SOME FEATURES OF LANGUAGE USE IN YORUBA

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to characterize some of the significant features of language form and content in texts which usually accompany the practice of Yoruba Traditional Medicine (YTM). After collection of samples of texts from different Herbalist-Client (HC) encounters in the field, some of these texts are analysed along the dimension of register studies. Those significant features which occur prominently in most of the texts analyzed are then posited as characteristic features of YTM texts.

The content features of YTM texts are identified in the work by relating the texts to extralinguistic experience via the level of situation and the categories of use, function, message and structure. And the formal features are described by observing their projection of the content via grammatical and lexical options in the linguistic system.

The features of situation show that these texts are products of speech events which involve human and non-human objects, participant beliefs, actions, relations and behaviour. The texts, whose primary mode is conversational reveal especially that participants in YTM interaction believe in magical medicine, rituals and in the power of the spoken word.

There are three major uses performed by YTM texts, viz. diagnosis, optional divination and medication. These uses derive

from participants' intuitive reaction to the functions and messages of the texts. The message summarizes the thematic content of each text pertaining to the identification of a problem and finding the remedy for it. And the functions provide mainly the informative and directive bases for the message content.

The structure of YTM texts reveals dialogical interactions in which herbalists and clients take turns in diagnostic and prescriptive transactions to make various initiation-response moves constituted mainly by elicit-reply and direct-accept acts. In some of the texts, however, the herbalist's turns may further extend into monological transactions of divination, incantations and supplication, depending on the performance situations.

Lastly, the forms of the texts show that the preponderance of some cohesive features as well as the prominence of unmarked theme and simple sentences enhance simplicity and easier comprehensibility of the messages of YTM texts. They also show that the material process and positive polarity are prominent because the texts represent a lot of physical activities carried out towards achieving a positive goal. Lastly, they show that the declarative mood marks the primary function of giving information in YTM interaction.

In all, the study contributes to both Yoruba studies and text analysis in the manner in which it utilizes an eclectic textual model to explicitly analyze some texts from a Yoruba register.

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Mr. A. B. Adegbite in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS   PAGES

DIAGRAMS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bo	–	Bound opening move
C	–	Challenging move
Etf	–	Eclectic textual framework
HC	–	Herbalist-client
I	–	Initiation move
O	–	Opening move
R	–	Response move
Ro	–	Re-opening move
S	–	Supporting move
YTM	–	Yoruba Traditional Medicine

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

> "---There is only one object of study:
> specific acts of speech, as historic
> events in their behavioural settings,
> observable in part overtly and in a
> different part introspectively---"

>   - Hockett (1975) The State of the Art, p.65

The five chapters in this study develop ideas which arise
from six major principles, viz. (1) that Yoruba studies stand to
benefit from conscious research efforts on Yoruba text
analysis in the direction of the registers of the
language; (2) that the register is a discipline of language
study whose association with Yoruba studies can be recognized
in the environment of Yoruba social institutions, organizations
and practices where language interacts with some other pragmatic
objects, actions, states and social beliefs to achieve socio-
pragmatic goals; (3) that a study of Yoruba registers can best
thrive on the collection and analyses of Yoruba texts from speech
events in order to examine the nature of the interaction between
language form and situational factors of experience; (4) that YTM
is a Yoruba institution in which language, in the mode of texts,
interacts with socio-situational factors in diverse speech events
to achieve goals which are for the benefit and welfare of the

people; (5) that since the interaction of language with social experience is reflected in texts and can be studied from texts, a lot of insights can be gained into the diverse non-linguistic and linguistic acts performed in the YTM institution via the means of textual studies; (6) particularly, a proper study of texts from this institution will show how language is patterned in social situations to achieve social significance.

This first chapter introduces the work and gives information about the theoretical preliminaries of the study: these preliminaries include the necessity for the work, its aims, assumptions and methodology. Chapter Two basically discusses the issue of theoretical frameworks of language description. After highlighting certain basic principles and approaches to language study, it identifies the approach of text linguistics and explains its basic concerns. It later selects the systemic textlinguistics model for the analysis of texts in the study because of the rich potentialities of the model for describing the form and content features of texts. Deriving from the general theoretical framework selected in Chapter Two, Chapter Three presents and illustrates the analytical tools of texts in terms of six major categories: situation, use, function, message, structure and form.

These tools are then used in Chapter Four of the work to identify the content features of YTM texts and in Chapter Five to identify the formal features of the texts. In the conclusion there is a summary of the contributions of this study and its limitations, and there is also a discussion of its application to Yoruba textual analysis and register studies, on the one hand, and to cross-linguistico-cultural studies, on the other hand.

1.1   Studies on Yoruba Language and Literature

The Yoruba language provides fertile ground for research work. The language encapsulates a superabundance of the oral literature and history of several generations of the Yoruba people[1] yet to be explored and recorded, having been in the written form for only one and a half centuries. A scholar researching into Yoruba thus has an open field before him to inquire and explore the language for facts about human life and thoughts to be recorded for posterity.

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1.   See Oladeji (1980:20) for information about the homeland, population and communities of the Yoruba people all over the world. Discussions in this work refer specifically to the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria, although a lot of cultural similarities permeate Yoruba societies all over the world.

Explorations on Yoruba language and literature need not be limited to mere collection and recording of types of oral literature with notes explaining obscure expressions or with a preface giving mainly sociological information (cf. Bamgbose, 1982a: 7). Instead, researches may involve detailed descriptions, analyses, expositions and criticisms of any member of the constituents of Yoruba studies, viz. Yoruba language, Yoruba literature, Yoruba life and thought and Yoruba practical criticism suggested by Babalola (1982:13-19). While a lot of work has been done on certain aspects of the above constituents, some areas have been consistently neglected. For instance, there is a dearth of scholarly materials on Yoruba language 'registers' and 'dialects'.[1] And this writer believes that this problem must be tackled in order to enrich, develop and improve Yoruba studies. Any intensive work geared towards this goal is a right step in the direction of the enrichment, reinforcement and ultimate development of Yoruba language and literature.

1. Simply put, a dialect is the name given to language variety of a group of users according to their location, period, age, education, etc; the concept of 'register' is explained under 1.3 below.

1.2 Classification and Description of Yoruba Texts

Attempts have been made by eminent scholars to describe the structure and vocabulary of Yoruba in descriptive and comparative linguistic studies.[1] Also, a wide range of oral literature in the language has been researched into and documented.[2] Genuine literary works and their descriptions are now available in the three literary genres of Yoruba prose, poetry and drama[3] while highly informative works on the social life, customs and institutions of the Yoruba people are also in existence.[4] Work is still going on in these fields as the Yoruba language is still under constant study through the medium of at least four of the major languages of the world apart from Yoruba, viz. English, French, Portuguese and Spanish (cf. Abimbola, 1977b and Oladeji, 1980).

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1. See Babalola (1982:19-22) for a list of some pivotal works in this respect. The present work, however, benefits most from the linguistic descriptions of Bamgbose (1965, 1966, 1972, 1976, etc.), Afolayan (1968, 1970 and 1982); from the comparative stylistic research of Oladeji (1980); and from the sociolinguistic study of the structure of Yoruba texts by Akinnaso (1982, 1983 and 1985).

2. A lot of works exist in this field, but the contributions most highly felt come from the description of oral poetry in Yoruba folklore. See, for example, Abimbola (1976 and 1977), Babalola (1966), Bascom (1969), Isola (1975), Olajubu (1970), Yemiitan (1963) among others.

3. See Babalola, 1982: 19-22.

4. ibid.

Much work seems to have been done in Yoruba studies, yet much is still left to be done. For instance, descriptive studies on Yoruba seem to have favoured either a purely sociological or formal linguistic description, or the literary criticism[1] of Yoruba literary texts, while the analysis and description of the 'form-meaning-message-use' relationship in texts appear to have received little attention from scholars. Yet while it can be rightly said that the grammar of a language has to be understood for any study to take place at all in the language or, otherwise, that there have to be literature studies on which descriptive studies can rely for data, it should at the same time be noted that an integration of language and literature will also benefit Yoruba studies. The following statement by Afolayan (1982a:27) shows this clearly thus:

> Yoruba language studies, divorced from actual
> language --- would be abstract and lifeless
> and Yoruba studies not firmly rooted in the
> study of the linguistic properties pertaining
> to the language of Yoruba literature ---
> would be at best a pseudo-study of Yoruba
> anthropology, sociology and religion.

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1. One actually wonders whether the approach of some works in this field cannot be called 'literary stylistics', since they sometimes introduce some linguistic categories, however small, into their predominantly literary description of texts in order to properly explicate portions of such texts.

One major effective way of integrating language and literature
in Yoruba studies is to concentrate on stylistic and socio-
linguistic analyses of texts in order to observe the
linguistic, literary and socio-situational features in them.
Some useful works are already available in this respect. For
example, Oladeji (1980) has done a comparative stylistic work
on two poems from different cultures of English and Yoruba, viz.
The Passing of Arthur by Alfred Lord Tennyson and Adebimpe
Ojedokun by Adebayo Faleti. The work is significant because of
the way it shows important thematic, linguistic and cultural
similarities and differences between the poems from a systemic
linguistic viewpoint of analysis. Also, Olabode (1981) has
contributed to Yoruba stylistics in his thesis on the semantic
bases of metaphors and related troupes in Yoruba. Following
the three fundamental principles of structuralism, viz.
language, individual and situation, he has been able to
describe the sources, forms and uses of these figures of speech
by the Yoruba. Akinnaso (1982, 1983 and 1985) has described
Yoruba divinatory speech from both sociolinguistic and comparative
meta-analytical points of view. His works identify several
essential linguistico-cultural factors of Yoruba divinatory
speech and relate these factors to those of other kinds of

ritual speeches from diverse cultures of the world. The findings in the work have also been used by the author to express disagreement with certain theoretical assumptions about the differences between spoken and written language. And lastly, Olatunji (1984) in what can be called a literary stylistic study has classified features of Yoruba oral poetry. In this work, he identifies certain features that are general for all Yoruba poetic types and also those characteristic of individual types like Oríkì 'Praise Poetry', Esẹ Ifá 'Ifa Divinatory Poetry', Ọfọ̀ 'Yoruba Incantations,' etc.

This work benefits from the works above in terms of their content and it also has many affinities with them in terms of their stylistic/sociolinguistic orientation. However, it proceeds along the dimension of register studies and relies on facts, principles and procedures of diverse fields such as stylistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, text linguistics and systemic linguistics in analyzing data collected from speech events in a Yoruba institution. Below we exaplain the concept of 'register' and mention the Yoruba register to be described in this study.

1.3 The Concept of Register and Yoruba Studies

The notion 'register' may have different connotations in language studies (see Lemke 1985:276), but it essentially denotes a 'diatypical' variety of language. Following Gregory (1967) and Halliday (1978), a diatype classification is a two-way classification of language use in terms of the interaction of formal and situational features. Two texts will belong to the same register if they both have similar features which correlate with the situational components, e.g. Halliday's components of 'field', 'tenor' and 'mode' (see 3.1.1).

In this study, the term 'register' is conceived in a very strict sense in which it defines texts which have similar formal features in a greater degree which correlate with all the three components above. If, for instance, the formal features shared by two texts are few or the situational components which they relate to have major differences, then such texts belong to different registers. However, if the two texts have a lot of similar formal features and have no major differences in their situational components, then they belong to a single register. Texts can be of the same type within a register if there are very few formal features distinguishing them individually in similar

situational contexts, while those of different types will have
the few features differentiating them as a group from other
texts in a register.

The natural environment for register studies is
inevitably that of social institutions, organisations and
practices. It is this environment that has the two most
essential ingredients for such studies, viz. language and
situation. In every social institution, organization or
practice, there are usually speech events involving partici-
pants' interactions in specific situations according to some
recognizable conventional patterns of language and social
behaviour. An interaction in a social institution always
involves the utilization of language (as texts), singularly
or in accompaniment of other pragmatic objects, within a
particular situation to achieve certain pragmatic ends.
And it is possible within Yoruba studies, for example, to
find out how particular texts are constituted and organized
in the achievement of these ends by collecting their samples
from speech events or interactions in some Yoruba institutions
and analysing them. Such analyses if they fall within Yoruba
register studies should be based on an analytical framework
that can efficiently account for both the formal features
of the texts and the situational factors of their
production.

1.4 Yoruba Register Studies and The Institution of YTM

Several registers of texts are bound to be present in diverse institutions of Yoruba experience that can be investigated for language and social development, for example, those of medicine, law, journalism, religion, teaching, broadcasting, casual interaction, etc. In this study, however, our interest lies in finding out what features of texts, text types and registers are noticeable in the Yoruba institution of Traditional Medicine.

In Yorubaland, and indeed in Nigeria as a whole, the practice of traditional medicine is a social reality, the society being predominantly non-literate. For the non-literate and literate members of the community alike YTM provides at best an alternative to Western or 'modern' medicine and at worst a supplement to it. Opinion surveys carried out by scholars (see Ladipo and Balogun, 1978) on some Yoruba people in villages concerning the sources of their medical care show that a greater percentage of the villagers claimed that, for various reasons, traditional medicine provided their major source of medical care. The belief in traditional medicine is also shared by literate members of the community as well, for another survey carried out on this group of people (see

Dopamu, 1977:658) has shown that a substantial number of them do confirm the efficacy of the system. Speaking in the most nationalistic terms, and in line with the recent favourable posture of the World Health Organisation (WHO) on the practice, some literate members of the Nigerian community, among whom are journalists and university scholars, have in the past one decade consistently challenged the colonially-induced sole official recognition of modern medicine in the country (cf. Appendix 1) and have called for the recognition and consequent integration of traditional medicine with modern medical practice. For, according to them, the continuous lack of recognition of the traditional healing system implies a gradual disintegration and eventual annihilation of the wisdom, creativity and originality of the thoughts and experiences of the Nigerian race, which could be an asset to the world. The tenacity of the people's belief in the system as well as their consistent pressures on the government has continued to yield positive results as the Government of Nigeria have in recent times started to involve themselves in the development of traditional medicine with great commitment to the programme.

It cannot thus be out of place to choose the YTM institution as the area of our investigation of Yoruba language in use, considering the very high priority given to medicine

among other social institutions. The Yoruba adage 'Ara ílé looògún oro' (literally, "health is wealth") is a pointer to the people's opinion that good health is the gateway to wealth, the societal symbol of success. If it were possible for all Yoruba learners/users to select their priorities of the various uses they would like to learn and use the language to perform, no doubt, health and wealth would be very high on the scale of choices. Yet, curiously, little attention has been paid to language use for medical purposes — at least there has not been any systematic study of the use of Yoruba in YTM.

Like modern medicine YTM practice has been widely investigated by scholars in sociological (intracultural and cross-cultural), socio-medical and medical studies and a lot of useful information about the respective sub-fields and their similarities and differences have been identified and noted (see Fadipe 1970, Maclean 1971, Idowu 1973, Dopamu 1977, Sanda 1978, Sofowora 1982, etc.). In these studies there seems to be some common ground in their focus on the description of vital objects, actions, states, values, circumstances and events in the practice. Also, the investigations never fail to point out, even if only cursorily, the major role which language plays as an object in the system. Of course, since the above scholars have not sought to describe YTM from the linguistic

point of view, one cannot criticize them for their lack of atten-
tion to its role in the system. Yet one cannot lose sight
of the importance of this object since it is the vehicle for
carrying out effectively, preserving and exploring the practice.

A systematic study of language use in YTM from, especially,
the textlinguistic and sociolinguistic point of view should
not only be useful for Yoruba studies, it should also enhance
cross-fertilization of ideas in cross-linguistico-cultural
studies between this system and modern medicine. However, while
some attention is being paid in recent times to the (applied)
linguistic description of language features in the latter
(cf. Coulthard and Ashby 1976; Coleman and Burton 1985; van
Naerssen 1985, etc.), parallel studies are glaringly lacking
on the former system. At present there is thus an imbalance of
facts and ideas about language in the two systems, which makes any
comparative work impossible in this respect. In the light
of the above needs, this work sets out to study and then
present useful information about language use in YTM practice.
The preliminary steps taken in the investigation are stated
below.

1.5 Theoretical Preliminaries of Research

1.5.1 Research aim and assumptions

This study identifies and describes the significance and characteristics of features of language content and form in the practice of YTM. Based on the analyses of samples of texts collected from different HC interactions, it identifies the socio-situational and linguistic norms underlying the socio-psychological behaviour of participants in their various transactions in YTM practice. The study rests on five major assumptions stated thus:

1. Some Yoruba texts serve certain essential pragmatic purposes — diagnostic, divinatory and medicating — in YTM in accompaniment of other medicinal and magical objects employed for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases in the social institution.

2. These Yoruba texts (or YTM texts) serve the purposes stated above because they have certain essential linguistic and non-linguistic features suitable for such purposes.

3. Such significant features that YTM texts may have can be studied by analysing some samples of the texts

collected from speech events in different situations
of YTM practice in terms of their individual
forms, structures, messages, functions and uses, and
by relating the forms to the other non-formal
categories above.

4. The characteristic features of the texts can be
identified by observing the features shared by most
or all of the texts analyzed.

5. The features which different YTM texts share will
also form the basis for identifying their types
and registers.

It can be said that the primary task of this study is to:
(a) identify the significant features of YTM texts and
(b) identify the characteristic features of the texts. While
the discussion of significant features will give an insight
into the nature of language use in YTM practice, the
presentation of characteristic features will suggest a norm
for YTM texts so that individual texts can be seen as either
achieving the norm or not achieving it. In this direction,
we shall formulate a hypothesis for this research
thus:

YTM texts have certain formal and non-formal
language features which they utilize for
social significance. Some of these features
characterize the texts to the extent that
any text which has all or nearly all of them
will, most probably, be a YTM text while
a text that has a few or none is not likely
to be regarded as one.

1.5.2 Data base of study

It is a fact that a study of the social functions of language
must be supported by adequate data of language use. Grimshaw
(1974: 421) identifies four broad types of data that have been
used in social studies of language thus:

a.   natural speech observed in actual settings of

       communicative events;

b.   'natural' speech observed in contrived settings

       of communicative events;

c.   elicited speech and/or rules about that speech

       or other behaviour by informants to ethnographers

       in response to direct inquiry; and

d.   historical and/or literary materials.

Of these four types, he observes that the criteria of observational adequacy are clearly most relevant in natural settings (see also Duranti, 1983). But he also admits that researchers should not ignore the other types of (representative) data that are produced in either contexted or elicitation situations, or the purposes for which historical and literary materials were originally produced.

Although a procedure whereby a substantial number of all of the performance texts on which a research is based are representative instead of natural should be recognized as a limitation of methodology, this recognition should not be so strict as to hinder insightful investigations into representations of performance texts in the face of great odds against the collection of natural data. The collection of data in this field has really posed a big challenge to the present researcher who, invariably, has to agree with an earlier remark by Dopamu (1977:5) about the manner in which practitioners tenaciously and jealously guard information concerning the practice of the art for fear of losing their source of livelihood.

Of course, a good measure of success can be achieved in
the data collection if the researcher has enough
means and time to get as much information as possible from
custodians of traditional medicine. Another opportunity
for greater success might be guaranteed with the analyst's
possession of such highly sensitive and sophisticated
recording equipment like the audio-video recorders or
microphone pins and one-way mirrors (cf. Gumperz, 1972:209)
which can be most useful for surreptitious recordings of
data from diverse areas of the YTM field. In a situation
whereby a research has to be carried out within limited
available materials and resources, both the natural and
representative texts collected as data can combine to give
sufficient and reliable information about the characteristic
features of YTM texts.

The data for this study correspond to the four types
observed by Grimshaw above. The first type of
data consists of two instances of recording of natural
speech. In one instance, an accomplished general herbalist

(with over thirty years' professional experience) in Ibadan

was approached. After paying several visits to her and

becoming familiar with her, we were able to record some

conversations between her and her clients without their

attention. In the second instance, another popular her-

balist in Ile-Ife consented, after much persuasion and pay-

ment of honorarium, to allow us collect some data while he

had clients.

The second type of data consists of relevant recordings

of some Yoruba plays from the television service of the

Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS) of Nigeria mostly

between January and March 1988. Prominent among the data

collected on tape were those from the 'Ifá Olókun A - sòrò -

dayò' series, arranged by Yemi Elebu-Ibon, a popular Ifa

priest and artist.

The third type of data represents elicitations and tape-

recording of direct interviews of some popular traditional medi-
cine practitioners on the subject of language use in YTM.

The last type of data presents extracts of relevant texts
from two literary sources of information on Ifa poetry, viz.
Ìjìnlè Ohùn Ẹnu Ifá (Apá Kìnní) and Àwọn Ojú Odù Mẹ́rẹ̀ẹ̀rìndínlógún,
published in 1968 and 1977 respectively. Wande Abimbola's
works offer by far the greatest sources of sociological
information on Ifa divination today; they also provide the
largest collections of Ifa poems for reading and analytic
purposes.[1] The texts taken from two of his works cited above
provide illustrations of divinatory and medicating aspects of
YTM texts.

1.5.3 Transcription of data

The samples of texts above were collected and transcribed
between February 1987 and March 1988. Apart from the
transcription done by Abimbola in the literary source book of
some of the data, the transcription of the rest of the recorded

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1. A lot of texts in the collections derive from primary oral
   performance sources, as claimed by the scholar himself in
   most of his works. The extracts from the collections
   used in this study thus come from such primary oral
   sources.

texts was done personally and it represents as accurately as
possible the sound system in the oral material. Phonetic
characteristics such as dialectal variation,[1] syllable
lengthening, pauses and tones are indicated by the appropriate
standard orthographic features. Other essential infor-
mation about the orthographic representations of certain
features of the texts is presented in the next three
paragraphs.

Conversations representing the diagnostic and part of
the medicating aspects of YTM texts are transcribed in the
conventional form of dramatizations, with essential pragmatic
information indicated by graphic symbols as stated below:

(i)   pauses and hesitations are indicated by three
        dots '...';

(ii)   essential information about pragmatic actions
        or events is enclosed in round '( )' brackets; and

(iii)   interruptions or simultaneous moves, where
        possible, are indicated by square '{ }'
        brackets.

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1.   Some of the texts used for this study reveal some dialectal
     variations in the speeches of characters or participants.
     Since these dialectal features do not pose any special
     problems of intelligibility to readers of Standard Yoruba,
     we do not bother to transliterate them to the standard
     form.

Furthermore, in the conversations as well as the poetic texts of this study, breath pauses are used as cues for the demarcation of thought units - short pauses are indicated by commas and longer pauses by semi-colons, colons, and even full stops when such pauses mark the end of complete sense units.

