Quilombos which Zumbi dos Palmares is often credited with, while in the post-abolition era, there was the Revolta da Chibata (resistance against corporal punishment of black naval officers) followed by the Frente Negra Brasileira, which actually formed a political party until it was banned by the military dictatorship in 1937. One other source of resistance was the cultural resistance of the *escolas de samba* (samba schools) in Rio de Janeiro. Overall, these political and cultural manifestations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were significant but were also subject to the strategic manipulation of white elites who commercialized these activities in order to take control of their production and marketing.

When Conceição turned his attention to Bahia, Ilê Aiyê was once again his theoretical and contextual reference. In Conceição’s view, Ilê Aiyê was influenced by the Black Power movement in the United States, by the newly independent African nations, and also by Candomblé, through

which the organization established its fundamental operational paradigm and its ideological objectives. These were as follows: (i) black solidarity; (ii) respect for the black woman; (iii) veneration for Africa-derived religious traditions; (iv) improvement in black self-esteem; (v) affirmation of black aesthetics in terms of the informal teaching of African history and culture through lyrics embedded in Afro-Carnival music; and (vi) redress the imbalance in the teaching of Afro-Brazilian history and culture, which has been distorted through Eurocentric pedagogy. Conceição's analysis is systematic and informative—first providing a context before moving on into a textual analysis, which he then recapitulates in an affirmative conclusion.

The four musical cuts have been carefully selected from the two years of Carnival in which the themes concerned revolutions and resistance, namely, *República de Palmares* (1989) and *Revolta dos Búzios* (1991). As is to be expected, the two songs “*Separatismo não*” [Not about Separatism] by Caj Carlão and “*Negros de Luz*” [Illuminating Blacks] by Edson Carvalho (or “Xuxu”) are dedicated to Zumbi dos Palmares, since the 1989 theme was the celebration of the Republic of Palmares, which was led by Zumbi. In both songs, Zumbi is deified and mythified while his values are seen to reverberate in the Ilê Aiyê organization. The two other songs reference the 1991 Carnival theme, which was the Revolt of the Cowries. Both songs evoke the symbolic sacrifices of Ilê Aiyê as parallels to the sacrifices of those black leaders who demanded civil rights, similar to the French Revolution of 1789, and who were consequently decapitated in Praça de Piedade to please the Portuguese Crown: João de Deus, Luiz Gonzaga, Lucas Dantas, and Manoel Faustino. Jônatas deliberately selected these revolutionary and militant songs to celebrate Afro-Brazilian heroes who paid the ultimate price to fight racial discrimination in Bahia. Through these seminal analyses and succinct historicism, Jônatas's radicalism and dedication to black struggle are unmistakable.

Hidden Treasures: *Cadernos de Educação*

In 1995, coincident with the 21st anniversary of Ilê Aiyê, the organization launched what has become a formidable series: *Cadernos de Educação*, that is, Education Notebooks. Before this historic moment, pamphlets were printed to familiarize potential revelers and the community with pertinent information about the theme of each year's Carnival. Yet, before the series, reports from research on a given country on the Carnival's theme were issued every year and disseminated among the board of directors as well as those who would be involved in such events as the Festival of

Music and the Night of Ebony Queen, in order that contestants could also familiarize themselves with the theme. The addition of Conceição to the board of directors in the 1990s was a prudent decision because he brought a wealth of experience from the MNU and a coveted background in radio, literary criticism, and creative writing. While records of previous years are scant, a few of the pamphlets are still accessible through individual directors—such as the 1993 Carnival theme edition that was based on Black America, which I was fortunate to secure from one of the directors. Since its inauguration in 1995, the series has become a household collection that helps researchers, students, and cultural centers alike when they desire information about African countries as well as the African diaspora. As the director of the Pedagogic Extension of Ilê Aiyê, Conceição coordinated the gathering and dissemination of information on Carnival as it relates to Africa and the African Diaspora. In exploring the different contents and possibilities of selected issues, we analyze their parallel connections with the individual ideology and personal mythology of Conceição so as to see the totality of the man in the context of the cultural production of Ilê Aiyê.

The politics of educational notebooks and education in Bahia—as it relates to the distorted images of Afro-Brazilians and their African history—calls for a close examination of each selected issue. Now in its fifteenth year, the series has acquired a status of its own as a document that not only informs interested parties of the yearly Carnival themes but also educates the community about the black experience all over the world. This brings a certain measure of pride, confidence, educational leadership, and cultural capital as Ilê Aiyê takes a leading role in educating the community and the world about what makes Africa so rich and worth connecting with—as opposed to the many years of distortion in which Africa or blackness was associated with barbarity, ignorance, poverty, violence, or wars. A quick survey of the fifteen years since the formal inception reveals the following themes: Organization of Black Resistance (1995); Bantu Civilization (1996); Black Pearls of Knowledge (1997); Guinea Conakry (1998); The Energy of African Roots (1999); Land of Quilombo (2000); Africa: Fertile Womb of the World (2001); Malês—The Revolution (2002); Route of Drums in Maranhão (2003); Mãe Hilda Jitolu: Spiritual Guide of Faith and of African Tradition (2004); Mozambique Vlutare (Knowledge) (2005); Blacks and Power (2006); Abidjan-Abuja-Harare-Dakar (2007); Candaces: Queens of the Monroë Kingdom (2009); Pernambuco (2010); and Minas Gerais (2011).

Considered a precedent to the educational curricular law 10639/03, enacted in January 9, 2003, the series ensures a continuum of African

cultural history and legacy that references ancestry in the education of the descendants of Africans and their children who have long been separated physically from their motherland. The inclusion of Africa in the curriculum has always been one of the missions of Ilê Aiyê. The Brazilian government has lagged thirty years behind Ilê Aiyê's vision in beginning to even contemplate such a proposition. In this regard, Ilê Aiyê, along with coordinators such as Conceição and Lurdinha who were entrusted with the research and publication of the series, have set an enviable visionary record that must not be reversed under any circumstance. The elaborate illustrative designs provided by J. Cunha¹¹ also add an aesthetic dimension to the series that was not present in previous pamphlets. The *Cadernos de Educação* series has definitely reached a point of consolidation and archival permanence in the annals of Ilê Aiyê. Over a long period of time, such a concerted effort on the part of Ilê Aiyê is bound to have some implications for children gaining access to information they would not ordinarily have, as well as the ultimate implications for racial equality and pride.

For the purposes of this analytical survey, I limit myself to seven issues, namely *Black Resistance Organizations* (Vol.#1 [1995]); *Revolt of Cowries* (Vol.#7 [2001]); *Africa: Fertile Womb of the World* (Vol.#9 [2002]); *Malês: The Revolution* (Vol. #10 [2003]); *Blacks and Power* (Vol.#14 [2006]); *Abidjan-Abuja-Harare-Dakar* (Vol.#15 [2007]); and *Candaces: Queens of Meroe Empire* (Vol.#16 [2008]). The appropriately titled *Black Resistance Organizations*, the first volume of the series, published in 1995, made a statement on the value of history for children and their future, setting the tone and justifying a more serious publication venture. The three-part, 32-page booklet has a bibliography and is interlaced with images of palm trees and community living reminiscent of freedom settlements, broken chains evoking freedom from slavery, warriors and their leader, musical instruments, and other symbols of solidarity and black beauty that summed up the ideals of Ilê Aiyê and other *blocos afros* such as *Filhos de Gandhi* and *Apaches do Tororó*. This first issue in the series was indeed a “manifesto” of the black experience in Brazil.

The booklet opens with Ilê Aiyê's self-imposed mission of “training men and women with full citizenship rights in order to share in this country's political power and process”.¹² The issue focuses on religious and political organizations, including freedom settlements (*Quilombos*), which represent a piece of history, and the trajectory and contribution of Ilê Aiyê in this process. Naturally, Ilê Aiyê is given more space as it celebrates its 21st anniversary. For four centuries, religious entities, under

the threat and reality of repression and imprisonment, served as resistance organizations to keep alive African traditions and religious beliefs. Among the honored and identified groups are the black sisterhoods and *Candomblé* temples. As far as the freedom settlements are concerned, Zumbi dos Palmares is identified and honored by providing his biography from a conscious perspective rather than a Eurocentric view of him as a victim and terrorist. As the narrative notes, “Zumbi dos Palmares won many battles by masterfully deploying the rules of the jungle”.¹³ *Black Resistance Organizations* synthesizes, as the title suggests, all the values that define being Afro-Brazilian—from the hardship of slavery to the triumph of emancipation as well as the continued efforts to bring about racial equality and political participation.

The assessment of the first issue would be incomplete without evaluating the musical section that has become something of a signature for the series. Based on the 1995 Carnival, which marked Ilê Aiyê’s twenty-first year, and navigating the thematic varieties of the twelve songs that capture those long years of growth and maturity, I found “*O Charme da Liberdade*” quite invigorating. This song evokes the eighteenth anniversary, a symbolic year of liberation when youthfulness must end and yield to growing pains and expansion. Yet instead of an expression of pain, Ilê Aiyê invites all interested parties to join in the historic phenomenon that the organization has become as the pride and ‘charm’ not only of the physical space called “Liberdade” but the significance of the meaning it embodies—freedom. Urging passers-by not to disrupt a special moment for enjoying the beauty and rhythm of Ilê Aiyê, the poetic voice reaches out and enumerates the emotional, cultural, aesthetic, and political significance of the organization that makes everyone want to pause and participate: “*Não me pegue não / Me deixe à vontade / Deixe eu curtir Ilê / O charme da Liberdade / ... Quem não curte não sabe / O que está perdendo / É uma felicidade / Que o Ilê vem trazendo / ... Quem não agüenta chora / De tanta emoção / Deus teve o imenso prazer / De criar esta perfeição*”¹⁴ [Don’t touch me / Just let me be / So as to enjoy Ilê / The Charm of Liberdade / ... Who does not enjoy it can never appreciate / What s/he is missing / It’s all about happiness / Which Ilê brings to you / ... Who could not take it / Cries so emotionally / God had the greatest pleasure / In creating this perfect work]. True to the enchanting view of Ilê Aiyê when it moves and swings among the people as it passes through the streets of Salvador, this song is an appropriate homage befitting of a twenty-first anniversary.

Revolta dos Búzios (Revolt of Cowries) represents the seventh volume of the series. Although it was deployed as a Carnival theme in 1991, it was

only published in 2001 in the new series. As an issue celebrating the bicentennial of the decapitation of four Afro-Brazilian national heroes, namely Luis Gonzaga das Virgens, João de Deus do Nascimento, Lucas Dantas de Amorim Torres, and Manoel Faustino dos Santos Lira, it represents an emotional evocation of an historical moment that is more accusatory and political than informational. The front and cover of the booklet plays on colors that reference mourning (black), danger (red), and illumination (yellow), as if suggesting that while we mourn their unjust execution, we should also remember the violence and brutality of that moment of history. In a 43-page, three-part document complete with a bibliography, *Revolta dos Búzios* revives the history of Afro-Brazilian revolutionaries who have been neglected even by eminent historians such as João José Reis, author of *Rebelião dos Malês* (Malê Rebellion). In the late eighteenth century, the Bahian colonial government was suspicious of some educated parts of society who had been influenced by the French Revolution of 1789, and who distributed pamphlets in public squares asking for “freedom and equality” well before the abolition of slavery. About 50 suspects were arrested, of which 33 were duly processed and only five—all Afro-Brazilians—were found guilty of fomenting trouble in the colony. One of them, Luis Pires, was never found; the other four were sentenced to death by hanging on November 8, 1799. By Antônio Jorge dos Santos Godí’s account,¹⁵ the most humiliating scene beyond the hanging was the public procession that followed from Terreiro de Jesus to Piedade Square.

In the second part of the booklet, the discourses of the decapitated heroes are documented by a number of historical records such as the bulletin “*Aviso ao Povo Bahinence*” (Notice to the Bahian People) along with ten others which have been edited in Luis Henrique Tavares’ text *História da Sedição Intentada na Bahia em 1798*. Other related historical documents include *Autos da Devassa do Levantamento e Sedição Intentados na Bahia em 1798* and *Devassa e Sequestros*—all available in Rio de Janeiro’s National Library. “*O Hino da Revolta*” (The Revolt’s Hymn) and Affonso Ruy’s *Primeira Revolução Social Brasileira* contain extracts of the sentences as well as declamations by some of the revolutionaries. Of all these vital documents, the “Notice to the Bahian People” and “The Revolt’s Hymn” are worth analyzing, not only due to their poetic frames but because they echo voices from the French Revolution: “Oh men who were born free, in order to enjoy / the good benefits of Freedom; Oh you people who live / flagellated with the full power of the indignant king / this same king who has created you; this same tyrant king / is the one who remains in power to vex you, to steal

from you and / to maltreat you. / Men the time has come for your resurrection, / yes for your resurrection from the abyss of slavery / for you to raise the Holy Flag of Freedom.”¹⁶ It is remarkable that in the same booklet, the voices of all four condemned and executed heroes are heard in similar tones of protestation and indignation, thus sealing their fate but also paving the way to freedom for future generations.

In “The Revolt’s Hymn”, as well as the songs composed by Ilê Aiyê for the 2001 Carnival in honor of these heroes, namely “*Revolução*” (Revolution) by William Reis and “*A esperança de um povo*” (The People’s Hope) by Reginaldo Sacramento, a commonality emerges in the revulsion and bitterness of the people against the tyranny of the colony. While “The Revolt’s Hymn” evokes “Equality and Liberty / In the sanctity of reason / Beside Saint Justice / Fill up my heart”¹⁷, “Revolution” insists that it takes perseverance in order to obtain power, as in the lyrics “Black struggle / always existed / in Liberdade, Curuzu, Bahia, Brazil.”¹⁸ “The People’s Hope” echoes the motto of the French Revolution as adapted to the Bahian colonial reality: “The hope of the people / is to live in a better world / Freedom, Equality, Respect / I want rights without prejudice.”¹⁹ Whether it is the hymn or the songs, the desires of the executed heroes are echoed in the ideals of the French Revolution which calls for freedom, equality, and fraternity. In addition to the historical record, the documented discourses of the heroes, the lyrics of the songs, and the illustration by J. Cunha are equally evocative and provocative. This is seen, for example, in the creative connection of the four heads to a cross as if they form the crossroads Bahia has arrived at; a decisive moment for its people’s freedom, when the decision has to be made whether to keep quiet or to act for the benefit of the people. The ultimate sacrifices notwithstanding, the four heroes remain today in the imagination and psyche of Afro-Brazilians, courageous and convinced individuals about the imperative of freedom.

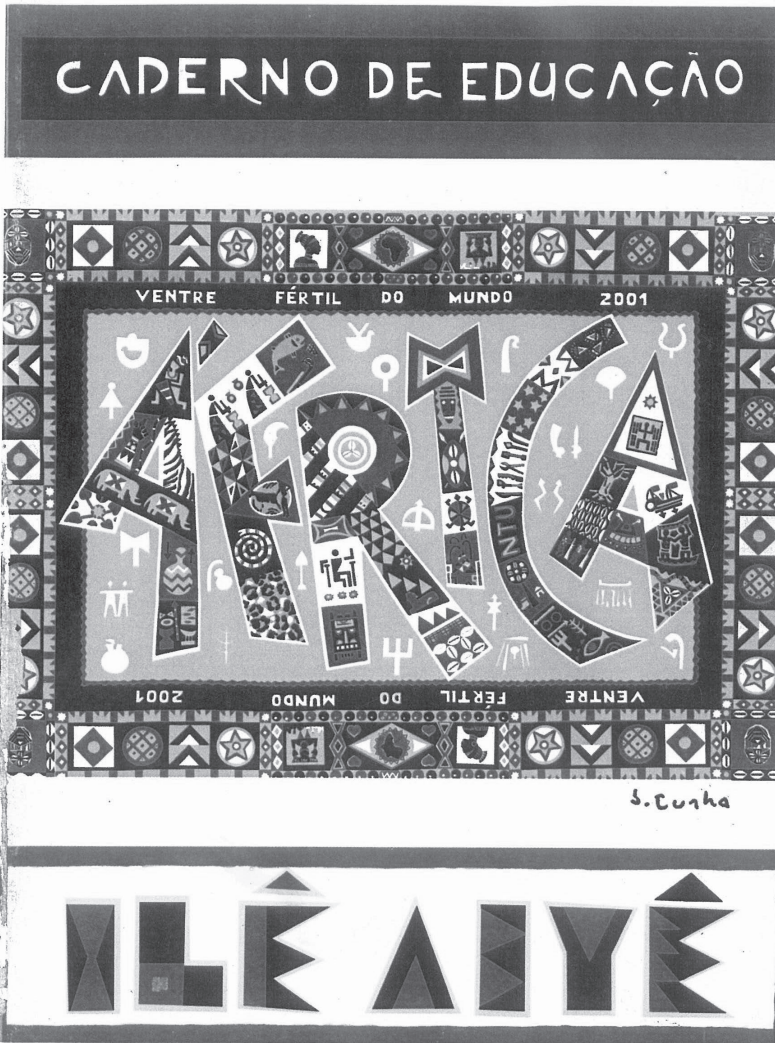
Revolta dos Búzios’s Artistic Rendition (Carnival 1991)

One of the most appealing texts of Ilê Aiyê explores the 2001 Carnival theme of “Africa: Fertile Womb of the World”, which became the ninth volume of the series and was published in 2002. Beyond the distinct elaborate composition that inserts Africa in the center with details of African motifs and symbols, it also details the history and cosmologies of Africa. A forty-two page booklet, divided into twenty-three sections including a bibliography, serves as a primer for anyone interested in a general introduction to African civilization. The illustrations by J. Cunha

are particularly striking: from the Egyptian queen Nefertiti with the three pyramids in the background to the baobab tree of life and storytelling, Africans are as depicted as a constantly migrating people. The wisdom of the elders is captured in the sitting and reflective statue; other images are of an African market scene and an Africa cursed with the arrows of war. The document offers a rich tapestry of the essences and vestiges of African history and mythology. Some of the topics highlighted in this overview of African culture include the main ethnic groups, African religions, Islam in Africa, African spirituality, African rituals and ceremonies, African languages, oral traditions, and community justice. The text concludes with the remark that African people's symbolisms represent a way of life that is not similar to any other people. These symbolisms may be expressed with terms meaning tenderness, value, and ancestrality. In sum, Africa is vibrant because it is a remarkable example of survival, dignity, and self-preservation.

Of the many songs paying homage to Africa in this booklet, "*África Mãe*" (Mother Africa) by Valfredo Reluzente seems to capture the motif of the "fertile womb", as the song traces the Egyptian beginnings that have enriched the African continent. What serves as a refrain also connects Ilê Aiyê with its role as a mother in relation to Bahia and Brazil as it propagates African culture through its activities: "*África mamãe / Ilê Aiyê África / África mamãe / Que sempre vai gerar*"²⁰ [Mother Africa / Ilê Aiyê Africa / Mother Africa / Which will also reproduce]. When compared to the 1993 Carnival pamphlet before the inauguration of the *Cadernos de Educação* series in form and content, the distinction is crystal clear in the details, as motifs from past Carnival themes are re-inscribed in the 2001 theme. The ancestral mask motif of the 1993 Carnival theme also evokes the permanence of the past even in the present.

2001 Carnival



1993 Carnival



Often referred to as the Malê rebellion of 1835 in Bahia, and interpreted on the cover of the tenth issue of the series in 2003 by J. Cunha as a half-faced defiant-looking mask, the booklet is a forty-four page document with a bibliography, a worksheet, and artistic interpretations of all the ethnic groups (Hausas, Fulanis, Tapas, Nagôs, Ewês, Fons, and Mandigas) that participated in the rebellion. Images of resistance, maternal strength, solidarity and resolve all contribute to make the volume a complete narrative. Items are treated thematically and cogently, and include the history of the revolution itself as cited in the seminal work by João José Reis, *Rebelião Escrava no Brasil* (1978), symbols of Islamic influence in Bahia, the place of leadership, and the concept that those who seem to be hidden and trampled upon will ultimately overcome the odds against them. The rebellion was strategically planned and well-organized; information about the decisive moment was kept secret by the few main leaders, namely Ahuna, Pacífico Lucitan, Sanim, Manoel Calafante, and Elesbão do Carmo (Dandarâ). The idea was to launch the rebellion on a symbolically important date in the Islamic calendar—during Ramadan, which is considered to be the moment when Allah imprisons bad spirits in order to organize the affairs of the world. January 25th 1835 was the 27th day of Ramadan, the “Night of Power” and the “Night of Glory”. Contained in Sura 97 of the Quran, and referred to as *Quadr*, it states: “*Revelamos o Alcorão na Noite da Glória. / Quisera soubessem vocês como é a Noite da Glória! / Melhor que mil meses é a Noite da Glória. / Nessa noite os anjos e o Espírito tem/ Licença do Senhor para descer com seus decretos. / Essa noite é de paz até o romper do dia.*”²¹ [The Quran, unveiled on the Night of Glory / If only you knew, what the Night of Glory is! / Better than a thousand months, it is. / On this night, angels and the Spirit have / Permission to descend with their decrees / This night is peaceful until daybreak.]

Such a persuasive verse of the Quran must have energized the leaders as well as their converts in staging the most devastating assault against the Bahian colonial regime. Although the rebellion was eventually crushed and most of the rebels killed, others were exiled to Rio de Janeiro where they later settled and created the Samba as a song of lamentation and melancholy—widely recognized today as a popular style of Brazilian music.

Planning the rebellion was a concerted effort between the Malês or enslaved Muslims and other African ethnic groups, which brought solidarity among the rebels. They saw the rebellion as an opportunity to set themselves free. João José Reis argues that if they had been successful, the group would have overturned white power and hegemony and installed

a black government. Bi-racial and brown-skinned people were seen as guilty by association, and were spared in the assault. For Reis: “The movement was defined primarily as a rebellion geared towards killing whites. ‘War against whites,’ ‘kill the whites’ and other similar expressions were quite frequent in the depositions of imprisoned Africans. Neither browns nor biracials were given so much attention as the Malê insurgents in 1835.”²² A song in homage of the rebellion, “*Grito de Vitória*” (Victory Shout) by Dico and Jajai captures the essence of the event as symbolic of a liberation struggle that has not yet received sufficient attention, even as Afro-Brazilian history is being re-written and revised by the political efforts of Ilê Aiyê. Praising the courage and efforts of these ‘freedom fighters’ (rather than decrying them as insurgents), the song eulogizes the rebels and encourages the continuation of their revolution: “Ilê brings the past into the present / The courage of black Muslims / from African origin /... The Malês rebellion / echoed his victory shout / Pacifico Licutan / came into history / And today Ilê Aiyê carries high / the cultural banner of the Malês / during Carnival / Searching for equality, I will / Make protests and manifestations / While there is life there is hope / Let’s target freedom my brother.”²³

Through Carnival, Ilê Aiyê has become the strategic archival and historical repository of Afro-Brazilian history. When compared to the freedom settlements often called “maroons” or “Quilombos” the Malê rebellion can be seen as an effort not to run to the hills in order to establish a freedom settlement, but instead as a ploy to take over the state that was oppressing and enslaving them. Though Afro-Brazilians have sought freedom through different means, the divergent strategies to achieve the same goal cannot be mistaken or unnoticed in both troubling contexts.

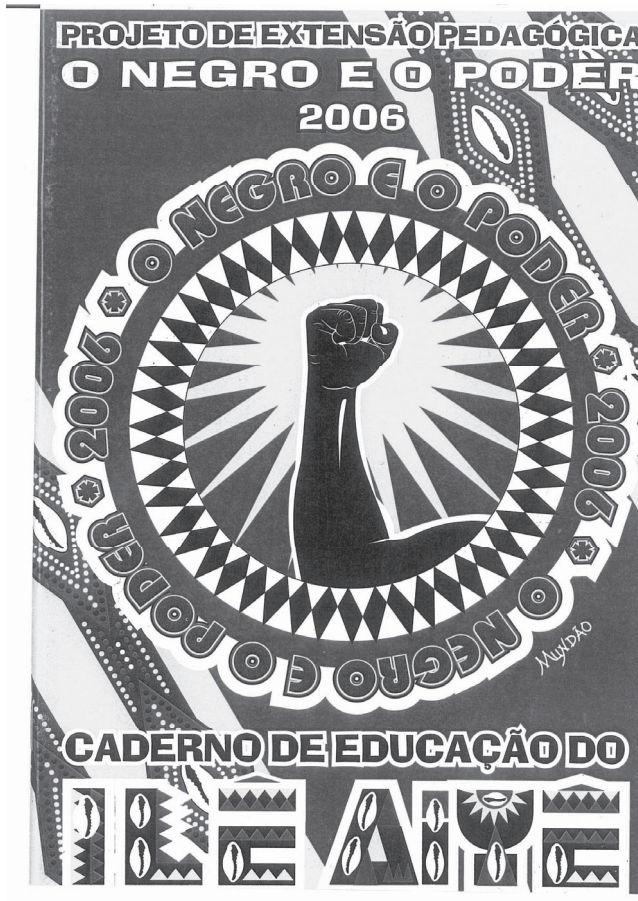
2002 Carnival, 2000 Carnival



The ideology of Black Power propelled Ilê Aiyê into global cultural politics as early as 1974, and made it the leader of Afro-Carnival politics in Bahia and Brazil. In 2006, Ilê Aiyê selected the theme of “Blacks and Power” as its Carnival theme, which it also published in the series as Volume 14 in the same year. In paying homage to select African, Afro-Brazilian, and Afro-diasporan heroes and heroines, the organization suggests that Afro-Brazilians have come of age. Its cover, illustrated by J. Cunha, features a clenched fist—the “black power” sign. This edition is the most voluminous of the series to date, and provides bio-personality profiles of twenty-six such heroes along with a poetic anthology and a bibliography. The catalogue of dignified names include Ganga Zumba, Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, Steve Biko, Thabo Mbeki, Mãe Hilda Jitolu, Abdias Nascimento, Gilberto Gil, Vovô, Edvaldo Brito, Matilde Ribeiro, Ubiratan Castro, Luiz Alberto, Reginaldo Germano, Valmir Assunção, Maria Santana, Gilmar Santiago, Benedita da Silva, Pelé, Ivete Sacramento, Arany Santana Santos, Neuzaz Maria Alves, Col. Nancelio Ribeiro, Col. Santana, and José Carlos Veneranda. Of these names, it is noteworthy that the figures not only include revolutionaries and politicians but also musicians, pilots, flight attendants, naval officers, pilots, captains, spiritual leaders, educators, and ministers. Accompanying each personality profile is a portrait that embellishes the narrative, along with other images of Afro-Brazilian life. Of the seven songs by various Ilê Aiyê singers, ranging in their thematic concerns of Afro-Brazilian energy, sacred territory, black joy, equality, and affirmation of power, “*O Movimento*” (The Movement) by Dico and Jaijai provides a comprehensive exposé of some of the celebrated heroes, highlighting their accomplishments and stressing their contributions. Starting with Ilê Aiyê, the song praises the organization for its posture of resistance toward racial discrimination: “Ilê Aiyê brings the theme of Blacks and Power / To raise our awareness that winning is possible / The struggle against discrimination / distinguishes personalities / Of a traditional society / Which fought for its dignity / Despite racial prejudice. / ... Blacks sing, dance, and make strides / Good to see the drums beat / This gracefulness that multiplies the race / Is found in the sympathetic nature of Ilê Aiyê.”²⁴ Conceição sums up the significance of this issue in his preface, where he contextualizes the significance of Black Power within Ilê Aiyê: “This theme contemplates dignitaries from various epochs and places. From Ganga Zumba in Palmares, through African leaders, up to the current black Brazilian leaders. All of them are examples that dear readers, along with your talent, you will help us preserve the memory of our people so that in our day-to-day living, we can pursue the power we want and deserve in this

country.”²⁵ The quest for political power must not be seen as a static venture, but as a series of processes that ultimately provokes irreversible actions and reactions toward victory. As in most of the issues of the series that Conceição coordinates, his role goes beyond mere editorial orientation to the extension of an ideological vision in which the constraints of empowerment instituted by governmental structures of racial prejudices are countered by strategic counter-hegemonic devices bent on ridding Afro-Brazilians of the trauma of slavery and the subtleties of racism in the post-abolition and postmodern eras.