Most illustrations of the divinatory and medicating aspects of YTM texts have the monological structure typical of poetic texts. Because these aspects read like poems they are represented in the usual verse lines, with the ends of lines dictated by pauses, and sometimes by lexico-structural and semantic considerations (cf. Olatunji, 1984:11-12). The procedure of punctuating each verse is stated below as follows:

(i)   a comma represents a short breath pause, which indicates part of a sense unit or statement;

(ii)   a semi-colon represents a longer pause than (i) above and it demarcates two units that are related to one sense in a complex statement;

(iii) both the question and exclamation marks represent long breath pauses associated with questions and exclamations respectively (e.g. vocatives are often marked by exclamation marks in the texts);

(iv)   quotation marks represent direct speech only;

(v)   a full stop marks a long breath pause at the
       end of a complex sentence only;

(vi)   the ends of most lines in the poetic texts are
       left bare where there are no pauses at all
       between items that have lexico-structural
       or semantic significance, and also where there
       are long breath pauses which mark different
       sense units (it might be redundant here, for
       example, to put a full stop after almost every
       line of a verse); and

(vii)   the features of punctuation stated in (iv) -
        (vi) above are extended to the texts extracted
        from Abimbola's works and these replace the
        earlier punctuation of the texts.

It is, however, important here to note the limitation of
the transcription of certain features, like the musical
qualities of some songs in a few texts in this study. The
phonological features transcribed are in fact limited to the
most essential ones among those that can be represented by
the orthography.

1.5.4 The orthography for transcription of texts

The orthography used for transcribing the texts described in this study is that of Standard Yoruba, as observed in previous descriptive works of Yoruba scholars (cf. Abimbola, 1977b and Olatunji, 1984). The writing system employed by these scholars derive from Bamgbose's (1965) Yoruba Orthography, with very few minor alterations like the non-use of the assimilated low tone and the separation of the habitual and/ or continuous tense marker from the verb. Some very useful information about the orthography of Yoruba can also be seen in Orthography of Nigerian Languages Manual 1, edited by Ayo Bamgbose.

1.5.5 Translation of YTM texts into English

In order to make the ideas of the Yoruba texts described in this work accessible to non-Yoruba readers of English, a 'communicative' translation[1] into English of every Yoruba

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1. A 'communicative' translation, according to Peter Newmark (1981), aims at providing the reader of the target language (TL) with the ideas expressed in the source language (SL) text. This translation is usually biased towards the reader, and may be 'free' or 'idiomatic' depending on the nature of the SL being translated. On the other hand, a 'semantic' translation is usually faithful to the form or style of the SL text, employing very often the literal or word-for-word translation technique. The translation of some Yoruba greetings in our data may even sound awkward or colloquial in English, when attempts are made to preserve their local colour.

utterance or text is normally done. But, occasionally, a semantic translation (ibid.) is employed when the style of a text is so crucial to its meaning. Although the description in the study is based on the Yoruba utterances or texts, English translation equivalents are always provided for the items referred to.[1] Items which present problems of untranslatability are explained either in the description in each chapter or in the notes at the end of the chapters.[2] Finally, proper names are not translated in the work, unless such names connote meanings that can be translated, as some primordial names do in this description.

1.5.6 Presentation of texts for analysis

Over fifty larger YTM texts or 'intertexts'[3] and several smaller ones were collected and are examined in this study.

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1. Note that the semantic features in Yoruba texts are not usually realized in English by the same syntactic categories or elements that do realize them in Yoruba. It is, however, the realization of features in Yoruba that is our concern in this study; and we are less bothered whether the Yoruba forms conform to English forms or not.

2. A ready reference book for most of the explanations done in Yoruba is provided by R.G. Abraham's Dictionary of Modern Yoruba.

3. A YTM intertext is a larger text made up of two or more smaller continuous or discontinuous texts. The smaller texts within an intertext form parts of such intertext, but each of these parts may be construed separately as a text because it has its own separate configuration of structural units of transactions and/or interactions (see 3.1.5.2.1 - 3.1.5.2.2). Thus, when a YTM intertext is called a text in this study, it is implied as a macro-text within which are some micro-texts.

After a close study of the data, it is observed that the inter-
texts have very close similarities and can be recognized
as two broad types: Type 1 and Type 2 texts. Seven inter-
texts (see Texts 1-7 in Appendix II) representative of these
two types, three from Type 1 and four from Type 2, are then
subjected to detailed analyses and the observations presented
in this work. Apart from these intertexts, thirteen smaller
texts representing prototypes of different aspects[1] of YTM
intertexts - diagnostic 2, divinatory 3 and medicating 8 -
are presented in Appendix III (see Texts 8-20). There, the
medicating aspect has the largest representation because it
consists of three sub-aspects which are all vital to YTM
practice, viz. prescriptive, incantatory and supplicating
sub-aspects. There are also 'residual' extracts from several
other texts from our data which are not presented in this study
but which serve to illustrate some categories in the
description. And lastly, there is a model 'Text M' presented
in the body of the description to demonstrate the analytical
procedure of the study.

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1. An 'aspect' is a category which identifies the use of a
    text with the text content. It is a parallel category
    to the 'genre' which here refers to the distinctive
    recognizable form of verbal strategies used to
    accomplish a social purpose (cf. Martin, 1985: 250-251).
    See also 3.1.2 and 4.2 for further uses of the term
    'aspect'.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

2.1 The Principles and Approaches to Linguistic Description

A scientific study of language according to Martinet (1960)
is founded on the observation of facts and refrains from
picking and choosing arbitrarily among the facts in the light
of certain aesthetic or moral principles. That linguistics is
a science and should follow the scientific procedure of
description has never been in dispute among language scholars
since de Saussure, the founding father of the subject. Instead,
what has generated and still continues to generate constant
debate in the field can be identified with certain principles
and approaches essential to linguistic theory.

A major agreement in principle is that linguistic theory
can be based on deductive or inductive knowledge (cf. Lyons,
1970:7-8). The linguists of the deductive school of thought
are concerned with the intrinsic regular and logical patterns of
language. They strongly support the rationalists' claim about
innate ideas, "which determine the form of the acquired knowledge

in what may be a rather restricted and highly organised way"
(Chomsky, 1965:48), and have sought to describe the
abstract innate capacity of the grammar of a native speaker
through the use of highly formalized rules and symbols of
mathematics and deductive logic. A general linguistic
theory, in the words of Chomsky (1965:53), must therefore
be regarded as,

> "...a specific hypothesis of an essentially
> rationalist cast, as to the nature of
> mental structures and processes."

Chomsky, like other deductive linguists, holds the view
that inductive theories of language exclude worlds of intuitive
knowledge. Such theories are not always conclusive, and they
have a low predictive power because there is no limit to the
number of data that can justify them. In contrast to the
inductive approach, however, the deductive approach puts a
high premium on the formulation of hypothesis based on
introspection and not on empirical data. Deductive theories
of language are considered capable of testing themselves
and they can detect any false note by the sheer harmony of
their internal logic.

Critics of the deductive approach of language have also
noted the inadequacies of this approach in the high priority

which its adherents pay to theoretical formulations at the expense
of proper utilization of data. Hockett (1975:35) comments
on Harris, the progenitor of transformational grammarians,
thus:

> "--- he was quite prepared to doctor his data
> if such doctored raw-material was better
> than the real facts of a language for some
> methodological demonstrations."

Charles Hockett stands out as a linguist highly critical of a
deductive approach to linguistic theory, especially of
Chomsky's ideas about grammar. He contends that inductive
linguists are concerned with theory as much as deductive
linguists. The difference is that unlike the latter, an
inductive linguist collects data on performance in order to
make certain generalizations concerning language theory or
use. In other words, he is concerned with those sets or
systems of habits that lie behind the actual speech recorded.
The linguist thus seeks theories, which are generalizations
from observations, and are about speech (Hockett, 1975:65).
They yield predictions and are corrected by subsequent
observations.

Another important issue in linguistics is the different

approaches to linguistic description. For the better part of
half a century of linguistics, language is handled as an
autonomous subject independent of other disciplines and of
the extra-linguistic world. Linguistic theory, according to
Hjelmslev (1953:7) must be immanent; that is, it must
interpret language in its own terms not as a conglomerate of
non-linguistic phenomena, but as a self-sufficient totality,
a structure sui generis. For him, being exclusively concerned
with theory, the essential task of linguists is to devise
an abstract system for understanding language, a calculus
for language. Earlier, Sapir (1921:58) has observed the
relative independence of form and function and suggested that
"linguistic form should be studied as types of patterning,
apart from the associated functions." And even de Saussure
has noted much earlier in his <u>Cours de Linguistique generale</u>
(1916)[1] that linguists should study language 'for its own
sake'. The consequence of the principle of autonomy is that
it promotes overconcentration on formal analyses in different

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1. <u>Cours de linguistique generale</u> was a posthumous compilation of
   de Saussure's insights by his pupils, C. Bally and A.
   Sechehaye in 1916. An English translation of the work
   has been made by W. Baskin (1966), viz. <u>A Course in
   General Linguistics</u>, McGraw-Hill, New York.

ways from the initial stage of constituent analysis and parsing,
following Bloomfield (1933), to the later stage of generative
grammars.

In opposition to formal linguists are also those linguists
who see language as a representation of reality and believe
that linguistic study must be correlated with other disci-
plines which discuss the practical aspects of human life.
The group and their adherents study the form of language not
as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. Now that
linguistics has established itself as a mature academic
discipline with its own methodology and criteria of relevance,
they believe that there is no longer the same need to insist
upon the principle of autonomy in linguistic description (cf.
Lyons, 1970:9). The description of language in terms of
extra-linguistic and social reality has opened up linguistics
to scholars of diverse interests - anthropologists,
philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists
and teachers among others - who now study language in order
to have access to facts about human behaviour.

It is a fact that every description of language should
be grounded on theory, whether it describes language form
or language use (cf. Lamb, 1966). A study of language may

be founded on an existing theory, or a modification of such a theory, or the formulation of a new one. An existing theory is modified or a new one proposed by identifying such a theory, stating its limitation(s) and modifying it, or proposing a new theory which improves on the existing one(s) in terms of its more adequate representation and application to activities in the field of study. Thus, in selecting a theory for analysis in this study, maybe one should first observe what goes on in the field of linguistics (including the concern of the present study), show how existing theories have tried or failed to cope with (some aspects of) it and opt for a model that can cope more effectively with it.

We shall begin the suggestion of a theory for this work by recognising Halliday's (1961:241 ff) classification of three kinds of descriptive grammar:

(i) TEXTUAL: a grammar that sets out to describe a finite text or "corpus";

(ii) EXEMPLIFICATORY: a non-textually-based grammar that describes the potential structures of a language, giving examples;

(iii)   GENERATIVE: a non-textually-based grammar that
        provides a mechanism or set of rules for
        specifying the sentences of a language and their
        structure.

It is almost apparent from the classification above that the
first one will be appropriate for textual analysis, but for
the fact that a further distinction can still be made between
'text grammar' which describes exclusively the formal
features of language use and 'text description' which accounts
for both the formal and non-formal features in linguistic
investigation (see Adejare 1981:50).

In spite of the useful observations made above, we do
not find it explanatory enough to categorise all the activities
in linguistics into two or three types. Instead, we believe
that a clearer view of the field can be given by observing
four types of procedures based on two sets of dichotomies:
'sentence' vs 'text' and 'form' vs 'context'.

The dichotomies above relate to the units and levels
most relevant to linguistics. The 'sentence', for instance,
has for a long time been the basic unit of linguistic
description because it used to be the largest independent
grammatical unit (cf. Bloomfield, 1933). It is a formal unit;

and for this reason, it has continuously provided a basis for the
formal analysis of language in or out of context of use.
Linguistics until the last two decades was predominated by
description of sentence grammars, and most notable theories of
language in this period had the sentence as their focus of
description (cf. Bloomfield, 1933; Chomsky, 1957 and 1965;
Halliday, 1961).

A 'text' refers to a unit of language larger than the sen-
tence. It is a functional unit, thus it incorporates language
form with situation in language use. In recent times, the term
has been employed to refer to individual or connected spoken or
written utterances found in road signs and warnings, nursery
rhymes, poems, news articles, conversations, lectures and
textbooks of all kinds and purposes (cf. Beaugrande and
Dressler, 1981). A text may be abstracted for study, independent
of the situational context of its production, in which case
only the formal meaning is accounted for; or it may be studied
more fully by relating formal meaning to socio-cultural and
situational meanings (cf. Ventola, 1987).

'Form' is seen here as the linguistic level which accounts
for the 'syntax' (Chomsky, 1957 and 1965) or 'lexicogrammar'
(Halliday, et. al. 1964) of language. When we study form,
we are studying the interpenetration of grammar and lexis

which represent the meaningful internal patterns of language
(Halliday, 1964:21). Grammar and lexis are two categories
which are connected, like the two sides of a coin, but either of
of them can be focused more than the other or discussed
separately in a formal description. Items of grammar or
lexis are called 'formal items' or 'forms' and these represent
the surface realization of meanings organized in the semantic
system of language (see 3.1.7).

'Context' is an abstract category of linguistics which
provides the link between formal items and the situational compo-
nents of language use. Two kinds of context[1] have been
identified with two domains in linguistic description: the
'context of culture' which is identified with the domain of
culture, and the context of situation which is identified with
the domain of situation (cf. Malinowski, 1923 and Firth, 1962).
The former kind of context provides the environment and
conditions for the meanings in a language, while the latter
kind provides the environment and conditions for expressing
messages in specific situations. The conditions of meaning in
a context of culture (or social context) specify the conventional

---

1. We distinguish here, straightaway, between 'context' and
   'co-text' which refer to the co-verbal occurrences of formal
   items in a text. The former 'context' is either social or
   situational while the latter 'co-text', which many scholars
   also call 'context', is verbal.

rules of behaviour which participants must share before they can communicate successfully with each other, whereas the conditions of message in a situational context must further specify relevant features of the immediate and wider experiences of the specific participants, in addition to the conventional rules.

The four terms explained above relate to one another across the dichotomies earlier-mentioned. Each of the two terms in the first dichotomy relates to the two terms in the second, thus yielding four different viewpoints of language studies: formal sentence, contextual sentence, formal text and contextual text. These viewpoints form the bases of all major preoccupations of linguists in the formulation and application of theories in recent times. And they should inform the selection and presentation of a model for the analysis of texts in this study.

2.2   Approaches to Text Description

In our opinion, the model most suitable for describing the formal and non-formal features of texts should be the contextual text approach. This already rules out the remaining three approaches as inadequate for this purpose. However, the description of 'text' and 'context' in such an approach need not exclude the categories of 'sentence' and 'form' because the latter categories are necessarily included in the former.

In other words, a text is naturally realized by a sentence or
set of sentences, although it means more than just a combina-
tion of sentences, while a context mediates in the interaction
of form with situation. A contextual text theory is thus a
framework of analysis whose main **objects** are the 'text'
and 'context' and constituent products the 'sentence' and
'form'. Below we present an overview of some formal and
contextual models of text analysis and select an appropriate
contextual text model for the analysis and description in
this study.

2.2.1 Formal text theories (or Text grammar)

Until relatively recently, the sentence was generally
considered the upper limit of linguistic investigation; but the
structure of connected discourse is now receiving growing
attention from various linguists. Gutwinski (1976:19)
observes that while there is a growing interest in text grammar
on the part of linguists using the framework of transformational
grammar, there are no major studies available in print, probably
due to the fact that transformational grammarians set as their goal
formulation of rules for generating individual sentences only.
Existing transformational text grammars are no more than elaborate
forms of formal sentence grammars (cf. Adejare, 1982:4),
with their formulations based on abstract notions like

'competence', 'ideal native speaker-listener' inherited from

Chomsky's (1965) central theory. Consider the respective

views of Harris (1951, reprinted 1964), van Dijk (1972) and

Petofi (1978) below which represent the general underlying

principles of transformational text grammars:

(a) ...The method is formal, depending on the occu-

rrence of morphemes as distinguishable elements;

it does not depend upon the analyst's knowledge

of the particular meaning of each morpheme.

- Harris, 1964:355

(b) "Our text grammar is supposed to be a formal

model for the competence of native speakers."[1]

- van Dijk, 1972:132

---

1. In the standard theory of Transformational grammar, Chomsky
    (1965) claims that the theory is concerned with 'competence',
    the knowledge of the ideal native speaker-hearer of
    a language, not performance, which is an imperfect reflection
    of competence. This distinction between competence and
    performance above is rejected outright by sociologically-
    oriented linguists who suggest that both knowledge of
    linguistic rules and knowledge of the underlying rules of
    social behaviour represent the communicative competence of
    speakers in a community, which according to Halliday (1978:38)
    is "a potential which is objective, not a competence, which
    is subjective". Gumperz (1982:209) defines 'communicative
    competence' in interactional terms as,

        "the knowledge of linguistic and related
        communicative conventions that speakers
        must have to create and sustain conver-
        sational cooperation, and this involves
        both grammar and contextualization."

(c) "The object of description is the knowledge
     native speakers have about texts."

                                    - Petofi, 1978:36

The above and other related formulations of text grammars
(see Kumer, 1972; Mel'cuk, 1973; Petofi and Rieser, 1973)
have consistently been inapplicable to the description of
textual behaviour/action because of their usual exclusion
from the norm of meaningful features of texts which are context-
dependent. In van Dijk's (1972) work, for example, which is
based on literary and poetic texts, literary metaphors are
classified as unconventional features of grammar and meaning.
This is no doubt looking at metaphors from a culturally-
detached psycho-cognitive point of view. From a socio-
cognitive/functional point of view, however, which is the
perspective of contextual text analysis, literary metaphors are
normal features of a text which have their own grammars
recognized by societal norms.

The growing dissatisfaction with the restriction of
transformational text grammars to notions of T. G. sentence
grammar culminates in more promising descriptions and
formulations of text grammars. Dressler (1970), for example,
considers such phenomena of texts as anaphora, substitution,

cross-reference and co-reference by extending the rules of sentence grammars; he also camouflages in the description certain text regularities under such notions as presuppositions, connectives, etc. And later Quirk, et. al. (1972 and 1973) devote a whole chapter to 'sentence connection' in which they observe four factors which enter into the connection of sentences as semantic content, lexical equivalences, syntactic devices and prosodic features (Quirk, et. al., 1972:649ff). The main focus of the chapter is, however, on the syntactic devices such as 'time relaters', 'logical connecters,' 'substitution', 'discourse reference' and 'ellipsis' which are commented upon.

Halliday's contribution to text grammar can be seen in the book <u>Cohesion in English</u>, which he co-authored with Hasan (see Halliday and Hasan, 1976). Cohesion refers to "the range of possibilities that exist for linking sentences sequences" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:10). The concept accounts for the essential semantic relations whereby any passage of speech or writing is enabled to function as text. Cohesive relations between formal items are indicated via a small number of distinct categories suggested by Halliday and Hasan, viz. reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. Each of these categories is represented in a text

by particular features - repetitions, omissions, occurrences
of certain words and constructions - which have in common
the property of signalling that the interpretation of the
text depends on something else.

In spite of the efforts of text semanticists above, it
is observed that their analyses of texts still do not
look beyond the limited confines of formal meaning. Yet it
is the opinion of some scholars that no useful analysis of
a text can be done without taking into consideration the socio-
situational structures expressed by it. Birch (1989:147)
puts his own view across in this way

> ---- An analysis which aims at only objectifiable
> contents cuts its task short; it must even
> appear, and especially when it has texts as
> its objects, as nothing but a technicalized
> continuation or reproduction of the quasi-
> scientific interpretive procedures of all
> language-centered disciplines ----

For it to be referred to as a contextual text model, a
theory has to shift attention from the study of text forms
to the study of functions and messages which derive from
the interaction of form and situation. Generally, contextual
text models recognize the status and value of forms in a
text; but they see these only as a means to an end rather

than an end in itself. The major concerns of context text
models are discussed below, followed by a survey of some
notable models.

2.2.2 Contextual text/textlinguistic theories

The **contextual** text approach encompasses all descriptive
theories that are concerned with investigations about the formal
and non-formal features of language in texts. Part of the
aim of such theories is to demonstrate in one form or the other
whether and how the features of particular texts fulfil
or fall short of the standards of textuality; and their
goal, depending on the theoretical orientation, is to either
formulate rules and laws guiding the features of texts or
discover regularities, strategies, motivations for and
defaults in such features.

Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:3-11) list seven standards
of textuality which a text must satisfy in order to qualify
as text. The standards, which act as 'constitutive'
principles for texts, are specified below as follows:

(i) <u>Cohesion</u> –

This concerns the ways in which the formal items
of a text are mutually connected within a
sequence, as a reflection of the underlying
unity of the textual world. In describing the
forms of texts, it is essential that cohesion
must be inter-sentential instead of intra-
sentential.

(ii) <u>Coherence</u> –

This concerns the way in which the components of
the textual world are mutually accessible and
relevant. Thus the cognitive content of a text
has to be expressed in a logical manner, with
much unity and consistency, as a true reflection
of the world of reality.

(iii) <u>Intentionality</u> –

A text is normally produced to meet a speaker's
intention. A speaker's intention is defined in terms
of   purpose or communicative function, e.g. to
inform direct, promise, entertain, heal, etc. An
intention is expressed in a text as a 'message'
which incorporates textual form and situation. Note

that some other goals which are unintended may be achieved in the process, or instead, of achieving the speaker's intention.

(iv) Acceptability -

This refers to the listener's attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text having some use or relevance for the receiver. This attitude is responsive to such factors as text type, socio-cultural setting and desirability of goals.

(v) Informativity -

This concerns the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected versus unexpected or known versus unknown, etc. The processing of highly informative occurrences is more demanding than otherwise, but correspondingly interesting as well. Caution must be exercised lest the receiver's processing be overloaded to the point of endangering communication. Every text is at least somewhat informative, no matter how predictable form and content may be.

(vi) <u>Situationality</u> –

This concerns the factors which make a text relevant to a situation of experience, e.g. the topic, participants, environment, etc.

(vii) <u>Intertextuality</u> –

This concerns the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts. Intertextuality is in a general fashion, responsible for the evolution of text types as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics.

Following the constitutive principles specified above, there are three 'regulative' principles which control textual communication mentioned by Beaugrande and Dressler. These are also specified as follows:

(i) <u>Efficiency</u> –

The efficiency of a text depends on its use in communicating with a minimum expenditure of effort by the participants.

(ii) <u>Effectiveness</u> –

This depends on the text leaving a strong impression and creating favourable conditions for attaining a goal.

(iii)   Appropriateness -

The agreement between the setting of a text and the ways
in which the standards of textuality are upheld.