The 2006, 2004, 1999, and 1997 Carnivals



In 2007, Ilê Aiyê chose select African capitals, namely “Abidjan-Abuja-Harare-Dakar”, as the theme of its Carnival. Published as Volume 15 of the series that same year, the 48-page booklet provides brief histories of African nations and capitals. Prefaced by a number of articles, namely “Rebirth and the Right to Dream” by Jônatas Conceição, “Affirmative Action and the Process of Black Identity Construction in Brazil” by Kabengele Munanga, and “Abidjan, Abuja, Harare, and Dakar: Ah! Salvador, If you Could be Like This” by Maria de Lourdes Siqueira, the document is an homage to African countries through the celebration of these capital cities. Aside from a detailed exposition of each country and the specificities of each capital city, two songs capture the aesthetics of these cities in comparison to Bahia with a lament that “If only Salvador could be like these cities!” “*Os Cinco Destinos*” (Five Destinies) by Menelik Kiluange and George Sales notes the collective nature of the struggle: “This struggle is not mine, it’s ours / It is the rebirth and the right to dream / ... I am Ilê Aiyê, the vital force of the race / That passes and is unforgettable / Attracting the whole crowd in a procession of victory / ... Abuja, Abidjan, Harare, Dakar / Models of life for me / Ah! Salvador if you were like this.”²⁶ Though one of the songs laments Salvador for not being like the African cities mentioned, the other draws on the happiness that Bahia offers in order to bring about a balanced perspective of Salvador: “Africa, Ilê Aiyê greets you / Salvador the dream of a more equitable city / ... Black Bahia, Salvador, my darling / Land of happiness only lacks having a black in power.”²⁷ Ilê Aiyê succeeds in calling attention to the development of African cities as a way to transform Salvador and propel it to greater heights. In this regard, Ilê Aiyê becomes an ambassador at large for African and Afro-Brazilian cultural affairs.

In the sixteenth issue of the series, Ilê Aiyê returns to the celebration of black women, as it has done with its major events such as *Semana da Mãe Preta* (Black Mother Week), *Deusa do Ébano* (Ebony Queen), and the *Noite da Beleza Negra* (Black Beauty Night), by selecting the subject of “Candaces: Queens of the Meroe Empire” as its theme for 2008. By its very topic, there is a sense of a high level of pride and self-esteem—elevating black women to the level of queenship. In the 62-page, seven-part booklet that includes a bibliography and worksheet, a historicism of African Queen Mothers is conducted, from Egypt, Cush, and Meroe to Axum and Ethiopia, all the way to black Brazil. Nefertiti and Cleopatra are honored, as well as Afro-Bahian queens such as Mãe Hilda Jitolu, Leci Brandão, Gaiaku Luiza, Dete Lima, Lélia Gonzalez, and Ruth de Souza. As Vovô states in his preface: “Our intention in this Education Notebook is to showcase the importance of black women to the history of humanity.

This is why we took a journey to our ancestral past when Africa boasted of many precious black women—the Candaces—who had the power of negotiation, cultural and political power. Ilê Aiyê wants to update this history with you by equally narrating the life histories of contemporary Brazilian Candaces and a group of other women.²⁸ The detailed exposition of the ancient queens and civilizations indicates that African kingdoms used to boast sophisticated civilizations in which women were empowered and powerful.

In the case study of songs, most of the poems portray African women as powerful and valuable. Of the eight songs, most are focused on individual personalities such as Dete Lima, Nzinga, and a host of other powerful African women, but the most representative lies in “*Valiosas Mulheres*” (Valuable Women) in which the theme of Carnival is well synthesized and documented: “Queen mothers, committed courageous warriors / Women always distinguished in the corridor of power / Meroe Empire to Southern Egypt begins Nubia / Sun Temple, Kingdom of Axum from Nefertiti to Akhenaton /... Beautiful blacks, blacks in beauty / Are so beautiful and sensual / Very rare species to see / Candaces-queens of Ilê Aiyê / ... Height of Pigeons, popular movement, black feminist women / The community comes first, struggle, struggle, struggle...”²⁹ This volume places African and Afro-Brazilian women on a pedestal so that the community can better appreciate who they are in terms of their heritage. Additionally, it seeks to overcome some of the frustrations that often cause division among MNU activists when it comes to women as well as the issues of marginalization and double standards. By making the appreciation of black women a communal endeavor, every black woman becomes a queen, a diva, a deity by default. Considering the legacy of slavery—the brutal violation of black women, their forced participation in the mutilation of their own bodies and those of their children, and their obligation to nurse the children of their masters while their own children starved—this critique of the place of women in a racist society indicates Ilê Aiyê’s resolve to serve as a spokesperson for black women in Brazil. When these issues in the *Cadernos de Educação* series are considered in their implications for the racial equality that Ilê Aiyê has spent four decades trying to achieve, Conceição’s legacy within Ilê Aiyê may well be seen as the consolidation of that objective and beyond. For example, he works on his own individual creative and academic concerns towards the liberation of not only his own soul but the mass of the people who continue to be subject to a white world’s standards of humanity and equality.

PROJETO DE EXTENSÃO PEDAGÓGICA ABIDJAN - ABUJA - HARARE - DAKAR AH! SALVADOR SE VOCÊ FOSSE ASSIM



CADERNO DE EDUCAÇÃO DO

ILÉ AYÊ

Intellectual Contributions: *Miragens*³⁰ and *Vozes*

Jônatas Conceição da Silva locates himself principally within Bahia with his two volumes of poetry, which capture the paradigmatic essence of the “*engenho*” (plantation) in its modern manifestation, which are called *Miragem de Engenho* and *Outras Miragens*.³¹ The poems collected in *Miragem de Engenho* were written between 1978 and 1984, while those in *Outras Miragens* were written between 1985 and 1988. Unlike *Miragem*, which is a shorter collection, *Outras Miragens* is divided into three parts: *Notícias do Engenho* (Plantation News), *O Sopro da Vela* (The Breath of the Candle), and *Domínio das Pedras* (Mastery of Stones). In a poetic structure reminiscent of Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Manuel Bandeira, Conceição’s poetry is very economical in form and language. In both collections, the poet evokes, dialogues, describes, reflects, and above all, interrogates. His politics lie in graceful silence articulated in cautious communication on the white pages. The pages are not filled with words alone, but with images and dialogues arrested between the need for articulation and the desire to be silent—a forceful interaction of tensions between hesitation and determination. The three prefatory notes by Beatriz Nascimento, Oliveira Silveira, and Anamélia de Araújo Dantas attest to the maturity and refinement of Jônatas Conceição as well as to his place in the Black Movement. As Silveira appraises: “*O Jônatas silencioso, operoso, cabeça consciente e madura, um dos militantes mais sérios do movimento negro do país. [...] Nas Miragens de Jônatas, o cuidadoso trato da palavra equilibrando consciência e emoção. Botando poesia na roda. Coisa prá gente saudar com palmas e tambor.*” (1989: 11-12) [Silent Jônatas, operative, conscious and mature, one of the most serious militants of the nation’s Black Movement. [...] In “Dream” [*Miragens*] by Jônatas Conceição, the careful treatment of the word balances conscience and emotion. Putting poetry within the circle. Something we should embrace with applause and tambourine].

The tripartite construction of *Miragem de Engenho* may be categorized thematically: autobiographical reminiscences, as in “*Notícias de Engenho*”; spiritual reflections, as in “*O Sopro da Vela*”; and philosophical introspections, as in “*Domínio das Pedras*”, where the poet examines the conflict between individual will and social forces. “*Engenho*”, or plantation, is a powerful trope for the living quarters of poor urban Bahians—Salvadorians in particular—a revitalized setting that used to be the location of slave labor in the production of sugar cane. Be it in Engenho Velho de Brotas or in Engenho Velho de Federação, the atmosphere of squalor and urgency, coupled with abundant poverty in the

midst of plenty, translates the way of life of a people used and abused by the fangs of old slavery and new forms of economic stagnation and deprivation. The notion of the “*miragem*” (mirage) of the Engenho captures both the colonial machinery of exploitation in the plantation as well as the analogy drawn with the pathetic modern living conditions. It takes a native poet to perceive the various mirages that Bahia offers, as if the poet were a seasoned traveler who observes landscapes and looks ahead, knowledgeably, into the unknown. In “*O Engenho*” [The Plantation], the poet provides the social and economic history of slavery and the legacy of its name: “*engenho velho*” [old plantation]. In a contrasted poetic triad of plantation-new plantation-old plantation, Da Silva sums up the history of how the new locality came to be known as such. From the arrival of the Portuguese who owned the plantation, through the slaves who constructed the plantation, and the ex-slaves who now live in the former plantation—the poorest sections of Salvador—Conceição locates the setting of his poetic engagement: Salvador-Bahia.

The “*Notícias do Engenho*” [Plantation News] section contains poems which capture memories of childhood—from family fraternal wishes, school pranks, to lost love and creative contemplations of death. “*Meus Oito Anos*” [When I was Eight Years Old] is a mirroring of the poet as seen by the poet through a photo portrait documenting his eight year old frame: “*uma tarja no peito / uma gravata borboleta / uma camisa amarelada / uma seriedade virtualíssima... / O retrato na parede. / Imagem do imemoriável, / daquilo que foi / Jônatas Conceição da Silva*” (1989: 41). [A stripe in the chest / a bow tie / a yellowish shirt / a virtual seriousness... / The portrait on the wall. / An immeasurable image, / of what used to be / Jônatas Conceição da Silva]. Within his childhood reminiscences, the poet critiques the poverty and misery that characterize Engenho dwellers through a black sense of humor, where the contrasts between a river and a gutter take a new meaning: “*Onde eu nasci não passa um rio, / passa um rego. / Refletindo toda miséria margeada*” (1989: 40). [Where I was born flows no river / Flows a gutter. / Betraying all the hidden misery]. But the consciousness of the social does not debar the poet for remembering moments of passion, such as his visit to an old love in “*Visitação*” [Visitation] where he peeps into the household of his ex-lover only to discover another lover. Likewise, the poet pays homage to his father in spite of their difficult communication, which often takes place in unusual moments as in “*Comunhão*” [Communion]: “*Velho, sei como é difícil / dizer-te estas coisas. / Nunca fomos afeiçoados / a falar, a amar*” (1989: 51). [Old man, I know how difficult it is / to tell you these things. / We were never enthusiastic / about speaking, about loving]. In

“*Verdejante*” [Green Traveler], the poet finds consolation for his mortality, but demands specific funerary treatment in the form of a green coffin, a symbol of an immortal tree planted by the living. All the poet wishes is to be watered “*nas manhãs de sol*” (1989: 44) [on sunny mornings]. The entire first section is a mix of memories and reflections, as if there is no real separation between the perspective of the youth remembered and that of the adult remembering. Like an interlude, “*O Sopro da Vela*” [The Breath of the Candle] addresses the spiritual dimension of Bahia, of life, and of the poet as he evokes images of ironic supplication. An example of this is in “*Estampas de Saubara*” [Impressions of Saubara], where various normalized absurdities and immoralities are ridiculed and even desired in a strange mix of nostalgia and indignation. The entire section reflects on the passage of time and on the significance of December as the month of passion and renewal, and of an end which signals a new beginning. It is a month of purification, full of festivities, sacrifices, and reunions. Parodying an epigraphic poem of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, “*O último dia do ano / não é o último dia do tempo*” [the last day of the year / is not the last day of time], the poet plays on the varied and ambivalent Portuguese usage of “all” men of the world (*homens todos*) and all men from “all” over the world (*munho todo*) in order to suggest the universality of December as in “*Porque É Dezembro*” [Because it is December]. As the title suggests, the “breath of the candle” symbolizes the ephemeral nature of life, as captured in the month of December. Like the candle, the year comes to the end of its life, and in order to continue to have light, there is a need for another candle, another year, for life to continue. For the poet, life, like the burning candle, is a breeze and a breath at the same time—providing light while having the potential to become total darkness. Conceição’s playful use of time and day-night duality causes this section to represent a break from the past and a projection into the future. Like Drummond, Conceição appreciates the brevity of life just like he has faith in the many possibilities time offers. The extinction of the burning candle is not necessarily the end of its life but an opportunity to light another candle. The candle then serves as a spiritual metaphor for life and time.

The premonition of a philosophical end is already set in motion in the previous section dealing with the brevity of life. “*Domínio das Pedras*” [Mastery of Stones] takes its inspirational clues from Drummondian use of the metaphor of “*pedra*” (stone) in one of his modernist poems: “*Tinha uma pedra / no meio do caminho / No meio do caminho/ Tinha uma pedra*” [A stone there was / in the middle of the road / In the middle of the road / there was a stone]. Like Drummond, the stone functions as a trope

for obstacles in one's way during life's daily routines, adventures, and challenges. In order to master life, one must be able to play with many stones—to learn to use them as an opportunity for growth, to move them away from one's path, and in some cases use them to construct a new path.

Conceição's title is not only philosophical, it is also spiritual. Biblically, Peter (or Pedro), whose name translates as 'stone', was the 'cornerstone' of Jesus's ministry. Indeed, Jesus was quoted as saying "upon this rock, I will build my Church"—a reference to an unshakable foundation. Jesus Himself was referred to as the "Rock of Ages," that is, One who is everlasting. Within this multiplicity of meanings, the trope of 'stone' is ambivalent at best—gearing simultaneously towards an obstacle, as in "*Lapidação*" [Lapidation], as well as towards a necessary quality of the preacher when he delivers the 'Word of God' with passion and rapier-like penetration to effect the transformation of the mind and of the soul, as in "*Domínio das Pedras*" [Mastery of Stones]. It is in this sense that the consciousness of the poet is betrayed, for "stones" here are synonymous to the words spoken with divine inspiration—just like the poet's. As the title poem of the third section confirms, the preacher masters his skill with words even before he mounts the pulpit. The art of preaching is described as words falling in silence, worked and reworked with elegance and precision, in order to achieve their final objective—the conversion and salvation of the soul. The clues of Church as context lie in the silence, the hesitation of lovers to hold hands, and ultimately, the conclusion of the poetic voice that: "*No domingo / o domínio das pedras / era absoluto*" (1989: 62) [On Sundays / the mastery of stones / was absolute]. With poetic skill, Conceição plays on the ambivalence of the stone. On the one hand, the preacher had absolute mastery of his words, and on the other, the audience, for that moment, also had control over their worldly stones—their cares or obstacles—and solace is provided by the preacher through his mastery of the Word. The poet, in this sense, is like the preacher.

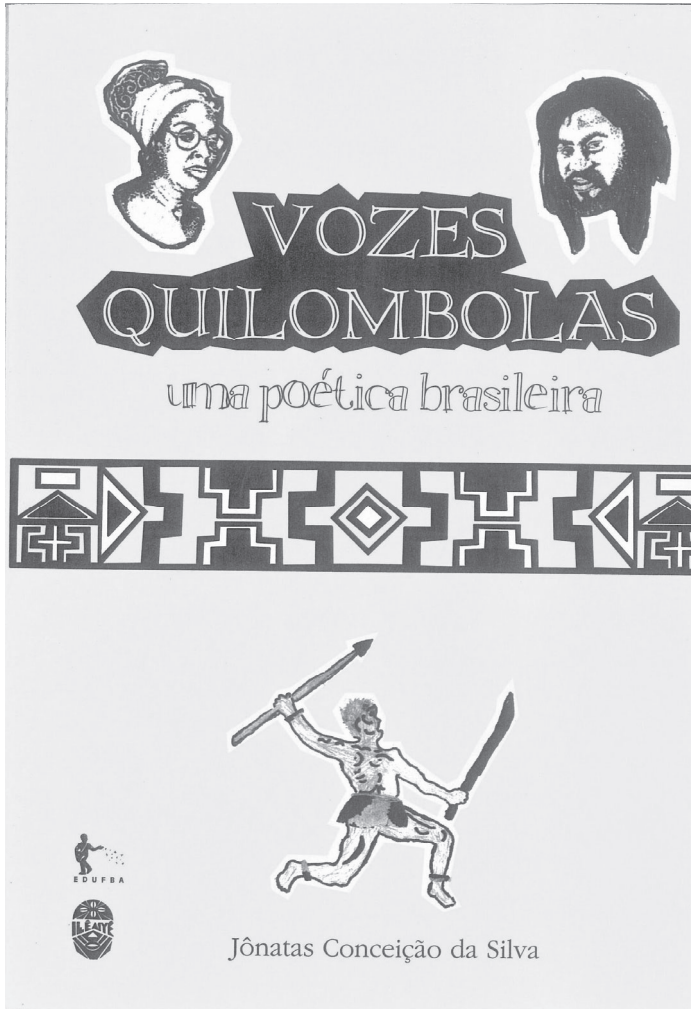
Other allegories within the "mastery of stones" include the notion of the inscription of stones as a measure of remembrance, as in "*Itapira Revista*" [Itapira Revisited]. Traveling down memory lane without being on location, the poet contemplates and revisits a beloved city with its music, noise, drums, and black percussionists. 'Stone' then becomes a form of naming and identity, an evocative consolation for a nostalgic spirit paying homage to his favorite city: "*Daqui agora / resta-me o peso do teu nome / que ficará sempre guardado / em sílabas-pedras cravejadas*" (1989: 63). [From here now / All I have left is the weight of your name / which will be kept close to heart / in intercalated syllables-stones].

While *Exu*, the God of the crossroads, is usually associated with duality and ambivalence, in “*Zumbi e Senhor dos Caminhos*” [Zumbi is the Lord of the Roads] it is instead the comparison to Zumbi that is an homage to freedom, given his role in resisting slavery and oppression, and the bravery of setting up a ‘free’ community that welcomes slaves who chose freedom at the risk of losing their lives. The mythology of Zumbi goes far beyond Afro-Brazilians, for heroism is only desirable in a society that requires such in order to be considered a normal being. In this sense, the evocation of Zumbi translates into a well-deserved eulogy for a martyr who gave his life for the betterment of the condition of all black people, which Da Silva captures in these emotive words: “*tua firmeza de propósito / de amor e liberdade / pela raça*” (1989: 64) [the firmness of your proposal / of love and freedom / for the race].

Written over the three years leading to the centennial celebration of the abolition of slavery in 1988, *Outras Miragens* follows the style and sensitivity of *Miragem de Engenho*, where childhood memories combine with spirituality, religiosity, and political commitment, yet differs in the poet’s excursions to other parts of the country—especially São Paulo—thereby providing a contrast to his confined location in Engenho Velho in Salvador. In addition, a number of poems from *Miragem* dialogue with those in *Outras Miragens*, such as “*Verdejante*” with “*Odôia!*”, “*Minha Máquina de Bater*” with “*Minha Máquina de Bater Again*”, and “*Meus Oito Anos*” with “*8 de Dezembro*”. These reflect a certain evaluative maturity and an (un)conscious rewriting/revisiting of poems written by an unsatisfied poet in search of constant perfection. But there are also constants for the poet, such as his penchant for the quotidian, as in “*Meu Primeiro Calçamento*” [My First Shoes]; for the trivial-historical, as in the homage paid to the old streetcar in “*Naquele Tempo Tinha Bonde*” [At That Time There Was a Streetcar]; for the neological, as in “*Caosnaval*”, which combines the chaos of Carnival with the pleasure of flesh in its poetry; and for the cinematographic, as in the poet’s impressions of the contradictions of São Paulo in its gigantesque presence in the mind and vision of a Northeasterner who is both awed and critical in “*Poema da Maioridade*” [Poem of Bigness]. In “*Hai-Kai Pró L.B.*” [Hai-Kai for L.B.], Conceição seems to be paying homage to Lima Barreto, a nineteenth century bi-racial writer who assumed his blackness as opposed, to Machado de Assis who denies his. I suggest that the acronym refers to Lima Barreto due to the content of the poem, which claims to be “jealous of destiny” and refuses to hate. Knowing the troubled life of Lima Barreto and his struggle for acceptance in spite of his brilliance, the realization that he was excluded from his profession of journalism due to the color of his

skin would be enough grounds for hate, but since destiny varies for all, jealousy may be a milder sentiment than hate. Instead of hatred, Conceição's poetry captures the love of the poet for fellow human beings and identifies with the disadvantaged, the privileged, and the heroic alike, singing to them with feeling and protesting their plight, as in "*Canto de Amor ao Homem do Samba Batatinha*" [Love Song to the Potato-Styled Sambista] which honors a Samba singer: "*Seu canto, nosso canto / vem da profundeza do coração / da dor*" (1989: 28). [His song, our song / comes from the innermost part of the heart / in pain].

Beyond his ideological, creative, and cultural passions, Conceição is also a literary and cultural critic. His *Vozes Quilombolas: Uma Poética Brasileira*, published jointly by the Federal University of Bahia Press (EDUFBA) and Ilê Aiyê, exemplifies a socially committed intellectual vested in the political, economic, and spiritual advancement of his people. Florentina Souza describes the work as an embodiment of "some significant moments in the appropriation of the image of the *Quilombo* (freedom settlement) in Brazilian letters."³² The book's cover is striking. In addition to the militant posture of the warrior-like African textile motif dividing the top and lower sections, the images of Mãe Hilda Jitolu and Vovô occupy strategic top corners, as if the book was dedicated to them. As a co-publisher, Ilê Aiyê's emblem is also inserted on the lower left corner along with the EDUFBA logo. The book is divided into three chapters, in which Conceição historicizes and evokes *Quilombo* in Afro-Brazilian culture while conducting case studies of the same conceptualization in the lyrics of Ilê Aiyê's Carnival music, in the Education Notebooks series, and in the poetic work of Oliveira Silveira. The elaborate analytical rigor with which Conceição engages the lyrical work of Ilê Aiyê shows a sense of dedication and pride in the organization that he has helped to shape and advance. Conceição's vision of culture reflects on his contribution to Ilê Aiyê by forcefully setting its educational agenda towards community empowerment and enlightenment. Likewise, his cultural vision comes through in his participation in all the different facets of preparing for and parading during Carnival. As a multivalent intellectual whose values intersect between the cultural, the political, and the pedagogical, Conceição has occupied and will continue to occupy a special place in the black consciousness movement, as well as in the spirits of his comrades and colleagues in Ilê Aiyê. It will forever be difficult to fill the void he has left, but through his works and memories, he lives on in the hearts of the people.



Endnotes

- ¹ See José Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier* (London: Heinemann, 1978), 84.
- ² See *Jornal em Ação* of July 10, 2009, 1.
- ³ Charles Rowell, “Interview with Jônatas Conceição”, *Callaloo* 18.4 (1995), 775.
- ⁴ Michael Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1994), 150.
- ⁵ Rosane Santana, “Interview with Vovô,” *Carnaval da Bahia: Um Registro Estético* (Salvador: Omar G., 2002), 114.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.
- ⁸ Cited in Jônatas Conceição, “História de Lutas Negras: Memórias do Surgimento do Movimento Negro na Bahia,” *Escravidão e Invenção da Liberdade* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1988), 275. The translation is mine.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.
- ¹⁰ See Jônatas Conceição, “O Querer é o Eterno Poder,” *Afro-Ásia* 16 (1995): 107-115.
- ¹¹ Beyond his artistic contribution to Ilê Aiyê, the complete *oeuvre* of J. Cunha needs to be critically analyzed in the context of its documentary value since it appropriates African motifs, values, and religious traditions as an agency of revitalizing ancestry long lost by enslavement but recovered by the powers of vital energy. Due to confines on space, such an extensive study cannot be undertaken here, but I would hope that an Art Historian of Africa and the African Diaspora will confront this challenge in the future.
- ¹² Ilê Aiyê, *Organizações de Resistência Negra: Caderno de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 1995), 5.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 15.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.
- ¹⁵ Antônio dos Santos Godi, “A Revolta dos Búzios,” *A Revolta dos Búzios: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2001), 7-13.
- ¹⁶ “Aviso ao Povo Bahinence,” *A Revolta dos Búzios: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2001), 16.
- ¹⁷ Ilê Aiyê, *A Revolta dos Búzios: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2001), 21.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.
- ²¹ Ilê Aiyê, *Malês: A Revolução: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2002), 23.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 24.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 33.
- ²⁴ Ilê Aiyê, *O Negro e o Poder: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2006), 67.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.
- ²⁶ Ilê Aiyê, *Abidjan-Abuja-Harare-Dakar: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2006), 16.

²⁷ Ibid., 33.

²⁸ Ilê Aiyê, *Candaces: Rainhas do Império Méroe: Cadernos de Educação* (Salvador: Ilê Aiyê, 2008), 3.

²⁹ Ibid., 55.

³⁰ A version of this analysis was published in *Afro-Brazilians: Cultural Production in a Racial Democracy* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009).

³¹ Since *Outras Miragens* (1989) also incorporates *Miragem de Engenho* (1984), this analysis cites from the latest work.

³² See Florentina Souza, “Blurb” in Jônatas Conceição da Silva, *Vozes Quilombolas* (Salvador: EDUFBA/ Ilê Aiyê). For a fuller discussion of the poetics of Ilê Aiyê’s musical lyrics, see also Florentina Souza, “Discursos Identitários Afro-Brasileiros: O Ilê Aiyê,” *Poéticas Afro-Brasileiras*, Maria Carmo Figueirido and Maria Nazareth Fonseca, eds. (Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2002), 81-98.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

ON THE FUTILITY OF EXAMPLES AND THE NUISANCES OF BELIEF: A PEDAGOGY OF RELEVANCE¹

MICHAEL OLÁDEJO AFOLÁYAN
SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY EDWARDSVILLE

Introduction

Each profession, intellectual or manual, deserves consideration, whether it requires painful physical effort or manual dexterity, wide knowledge or the patience of an ant. Ours, like that of the *doctor*, does not allow for any mistake. To warp a soul is as much a sacrilege as murder. Teachers – at kindergarten level, as at university level – form a *noble army* accomplishing daily feats, never praised, never decorated. An army forever on the move, forever vigilant. An army without drums, without gleaming uniforms. This army, thwarting traps and snares, everywhere plants the flag of knowledge and morality. How we loved this *priesthood*. ... How faithfully we serve our profession. How we spent ourselves in order to do honor ... In those children we set in motion waves that, breaking, carried away in their furl a bit of ourselves.

Mariama Ba (1929-1981), *So Long A Letter* (translated from French to English by Modupe Bode Thomas)

The above excerpt taken from Ba's popular epistolary novella, *So long a letter*, provides a graphic metaphorical description of the reality of the

¹ This chapter is dedicated to the sweet memories of two good friends: Mofoluwake Popoola and Adebomi Babalola, both of whom I shared excellent times with in the classroom of Professor Oyelaran. It is hard to forget the special kinds of humor that these two late colleagues brought to this classroom. Foluke was the funny giggler and whisperer, while Adebomi was the loud voice of laughter.

teacher's social conditions. Here, we first see the image of the teacher as the personification of a doctor, who could not afford to make a practical error because a single mistake could be fatal to the patient. Then, s/he is a soldier, who is hardly ever celebrated in spite of the daring efforts often made to defend his/her nation, putting his/her life on the line to do so. Next, we see the teacher as a priest, whose profession is sacred but void of tangible wages. Yet the calling is sacrosanct; the priest's reward is beyond the immediate reach, and his only satisfaction transcends personal ego and self-gratification. Perfect metaphors, one would say, and quite noble in nature, but sad, very sad indeed, for it does not have to be so. After all, teachers are the main source of the knowledge base and the voice of invocation that calls every profession into existence. They are the ones who possess the skills necessary to identify and fulfill the hopes and aspirations of the *crème de la crème* of every society. They are the kingmakers who put precious wreaths of victory on the brows of their little princes and princesses. There ought not to be any good reason, then, why these teachers should not be celebrated, decorated, and handsomely remunerated.

In honor of the living

“*Ìgbà a kú làà dèrè, èyàn ò sunwọn láàyè*” (deification is a posthumous act) is a well-known Yorùbá philosophy. Quite unlike the declaration of Shakespeare that “the evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones...”, for the Yoruba the opposite seems to be the case. The late Professor of African literature, Oyin Ògunbà, of blessed memory, paraphrased the Yorùbá aphorism by saying: “One acquires potency when one is dead, one is ordinary/not spectacular when one is living/alive.” This is to say that there is a distinct line between the world of the living and the world of the dead in Yorùbá cosmology. Indeed, he argues that a dead ancestor could be more potent in his interactions with the world of the living than when he was alive. He is no longer restricted by time and space, and could be called upon by the living members of his family for assistance. Indeed, this anthropomorphic camaraderie proves to be more universal to many human societies than peculiar to the Yorùbá. For instance, in many parts of the world, it is commonplace for people to take flowers to the tombs of their dead family members, a ritual they hardly ever performed while they were alive. Indeed, in many societies, the celebratory activities, in cash and in kind, which accompany the dead person, are far more than what could have been exerted to keep those dead individuals alive. It all underscores the tendency for humans to sing a

litany of praise on a person only after they are no longer alive. Ògunbà is right: for the Yoruba, attention, it seems, is often paid to the negative aspects of life while the person lived. This is grossly anomalous. It is therefore gravely important to reflect on the salient roles that past teachers have played in the lives of those they have impacted. This chapter is a summary of my personal take from about half a dozen years of pupilage under the tutelage of Professor Ọ́lásopé Oyèláràn, although my particular focus will be on the first four years as an undergraduate in the Department of African Languages and Literatures at the University of Ife, which has long been renamed Ọ́bafemi Awolọ́wọ́ University. The account is a pleasant reflection, sometimes funny, sometimes serious, but always of great intellectual and social quality with lifelong ramifications. This is my way of invoking a line from the wisdom of Ìjálá, the heroic poetry of the Yorùbá hunters' guild, which admonishes that, “*Bá a bá n' perí ẹ̀ni tó kú, ká máa perí ẹ̀ni tó kù...*”; that is, “as we celebrate the dead, so should we also remember to celebrate the living.” It is the fervent opinion of this author that, literally or metaphorically, when (and if) a book on the modern foundational history of teaching and learning authentic Yorùbá linguistics is written, if the contents are fair and the contexts are true, the name of Professor Ọ́lásopé Oyèláràn will be conspicuously and indelibly written across its pages.

In a recent festschrift to one of the contemporaries and close friends of Professor Oyèláràn, *Emerging Perspectives on Akinwùmi Ìsòlá* (2008), I confessed my interest in cognitive and pedagogical epistemology with regards to my contributive essay to the celebrated professional life of Professor Ìsòlá. I now say “ditto” to this one as well on Professor Oyèláràn. As I did not toe the lines of those worthy professors in my pursuit of life, having become an educator instead of a theoretical linguist or literary analyst, it would be unfair for me to pick on any aspect of Professor Oyèláràn's research interests and focus on it. However, a reflection on his pedagogy is for me *terra familia*, and this, in essence, is what I plan to do in the pages that follow.

What about examples and belief?

Stylistically, the title of a written work should explain that work's main thrust. In this chapter, however, the title does not necessarily tell it all. I have titled the chapter “On the futilities of examples and the nuisances of belief” not for its poetics, but as a tribute to two of the most sacred and lasting intellectual benefits that I personally derived from the classes of Professor Oyèláràn, and which, I believe, are some of the most powerful

aspects of his pedagogy. There are many other lessons I learned in his classes, some of which I will mention in the chapter, but the two themes highlighted in the title of the chapter – “examples” and “belief” – will always stand out in my book. I will explain what I mean as this chapter develops.

The Gallery of Knowledge

How it all started

In the mid 1970s, for most of us, learning the grammar of the Yorùbá language from a theoretical linguist was a novel, brand new experience prompted by the misplaced previous knowledge that “if it is Yorùbá, anyone could teach it!” Except in a few cases, we were a bunch of newly minted high school graduates who had been spoon-fed our rudimentary knowledge of parts of speech and grammatical categories, definitions of which were choreographed to be in harmony with the pedagogy of rote memorization and in consonance with the parts of speech of our colonial language, English. Before studying Yorùbá grammar, some of us had had experience of taking classes in linguistics as well as in English, English as a second language, and foreign languages. But for the most part, much of what we knew was knowledge by rote with no skillful formulae to justify or verify what we claimed to know. Before our encounter with Professor Oyèláràn, we knew, for example, that “a noun is the name of a person, place or thing”, but we could neither explain this inadequate definition nor understand why it could be jaundiced and of limited contextual value. Due to the inadequacy of the knowledge we brought with us, every moment in the classroom was like entering a new gallery of knowledge where new things were seen and touched, albeit delicately. Whenever our learned professor posed questions to us, there were two ways we responded to them: we could either give examples, or we would showcase our insecurities by stating irrelevancies. The quite interesting reactions of Professor Oyèláràn to our responses formed the basis for my understanding of his pedagogy, and hence the titular theme of this chapter.

Learning to define

For many in academia, African language learning in an African language was an uncharted territory. Moreover, the study of the Yorùbá language and of linguistic concepts as applicable to Yorùbá were particularly distant terrains. Even at universities with notable academics like those of Ibàdàn,

Lagos or Ìlörin, where the Yorùbá language was seriously taught, it was mostly taught in English. This was not due to a lack of possible manpower to implement such innovation, but the fact that the political will and mental orientation towards the use of indigenous languages in higher education were totally misplaced. Thus, as students provided with this new dispensation in our journey towards what might be called “radical education with radical pedagogy”, we faced a myriad of challenges, including those of acceptance, definition, and individual and societal excitement. While manpower was probably not a serious issue, it was not an insignificant matter either; after all, none of the instructors who would be charged with the responsibility of raising an army of learners of Yorùbá in Yorùbá had themselves studied the subject in the indigenous language.

Yet, those external challenges paled in comparison to those we faced in the class as our American trained professor drilled us in his characteristic and novel manner. He asked us quite often to define grammatical categories or word classes. It was easier for us to define any concept by providing a litany of examples, classic evidence of rote knowledge. Our escapist thoughts were quickly interrupted by Professor Oyèláràn’s quintessential phrase, “*Àpẹẹrẹ ò wúlò!*” (Examples are futile!). With this, he discouraged us from citing meaningless examples in order to define. And, indeed, to the vindication of Oyèláràn, I have since learned in my trade as a teacher trainer instructing my pre-service teachers in the language of discourse, teaching methods, and classroom management, that examples are pointless except when one has a strong, theoretically grounded grasp of the concept under exposition. This is what Paulo Freire and Antonio (1989) call the art of learning to explain issues, or what J. L. Austin (1981) refers to as the skill of asking right.

Learning to observe

From the classical grammars of Samuel A. Crowther, E. C. Rowlands, I. C. Ward, R. C. Abraham, I. O. Delano, and P. O. Ogunbowale to the modern writings of Ayo Bámbgòṣé, Ọládélé Awóbùlúyì, and other grammarians of the Yorùbá language, Oyèláràn taught us (his students) to draw our own conclusions. One of the ways we learned in Professor Oyèláràn’s class was through the independent observation of structures and the logic of language use and interpretation. Questions such as “What do you think?”, “What are your own observations?”, and “What did you notice?” were among his usual ways of directing and focusing our thoughts towards strict observation. Thus, one of his critical phraseologies was “*ẹ ... ẹ àkíyèsí wí pé...*” meaning “You (yourself) could have noticed

that...” In what was a clearly descriptive grammarian paradigm, in one single semester he meticulously put us through the writings of all renowned grammarians, treating obscure topics such as case, voice, gender, particles, infinitives, tense, and conjunctions, and challenging us to make applicative deductions. It was not until the end of the semester that we all found out that many of these grammatical categories did not even exist in the Yorùbá language!

Learning to think big on small ideas

Pioneering the teaching and learning of Yorùbá in Yorùbá was not an easy feat. Our ability to enlarge our knowledge base in the language was inhibited by entering into it through a narrow entry point. Yet, for Professor Oyèláràn, it was essential to do just that. He insisted we had to learn Yorùbá in Yorùbá. This pedagogy aligns perfectly with Paulo Freire’s notion (1995) of “naming one’s world” as a form of empowerment. Otherwise, how could anyone name their own world in the words of others? Although there were no precedents, since not even the professor himself had been taught Yorùbá in Yorùbá, he was a part of the group whose crusade it was to advance the teaching and learning the grammar of Yorùbá in Yorùbá. Not only did he do this in the classroom, he was one of those pioneering scholars who presented a seminar on a Yorùbá concept while using the Yorùbá language as the medium of communication. Who could forget the obscure title; though totally lost in translation into the English language, it held no small place in the collective memory of those of us who were students of the language. It epitomized Oyèláràn’s unique effort to make the teaching and usage of Yorùbá acceptable and palatable to academia, regardless of the risk it involved. Titled “*Bí ‘bí’ bá j... ọ̀rọ̀ orúkọ̀ nítòótọ̀*” (“If ‘if’ indeed belongs in the grammatical category of nouns”), the metalinguistic title alone stimulated intellectual curiosity and the seminar room was literally packed. The unique ability to extrapolate a serious discourse from a seemingly minute and dry data source made him such a respectable thinker among his colleagues, and certainly an unannounced intellectual ‘cult hero’ among those of us who were his students.

Learning to role-model

Students in the Department of African Languages and Literatures at Obáfẹ̀mí Awólọ̀wọ̀ University did not find it easy. We were loaded and overloaded with required courses, which were in addition to several other

program-related activities in which we were involved. For instance, the Monday night seminar series was taken seriously and we could not but attend them. In fact, this author personally looked forward with eager anticipation to each of the seminars. There were no credits attached to attending them, but who in his right mind would want to miss those meetings, which were often fraught with spectacular intellectual exchanges! In essence, it was ‘voluntarily compulsory’ for us to be there. We had to work extra hard. While students in many other departments had some leeway, we had no option but to spend quality time in the library. Even if we did not want to do so, ‘Almighty June’, the popular, most dreaded single end-of-year exam often set for the month of June, was enough to keep the noses of the most determined students stuck between the pages of their notebooks and textbooks. The positive outcome of all this was that while the campus socialites hit the neighboring bars and campus taverns, and the members of the Palm-wine Drinkers Club (Kegites) chorused their “Hail Bacchus” anthems right behind our department, the library was our own *sanctum sanctorium*, even on weekends, and including Sunday evenings after those of us ‘SUs’ might have had a long day at our campus fellowship.

The memory of Professor Oyèláràn continues to linger in my own mind because he was one of the very few professors that one ran into in the library, doing his own studying or checking out books. That made him a role model to many of us. In fact, when the university had no single copy of the original work of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, *Yoruba Grammar*, he went out of his way to find a copy for us. I believe he obtained this copy either through a library in Ghana or the United States. That level of sacrifice and commitment to his students was something that placed Professor Sopé Oyèláràn on a high pedestal over and above many of his counterparts across university campuses in our time.

Learning to “chill”

With all the academic challenges and agitations that characterized campus life in the 1970s, it was hard to find ways to “cool down” or as the students would say, “just chill”. However, there were occasions when some rules had to be broken. One such occasion occurred one fateful day during the special week annually allotted to students in the department that is often christened “Ọṣẹ Yorùbá”. It was common for students from every department to pick one week in the year that would be dedicated to social events and fun. At the finale of Ọṣẹ Yorùbá, all the professors (instructors)

were placed at the high table and the occasion was often celebrated with funfair. This particular year, after our most popular guest speaker, the Oḍolẹ Atọbaṣe of Ilẹ-Ife, the late Alàgbà/Olóyè Àjàyí Fábùnmi of *Áyáḵò Ijìnlẹ̀ Ohùn Ifẹ̀* fame, finished his great rhetoric and lengthy ancestral invocations, the drummers performed and the floor was opened. Some of the students danced to the rhythm of indigenous music, but no one ever expected our professors to follow suit until the talking drum major turned the rhythm of the drum to the royal pitch, a rhythm meant for royalty. All of a sudden, Professor Oyèláràn literally rose to the occasion and danced to his heart's content, an act that was quite uncharacteristic of the serious academic, but which prompted the entire audience, students and Professor Oyèláràn's colleagues alike, to hit the dance floor extemporaneously. Apparently, one's response to culture is like the call of nature: no matter how serious our intentions are, we have to answer whenever we are called. That was a great lesson I learned from the whole scenario. It was the most lighthearted annual event we had had in many years, and it was at that occasion that most of us learned of our professor's royal lineage. But the lesson was clear: no matter the circumstances, there is always room to chill.

As a side note to the episode, I should mention that before the event that brought all of us to the wildest excitement, our professor was fondly called *Òibó Àjààwà* (the White man of Àjààwà), an unauthorized celebration of his light skin, but after the event, he was re-christened *Ọmọ-Ọba Àjààwà* (the Prince of Àjààwà).

Learning the metacognitive process

One of the metacognitive processes I had long ago learned from my father before he passed on was never to answer a question but instead to address the motive behind the question. Thus, you must learn to listen to, diagnose, and analyze the question without seeking the permission of the questioner and asked yourself “why did he ask what he asked?” Professor Oyèláràn was the second person who reminded me about this art of thinking about thinking. Through him, I learned that thinking is an art, not a science. He would throw back our questions at us by saying things like, “Now, ask yourself what you just asked me now. How does it sound to you?”, “How would you have answered that same question if you were the one being asked?”, or “What does that mean to you?”

In responding to Oyèláràn's content specific questions, often we resorted to what he quickly saw as evasive tendencies, which he discouraged. Hiding behind the needle of fate and faith, we might answer

by saying “*Mo gbàgbó pé...*” (I believe that...), but he never allowed us to complete our thoughts if we ever predicated our responses with such a phrase. He interrupted our winding statements with common phrases to the effect of “*Kí ló kàn mí pèlú ‘un tó o gbàgbó? Ohun o mò lèmi ñ bèrè!*” (loosely meaning, I don’t care what you believe; what you know is what I asked of you). He had categorically told us that thinking deeper was an attribute of independence, not of dependence, and that knowledge was power, which must be proclaimed with confidence and undaunted authority. Therefore, to him, starting a statement with what one believed was tantamount to intellectual laziness that did not give room to componential dialogue, as there would be no further discourse warranted when a response was predicated on belief. Of course, some of us used this pedagogy to our advantage. Rather than facing the scrutiny prompted by a possible wrong answer, whenever we did not want to be the focus of attention, when called upon to answer a question, we swiftly responded by saying, “*Mo gbàgbó pé...*” and of course, the strategy worked like magic as Professor Oyèláràn quickly brought an end to our response and moved on to another student.

Learning to learn new things

The most difficult aspect of language study to us was the grammar – but he was always well prepared. His apparent grasp of content knowledge of Yorùbá language and linguistics was intimidating to some of us. For one thing, few people had previously put a serious theoretical spin on the grammar of Yorùbá before Oyèláràn came to our department, where he was the pioneer head. In his language class, we were constantly drawn into the dome of new knowledge, new discoveries, and new experience, and with all these came the dawn of a new day laden with creative vocabulary and neologisms.

Lessons from the tough school of diligence with some fun

For many of us, the language classes were the watershed moments of our learning experience in the Department of African Languages and Literatures. There was certainly a supernatural intensity that we ascribed to the classes of Professor Oyèláràn. First of all, for many of the other classes, on many occasions it was not uncommon to walk into the classroom with little or zero preparation. This was impossible for anyone coming to Oyèláràn’s language classes. Not even the top-notch language students would dare go to class unprepared. Indeed, the title of “Olóru of

Òru, Ọba Ateńí Má Sùn” (King of the Night, who spreads his mat/lay his bed, but dared not sleep) was the appellation we all gave ourselves on days preceding the language classes. Unfortunately, these were not classes where anyone could dose off – *oorun wẹ̀, níwájú adájó!* (Who would dare to sleep in front of the Judge!). The one common trait that only the students could decipher was the unusually large and protruding red eyes of some people in the class, which were a result of the self-induced insomnia in preparation for those language classes. There were members of class who became permanently addicted to the chewing of cola-nuts so as to keep themselves awake and alert, not through boredom from what was been taught but for the fact that they had remained awake all night long to study.

Our professor was liberal in his thinking and would challenge us to pick up the piece of chalk and write a few sentences on the chalkboard, asking us to break up whole sentences into their syntactic components. This was just to illustrate our own understanding of the issues to him and the whole class. One student would volunteer and illustrate things on the board. In the same class was a wonderful man of blessed memory, Adébómí Babalólá, who would engage Oyèláràn in lighthearted discourse, using his native dialect of Èkítì to demonstrate exceptions to many rules. Those were always brief moments of relief during the class, interspersions within the otherwise intensive teaching and learning.

Interestingly, not only did students spend vast amounts of time preparing for class, there was also always a post-class debriefing session. Indeed, the most interesting sessions usually occurred after classes were over. As soon as Professor Oyèláràn closed his notebook or textbook and walked out, we all pretended that we were also about to leave, but no sooner was he out of sight than we looked at each other and walked right back to our seats with our notebooks opened to where we started the day. First of all, the classroom intensity and the overwhelming quantity and quality of information made it impossible to stop the professor too often for questioning, and besides, Professor Oyèláràn did not have the propensity for loud vocality. Sometimes he said words that only a few who sat in the front row heard, but no one at the back could summon the courage to interrupt and say, “Ọgá, ẹ̀ jọwọ̀ ẹ̀ sọrò sókè díẹ̀” – o ti rójú ólórò sí...! (“Sir, please speak up” – his countenance would discourage you from doing so...!). The need to listen intently was real. Therefore, the critical mass of the group would stay for hours after class – sometimes longer than the time we originally spent in class for the lectures. It was at these meetings that we compared notes, filled in the gaps, and sought to

understand what he meant by what he said, which many had hurriedly jotted down but not fully comprehended.

These informal meetings provided more than intellectual stimuli; they became a safety valve to decompress the pressure that had built up in the solid two-hour class period which we had not let loose. They were always packed full of melodramatic moments and comic reliefs. We had a good laugh reading out and comparing the words that individuals had written down. Sometimes twelve people had written down twelve different words when Professor Oyèláràn had in fact only uttered one. For instance, there was a day when he used the word “Okùnfà” (conjunction), which we were hearing for the first time, and individual transcriptions ranged from the strange to the bizarre. The phonology, the syntax and everything in between were totally messed up. As we read out the words we had written down in our notebooks, one after another they brought outbursts of uncontrollable laughter. Someone wrote the phrase “okùn dà?” (Where is the rope?); another wrote “Oògùn-ùn’jà” (combat charm); someone else wrote “Òkùtá” (the ill-fated merchant); and other memorable words included “ìkùnpá” (arm charm), Okùnfá (the rope of divination), and “Òkunpa” (the Red Sea), but by far the most hilarious and wacky of them all was “Okùn-ùn-páá” (tether for swollen testicles).

By chance or by design, we had our lighter moments with Professor Oyèláràn as well. Just as we found it hard to understand some of the concepts he explained to us, so also did he have difficulty understanding some of what we were saying to him at times. None of us would ever forget one day in class when he asked one of us to remove his sun glasses and tell him his name. In the quintessentially soft-spoken nature of this student, he mumbled something that prompted Professor Oyèláràn to look around at the other students in class and ask, with both his hands spread out, “Kòmóòkun àbí kí ló wí un?” We all had an outburst of laughter. Needless to say, the name “Kòmóòkun” stuck to this particular student, at least in the mouths of us, his classmates.

Our informal meetings used to produce many ‘Imitation Oyèláràns’. Some among us would volunteer to stand in front of the class, pretend to stand tall, left hand inside their pocket, chalk in their right hand and then start asking questions, pretending to talk like Oyèláràn. Often, these imitators failed miserably because all we saw in them was the proverbial ‘domestic cat’, not the king of the jungle himself. All these melodramatic moments produced good laughs, and memorable moments that have stood the test of time.

Learning to use language as pedagogical weapon

Teaching is an art not a science, and as the great philosopher and teacher John Opie once said, “Art is more godlike than science. Science discovers; art creates.” Professor Oyèláràn gets creative quite often, and he would occasionally dazzle us with his skills as a polyglot. At one of the meetings during the week of celebration, it was his turn to talk after the Chair of the department, Professor Abímbòlá, had finished his speech. Everyone in academia knew that Professor Abímbòlá was an Ifá scholar as well as a natural orator and good entertainer in Yorùbá oral art forms. When Oyèláràn stood up, he asked how anyone could effectively follow such an eloquent speech. He therefore made an interesting statement in Latin, “*Roma locuta, causa finita.*” He then explained the meaning and the historical reference point for the classical maxim, when in the days of yore, after the Emperor of Rome had spoken, no one else had anything to say – it was a ‘case closed’ scenario. With that he relieved himself of the pain of being the one to follow the eloquent speech of Professor Abímbòlá. Instead of taking the lengthy amount of time like his predecessor, he spoke for about five minutes. What an effective pedagogy, for of all the events of the evening, it was the Latin phrase that stuck in everyone’s mind for a long time after the event. Even more than three decades after the incident, the Latin maxim is all that this author can effectively remember of all the things that happened on that day.

Once in a while, Professor Oyèláràn would use his skill to bring out humor. For example, one day he asked us in class, “how many of you speak this language?” He saw some hands go up. He then asked how many spoke another language, and another, and another. He went on and on until he got to a language which none of us spoke since no one raised their hands. “Good”, he said in Yorùbá, “now I can borrow an example from that language knowing that no one would be able to tell whether I am telling the truth or just lying.” Of course, we all laughed.

On a more serious note

Having metamorphosed from the young ‘innocent’ bachelor of college age to a father of four, I have since come to appreciate one aspect of the non-professional life of Professor Oyèláràn. I recall fondly how he would occasionally bring his daughter, a beautiful little girl, aged somewhere between five and nine with him while coming to class. Ordinarily, this should not be a big deal, but in our male-dominated society, it was totally rare, if not unwelcome, for a male adult to babysit their own children. This

was even more the case in academia, the epitome of the post-colonial elitist culture. To the best of my memory, none of his colleagues did this. However, as he did this, his respect for his calling as a professor and possibly for us as his students was never compromised. Not that doing otherwise would have been perceived negatively, but while classes were going on, the cute, apparently happy little girl would sit outside on the concrete floor by the door to the classroom, drawing stick figures or practicing writing her 1-2-3. As serious as he was in teaching his students, he constantly looked at the door with a watchful eye to ensure the little girl was okay. The occasional stare was precious and defined the making of a true human, an enduring image of a father who in spite of his professional sharpness and shrewd accomplishments never compromised or reneged on his filial duty. That, more than anything else, was priceless!

Conclusions

A concomitant acquisition of intellectual and social information within the confines of the classroom of Professor Oyèláràn has been the critical central stage of this essay. In acknowledging and honoring the contribution of Professor Olásopé Oyèláràn to my intellectual growth and mental development, I have identified specific experiences of my own which I consider to be of pedagogical relevance and cultural enrichment. The specific examples cited in this chapter, for better or for worse, are a litany of lessons learned from Oyèláràn's Yoruba language and linguistics classroom, with the conclusion that teachers, at any level, bring lessons that transcend the realm of the four corners of the classroom into the lives of their students.

Anecdote

The tale is told of the mother pig whose baby kept nagging her to tell why her (the mother's) mouth was so protruded and her nostrils constantly dripping. Exasperated by the curious kid, the mother pig turned around and looked sternly at the inquisitive 'Sáálúù', the piglet. "Take a good look at me, girl," she said, "when you grew up you will understand." For many of us, the no-nonsense stance of Professor Oyèláràn was a pill too difficult to swallow. It was hard enough to be an undergraduate at "Great Ifè", but having a "difficult" professor meant there was no respite. For some, this paid off big time. For although a little more than four decades have now passed since that time, some of us, myself included, have become professors in our own necks of the wood. If we are doing the right

thing today, it is very likely that many well-meaning students of ours are referring to us as being ‘too difficult’, asking why we have chosen to make academia so challenging to them. In essence, we have become the mother pig who as a piglet once asked the mother why she was how she was. All we need to say to such students is to wait and see. After all, as the Yorùbá people would say, “the chieftain of Ìrèé/Ìwó will soon shift hands with the people of eḍe.”