Contextual text models normally focus on text description
based on the conditions above, though they may differ in their
orientations, procedures and in the categories they utilize as
tools of description. For example, the theoretical pursuit of
stylisticians generally, regarding textual studies, is to
investigate varieties of language use by identifying the formal
features which correlate with situational features to account
for the peculiarities, similarities or utilitarian values of
such varieties. Nevertheless, the different procedures employed
by individual stylisticians in their respective studies have
prompted different labels for stylistics, viz. 'style/stylistics'
(Crystal and Davy, 1969), 'literary stylistics' (Cluysenaar, 1976),
'linguistic stylistics' (Halliday, 1967), 'affective stylistics'
(Fish, 1980), 'new stylistics' (Fowler, 1975; Leech and Short,
1981) and even 'literary linguistic stylistics' (Short, 1982).

Apart from stylistics, there are also other approaches
to contextual text linguistics with different orientations. The
approaches of 'Structuralism' and 'Poetics' have their basic

concerns in the aesthetics of the text and their objects of study
are language structure, individuality and situation (cf.
Piaget, 1971; Ribey, 1973; Stankiewicz, 1974; Jacobson, 1976;
Mukarovsky, 1976). The 'Speech Acts' theory is noted for
its identification and classification of types and dimensions
of functions of speech (cf. Austin, 1972; Searle 1969 and 1976).
Conversational Analysts are regarded for the attention they pay
to the principles, structure and functions of conversation in
diverse social encounters (cf. Sacks, et al. 1974; Sinclair and
Coulthard, 1975; Burton, 1980; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981;
Akindele, 1986; Ventola, 1987, etc.). Ethno- and socio-linguists
like Dell Hymes, John Gumperz and William Labov study texts in
order to know more about language behaviour, constraints and
social rules of behaviour. Lastly, Transformational and Systemic
text linguists have different orientations towards the study of
language form in social contexts. They differ from each other
in some principles and procedures which they apply to the
analysis of textual form, on the one hand, and in their
conception of the relation between semantics and pragmatics, on
the other hand. For example, Transformational text linguists see
semantics and pragmatics as two separate levels which should
be complementary to each other in textual analysis (cf. van Dijk,
1977), whereas Systemic text linguists in line with the

tradition of Systemic linguists (see Halliday, 1973, 1978 and 1985)
conceive of a semantic structure that derives from the socio-
situational context of communication.[I]

2.2.3 The Framework for Analysis of Texts

The discussion of analytical framework is secondary to this
work whose main focus is the analysis of YTM texts. Because the
study is more committed to data analysis and description than to
theory, the choice of a framework here may be seen as a means
to an end. A suitable framework for this work is the model or
combination of models that can apply to YTM texts to yield explicit
and comprehensive information about the texts. Considering our
multifarious concerns about these texts multifarious approaches
will be required for their description. In other words, an
eclectic framework is required to cater for the situational,
textual and formal features of YTM texts in this study. A brief
presentation of this framework is done in the next chapter of
this work.

I.. In the Yoruba utterance Àìsàn n̄ se é 'He is sick' (literally,
"Sickness is doing (befalling) him" a cognitive semantic
interpretation will interpret Àìsàn 'Sickness' as an actor in
an action process, whereas a systemic semantic interpretation
will see the expression as an actor (inanimate) in an 'event'
process. Similarly, a context-free cognitive semantic inter-
pretation will see Ọmọ náà 'The child' as acting on àìsàn
'sickness' in Ọmọ náà n̄ ṣàìsàn 'The child is sick'. (Literally,
"The child is making sickness."), whereas a context sensitive
systemic semantic interpretation will see the verb+noun
collocation (ṣàìsàn 'make sickness' as a fixed expression in a
clause in which the actor is involved in a non-extended action.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0   AN ECLECTIC FRAMEWORK FOR YTM TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

> - It is peculiarly important that linguists
> who are often accused, and accused justly
> of failure to look beyond the pretty
> patterns of their subject matter, should
> become aware of what their science may mean
> for the interpretation of human conduct in
> general -
> > Edward Sapir, "The Status of Linguistics
> > as a Science", 1949.

The conception of an Eclectic textual framework (Etf) incorporates a body of principles, assumptions and procedures of systemic linguistics (cf. Halliday 1970; 1973; 1985 and Berry 1975; 1977) with those of other fields - stylistics, socio-linguistics, discourse analysis, text-linguistics, etc. - highlighted in 2.2.2 above. Some essential categories are derived from the amalgamation of principles above and used as tools of analysis of YTM texts.

A source of useful theoretical information for this work is provided by Adejare (1981) in his description and application of systemic text linguistics to the analysis of African literature, particularly Wole Soyinka's Literary

English idiolect. Three major observations from the presentation
are of immediate relevance to this study. First, in his
description of the model, Adejare identifies the major levels
of form and situation as vital to a systemic textlinguistic
theory. At the centre of these levels is the concept of
'message' which is defined as the product of the interpretation
of formal features of texts in the light of the situational contexts
of communication. The second observation is the recognition
of the text as a 'semiotic' unit. A text as a semiotic unit
is a unit of experience produced within a situational environment.
Further in our own opinion, it may not be necessary to
distinguish the text from discourse by associating these
units with written and spoken communication respectively.
It is important to see the text as an abstraction of written
or speech event(s), i.e. a verbal record of communicative
act(s) (cf. Brown and Yule, 1983:6). Unlike the discourse,
the situation of a text is reconstructed in a way that several
of its features may be irretrievably lost in text description,
e.g. the kinesics of discourse, distractions, noises, etc.
Nevertheless, it is both process and product oriented, thus
it can enable an account of both the dynamics of interpretation

of speech or writing events and the static categorial objects
of such interpretations like the situation, message, form,
etc. (see Ventola, 1987). The third observation is the
recognition of three levels at which meaning is expressed
in a text, viz. the primitive, prime-order and second-
order levels. Primitive meanings operate at the primitive
level as formal features of language which manifest at the levels
of grammar, lexis and phonology such categories as
transitivity, mood, theme, tense, subject, predicator,
conjunction, etc. Prime-order meanings operate at the
prime-order level as direct communicative meanings which forms
express in their interaction with components of real
communicative situations. And second-order meanings operate
at the second-order level as imaginative or fictional
meanings which forms express in their interaction with
components of fictionalized situations. In second-order
interpretations, animals, birds, stones, trees, spirits,
etc. may interact, laugh, sing, talk, warn, hold meetings,
etc. like human beings. However, it is only human beings
that talk in prime-order interpretations, which reflect
real life experience.

Further in our discussion of theoretical framework, we
need to point out our deliberate creation of a number of
categories to cater for the extralinguistic features of
YTM interaction. In extralinguistic studies, it is common
for scholars to consider the concepts of use, function and
message as part of the components of the situation category.
Such considerations often underplay the significance of these
concepts, to the extent that features of texts exemplifying
them are blurred in textual description. Although they are
related, each of these concepts has its own distinct status
within the situation level and can be supported extensively
by relevant features from the data. We thus present the
concepts as separate categories in order to make us focus
on features of texts from different viewpoints.

3.1   The Levels and Categories of Etf

Etf is based on the notion of a three-way kind of
relationship between language and experience. First,
it is based on the notion that language is 'part of experience'.

As a part of experience, language can be seen as an object
which co-occurs with other pragmatic objects in speech
events and interactions which take place in diverse
environments of life. It can also be seen as the spoken
or written means employed in the various events and
interactions. To be able to study the speech events and
interactions of human beings, one invariably needs to have
a good understanding of the environments in which such
events take place. The level that represents the circum-
stantial components of speech events is 'situation'. The
situation of events is both a social and particular one.
It is social in that every event or interaction that takes
place presupposes some kind of cooperation between
participants, which derives from the knowledge of certain
factors of situational experience which they share
pertaining to the field, objects, participants' relationship
and attitudes, purpose, medium, etc. of such an event. And
it is particular because human beings attend to various needs
in diverse situations of experience and the ways of attending
to such needs depend on the peculiarities of the needs in
their respective social situations. Meanwhile, the objects,

actions, events and relations of experience do not just exist in
situations just for the sake of it. They can be communicated,
projected and represented via language. The linguistic means
of communicating and representing experience is explained in
the next two paragraphs.

Etf relies on the notion that language communicates
experience via the linguistic tools, i.e. words and patterns,
with which it is naturally endowed. And in communicating
experience, it necessarily interacts with situational factors.
In other words, the words and patterns of language communicate
experience by interacting with situational factors of
experience. In this kind of interaction the outcome cannot be
said to be linguistic nor situational. It is both linguistic
and situational, or 'linguistico-pragmatic', so to speak.
The point of interaction between language and situation
is labelled 'context', while the product of the interaction is
recognized in terms of two categories - 'message' and 'function'.
Both the message and function are communicative categories and
they project, respectively, the content and intentions of
speaker-hearer communication.

Third and lastly, Etf relies on the notion that language
represents experience. Language has the capacity and essential
tools for not only recording and preserving experience but also

for retrieving and revealing such experience. The linguistic
representation of experience involves the two processes of
codification and realization and utilizes the category of
'system' and the level of 'form'. In the system,
experience is codified as meanings in relevant formal lin-
guistic sub-categories; and these meanings are later
realized by formal items from those sub-categories. Mean-
while, some of the categories mentioned here are described
below as they will later apply to the analysis of texts in
this study.

3.1.1 The level of situation

The level of situation is a very vital one to text analysis
and it is essential for both the production and inter-
pretation of texts. A text is produced in a particular
situation; so also are the message, function(s) and
use(s) derived from the interpretation of text form within
a particular situation. It is the components of a text
situation which enable the 'interpretant' of the text to
derive a message from the text meanings realized by the text

forms. The situation thus serves for a text to restrict the general experience of a speaker represented by forms to an individual experience relevant for a particular occasion.

Like language, the situation too has a structure recognized mainly in pragmatic terms. The structure of situation is described in terms of components which have been classified in various ways by linguists. Firth (1962:9), for example, lists the components of situation as:

(a) the participants together with their verbal and non-verbal actions;

(b) the relevant objects, the non-verbal and non-personal events; and

(c) the effect of verbal action.

In a more precise manner, Berry (1975 and 1977), following Ellis (1966), subdivides situation into three parts: thesis, immediate situation and wider situation. Crystal and Davy (1969) give a list of what they call dimensions of

situational constraint as individuality, dialect, time,

discourse medium and participation, province, status,

modality and singularity. And Hymes (1972) gives a list

of situational components thus: setting and scene,

participants, ends, act sequence, key, instrumentalities,

norms and genres. Lastly, Halliday's (1978:33, 62) sugges-

tion of field/subject matter, tenor/style, and mode/medium

presents three broad categories which contain detailed

information about situational components. These categories

have built-in mechanisms which enable them to collectively

predict the register of texts. The field component, which

refers to the institutional setting in which a piece of

language occurs, embraces the topic of an interaction, the

whole activity of the participants in the setting and the

particular purposes that the use of language is erving

within the context of that activity. The tenor refers to the

relationship between participants not only in terms of

formality but also in terms of such questions as the

permanence or otherwise of the relationship and the degree

of emotional charge in it. Lastly, the mode refers to the

channel of communication adopted: not only the choice between
spoken and written medium, but much more detailed choices
such as that between monological and dialogical
participation or that between chanting, singing and
reciting, and other choices relating to the role of language
in the situation.

For obvious reasons, we shall prefer Halliday's
categories mentioned above to the others. First, the
categories have an in-built mechanism with which they
predict what is called the register. They represent the
situation in its generative aspect and, collectively, they
determine the range within which meanings are selected and
the forms which are used in their expression. And
second, the three categories are easily relatable to the
three categories of meaning also suggested by Halliday
(see 3.1.2). For example, features of ideational meaning
are relatable to field while those of interpersonal meaning
are relatable to tenor; and those of textual meaning are
relatable to mode.

Two kinds of situation are recognized in the users'
conventional knowledge for expressing or interpreting experience.

The first kind of situation is the 'simple' situation which provides the background for prime or second-order texts. Prime-order texts are those texts which are produced during normal communication, where participants, processes, events, and circumstances are real andthey represent real life experience. The formal features of these texts thus interact with features of 'real' situation in this communication. Examples of prime-order texts are provided by non-literary scientific texts and texts from casual conversation. In contrast, second-order texts are produced via an interaction of textual form with features of the 'fictionalized' situation. The fictionalized situation is characterised by the distortion of reality and the use of imagined or fictional characters as metaphors for symbolizing experience. Communication via the second-order situation is a common phenomenon employed mainly to add an aesthetic dimension to literary texts and also some religious texts which serve to educate or moralize.

The second kind of situation is the 'complex' situation which is illustrated by the co-occurrence of features of real

situation with features of fictionalized situation in a
communication. The complex situation provides a back-
ground for complex discourse participation (cf. Crystal
and Davy, 1969:70) and one of its main features is
text incorporation. Second-order texts may be incorpo-
rated into prime-order texts, and vice versa, to express
a message in an intertext. So also, a monologue may
be incorporated into a dialogue and a dialogue incorporated
into a monologue. An intertext in a complex situation
expresses a message with the messages of the incorporated
texts merging with each other or one another.

In order to account fully for the situation of a text,
therefore, the features pertaining to the components and
types of the situational category should be specified
for the text. For example, the specification of
situational features of four YTM texts is very clearly
done in a table in page 184 below.

3.1.1.1 The category of use

A text is significant only because it serves a purpose in a particular situation. Thus, when a text expresses a message in a situation, the message is intended to prompt an action or reaction of an 'interpretant' or 'interpretants'. The purpose of a text is the goal or use of the text; all its other features only serve as a means of achieving this goal successfully or unsuccessfully.[1]

What is categorized as 'use' here is already recognized as part of the situational components mentioned in 3.1.1, i.e. as Firth's 'effect of verbal action', Hymes' 'ends' and Halliday's 'purposes'. However, the category needs to be singled out for emphasis among other sub-components of Halliday's 'field' because of its importance as the main determinant of textual communication.

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1. The success or otherwise of achieving a purpose via language depends on whether the goal is the one desired by the speaker or not.

The specific uses which texts can serve in diverse
situations of experience are numerous. They can be
used to indicate approval or disapproval, belief or
disbelief, pain or joy, hunger or contentment, intimacy
or distance, desire, challenge, goodwill, annoyance,
solidarity, promise, pleasure, etc. They can also serve
the purposes of persuasion, education, greeting, enter-
tainment, healing, conjuring, recording experiences, etc.
We can further use them to state or clarify facts, ask
questions and respond to them, command, solicit support
and initiate actions. Some of these uses may have a one-
to-one correspondence with micro-level features of
individual utterances (e.g. statement, command, question,
intiation, response, assertion, etc.), while some can only
occur as macro-uses identified at the global level of
sequences of utterance (e.g. persuasion, argument, education,
diagnosis, etc.). It is, however, the macro-uses that are

the main concern of analysis[1] here, as we can see in the illustration in the table in 4.2.4.

The uses of a text can be identified, specified and accounted for in several ways. The effects of textual uses in terms of whether they are successfully achieved or not can be described outside the text in psycho-social or socio-psychological studies. But the identification of uses and suggestion of their possible effects can be done in textlinguistic and contextual text studies. A contextual text analysis of textual uses does not only look at the linguistic realisation of uses in texts; it goes beyond this to account for how the uses are produced textually and interpreted by participants in the process of communication. In other words, the analyst observes

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1. Although micro-uses can give clues as to what the macro-uses of a text would be, the latter may not necessarily correspond to the former. For instance, the fact that most utterances at the micro-level are commands does not mean that the macro-use of the text must be a command. A macro-use is thus not necessarily a combination of micro-uses in a text; rather, it is an intuitive unit on its own which derives from an interpretant's experience gained from within and outside the text.

the communicative values of linguistic items in
a text, following interpretation procedures, and
observes the possible effects of such values on
listeners based on their predispositions and
experience.

The items of a text which enable it to serve
a particular use can be accounted for content-wise
or in detailed formal linguistic terms depending
on the orientation of such a description. However,
the domains of such items must be recognised in a
text. For this reason, we shall require the
suggestion of a category of 'use-content',
parallel to the recognised 'use-form' category of
'genre', which will demarcate the content features
of different uses in texts. A unit of this category,
which we shall call 'aspect', will thus project a
textual use content-wise. And it will co-exist
with units of other levels of content despription
like situation, message and macro-structure which
are also looked at in this study.

3.1.1.2 The category of function

The pragmatic uses of texts discussed above occur on specific occasions of language use; but underlying each of these uses are certain general functions of language which are communicative in nature. These functions mediate between language form and use, especially where the forms do not exactly correspond to uses. A number of formal features (declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives), for example, may co-occur to inform and direct (functions) in order to persuade, appeal to people or treat an illness (uses). Also, the functions further ensure that certain features which are relevant to textual use but which are very often neglected, or customarily isolated, in formal description are well-catered for. Such non-syntactic features commonly referred to as 'moodless items' if left out in a formal description can, for example, be described functionally. Though text functions relate to other features of language in the text, they can be described separately from these features if such descriptions are required.

Previous studies by scholars have shown some categories of functions which express similar concepts in different names (cf. Jacobson, 1960; Searle, 1976; Dore, 1979 and

Hymes 1986). Although the categories suggested share certain fundamental assumptions, the individual terms as well as the classifications of these terms have always been different. For example, in his pragmatic model, Jacobson (1960:350-377) suggests six categories in terms of six situational factors of communication, thus (see also Bell, 1976:83):

Addresser:	Emotive/Expressive/Affective
Addresseer:	Conative
Context:	Referential/Cognitive/Denotative
Message:	Poetic
Contact:	Phatic/Interaction management
Code:	Metalinguistic

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) mention such functions as informing, eliciting, checking, directing, etc. at different degrees of delicacy in classroom discourse. Searle (1976:27ff) lists five categories of functions or 'acts' as follows: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. And Dore (1979:235ff) lists his own six categories as requestives, assertives, performatives, responsives, regulatives and expressives. In all the suggestions above, the scholars have the fundamental

belief that there are certain situational factors affecting
communication. They also hold the opinion that describing
the general and relatively stable functions of texts is
of more theoretical interest than describing the rather
unstable individual uses of texts. These belief and
opinion are undoubtedly among the strongest points of
pragmalinguistic studies concerning the need to distinguish
between what exactly are the general functions of texts and
what are the individual uses which the functions activate
in individual texts. The individual uses which texts may
serve have already been highlighted above (see 3.1.2), while
the categories of functions are just being presented below.

The categories of functions suggested here are five
in number[1] and they are selected across the various
suggestions made earlier in this section. They are stated
as follows:

a.   the 'informative' function represents all the
      information (literal and non-literal) content

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1.   These functions project the text as both a social and
     communicative object. The capacity of texts for
     social communication is what distinguishes them from
     non-texts. A text will have a socio-communicative value
     if it is coherent and cohesive enough to reflect the
     performance of one or more of the functions above.

of a text whether such information is 'given'
or 'new', requested, asserted, suggested,
etc;

b. the 'directive' function underlies calling
the attention of a hearer or requiring him
to carry out a request or non-verbal action;

c. the 'expressive' function underlies the
expression of emotions or attitudes of the
speaker of a text;

d. the 'aesthetic' function is a function upgraded
from the situational component of 'key'
(Hymes, 1972) or mode of a text, and it is
relevant when the mode of presentation stands
out in a text;

e. the 'phatic' (or 'ritualized' - cf. Akinnaso,
1985) serves mainly to establish social contact
or rapport between a speaker and hearer.

The above categories provide the basic terms for describing
the macro-functions, which project the macro-uses of texts.

The features of macro-functions are accounted for at the macro-structural levels of 'exchange' and 'transaction' and not at the micro-level positions of 'moves' and 'acts', where acts refer to the micro-uses of language. Categories of functions can occur severally or together in texts; when they occur together, they acquire statuses as primary, secondary and subsidiary functions according to the prominence and/or significance of the individual functions. While the primary and secondary functions are central to the goal(s) of a text, a subsidiary function is peripheral to this goal. See 4.3.1 - 4.3.6 for the analysis of functions in this study.

3.1.1.3 The category of message

The message of a text, like its function, represents the product of interaction between linguistic form and situational experience. It is the summary of content of the totality of communicative functions or sequences of speech acts performed by a text. The message has a form and a content (cf. Hymes, 1972) but it is the content side of it that is normally considered when a listener intuitively reduces to its barest

minimum of central idea all that a text is saying.

The category of message is a very important one in a textual
study because the successful or unsuccessful performance of
a function and use by a text depends on whether or not the
interpretant has successfully decoded the content of the text.
The text content, interpreted intuitively as message, can be
specified for a text or group of texts (see 4.4.1); however,
its objective demonstration in terms of its organization and
realization will be done within the categories of text structure
and form later below.

A text derives a message in three ways. A prime-order
text derives its message via an interaction of formal items
with components of a real situation. Also, a second-order
text derives a message via an interaction of formal items with
components of a fictionalized situation. And lastly, a second-
order text may also derive messages at different levels
via an interaction of formal items with features of a
second-order situation and a further process of identification
and correspondence of fictionalized situational features
with real situational features. The relevant one(s)
of the three levels of message specified above can thus be
interpreted in a text if the respective conditions of situational

factors are met. Under similar conditions, it is natural for
intertexts to contain different kinds of message at the levels
of their constituent texts or aspects. In spite of such
constituent messages that an intertext may have, however, it
still must express a macro-message at its most global level,
which will be recognized ultimately as the text message in
an analysis.

3.1.1.4 The category of structure

A major task of an Etf description of texts is to account
for the coherence features of such texts (cf. 2.2.2).
Coherence may be accounted for in texts in two ways: first,
by describing long-range coherence of propositions and sequences
of propositions[1] (i.e. 'motifs'); and second, by describing
linear coherence at the local level of adjoining propositions.
The terms 'macro-structure' and 'micro-structure' have been
used by scholars (cf. Dolezel, 1976; van Dijk 1977) to
distinguish these two kinds of global and local coherence
respectively. Sometimes, the term 'structure' is used in the
sense of macro-structure, while 'texture' or 'cohesion' is

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1. The term 'proposition' is used here as a semantic cover
    term for 'statement', 'question' and 'command' which are
    pragmatic terms (cf. Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981:11).
    Halliday (1985) has earlier used the term 'proposition' for
    statement and question, and 'proposal' for command.

used in the sense of micro-structure.

It is customary for a description of text structure
to consider two things: (a) the logical presentation of
propositions and motifs in a text (i.e. structure), and
(b) the semantic relations between items in a text (i.e.
cohesion). While the former considers the construction
of texts in terms of their modes, types and content develop-
ment and organisation, the latter considers how the items
which produce the content of individual sentences cling
together in a text. Despite the different descriptive
concerns of text structure and cohesion, both concerns
are based on the assumption that the relationship between
the parts of a text is a semantic one which, in formal
terms, is intersentential. Meanwhile, we shall look at
both ways of describing text structure below.