It sounds like an oxymoron, but genuinely effective teachers are dream keepers (Ladson-Billings 1994; Delpit 1995) who preside over groups of little giants. Robert Heinlein (1907-1988) was credited with the saying that “Never try to teach the pig to sing; it wastes your time, and annoys the pig!” In spite of the clear goal of Oyèláràn’s pedagogy, some found it hard to appreciate it; a few in our group actually changed majors to escape the high-level scrutiny that came with learning Yorùbá grammar in the classroom of such an intellectually literate teacher. Those who stuck to it found reason to celebrate after the few years of mental pounding. After all, it is the proverbial hot furnace that could make the tasty stew.

Of all the notes that I wrote while at the university (and I was a habitually addicted note taker), my Yorùbá language notebooks remain almost as neat and presentable on my desk today as they were over forty years ago. A few of the essays that were corrected and returned to me over the years grace the right corner of my desk. Indeed, I have them open right in front of me as I muse over the past, flipping through their pages in an effort to recall scattered memories. Of the records I have kept to date, I hold none more treasured and revered than a take-home essay test written in long hand, as we had always done, but which Professor Oyèláràn returned to us one week after submission with a brief comment scribbled at the bottom of mine, which simply stated, in red ink, “*O káre láé!*” To me, this was my terrestrial version of the celestial verdict, “*Welcome, good and faithful student...*” Like many others in my group, true to my conscience, I knew I put a lot into all my academic work, but for one professor to acknowledge it in such a profound way as this was for me a moment of rapture. It was quite affirming and purposely validating. It was a sudden reminder of a familiar voice that I last heard barely one decade earlier – that of my late father. How can I not cherish such an empowering and validating declaration coming from the pen of someone who had put in so much investment in my intellectual bank of life?

There is a sense of unwritten immortality that characterizes the legacy of a good teacher. Even in the mind of the students who see them as difficult, firm, too pushy, relentless, and uncompromising, there comes the day when they will look back and say, “I am so glad he taught me!” For

me, I would say, I am glad I learned so much from Professor Oyèláràn, the man who many of my undergraduate colleagues of the 1970s and I held, paradoxically, in admiration and trepidation. Though I never followed in his footsteps in laborious pursuits of language learning, I have carried in me the knowledge that without a deep insight into, and full understanding of, any given issue – intellectual, social, political, spiritual, or otherwise – citing examples to explain it is futile, and one’s belief about them is gravely irrelevant.

References

- M.O. Afolayan, “The THINKER pedagogy and the enduring legacy of relevance and humanity. The case of Akinwumi Isola, the master teacher,” in *Emerging perspectives on Akinwumi Isola*, eds. A. Akinyemi and T. Falola (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008), 417-428.
- J.L. Austin, *How to do things with words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1981).
- M. Ba, *So long a letter* (London, England: Heinemann, 1989).
- L. Delpit, *Other people’s children: Cultural conflict in the classroom* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1995).
- P. Freire and F. Antonio, *Learning to question: a pedagogy of liberation* (New York: Continuum, 1989).
- P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New rev. 20th-Anniversary edition (New York: Continuum, 1995).
- G. Ladson-Billings, *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1994).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

HELPING NIGERIAN TRADO-MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS OVERCOME THEIR LEXICO-GRAMMATICAL PROBLEMS

AKINMADE AKANDE,
UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS
OLAYIWOLA AKINWALE
OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY
AND MOJI A. OLATEJU
OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This paper highlighted how Nigerian trado-medical practitioners (TMPs) could overcome lexico-grammatical problems like the appropriate choice of words in English, spelling problems and the proper use of tense and articles. The term 'trado-medical practitioners' refers to indigenous medical practitioners, most of whom had little formal education. The data were from 30 itinerant TMPs at Ife City Stadium in Nigeria. These TMPs come from different parts of Nigeria and other African countries, and they move from place to place within and outside Nigeria. The data were collected using cassette recorders, oral interviews and observational notes. Their lexico-grammatical problems were revealed during interviews through their interactions with their clients and writings on their labels. The paper recommended that language training programs like workshops and seminars on sentence constructions, lexical options in sentences, interactive reading sessions and so on should be introduced in order for TMPs to overcome these problems.

1. Introduction

The research into the language and practice of traditional medicine in Africa has been documented by scholars such as Harley (1970), Idowu (1973), Sanda (1978), Sofowora (1982), Adegbite (1993), Dopamu (1994), Akinwale (1994) and Olateju, Akande and Akinwale (2005). In particular, Adegbite (1993) worked on the language of Yoruba¹ traditional medicine practitioners and identified some content and formal features of language use in the Yoruba traditional medicine texts collected. The outcome of the research of most of these scholars revealed the necessity for the Nigerian government to assist and give recognition to these trado-medical practitioners (TMPs), and this has been done with the help of the Nigerian National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). The need to give adequate recognition to TMPs is crucial both in Nigeria and in most other African countries for religious and cultural reasons. Rather than go to hospitals and be treated by medical doctors, many people prefer to be diagnosed and treated by TMPs as a result of the belief that there are many ailments which western medical services cannot cure. Despite this recognition, it has been noticed that TMPs still need the assistance of language experts in the areas of labeling, communication skills, documentation, interactional strategies, etc. when dealing with their clients and in the standardization of their products. For instance, Olateju *et al* (2005) investigated the morphological processes underlining the naming of products by trado-medical practitioners in Nigeria and found that while TMPs in Nigeria make use of several morphological processes in naming their products, the most common is blending. The present paper complements that of Olateju *et al* (2005) by examining the ways in which TMPs can be helped to overcome their lexico-grammatical problems by taking into consideration the fact that most of these TMPs are either illiterate or barely literate in English, the consequence of which is their inability to communicate effectively with their customers. In the course of our interaction with them, we noticed that apart from the lexical problems, there were also grammatical problems in their spoken and written English. Given this lexico-grammatical deficiency in their English, this paper seeks to examine the various ways we can effectively help them to improve their English usage.

Research on the forms and roles of the English language in medical practice has been on the increase during the past two decades. The thrust of the research in this field focuses on the ways physicians can improve their communicative skills in order to perform their clinical functions. The central themes of these studies are: (i) how physicians establish a

relationship with patients through their modes of asking for and giving information; and (ii) how different styles of communication can enhance or diminish patient satisfaction and compliance. Some studies have also documented how medical practitioners offer openings for patients to make extended responses, ask questions, or comment about diagnoses (Maynard 1991).

In line with this general trend, studies have tended to address how well physicians achieve their clinical tasks as defined within the medical perspective, and findings often lead to recommendations for modifying physicians' practices through better communicative skills. There are, however, scant studies that are concerned with how patients or tradomedical practitioners can enhance their communicative skills in their interactions with physicians or clients. In their concluding remarks in their review of the literature on Language and Medicine, Hyden and Mishler (1999) recommended research in the area of psychiatry, an area they said they hoped would receive the increased attention it deserved as a further potential extension of the boundaries of this field of study. We are however of the opinion that it is not only psychiatry that needs attention but also tradomedical practitioners in general in their bid to serve humanity.

The fact is conceded that the health field has become a fertile research area where new lexicons of diseases have gained prominence, some of which are based on non-western approaches or various indigenous models of healing. In this study, we have tried to extend the challenge made by Hyden and Mishler to tradomedical services in ESL situations. As researchers who are sensitive to our environment, we realise that tradomedical practitioners who are second language users of English are typically conscious of the limitations of their ability to communicate effectively in their target languages, and have therefore decided to highlight ways in which they can be helped to overcome their communication problems.

2. Methods of data collection

The data for this work were collected from 30 itinerant tradomedical practitioners in Nigeria. Responses to questions posed by researchers were tape recorded at Ife City Stadium in Nigeria, where the TMPs converged for three months to display their products, diagnose ailments, and attend to clients on an individual basis. Television and radio advertisements were also recorded and analysed. Observational notes were also taken during the TMPs' interactions with their clients and product displays. Samples of

their hand bills, drug labels and complimentary cards were collected and analysed. The section below deals with the interactive language programs that are needed for trado-medical practitioners, starting with effective listening habits.

3. Effective listening habits

Interacting with clients involves a lot of listening to learn and learning to listen. For the TMPs to relate successfully with their patients or clients, there is a need for good listening habits. Vandergrift (2004:4) notes that the speed and effectiveness with which listeners carry out the processes of listening depend on the degree to which the listeners can effectively process what is heard.

Part of the reason TMPs as second language learners of English may have the problem of limited language knowledge can be the result of limited education, which can result in incomplete and inadequate processing of what they hear. TMPs need a lot of practice in perception skills, which could help them to overcome the language segmentation that has been carried over from their indigenous languages. They need to learn how to listen and make word connections in connected speech in their second language. Since some of their clients are educated, they also need to develop good listening habits and communication skills for interaction and market strategy.

4. Hints on the acquisition of grammatical structures

Nassaji and Fotos (2004:131) noted that learners must have opportunities to encounter, process and use instructed forms in their various form-meaning relationships so that the forms can become a part of their interlanguage and behavior. With a communicative exposure to grammar through formal instructions, the learners' awareness of the forms becomes long lasting and they are able to use them more accurately. If the grammar instruction is extensive and sustained over a period of time (i.e. several days or weeks), such instruction contributes to the development of implicit knowledge, which can be measured by performance. Giving grammar instructions leads to the promotion of accuracy in the use of difficult forms of the English language, such as articles and concord relationships, which can easily betray an individual's language (in)competence.

Nassaji and Fotos (2004:131) also remarked that current research strongly supports the need for the provision of communicative opportunities containing instructed grammar forms, and they recommend a

combination of form-focused instruction and meaningful communication. They further explained that learners should be encouraged to produce structures which have been introduced either explicitly through a grammar lesson or implicitly through feedback.

5. Hints on vocabulary acquisition

Read (2004:146) stated that second language learners are typically conscious of the extent to which limitations in their vocabulary knowledge hamper their ability to communicate effectively in the target language. This is particularly the case for TMPs who struggle to interact with their educated clients orally and label their products in an uncompromising manner. This makes vocabulary study a must for TMPs wishing to remain in the profession or make a mark. There are proven task-based language programs which could help learners overcome this problem as opposed to the traditional techniques of presenting new words or making learners memorize a list of lexical items. For a detailed study of these language programs, see Read (2004).

Lexical elements carry the basic information load of the meanings they wish to comprehend and express, thus giving vocabulary a salience for learners which may be lacking in the acquisition of other features of the language system (Read 2004). The kind of incidental learning noticed among Nigerian TMPs is one that is a by-product of their interactions with educated people or words commonly used in society.

In a discussion of incidental and international vocabulary learning from a psycholinguistic perspective, Hulstijn (2001) notes that it is the quality and frequency of the information processing activities (i.e. elaboration on the aspects of a word's form and meaning plus rehearsal) that determine the retention of new information. To him, in a classroom context, incidental and intentional learning should be seen as complementary.

What we therefore intend to do is to offer our subjects (i.e. TMPs), some of whom have acquired word knowledge while engaging in their various non-language activities, a more direct and systematic study of the type of vocabulary they require in order to perform their duties more efficiently.

6. Lexico-grammatical problems

In the course of our interaction with our subjects, we noticed some lexico-grammatical problems involving the wrong choice of words, lexical

redundancy, wrong spelling, tense problems, and so on. These are discussed in the sections that follow.

6.1 Wrong choice of words

In an attempt to label their products in a modern way to attract and impress their clients and the would-be customers, TMPs do make wrong choices in their word selection, as the italicized words in the following examples show:

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| a) 200 ml diabron <i>herbs</i> | instead of | 200 ml diabron solution |
| b) <i>power</i> for blood diseases | ----- | cure for blood diseases |
| c) <i>protection</i> dysentery | ----- | prevention against dysentery |
| d) <i>hot body</i> | ----- | high temperature |

In example (a) above, *herbs* was wrongly chosen instead of *solution*. *Herbs* cannot be quantified in mls; only liquid substances can be quantified in this way. Similarly, *power* and *protection* were wrongly chosen instead of *cure* and *prevention* respectively. Dysentery, as we know, can be prevented but cannot be protected and in the same vein, *power* is not correct in the context in which it was used by some of the subjects. *Hot body* in example (d) demonstrates transliteration from the Yorùbá language, which is the mother tongue of some of the TMPs. In the Yoruba language, *hot* means *gbóná* while *body* means *ara*. Thus, *hot body* means *ara gbígbóná* in Yorùbá. The English equivalent of *ara gbígbóná* is *high temperature* and not *hot body*. It can therefore be said that there is bilingual interference as a result of language contact.

6.2 Wrong spelling of English words

The wrongly-spelt words in this case fall into two categories: those that are strictly medical terms and those that are ordinary English words.

6.2.1 Wrong spelling of medical terms

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| (i) asma | instead of | asthma |
| (ii) gonorhea/gonorea | ----- | gonorrhoea |
| (iii) diabetics/dibetics | ----- | diabetes |
| (iv) diarhea | ----- | diarrhoea |
| (v) tuberculose | ----- | tuberculosis |
| (vi) warm and cronic | ----- | worm and chronic fever |

(vii)	magrane	-----	migraine
(viii)	leucorrhoea	-----	leukaemia
(ix)	eanier/aenia	-----	hernia
(x)	typhiod	-----	typhoid
(xi)	bone fraction	-----	bone fracture

Many of the medical terms the subjects normally used were wrongly spelt. This might be a result of their lack of familiarity with the words and a lack of exposure to situations where they could have learnt the spelling of such words. As some of the examples show, there is variation in the ways many of the words were spelt. For instance, while some of them spelt *gonorrhoea*, *diabetes* and *hernia* as *gonorehea*, *diabetics* and *earnier* respectively, some spelt them as *gonorea*, *dibetics* and *aenia*. There seems to be an unhealthy rivalry between the western medical practitioners and TMPs, which makes it difficult for both parties to interact freely and learn from each other.

6.2.2 Wrong spelling of ordinary English words

(i)	brakefast	instead of	breakfast
(ii)	deases	-----	diseases
(iii)	oposite	-----	opposite
(iv)	occasion	-----	occasion
(v)	sole	-----	soul

The wrongly-spelt words in 6.2.2 above illustrate the low proficiency of TMPs in English. As we mentioned earlier, these are people who are not highly literate in English as many of them did not go beyond the early stages of secondary schools. We suspect that our subjects normally spelt most English words the way they pronounced them. This is evident in the spellings of *opposite* and *soul*.

6.3 Lexical redundancy

A.	Anti-bacteria killer	-----	Anti-bacteria
B.	External skin disease	-----	Skin disease
C.	Action man power	-----	Man power

In descriptive as well as prescriptive linguistics, redundancy has commonly been regarded as a negative language quality. In the data, TMPs made use of redundant lexical items which serve only to repeat

information already expressed by another word (Hunnicut 1985). In the naming of some of these drugs, TMPs made use of lexical redundancy. For instance, in *anti-bacteria killer*, the word *killer* is redundant in that it has the same semantic import with *anti*. Similarly, *skin* is an outer layer which is already external and so the word *external*, in this context, is superfluous. The meaning of *action* seems to be connected with that of *power* in 6.3c above. Thus, the use of *action* and *power* together is unnecessary.

6.4 Grammatical problems

Apart from the lexical problems of TMPs, there are also some grammatical problems in their spoken English as the following examples illustrate:

A. Problems of tense

- I) They *come* for treatment last year (They came for treatment last year).
- II) I *learn* this trade from my father (I learned this trade from my father).
- III) I *go* to bush for leaves and *grinded* them together (I went to the bush for leaves and ground them together).
- IV) My sister *travel* last year because of this disease (My sister traveled last year because of this disease).
- V) She *tell* me her story (She told me her story).

B. Problems of concord

- I) Mix with two bottle ... (Mix with two bottles...).
- II) He come everyday to take medicine (He comes everyday to take drugs).
- III) When we treat them and they get well, it give us happiness (When we treat them and they feel better, it gives us happiness).
- IV) We gathers together every three month (We come together every three months).
- V) I prepare many drug (I prepared many drugs).

C. The use of superfluous BE

- I) They are comes for trade fair every year (They come for the trade fair every year).
- II) I am train my boys for 5 years before they are finish to go (I train my boys for 5 years before they master this art).

D. Wrong use of article and preposition

- I) I go to bush for leaves... (I go to *the* bush for leaves...).

- II) They buy *one* drug from me (They bought *a* drug from me).
 III) I stay my room (I stay *in* my room).
 IV) Mix with half stainless cup water (Mix with *a* half stainless cup *of* water).

As is evident in the sentences under (a), our subjects have not mastered the appropriate use of tense forms in English. In these sentences (aI – aV), the subjects used the present tense instead of the past tense. For instance, *come* was used instead of *came* in aI and *travel* instead of *traveled* in aIV. We observed that they used the present tense consistently regardless of any time adverbials that followed. There were also problems of concord in the English of our subjects, as exemplified in sentences bI to bV. For example, there is no concord agreement between *two* and *bottle* in bI, nor is there any subject-verbal agreement between *We* and *gathers* in bIV. Although this grammatical problem is not peculiar to TMPs alone as Aremo (1987) indicated, it seems that the problem is more common in their English usage. As sentences bII and III revealed, the subjects were yet to understand the grammatical structure *3rd person singular pronoun + 3rd person singular verbal form*. In other words, they need to be aware that if the present form of a verb is used after pronouns like *He*, *She* or *It*, the verb must take the suffix *-s*, such that there are structures like:

He	goes)	
She	eats)	everyday.
It	comes)	

It is our hope that if our subjects follow the strategies highlighted below, they will be able to master structures such as the above.

The two sentences under (c) above show the use of superfluous BE. The auxiliaries *are* and *am* are redundant in cI and cII respectively. The two sentences are habitual and as such do not need the auxiliaries. Other areas that they need to master are the English article and preposition. While in dI there was an omission of the definite article *the*, in dII *one* is used instead of *a*. Similarly, in dIII, there was an omission of the preposition *in* while *of* was also omitted in dIV.

7. Overcoming lexico-grammatical problems

ESL teachers and resource persons can help itinerant trade-medical practitioners to overcome their lexico-grammatical problems by organizing remedial English language programmes. These comprise the

following options, which can be repeated over and over as new members join the group. Since the TMPs stay in a particular place for up to three months as they move around, it is possible to organize a functional language programme for them.

7.1 Workshops and Seminars

Our interactions with the trado-medical practitioners revealed that they had problems with their choice of lexical items while speaking. A 3-day workshop every month could be organized to teach lexical registers in connection with their profession. The teachers could also teach them basic grammatical topics such as plurality, concord and simple tense forms, and how these could be used in actual speech. Information technology has made the presentation of such programs simple because these lectures could be put on slides or CDs and replayed for the benefit of those who have to attend to customers during the set seminar or workshop hours. During the workshops and seminars, TMPs could be encouraged to:

- rehearse a list of English words commonly used in the trado-medical profession such as: client, card, patience, patient, compound, medicine, drug, herbs, leaves, travel, travelling, media, stand location, consultation, etc;
- acquire word recognition by helping them to identify the words with the use of a chalk board and carefully cut-out flash cards;
- search for the meaning and use of the words in isolation and connected speech and make them write them down if they can. For those who cannot write, help them with basic literacy by putting the alphabet together and pronouncing the words;
- use these words while consulting with their clients, making radio/television announcements, hand bills, giving roadside directions to their 'stands' (display tents) or locations either at an exhibition or permanent residence;
- to be familiar with a list of the most commonly used words for various ailments and diseases.

7.2 Communication Skills

Since the TMPs engage in consultative activity with clients that visit their stands (display tents), there is a need to introduce them to communicative and interactive techniques through the introduction of read-aloud sessions that can enhance their communication skills. They also need to learn some

techniques in orational and speech devices such as voice training, tag-question responses, wh-question responses, and narrative techniques, since they engage in both radio and television advertisement programmes.

7.3 Note-taking

In addition to the above, TMPs need to be taught the art of note-taking and summary writing as they open case notes for their patients and document necessary information about the symptoms of the ailments that are presented. The mechanics of note-taking, such as the use of abbreviations, hand writing and the layout of written material, are important factors to be considered in the effective practice of note-taking which trade-medical practitioners need to be exposed to. Re-writing and elaborating on notes taken during consultations can serve as a review and should not be considered as a waste of time. The layout of notes is extremely important for later use and follow up because the more dramatic, clear and logical the appearance of the notes, the more easily they will be recalled when revising in preparation for counselling and drug preparation.

7.4 Naming of Drugs

Olateju *et al* (2005) found that TMPs had problems with the proper labelling of drugs. There could be 'on the job training' in the naming of drugs as this will facilitate the modernization of their drugs, which will in turn remove any form of confusion about the drugs and attract more customers. With attractive labels and well written instructions, the locally made drugs can attract more attention and acceptance from prospective customers.

7.5 Provision of make-shift reading kiosks

ESL teachers and resource persons could provide make-shift reading kiosks with available reading materials which will help the TMPs in their mastery of the English language. Personnel from the Reading Association of Nigeria (RAN) and reading associations in other ESL countries could be invited to conduct interactive and/or intensive reading sessions, which would both equally facilitate their mastery of the English language. During interactive reading sessions, the TMPs could be divided into groups of 7 or 8, each of which would have a reading instructor. Members of each group could be asked to read aloud one at a time until everybody has been heard

by the instructor and others in the group. The instructor corrects their grammatical and pronunciation errors during this period.

The intensive reading sessions, which provide an opportunity for the individual to pay attention to details, give a chance to the TMPs to read to the teacher alone. Attention is paid to the individual's reading problems. TMPs should also be encouraged to borrow books from the mobile reading kiosks which they can read while waiting for prospective buyers. RAN members could be asked to donate books to these kiosks from their generous collection of books without borders. The ESL teacher should also not forget to emphasise the reading/writing connection by engaging the TMPs in writing words and sentences that will enhance their vocabulary and grammatical knowledge of the second language.

7.6 Use of the Dictionary

Commonly mis-spelt and mis-used words could be identified for further attention during tuition periods. The ESL teacher can make the practitioners aware of these words and the need for them to use a dictionary as a guide. The meanings, pronunciations and usage of such words should be made available to the TMPs through an interactive session of 'search and I search'. Through this exercise, the TMPs are encouraged to make effective use of English dictionaries, as their incompetence in the use of appropriate lexical and grammatical items is revealed in their language use.

The dictionary is a basic reference tool for teachers, learners and everybody interested in word study and meaning. It is now available in various forms. Read (2004:150) notes the existence of electronic dictionaries on the web, on CD-ROMS, in small hand-held units and, most recently, in the guise of scanner pens. Learners can be encouraged to use the version that is most convenient for them.

7.7 Literacy celebration

In order to encourage the TMPs to visit reading kiosks, a monthly celebration of active readers could be introduced as an inducement to those who have been actively involved in reading books. During this period, more reading and writing materials could be distributed to deserving TMPs.

7.8 Remedial evening classes

The younger TMPs who admitted that they had not finished secondary school education could be encouraged to go to evening classes. English should be one of the teaching subjects during these classes, which would thus improve the status quo and the communicative competence of the TMPs.

8. Conclusion

This study revealed that TMPs had lexical problems such as making a wrong choice of words, using the wrong spellings and lexical redundancy. It also showed that they had grammatical problems ranging from the improper use of tenses, the misuse of articles, and problems of concord to the insertion of redundant BEs and the wrong use of prepositions. In order to tackle these problems, the paper suggested ways through which Nigerian trado-medical practitioners could be helped to overcome their English language deficiency. Although we focused here on Nigerian TMPs, it is our belief that TMPs in other places, especially where English is a second language and where TMPs have a similar level of education, have similar English language problems. As such, the strategies suggested here could be used in other ESL environments where the situation is similar to that which is found in Nigeria. If we wish to help these TMPs to become proficient in English, the efforts made by individual trainers are not enough. Corporate bodies, groups, associations and governments should help the language development of these people in order to provide a better service for humanity. This is because, no matter how attractive western medicine is, some people will still patronize these TMPs.

Endnote

¹ The Yorubas are mostly found in the south-western part of Nigeria.

References

- A.B. Adegbite, "Some features of language use in Yoruba traditional Medicine," *African Languages and Cultures* 6(1) (1993): 1-10.
- O.T. Akinwale, "Morphological processes in pharmaceutical nomenclature," *Ife Studies in English Language* 3(1) (1994): 21-31.
- P.A. Dopamu, "*The practice of magic and medicine in Yoruba traditional religion*" (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1977).
- G.W. Harley, *Native African medicine with special reference to its practice in the Mano tribe of Liberia* (London: Frankcass, 1970).
- J.H. Hulstijn, "Intentional and incidental second language vocabulary learning: A reappraisal of elaboration, rehearsal and automaticity," in *Cognition and Second Language Instruction*, ed. P. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 258-286.
- S. Hunnicut, "Intelligibility versus redundancy – conditions of dependency," *Language and Speech*, 28(1) (1985), 47-56.
- L.C. Hyden and E.G. Mishler, "Language and medicine," in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 19, eds. W. Grabe et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press 1999), 17-192.
- E.B. Idowu, *African Traditional Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1973).
- D.W. Maynard, "The perspective-display series and delivery and receipt of diagnostic" in *Talk and Social structure. Studies in Ethnomethodology and Conversational Analysis*, eds. D. Boden and D.H. Zimmerman, Cambridge: Polity Press 1991): 164-192.
- H. Nassaji and S. Fotos, "Current developments in research on the teaching of grammar," in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24, M. McGroarty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 126-145.
- M.A. Olateju, A.T. Akande, and O.T. Akinwale, "Morphological Processes in Product Naming by Trado-medical Practitioners in Nigeria," *West Africa Review* 8 (2005) ISSN 1525-4488.
- J. Read, "Research in teaching vocabulary," in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24, ed. M. McGroarty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004): 146-161.
- A.O. Sanda, "The scientific or magical ways of knowing: implications for the study of African traditional healers," *Second Order: An African Journal of Philosophy* 7 (1 and 2) (1978).
- A. Sofowora, *Medicinal plants and traditional medicine in Africa* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons and Spectrum, 1982).
- L. Vandergrift, "Listening to learn or learning to listen," in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24, ed. M. McGroarty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), 3-25.

About the authors

Akande Akinmade is a Ph.D student in the School of English at the University of Leeds, UK.

Akinwale Olayiwola is a Lecturer at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. His areas of interest are primarily syntax and applied linguistics.