3.1.1.4.1. The structure of content and modes of texts

The structure of text content, in logical terms, refers
to the presentation of the ideas expressed in a text in such
a way that the ideas are mutually accessible to the participants
using the text. The content of a text is primarily developed
via text motifs and it is mutually accessible to participants

if, among other factors, its motifs or sequences of proposition
indicate (a) identical referents and their related properties,
(b) causally or sequentially, spatially and/or temporally
related facts, and (c) identical world types (cf. van Dijk,
1977). The connection of propositions in texts is further
achieved by either certain (a finite set of) logical connectors or
connectives which bind the propositions together or, sometimes,
by certain shared experiences and assumptions[1] by the users.

The experiences shared by participants, for example,
enable them to understand connected propositions about objects,
states, events and circumstances in the past based on analogy
and relation. Such experiences also constitute their background
knowledge about the structures, constructions and orientations
of texts such as narration, description, exposition, argument,
etc. For example, apart from being customary for all texts to
have a beginning, middle and an end, an argumentative text is
expected to have motifs of premises and conclusions; a narrative
typically has motifs of introduction or setting, complication,
resolution and recapitulation among others; and an expository
text has motifs of definition, explanation, exemplification and

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1. Cicourel (1969) suggests four interpretative principles or
   assumptions which individuals operate with during speech, viz.
   (i) that interpretations of experience are shared, (ii) that
   there are principles of selection and organisation of meaning,
   (iii) that there are principles of reconstituting and supplemen-
   ting omissions, and (iv) that linguistic forms are referred
   identically to past experience.

expression of viewpoints.

The content of texts and their types are considered within the wider framework of their modes. In our own view, there are three different modes available in a language for presenting a text: the conversational (or dialogical), monological and polylogical modes. A dialogue represents an exchange of communication between two or more participants taking turns, while a monologue represents a uni-directional communication of experience by a speaker; and a polylogue refers to the co-occurrence of these two structures such that a dialogue either occurs as a smaller structure within the larger monological structure of a text or occurs as a larger structure containing a smaller mono-logical structure. The term 'polylogue' is a coinage by this writer to properly cater for that structure of text that cannot be strictly categorized as dialogical or monological. Polylogical texts are much more common in communicative interaction than people think. In fact, what many analysts very often recognize as monological or dialogical texts are nothing short of polylogical texts. In essence, when conversations are introduced into monological narratives, descriptions, arguments or expositions or when

certain turns of speakers in conversations are extended into
monologues, the structure of such communication is polylogical.
The polylogical structure of texts is not difficult to
perceive, but it is describable only in terms of its
constituent dialogical and monological structures - which
presupposes that analysts must clearly understand the princi-
ples of construction of these latter structures. At this
juncture, we wish to recall some useful information from the
literature about conversational and monological structures
below.

3.1.1.4.1.1.   The structure of conversations

A lot of valuable suggestions about the procedures and
categories for describing the structure of conversations
have been made in the last two decades. Sacks, Schegloff
and Jefferson (1974) address the issue of turn-taking by
participants in speaking. Turn-taking involves the provisions
in a conversation for more than two participants to speak
orderly and meaningfully without any specific position
for them. The process is often guided by a set of rules
pertaining to the transition of speakers, understanding
checks and invitation of participants to take turns.

Following Sacks, et al (1974), Richardson (1981:52) sees a turn as a 'synchronization' unit referring to either 'an uninterrupted stretch of language produced by one speaker in a conversation' or an item of a particular kind constituted by the discourse, viz. 'contribution'. Her model of two-party conversation recognizes two phases, positive and negative, which constitute the talk/no talk paradigm; a discourse turn occurs when a speaker is exercising the option 'talk' whilst a listening period occurs when the option 'no talk' is being exercised.

While we accept Richardson's conception of turn in the discussion above, we need to further recognize that there is also the possibility for parallel or overlapping turns in some conversations when participants talk at the same time. In accounting for the turns in two-party or multi-party conversations in this study, we shall give information about the number or duration of individual or groups of speakers' turns as a measure of their participation in the conversations.

Apart from the synchronization unit of turn, conversational analysts also concern themselves with units of structuration in conversations. The seminal contribution of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) to the structural linguistic analysis of

conversation, via their highly organized description of the struc-
ture of classroom interaction, continues to provide the base
for further studies in this direction. Sinclair and Coulthard
in this study propose five units of classroom interaction
arranged on a hierarchical rank scale. The 'lesson', which
stands for 'interaction', is the highest unit of classroom
conversation and it is made up of 'transactions'. A
transaction is made up of 'exchanges' while an exchange is
made up of 'moves'. Three kinds of moves are recognized in
the description. The 'initiation' (I) move is the first move
in an exchange and it sets up an expectation for a response.
A 'response' (R) move follows an initiation and it does not
predict any other move. Lastly, the 'feedback' (F), also
called 'follow-up', move supports an initiation or response but
it is not predicted by either of them. Moves and 'acts' form
the lowest structural units of conversation, the move being
the smallest free unit described in terms of acts.

Although the units above were originally conceived
in the context of describing classroom conversation, they
have been tested on conversations from other contexts and
developed to further cater for all kinds of conversation
(see Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981). The detailed formalization
of the structural categories of conversational analysis by

Burton (1981) is especially of great interest to us (see also Butler, 1985), and it will be necessary to point out below some salient categories from her formulation.

In Burton's (1981:65-81) formulation all the structural units mentioned above are presented in terms of their classes and systemic positions of the elements constituting them. The interaction is the highest unit and it is made up of transactions. A transaction has an optional explicit 'boundary' exchange and an obligatory conversational exchange. The boundary exchange occurs at the openings of transactions and it has either a 'frame' or 'focus' move or both moves plus a 'supporting' move. Both the frame (Fr) and focus (Fo) involve acts that are essentially attention-getting or pretopic items: such acts include marker, preface, starter, summons, greeting, metastatement and conclusion.[1] The conversational exchange is made up of opening, challenging, supporting, re-opening and bound-opening moves. An opening move (O) is transaction-initial and it makes no anaphoric reference to a preceding utterance. A challenging move (C) holds up the progress of a topic or topic-introduction via an unexpected response or reaction or silence. A supporting move (S) facilitates the topic presented in a previous utterance. A re-opening move (Ro) occurs after a preceding

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1. The 'acts' here refer to the micro-uses of language. These uses are usually, inevitably, present in the description of conversational structure by text analysts since the minimal structural unit 'move' is describable in terms of a use.

opening or bound-opening move is challenged. And a bound-opening move (Bo) occurs after a preceding opening or re-opening move has been supported; it has no separate topic content but is bound to the content of an opening move. The move itself is accounted for in terms of such acts as summoning, eliciting, checking, accusing, directing, accepting, replying, reacting, informing, etc.

Burton's classification of exchanges above differs, though not in a fundamental way, from Akindele's (1986:158) suggestion of three kinds of exchange - prefatory, informatory and bound exchanges - in his description of family conversations in English. Both scholars are seen to have used the terms 'boundary' and 'prefatory' interchangeably since the latter term also refers to summons, greetings and other permission acts. We shall however use prefatory in this study in order to forestall a likely confusion of 'boundary' with 'bound-opening' which was mentioned earlier. A prefatory exchange, according to Akindele, primarily has no content information as far as the business of talk is concerned; but it provides an opportunity to make the participants available for more talk in the discourse. To accompany the prefatory exchange, we prefer Burton's less delicate conversational exchange since we are concentrating on moves instead of exchanges in

this study. Moreover, the mentioning of bound-opening moves in our description should imply the presence of bound exchanges. Lastly, in as much as Burton's proposal is a general framework of conversational structure which does not preclude the earlier framework of traditional categories - initiation, response and follow up, both sets of categories are used here to illuminate each other in the description of moves in this study.

3.1.1.41.2 The structure of monologues

Although still at a pre-theoretical stage, the structure of monologue has also been considered by scholars. The brief discussion which we present here is based on the proposal by Coulthard and Montgomery (1981:31-39). The basic units of a monologue are three: transaction, sequence (which we have earlier called 'motif') and members. Transaction is the structural unit identified by the focusing activity that occurs at its boundaries; it has a structure suggested by Coulthard and Montgomery (ibid) as: prospective focus, informing members, and retrospective focus. Motifs represent smaller-scale topic units of texts constituted by one or more informing members. In short texts motifs are isolated on phonological criteria in a language like English, but in Yoruba they are isolated on phonological

criteria supported by lexico-structural and semantic considerations (see 1.5.3). Members in a text belong to three classes: focusing, main and subsidiary members. Focusing members signpost at intervals the prior or subsequent direction of a text. Main members are informing members (or 'informs') which develop the motifs of a text. These members enter into various relationships with one another; and such relationships, e.g. additive, adversative and causal, are engendered by a wide range of connectives in a language (see Text 10, ll. 1-5). Lastly, subsidiary members are of two classes: glosses and asides. Glossing members form the core of subsidiary members and they reflect back (anaphoric-ally) on the informing members, expanding, modifying and evaluating them via restatements or repetitions, qualifi-cations and comments. Asides maintain a more tenuous relationship with informing members than glosses. Unlike glosses which are typically anaphoric, asides function exophorically to contextualize a text in some way by linking abstract description to concrete description (See Text 20, 1.8) or relating the process of description to some further activity to be undertaken by the audience or to some previous information supplied to them.

This discussion should perhaps end on a note that although the unit of interaction is not relevant to the description of

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1. See, for example, Text 12, ll. 11-16 and 45-52 for repetitions of informing members.

monological structure, the monologue is nevertheless designed interactively in functional terms; the relationship between different members of transaction is at least an indication of this fact.

3.1.1.4.2.   The cohesive features of Yoruba texts

Cohesion refers to the description of the semantic relations between formal items in a text. Here we shall describe these relations using the five major categories suggested by Halliday and Hasan (see 2.2.1), viz. reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion, these categories are explained below and illustrated with sentences from Yoruba texts.

3.1.2.1.   Reference ties in Yoruba texts

A reference item is one which is interpreted by reference to something else (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 31). Both the item and the other item it refers to are co-referential in the text. Compare the examples below (with the reference items underlined):

    2.   Ọrúnmìlà ti gbọ́ gbogbo rẹ̀.

        Ó ti dákẹ́.

        Orunmila has heard everything.

        He has kept quiet.

The item underlined above is a personal pronoun which refers

'anaphorically' to the item Ọrunmila in the preceding clause.

3. Wọn délé ayé.

Bí wọn ti débeéé,---

They got to the world.

As they arrived here,---

The item ibéé or its standard variant ibí 'here' is a place

reference item referring to ilé ayé 'world' in the preceding

clause.

4. Ohun tí ń sọlọkunrin yíí kíí sọju lasan o.
What ails this man isn't a trivial thing.

The underlined items above refer 'exophorically' to an

object (a human being) in the situational context of a

text.

3.1.2.2. Substitution ties in Yoruba texts

Substitution refers to the relationship between a

word or group of words which replaces another words or

group of words in a text. The relation here is observed

on the lexicogrammatical and not in the substitution of

meaning. The two examples below illustrate substitution

of forms in a Yoruba text.

5. Ọkùnrin: Ṣé ká bẹ̀ẹ́ ni?

    Babaláwo: Kẹ́ẹ wa kẹ́ẹ bẹ̀ ẹ́.

    Ọkùnrin: A á ṣè yen

    Man: Do we only beg her?

    Priest: You will look for her and beg her.

    Man: We shall do that

The items '----á ṣè yen' 'will do that' substitute the

6. Oniṣegun: Ṣẹẹ ti lo agbo ibà àti àgúnmu fún un

    Obìnrin: Gbogbo ẹ̀ la ti lò o.

    Herbalist: Have you applied the liquid
                medicine for fever and herbal
                powder?

    Woman: We have used everything.

The underlined items above substitute the medicinal items
mentioned by the herbalist in the previous sentence.

3.1.2.3. Ellipsis in Yoruba texts

Ellipsis is that form of substitution in which an
item is replaced by nothing (Halliday and Hasan: 1976:88).
It is relation between words or word groups rather than
between meanings. Examples of ellipses are pro ided by
the extracts below.

7. Oníṣègùn: Ṣé ìyàwó rẹ kọ́ lo pè é?.

   Ọkùnrin: Ìyàwó mi ni [mo pè é].[1]

   Herbalist: Isn't your wife what you called her?.

   It is my wife [that I called her].

The clause in square brackets is ellipted in the conver-
sation based on the linguistic context of communication.

8. Babaláwo: --- kọ́ lọ bẹ̀ ẹ́. Ọdún mélòó ni

   [ó jẹ́]?.

   Ọmọkùnrin: Ọdún Mẹ́tàlá ni [ó jẹ́].

   Priest: --- let him go and beg her. How

   many years is it?

   Son: Thirteen years is [what it is].

The clause ellipted in the two sentences above is based
on the situational context of communication, i.e. the
social experience of the participants pertaining to the
use of Yoruba. It is common for ellipsis to occur after
thematic ni 'be' in marked clauses in the language.

The cohesive features of reference, substitution
and ellipsis promote textuality by ensuring the avoidance
of irrelevant details, unnecessary repetition of words

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1. The recoverable items of elliptical forms in this
   study are based on interpretation of sense relations
   between items in the linguistic and situational context
   of communication. In this respect, items recovered
   may vary from different interpreters' point of view.

and monotonousness of expressions. The roles of the
two remaining cohesive categories in the analysis of
textual meaning are considered below.

3.1.2.4. The use of conjunctions in Yoruba texts

The term 'conjunction' is used here in a wider
sense, that is from the semantic point of view, to refer
to all formal items that serve to connect or link clauses
and sentences together in a text. Such items include
(a) those already recognized in Yoruba description as
conjunctions, e.g. ṣùgbọ́n 'but', tàbí/àbí 'or', etc.;
and ·(b) items from different syntactic classes here
referred to as conjuncts, e.g. ni 'so', bẹ́ẹ̀ ni 'yet',
sì 'and/also', tún 'again' and dẹ̀ 'and/then', etc.

It is possible that not all scholars of Yoruba
will agree that the last three items above be classified
as conjunctions (see, for example, Bamgboṣe 1967: 49).
Indeed, from the point of ivew of syntactic distribution,
one can readily agree that these items are preverbs
(see Bamgbose, 1967: 19-20). But one cannot also deny
the fact that the items link 'paratactic' clauses in
Yoruba, thus serving as conjunctions within the unit of
text. Since there is no rule of syntax that restricts
formal items to single classes, one can thus identify

the items <u>sì</u>, <u>dè</u> and <u>tún</u> according to the different

roles they play in the text, viz. 'conjunctive verbs'

or 'verbal conjuncts', as the case may be.

Conjunctions indicate relations between connected

sentences in terms of addition, reformulation or suggestion

of alternatives, contrasts, concession of ideas, expression

of results or consequences of actions, temporal ordering

of facts, etc. A few examples of the use of conjunctions

in Yoruba texts are given below.

9. Bàbá Ọmọ: Á à' Ki Sònpònná--- Mi ò fẹ́ kó jẹ ọ́.

Abí pé kí mi gérí rẹ bọ́ ni?

Child's Father: Ah ah! Let Sonponna--- No,

I don't want him to kill you.

Or do you want me to cut off your

head?

10. Èṣù níí gba ẹbọ

Bẹ̀ ẹ ni kò mọ Ifá dá

Esu it is who receives sacrifice

<u>Despite the fact that</u> he doesn't know the

art of divination.

11. Bàbá Ọmọ: Ó lóyún fún ọ, o <u>sì</u> mọ̀ pé wọ lo lóyún

Father: She got pregnant for you, <u>and</u> you

knew you were responsible for the

pregnancy.

12. Ọmọbinrin: A jọ ṣeré ni. N ló bá dóyún.

                   Ni ó bá lóun ò gbà á ---

     Girl: We played together, And pregnancy

                   results. But he refused to claim it---

Examples 9-11 above have alternative, adversative and
additive conjunctions respectively. In Example 12, the
conjunctions are resultative and contrastive/temporal.

3.2.2.5. Lexical cohesion in Yoruba texts

The major features of lexical cohesion in Yoruba texts
include lexical repetition, sense relationships among items
and lexical collocation. Individual lexical items may be
repeated in a text to emphasixe a point or for some
stylistic purpose. For example, the repetition of the
item 'Orunmila' in Text 12 indicates cohesion between all
the actions performed by the same character who is the
protagonist in the text.

Lexical cohesion may be achieved via sense relationships
such as synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy, etc. Synonymy refers
to the relationship between different lexical items which
have similar meanings. Antonymy, on the other hand, refers
to the relationship between items that have an opposite
meaning. And hyponymy represents relationships between
items (co-hyponyms) whose senses are included in the sense

of a single superordinate item. These relationships are
exemplified below:

    a. The items below are synonymous in the text
        in which they appear,

            ìówó - have money
            ìọlá - possess wealth
            se nnkan rere - do good things.

The synonyms above state some of the good wishes of human
beings on earth.

    b. Items of each pair from Text 12 listed below appear
        to be in antonymous relationships with each other,
        compare: (i)   jẹ (eat) vs mu (drink)
                  (ii) ṣu (pass faeces) vs tọ (urinate)
                  (iii) mí jàkè (breathe in) vs mí jálẹ̀
                        (breathe out).

    c. All the items listed under 'b' may be identified as
        co-hyponyms, because they indicate certain basic
        actions which healthy human beings must perform.

    Lastly, in Yoruba texts, items may collocate, i. e.
co-occur, in a way that will relate the meanings expressed
by propositions. For example, the collocation of the items
extracted below from Text 8 (11.7-15) indicates cohesion in
the text, thus:

        Ṣára lọ́fẹ daada... --- Is your body very sound?
        ... gbàgungbàgun lara mi ... --- ...disjointed is
                                                my body...

        Wokowoko bayii laraà ... --- In a disordered state
                                        is my body...

The logical relation of states in the utterances above in
the text is shown by the collocation of ara 'body' with such

sense related items as lófẹ 'healthy/sound',

gbágungbàgun 'disjointed' and wókowóko 'disordered'.

3.1.2. The Level of form

Form refers to the abstract representation of the
content of experience in a language. It represents via
certain categories and rules the meanings of language
condified in the linguistic (or semantic) system and
realizes these meanings at surface structure via
formal items of language. Linguistic utilize certain
universal categories of language to represent the
general experiences which diverse speakers of languages
all over the world share pertaining to human beings and
objects (participants), processes, circumstances, social
relationships and languages. For example, the universal
categories normally used by scholars in formal grammatical
descriptions, particularly within the systemic linguistic
schools, belong to four classifications:

> (1) structures — subject (S) predicator (P)
> complement (C), adjunct (A)
> modifier, head, qualifier, etc.;

(ii)	classes	– noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, etc.;
(iii)	units	– sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme;
(iv)	systems	– transitivity, mood, theme, polarity, tense, person, number, etc.

Although the above categories universally apply to the shared
experiences of speakers of all languages, their occurrences
and patterns may differ (especially in surface structure) in
individual languages in accordance with the different
experiences of speakers from different speech communities
(cf. Whorf, 1956). Such differences in linguistic patterns
between different communities may reflect their different
orientations to the dimensions of 'conversational implicatures'
i.e. conventional rules of speaking which users normally share,
over and above linguistic rules, for maximum cooperation in
communication (cf. Grice, 1975; Hymes, 1986). However, even
within the same social convention, the same formal items
may still be interpreted differently in different texts; but
the differences in interpretation this time will depend on the
'immediate' and 'wider' experiences of specific users (cf.
Berry, 1975), their presuppositions and capacity for making
inferences (cf. Brown and Yule, 1983).

In accounting for the formal features of texts in systemic linguistic terms, the three semantic categories of Halliday (cf. Halliday 1970, 1973, 1978 and 1985), viz. ideational, interpersonal and textual categories come in handy. The ideational category represents the expression of the speaker's experience of the real world, including the inner world of his own consciousness. It also represents the expression of certain elementary logical relations like 'and', 'or', 'if' as well as those created by language itself such as 'namely', 'says' and 'means'. The inter-personal category, in its own, represents the expression of participants' involvement in the speech situation, the roles they take on themselves and impose on others, their wishes, feelings, attitudes and judgements. And the textual category[1] represents the facilities provided in a text for making links with itself and with features of the text situation; these facilities enable the speaker to construct texts and the reader to distinguish texts from a random set of utterances.

The above categories together relate to the meanings that are organized in the semantic system and reflected as options via the formal categories of grammar, lexis and, perhaps, .

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1. Many features of this category have already been discussed under cohesion above.

phonology. The description of textual features in terms of certain formal categories represents the ultimate attempt at formal text description, thus it should be essential to look at some major formal categories of text description that will provide the base for the analysis of the form of YTM texts in this study. In the meantime, however, we shall observe the role of the category of system in so far as it is the centre for the organization and realization of meanings in a language.

3.1.3 The category of 'system'

The role of system in a description of texts can be seen in two ways. First, it can be seen as a 'link-category' in the description of the interrelationship between the linguistic and extralinguistic levels of textual study. System codifies into networks of meanings ideas which are expressed in language about language itself or outside language. It is connected with the forms of language because the forms realize the options of meaning available in the system, which a speaker selects each time he speaks, at the categories of grammar, lexis and phonology. It is also connected with the situation of language use via the context of culture which specifies the conditions and contexts for selecting options from the system. The options

selected represent organized meanings because they derive from the
semantic categories (ideational, interpersonal and textual) which
underlie individual uses of language. System thus provides the
link between language form and use by first organizing the uses
as meanings and then realizing these meanings as formal items.
This role of system as a bridge between language and experience,
or form and use, can be demonstrated in a diagram below (see
Diagram1 overleaf).

The second role of 'system' in an Etf description is a
procedural one which requires that the features of texts, both
linguistic and non-linguistic are considered as options selected
from a list of possible choices available in language and
experience. Even though the system has more or less been
identified with the form of language by scholars, it is
nevertheless important to recognize features of the other levels
of text as reflecting individual or related sets of options
from system complexes (cf. Halliday, 1985a:8). Afterall, a
text itself mirrors experience and what is life itself but a
complex network of simultaneous and consecutive choices of
objects, activities, states, circumstances, etc. Because the
grammar of language represents the most well-ordered aspect
of a text, its sub-categories and systems are to a great extent
well-defined. And because the sub-categories of lexis and other
extralinguistic levels of text description do not exhibit
the well-formedness of grammar (cf. Hockett, 1975) the options

Diagram 1: The Systemic Linkage of Form and Uses of Language

Grammatical forms

Lexical forms

Systemic networks in the semantic system

Transitivity Tense etc.