Olateju Moji is a Senior Lecturer at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. Her areas of interest include applied linguistics, discourse analysis and literacy.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

YORÙBÁ CULTURE IN BRAZILIAN CULTURE: CARLOS DIEGUES'S *QUILOMBO* AND OTHER EXPROPRIATIONS

ROBERT NELSON ANDERSON
WINSTON-SALEM STATE UNIVERSITY

Abstract

It is clear even to the casual observer that elements of Yorùbá culture abound in contemporary Brazil, scattered among domains such as Candomblé religion, regional cuisine, daily folklore, popular arts, and 'erudite' cultural production. Even though Yorùbá-speakers and their descendents were numerous in several urban centers, notably Salvador, they were and are still in the minority among the African-descended population of Brazil. Yet, by the mid-twentieth century, thanks both to its local prestige and to an internal diaspora of Yorùbá-influenced people, Yorùbá culture had spread beyond its earlier ethnic and regional contexts. It came to enjoy hegemony as a marker of Afro-Brazilian identity and even, one could say, to be 'expropriated' by Brazilian national culture. The fate of Brazilian Yorùbá culture was not unique, since such nationalization had occurred with other Afro-Brazilian or regional practices and cultural complexes, for example, capoeira, samba, and *feijoada*. The goal of this essay is not to trace the trajectory of this diffusion and expropriation, but to examine some of its endpoints. It will include a close analysis of the 1984 film *Quilombo*, directed by Carlos Diegues. Diegues, one of Brazil's best known filmmakers, chose to retell the story of the seventeenth-century maroon state of Palmares with threads from the historical record and heavy doses of late Cinema Novo aesthetic. The latter included using both overt and subtle elements of Brazilian Yorùbá culture, including *orixá* iconography, ceremonial music, and Yorùbá language, to structure and adorn a narrative about a community that historians know to have

been founded by and largely populated by descendents of West Central African Bantu peoples and Creole Brazilians. With supporting examples from the panorama of contemporary Brazil, the author seeks to characterize the use made of Yorùbá cultural elements in the imagining of both a Pan-Afro-Brazilian and a general Brazilian national cultural identity. The essay concludes with implications for both Brazil and the Yorùbá Diaspora.

It is clear even to the casual observer that elements of Yorùbá culture abound in contemporary Brazil, scattered among domains such as Candomblé religion, regional cuisine, daily folklore, popular arts, and ‘erudite’ cultural production. Even though Yorùbá-speakers and their descendents were numerous in several urban centers, notably Salvador, in the state of Bahia, as well as Rio de Janeiro, they were and are still in the minority among the African-descended population of Brazil (Reis and Mamigonian 2004: 77-9). These people and their culture have been known as Nagô (from Ànàgô) in Brazil by synecdoche (Reis and Mamigonian 2004: 80-3; Parés 2004: 185-90). Yet, by the mid-twentieth century, thanks both to its local prestige and to an internal diaspora of Yorùbá-influenced people, Yorùbá culture had spread beyond its earlier ethnic and regional contexts. Eventually, in the twentieth century, it came to enjoy hegemony as a marker of Afro-Brazilian identity and it even came to be ‘expropriated’ by Brazilian national culture. Viewed another way, the *orixás* earned their Brazilian citizenship, according to the Afro-Brazilian scholar of Afro-Brazilian religion Júlio Braga.¹ The fate of Brazilian Yorùbá culture was not unique, as such nationalization had occurred with other Afro-Brazilian or regional practices and complexes, for example, capoeira (Assunção 2005, Lewis 1992), samba (Vianna 1999), and *feijoada* (the national dish of black beans and meats) (Silva 1998). It is also worth noting, though, that capoeira and Candomblé, unlike some other more ‘digestible’ manifestations of Black culture, suffered official repression and social stigma through much of the twentieth century. Some of the ‘nationalization’ of Afro-Brazilian culture that occurred through the organic transculturation is to be expected, given Brazil’s large African descended population, the role of conscious actors—notably the cultural politics of the Getúlio Vargas Estado Novo regime (Ortiz 2009)—and, more recently, relevant public policies of the Bahian state and Salvador city governments (Santos 2005).

While the expositions cited above help to explain why Afro-Brazilian culture became selectively identifiable with Brazilian national culture, there remains the question of why Yorùbá culture enjoyed dynamism and

partial hegemony among the greater Afro-Brazilian cultural spheres of influence. Though the range of arguments are beyond the scope of the present essay, the explanations lie in: (1) the localized demographic and cultural strength of the Nagô in Salvador and the neighboring Recôncavo, the territory surrounding the Bay of All Saints, and, to some extent in Rio de Janeiro (Reis and Mamigonian 2004; Parés 2004; Butler 1998; Pessoa de Castro in the present volume); (2) the cultural and political importance of Nagôs in the crucial period of the first third of the nineteenth century at a time of upheaval and Afro-Brazilian resistance and revolt (Reis 1993; Reis and Mamigonian 2004); and (3) a post-Abolition Bahian diaspora to Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and elsewhere (Reis and Mamigonian 2004; Vianna 1999). There is also the multifaceted belief in Nagô superiority in several respects, with a historical dynamic of collusion among Nagôs, elites, and intellectuals into which other groups, such as the media, bought. The grain of truth behind this syndrome was the prestige of certain *terreiros* (Candomblé houses) and their leaders, and their consequent expansive and inclusive character (Lima 1997; Reis and Mamigonian 2004; Parés 2004). In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Candomblé religions and the culture of the ‘people of the saints’—whether these followed Nagô, Jeje (that is, Gbe), or Angola-Congo (West Central African) derived traditions—became closely associated with Black cultural and political movements that arose in this time. Because of their association with Africanness, Candomblé religions, often in somewhat re-Africanized forms, were consciously adopted as the dominant form of religious identity and expression by the new generation of those cutting their teeth on the emerging Black activism of the 1970s.²

It is a short distance from the re-emergence of Candomblé in the latter part of the twentieth century as a cultural reference and political tool to an appreciation of how Candomblé and, by extension, Brazilian Yorùbá culture are excerpted or ‘expropriated’ by a series of resemiotizations through which things Yorùbá express Afro-Brazilianness, and, from there, Brazilianness of an ‘authentic’ or ‘alternative’ sort. This reinterpretation and the types of cultural expressions that it encourages are not necessarily embraced by the seat of Nagô culture. As an example, some *iyalorixás* and *bablorixás* (priestesses and priests) have objected to the profane use of Candomblé rhythms and imagery in the secular Carnival parades in Bahia, even though the performers in these parades might themselves have been “people of the saints” (Crowley 1984).³ While these tensions may speak more of a conflict between the sacred and the profane, they also reflect divergent agendas of those who foreground manifestations of Brazilian Yorùbá culture. Thus, one has to contemplate this when coming across

these manifestations in Brazilian ‘high art’. It is in this context of, first, a prominent, if not hegemonic role of Brazilian Yorùbá culture and, second, the selective ‘nationalization’ and profanization of Afro-Brazilian culture that we turn our attention to the dynamics of expression of things Yorùbá in Brazil. The goal of this essay is not to trace the history or trajectory of the diffusion of Yorùbá culture in Brazil, nor is it to summarize the ethnographic corpus on Candomblé; it is, rather, to examine some of the cultural endpoints. For this purpose, I have chosen to do a close analysis of the 1984 film *Quilombo*, directed by Carlos Diegues. With this, I will characterize the use made of Yorùbá cultural elements in the imagining of both a Pan-Afro-Brazilian and a general Brazilian national cultural identity. The essay concludes with implications for both Brazil and the Yorùbá Diaspora.

Diegues, one of Brazil’s best known filmmakers, is a don of the Cinema Novo movement in Brazilian film. In Cinema Novo’s early days, Diegues described the movement in these terms:

Brazil and its people became the central preoccupation of the new group of Brazilian filmmakers. They avoided both the touristic and picturesque attitudes that characterized [international] co-productions and the alienation inherent in an enterprise like Vera Cruz [a domestic studio]. Their goal was to study in depth the social relations of each city and region as a way of critically exposing, as if in miniature, the socio-cultural structure of the country as a whole. (Diegues 1995 [1962]: 66)

This ‘committed cinema’, though, had as its paramount feature “freedom of invention, freedom of expression” (Diegues 1995 [1962]: 66). In the time between 1962 and 1984, the date of *Quilombo* and squarely within the period of Brazil’s redemocratization and return to civilian rule, the Cinema Novo directors had discovered the Carnavalesque as a mode of expression. The Carnavalesque has the virtue of embodying both freedom and Brazilianness, and it was readily harnessed to present otherwise very serious Brazilian topics. At the same time, the Cinema Novo directors moved away from a rather Marxist lens on Brazilian society, which allowed them to begin to take Afro-Brazilian culture on its own terms and, then, to engage in the sort of expropriations which the present essay discusses. Thus, Diegues’s 1963 film on the same theme, *Ganga-Zumba*, is a neorealist description and analysis of slavery and one form of resistance to it. In the case of *Quilombo* twenty-one years later, this expropriation of Afro-Brazilian culture was in the service of portraying an alternative society. When asked about the difference between *Ganga-Zumba* and *Quilombo*, Carlos Diegues replied that the former was about “a

major effort in the struggle for freedom” (“*um grande esforço para a luta pela liberdade*”) while the latter was “a film about Utopia” (“*um filme sobre a Utopia*”; Magalhães 2005). This shift in topic motivates the expropriation, as we shall see.

Carlos Diegues chose to retell the story of the seventeenth-century maroon state of Palmares with threads from the historical record and heavy doses of late Cinema Novo aesthetic. The latter included using both overt and subtle elements of Brazilian Yorùbá culture, including *orixá* iconography, ceremonial music, and Yorùbá language, to structure and adorn a narrative about a community that historians know to have been founded by and largely populated by descendents of West Central African Bantu peoples and Creole Brazilians (cf. Anderson 1996a). The film has the trappings of a historical narrative, beginning with a scrolling preface with a historical background. In fact, the film’s credits acknowledge Décio Freitas’s *Palmares: a guerra dos escravos* (1974) as a source, and a comparison of the film and this book confirms the debt. Benchmarks that tie the story to history, such as dates and external events, are from Freitas and parallel other secondary and primary sources.⁴ Thus we can take the chronology in Freitas and other historical sources as the skeleton of the plot, with which certain liberties are taken for the sake of the format and content of the film.

The action of the film begins with scenes on a Northeastern sugar plantation and the events leading to the escape of a group of slaves. Abiolá (later known as Ganga-Zumba) has already attacked an overseer and is planning on ambushing the master of the plantation and those in his company. In the scene “Ambush”, the female slave Dandara, the attendant to the plantation master, Sr. Tourinho, is dressed simply, in a coral pink dress, with a dusty, multicolored soldier’s vest, in which reds and browns predominate. At the moment that the ambush occurs, when the master requests his sword, Dandara discards her straw hat, revealing a red headscarf, and gives the sword to him—point-first in the belly. We first hear the *alujá*, one of the sacred rhythms of Xangô, as Ganga-Zumba beams with admiration. Thus begins the first of many uses of *orixá* iconography in the film. We will return to the many instances of Xangô and Oiá/lansã imagery in later episodes.

The Yorùbá language itself soon makes its debut. When the rebel slaves are trying to decide where to go, the group is divided between those led by Aroroba, who wishes to return to Africa and those led by Ganga-Zumba and Dandara, who want to go to the maroon state of Palmares, ‘The Land of Free Men’. Upon separation, Aroroba wishes them well: “Iboaku ale, chialafia ni”, to which Acaiuba retorts, “It’s better to speak

the white man's language so we can understand one another" (*"É melhor falar a língua de branco para a gente se entender"*). Many of the slaves are Creoles with neither a desire to return to Africa nor knowledge of an African language. Ganga-Zumba translates, "Aroroba wished us a night full of blessings". Immediately, we have a challenge reconciling what was said in Yorùbá with what was intended. Is Aroroba trying to say "*Èkú alé, sè àlàáfìà ní?*" ("Good evening, is all well with you?")? But in this context, Aroroba might better have said "*Òdàró, àlàáfìà à wá pèlú yín*" ("Goodnight [till morning] and all will be well with you").⁵ Since *Èkú alé* is now an evening greeting rather than leave-taking, are we seeing an archaic expression or usage? Candomblé liturgical language is archaic, of course, and some of these formulae are no doubt used in the film. Notwithstanding any archaisms, it does make sense that Aroroba would have asked how the others were doing. My guess is we have a mistranslation *into* Yorùbá here.

En route to Palmares, Gongoba gives birth to the child who will later be known as Francisco and, even later, Zumbi. When the child is delivered, the men in Gongoba's presence sing a birth song:

Omó d'áyé, ó lajú
Bàbá lórún ò
Móju mómode
Fì ran lówó kùrín modé (sic)
[Ran modé kùrín yi lówó]
Bàbá bükun lójojúmó
 (A child arrives on earth and opens its eyes-
 Oh Father in heaven,
 Take care of this child-
 Help this boy child out-
 Father, enrich/bless him every day)

The maroons arrive and settle in Palmares, ruled at that time by the wise old queen, Acotirene, who is dressed in blue and white batik. She is covered in material resembling tangled fishnet or gray seaweed. The Palmarinos are dressed in bluish hues and one even wears a starfish pendant. A little later, we hear the song that begins, "*Ìyá Qdẹ le se...*" ("The Mother of the Hunter can do it...").⁶ Qdẹ here is Oxóssi, the Great Hunter *orixá*. These elements associate Acotirene with Iemanjá as the mother of the *orixás*. This reading is further justified by the dream sequence much later in "Palmares Is Eternal," in which Acotirene appears on the seashore, surrounded by pots.

Acotirene immediately sees in the man before her a future leader, as the figure of Xangô replaces him. She confirms this through a version of

the Ifá oracle using a tray and nuts, and she calls him Ganga-Zumba (the name known to the historical record). She knows that she must soon hand over the leadership of Palmares to him and retire. Abiolá initially doubts the charge, saying, with surprise, “No, Acotirene. I am just Abiolá, son of the King of the Ardras... I was hunting a lion close to my village when the Jangas captured me and turned me over to the whites to be sold as a slave.” This is a fanciful mix of history and geography. Abiolá is, of course, a Yorùbá name. Ardra is Portuguese for Allada, the Gbe-speaking kingdom on the coast to the south of Abomey and to the west of the Yorùbá cities. The primary sources say that Ganga-Zumba was indeed a king of the Ardras, so he may have known Yorùbá, but he probably did not speak it as his first language. The “Jangas” were the marauders of Central Africa who afflicted the Imbangala. Since a large number of the Palmarinos were probably from the Congo-Angola area or descendants of people from there, some may have indeed been captured by Jangas—but not Ganga-Zumba, a Gbe-speaking member of a royal family from West Africa! Africa is a big place, but it always seems to fit within the imagination.

In the scene, “Return to the Forest”, Acotirene retires to the forest (or returns to the spirit world?), carried on a man’s shoulders and disappears into the forest mists. Back in Palmares, Ganga-Zumba appears in the stylized costume of Xangô. Xangô himself appears in his place dancing in full attire—in red and white with an elaborate beaded crown and *oxê* in hand. We hear the *alujá* to shouts of “*Caô Cabicilé!*” (“*Kà wòóo kábíyèsí ilé*”)—Xangô’s usual greeting

Palmares prospers under Ganga-Zumba’s leadership and is ably defended against attacks, first by the Dutch, later by the Portuguese. The scene “I’ve Got the One” opens with the Palmarinos planting and working, and the children receiving, first, instructions in herbal remedies, and then a Yorùbá lesson from an elder:

Bàbá:	<i>Ìyá?</i>
Children:	Mother (<i>Mãe</i>)!
Bàbá:	<i>Ọba?</i>
Children:	King (<i>Rei</i>)!
Bàbá:	And what is ‘food’? (<i>E comida, o que é que é?</i>)
Children:	<i>Onje!</i>

Gongoba leads the following song:

Onilẹ, mojúbà
Ìbà òrìṣà
Ìbà onilẹ

Ẹ pagbo o
Ẹ pagbo ẹ t̀àn g̀àl̀à
Ẹ t̀àn g̀àl̀à kil̀è óró ooo
Ẹ pagbo ní j́éj́é

(Landowner, I salute you
 Salutation of the Orisha
 Salutation of the Landowner

Gather the neighborhood
 Call the neighborhood to gather around
 Gather and let the land recognize
 Gather softly / Tread softly)

Onilé is the shy, retiring female *orixá* to whom Olodumare gave dominion over the earth. My sources also tell me of the Yorùbá saying, “*Omo onile te jeje, Ajoji te giri giri*”—“The owner of the land would tread softly while an outsider would tread carelessly”. This is appropriate because, while the Palmarinos make due use of their land, they sustain numerous painful though generally unsuccessful raids. In this midst of this idyllic scene, there is an attack, which the men and youths repel, as they appear to be well-practiced in doing. Dandara and Ganga-Zumba join the fray; Ganga-Zumba appears as Xangô in full costume and dances a stylized capoeira to the sound of the *alujá*. However, Gongoba and Baba are shot, and a raider carries off Gongoba’s son, who is sold to a priest in the Portuguese town. This is how Gongoba’s son comes to be baptized Francisco and raised in the priest’s care.

In this and subsequent scenes, up until the death of Ganga-Zumba, we see Dandara arrayed in costume and accessories that always suggest Oiá/Iansã, for example with a spear and a deep red skirt, or a sword and a red headdress. She always accompanies Ganga-Zumba into battle; thus her association as Xangô’s closest wife is solidified.

Many years later, there is a plague in the Portuguese town that coincides with a comet, which the Africans take as auspicious. Francisco seizes the chance and flees. He makes an arduous return to Palmares, the last leg of which is scaling the rock face that protects the rear of the capital of Palmares. In the episode, “A sign”, the Palmarinos celebrate the comet’s arrival with an anachronistic Carnaval celebration set to one of Gilberto Gil’s contemporary popular songs. Here we meet Namba, Ganga-Zumba’s latest infatuation. Ganga-Zumba appears in Exu’s curved-phallic hairstyle that covers the blade on Exu’s head, suggesting Exu’s erotic and procreative aspects. He is watching Namba, who is topless and wearing a short yellow and red wrap, doing a sensuous Carnaval shimmy, when he

sees Francisco collapsed on the ground. Elsewhere Namba appears in dusty yellow attire, reinforcing an association with Oxum, Xangô's youngest wife.

In "A proposition", Captain Fernão Carrilho (a leader of several Portuguese assaults on Palmares known to history) appears with an odd collection of individuals, refugees from the Dutch court, in addition to his regulars. Among the refugees is the legendary courtesan Ana de Ferro, named at first blush because of her iron corset. She had been used then persecuted by the Dutch and Portuguese colonials, ending up as the possession of one of Carrilho's soldiers. Ganga-Zumba barter for her, and she becomes his third consort. Ana de Ferro represents Obá, according to Carlos Diegues, in her aspect as wise elder, and we note the red and orange color scheme in her costuming over the course of the film. Even so, there are times when she takes on aspects of Iansã, as we will see. Thus the mythological trio of Xangô's wives is completed: Ana/Obá, Dandara/Iansã, and Namba/Oxum.

Several scenes later, in "We Bid our Farewells", we see a funeral for Acaiuba, who has been shot by Carrilho. The staging of this ceremony contains elements of an *axexê*, a Candomblé funeral rite: for example white costumes and the breaking of pots, jewelry and other possessions not distributed to heirs. Indeed, pots are everywhere in the film—more than realism and utility would dictate and more than folkloric adornment would warrant. When Renata Magalhães asked Diegues about the pots, he pointed out that the pots hold the *axé*, the life-force, of the people. That is, they are *assentamentos* or receptacles not just of the *axé* of *orixás* but of *all* the characters, who are, after all, held to be worthy ancestors of those that follow them.

After Acaiuba's funeral, there is the semiotically dense sequence of Ganga-Zumba's anointing of Zumbi as son of Ogum. This occurs at night or in the dark in an isolated setting. After a small pyrotechnic flash at the base of a lance (the lance of Ogum, which will be Zumbi's), Ganga-Zumba anoints Francisco in a combination of initiation/renaming and a ceremony of protection (*fechamento de corpo*). As Ganga-Zumba anoints Francisco, he intones:

Ògún, Ògúnnyè
Ògún ran lówó
Ko sègun
Ran lówó lójojúmó
Eleyi arare (sic) [Só ara yi]
Nìghàtí oba lo fùn ogun
Bùkún omo yi

Kòní bèrù
Ogún, Ogúnyè

(Ogum, salutations
God of iron, protect him
Help break [win] the war
Help him every day
Protect this body
When he goes to war
Enrich/Bless thy son
He will not be afraid
Ogum, salutations)

Then, Ganga-Zumba, standing by the pedestal that hold Ogum's tools and weapons, invokes the fallen warriors: "Ogum Ogum-iê, send thy greatest warriors from the Valley of Death and teach thy son the wisdom of war" ("*Ogum Ogum-iê, manda vir teus guerreiros valentes do Vale da Morte para que eles protejam o corpo do teu filho e ensinam ao teu filho a sabedoria da guerra*"). There is a brief dance sequence to the *alujá* involving two headless figures clad in blue and silver with raffia 'hair'. These colors are Ogum's, though there is not much else of his in the iconography; the figures may be meant to suggest highly stylized Egúngún ancestral spirits, though this is not clear either. Then appear the mute, ghostly figures of deceased characters encountered earlier in the film. There is nothing really in the film, though, to suggest an appropriation of imagery from the Babá Egum cult of the ancestors, from which we would expect different costuming and perhaps the spirits speaking in liturgical language (cf. Braga 1995). Then Ganga-Zumba renames Zumbi: "Thou no longer art anyone. Thou art thy people. Thou art born again. Thy Father Ogum bids thee be called Zumbi Alakija(de),⁷ to whom was given the crown of war. You are Zumbi, who never dies" ("*Tu não és mais ninguém. Tu és teu povo. Tu nasceste de novo. Teu Pai Ogum mandou chamar-te Zumbi Alakija(de), a quem foi dado a coroa da guerra. Tu és Zumbi, o que não morre nunca*"). Zumbi seizes the lance of Ogum and holds it over his head; the lance bursts into flame. Subsequently, whenever we see Zumbi at rest or in council, he is in his forge, which is associated with Ogum. Of course, historical Palmares had several forges, and these would have been active in the periods when Palmares was on a war footing, but the setting is not gratuitous.

Ganga-Zumba functions here as a sacerdotal figure, which is probably not too far from his historical role as mediator between ancestral spirits and descendants of slaves who have become untethered from one another through the forces of enslavement and dislocation. Ganga-Zumba probably

would have used language and ritual with roots in the Imbangala or Ambundu peoples of present-day Angola. I have synthesized elsewhere how the names Ganga-Zumba and Zumbi are signs of the adaptation of institutions and beliefs of the Imbangala *kilombo*, or military society, to the Brazilian maroon setting (Anderson 1996a). Thus, while the language, the dance rhythm, and some of the iconography (the lance and other tools and weapons) are derived from Yorùbá culture, the scene is also full of generically African, Afro-Brazilian or even Central African imagery, while other elements (for example, styles of body paint and costume) are creations of the artistic team. In other words, this scene, like many others, embodies the semiotic complexity that is the film as a work of art, a compounded sign that is far from the ‘purity’ of Candomblé ritual.

In the following scenes, Zumbi wages war against the colonials carrying the lance of Ogum but, curiously, wearing red, which we would take to represent Xangô or Iansan. Is this because he has been crowned the war chief? Is this a foreshadowing of his eclipse of Ganga-Zumba’s power? Dandara now accompanies Zumbi into battle, always dressed in the same dusty red color that has characterized her thus far and fighting valiantly. She wears bamboo armor and carries a sword and shield. In these same scenes, Ana de Ferro accompanies Ganga-Zumba in a dress of the same color though with more orange hue. She plays the wise counselor to Dandara’s warlike fury. In the scene “Time without War”, Ana is dressed in a reddish off-the-shoulder dress with her hair pinned up, looking like a rustic Athena. This is because she has read the governor’s letter offering negotiations and because she will serve a role as interpreter and advisor in these. Not that she advocates peace; on the contrary, she agrees with Zumbi in not trusting the Portuguese. But she is Ganga-Zumba’s loyal and trusted advisor, and so she accompanies him. This loyalty unto death again echoes Obá’s character. In the scene “Agreed?”, in which Ganga-Zumba and his party visit Recife to hear the governor’s terms for peace, not only does Ana go but so does Namba. While Ana helps broker the peace treaty, Namba, with elaborately adorned braids and dressed in the yellow of Oxum, is trying on make-up with the chic young women of the court (whose coiffures, kinesics, and style of speaking are more like those of cosmopolitan young Brazilian women of the 1980s). Namba dizzily repeats the mantra “América” proffered by a young woman and stares into and hand mirror. The mirror is one of Oxum’s accessories. Namba is seen with the hand mirror in all subsequent appearances. There is an irony in the suggestion that Namba/Oxum has received her emblematic accessory from ladies of the Pernambuco governor’s court.

From the scene in which Ganga-Zumba is trying to convince his people, in vain, to move to Cucaú (“Palmares Is Still Here”) up to the scene in which he poisons himself (“Palm Wine”), he and those that go with him to Cucaú (including Ana and Namba) are dressed in predominately deep blue and lilac, the colors of Nanã Burucu, the crone *orixá* and mother of Omolu, the *orixá* of disease and healing. When Ganga-Zumba is marching to Cucaú, he cradles his *oxê*, rather than wields it, with the head nearly out of sight, so that it resembles the *ibiri* or scepter of Nanã Burucu (which symbolizes Omolu). The move of the minority faction led by Ganga-Zumba is grim. The Cucaú of the film is a bleak pit of sand surrounded by dunes (in fact, the historical Cucaú was well-watered, though strategically close to the control of the colonial governments). Gilberto Gil’s song on the soundtrack, stylistically an American rhythm and blues, invokes Nagô *axexê* imagery: “Every pot breaks, every adornment shatters, every grace abandons him” (“*Todo vaso quebra, toda bugiganga se despedaça, toda graça lhe abandona*”). Xangô “no longer hovers” over Ganga-Zumba’s head, but still there are elements of Xangô iconography left: for example, Ganga-Zumba wears a white ram skin cape decorated with small red feathers. Ganga-Zumba only recovers his fuller resemblance to Xangô when he realizes that his band is, in effect, under house arrest. He drinks poisoned *emu* (*emu ôpe*, palm wine) in order to force his contingent to rejoin Zumbi. Through the palm wine scene, Namba preserves aspects of Oxum: her chest is only partly concealed by fine Portuguese lace; she adjusts her long braids staring into her mirror; and she cradles Ganga-Zumba as he dies, singing an erotic lullaby, “*Nambamorada*” (a play on words: Namba-Lover-Home). In the same scene, Ana takes on aspects of Iansã: she has a copper hair comb, and she kills André Tourinho, the Portuguese official in charge of ‘handling’ Ganga-Zumba. She does this with Tourinho’s own sword, echoing his father’s death at Dandara’s hands much earlier.