Mood Person etc.

Theme Cohesion etc.

Ideational Meaning

Interpersonal Meaning

Textual Meaning

Functions

Use 1

Use 2

Use 3

Use 4

Use...nth
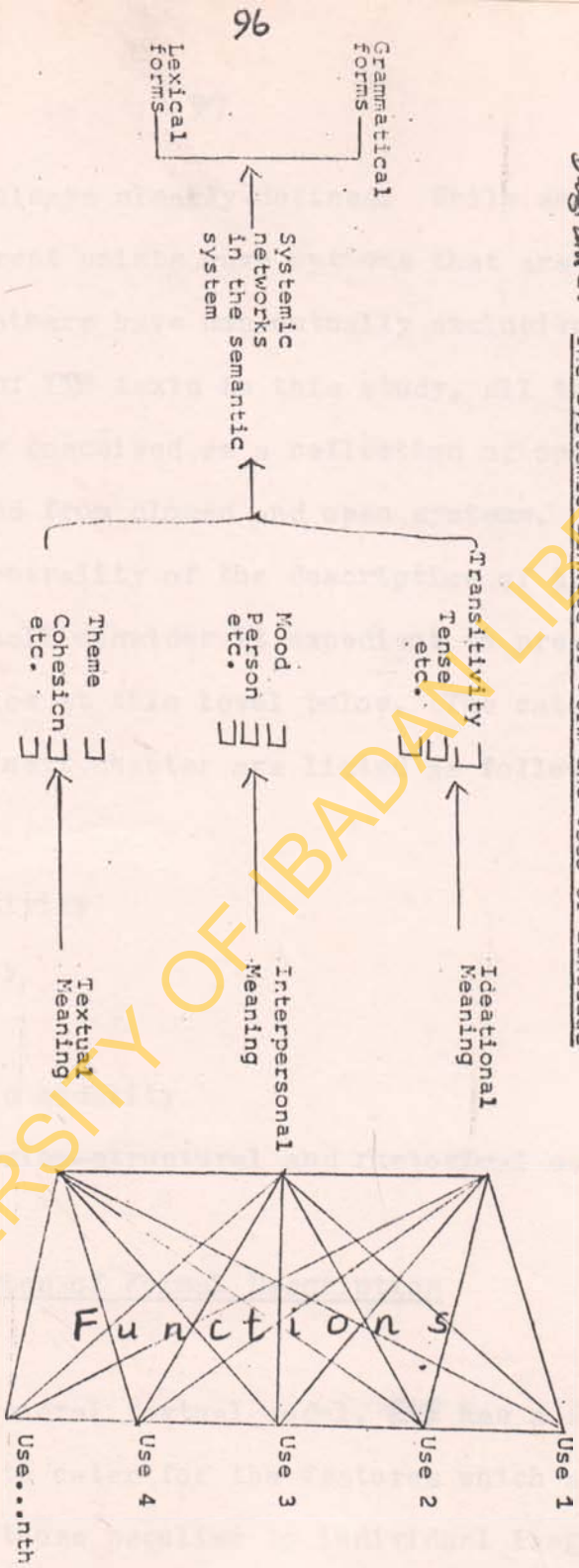
in them are not always clearly-defined. While some of these
systems at different points have options that are mutually
exclusive, some others have non-mutually exclusive options.
In the analysis of YTM texts in this study, all the features
observed are thus conceived as a reflection of options that
have been selected from closed and open systems. Meanwhile,
because of the centrality of the description of textual form in
this study, we shall consider it expedient to present some
systemic categories at this level below. The categories
presented in the next chapter are listed as follows:

    (i)   Theme

   (ii)   Transitivity

 (iii)   Polarity

  (iv)   Tense

   (v)   Mood and modality

  (vi)   Some lexico-structural and rhetorical categories

3.2 Some Categories of Formal Description of Yoruba

Although a general textual model, Etf has a formal category
that is designed to cater for the features which all languages
share as well as those peculiar to individual languages.
A study aimed at observing the formal features of texts in a

guide the analysis of textual form in the study. In this respect,
the tool for the presentation is systemic linguistics. Since
a comprehensive description of the formal features of Yoruba
from a systemic linguistic viewpoint is at present lacking,
and the few descriptions available are scattered in Yoruba
studies, the onus then lies with this study to present (even if
in an outline form) a coherent description of the formal patterns
in Yoruba that are essential to it.

The description below thus briefly examines some major
categories of Yoruba formal description, benefitting a lot from
some previous structural and systemic linguistics-oriented
description of Yoruba formal features - particularly those
descriptions by Bamgbose (1966, 1967, 1972 and 1990) and Afolayan
(1968 and 1970) who are notable scholars of the language.[1]
The description also benefits from earlier descriptions of form
by Berry (1975 and 1977) and Halliday (1970, 1973 and 1985),
though it relates to Yoruba rather than English which is used
for illustrations by Halliday and Berry.

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1. Both of these scholars have in a number of their works
   described Yoruba form from the systemic linguistic viewpoint.
   They agree on very many issues and they disagree on some.
   This writer obviously has to take a stand based on his own
   intuition when there is a disagreement between these scholars
   on an issue.

3.2.1 The system of theme in Yoruba

The theme system refers to the different options available
for arranging the basic ingredients of a message in an order
of prominence (cf. Berry, 1975). Theme refers to the item or
items which occupy the initial position in a clause. It
represents the most prominent item(s) in the unmarked clause in
terms of arrangement, apart from the last lexical element in
the clause structure which naturally carries the information
focus. But, sometimes, the focus of a clause may conflate with
the theme of the clause in a 'marked' clause.

There are two primary options in the Yoruba theme system:
'marked' and 'unmarked'. Either of these two options may be
selected by the positive or negative clause. The marked (i.e.
thematic) and unmarked (i.e. non-thematic) clauses whether
positive or negative are distinguished by the presence or
absence of the thematic item ni 'be' in them. This item ni
occurs after one of the elements of an unmarked clause
emphasized in the marked clause,while it is absent in the
unmarked clause.[1] The thematization of clauses in Yoruba
is illustrated below with a sentence in both its positive
and negative forms (the thematized elements are underlined).

1. For an elaborate discussion on the thematic structure
    of marked clauses, see Bamgbose (1966:36, 56).

1a. Mo sọ owó nù. (Unmarked, Positive)

   I lost some money.

b. Mi o sọ owo nu. (Unmarked, Negative)

   I didn't lose any money.

c. <u>Owó ni</u> mo sọ nù. (Marked, Positive)

   Money is what I lost. (It is money that I lost).

d. <u>KÍí ṣe owó</u> ni mo sọ nù. (Marked, Negative)

   It is not money that I lost.

e. Owó <u>kọ́</u> ni mo sọ nù. (Marked Negative)

   Money is not what I lost.

Note that the process item of a thematic clause remains
the same as its non-thematic process. In essence, the
item <u>ni</u> should serve only a thematic role here;
it should not be seen as a process item.

3.2.2. The transitivity system

The whole system of transitivity centres on the
representation and assignment of semantic roles to parts
of clauses in a text (Kress, 1976). Transitivity refers
to options, a finite set of these, which a speaker selects
in order to reflect his ideational experience in
language. Ideational meanings expressed in a text are
codified in the transitivity system in form of

semantic roles - processes, participants and circumstances - and then assigned to clauses via the elements of clause structure (Kress, 1976). All the four elements of the clause realise these roles in a language: the central element of the clause, the 'P' realises 'process' while the 'S' and 'C' realise participants, and the 'A' realises circumstance.

The concept of transitivity in this description goes beyond the surface distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Yoruba grammar (cf. Bamgbose, 1966) to account for the semantic ('factual-notional' content - Kress, 1976) relations which exist at deep structure. This factual - notional content of verbs, as already shown by the semantic labels of options of process in more recent studies of form by systemic linguists (see especially, Halliday, 1970, 1973, 1978 and 1985; also Berry, 1975 and 1977), is also considered more useful to the present study than the earlier more syntactically-oriented descriptions of verbs employed by Halliday (1967, 1968; Afolayan, 1968 and Oladeji 1980).[1] The options of formal

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1. Afolayan (1968) and Oladeji (1980) represent the choices pertaining to processes in the Yoruba transitivity system as (a) clauses with 'action' (extensive) and clauses with 'non-action' (intensive); (b) clauses with directed action (effective) and clauses with 'non-directed' action (descriptive). Note that the terms 'effective' and 'descriptive' here are more syntactic in orientation than semantic, and they do not focus on the meanings of individual lexical items.

items pertaining to the three sub-categories of the transitivity
system-complex are presented below.

3.2.2.1 Transitivity options pertaining to processes

Every major clause[1] in Yoruba makes a selection from five
options of processes, viz. material, mental, relational,
verbalized and behavioural at the primary degree of delicacy.
These five options are central to the transitivity system and
they give direction as to what 'action' or 'non-action' (or
'state') a verb indicates in a clause. The items realizing
the process options in Yoruba sentences are mentioned below.

The material process (Mat.) refers to a physical action
performed by an animate or inanimate object as actor. It is
realized by such verbal items as gbà 'get/receive/help',
dé 'happen/arrive', wá 'come', lo 'go', etc. When the action
is performed by an animate object, a material process
is an 'action' process; but when the action is
performed by an inanimate object, the process is a material
'event' one (cf. Berry, 1975). Also, when an action or event effects

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1. A major clause has a verb as opposed to a minor clause
   which has no verb. Since the predicator is the most
   important structural element in sentence description,
   it is the major clause that is more relevant to the
   formal description of language. This clause also
   provides the main entry condition for most grammatical
   systems in a language.

a
thing by bringing it into being, it is a material 'creation'
process; but when it affects a thing by operating on it, it
is a material operation process (Berry, ibid.). Below are
examples of propositions with material process options (the
lexical verbs are underlined):

13a.   Ẹ gbé ọmọ yín wá. (Material action, operation)
       You bring your child.

  b.   Ewúrẹ́ ló ń bímọ rẹ̀ láìgbẹbi. (Material action, creation)
       It is a goat that gives birth to a child unaided.

14a.   Irú àìsàn wo ló ń ṣe é? (Material event, operation)
       What kind of sickness is worrying him?

  b.   Otútù àyà ló fàá. (Material event, creation)
       Pneumonia is what brings it about.

The mental process (Ment.) refers to a 'sensing' process
of perception, cognition or affection/reaction. The
perception process indicates the action of seeing or hearing
and it is realized by such items as gbọ́ 'hear', rí 'see', wò
'look', etc. The reaction process indicates a speaker's
reaction to a phenomenon or fact and it is realized by such
verbal items as fẹ́ràn/wù 'like', fẹ́ 'want/like', dúpẹ́
'show gratitude', gbè 'favour', etc. Lastly, the mental

cognitive process indicates a speaker's knowledge or belief about something and it is realized by such verbs as mọ̀ 'know', yé 'understand', gbàgbé 'forget', ránti 'remember', etc.

The relational process (Rel.) is a non-action process indicating a state of attribution, existence, equation/ identification and possession. An attributive process indicates an attribute of something via such adjectivisable verbs as yá 'well/healthy', ga 'tall', pọ́n 'ripe/yellow', etc. and also some other verbs like di 'become', jọ 'resemble', kú 'greeting term', etc. The process may also incorporate the existential process which expresses the presence or absence of something in the world of existence via such items as wà 'be/exist' and sí 'not exist'. In this respect, existence/non-existence or presence/absence is seen as a feature of attribution. An equative or identifying process is realized mainly by such items as jẹ́ 'be/cost/bear/equal' and rí/dà bí 'seem/look like'. Lastly, the relational possessive process indicates possession via the item ní 'have/possess'.

The verbalized process (Verb.) refers to a process of 'saying' which may be indicated as direct or indirect (reported) speech. Verbs of saying include ní/wí/sọ

'say/speak/talk', dáhùn 'answer', kọ 'sing', ké 'shout', etc.

Lastly, the behavioural process (Beh.) contains an inherent combination of both physical and mental reaction processes. In other words, a verbal item which indicates the behavioural process express meanings of physical action and mental reaction together, e.g. hùwà 'behave', kànjú 'hurry', tàn 'deceive', sẹ̀ 'offend', bínú 'get annoyed', yọ̀ 'rejoice'[1] etc. Definitely, verbal items are not enclosed in the straightjacket of process options mentioned above, for they can have different meanings in different sentences based on linguistic and situational contexts. Perhaps one should show here the possibility of a relational verb, which is stative, becoming a material verb, which is dynamic, in different sentences. Contrast

15. Ọmọ yín rùu.
    *Your boy leans (Your boy is lean.)

16a. Ọmọ yín ń rùu. (Material)
    *Your boy is leaning (Your boy is getting lean.)

b. Ọmọ yín ti rùu.
    *Your boy has leaned (Your boy has become lean.)

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1. Items realising the behavioural process are very few and even some of these may overlap with mental reaction verbs. We thus might also welcome Professor Bamgbose's suggestion at a discussion that behavioural verbs be subsumed under mental reaction process.

3.2.2.2 Transitivity options pertaining to participants

Each process option in the transitivity system has a set
of participants associated with it. Such participants which
may be human beings or non-human concrete or abstract objects
play participant roles in the system. For the material process
the participants include an 'actor' who is the doer of an
action and a 'goal' who is the affected in an action. An
action may extend towards a goal, whereby it is an 'extended'
action, or may not extend towards a goal, whereby it is
'non-extended'. A clause which expresses extended action may
indicate the actor and goal separately in two participants;
such is a non-middle clause. Also a clause which expresses
non-extended action or that which expresses extended action
may indicate the actor alone or indicate both actor and goal
in one participant; such a clause is 'middle'. A non-
middle clause may further indicate another participant apart
from the actor and goal which benefits from the action in
the clause; this participant is referred to as the recipient
or 'beneficiary' in the clause. For the mental process,
there is usually a 'senser' who is a perceiver, reactant/
affected or cognizant and something sensed which is a
'phenomenon' of fact, thing or report. The behavioural process

has a 'behaver' and 'behaviour' attached to it. The verbalized
process is effected by a 'sayer' to a 'receiver' or 'target';
what is said is referred to as 'verbiage'. Lastly, the
relational process may have its participants stated in three
groups: (a) a process of attribution will be accompanied
by a 'carrier' or 'attribuant' who is ascribed with an 'attribute'
and may have an 'attributor' who is responsible for an
ascription; (b) a process of identification is ensured by a
'value' or 'identifier' which identifies a 'token';
(c) a process of possession is ensured by the 'possessor'
of something and the thing 'possessed'. In addition to all
the participants mentioned above, a clause may indicate 'range'
which refers to an obligatory circumstantial information
defining the scope of a process.

The above participant options can also be seen from an
ergative point of view (cf. Halliday, 1970 and 1985). The
ergative concept represents the viewing of participant
roles in terms of whether the process in a clause is brought
about by the participant engaged in it or by some other
external entity. Unlike the earlier point of view of
extension which focuses on the performer of an action, the
ergative viewpoint is that of causation which focuses on
the goal or affected in an action in relation to the source

of the action. In the ergative viewpoint, the 'medium' is the obligatory participant associated with a process. Optional participants in the ergative system include the 'agent' which functions as an external cause of process, the beneficiary and the range. The table below[1] illustrates the network of ergative participant roles associated with the processes in the transitivity system of language (cf. Halliday, 1985:128).

3.2.2.3 Transitivity options pertaining to circumstances

The circumstances expressed in a clause give information about the extent or scope of the process in the clause (Berry, 1975). A circumstance is realized in the clause by the 'A' element,[2] but, unlike the process and participant features, it is less central to transitivity. Syntactically, circumstantial elements can be subdivided into two types: the 'inner' type, which forms an integral part of information in an utterance (this often coincides with the 'range' identified in 3.2.2.2 above), and the outer type, which

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1. The numbers listed in the table point to the illustrations of the categories in it by the examples below it.

2. The criteria for identifying adverbials are well-discussed by Bamgbose (1966, 1990). Here we refer to adverbials as adverbs, nominal groups and clauses which can be thematized in a clause and which can answer such questions as ibo? 'where?', báwo? 'how?', tori kí ni? 'for what reason?', ìgbà wo? 'when?' or similar questions other than èwo? 'which?', kí? 'what?', etc. which are associated with nominals. Contrast:

    a. Ó kọ́ ilé. Kí ni ó kọ́? (Nominal)
       He built a house. What did he build?

    b. Ó lọ ilé. Ibo ni ó lọ? (Adverbial)
       He went home. Where did he go?

Table 1: The Ergative Participant Roles in the Transitivity System

ERGATIVE CATEGORIES	TRANSITIVITY FUNCTION				RELATIONAL		
	Material	Mental	Behavioural	Verbalized	Attributive	Identifying	Possessive
1. Process	Material	Mental	Behavioural	Verbalized	Attributive	Identifying	Possessive
2. Medium (M) a. [17] Goal: Non-middle (G.:N-mid) b. [18] Goal(Actor) :Middle (G.:Mid) (G.AC.:Mid)		Senser[22] (Sen)	Behaver[25] (B)	Sayer[27] (Say)	Carrier[30] (Car)	Value[34] (VL)	Possessor[36] (Foss)
3. Agent (AG.)	Actor[19] (AC)	Phenomenon[23] (PH)			Attributor[31] (Attor)	Token[35] (TK)	
4. Beneficiary (Ben.)	Recipient/ Client[20] (Ben.)			Receiver[28]/ Target (Tm)	Attributor[32]		
5. Range (R)	Range[21]	Phenomenon[24]	Behaviour[26]	Verbiage[29] (V)	Attribute[33] (Attr.)		Possessed[37] (Possd.)

Illustrations

17. Ọmọ yín ń mu omi jù
    Your child drinks water too much

18. Ó ń lọ rèé.
    He is going to die, thus.

19. Mo rúbọ ìgbín.
    I sacrifice a snail.

20. Kí Ọlọrun fun yín ìlàáfíà.
    May God grant you good health.

21. F sọ ọ sẹ́nu.
    Throw it into your mouth.

22. Sọ ọ gbọ́rọ̀ mi dáadáa?
    Do you hear my words well?

23. Ọmọ náà wù mí.
    The girl pleases me.

24. A à mọ bọ́ ti yẹ ká ṣe é
    We don't know how to do it

25. Ó tàn wá jẹ.
    He deceived us.

26. Ó huwa bí olè
    He behaved like a thief

27. Ifá ì í purọ́ o.
    Ifa doesn't tell lies.

28. Ìwọ ni ọ̀rọ̀ yìí ń bá wí.
    It's you that this word concerns.

29. Àrùn ìi bun láa mán ṣe é.
    Sickness said he would be afflicting him

30. Àgbààgba dẹ̀ru.
    Elders become objects of fear

31. Àìsàn ti sọ ìyàwó mi di ọmọdé
    Sickness has turned my wife into a child

32. Àìsàn ti sọ ìyàwó mi di ọmọdé
    Sickness has turned my wife into a child

33a. Ṣó rí bí eéwo báyìí ni?
     Does it look like a boil?

  b. F káàsán o.
     (You 'greeting' afternoon). Good afternoon to you.

34. Àkọbí mi nù u.
    This is my first child

35a. A - fárí - mọ́ - làbẹ lorúkọ tíkú ń jẹ.
     He who shaves hair without a blade is what Death is called.

  b. Ọlọrun kìí ṣe ọba ìkà.
     God is not a wicked king.

36. A à ní àgbo nílé
    We don't have liquid herb at home

37. A à ní àgbo nílé
    We don't have liquid herb at home

is peripheral to the information (see Halliday, 1970:149). Also,
the elements can be described in terms of the semantic roles
they perform in clauses: in this respect each adjunct is iden-
tified by the details it gives about a process in terms of the
place, purpose, manner, time, reason, etc. of the process. The
examples below illustrate the syntactic and semantic roles of
some adjuncts in clauses: Example 38 illustrates the inner type
with place and manner adjuncts, while Example 39 illustrates the
outer type with time and manner adjuncts.

38a. Wà á fi <u>sínú ìkòkò</u>. (Inner, place)

      You will put it <u>in a pot</u>.

  b. Ó hùwà <u>bíolè</u>. (Inner, manner)

      He behaved <u>like a thief</u>.

38a. Kóo lo òògùn yìí <u>lálé yìí</u>. (Outer, time)

      You should use this medicine tonight.

  b. A à lè má a wò ó <u>báyìí</u>. (Outer, manner)

      We can't be looking at him like this.

3.2.3 The system of polarity

    The system of polarity has two options, 'positive' and
'negative' from which a selection is made in every Yoruba
proposition. The unmarked option of the two is the positive
option, while the marked one is the negative option. There

are four items of negation in Yoruba, viz. <u>kò</u>, <u>kì</u>, <u>má</u> and <u>kọ́</u>.
Of these items, the first three are clause negators while the
fourth is a constituent (nominal group) negator which occurs
in focus construction.[1] For obvious reasons, constituent
negation cannot be regarded as clause negation in Yoruba
description. A negative clause ought to have a negator in its
predicator.

Of the three clause negators, <u>kò</u> in its various phonetic
forms and <u>kì</u> occur in negative indicative clauses while <u>má</u>
occurs in negative imperative clauses. Also, two of the negators
may co-occur in a single clause to indicate various meanings.
Below are a few examples to illustrate the options of polarity in
Yoruba.

39a.　Ẹ mọṣẹ́ tí mo ń ṣe kẹ ẹ. (Positive)

　　　You know the job I'm doing.

　b.　Ṣé kí n bọsọ ẹ̀? (Positive)

　　　Can I remove his clothes?

40a.　Ṣé <u>kò</u> ṣe báyìí wọlé? (Negative)

　　　Hope he didn't enter the house in this manner?

　b.　<u>Kì</u> yóó tún dọ́dọ̀ rẹ mọ́. (Negative)

　　　It won't get to him again.

I.　For more detailed information about clause negation and
　　the use of negators in Yoruba, see Bamgbose (1966:96ff. and
　　1967:20) and Oke (1982:247ff.).

c. Ẹ má wulẹ̀ bópòó lọlé olórò mọ́. (Negative)

Don't let us bother ourselves any longer.

41a. O ò ṣá gbọdọ̀ má mọ 'bi ẹ ti bára yín ṣe.

You shouldn't be unable to know where you slept
with her. (Double negation-positive assertion)

b. Kò kí ń lò ó déédé ni.

He doesn't use it regularly. (Double negation,
emphatic habitual action)

c. Kì bá má lè sùn lálẹ́ àná.

He wouldn't have been able to sleep yesterday night.
(Double negation, condition)

3.2.4 The tense system of Yoruba

Tense is the linguistic category which relates the non-
linguistic phenomenon of time to the clause in Yoruba. Tense
expresses time in the verbal group of a clause via syntactic
means. But it does this along with another category 'aspect'
which indicates the completion or non-completion of an action
syntactically in the verbal group. There seems to be a consensus
of opinion among linguists who have studied the Yoruba tense that
both the categories of tense should be considered together under
the wider concept of 'tense' in Yoruba description. An earlier
statement made by Ward (1952:4) in this direction is that in
African languages the completion or non-completion of an action
in a particular time is perhaps more important than the actual

time of the action.

The Yoruba tense system has two primary choices: 'future' and 'non-future'. The future tense is marked by the formants[1] yóó/máa/ó/á 'will/shall' in indicative clauses, níí 'will/shall' in negative indicative clauses, and the item kí 'let' in the indirect imperative clause.[2] In contrast, the non-future tense is unmarked by formants or items both in the indicative and direct imperative clauses.

Aspectual modification to tense is given via the items máa/ ń/máa ń which indicate 'durative' aspect, ti ń/ti máa which indicates 'ingressive' aspect, ti/ti máa ń which indicate 'terminative' aspect, and via the absence of items which indicates 'neutral' aspect. The durative aspect represents the habitual or continuous action, the ingressive aspect represents an action beginning at the time of speech, the terminative aspect represents an action completed at the time of speech, and the neutral aspect does not represent any aspectual information (cf. Odunuga, 1982: 275). The conflation of the categories of tense and aspect in the tense system is illustrated by the diagram below (see Fig. 3) and exemplified afterwards.

---

1. Formants here refer to pre-verbal grammatical items which co-occur with a free (lexical) verb to determine the form of a predicator. Some other formants like lè 'can' and gbọ́dọ̀ 'must', among others, may also mark the future tense in Yoruba; but these are more associated with modality roles than tense (see 3.2.6.2).

2. It is claimed by systemic linguists that the indicative clause provides the environment for the terms of the tense system (see Afolayan, 1977:116). A closer look at Yoruba will show that imperative clauses in it are also marked by tense distinctions. For example, a similar description of future neutral tense will be assigned to both the indicative and imperative sentences below:

   Ẹ má a lọ. You will go. (Indicative)
   Kí ẹ lọ. *Let you go. (Imperative)

Diagram 2:   A Representation of the Yoruba Tense System

```
                                            ┌─ Neutral
                        ┌─ Non-future ┐      ├─ Durative
        Clause ──→      │             ├──→   ├─ Ingressive
                        └─ Future     ┘      └─ Terminative
```

Nf, F (Neut, Dur, Ing, Term)
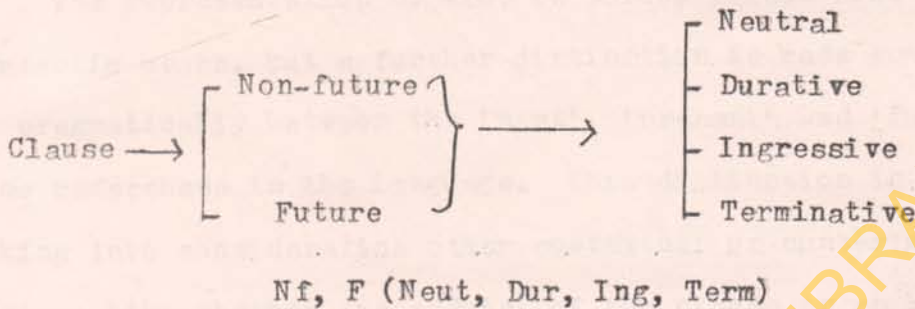
From the diagram above, eight possibilities of Yoruba tense
are recognized and illustrated by verbal items, thus:

(i)   Non-future neutral tense: lọ 'go/went'

(ii)   Non-future durative tense: ń lọ 'lit. durative marker + go'

(iii) Non-future ingressive tense: ti ń lọ 'have/had started
                                                    to go'

(iv)   Non-future terminative tense: ti lọ 'have/had gone'

(v)   Future-neutral tense: máa lọ 'lit. future marker + go'
                             kí --- lọ 'let---go'

(vi)   Future-durative tense: yóó máa lọ 'will/would be going'
                              kí --- máa lọ 'let---be going'

(vii) Future-ingressive tense: yóó ti máa lọ 'will/would have
                                                    been going'
                                kí--- ti máa lọ *'let---have been
                                going'

(viii) Future terminative tense: yóó ti lọ 'will/would have gone'
                                 kí--- ti lọ *'let---have gone'

The representation of time in Yoruba is not done only by syntactic means, but a further distinction is made semantically or pragmatically between the 'past', 'present' and 'future' time references in the language. This distinction is made by taking into consideration other co-textual or contextual factors like whether the adjunct of the clause or an adjoining clause is indicating a past time or not, or whether the verb of the clause is occurring within a narration of a past event or not (cf. Bamgbose 1966:93). In a pragmatic description of time expression, therefore, the non-future tense can be further identified with the past, present or future time while the future tense is almost always identified with the present or future time. The future tense may refer to past time only in Indicative Sequent clauses of reported speech. The examples below show the relations between tense and time in the environment of time adjuncts (the adjuncts are underlined):

42a.   Mò ń lọ lánàá nígbàtí ó rí mi. (Non-future, past time)

I was going yesterday when he saw me.

b.   Mò ń lọ nìsinyìí. (Non-future, present time)
I am going now.

c.   Mo ń lọ lọ́làa. (Non-future, future) time)
I am going tomorrow.

43a.(i) Ẹ máa lọ <u>báylì</u>. (Future, present time)

You will go now. (Indicative)

Go <u>now</u>./Be going <u>now</u>. (Direct imperative)

(ii) Kí ó lọ <u>báyìì</u> (Future, present time)

Let him go <u>now</u>.

b.(i) Ẹ ní ẹ máa lọ <u>lánàá</u>. (Future, past time in sequent clause)

You said you would go yesterday.

(ii) *Ẹ máa lọ <u>lánàá</u>. (Future, past time - Direct Imperative)

*(You) Be going yesterday.

(iii) *Kí wọ́n lọ <u>lánàá</u>. (Future, past time-Indirect Imperative)

*Let them go yesterday.

c.(i) Ẹ máa lọ <u>lólàa</u>. (Future, future time)

You will go tomorrow.

(ii) Ki wọ́n lọ <u>lólàa</u>. (Future, future time)

Let them go tomorrow.

3.2.5 <u>The mood and modality systems of Yoruba</u>

Options from both mood and modality systems represent
interpersonal meanings in the propositions of a text. Under

mood the speaker selects social roles in speech situations for himself and for his hearer. And under modality the speaker selects roles for the expression or non-expression of his judgements and predictions (see Halliday, 1973; Berry, 1975). Although both mood and modality express interpersonal meanings they do not operate in the same environment. The entry condition of modality is satisfied only after a particular option, the indicative option, has been made from the mood system (see Diagram 3 below). In other words the mood system provides the environment for the selection of modality options. Thus, while both systems are identified separately in this description, the discussion of modality, is, however, subsumed under the mood system.

The mood has two primary options of indicative and imperative. At the second degree of delicacy, the indicative option provides the environment for a simultaneous selection of options from the declarative and interrogative options, on the one hand, and the 'modalized' and non-modalized options, on the other hand. The imperative option makes a further distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' imperatives.

Diagram 3: A Representation of the Mood and Modality Options
of Yoruba

```
                                    ┌─ Modalized
                         ┌─ Indicative ──→ {─ Non-modalized
                         │                 ┌─ Declarative
                         │                 └─ Interrogative
Clause[20] ──→ {         │                                   ┌─ +Overt 'S'
                         │              ┌─ Direct ──→ {
                         │              │                     └─ Overt 'S'
                         └─ Imperative ──→ {                  ┌─ Volitive
                                        │                     │
                                        │              ┌─ Optative
                                        └─ Indirect ──→ {
                                                       ├─ Inclusive (+speaker)
                                                       └─ Exclusive (-speaker)
```
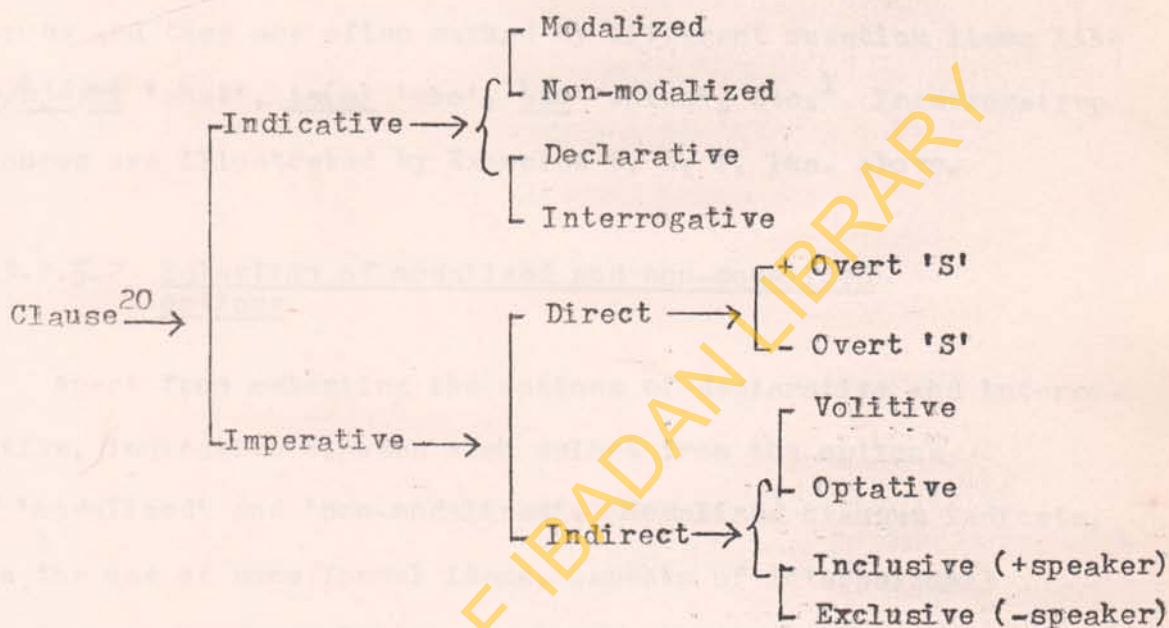
— adapted from Afolayan (1968), Halliday (1973) and Berry (1975)

3.2.5.1 Selection of declarative and interrogative clauses

Declarative clauses, whether positive or negative,
normally represent statements and assertions in Yoruba.
The unmarked declarative clause normally has an obligatory
'S' and 'P' and optional 'C' and 'A', but the 'S' may not
be overtly realized in a negative clause beginning with kò,
as in Kò lọ síbẹ̀ (Not go there) 'He didn't go there'.

Examples, 1, 2, 4, 13a, 24, 27, 36, etc. above illustrate positive and negative clauses in Yoruba.

Interrogative clauses normally represent questions in Yoruba and they are often marked by different question items like ṣe/ǹjẹ́/kí 'what', ta(a) 'who', èwo 'which', etc.[1] Interrogative clauses are illustrated by Examples 5, 6, 7, 14a. above.

3.2.5.2 Selection of modalized and non-modalized options

Apart from selecting the options of declarative and interrogative, indicative clauses also select from the options of 'modalized' and 'non-modalized'. Modalized clauses indicate, via the use of some formal items, aspects of interpersonal meanings such as permission, surprise, certainty, ability, possibility, politeness and obligation, while non-modalized clauses do not overtly indicate or imply such meanings. Apart from some interjections such as hówù/àá (indicating surprise), séé (indicating strong re-assertion), ṣíọ (indicating disdain), o (indicating emphasis at the end of a clause), etc., other items of Yoruba which indicate modality include some free verbs like yẹ 'fit/ought', 'sàn 'better/proper', wù 'like', dára 'appropriate/desirable',

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1. See Bamgbose (1966:53ff.) for an extensive discussion of question (interrogative) items in Yoruba.

etc. Certain formants in Yoruba can also indicate modality, and
these include: <u>ìbá</u> 'would/should/could have', <u>gbọ́dọ̀</u> 'must',
<u>yóó/á/ó</u> 'will/shall', <u>jàjà</u> 'manage', <u>lè</u> 'can/may', <u>fẹ́</u> 'like/
want', <u>kàn</u> 'just' and <u>màmà</u> 'surely/certainly/definitely'. Note,
however, that some of the formants above usually combine this
role of expression of modality with the expression of future
tense in clauses, e.g.:

44. O ò <u>gbọ́dọ̀</u> má lòó pé o.

 You must not fail to complete the dosage.

(The item 'gbọ́dọ̀' indicates both compulsion and futurity.)

3.2.5.3 Selection of options of imperative clauses

Imperative clauses represent commands and directives in a
language. The clauses select from the 'direct' and 'indirect'
options. The direct imperative may or may not have an overt
subject, while an indirect imperative is marked by the item <u>kí</u>
'Let'. Contrast:

45a. Ẹ máa bọ̀. (Direct, +S)
   You come.

 b. Máa bọ̀. (Direct -S)
   Come.

 c. Kí ó máa bọ̀. (Indirect)
   Let him come.

The overt 'S' in 45a above is realized by a plural pronoun which
is either 'honorific' (referring to a singular addressee) or
'non-honorific' (referring to a plural addressee).

An indirect imperative further chooses either the
inclusive speaker' (+speaker) or 'exclusive speaker' (-speaker)
option. The +speaker imperative clause includes the speaker
among the persons to act, while the -speaker clause excludes
him. Contrast:

46a.   Kí wọ́n ròó dáadáa o. (Indirect, -speaker)

   Let them think carefully about it.

b.   Ẹ jẹ́ kó máa lọ. (Indirect, -speaker)

   Let him go.

c.   Ẹ jẹ́ ká fọpẹ́ f'Ọlọ́run. (Indirect, +speaker)

   Let us give thanks to God.

d.   Jẹ́ kí n dé ná. (Indirect, +speaker)

   Let me come back first.

Lastly, the indirect imperative selects between the expression
of 'volitive' command, which represents hopes, wishes and
prayers, and that of 'optative' command, which represents a
directive given to an unspecified individual or group of
persons. Contrast:

47a. Kí Ọlọrun fun yín láláàárìà. (Volitive)

Let (May) God give you good healthy.

b. Kẹnikan gbágbo yẹn jáde fún mi. (Optative)

Let someone bring out that concoction for
me.

3.2.6. <u>Some expressive and rhetorical categories</u>

Under this section, we intend to present some
expressive and rhetorical categories that are relevant
for analysing meaning in Yoruba texts. Unlike the
categories described above which can be pinned down to
the level of form, these categories are of a mixed grill
because they span both the form (lexicogrammar and phonology
and structure of the text. What they have in common is
that they contribute to the stylistic organization of
the text. Most of the categories will fit in the
interpersonal function in the tabulation by Halliday
(1973: 140). The categories to describe include

peculiar lexical items, vocatives, figurative

expressions, rhythm, etc.

3.2.6.1 Peculiar lexical items

It is possible to distinguish registers, genres or individual texts by the peculiar items which they select to conform with either the situations of their expression or uses which they serve. In YTM texts, it is expected that certain lexical items and collocations will conventionally distinguish the participants, objects, actions and events in the field from texts from other fields (see 5.3.1.4).

3.2.6.2 Vocatives

A vocative refers to one or more words which occur in a sentence as a nominal group of address. Bamgbose (1966:14) describes its occurrence in a sentence as a non-concordial one, since it is not in concord with the following free clause in the sentence. Semantically, a vocative may serve to identify a person or an object in a proposition or draw the attention of the person or object, for example:

48. Ẹjìgbèdè, gbígbè ni o gbè mí.
    Ejigbede, it is support that you must give me.

3.2.6.3. Figurative expressions

Very many texts in Yoruba utilize figurative expressions to project their meanings. Such expressions include similes, metaphors, personification, ideophones, etc. Most especially, the metaphor plays a major role in the creation of aesthetics in Yoruba communication (cf. Olabode, 1981). Lexical items serve as metaphor to indicate fictionalization and symbolism which are aesthetic features in Yoruba texts.

The communication of fiction, unlike non-fiction is based on metaphorical expressions. Such expressions can identify six-inch men, talking animals, birds and stones, swimming logs, langhing arts, etc. (cf. Adejare, 1981). In Text 11 in the appendix of this work, lexical items denote names and actions to represent the fictional world in which birds perform human actions and enter into typical human relationships.

Metaphorical items can also be used to denote objects which stand as symbols for other objects following a recognized form of association between them.

For example, in YTM, a snail may be very relevant for hyperten-
sive cure because it connotes gentleness. Language symbolizes
experiences by virtue of its long association with the latter.
So also, formal items of language are used to symbolize
ideas, objects, actions, states or qualities and circumstances
of human experience. The use of symbolism is another
rhetorical device used by addressors to create aesthetics
in texts; it is a common feature of fictional texts.

The metaphor and other figurative expressions may combine
to create imagery in Yoruba communication. A major device
for expressing meanings in Yoruba texts is the use of imagery.
An image is the picture of an object created in the mind
(cf. Longman Dictionary, 1978) of an interpretant via the
use of a linguistic item or group of items. This picture has
three main properties in the text. First, it represents an
object or association between objects in the real world of
experience. Second, it is imprinted on the mind of the
interpretant via one or more of the senses of perception-
visual, aural, tactile, affective and vocal. And third,
using the relevant sense(s) as vehicle for perceiving
the image, an interpretant from his perception assigns
meanings to the expression in the text.

An image is usually created in a text via the repetition
of lexical items and also via the use of phonological and/or
orthographic devices like ideophones and shifts in type face
and such figures of speech as simile, metaphor, personifica-
tion, etc. A description of these images may be made by
simply observing and classifying them according to the
senses which they stimulate, as illustrated below:

49. Bó ti ń wò kàbìkàbì bíi màálu róbẹ.

    As she's looking muddled like a cow about to be
        slaughtered.

50. Ẹja tí ń dabú rú ò ju gbóngbó báyìí lọ.

    The fish troubling the waters isn't necessarily a
        mighty one.

51. 'Mọdé yìí, ọ ò lóràn àn gbọ́ o. Ọ ò lóránán gbọ́ o.
    Ọ ọ lóránán gbọ́ o.

    This child, you don't listen to advice. You
        don't listen to advice. You don't listen to advice.

52. Ogún ọdún òní o
    Òkè m bẹ láìkú gboingboin
    Gboingboin ni toke
    Twenty years from now
    A hill stays undying unshakeably
    Unshakeably is the hill

In Example 49 a visual image is created via the use of a simile
which compares someone's looks with that of a cow seeing
the knife with which it is about to be slaughtered; the
meaning expressed here is that of a client who is confused.
In Example 50 another visual image is created, this time via
the use of a metaphor. The 'tenor' of the metaphor is absent,
while the 'vehicle' indicates a fish whose activity surpasses
its size; the meaning expressed here shows the dexterity of
an Ifa priest, represented in absentia as the tenor, who is
humble or simple in appearance. Example 51 illustrates aural
imagery created via an addressor's repetition of some lexical
items. And Example 52 shows affective imagery projected by
the use of an ideophone which suggests strength and firmness.

3.2.6.4 The creation of rhythm

The identification of features of Yoruba rhythm has been
a very controversial issue among scholars since Siertsema
(1959) who first identifies the rhythm of Yoruba with the
English metrical patterning in which stressed syllables occur
at regular intervals in rigid rhythm-units. Many scholars
after him have either registered their support, total or
partial, or protest, mild or strong, against Siertsema (cf.
Babalola 1966, Oyelaran 1975, Isola 1975, Oladeji 1980,

Afolayan 1982b and Olatunji 1984); and they have in most cases
suggested features that ought to form the basis of a
discussion of rhythm in Yoruba texts. Of course, there have
been several suggestions, of which some are still controver-
sial while some are generally accepted. In order to describe
features of rhythm in Yoruba texts, certain facts about
rhythm are thus to be assumed.

a. Most of the scholars mentioned above appear to be
   convinced of the fact that stress cannot rightly
   be regarded as a basic feature of Yoruba rhythm
   since the language is syllable-timed.

b. It is agreed that 'melody' or 'tune' (Oyelaran,
   1975), or prominence, tonal modification, modula-
   tion of intervals between tones and syllable
   lengthening (Olatunji, 1984:61), are irregular
   and subjective features of performance of texts
   unlike rhythm which is an objective property of
   the text. But there is also some validity in
   Isola's (1975:781) claim that it may be essential
   sometimes when describing performance texts to
   account for prominence as well as the melodic
   patterns (prominent syllables, duration of breath
   pauses and length of an ornamental sequence of

vowel syllables) characteristic of the texts and the chanting modes to which they belong. However, since the features of melody are not really very important in YTM texts where the majority of the texts employ the modes of conversation and recitation instead of the mode of chanting, such features will not be considered in this study.

c. It is agreed that the breath pauses in oral poetry, which are conventionally marked on paper by line-ends, are a major determinant of rhythm in poems[1] (cf. Isola, 1975:777).

d. It is also agreed that syntactic and sense parallelisms are major determinants of rhythm in Yoruba poetry (cf. Babalola, 1966; Oyelaran, 1975; Olatunji 1984). Here we do not single out any feature as the most important, neither do we say that only these two features determine the rhythm. Normally, all features mentioned in 'c' and 'd' above, including sometimes those in 'b', create rhythm in texts. And many of these features can be accounted for by observing

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1. Note that the poetic form is the usual mode employed in recitations in YTM divinatory and incantatory texts.

the sentence patterns as well as the recurrences
of such patterns and other structures in the
texts.

3.2.6.5 Juxtaposition of sentence types in Yoruba texts

Every Yoruba sentence has a pattern which is describable
in terms of (i) the type of the sentence, and (ii) the
composition of the sentence in terms of grammatical and lexical
items. All the items in '(ii)' are, however, recognized with
each sentence type in '(i)'.

Afolayan (1968) identifies seven sentence types in
Yoruba as follows: the minor, simple, compound, complex,
compound-complex, multiple and multiple-complex sentences.
Apart from the minor sentence which does not have a predicator,
all the other six types have one or more predicators. A
simple sentence is made up of one main clause which has only
one predicator. A compound sentence is made up of two main
clauses, while a multiple sentence has three or more main
clauses. A complex sentence has one main clause and a
subordinate one attached to it. A compound-complex sentence
has two main clauses and one or more subordinate clauses,
while a multiple-complex sentence has three or more main clauses

and one or more subordinate clauses attached to them.

A less detailed identification than the above, can, however, conflate the compound and multiple types into one 'compound' type and the three complex types into one broad 'complex' type (cf. Bamgbose 1966 and 1967). The compound sentence will then have two or more main clauses, while the complex sentence will combine both main and subordinate clauses. In essence, four sentence types, viz. minor, simple, compound and complex are recognized in this study.