After the debacle in Cucaú, when we see Dandara she is dressed in deep blue batik, similar to that worn by Acotirene. Her hair is graying—she has become a crone or a wise elder. She is still always present to advise Zumbi and his chiefs, but she does not do battle. During the initial advance of Domingos Jorge Velho, the wilderness tamer contracted by the colonials to subdue Palmares, Zumbi and his war chiefs are in war paint and gear. Dandara, however, does not bear arms. Zumbi requests that she pray for them (not fight), whereas she had previously been side by side with him in battle. There is not enough iconographic information, however, to make a firm determination as to whether Diegues now associates Dandara with Iemanjá or Nanã Burucu. It really does not

matter: both the matron Iemanjá and the crone Nanã Burucu are figures of female wisdom and power. Dandara now resembles Acotirene.

In “Till the end”, the scene in which Domingos Jorge Velho and the colonial forces breach the capital’s walls, leading up to the defeat of Palmares, Zumbi despairs of Palmares’ survival. The spirit of Ganga-Zumba then appears in the full attire of Xangô (yet with ghostly white face paint instead of the cowry crown), just as in Ganga-Zumba’s heyday. He offers his final counsel to Zumbi in Yorùbá, “*Palmares dajú dajú ní wà silè ló, ní pé mí* (sic)” (“Palmares will live, even without us”).⁸ This is the sense in which Zumbi and others must understand Palmares as ‘eternal’. The final scene, “Enemy Hands”, relates the story of Zumbi’s death, which, according to the historical record, happened on November 20, 1695, about a year after the destruction of Palmares’ capital. Diegues harnesses myth once again: when Zumbi is killed, he throws his lance into the air: “I return your lance so that it will not fall into enemy hands” (“*Devolvo a tua lança para que não caia na mão do inimigo*”), upon which the sky turns red with Zumbi’s final words, “*Ogun-iê!*”

In the preceding paragraphs, I have given evidence for the sorts of ‘expropriations’ of Brazilian Yorùbá culture in a contemporary work of art. I have not yet explained why I call these expropriations, however. It bears mention that the Quilombo is not, conservatively speaking, sacred art. There may be scenes which the viewer makes a grounded interpretation as sacred, and indeed at least one Candomblé house, Ilé Asé Orô Sakapata, was on the artistic team. I argue that there is a fundamental ontological difference between a work like the Cinema Novo films *Quilombo* or *O amuleto de Ogum* by Nelson Pereira dos Santos (1974)—which also involves a *fechamento do corpo* by the order of Ogum—and the multimedia sculpture of Mestre Didi or the paintings of Griot or Abdias do Nascimento.⁹ Mestre Didi (born Deoscóredes Maximiliano dos Santos) is an artist, a decorated and respected religious leader, and an expert on Candomblé tradition. As a sculptor, he has made critically acclaimed works from materials used in Afro-Brazilian ritual arts, such as colored leather, fibers, cowry shells, and mirrors, in works of individual artistic creative expression, employing Candomblé iconography in ways that make mythic narratives corporeal. In Euro-American terms, these are sacred art, however, because the reference is always to the religious context even if the creations are novel. Works like the Cinema Novo films in question, though, are polysemic and polyreferential. Yes, there is *reference* to the sacred, just as there is *reference* to the sacred in the profane imagery of Carnival parades. In other words this not just dilettantish appropriation of signifying elements whose connection with

the *signifié* has been cut. Rather, it is because there are a priori signifieds that the signifying capacity of the artistic sign is enriched. Put in Peircean terms, the work of art engages a dynamic semiotic chain of interpretation, with signs (e.g. the Yorùbá language) referring to objects (e.g. elements of Yorùbá religion), but, in the context of other signs (e.g. an episode of Brazilian history) the public yields new *interpretants*. This expropriation is only potent because the connection with the original signification remains embedded therein. Religious communities will incidentally see little or no difference between the expropriation and the appropriation, because both uses of heretofore sacred signs flee from the strictly sacred context, and they may be taken as sacrilegious. I would submit, though, that these expropriations occur not only in the artistic domain, but even religious as well. For instance, both syncretism of *orixás* with Catholic saints and their re-Africanization are expropriations insofar as signs are recontextualized for strategic religious purposes—undercover survival or a re-affirmation of roots and a quest for elusive ‘purity’.

It is clear that semiotic expropriation also occurs in the political domain. To understand the strategy of Carlos Diegues and other artists, however, one has to bear in mind the stated purpose of the films of this phase of Cinema Novo. By harnessing elements of Black history and culture, Diegues creates a vision of utopia, an alternative Brazil. The other features of the ‘myth’ of Palmares are beyond the scope of this essay,¹⁰ but this vision does not completely converge either with the historical record of Palmares or the beliefs and practices of Candomblé. It does partly converge with the alternative vision of Brazil espoused by the Black movement, especially the 1970s generation—one with which many Brazilian progressives of the same generation, regardless of ethnic background, could resonate: an egalitarian, inclusive, and communitarian society, in which Afro-Brazilian culture is not only valued but is a guiding principle. For reasons of history, Brazilian Yorùbá culture has become prominent, though not exclusive, in this Afro-Brazilian ideology. The late Lélia González, an academic and leader of the Unified Black Movement in Brazil—and also one of the film’s consultants—stated simply that the meaning of word *quilombo* in contemporary Brazil is an attempt to create an alternative society (“a tentativa da criação de uma sociedade alternativa”; Magalhães 2005). She continued: “The spirit of Zumbi continues, the spirit of Palmares continues in the sense of establishing from now into the future a just, egalitarian society” (“*O espírito de Zumbi continua, o espírito de Palmares continua no sentido de estabelecer de hoje para o futuro uma sociedade justa e egalitária*”). In the same documentary, anthropologist Roberto da Matta comments that Carlos

Diegues succeeded in capturing some important facets of the Brazilian cosmology in the sense that, while Brazilians operate somewhat unconscious of the history of slavery, they still live a “culture of servitude” based on this past slavery, and that in the moment portrayed in the film, a group of slaves frees themselves and builds a “life that they would live”; that is, “from the inside-out and not from the outside-in.” Whatever the facts of *Palmares*, the importance of this work of art is to make concrete an aspect of Brazilian mythology and put it into a political perspective. Da Matta goes on to say, in effect, that because the cinema is so concrete, so striking, that it brings what was private into the public space, and even plays a role in democratization.

Candomblé, or better the Orixá Tradition, is now a universal religion, not just an ethnic one (Parés 2004). In Brazil and throughout the Americas, it is practiced by people of all ethnic (not to mention class) backgrounds. This is a logical extension of ‘Nagôization’, its counterpart in Cuba, and the vitality of Yorùbá culture elsewhere. Candomblé is, at the same time, a marker of Afro-Brazilian and Brazilian identity. The universalization and nationalization of Yorùbá culture are not the same phenomenon, however. For outside (including Yorùbá) observers of Brazil, this distinction may not be obvious. The former is testimony of the resilience and functionality of Yorùbá-derived practices and beliefs beyond their original home. It presents its own dynamic of change, just like any living culture. The expropriation to which I have referred, though, even when it is done by ‘people of the saints’ and others respectful of Yorùbá tradition, is different insofar as it is ambiguous and polysemic. Seeing Zumbi (who, after all, supposedly existed as an actual person living in the seventeenth century) as a son of Ogun is neither historically justified nor is it usually sacred art. It is part of an artistic vision and a political allegory of a national utopia, an alternative Brazil. The historical record and the Candomblé iconography are, therefore, structuring elements of this allegory. Yorùbá tradition could not function as allegory in Brazil, however, if it did not make use of a code that was not viscerally intellectually comprehensible to the Brazilian public. Such is the vigor of things Yorùbá in Brazil.

Endnotes

¹ Braga 1995:15. In the running text, I have chosen to use the common Brazilian spellings of proper names and other words of Yorùbá origin because these are usual in both popular and scholarly usage, not to mention in the Candomblé houses themselves. To Yorùbá speakers unfamiliar with Brazil, these terms are clear if one recalls that: tones are not marked, though the tonic accents sometimes correspond to Yorùbá high or low tones; the tonic accent marks <^> and <v>, when used,

correspond to open and close vowels respectively; nasal vowels are indicated, according to orthographic rules and spelling convention, by postvocalic <m> or <n>, or the diacritic <̃>; <x> and less commonly <ch> = <ɣ>; <gb> and <p> are usually written and <p>, and are pronounced as stops, though intervocally, they may appear and be pronounced as consonant clusters <gb> and <kp>/<cp>; Yorùbá <w> and <y> may appear as these semiconsonants, the corresponding (semi)vowel <u>, <î>, or even omitted, according to norm or convention. The exception to the use of Brazilian spellings is when I render Yorùbá text from the film. Information about Candomblé iconography comes from various sources, but among the more important sources are Bastide (1958, 1978) and Verger (1981).

² See Parés (2004: 194-204) for a summary in English of the re-Africanization question and the attraction of the Black movement. Lima (1997) and Braga (1995:13-21) have nuanced if brief summaries of the purity question. This preferential option for Afro-Brazilian religion has had to be modified over the years in recognition of the religious diversity of Brazilians of African descent. In the 1990s, the Steering Committee of Black Organizations (Coordenação Nacional de Entidades Negras—CONEN), an umbrella organization, acknowledged that the broadest coalition, and alliances with other political actors, depended on welcoming groups with roots among Protestants, Roman Catholics, and atheists or non-religious. On parallel tracks, Black consciousness movements have had to address gender, sexual preference, and politico-ideological diversity issues in defining their agendas and *modus operandi*.

³ See also Santos (2005: 129-93). Brazilian colleagues who are Candomblé faithful and fellow travelers have grumbled to me about the folklorization of *orixá* iconography when presented as a part of shows on Bahian culture and dance. Other more public cases or controversy are the use of iconography at a Shell gasoline station near the venerable *terreiro* of Ilê Axé Iyá Nassô Oká (Casa Branca do Engenho Velho) or the statues representing *orixás* in the Dique do Tororó in Salvador.

⁴ Although this was a researched history, Freitas was a journalist by profession, and the documentation of his sources is flawed. A number of supposed facts of Zumbi's life, such as his kidnapping by the slave hunter and his upbringing by a priest, are found only in Freitas. It is still an important narrative among the various secondary sources, and is representative of a left-leaning reading of Palmares. See Anderson 1996a.

⁵ For this essay, I did not have access to Nelson Nandotti and Carlos Diegues, *Quilombo: Roteiro do filme e crônicas das filmagens* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Achiamé, 1984). Since I am not a Yorùbá speaker, I am grateful to Mrs. Alhaja Funsho and Miss Eniola Funsho for transliteration and assistance in interpreting the meaning of the Yorùbá in context. I could not have written this essay without their help. I am also grateful to Dr. Olasope Oyelaran and Dr. Joel Oke for additional comments. Any errors of fact or interpretation are, of course, my own.

⁶ Judging from the pronunciation in the film, this is not *Ialodê* (Ìyálóòdê), one of the epithets of Oxum in Brazil. To bring Oxum's imagery in at this point would be a confusing reference.

⁷ The voice track says “Alakija” while the subtitles say “Alakijade”. Thanks again to Dr. Oyelaran for pointing out the connection of this title with the traditional chief of Lagos. If the latter form is intended, Dr. Oyelaran suggests the reading “*Alákijà á dé*” (Alákijà has arrived).

⁸ “*Palmares dajú dajú ní wà silè ló, ní pé mí*” appears to be what is said, though my sources prefer “*Palmares dajú dajú á fi wà, silè ló, ní pé yí.*” The idea, though, is that Palmares will continue on without us (as individuals).

⁹ For examples of Mestre Didi’s and Griot’s work, see color plates in *Callaloo* 18(4), *African Brazilian Literature: A Special Issue*.

¹⁰ See partial treatments of this topic in Anderson 1996a, 1996b, and 1996c.

References

- Robert Nelson Anderson, 1996a “The *Quilombo* of Palmares: A new overview of a maroon state in seventeenth-century Brazil”, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (1996a): 545-66.
- . “The muses of chaos and destruction in *Arena conta Zumbi*”, *Latin American Theatre Review* 29(2) (1996b): 15-28.
- . “O mito de Zumbi: Implicações para o Brasil e para a Diáspora Africana”, *Afro-Ásia* 17 (1996c): 99-119.
- Matthias Röhrig Assunção, *Capoeira: The History of an Afro-Brazilian Martial Art* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*, (trans.) Helen Sebba (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
- . *Le candomblé de Bahia (Rite nagô)* (Paris, LaHaye: Plon., 1958).
- Júlio Braga, *Ancestralidade afro-brasileira: o culto de babá egum*, 2nd edition (Salvador: EDUFBA, Ianamá, 1995).
- Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998).
- Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares africanos na Bahia*, 2nd edition (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, Topbooks, 2005).
- Daniel J. Crowley, *African Myth and Black Reality in Bahian Carnival* (Los Angeles: UCLA Museum of Natural History Monograph 25, 1984).
- Carlos Diegues, “Cinema Novo”, in *Brazilian Cinema*, expanded edition, (eds.) Randal Johnson and Robert Stam (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995 [1962]), 64-67.
- . (dir. and screenplay), *Quilombo* (DVD, New Yorker Video, 2005).
- Instituto Brasileiro de História e Geografia (IBGE), N.d. Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílio (PNAD), 1 Dados gerais, Tabela 1.2 - População residente, por grandes regiões, segundo o sexo e a cor ou raça, 2005-2006. (Accessed 21 Jan. 2008)
- <ftp://ftp.ibge.gov.br/Trabalho_e_Rendimento/Pesquisa_Nacional_por_Amostra_de_Domicilios_anual/2006/Sintese_Indicadores/2004_2006/Dados_Gerais/>.
- John Lowell Lewis, *Ring of Liberation: Deceptive Discourse in Brazilian Capoeira* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- Vivaldo da Costa Lima, “Sobre a tradição africana no Brasil”, in *Nossos ancestrais e o terreiro*, (ed.) Juana Elbein dos Santos (Salvador: EGBA, 1997), 33-38.

- Renata Almeida Magalhães (dir.), “Um filme sobre” Featurette, *Quilombo* (DVD, New Yorker Video, 2005).
- Renato Ortiz, “Culture and Society” in *Brazil: A Century of Change*, (eds.) Ignacy Sachs, Jorge Wilhelm, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
- Luis Nicolau Parés, “The ‘Nagôization’ process in Bahian Candomblé” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, (eds.) Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 185-208..
- João José dos Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- João José dos Reis and Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, “Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil,” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, (eds.) Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 77-110.
- Jocélio Teles dos Santos, *O poder da cultura e a cultura do poder: a disputa simbólica da herança negra no Brasil* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2005).
- Denise Ferreira da Silva, “Facts of Blackness: Brazil Is not Quite the United States...And Racial Politics in Brazil?,” *Social Identities* 4(2) (1998): 201-34.
- Pierre Fatumbi Verger, *Orixás: Deuses iorubás na África e no Novo Mundo* (Salvador: Corrupio, 1981).
- Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, (Ed. and trans.) John Charles Chasteen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

CHAPTER TWENTY

HONOURING GREAT MEN: LANGUAGE, MEMORIALISATION AND POPULAR VOICES IN EARLY YORUBA PRINT CULTURE

KARIN BARBER

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

By writing, cultural and intellectual pioneers create their own monuments. Other people who are inspired by their work may wish to pay tribute in the same medium, as this Festschrift for a great pioneer in Yoruba linguistics illustrates. In the present paper I reflect on the culture of memorialisation among an earlier generation – the Lagos intelligentsia of the 1920s. The newspaper editors and proprietors of this period regarded tributes to great pioneers not only as mementoes of past achievement, but also as stepping stones to the future. In this way they recognised that pioneers create new potentialities, which may be realised in as yet unknown and unpredictable ways.

1. Lagos and the press in the 1920s

The 1920s were a period of innovation and activity in the Yoruba-language press. Although the production of books and pamphlets in Yoruba had been well established in Lagos since the 1880s, Yoruba-language newspapers, after the demise of the influential but shortlived *Iwe Irohin Eko* (1888-92), had been thin on the ground. The 1920s began with no Yoruba-language papers apart from the CMS's monthly bilingual *In Leisure Hours*. But by 1929, five new weekly Yoruba papers, with English sections, had come into existence in Lagos, with another one in Ibadan. Some of them expired within the decade, but others flourished up to the 1950s.¹ There was a simultaneous burst of activity in the English-language

press: the decade started with three weekly English-language papers (or four, if you count the *Lagos Standard*, which folded a few weeks into 1920); by the end of 1930, eleven new ones, six of them dailies, had come into existence (Omu 1978:253-4). Print runs increased: an estimated total weekly circulation of 4,700 copies of all papers in 1922 leaped to 7,800 in 1923. Four new printing presses were established in 1923 alone. All this was in spite of the economic downturn which began in 1920-1 and lasted virtually up to the Second World War, after several decades of booming trade and favourable producer prices (Hopkins 1966).

The immediate trigger of this activity was politics. The entire decade was galvanised by the campaign to reinstate the Oba of Lagos, the Eleko Eşugbayi, from whom official recognition was withdrawn in 1919 and again in 1920, a demotion that was followed by outright deposition and exile in 1925. Simultaneously, a long-running dispute among the Muslims of Lagos, which also involved the Eleko, intermittently disrupted the city as it flared up in riots, lock-outs, and court cases. The educated elite who owned, edited and wrote the newspapers engaged in long-running battles of polemics with each other over these issues. Their editorials frequently took the form of impassioned addresses – not only to their close antagonists among the elite, but also to the British colonial officials, the Lagos chiefs and Muslim leaders, and the city's population at large. The papers tracked the twists and turns of political and religious developments, explained the issues to the uninformed, and urged prominent participants to take action.

This vigorous activity, however, did not arise from a personal or direct interest in the chieftaincy affairs or Muslim politics of the indigenes of Lagos. Though highly heterogeneous as to their precise origins, the elite was composed overwhelmingly of 'native foreigners' – Africans born outside Nigeria, or (more often in the 1920s) their descendants. Many of them were Saro or 'Sierra Leoneans': descendants of those people, predominantly of Yoruba origin, who had been rescued from slave ships in the early nineteenth century and settled in Freetown, and had from there made their way to Lagos, Abeokuta and the Yoruba-speaking hinterland from 1839 onwards (Kopytoff 1965). Others came from the Gold Coast, the Gambia, Liberia and elsewhere. These elements of the elite tended to be Protestant, English-speaking, and relatively highly educated, filling posts in the literate professions such as clergy, lawyers, clerks, and civil servants. There was also a well-established community descended from liberated slaves from Brazil and Cuba – mainly Catholic, often retaining a command of Portuguese², and artisanal, specialising in carpentry, masonry, architecture, house-building and tailoring (Carneiro da Cunha

1985). In the nineteenth century, all sections of this small and variegated elite had had strong mercantile interests, and some of their number had been able to make spectacular fortunes in trade before the European monopoly gained its stranglehold in the late nineteenth century.

In the early years of their settlement in Lagos, members of this elite had sought influence through social, commercial and political proximity to the British colonial officials, and maintained a social distance from the mainly pagan and Muslim 'natives' of the city (Brown 1964; Cole 1975; Echeruo 1977). But by the 1920s, this had changed. The more radical elements of the elite were seeking to challenge British rule by aligning themselves with popular movements, which had begun to erupt during the first decade of the twentieth century around contentious political issues such as the water rate and the land question (Okonkwo 1995). Populist elite leaders saw the opportunity, and the need, to build a following and a support base among them. Electoral politics was coming in. It had its first tentative beginnings in 1920, when a severely restricted electorate was able to vote for three Lagos representatives on the Lagos Town Council; this was followed in 1923 by further and more significant elections to a newly-created version of the Nigerian Legislative Council. Although the electorate at this stage was tiny (350 people in a population of 100,000 in 1920, according to Baker 1974:148) and drawn entirely from the propertied male elite, it was important for the candidates to demonstrate to the British authorities that they could speak for the population in general. The Lagos crowd was becoming a potentially significant political force; the educated elite saw the need to 'guide', 'inform' and 'enlighten' this crowd, converting it from a volatile, directionless mob into a responsible public. In the elite's view, this transformation could be accomplished, above all, through literacy and through a mode of address pioneered in the press. And this meant writing in Yoruba.

The larger reading public which the elite newspaper editors sought to convene existed *in potentia*, as a result of the phenomenal expansion of official and unofficial schooling from the second decade of the twentieth century onwards (Fafunwa 1974; Awoniyi 1978). By 1921, there were approximately 30,000 people in Lagos who could read (though only 10,000 who could write) out of a population of approximately 100,000 (Baker 1974:76). Those who could read but not write were likely to have left school at an early stage of primary school, and the structure of the curriculum meant that they would be able to read in Yoruba but not in English.³ Teaching materials in Yoruba were rich – the *Iwe Kika* series of Yoruba readers introduced pupils to history, geography, and literature in their own language, and writers in Lagos, Ibadan and Abeokuta produced

additional materials, such as A.K. Ajişafẹ's series of didactic narratives and poems addressed to schoolchildren. The elite were split in ideological wars over the language of instruction appropriate to Yoruba school children. In practice, however, it is clear that there were far more potential readers of Yoruba-language texts than of English-language texts in 1920s Lagos.

The newspapers' editorial address to these readers laid emphasis on the press's informative and instructional role, especially for people who were unable to read English. The first of the new Yoruba newspapers, *Eko Akete*, announced its remit in the following terms:

Olukuluku enia ni o mo pe işe iwe-irohin ilu ni lati ma fi oye awon nkan wonni ti ko baye awon enia ye won. A si ntanmo ninu iwe-irohin "Eko Akete" yi lati fi ohun gbogbo ti ko ba ye awon enia ye won, ati ohun ti o ba ru won loju pelu; işe tiwa ni lati la a ye won daradara; nitorinaa o ye ki olukuluku awon ti ko mo iwe ti ede Geşi ika, ki nwon mura lati ma ra iwe-irohin "Eko Akete", ki won si ma ka a dede.

Everyone knows that the task of a town's newspaper is to explain those things to people that they do not understand. And we intend in this *Eko Akete* newspaper to explain everything to people that is not clear to them, and those things that puzzle them too; it's our job to explain these things clearly; therefore, everyone who does not know how to read English should make an effort to buy the *Eko Akete* paper, and read it regularly.⁴ (*Eko Akete*, 22 July 1922)

The article is as good as its word: it goes on to explain the functions and modes of operation of the Lagos Town Council, and supplies the names and addresses of the appointed African members – encouraging readers in a practical vein to approach these representatives if anything is amiss.

The newspapers clearly did live up to their promise to instruct and inform. However, most of what they purveyed was not news or information so much as opinion, as they unravelled the convoluted developments in the Eleko campaign and the social and political activities of the city's leading figures.

2. Print as archive

Though they were intensely topical, the Lagos Yoruba-language papers were not regarded as ephemeral. Print conferred permanence. In the act of noting trivial incidents and cataclysmic events, the papers were created instant archives. People hoarded copies of the papers and read them over, months or years later. A visitor from Abeokuta states in a letter to the

editor of *Eko Akete* that, detained by illness, he stayed for several weeks in Lagos with his cousin “in whose possession I found a good number of your Weekly Newspaper. This gave me the privilege of going through them and I must confess that I met in it some Yoruba terms which I had never seen before” (*Eko Akete*, 25 November 1922, p.7). Clearly the cousin regarded copies of the paper as something to collect and preserve rather than as something to discard after reading. Newspaper editors were able to draw on private newspaper archives going back to the 1880s, and often republished pieces that had first appeared in *Iwe Irohin Eko* more than thirty years earlier. They also regarded newsprint as a medium in which oral texts could be given a permanent form, retrieved and published as literary heritage. Newspaper articles, moreover, were often converted into still more prestigious, permanent and collectible forms – single pieces could be reprinted as pamphlets or leaflets, while serials could be republished as books.

One of the newspapers’ dominant impulses, in fact, was memorialisation. In this chapter, I look at the way they drew images of permanence from the ebb and flow of ephemera, gossip and day-to-day political debate. This was exemplified above all in the evocation of ‘great men’, depicted as rising above petty self-interest in order to work for the public good. Working for the public good meant establishing institutions or ideas that lasted. Newspapers themselves constantly called for the image of such men (they were almost all men) to be preserved and held up as an example through the erection of statues, memorial tablets, or portraits. This stood for a larger process, which those great men themselves were held to have pioneered, of creating and preserving a cultural heritage which could provide the foundations for progress. The reclamation of tradition and of past achievements was always future-oriented, and print was a prime means by which such acts of reclamation could take place. As print preserved previous generations’ ideas, it also made it possible to edit and clarify them, improving them for future use.

The Yoruba newspapers, then, came into existence on the back of the political developments of the day, and their own most frequently stated reason for existing was the need to reach out to a wider public – to explain the import of constitutional and legislative arrangements, to campaign for changes, and to recruit a popular base for favoured candidates. The press provided a campaigning platform, a debating chamber, a vehicle for the constitution and education of an informed and supportive public, and a soundbox to magnify the voices of the leading contestants in the elections. But convening new publics was not conceptualised merely as partisan political mobilisation. The newspaper editors saw their papers as organs of

newspaper columns – he is awarded the I.S.O. (Imperial Service Order) in the King’s Birthday Honours (9 June 1923).

Politically active figures were mentioned even more frequently: the doyen among them was the Gambian lawyer J. Egerton Shyngle (“Eṣu ṣomokunrin to fi Shyngle ṣere” boasted *Eko Akete* – who would be so foolhardy as to trifle with Shyngle?). Shyngle’s every move seems to have been lovingly documented; his profile was almost equal to that of Herbert Macaulay himself. These small reports of the day-to-day activities of a handful of people made up the staple of the newspapers’ ‘news’. The great events of the day were conveyed not by straight investigative reporting but through editorials, letters, columns and debates in which facts were embedded in layers of commentary on the day-to-day activities, speeches and writings of prominent personalities.

More substantial discussion of prominent individuals appeared in obituaries and in biographical profiles – especially frequent during electoral campaigns. *Eleti Ofẹ* commends the efforts of Dr Moses Da Rocha, a member of a wealthy ‘Brazilian’ family, in writing the biographies of great Africans (2 May 1923). *Eko Akete*’s editor, Adeoye Deniga, compiled and published a *Who’s Who in Nigeria*, excerpts from which regularly featured in his paper. This was the way in which the Lagos reading public was invited by the press to view history. Most papers ran historical series, almost always dealing with the recent past, usually that of Lagos, and always conceptualised as events stemming from the lives of significant individuals – Kosokọ, Dosunmu, or, further inland, war leaders such as Ogedengbe.

From these narratives and more fragmentary day-to-day reports crystallised images of key personalities, in much the same manner that a personality was evoked and magnified through the accumulation of oral praise epithets in more traditional towns. Indeed, some of the prominent Lagosians rejoiced in praise names which were regularly used by the papers as honorific tags, simultaneously addressing the subject and broadcasting his fame to others. Dr Sapara was hailed with epithets that combined *oriki* drawn from his family’s historic repertoire (“omọ mara-mara, to ra igba ẹru lojo” – child of those who buy and buy, who buy two hundred slaves every day: rather ironically for a Saro whose parents were recaptives) and new formulations coined to celebrate his own achievements (“ẹbọra-ninu-iṣẹ-gbigba-ẹbi-omọ” – presiding genius of childbirth).