Apart from indicating the organisation of information in a text the types of sentences may affect the rhythm of the text depending on how they are selected, repeated and juxtaposed in it. For example, the rhythm of a text which is dominated by a juxtaposition of similar sentence or clause types will be more regular than that which has several types in it.

3.2.6.4. Recurrence of patterns in Yoruba texts

Patterns of sentences may recur in two ways in Yoruba texts. In one way, recurrence may be total in the sense of full repetition of lexical and structural items in two or. more main clauses or sentences. In another way, recurrence. may be partial in the sense of partial repetition of lexical and structural items in two or more main clauses or sentences.

Both kinds of recurrences enhance the rhythm in Yoruba texts, thus they will be elaborated upon briefly in the paragraphs below.

As already stated above, 'full lexico-structural repetition' involves a repetition of the structure as well as the lexical items in sentences of a text (cf. Bamgbose, 1982b: 88). This repetition may occur in contiguous lines or sentences in a text, as can be observed in Text 1 (ll. 24-25) or Text 4 (ll. 2-4); or it may occur in alternate lines/sentences or following an interval of lines/sentences as in Texts 12 and 18. Full lexico-structural repetition serves mainly to emphasize or intensify the theme of the repeated structures in a text.

'Partial lexico-structural repetition' involves a repetition of the structure with a variation of one or more lexical items (Bamgbose, 1982b: 88). A major feature of this kind of repetition is 'lexical matching'[1] which is a very useful concept as far as describing rhythmic features in Yoruba texts is concerned. According to Bamgbose (ibid), lexical matching is characterized mainly by the juxtaposition of lexical items in such a way as to exhibit a semantic contrast or correspondence. A semantic contrast is made, for example, in the matching of the antonyms jákè and jálè

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1. See Bamgbose (1982b: 82-94) for a fuller discussion of these feature.

in Text 12 (see 11.15-16), whereas it is semantic correspondence
that is illustrated by the matched synonyms lówó and lóla
('have money' and 'have riches') in Text 19, 11. 9-10. Items
matched in a text very often belong to the same semantic range,
for example, lówó and lólá above are related to the concept of
'wealth' in Yorubaland.

Lexical matching is basic to three other features of rhythm
in Yoruba, viz. tonal counterpoint, word play and 'parallelism.'
Tonal counterpoint refers to "the deliberate selection of
contrasting tones in identical places in a set structural patterns
where two or more lexical items are matched or a single item is
played upon" (Bamgbose, 1982b:89). The items underlined in
Example 53 below illustrate the features of tonal counterpoint.

53.   Mo jewée rorò
       Mo jewée awede (Text 21, 11. 17-18)

       I eat the roro leaf
       I eat the awede leaf

(The tonal contrast in the matched items can be represented as
ML/MMM.)[1]

The type of word play which always involves lexical matching
is lexical word play in which two lexical items which differ in
tone or in both vowel and tone are played upon.

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1. The three tonal possibilities for the Yoruba syllable are the
    High (H), Mid (M) and Low (L) respectively. See Olatunji
    (1984:32, 209) for some of the contrastive possibilities of
    tonal counterpoint.

See, for example, the play on the underlined items in the illustration below.

Wọ́n nípé <u>tútùtútù</u> làá bá koríko gbàkùọ̀
Ọ̀rúnmìlà ní ará ti <u>tù</u> un báyìí (Text 11, 11. 61-62)

They said it is <u>cool freshness</u> that we meet the grass
  in a swamp
Ọrunmila said he now felt <u>relieved</u>

Parallelism "involves a juxtaposition of sentences with a similar structure, a matching of at least two lexical items in each structure, a comparison between the juxtaposed sentences, and a central idea expressed through complementary statements in the sentences" (Bamgboṣe, 1982b:90). The feature can be illustrated with an extract below.

54. <u>Ikú</u> í òun láa <u>paá</u> ni
  <u>Àrùn</u> í òun láa máa <u>ṣe é</u>
  <u>Èṣù</u> í òun láa máa <u>báa jà</u>

  Death said he would kill him
  Disease said he would be afflicting him
  Esu said he would be fighting him

The items matched in the example above are <u>Ikú/Àrùn/Èṣù</u>, on the one hand, and <u>pa á/ṣe é/bá a jà</u>, on the other hand. The first group indicates the names of the belligerent enemies of man (see 4.1.2.1), while the second group indicates the

harmful intentions of these enemies. And the central
idea is that of the agents causing problems for man.

The _expressive_ and rhetorical categories
described above form a part of the productive tools of
meaning in texts; most of them are especially relevant
in the determination of modes and types of texts.

3.3. The Procedure of Analysis of YTM Texts

It is already stated in this work that the contextual
text framework employed in this study incorporates some
principles and methods of stylistics in order to cater
for those characteristic features of YTM texts which
are stylistics - oriented. The procedure of analysis
of YTM texts is stated below first by highlighting the
presuppositions of the analysis about some fundamental
issues of textual analysis like 'norm and deviation',
'prominence', 'foregrounding', atomization',
'inference' and 'statistical methods', and second by
presenting a schematic analysis of a model YTM text
via the levels and categories of Etf earlier stated above.

3.3.1 Some fundamental issues in textual analysis

'Norm and deviation' is a principle of stylistic comparison of texts in which deviant or 'marked' features which give individual or corporate texts their peculiarity or identity are identified and given special attention against the normal 'unmarked' features of such texts (cf. Leech, 1969). But the concepts of 'norm' and 'deviation' have been a thorny subject of discussion in stylistics for some time now. For instance, while scholars like Wellek (1960) and Adejare (1981) have both pointed out the danger of identifying stylistics principally with the study of features which are deviations from and distortions of the linguistic norm, Adejare (1981:5-47) has further criticized the arbitrariness and subjectivity which often accompany the selection of norms in stylistic analyses. Of course, some scholars do agree that style may not be deviation from but achievement of a norm (cf. Hymes, 1960; Halliday, 1973a); they do not, however, dispute the fact that norm and deviation are valid concepts that cannot be dissociated from stylistics as Oladeji (1980:14) rightly observes:

> "Style is inseparable from comparison, whether
> it is conceived in terms of deviation,
> variation, choice or foregrounding."

The issue of arbitrariness of norm selection is undoubtedly a
problem in norm and deviation based stylistic studies since there
is no single universally relevant norm to which all sets of expec-
tancies may be referred. According to Halliday (1973a:114), there
are differences of both perspective and attention; and, the
expectancies may lie 'in the language as a whole, in a diatypic
variety or register, genre, literary form, or in some special
institution'. The text may thus be seen as this in contrast to that,
another poem or another novel and 'either may be taken as the point
of departure' - maybe it is even more helpful to look at a given
instance of prominence in one way rather than in another, sometimes
as departure from a norm and sometimes as the attainment of a norm.

In this study, we are not particularly concerned about devising
a norm for YTM texts. It is even premature to do so now. Until
there are norms available for different texts with which YTM texts
can be compared, we shall be contented with our modest objective
of identifying features characteristic of these texts andhow some
of these features significantly project the messages of the texts.

Two concepts that are of great importance in stylistic
analysis are 'prominence' and 'foregrounding'. Halliday
(1973a:113) conceives of prominence as linguistic highlighting,
a phenomenon whereby some features of the language of a text
stand out in some way; whereas, he conceives of 'foregrounding'
as 'motivated prominence' or 'literary relevance'. Linguistic
items are of literary relevance if they contribute to the

message of a text as a whole; such items need not be regular
in order to be foregrounded, whereas it is possible for a
feature to be prominent linguistically in a text without
being foregrounded. Since a comprehensive stylistic
description is essentially an incorporation of language and
literature, it is proper that both features of linguistic
prominence and literary relevance should serve as the basic
parameters for assessing the significance of formal features
of texts.

It is reasonable to expect that numerical data on
language are normally stylistically significant during
analysis, but this fact is still not always accepted by
stylisticians. A major objection to this is that since style
is a manifestation of the individual, it cannot be reduced
to counting. Another objection is that the number of
occurrences must be irrelevant to style because we are not
aware of frequency in language and therefore cannot respond
to it. These two objections, according to Halliday (1973a:
116-117), are not valid to the point at issue. While he
agrees that a distinctive frequency distribution is in itself
no guarantee of stylistic relevance, he, nevertheless, believes
that a rough statistical indication of frequencies would often
be helpful to check the analyst's assertions that some feature

is prominent in the text. Leech and Short (1981:51) also concede that even though the ideal of a completely objective description of style is a myth, 'we can only aim at relatively reliable statements backed by sufficient evidence about what is frequent or infrequent in a text'. Statements of frequency, they however warned, must be made in some kind of comparison outside the text or corpus, otherwise they will be vacuous.

'Atomization' is another concept that has also featured prominently in the criticism of stylistic methods. One manifestation of this feature is explained by Adejare (1981) as the use of a fraction or an insignificant part of a text to represent a text during analysis, as is done by Ohmann (1964) who uses part of a long passage from The Bear to identify Faulkner's style, and also Milic (1967) who uses passages to identify Swift's style. Another kind of atomism can be observed in the use of one linguistic level such as grammar, lexis (e.g. Spitzer, 1962) or phonology, or even part of it; or a system such as transitivity (cf. Halliday, 1973a) or mood or theme to derive a message.

Although atomism is a recognised limitation of stylistic studies, it seems an unavoidable procedure in the practice in the face of odds and apparent impossibilities of having a complete description of any text. In such a circumstance,

the criterion of sufficiency should be met if studies are predicated
on proper data sampling methods as well as clear statements of
the principles of selection of materials and analytical tools.

Apart from the issues raised above, the way some stylisticians
make inferences from a description of form to identification of
messages of texts has come under severe attack (see, especially,
Fish 1980). Fish (1980:207) claims that, normally, analysis of
formal patterns are supposed to be products of a prior
interpretive act (cf. also Hirsch 1976:24), which implies that
identification of textual function ought to precede formal
analysis, and not vice-versa. So far, evidence abounds to show
that the values which stylisticians assign to forms of texts
are always premeditated even though such values are often delayed
(or, sometimes, neglected) until the end of the description
in order to give priority to the forms which the analysts
derive so much pleasure in describing. In a description which
focuses on textual function, however, forms are not assigned
with messages or values but rather are observed in terms of
their roles in texts in a situational context of communication.
This latter viewpoint forestalls the logical error that is
implicit in a stylistic assumption that form correlates with
function or that style compels message (cf. Hirsch, 1976).
It is more reasonable to claim, instead, that a particular

function determines the use of certain forms in texts and that such
forms are to be described, if need be, in respect of the functions
which they perform.

One important point that requires further elaboration
from the paragraph above is the fact that some linguistic
stylisticians have often been observed to pride themselves in the
elaboration of forms in textual analysis at the expense of the
textual function. Stylistic critics claim that unlike literary
critics who use literary categories to explicate values which
they have assigned to texts, some linguistic stylisticians focus
on analysis of form to which they may or may not assign any
functional values. Each of these two procedures has its
limitations if applied for instance, a literary approach which
overconcentrates on textual values will lose sight of the
relevant forms of language in the study while a purely linguistic
approach will serve as a good academic exercise without
benefitting experience. But when jointly applied to textual
analysis, the results of the marriage of the two procedures can
be very encouraging to understanding the form and function of
texts.

Recent stylistic studies have further emphasized the need
for the incorporation of linguistic and literary procedures
in textual analysis (cf. Fowler, 1971; Leech and Short, 1981),

and this trend cannot be dissociated, especially, from observations that have been made by scholars in this respect. For example, Jacobson (1960:377) has earlier observed that,

> "...a linguist deaf to the poetic function
> of language and a literary scholar
> indifferent to linguistic problems are
> flagrant anachronisms".

And in a similar vein, Fowler (1971:11) also has stated expressly thus:

> It would not be surprising if knowledge of
> language in general did not enhance the
> understanding of specific instances of
> language use. There is thus a prior
> argument in favour of critics and students
> knowing about language by knowing some
> general linguistics.

Lastly, Birch (1989:182) representing the views of other scholars like Fowler, Kress, Hodge, etc. has also stated that in interpreting texts as socially determined, language analysts should be involved in understanding the processes, functions and meanings of social interaction. There is no doubt that such socio-cum-literary linguistic views as are expressed above underlie the presentation of Stl and thus, consequently, reflect in the task of analysis below.

3.3.2 A schematic analysis of a model YTM text

The analysis of Model Text A, presented below, is done schematically under two major classifications: content analysis and formal analysis. The analysis of the text content deals with the various interpretations of what is said in the text under such categories as situation, use, function, message and structure, while the analysis of text form deals with the abstract representation of what is said under the categories discussed extensively under 3.2 above. The preliminary analysis of text done here is expected to give the direction of our presentation and discussion of the features of YTM texts in Chapters four and five.

3.3.2.1 The analysis of content of Text A

MODEL TEXT A

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ẹ káàárọ̀ mọ́mì.[i]

Oníṣègùn: Ẹ káàárọ̀ o.[ii] Ẹ pẹ̀lẹ́ o.[iii] Ilé ńkọ́ o?[iv]

Ìyá Ọmọ: A dúpẹ́ mà.[v]

Oníṣègùn: (Sí ọmọ) Bàbá àgbalagbà! Ṣé kò sí o?[vi]

Ìyá Ọmọ: Kò sí,[vii] ọmọ yìí ni mo gbé wá o.[viii]

Oníṣègùn: Kí ló mú u?[ix]

Ìyá Ọmọ: (Ó sọ ọmọ kalẹ̀ láti ẹ̀yìn.) Kòkòrò ni.[x]
            Ẹ ẹ̀ ri bó ṣe rí?[xi]

5

Oníṣègùn:	(Ó yẹ ọmọ wò.) Á á ná ẹ ní pọ́nùn mẹ́waàa.[xii]
	Ẹ lọ mú 'un tẹ́ẹ́ fi kàgbo ọmọ yín wá.[xiii]
	Kẹ́ ẹ sì lọ ra ìgò tọ́wọ́ bá wọnú ẹ̀ lóọkán yẹn.[xiv]

(Lẹ́yìn ìgbà díẹ̀, nǹkan àgbo wà nílẹ̀.)

Oníṣègùn:	Ẹ má jọ́mọ yín ó mumi mọ́ o.[xv]
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ko mọ́ mumi mọ́.?[xvi]
Oníṣègùn:	Ko mọ́ mumi.[xvii] Kó mọ́ jewédú---[xviii]
Ọmọọṣẹ́:	Omi ẹ̀ ń pọ́.[xix]
Oníṣègùn:	Ẹja tútù, kò gbọdọ̀ jẹ́ẹ.[xx] Ẹ̀fọ́ àtẹja gbígbe
	lọmọ yín ó máa jẹ.[xxi]
Ọmọọṣẹ́:	Ẹja gbígbẹ. Ẹ má fún un léran tútù jẹ.[xxii]
	Ẹran nọ́mọ̀ àtẹja tútù yen, lásìkò tó bá máa
	lo ò̀gùn táa máa fún un yìí. Ẹ gbé e wá
	fáyẹ̀wò níjọ́ mẹ́ẹ̀dógún, táá bàá wípé kó máa lọ
	jẹ gbogbo kinní yẹn padà - ewédú, ilá àti
	ẹran.[xxiii] Àfi ẹ̀fọ́.
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Bíí gbúre?
Ọmọọṣẹ́:	En ẹn, ó ti dáa ---[xxiv]
Oníṣègùn:	Kí ẹ ṣe àgbo tí mo fun yín yìí.[xxv] Kó máa mu
	ú,[xxvi] kó máa wẹ́ ẹ́.[xxvii] Kinní yìí, kẹ́ẹ máa fi
	pa á lára ní gbogbo ìgbà.[xxviii] Eléyìí, kẹ́ẹ
	lọ ọ́[xxix] kó kúnná.[xxx] Kẹ́ẹ gbá epo,[xxxi] kẹ máa
	fi ra etíi rẹ̀.[xxxii] Bẹ́ ẹ bá ti ń fi cream paá,
	náà ni kẹ́ẹ máa fi eléyì í náà paá.[xxxiii] Gbogbo
	ara---gbogbo ibi tí kòkòro yẹn bá wà, kẹ́ ẹ
	máa fi pa á.[xxxiv] Òògùn yín ti pé.[xxxv]
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ẹ ṣé o.[xxxvi] O dàbọ̀ o.[xxxvii]

	10
	15
	20
	25
	30

Client (Child's Mother): Good morning mummy.[i]

Herbalist: Good morning.[ii] How are you?[iii] How is your home?[iv]

Client: We're grateful to God, Madam.[v]

Herbalist: (Admiring child) Big man! Hope there's nothing?[vi]

Client: There's nothing,[vii] It's this child I've brought.[viii] 5

Herbalist: What's wrong with him?[ix]

Client: (Removes baby from her back) It's a skin infection.[x]
Don't you see how he is?[xi]

Herbalist: (Examines baby) It will cost you ten pounds.[xii] Go
and get some containers to collect your herbs.[xiii] You 10
can also get a bottle that can admit your hand
over there.[xiv]

(After a short while, herbal ingredients are down)

Herbalist: Don't let your child drink water again.[xv]

Client: He shouldn't drink water again?[xvi]

Herbalist: He shouldn't drink water.[xvii] He shouldn't eat ewedu 15
soup---[xviii]

Attendant: He's drinking too much water.[xix]
(Trainee)

Herbalist: Fresh fish, he shouldn't eat it.[xx] Vegetables and
dried fish are what your child should be eating.[xxi]

Attendant: Dried fish. Don't give him fresh meat to eat.[xxii]
Fresh beef ▒▒▒ and fresh fish, when he wants to 20
use these drugs we shall give him. Bring him for
examination in fifteen days time, when we can say
whether he should resume eating all those things –
ewedu leaf, okro and meat.[xxiii] Except vegetables.

Client: Like fresh vegetables (gbure)? 25

Attendant: Yes, that's right--- [xxiv]

Herbalist: Cook these herbs I'm giving you.[xxv] Let him drink it[xxvi] and also bathe with it.[xxvii] This thing, use it to rub his body all the time.[xxix-xxx] Add hot palm oil to it[xxxi] and rub his hears with the mixture.[xxxii] As you rub his body with the cream, so also do you use this.[xxxiii] All his body--- whereever the infection is, rub it on it.[xxxiv] Your herbs are complete.[xxxv]

Client: Thank you very much.[xxxvi] Bye-bye.[xxxvii]

1. Situational Features

The **field** of the text is that of Yoruba Traditional Medicine. The text content shows some participants engaging in a **positive task** of treatment of skin infection. The problem is attended to via the **means** of language and pragmatic action. Part of the pragmatic action is the observation of a sick child. The **socio-cultural beliefs** projected show the herbalist's knowledge of the symptoms, cause and treatment of a disease and the client's awareness and acknowledgement of the herbalist's expertise. The **place** of textual communication is the herbalist's shop which also serves as a consulting room and the relevant **time periods** are the present and future.

The **tenor** of the text gives information about a

herbalist, her attendant, a client and the client's child. Of these, the child is passive in the text while the remaining three participants play active speech roles in it. The affairs in the text are directed by the herbalist who dominates the communication. The relationship between the herbalist and client is a semi-formal one, moving from phatic to transactional communication. Communication between the participants is direct, and thus it is a prime-order level communication.

The medium of the text is spoken. The mode is conversational. It is a face-to-face interaction. The situation type of the text is a prime-order one, and the text type is associated with 'natural herbalism'. The duration of conversation is four minutes and this conversation is transcribed in 41 lines.

2. Aspects of Uses

Four aspects of language use are identified in the text as follows:

    (a)   Pre-diagnosis (Greetings) - ll. 1-4

    (b)   Diagnosis - ll. 4-11

    (c)   Medication (Prescription) - ll. 13-33

    (d)   Post-medication (Greetings) - l.34

3. <u>Functions</u>

The functions of the text are stated as follows:

(a) Phatic - ll. 1-4

(b) Informative - ll. 4-9

(c) Directive/Informative - ll. 10-33

(d) Phatic - l. 34

4. <u>Message</u>

The message[1] of the text can be presented in conversational form as follows:

Herbalist: What is wrong with your child?

Client: It's skin infection.

Herbalist: Your child should refrain from eating certain food items. You should also give him such and such drugs and bring him back for examination in fifteen days time.

The message is expressed at a prime-order level of communication.

5. <u>Text Structure</u>

a. Text motifs: these correspond to the aspects of uses of the text identified above:

(i) Greetings - ll. 1-4

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1. Note that the procedure for arriving at this message ought to be proved in contextual text analysis.

  (ii) Diagnosis – ll. 4-11

 (iii) Prescriptions – ll. 13-33

  (iv) Greetings – l.34

b. Conversational Structure

  (i) <u>Turn-taking</u>

There are eighteen turns observed in the text.
Of these, the herbalist takes eight turns, the
client (the mother of the child) takes seven
and the herbalist's attendant takes three
turns. Note that the turns of the herbalist
and her attendant, both of whom constitute the
medical personnel are longer than the client's.

  (ii) <u>Exchange Structure</u>

This structure is described below in terms of
the moves and acts of the text. The domains of
the moves and acts are shown by the lines of
the text. Also the labels 'H', 'C' and 'A'
refer respectively to the herbalist, client
and attendant.

Exchange	Speaker	Moves	Acts	Domain
PREFATORY (ll.1-4)	C	Fr (O,I)	greeting	l.1
	H	S (R)	accepting	l.2
	H	Fr (O, I)	greeting	l.2
	C	S (R)	accepting	l.3
	H	Fr (O, I)	exclamation/greeting	l.4
CONVERSATIONAL (ll.4-11)	H	O (I)	eliciting	l.4
	C	S (R)	replying	l.5
	H	Bo (I)	eliciting	l.6
	C	S (R)	replying	l.7
	C	Bo (I)	commenting	ll.7-8
	H	S (R)	informing	l.9
	H	O (I)	directing	ll.10-11
CONVERSATIONAL (ll.13-33)	H	O (I)	directing	l.13
	C	S (R)	checking	l.14
	H	Bo (I)	confirming	l.15
	A	Ro (I)[1]	re-asserting	l.16
	H	Bo (I)	directing	ll.17-18
	A	Ro (I)	re-asserting	ll.19-24
	C	Bo (I)	eliciting	l.25
	A	S (R)	replying	l.26
	H	O (I)	directing	ll.27-33
	H	Bo (I)	informing	l.33
PREFATORY	C	Fr (O, I)	greeting	l.34

1. The co-occurrence or recurrence of bound-opening, opening and re-opening moves by the same or different speakers in this analysis presupposes that there are non-verbal supporting or challenging moves (via silence and pragmatic reactions like nodding, standing up, etc.) by the listener in the speech situation which are missing in the recorded texts. It is also possible that the attendant has denied the client her right to respond verbally to the herbalist's initiation moves and is using her turn to reassert the herbalist's (her master's) directives.