4. Memorialisation and building the future

Newspapers did not just capture the fleeting activities of prominent men and preserve them in print. They also actively and fervently called for further acts of memorialisation. Editorials frequently lamented the absence of monuments erected to preserve the memory of the great men of the recent past. Dr Sapara himself was a great advocate of giving honour where honour was due. At a public meeting, he

sọ “ka-si-nkan” ọrọ geḡe bi Alaga Ipade na. O ni ti enia ba de Ilu-Ọba England yio ri awọn ere loriṣiriṣi ti awọn Oyinbo ti ṣe fun iranti awọn Ologbe ẹni-Ijinmi ti nwon ti ṣe gudugudu meje fun ilu won nigba ti nwon wa laiyẹ... o ni bi o ba ṣe tiwa nibi ni, awọn alaironu miran yo kigbe pe “A! ẹ wo awọn arabi yi bi nwon ti nbọ oriṣa”. (*Eko Akete* 21 April 1923 p3)

spoke notably in his capacity as Chairman of that meeting. He said if you go to England you will see all kinds of statues that the white men have made to commemorate their inspirational dead who did great things for their country during their lifetimes... he said if it was us here now, some mindless idiots would be bound to shriek “Look at these people bowing down to idols”.

Eleti Ofe printed an open letter from ‘Awọluje’ to Archdeacon T.A.J. Ogunbiyi, noting that many people were saddened by the fact that “a ko ni ohun iranti pataki fun awọn enia nla ati olokiki wa ni ode Eko” (we don’t have any significant memorials to our great and famous people in Lagos), those people who strained every sinew to further the work of God in the town and its environs – work which the whole community was now benefiting from. Suggestions for memorials included *okuta iranti* (memorial tablets), and enlarged photographs to be erected in Glover Memorial Hall (*Eleti Ofe*, 2 May 1923 p.9). One act of memorialisation sparked off demands for others: when Colonel Moorhouse (the Central Secretary of the Colony and Protectorate, responsible for the first suspension of the Eleko in 1919) laid the foundation stone of a grammar school in Onitsha in memory of Archdeacon Dennis, *Eleti Ofe* proclaimed “This unquestionably calls for a Memorial College of one who was evangelist, scholar and translator in Chief: we refer to Bishop James Johnson of blessed memory, who departed this life on May 18th 1917” (*Eleti Ofe*, 9 May 1923, p.7). Bishop Johnson’s radicalism offered a pointed counter-example to Moorhouse’s act of commemoration of a conservative figure. The following week the paper devoted many pages to the sixth anniversary of Johnson’s death, including a biography,

testimonies from colleagues, and an account of his last moments, his final words, and the funeral speech. Calls for a memorial were renewed, and a proposal was made that 15th May should be made a school holiday, “Bishop Johnson’s Day”. The paper also proposed a Memorial Fund to pay for a statue (as the Europeans did for Nelson), a Bishop Johnson Memorial College, and a Bishop Johnson Square where the statue would be erected.

Memorialisation could also take the form of public lectures, such as Mr A.B. Laotan’s lecture on Dr Mojola Agbebi for the Owu National Society, which proclaimed that “Dr Agbebi was first and last a nationalist”. Adeoye Deniga of *Eko Akete* ran a whole series of lectures, with magic lantern slides, on great men of the past, including Dr Blyden, Bishop Crowther, Mohammed Shitta[Bey], Dr Obadiah Johnson, J.A.O. Payne and Taiwo Olowo. While Herbert Macaulay was still in his prime, I.B. Thomas wrote and serialised his biography in *Eko Akete*, and this was later published as a book. Campaigns were mounted and subscriptions collected for the purpose of putting up a tablet, memorial window, photograph or statue in various men’s honour.

Though these campaigns often emanated from specific quarters (a particular church, for example, seeking to commemorate their own Bishop) they were represented very much as a shared public interest, and meetings were held in spaces such as the Glover Memorial Hall (itself the outcome of a long campaign and effort to commemorate the first architect of many of Lagos’s modern institutions) rather than denominational or private spaces. Even when the subject was an evangelical clergyman, as in the case of Bishop James Johnson, the grounds cited for the upsurge of memorialisation were not his missionary and godly activities but his intense patriotism: “he was first a citizen before a clergyman”, as the English contribution to *Eletì Ofẹ*’s memorial issue put it. He opposed the Ijẹbu war. His life was an example to “Africa’s sons”: and “it is now for us to do *our* duty – to set about the task of uplifting our race in every small sphere of labour each and every one of us can... It is then *we* shall be a monument to him – to our great Bishop James Johnson” (*Eletì Ofẹ*, 16 May 1923 p.9). Those commemorated were represented as benefactors of the public at large, rather than patrons of sectional interests.

Running through these calls to action was a thread of sharp and wry self-criticism. Lagosians should celebrate the memory of Bishop Crowther, Bishop Johnson and Shitta Bey, who, to Lagosians’ shame, had had to build his own memorial mosque. Many Lagosians also wished to see portraits or other memorials of the *ōbas* Akitoye, Kosok̄o and

Dosunmu, but in vain, for the Lagosians were too busy plotting and dissenting to arrange it (*Eleti Ofẹ*, 30 May 1923, p.8).

5. Writing as monument

There was anxiety that past achievements would ebb away without concrete reminders. Perhaps the most important of all monuments were verbal texts, captured and preserved in print.

The Yoruba-language press had a long history of preserving texts and thus ‘writing culture’. In Lagos, one of the educated elite’s first uses of print was to record – and in the process of recording, to edit and sanitise – oral traditions. One of the first secular Yoruba-language booklets to be published in Lagos was S.A. Allen’s *Iwe Owe* (Book of Proverbs), in the preface to which the author proclaimed the need for more books written in Yoruba, so that wisdom such as that encapsulated in proverbs can not only be preserved, but also added to and improved upon, “so that wisdom further enter[s] inside wisdom” (Allen 1885, n.p.). E.M. Lijadu conducted research with traditional *babaláwo* (diviners) and published two collections of Ifá verses with his own commentary. In the second decade of the twentieth century, there was an upsurge of history-writing: A.K. Ajişafẹ, J.B.O. Losi, and I.B. Akinyẹle wrote histories of Abẹokuta, Lagos and Ibadan – each producing both a Yoruba-language and an English-language version. There is good reason to associate these efforts of inscription with an early cultural nationalism that saw cultural identity and value as vested above all in the riches of ‘deep Yoruba’. Akinyẹle’s 1911 preface to *Iwe Itan Ibadan* showed that he saw history-writing as an exercise in the preservation of culture – and above all of oral linguistic resources – which would otherwise be lost. Much of Ibadan’s historical memory, he affirmed, resided in the *oriki* of great men. But nowadays, few people wish to earn their living by chanting praises, and the precious texts – and even the language itself – are in danger of disappearing. His book, he hopes, will help to rescue them from oblivion: “Pẹlupẹlu, yio dara pupọ bi awọn omọ Ile Ẹkọ wa ba nka Iwe yi, nitori nipa bẹ wọn yio ti kekere mọ ijinlẹ Yoruba, ireti yio si wa fun Ede wa” (And in addition to this, it will be very good if school children read this book, because in that way they will know deep Yoruba from a young age, and there will be hope for our Language). Preserving the language is tantamount to preserving history, memory and culture (see Barber 2009).

However, these efforts of inscription were not confined to hallowed oral traditions. Popular and topical songs, sayings and anecdotes were also lovingly collected and preserved. The same E.M. Lijadu who researched

Ifa also collected the surviving poems of Aribiloṣo, a popular Ègba oral poet of the first half of the nineteenth century, and published them in a delightful memoir (Lijadu 1910 [1886]). In the 1920s Lagos newspapers, the focus on recent popular productions predominated over the collection of older oral traditions. I.B. Thomas's *Itan Emi Segilola*, first published in his newspaper *Akede Eko* in 1929-30, was studded with popular songs and allusions to topical anecdotes, carefully placed in the time-frame of the fictional narrator's life from the late nineteenth century up to the present (see Barber 2012). Several of the newspapers sponsored the collection and publication of popular topical songs by the oral poets Danmọle, Bisi and Bẹgbaji.⁵ As the editor of *Eleti Ofe* put it, "Ko ye ki a je ki awon orin ile wa ti awon olarin wa ko ki o parun" (It would not be right to let the songs of our country, which our singers composed/performed, disappear) – especially those which set a good example (*Eleti Ofe*, 23 May 1923, p.10).

What is interesting is that these texts were not only a kind of memorial to the poets themselves, whose names and reputations would be perpetuated by the transcription and publication of their works. They were also, in some cases, a memorial to the person alluded to in the verse. An example was the publication in *Eleti Ofe* in 1923 of a poem that had been composed orally by the popular poet Bẹgbaji in 1899 on the occasion of the death of Jinadu Kabiyawu. This wealthy man built a storeyed house in Ọbun Eko but did not live to sleep in it for a single night; the song, a commentary on and commiseration for this unfortunate event, memorialises Kabiyawu in words which – topical though they were – were converted by print into a monument as enduring as the house itself.

ORIN BẸGBAJI.

Orin yi ni Bẹgbaji ko ni akoko ti Jinadu Kabiyawu fi ku ni odun 1899. Bi Ogboni yi ti pari peṣesi re ti o ko si Ọbun Eko, eyi ti Dokita Oyejola ngbe nisisiyi tan gere, be ni o ku ni alai sun orun ojo kan pere ninu re. Orin yi ni Bẹgbaji ko bi orin aro fun Ogbeni yi.

Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 Oko san'gbo, oko o r'ere je!
 Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 Oko san'gbo, oko o r'ere je!
 Boju wehin l'Ob'Eko, l'Ob'Eko, o
 Wa ri peṣesi Aje.
 B'aju wehin l'Ob'Eko, l'Ob'Eko, o
 Wa ri peṣesi Aje, Oro Aiye!
 Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 Oko san'gbo, oko o r'ere je!

Kabiyawu re'le, He e!
 Kabiyawu re'le
 Mo ri l'Alijanna,
 Kabiyawu re'le. E ʒeun.

(*Eleti Ofe* 6 June 1923, p.7).
 A SONG BY BEGBAJI.

Beğbaji sang this song when Jinadu Kabiyawu died in 1899. Just at the very moment when this gentleman had finished his storeyed house which he built in Q̄bun Eko, the one that Dr Oyejola is living in now, he suddenly died without having slept a single night in it. Beğbaji sang this song as a dirge for this gentleman.

Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 The cutlass clears the bush, the cutlass does
 not enjoy the harvest!
 Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 The cutlass clears the bush, the cutlass does
 not enjoy the harvest!
 If you look back at Q̄bun Eko, Q̄bun Eko
 You will see an opulent storeyed house.
 If you look back at Q̄bun Eko, Q̄bun Eko
 You will see an opulent storeyed house, oh the pain of the world.
 Kabiyawu Buramọ!
 The cutlass clears the bush, the cutlass does
 not enjoy the harvest!
 Kabiyawu has gone home, alas!
 Kabiyawu has gone home
 I see him in Paradise,
 Kabiyawu has gone home. Thank you.

The editor of *Eleti Ofe* actively sought such texts for publication in the paper, announcing that if anyone else could send in songs of this type, he would be prepared to pay for them.

Writing and memorialising seemed to be proceeding at feverish pitch in the 1920s newspapers, with biographies, obituaries, memoirs, and personal reminiscences appearing in almost every issue, as well as numerous other kinds of writing by which the educated professional gentlemen of the city could make their mark – legal analyses, sermons, essays, editorials, and so forth. This was an era of print profusion. The imperial project itself was bathed in an ocean of writing, factual and fictional, at the colonial interface. Nigeria's Governor from 1919 to 1925, Sir Hugh Clifford, was the author of numerous memoirs, as well as factual and fictional writing

set in Malaya where his first and evidently most formative official posting had been. His wife, Lady Clifford, published novels under the name of Mrs Henry de la Pasture – her name during her first marriage – as well as a documentary work collecting views of life in the Gold Coast, where the Cliffords were posted from 1912 to 1919, immediately before coming to Lagos. Conservative pro-British Lagosians such as Sir Kitoyi Ajasa were as fluent in their writing as their firebrand opponents such as Herbert Macaulay. And more idiosyncratic, less socially established figures, both African and European, also sought to make their mark in the press. A notable example was ‘Odeziaku’, a white homosexual trader and embezzler who settled in Onitsha and made a name for himself by his prolific output of second-rate poetry, published in local newspapers (Newell 2006).

Nonetheless, some commentators deplored the insufficiency of the Lagosian output of writing. In particular, it was felt that there were not enough locally-authored books. And the books that were published were not substantial enough. Books, in this view, were monuments to their own authors – and an editorial in *Eleti Ofe* asks whether our departed ones have left enough of a permanent legacy for their successors. The educated must write not mere pamphlets, but solid books “which the rising generations will admire and regard as their legacy and valuable asset as has been the case in Europe” (*Eleti Ofe*, 11 July 1923 p.6). A week later, ‘Scrutator’, a columnist also writing in English in the same paper, amplified this message, stressing that it concerned not only clergy but all learned men.

The dead great ones of Lagos have almost all passed away, carrying with them to the grave their learning and experience.. Some of them have left us pamphlets that are today their only memorials and our treasured, though poor, heirlooms. One left a book which another had loyally godfathered: the Johnson brothers have left a permanent legacy in their “History of the Yorubas”, a work of great industry and research, which shall for ever bear witness to the foresight, ability and scholarship, great sacrifice and ardent patriotism of Rev. S. Johnson and Dr Obadiah Johnson (*Eleti Ofe*, 18 July 1923, p.6-7).

But apart from this, Scrutator goes on to say, our learned men have left us little, unlike their counterparts in the Gold Coast who have produced monumental works. Herbert Macaulay, with his “lawyer lieutenant the Lion of the Bar”, Adebessin Folarin, should write volumes on Yoruba customs and institutions, and Bishop Oluwole should write his memoirs. In his next column a week later, Scrutator indicates that writing monumental works is not enough. We also need people who are prepared to read them:

The educated population of Lagos is large enough to show a good reading public: but papers sell, as we know to our cost, only among a few. The larger reading public feels curious only when sensational articles are in the wind and, even then, borrowing goes first: buying only follows if the curiosity is not killed by the failure to read on the cheap. Books even fare worse. The number of educated men without four volumes altogether in the house, or even the smallest book case, is simply astonishing! (*Eletì Ofe*, 25 July 1923, p.7).

Scrutator goes on to point out that what they have in Lagos are printers and not publishers. Real publishers would be active in publicising and distributing noteworthy books rather than just printing them:

We pass this to our readers in the hope that some well-to-do men may find an enterprising man of ability to open a publishing business for the encouragement of able and talented men, for the *advancement of learning* and for the public good (*Eletì Ofe* 25 July 1923, p.7; italics in original).

And what people should seek to be remembered for, above all, is public service for one's town or country (the flexible connotations of *ilu* – town, polity, nation – come in handy here, as the specific entity requiring one's devotion can be expanded or contracted according to one's horizons and opportunities). Thus, according to an editorial in *Eletì Ofe* (25 July 1923, p.6), we need to remember the English proverb, "It is a grander thing to be nobly remembered than to be nobly born": what matters is to do something worthwhile for your *ilu*: *Iṣẹ̀ rere ti o ba ṣe silẹ̀ ni o ma mu enia ki nwon ma gbagbe re lehin igbati o ba pehinda*" (The good works that you leave behind will mean that people do not forget you once you are gone).

6. Yoruba print culture's affinities with artisanal production

In the preservation and publication of popular songs and narratives, it could be said that the elite project of enlightenment through inscription afforded some loopholes, points through which popular voices could enter the public discourse of print culture. The didactic commitment to inform and guide the less-educated populace was turned around in these moments, to reveal the illiterate, impoverished street singer as a bearer of textual value.

This reversal was sometimes acknowledged by newspaper editors who represented their Yoruba-language texts as a means of educating the Saro

and Brazilians, whose command of the language was deficient. Adeoye Deniga celebrated the first anniversary of *Eko Akete* with the proud boast:

Ni sa yi a ri ninu awon orẹ ti nwon so fun ni pe nwon ko ro pe işe na le m'oyan lori, nitoripe nwon so ni ero tiwon pe, gbogbo enia ko lo mo Yoruba ka; şugbon a dupe pe ero yi ko leşe nilẹ lehin igbati a berẹ işe Iwe-irohin na, nitoripe a ri oṣoṣo ninu awon oni şokoto gborọ ti nwon ko ti nbikita ri fun ati ka ede won, ani Yoruba ni iwe, bi o tile je pe ede na ye won yekeyeke ni orọ sisọ ti nwon si ti di oga ninu mimọ ede na ni kete ti nwon berẹ si ngba "Eko Akete". Ki si şe eyi nikan, a tun ri bi meji tabi mefa ninu awon Iwe-Irohin oşoşe wa ti a nte ni ede Geşi ti nwon si nsin wa je nipa titẹ apakan Iwe-Irohin won na ni Yoruba fun akoko kan; be na si ni a nri iwe Wosika (Letters) gba l'otun l'osi nibi ati lati Idale nipa ede Yoruba to jina ti awon orẹ wa wonyi njeri si pe a fi nko "Eko Akete". (*Eko Akete*, 7 July 1923).

At the time [of the paper's inauguration], some of our friends said they didn't think the project would come to anything, because not everyone knows how to read Yoruba, but thankfully this objection proved groundless once we started the newspaper, because we saw lots of long-trousered ones,⁶ who had never bothered/cared to read their language – that is to say Yoruba – in its written form, although they perfectly understand it when it is spoken,⁷ who became experts in the language as soon as they began to take *Eko Akete*. Not only this, we also saw two or three English-language weeklies copying us by printing sections in Yoruba for a time; and also we are receiving letters from left and right, from here and abroad, about the excellent Yoruba that these friends of ours testify to our using in *Eko Akete*.

Some of the newspapers made populism an overt element in their self-representation. *Eko Akete* introduced a new banner slogan in January 1923, six months after its inauguration: "Emi yio fi ohun ti o ndun Makunnu han awon alagbara, ngo si je Alagbawi awon odi" (I will inform the powerful of the grievances of the poor/the lower classes, and I will be the spokesman for the dumb). This was a quotation from W.T. Stead, the inspiration of the 'New Journalism' in Britain, who argued that since elections took place only at long intervals it was the press that was the real organ of democracy.

More pervasively, the papers associated the production of written and printed texts with skilled manual labour, which – along with the cultural-linguistic heritage – was advocated as the only sound basis for future civilisation. In taking up this position, it could be argued that the newspapermen spoke from a special vantage point.

The context in Lagos, it must be remembered, was a culture which revolved around commerce and the professions, not agriculture or other manual work. The population of Lagos depended on hinterland farmers in Abeokuta and Ijebu for most of their staple food supply. Since the first establishment of the colonies of Sierra Leone and then Lagos, British missionaries and governors had called earnestly for the development of agriculture and of artisanal or mechanical production, but this was more influential at the level of rhetoric than in actuality. In the 1920s, ambitious young Saro men aspired to be lawyers, doctors or merchants, not farmers, and a high proportion of the Lagos 'natives' were traders. Commerce was unpredictable and at the mercy of fluctuating world produce prices. But even when profit margins shrank, the total volume of trade continued to increase rapidly, and to absorb an ever-expanding number of participants. There were conspicuous success stories and inherited money, which meant accelerated opportunities, especially in the form of higher education in the UK, essential for would-be doctors and lawyers. For those who could not hope for this level of education, there were thousands of clerkships in commercial firms and in the rapidly expanding colonial bureaucracy (Zachernuk 2000:49).

In this environment, the government and missionary calls for productive labour became a generalised elite rhetoric of nostalgia. But newspapermen were in a position to speak on this issue from a position of peculiar authority, for their work was simultaneously artisanal and white-collar, as well as simultaneously commercial and *pro bono publico*. On the one hand, the production of a weekly paper was hard practical work. Not enough research has yet been done on the practicalities of print production in 1920s Lagos (or Nigeria at large), but there is evidence that the proprietors tended to oversee the entire process from writing or soliciting text, to planning the layout, attracting advertisers, getting the text printed by a local firm, and distribution. Often, the finished product would be available only from one or two designated outlets (one of which was the proprietor's own premises) or by subscription. The editor, in other words, functioned in many ways like any other small entrepreneurial artisan, running the whole show himself but always seeking to expand his operation and take on assistants, and taking responsibility for the entire process by which a finished article was produced and distributed. On the other hand, the editors clearly saw their role more as a public service than an artisanal business enterprise. Adeoye Deniga of *Eko Akete* held public meetings to explain the importance of a Yoruba-language newspaper and to solicit contributions. Every week he published a list of the donations that kept the paper afloat. Editorials argued for the importance of raising

public awareness, creating a public consciousness, and stimulating civic responsibility. They spoke in collegial terms to judges and senior civil servants, and always championed a generalised collective advancement instead of pursuing overtly personal or sectional interests.

It could be suggested that their complex position as artisanal, entrepreneurial intelligentsia gave the newspapermen a particularly sharp perspective on the prevailing Lagos ethos of clerkship and commerce. Again and again, they criticised the apparently universal desire among young men (and some young women) to secure jobs as clerks. They proclaimed that there were too many lawyers (*Eko Akete*, 18 November 1922, p.4, and again on 3 March 1923, p.4) and too many clerks (*Eko Akete*, 2 December 1922, p.4-5). They compared Lagosian love of consumption and fashion unfavourably with the honest, authentic toil of the farming populations in the hinterland. They affirmed that it was on skilled manual labour that the future of the country should be built (*Eko Akete*, 14 October 1922, p.5-6).

The interesting thing is that the artisanal skills that they lauded were explicitly compared with the cultural productions of oral and literate poets. Both were to be valued as foundations of civilisation. Thus we need to encourage “Native Productions which tend to the progress of the race”; these native productions are “the work of authors, poets and Skilful Artisans”. They should be recognised and rewarded, and encouraged with prizes for the best work (*Eko Akete*, 27 January 1923, p.3).

One link between the work of authors and poets on the one hand, and that of “Skilful Artisans” on the other, was literacy. Literacy was advocated as a vital adjunct of all kinds of crafts and trades. Just as writing down oral traditions made it possible to improve and build upon previous generations’ wisdom, so writing down measurements and doing calculations was a means to improve and build upon existing artisanal practices:

... ʃaʃa ni iʃe to wa ti ko fe oye iwe mimo ibaʃe di: enyin e wo Iʃe-aranʃo bi enia ko ba loye Iwɔn-mimɔ (*Tape-rule*) bi oluware ba daʃo fun ni, yio dabi agbawo ewu, bi ko fun o l’ese a ʃo o⁸: ewe, irufe aʃo alugbagba be le je ki a pe eniti o ba wo o ni Alapo’yo o le sure!!! gege be si ni Iʃe-Gbɛnagbena pe lu: a ko le ʃeʃe ma so ti Iʃe Akowe mo, eyi papa nfe iwe-mimɔ faufau, bi beko oluware yio “bo’le”.

There are hardly any lines of work that don’t require at least basic literacy: look at the work of tailoring, anyone who doesn’t know how to use a *Tape-rule*, if he makes a garment for you, it will be like a borrowed gown, if it isn’t too tight in the legs it will billow baggily around you: now, this kind of ill-fitting garment might lead people to nickname you “Salt-sack

wearer cannot run”!!! Likewise the work of the carver/carpenter, and how much more the work of a clerk – this one has to be highly literate, if not he will get the sack. (*Eko Akete*, 7 April 1923, p.6)

Existing skills – clothes cut by eye, carpentry done without a ruler – could be reformed and refined by literacy to take their place in modern business.

Thus Yoruba language and *mekunnu* (the poor, the lower classes) are linked in two ways: first, because Yoruba is the language *mekunnu* speak and sometimes read, and that is how to reach them; second, because the future of the ‘race’ depends on the development and production of indigenous forms, which include *both* Yoruba-language literary arts (new, modern forms of which the papers did so much to foster) *and* the works of artisans. And both the literary arts and the work of artisans, the newspapers affirm, inhabit the world of print literacy.

7. A multilayered textual memento

Paying honour to great men could comfortably combine multiple registers. Recensions of traditional oral poetry could be presented in tandem with affirmations of the subject’s contributions to modern industry and innovation.

Here is an example. An editorial in *Eletì Ofe* is devoted to the death and funeral of ‘Daddy Adeşigbin’, the father of three prominent Lagos figures – Dada, Akintunde and Oke Adeşigbin. The editorial opens with the text of a funeral lamentation which is a part of old Yoruba orature explicitly flagged as *Ewi ilẹ wa* (an indigenous poem/chant):

Eni omọ ba sin, on lo bimo
Baba bo de’le ko ki’le,
Bo d’ona, ko bere ona
Atete de’le ko ki baba re.

Baba, ko ma j’okun
Ko ma j’ekolo;
Ohun ti nwon ba nje,
Ni ki o ma ba won je.

(*Eletì Ofe*, 13 June 1923, p.6)

The person who is buried by his child, that is the person who has really given birth
Father, when you get home, greet the home
When you reach the road, inquire after [the wellbeing of] the road

Arriving home in good time, greet your father.

Father, don't eat centipedes
 Don't eat worms;
 Whatever it is they eat [in heaven]
 You should join them in eating it.

There follows a news item and commentary, announcing and discussing Daddy Adegbin's death at the age of 95 (a "joyful death") the previous week. His three sons, Dada, Akintunde and Oke, are quickly introduced, each with a phrase of his own personal *oriki*. The lavish Christian funeral is described, and the presence of several prominent personalities is noted. The event marks the deceased's success and that of his descendants; the newspaper fixes this mark in print. In a funeral oration by the Rev. J. Şotayo-Williams, the deceased's great knowledge of herbal remedies is praised, as is his generosity in treating anyone who needed it regardless of their ability to pay. But the absence of literacy, lamentably, meant that this knowledge had probably died with its owner:

... ohun ti o buru julọ ninu gbogbo ẹ ni pe boya ni a ri ẹniti o kọ awọn
 oğbọn ati imọ egbogi yi silẹ nigba aiye ẹ ki o to ku, bi eyi ko ba ri ẹ, a
 ya jẹ pe o gbe gbogbo oğbọn ati imọ ẹ lọ s'ọrun, eyi ti Alugfa na sọ pe ko
 to ki o ri ẹ.

... what is worst in all this is that it's unlikely that anyone wrote down the wisdom and knowledge pertaining to these remedies while he was alive, if not, it means that he took all his wisdom and knowledge with him to heaven, which the Reverend said was wrong.

Instead, the editorial suggests, the deceased's lasting legacy was his own sons, whose contributions to Lagos life are extensively praised – particularly their introduction into the city of novel, useful and beneficial machines. From the editorial itself and other references scattered through the press over preceding months, we learn that Akintunde Adegbin was a printer: "a ş'arewa ş'akin, atewe ẹ wura okunrin, o ẹ fara ile, o ẹ fara ode" (one who is both handsome and brave, [a] great man who prints paper, prints gold, he prints for people of the household, he prints for people outside).⁹ Dada Adegbin was a photographer, in demand at public lectures because he could provide magic lantern shows. He often did this free of charge, and his generosity was saluted with the *oriki* "Afowo-şe-ni-lore" – One who helps people out with money (*Eko Akete*, 23 December 1922, p.3, 7 April 1923, p.6, and 21 April 1923, p.3). He was also the sole importer of Singer sewing machines, an innovation that the *Eletì Ofẹ*

editorial particularly commends. And Oke Adeşigbin (“a-gba-ni-nijo-orandun-ni” – the one who saves people in the time of their greatest need) was a businessman and the Secretary of the Bethel Church in Lagos, using his literacy for the service of a larger community (*Eko Akete*, 9 June 1923, p.4).

Thus the *Eleti Ofe* editorial notice effortlessly combines several different registers to honour the deceased and his descendants, figures who were already well known in the pages of Lagos newspapers. It juxtaposes a traditional lament, a Christian hymn, praise for the deceased’s oral repertoire of indigenous medical knowledge, and recognition of his sons’ artisanal skills and entrepreneurship that belong to a new, machine-enhanced age. It recognises both public benefactions and traditional family loyalty. It is an affirmation of inherited knowledge and values, mediated by literacy, as the basis upon which a new world can be built.

Honouring great men in the Lagos press of the 1920s was founded on a conviction that words (especially Yoruba words) had the capacity to function as monuments – but only when written down, and preferably when printed. Committing words to print preserved them but at the same time made it possible to select and edit them. Preservation and reconstruction went hand in hand. And the point of a monument was not preservation for its own sake, but the establishment of a landmark, model or example for succeeding generations to emulate. Like other artisanal practices (such as building and tailoring), printing was a material activity which was understood to be the basis of an immaterial public good: progress itself.

Endnotes

¹ In order of appearance, they were: *Eko Akete* (1922-29, 1937) edited by Adeoye Deniga; *Eleti Ofe* (1923-53) edited by E.A. Akintan; *Iwe Irohin Osoşe* (1925-7) edited by T.H. Jackson; *Eko Igbèhin* (1926-7) edited by E.M. Awobiyi; and *Akede Eko* (1928-53) edited by I.B. Thomas. There was also the *Yoruba News*, published in Ibadan (1924-45). This article was written ten years ago, in response to the original editors’ attempt to produce a volume which sadly ran aground. All thanks to the new co-editor for reviving the project. At the time I originally wrote the piece, the research on which it was based was at a relatively early stage, and most of the material I used was drawn from only two papers, *Eko Akete* and *Eleti Ofe*. I have not updated the article, but would like to draw readers’ attention to my subsequent publications, especially *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel* (Brill, 2012).

² Lagosian ‘Brazilians’ were often bilingual or trilingual, and some of them were able to function as translators, informants, intermediaries and English teachers for Portuguese-speaking visitors from Brazil (Matory 2005: 46-50).

³ The medium of instruction in Standards I-III was Yoruba, though English language was taught as a subject. From Standard IV onwards, English was the medium of instruction. According to Zachernuk, those who completed primary school were qualified for government clerk posts and elite status but they were greatly outnumbered by those who left before completing (Zachernuk 2000:52). There was thus a large proportion of people with a few years of schooling who were able to read and write in Yoruba, but were without much proficiency in English.

⁴ The original orthography is reproduced in all Yoruba-language quotations from the newspapers – which usually meant the use of subdots but not tone-marks. In other Yoruba names and expressions that occur in this chapter I have followed the same convention regarding diacritics, but used modern word breaks. All translations are mine.

⁵ The songs of all three popular poets were not only printed as occasional pieces in several of the Yoruba newspapers, but were also published as collections in booklets which were advertised at 6d each, purchasable from Mr Saka Şokale (*Eleti Ofe*, 28 November 1923, p.5).

⁶ That is, members of the educated elite, as distinct from the *agbada*-wearing ‘natives’.

⁷ There is evidence however that not all Saro were fluent in Yoruba. The editor of *Eko Akete* had earlier expressed astonishment that the Resident of Lagos, Henry Carr, who was a Saro, could speak good Yoruba, an ability which endears him to the paper (*Eko Akete*, 16 September 1922, p.4). Also, it must be borne in mind that the educated elite had always contained a proportion of non-Yoruba ‘native foreigners’, and that by the 1920s there was also an increasing population of literate non-Yoruba immigrants from within Nigeria. Thus there were always sections of the elite who could read English but not Yoruba.

⁸ Adeoye Deniga, deeply knowledgeable in Yoruba oral rhetoric, is here quoting from a proverbial formulation. This also appears in *oriki*, where it functions as an affirmation of the subject’s individuality and self-reliance: sharing a pair of trousers is not convenient – it is better for a man to have his own (for one version of this, see Barber 1991:81).

⁹ He had started as an apprentice at the Samadu Press belonging to John Payne Jackson, proprietor-editor of the *Lagos Weekly Record*, went on to work for the Government Press for a few years before founding his own printing works, the Tika-Tore Press, in 1910. He was so successful that “Tika Tore came to exemplify the enterprising genius of pioneer Nigerian entrepreneurs” (Omu 1978:74).

References

- Allen, S.A. *Iwe Owe* (No publisher, 1885).
- Awoniyi, T.A. *Yoruba language in education 1846-1974: a historical survey* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- Baker, Pauline H. *Urbanisation and political change: the politics of Lagos 1917-67* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1974).
- Barber, Karin *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow: oriki, women and the past in a Yoruba town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the IAI, 1991).
- . “Translation, publics and the vernacular press in 1920s Lagos,” in *Christianity and social change in Africa: essays in honour of J.D.Y.Peel*, ed. Toyin Falola. (Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 187-208.
- . “I.B.Akinyele and early Yoruba print culture,” in *Recasting the past: history writing and political work in twentieth century Africa*, ed. Derek Peterson and Giacomo Macola (Ohio University Press, 2009).
- . *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel: I.B.Thomas’s ‘Life Story of Me, Segilola’ and other texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- Brown, Spencer Hun *A history of the people of Lagos, 1852-1886* (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1964).
- Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela *Negros, estrangeiros: os escravos libertos e sua volta à África* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1985).
- Cole, Patrick *Modern and traditional elites in the politics of Lagos*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1975).
- Echeruo, Michael J.C. *Victorian Lagos: aspects of nineteenth century Lagos life* (London: Macmillan, 1977).
- Fafunwa, A. Babs *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974).
- Hopkins, A.G. “Economic aspects of political movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, 1918-1939,” *Journal of African History* 7(1) (1966): 133-152.
- Kopytoff, Jean Herskovits *A preface to modern Nigeria* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).
- Lijadu, E.M. *Kekere Iwe Orin Aribiloso*. Second edition. (Exeter: James Townsend & Sons, 1910 [1886]).
- Macmillan, Allister (ed.) *The Red Book of West Africa* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books [reprinted from edition published by Frank Cass and Company], 1993 [1920]).

- Mann, Kristin *Marrying well: marriage, status and social change among the educated elite in colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Matory, Lorand J. *Black Atlantic Religion: tradition, transnationalism, and matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian candomblé* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Newell, Stephanie *The forger's tale: the search for Odeziaku* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006).
- Okonkwo, Rina *Protest Movements in Lagos 1908-1930* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edward Mellen Press, 1995).
- Omu, Fred I.A. *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978).
- Thomas, I.B. *Itan igbesi aiye emi "Segilola, eleyinju ege", elegberun oko l'aiye* (Lagos: CMS Bookshops, 1930).
- Zachernuk, Philip S. *Colonial Subjects: an African intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

BRAZIL: A MEETING OF SOCIOCULTURAL EXTREMES

YEDA PESSOA DE CASTRO

*A homage to Dr. Olasope Oyelaran,
for the orientation on the Yoruba language in my M. A. Dissertation
at the University of Ifé, thirty years ago.*

If it is to be accepted that Brazil is a bridge-country of the convergence of sociocultural extremes, it follows that Brazil shares three legitimate historical spaces: 1) the occidental, Eurocentric space; 2) the Latin American space; and 3) the African space.

In the shaping of the Brazilian identity, the occidental space has its largest influence in the domain of technology, the Latin American space in the geographical domain, and the African space in the cultural domain. Taking into consideration that language and culture are the fundamental traits for the building up of the identity of a people, one may conclude that the African space has played an outstanding role in the process of the configuration of the Portuguese language in Brazil and Brazilian culture.

With this in mind, how can it be explained that black Africans acquired a preponderant participation in that process in spite of having been submitted to slavery during the colonial era in Brazil and the various reactions which they have had to face? We shall try to analyze the question from a realistic point of view, treating black Africans in Brazil as performers rather than neglected characters in the country's history, whose marginalization was due to the imposition of a 'Eurocentric varnish' on them by the upper and most conservative classes of Brazilian society.

Brazil covers nearly half of South America and is the largest Portuguese speaking country in the world. Its population of over 180,000,000 inhabitants comprises several degrees of racial amalgamation, including Amerindian, Portuguese and African blood mixtures. Despite the indigenous Brazilian ancestry and the outstanding influence of

Japanese, German and Italian immigrants in the south of the country during the past century, the African presence is historically so remarkable that it makes Brazil a nation deeply rooted in African cultural values.

Brazil was found by the Portuguese in 1500 and remained a colony of Portugal up to 1822. It was first an Empire, and then became a Republic in 1889, one year after the emancipation of slavery in the country. Historians estimate that nearly four million people were shipped from Africa to Brazil up to the year 1853, when the Brazilian Atlantic slave trade was completely eradicated.

As a consequence, the domestic slave trade intensified, with black slaves being transferred from the plantations in the northeastern region to others in the south (which was later settled by European and Asian immigrants) and midwestern regions, as well as to the north along the Amazon rainforest, where the Amerindian cultures are predominant. Such an expansion of the African presence made the Brazilian territory under colonial rule deeply marked by African influences, mostly based in Bantu roots. The same phenomenon is happening on a larger scale today due to the internal migrations of black Brazilians to the more developed areas in the south and the mining exploitation in the north and midwest.

The northeast of Brazil is a region ravaged by droughts in the '*sertão*' area characterized by monoculture, especially sugar-cane plantations, by large land estates and by a high black population density. That population is concentrated either in the hinterlands, where ancient farms and sugar-mills are placed, or in the slums close to the most important coastal cities. The most significant of these cities is Salvador, the capital of Bahia and the first capital of Brazil. 80% of its population of about 3,000,000 inhabitants are of African descent, which is nearly the same percentage that was found in the population of Brazil in 1822, the year of the country's independence.

Over the three hundred years of direct contact between the Portuguese colonizers and black slaves, the emergence of ethnical and cultural interaction was facilitated to various degrees by some socio-historical factors which led to the promotion of a continual movement developing in that direction. Along with this emergent process, there are some favorable factors that must be taken into consideration:

- The numerical majority of the black enslaved population in relation to the Portuguese or other European colonizers;
- The widespread geographical distribution of the domestic slave trade;

- The social and territorial isolation of the Colony due to the monopoly on Brazil's external trade, which was maintained by Portugal for a period of 300 years;
- The occurrence of major socio-economic changes, such as the opening of Brazilian ports to world commerce in 1808, as a consequence of the flight of the Portuguese royal family from Napoleon's army to the former capital city of Rio de Janeiro.

Because of the inevitability of a resistance to or acceptance of African and Portuguese reciprocal influences, the Africans ended up imposing some of the most praised values of their cultural inheritance on the emergent Brazilian society. In turn, those values were absorbed into Brazilian society as its own symbols of national identity, but the role played by their true authors/actors was disregarded during the process of their integration into Brazilian territory, culture and language.

The impact of African heritage on well known cultural manifestations which were legitimated as authentically Brazilian is evident. Among these manifestations are the Samba dance, the Capoeira martial arts, the *berimbau* (a one-stringed musical bow), the Baiana (street sellers) with a typical ornate dress of white lace, fancy head ties and *missangas* (a necklace of colorful beads), cuisine seasoned with *dendê* (palm oil), and religious associations like the Candomblé in Bahia. Moreover, African heritage in Brazil has become a valuable source of international promotion by writers, such as Jorge Amado, composers, such as João Gilberto with his '*Bossa Nova*', plastic artists, such as Portinari, and film-makers, such as Glauber Rocha.

Despite the pieces of evidence which are pointed out by the facts and their notorious exploitation in several ways, the indisputable role of the black individual in the construction of the foundation of the Brazilian economy has not yet been fully recognized in Brazilian history. The same can be said of their outstanding participation in various armed fights as well as peaceful movements of resistance against colonialism and slavery.

The oldest forms of black slaves' resistance gave rise to the organization of the Kilombos (communities for runaway slaves) in various regions of Brazil and on different occasions. The most famous of them all is the "Republic of Palmares", which was founded in the Northeastern state of Alagoas in the 17th century and managed to fight against its destruction by the Portuguese troops for over 50 years. The large area which was occupied by that Black Republic is now under Federal Government protection after the institution of the Memorial Park of Palmares.

Later on, under the supervision of the Portuguese colonizers, the emancipated black slaves were allowed to begin organizing themselves in Catholic Brotherhoods, such as the Irmandade do Rosário dos Pretos, which still exists in different regions of Brazil today. During the last century, social-economic associations were founded which aimed at protecting the black community against slavery and promoting emancipation. The oldest and most traditional of these associations is the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos. This society was founded in 1823 in the city of Salvador, and still only admits black associates. Up to the beginning of the last century, that institution provided economic support for the return of many Africans and their Brazilian-born descendants to West Africa, where these so-called *Agudás* founded Brazilian societies in Nigeria, Togo and Benin.

Besides being an expression of resistance, Afro-Brazilian religions have been the most remarkable centers for the defense of the black man's cultural, ethical and aesthetical values in Brazil. The best known Afro-Brazilian religions to date are named in the general terms of Candomblé in Bahia, Xangô in Pernambuco and Tambor de Mina in Maranhão. They are all concentrated in the northeastern region, where African cultural heritage is deeply rooted.

Born in slavery, attacked by the Catholic Church, and persecuted by the police, these religions succeeded in establishing a form of patient and peaceful but not passive resistance. They thereby became the most permanent and dynamic focus of African cultural diffusion in Brazil. Each of them has a social religious pattern of a type based on shared models of African traditions, a system of beliefs and religious practices, and a liturgical language. This language is a lexical system based on different African languages which were spoken in Brazil during the slavery period, but which were modified by the linguistic influences of the Portuguese language.

According to their African roots, the Candomblés of Bahia, for instance, are organized into religious 'nations', of which Congo-Angola, Jeje-Mina and Nagot-Ketu are the main ones. They all preserve Bantu, Ewe-Fon and Yoruba lexical systems for specific liturgical practices. Their basic feature is the belief in a possession trance brought about by a group of divinities or 'saints' which are respectively named 'Inkisi', 'Vodun' and 'Orisha' according to which 'nation' each group belongs. In the present context, the word 'nation' has an ethnical-religious connotation since each cult group was forced to adapt and re-create a standard of idealized religious behavior for itself, into which Amerindian and Christian traits were absorbed in varying degrees of superimposition.

Due to their numerical superiority and some other historical and sociological factors, the most representative African people still identified in Brazil are:

- Bantu, from Congo, Angola and Mozambique. Among them are the Ambundu and Ovimbundu from Angola, and the Bakongo from Angola, Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville;
- West Africans, including the Yoruba from Nigeria and the Republic of Benin, known popularly as Nagot-Ketu in Brazil; and the Ewe-Fon (Fon, Gun, Mahi, etc.) from the Republic of Benin, Togo and Ghana, also known as Djedje-Mina.

The existing historical data enlarged by the linguistic evidence reveals the Bantu presence as the oldest and most widespread influence in Brazil. They originally came from the old kingdoms of Congo and Angola and were brought to Brazil throughout the whole period of the Atlantic slave trade.

An important historical testimony of this fact is the 17th century Republic of Palmares which has Bantu roots in its toponymy, such as Osengo, Andalaquituxe, and Dambara, and in its leaders' names Ganga Zumba and Zumbi. The same can be said of the words Candomblé and Kilombo. Thus, the first African people in Brazil can be argued to be Bantu in origin. On the other hand, when they came into contact with the Brazilian Amerindian beliefs and the Catholicism imposed on them, their ancient cults gave birth to ritual practices of Bantu-Amerindian origin, which are widespread in different rural areas of Brazil.

Finally, the most important Brazilian cultural expressions identified as such are of Bantu origin. That influence can be clearly seen in the Samba, the symbol of Brazilian musicality, and in the Capoeira from Angola, the martial art which has been recognized as a national sport. That presence is also evident in Brazilian folktales and lullabies, some of which still preserve the Bantu lexical system in their thematic structure, as well as in countless Afro-Brazilian dialects which are spoken as special languages by black communities in rural areas, which are probable remnants of ancient Kilombos.

From a linguistic point of view, Bantu interference in Brazilian Portuguese is not yet well known. Considering the differences one can observe between Brazilian and European Portuguese, we support the hypothesis that it is probably the result of casual but notable similarities of the linguistic structure between the old and regional Portuguese and the Bantu languages, as well as their archaic aspects. These similarities

promoted the development of the internal trends of the Portuguese language itself throughout more than three centuries of ethnolinguistic and cultural interaction in colonial Brazil. These new data come to enlarge the field of research about Brazilian Portuguese, bringing with them the challenge of giving a visibility and voice to black people in history.

From the 18th century on, the Ewe-Fon were brought from Benin and Togo to Bahia to work in the tobacco plantations and to the State of Minas Gerais for gold mining and prospecting. Their presence was so significant that in the first half of that century a kind of communication language, later identified as being based on the Ewe-Fon lexical system, was widely spoken by the African population and their descendants in the state's hinterlands. With regard to religion, the Ewe-Fon's cultural influence was very important to the configuration of the social religious structure of the Candomblés and to the organization of the Afro-Brazilian cult named Tambor de Mina in the State of Maranhão.

In the 19th century the arrival of a massive contingent of Yoruba-Nagot happened to follow the decadence of the gold mining boom and was simultaneous to the installation of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the independence of Brazil from Portugal. Those historical events started a process of urban development in Brazil and a concentration of black slaves in the capital cities of the Brazilian northeastern coast.

The evidence of that Yoruba-Nagot concentration in Salvador, the capital of Bahia, lies in the fact that the term Nagot is still popularly used by Brazilians to describe African languages or individuals in general. It is also said that an Afro-Brazilian dialect, a so-called Nagot dialect, was widely spoken among the black inhabitants of Salvador during the 19th century, but, actually, they had lost their competence in African languages.

The large concentration of recently arrived West African peoples in urban centers (where they were able to enjoy a limited freedom, which they could not in rural zones) offered favorable conditions for a resistance to the adoption of the prevailing European cultural patterns, mainly in the religious field. It is important to remember the insurrections led by the Hausa and Islamized Yoruba, which took place in the city of Salvador during the first half of the 19th century. It is also important to note that the prestigious model of the urban Candomblé in Bahia is basically derived from Yoruba and Fon traits.

Due to the late arrival of the Yoruba contingent and their large concentration in the city of Salvador, their influence is more evident, especially because it is easily identified by the religious aspects of their culture. For that reason, research on African cultures in Brazil has been

based on the observation of the most prominent Yoruba-Nagot Candomblés in Salvador, a methodological approach which has been maintained since the first Afro-Brazilian studies were undertaken at the end of the 19th century.

As a consequence of this traditional approach there is a common tendency to interpret African influence in Brazil from a Yoruba point of view. In turn, there is a growing tendency of the less known cults to bring their original structures into line with the patterns which are common to the Yoruba-Nagot Candomblés. This tendency derives from the importance and social prestige which the latter enjoy in Brazil, mainly the popularity of the Orishas, the traditional Yoruba religious divinities. According to the Afro-Brazilian Cult Association of Bahia, there are more than 2,000 Candomblés in the city of Salvador and nearby districts, 1,200 of which are described as being of the Nagot-Ketu tradition.

As a consequence of the release of Candomblé from police restraints in 1976, and the social mobility of their traditional members, these religions appear to be an important cultural and political force in Brazil on account of the material and economic power of Umbanda. This Afro-Brazilian religion became very popular in the latter part of the last century, especially in the southeast, which is the most populous and industrialized region in Brazil. Such a reality is due to the fact that Umbanda accepts different European orientations in its religious system.

The influence of the dances, tunes, songs and sacred musical instruments of Candomblé and the presence of the Orishas all mark the plastic arts with their particular ethics, as well as both the popular and classical music which are produced in Brazil today. The same can be said of the beat of the *berimbau* and of the movements of Capoeira. Orishas and scenes of Capoeira are often aesthetically represented by artists of the most variegated tendencies and origins.

Afro-Brazilian tunes and melodies are adapted by classical composers to the conventional instrumentation of European background. Moreover, they introduce *atabaques* (drums), *agogôs* (double iron bells) and *berimbaus* in symphonic orchestras and in chamber musical groups, in order to compose Afro-Brazilian dances or *batuques*. One of the most famous composers is Hector Villa-Lobos. The Samba, the Capoeira, and the sacred dances of the Orishas with their insignia and their garments are all also internationally known due to their diffusion through cinema, professional folk groups and official tourism boards.

From another point of view, this influence came to convey a very strong political and ideological message. Drawing upon the resources of Candomblé, Afro-Brazilians have opened and conquered space in the

Brazilian Carnival to organize themselves in cultural and recreational associations, denominated *Afoxé* and *Bloco Afro*. These Afro-Brazilian bands parade during Carnival using costumes and allegories with African themes and dancing to the Candomblé beat. Despite that playful appearance, these associations are at the same time black entities of militancy against discrimination and are defending the political, social and economic rights which the Brazilian nation owes to them.

One further element that underlies the development of the historical process must be pointed out: the psychosocial role played by black women in the configuration of both the national culture and the 'mental structure' of Brazilians, either under her imposed condition of nanny or Black Mama of white children during slavery, or under her natural religious leadership as an Afro-Brazilian cult priestess.

During the era of slavery, the Black Mama exerted a socializing influence within the domestic ambit of the colonizer's family in which she had the chance to incorporate herself into their everyday life. This permitted her to have an influence on the children's behavior through certain psychosocial and dynamic mechanisms, such as elements of her usual diet and symbolic components of her cultural and emotional universe (phantasmagoric beings and common expressions of affection) which she introduced into the melodies and lyrics of Brazilian lullabies.

With regard to her role as a cult-priestess, she has taken over the socio-religious leadership of the Afro-Brazilian cult-houses as a professorial and revered personality. She is at the same time feared and beloved by her community due to her power of dealing with supernatural and divine forces, and this power is supported by her inviolable wisdom of African sacred and ancestral codes and symbols. This inherited wisdom entitles her to both medical and psychiatric practices through her innate clairvoyance and acquired traditional knowledge of natural medicine.

That generation of women has survived racial, sexual and also religious prejudice, police persecution and class reactions, which they were – and are still – sometimes forced to face in Brazil. It is important to understand that they have accepted Catholicism and Amerindian religious practices, with which they came into contact early on during the slavery period in Brazil, as a result of the respect they have for other people's beliefs rather than a consequence of a socio-cultural imposition of European and Portuguese colonizers.

Scholars have misunderstood such a process – the so-called 'religious syncretism' – as they do not share these women's dual conception of the world and, therefore, they cannot accept the fact that human beings can practice more than one religion. But Brazilians have learned the lesson

these women taught, which is not new: there is no faith conflict between Catholicism and Afro-Brazilian religions, since the essence of God is unique in spite of the different ways He is worshipped and the various names under which He is praised all over the world. As a result, African deities and Catholic saints are just cultural expressions of His Supreme Will.

As the above evidence shows, Brazil is a nation that has grown up as a consequence of the meeting of socio-cultural extremes, and Brazilian Portuguese derives from three great linguistic families: the Indo-European family, the Amerindian Tupi family and the African Niger-Congo family.

References

- BASTIDE, Roger (1971) - *As religiões africanas no Brasil*. São Paulo, Pioneira, 2 vols.
- LIMA, Vivaldo da Costa (2004) *A família-de-santo nos candomblés jeje-nagôs da Bahia: um estudo de relações intragrúpicas*. Salvador: Corrupio.
- MACHADO FILHO, A. M. (1944) - *O negro e o garimpo em Minas Gerais*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- MOURA, Clovis (1959) - *Rebeliões da Senzala*. São Paulo: Edições Zumbi.
- PESSOA DE CASTRO, Yeda (1976) - *De l'intégration des apports africains dans les parlers de Bahia au Brésil*. Lubumbashi: Université National du Zaïre, 2 Tomos. (Tese de Doutorado).
- (1978) - *Contos Populares da Bahia*. Salvador: Departamento de Assuntos Culturais da Prefeitura Municipal.
- (1995) - Proyección histórica y perspectivas de la población negra en Bahia, Brasil, em MONTIEL, Luz Maria Martínez (Cord.), *Presencia africana en Sudamérica*. México D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, pp. 333-390.
- (1998) - Línguas africanas: factor de resistência na Ruta del Esclavo, em *Del Caribe* 28. Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe, pp. 71-74.
- (2000) - Las religiones de origen africano en Brasil, em *Revista de Cultura Hispanoamericana* 11. Espanha, Badajoz: Centro Extremeño de Estudios y Cooperación con Iberoamerica, pp. 19-25.
- (2002) - *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro (Coleção Mineiriana).

- . (2005) - *Falares africanos na Bahia*. 2^a. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras/ Topbooks.
- . (2008) – “Towards a Comparative Approach of Bantuisms in Iberoamerica”, in *AfricAmericas: Itineraries, Dialogues, and Sounds*, ed. Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger & Tiago Oliveira de Pinto. Madrid/ Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, pp. 81-92.
- RAIMUNDO, Jacques (1933) - *O elemento afro-negro na língua Portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Renascença.
- RODRIGUES, Nina ([1933], 1945) - *Os africanos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Nacional.
- SILVA, Alberto da Costa e (2002) - *A manilha e o libambo: a África e a escravidão de 1500 a 1700*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira; Fundação Biblioteca Nacional.
- SILVA NETO, Serafim da (1963) - *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: INL / MEC.
- VERGER, Pierre (1968) - *Flux et Reflux de la Traite des Nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos, du XVII au XX Siècle*. Paris: Mouton.