6. Text Form

The formal analysis of the model text above is done in terms of the following systems/categories: cohesion, transitivity, polarity, tense, mood, modality, theme, sentence construction and lexico-structural features. The basic analytical unit is the main clause which realizes the sense contained in a sentence. This clause solely realizes the sense in a simple sentence, but it is supported by subordinate clauses in complex sentences. The minor clause is also recognized under sentence construction.

a. Cohesion and Theme

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Reference (exophoric)	herbalist: ẹ 'you' (11.1,7 and 34) client: ẹ/yín 'you' (11.2,9,10-11,13, 19, etc.) child: ẹ̀/rẹ̀ 'his' (11.16,30); un/ú/ó/á 'him' (11.6,19,27-29) objects: eléyìí/kinní yìí 'this one/ this thing' (11.28,29,32); ú/ẹ́/ó 'it' (11.27-29)

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Reference (linguistic)	ọmọ yìí 'this child' ⟶ [1] u 'him' (11.5,6) kí 'what' ⟶ kòkòrò 'infection' (11.6,7) ọmọ yín 'your child' ⇄ ó/ẹ́/ún/e 'he/him' (11.13-20) àgbo 'herb' ⟶ ú/ẹ́ 'it' (11.26-27, 28, 29)
Ellipsis	Ṣé kò sí ⌐ǹkan⌐ ọ? 'Hope there isn't ⌐anything⌐ wrong? (11.4,5) kòkòrò ni ⌐ó mú u⌐. 'It is an infection ⌐that he has contacted⌐' (11.6,7)
Substitution	omi 'water', ewédú 'a vegetable', ẹja tútù 'fresh fish', ẹran tútù 'fresh meat' ⟵ gbogbo kinní yẹn 'all those things' (11.13-19, 23)
Conjunction	sì 'also': cl. xiii⟷cl. xiv
Lexical Cohesion	
1. Lexical repetition	ọmọ 'child' (4 times): 11.5,10,13 and 18; kòkòrò 'infection' (2 times): 11. 7 and 32; àgbo 'herbal medicine' (2 times): 11.10,27); omi 'water' (4 times): 11.13-16

1. The symbol '⟶' looks forward, '⟵' looks backward
   '⇄' looks both forward and backward, and '⟷' mediates.

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
2. Lexical relationships	
a. hyponymy	òògùn 'medicine': àgbo 'herbal medicine', epo 'palm oil', cream (11.26-33); èfó 'vegetable': gbúre (11.24-25),
b. co-hyponyms	omi 'water', ewédú, eja tútù 'fresh fish' eran tútù 'fresh meat', ilá 'okro' (11.19-24)
c. antonymy	eja tútù 'fresh fish'/eja gbígbe 'dried fish'
3. Lexical collocation	àgbo 'herbal medicine': mu 'drink', wè 'bathe'; cream: pa ara 'rub the body'; epo 'palm oil': ra etí 'rub the ear' je 'eat': ewédú, ilá 'okro', eran 'meat', èfó 'vegetables', etc. mu 'drink': omi 'water', àgbo 'herbal medicine'.

Clauses	Theme	Rheme	Status
i	Ẹ́ You	káàárọ̀ mọ́mì. (greeting) morning madam	unmkd
ii	Ẹ́ You	káàárọ̀ o . (greeting) morning	unmkd
iii	Ẹ́ You	pẹ̀lẹ́ o . hello	unmkd
iv	Ilé Home	ńkọ́ o? how is it?	unmkd
v	A We	dúpẹ́ mà thank God madam	unmkd
vi	Ṣé ọ́ (Question)Hope	kò sí o? nothing is wrong?	unmkd
vii	ọ́ –	Kò sí o. nothing is wrong.	unmkd
viii	Ọmọ yìí This child	ni mo gbé wá o is whom I have brought	unmkd
ix	Kí What	ló mú u? is wrong with him?	unmkd
x	Kòkòrò Infection	ni. it is.	unmkd
xi	Ẹ́ You	ẹ̀ ri bó ṣe rí? not see how he is?	unmkd

Clauses	Theme	Rheme	Status
xii	Á	á ná ẹ ní pọ́nùn mẹ́wàá	unmkd
	It	will cost you ten pounds	
xiii	Ẹ	lọ mu'un tẹ́ẹ́ fi kàgbo---	unmkd
	You	go and bring containers to collect---	
xiv	Kí ẹ	sì lọ ra ìgò tọ́wọ́ bá wọnú ẹ---	unmkd
	Let you	also go and buy a bottle---	
xv	Ẹ	má jọ́mọ yín ó mumí mọ́ o.	unmkd
	You	don't allow your child to drink water again---	
xvi	Kó	mọ́ mumi mọ́?	unmkd
	Let him	not drink water again?	
xvii	Kó	mọ́ mumi.	unmkd
	Let him	not drink water.	
xviii	Ko	mọ́ jewédú.	unmkd
	Let him	not eat ewedu soup.	
xix	Omi ẹ̀	n pọ̀.	unmkd
	His water	is getting too much.	
xx	Eja tútù	kò gbọdọ̀ jẹ ẹ́.	mkd
	Fresh fish	(he) should not eat it.	
xxi	Ẹfọ́ atẹja gbigbẹ	lọmọ yín ó máa jẹ.	mkd
	Vegetables and dried fish	are what your child should be **eating**.	

Clauses	Theme	Rheme	Status
xxii	Ẹ You	má fún un lẹ́ran tútù jẹ. don't give him fresh meat to eat.	unmkd
xxiii	Ẹ You	gbẹ́ e wá fáyẹ̀wò níjọ́ mẹ́ẹ̀dógún--- bring him for examination in ---	unmkd
xxiv	O That	ti dáa --- is okay.	unmkd
xxv	Kí ẹ Let you	se àgbo tí mo fun yín yìí cook this herbal medicine---	unmkd
xxvi	Kó Let him	máa mu ú. be drinking it.	unmkd
xxvii	Kó Let him	máa wẹ̀ ẹ́. be drinking it.	unmkd
xxviii	Kẹ́ ẹ Let you	máa fi pa á lára --- be using it to rub his body---	unmkd
xxix	Kẹ́ ẹ Let you	lọ ọ́ grind it	unmkd
xxx	Kó Let it	kúná . be smooth.	unmkd
xxxi	Kéẹ Let you	gbá epo heat palm oil	unmkd
xxxii	Kẹ Let you	máa fi ra etí rẹ̀. be using it to rub his ear.	unmkd

Clauses	Theme	Rheme		Status
xxxiii	Kẹ́ ẹ	máa fi eléyìí náà pa á.		unmkd
	Let you	be rubbing this one too on it		
xxxiv	Kẹ́ ẹ	máa fi paá.		unmkd
	Let you	be rubbing it with it		
xxxv	Òogùn yín	ti pé.		unmkd
	Your medicines	are complete.		
xxxvi	Ẹ	ṣé o .		unmkd
	You	thanks .		
xxxvii	Ó	dàbọ̀ o .		unmkd
	It	is bye		

b. Some Major Systems

	Transitivity			Polarity	Tense	Mood/	Sentence
	Process	Participants	Circum-stance			Modality	Types
i	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.neut	Imp	Simple
ii	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.neut	Imp	Simple
iii	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.neut	Imp	Simple
iv	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.neut	Int.n-mod	Simple
v	Ment^{reac}	M:AG		Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
vi	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Neg	Nf.neut	Int.n-mod	Simple
vii	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Neg	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
viii	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.mod	Simple
ix	Mat^{ev}	M:AG	N-mid	Pos	Nf.neut	Int.n-mod	Simple
x	Mat^{ev}	M:AG	N-mid	Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
xi	Ment^{perc}	M:AG:R	Manner	Neg	Nf.neut	Int.n-mod	Simple
xii	Rel^{id}	M:AG:R		Pos	F.neut	Dec.mod	Simple
xiii	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
xiv	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid Place	Pos	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xv	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Neg	Nf.neut	Imp	Simple
xvi	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Neg	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xvii	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Neg	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xviii	Mat^{act}	M:AG	N-mid	Neg	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xix	Mat^{act}	M	Mid	Pos	Nf.dur	Dec.n-mod	Simple

| | Transitivity | | | Polarity | Tense | Mood/ | Sentence |
	Process	Participants	Circum-stance			Modality	Types
xx	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Neg	F.neut	Dec.mod	Simple
xxi	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Dec.mod	Simple
xxii	Mat^{act}	M:AG:Ben N-mid		Neg	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
xxiii	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid	Time	Pos	Nf.neut	Imp	Simple
xxiv	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.term	Dec.n-mod	Complex
xxv	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xxvi	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Imp	Simple
xxvii	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Imp	Simple
xxviii	Mat^{act}	M:AG:Ben N-mid	Time	Pos	F.neut	Imp	Simple
xxix	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.neut	Imp	–
xxx	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	F.neut	Imp	Cpd
xxxi	Mat^{act}	M:AG N-mid		Pos	F.neut	Imp	–
xxxii	Mat^{act}	M:AG:Ben N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Imp	Cpd
xxxiii	Mat^{act}	M:AG:Ben N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Imp	Complex
xxxiv	Mat^{act}	M:AG:Ben N-mid		Pos	F.dur	Imp	Complex
xxxv	Rel^{attr}	M:R		Pos	Nf.term	Dec.n-mod	Simple
xxxvi	Mat^{act}	M. Mid		Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple
xxxvii	Rel^{id}	M:R		Pos	Nf.neut	Dec.n-mod	Simple

SUMMARY OF FEATURES

Process	Mat		Ment		Rel		Verb		Beh	
37	24	64.9%	2	5.4%	11	29.7%	-	0%	-	0%

Participants	M:AG(+)		M.(+)				N-mid		Mid	
37 24	25	67.6%	12	32.4%			22	91.7%	2	8.3%

Circumstance	Manner		Place		Time	
4	1	25%	1	25%	2	50%

Polarity	Positive		Negative	
37	28	75.7%	9	24.3%

Tense	Nf.neut		Nf.dur		Nf.term		F.neut		F.dur	
37	17	46%	1	2.7%	2	5.4%	11	29.7%	6	16.2%

Mood	Declarative		Interrogative		Imperative	
37	14	37.8%	4	10.8%	19	51.4%

Modality	N-modal		Modal	
18	11	61.1%	7	38.9%

Theme	Unmarked		Marked	
37	32	86.5%	5	13.5%

Sentence Type	Minor		Simple		Compd		Complex	
40	5	12.5%	30	75%	2	5%	3	7.5%

c. Lexico-structural features

(1) Structural repetition

(i) Kó mọ́ <u>mumi</u>. Kó mọ́ <u>jewédú</u> (1.15)
     Let him not drink water. Let him not eat ewedu
     soup.

(ii) Kó máa <u>mu ú</u>, kó máa <u>wẹ̀ ẹ́</u> (11.27-28)
      Let him be drinking, let him be bathing with it.

(The two examples above have matched lexical items in them,

underlined.)

(2) Peculiar lexical items

Kòkòrò 'infection'(1.7), àyẹ̀wò 'examination' (1.22),

òògùn 'medicine' (11.21,33), àgbo 'herbal

medicine' (11.10,27).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0   THE CONTENT FEATURES OF YTM TEXTS

> "What distinguishes the scholar from the amateur
> collector is his ability to open up the text, to
> analyse it in such a way as to bring out its
> literary and stylistic merits---"

>   -Ayo Bamgbose (1982a) "Constituents
>   of Yoruba Studies", p.7

4.1 The Situational Features

Following the parameters of field, tenor and mode stated
earlier in this work for describing the situational features
of texts (see 3.1.1), the discussion below identifies some of
the features of situation in YTM texts under three major
subheadings plus a summary, thus: the field of YTM texts,
the tenor of YTM texts, the mode of YTM texts and a summary
of situational features. The discussion also incorporates
relevant information from the available literature on the
subject.

4.1.1   The Field of YTM texts

The field of YTM can be described around the knowledge and
beliefs of the Yoruba people about the institution. Since it
is perhaps safer to employ the term 'belief' than 'knowledge'
in describing people's thoughts and experience about a field
or institution, we shall adopt this term here when we
consider three major beliefs of the Yoruba in YTM, viz. the
belief in the supernatural, the belief in magic and medicine
and the belief in the role of language in medicine.

4.1.1.1   The belief in the supernatural

The supernatural element in the Yoruba social belief is
very strong. In his article on "the supernatural in the
Yoruba folktale" Olayemi (1975:958ff) claims that the Yoruba
culture cannot be said to be an undifferentiated natural-cum-
supernatural world. The people make a clear distinction
between the two worlds, although there is constant inter-
penetration between them in the Yoruba day-to-day experience.
The mysteries of life which defy natural explanations, lack of
adequate knowledge of natural phenomena and the fear of the
unknown, among other factors, are responsible for this belief
of theirs in the world of the supernatural. From the depth

of their experience, the Yoruba believe in the intervention of
gods, demi-gods and spirits in the lives of human beings
(Olayemi, 1975:960), and also admit the fact about the
creation and control of the universe by God. The existence
of supernatural powers in the Yoruba world view, as it pertains
to the YTM field, may be identified in three groups which
are mentioned below.

First is Ọlọrun, God, the supreme Deity who exists in
the psyche of human beings and is regarded as the final arbiter
in their affairs. The Yoruba believe in the existence of a
supreme Deity, but this is not in the context of unqualified
monotheism (cf. Idowu, 1962 and Oladeji, 1980). There are
lesser gods with varying   powers and influence over the
activities of human beings but subordinate to the supreme
Deity. These gods represent the second group of supernatural
powers in YTM and they serve as intermediaries between God
and the people because they are considered closer to him by
virtue of their supernatural quality.

The gods most directly connected with YTM are Ifa,
Ọsanyin and Eṣu, where the former two, especially the first,
are constantly invoked as divinities of medicine and the
latter invoked by herbalists during the appeasement of the
evil spirits believed to be responsible for human problems,

who are messengers of Eṣu (see below). Ifa is noted among the
Yoruba as the most popular, though not the most senior, among
the divinities. He is the oracle of divinity revered for
his wisdom and foresight, thus nicknamed A-kéré-finú-ṣọgbọ́n.
(He who is young but full of wisdom). Because he was
believed to be present with God at the time of creation and
at the sharing of destinies he is popularly referred to as
Ẹlẹ́rìí Ìpín (see Text 7, ll. 61-62). And he is also called
A-sọ̀rọ̀-dayọ̀ because he will always offer positive solutions to
even the most complex problems. Ifa's younger brother is
Ọsanyin who is also revered for his herbal experience and
knowledge of medicine.

The third group of supernatural powers are 'spirits'
who share two major different characteristics. There are
the Òkú Ọ̀run (Ancestral spirits) who are essentially benevolent
to their progenies, but they need to be appeased from time to
time to prevent their possible anger when thirsty. There
are also the evil spirits who are belligerent enemies of
man and messengers of Eṣu, the Yoruba trickster god
(Abimbola, 1976:152). Prominent among the evil spirits
are Ikú (Death), responsible for taking man's life; Àrùn
(Disease), responsible for afflicting man with illness;
Òfò (Loss), who destroys or carries away man's property; the

Àjẹ́ (Witches), whom Idowu (1973:276) describes as "unmitigated evil in its essence, malignant, obstructing, spoiling and out-and-out diabolical"; and the Abiku, the evil children who derive pleasure in their cyclic pattern of 'dying and being born again' for as many times as they may wish, subjecting their mothers to endless miseries and agonies of giving birth to a child repeatedly and watching the same die. The evil spirits are believed to be responsible for diseases which have preternatural or mystical causation. And when they do this, efforts are made to appease them via Esu or the benevolent gods and God.

4.1.1.2 The belief in magic and medicine

There is no doubt that for a long time the practice of YTM has been shrouded in mystery. But it will be too hasty and unfortunate to infer from this that the system is an unbridled magical one without any empirical procedure. The conception of YTM might become clearer if one understands that it is a system in which both the material and spiritual interrelate in the world of 'magic' and 'medicine'.

Magic and medicine are recognised as independent features in their own right, but they merge in YTM. Dopamu (1977:34-93)

describes magic as the recognition by man of supernatural powers in the universe as well as unseen powers inhabiting certain objects, and an attempt to utilize and control these for achieving one's ends. In fact, this recognition of magic underlies the very essence of faith healing in general, as Servadio (1965:234) observes:

> "...they (i.e. faith healers) assert that the organisms of certain individuals emit physical forces that are still little known, to which they give various names....They claim that these emanations can have therapeutic value..."

But in contrast to magic, Dopamu (1977) defines medicine as the art of using available resources of nature for therapeutic and prophylactic purposes. Medicine in the narrower sense may be used to treat minor ailments like cough, colds, yaws, minor aches, veneral diseases, etc. which have natural or physical causation; but when incantations or esoteric systems are adopted to heal or prevent diseases which have supernatural or mystical causation, then magic will have been manifested in medicine. Magical medicine can thus be described as a system which employs both empirical and non-empirical objects for the prevention and treatment of diseases.

Magic and medicine are inseparable within the wider context of oogun, medicine, which may be positive (curative and

preventive) or negative (bad medicine) and personal or communal;
and it is difficult to know where one ends and the other begins.
However, in general, scholars (cf. Idowu, 1973:199) seem to
reserve the use of medicine for the medicinal herbs or drugs[1] of
any kind whose properties are assessed empirically, while they
reserve magic for the symbolic and ritual aspects accompanying
the preparation or application of the herbs and drugs.

The observance of ritual magic is very relevant to YTM as
already observed by Idowu (1973:20), thus:

> "...And from the point of view of the patients,
> it is often difficult to know whether it is
> the actual medicine or the accompanying
> ceremonies, or both together, that effect a cure."

Magical rituals are observed in the system in form of beliefs,
objects and actions. A few prominent ones among these are
discussed in the next few paragraphs.

Olatunji (1984) has already noted the Yoruba belief in
sympathies, like other races which practise magic; and this
belief manifests itself in four major forms in YTM: homeopathic
magic, contagious magic, the magic of names and origins and the
magical power of words. In homeopathic magic, it is believed
that an object can transmit some aspects of its nature to other
bodies; for example,

---

1. For illustrations of some Yoruba leaves and their herbal
   functions, see Verger (1967) and Abraham (1958). See
   Dopamu (1977) for a list of some possible preparations of
   medicine, their purposes, ingredients and application.

> "...an iron rod... can make a child's limbs
> stronger because it is hard and the sweet
> potato or honey can by its nature of sweet-
> ness make life sweet and more abundant..."
> (Olatunji, 1984:141).

Contagious magic, in contrast to this, operates on the assumption that objects once related or contiguous can still retain their connection though they may be separated, and whatever happens to one part or object will affect the other part. Thus, a person's nail pairings, items of clothing, urine or menses may be used to harm or enchant him or her (cf. Olatunji, ibid.,).

The magic of names operates on the assumption that all things, animate or inanimate, and even divinities, have secret or primordial names the knowledge of which enables the enchanter to control them and the powers immanent in them. And the magic of origins rest on the belief that if one knows the origins and primeval experiences of the incantatory agents, one would be able to control these agents; for example, if one knows the origins of Ọna (the Way), one can walk anywhere by day or night without fear (Olatunji, 1984).

Lastly, the Yoruba people believe in the power of the spoken word. A lot has been said already by scholars on the power of words and their magical effects, but it will suffice here to quote the views of three eminent scholars on this aspect:

a.   ...If there is power in wishes, threats, commands
     unuttered, how much greater must be the power of
     words which affirm or describe what the magician
     wants to come to pass... (Webster, 1948:92)

b.   Words can be vulnerable as well as powerful...
     This attitude towards words... in Africa and,
     I believe, elsewhere, applies not only to
     substantives but to verbal thought in general.
     Thus, such thoughts, especially when wishful,
     are often regarded as having effectiveness of
     a similar order to that of any physical activity...
     (Carothers, 1959:309)

c.   It is indubitable that words are impregnated
     with power. Throughout the ages, speech has
     been the convenient vehicle for the expression
     of thought. That thought, of necessity,
     precedes a speech which is the product of thought
     cannot be denied. Words then become the key
     that unlocks everything, and we can say in this
     event that verbal statements or expressions
     anticipate objective events - a promise
     anticipates action; threats anticipate punishment;
     requests, especially put in the right form and
     with seriousness, anticipate genuine needs.
     (Dopamu, 1977:551)

The participants' beliefs in YTM encourage the performance

of certain ritual actions in the field during the treatment

of diseases. In discussing ritual events here, the definition

of Fitzgerald (1975:206-207) is assumed as it reads:

     ...a human undertaking involving a complex of
     words and actions aimed at communication with
     spiritual entities or motivation of cosmic
     principles whose purpose is transformative
     and whose manner of performance is culturally
     prescribed.

Some ritual events in YTM practice include the performance of sacrifices, ritual communication, the carrying out of certain prescribed gestures or actions in certain postures, scarifications, chanting, observing some ritual dancing or ceremonies, etc. The idea of sacrifice, especially, permeates the field in the treatment of preternaturally caused diseases. Sacrifices provide the favourite meals for the gods; for example, amala, pounded yam and palm oil represent the favourite meals of Esu; palm-wine is the favourite drink of Ogun; other items like cocks, goats, beans, kolanuts, alligator pepper, bitter kola and cloth are also favoured by various other gods, some of whom may prefer particular colours of items. The importance of sacrifice is shown in Irosun and Ose verses of Ifa by the quotation below (cf. Abimbola, 1977a:XX1):

> "Rírú ẹbọ níí gbe ni
> Àìrú kìí gbeeyàn"
>
> (It pays one to offer sacrifices
> Failure to do so doesn't pay)

Also, a warning against partial fulfilment of sacrificial obligations also ensures total commitment on the part of the client:

> "Apáború kìí kú
> Ṣùgbọ́n ọjọjọ wọn ìí san bọ̀rọ̀"[1]
>
> (One who offers partial sacrifice does not die
> But his illness will not go in time.)

---

1. Mr. Ayo Opefiyitimi in the Department of African Languages and Literatures in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife made me aware of this dictum sometime in 1988.

Ritual communication is another major event characteristic

of ritual magical processes in YTM. This event, as already

implied, is a communicative one, a speech event, which

Akinnaso (1985:333) observes refers to

> ...the set of communicative symbols used in
> conventional specified contexts in which
> patterns of interaction and communicative
> choices are restricted or elaborated along
> certain defineable directions and set
> apart from those of ordinary conversation.

Sociolinguists generally portray ritual events essentially as

speech events (cf. Gumperz and Hymes, 1964; Bauman and Sherzer,

1974; Fitzgerald, 1975; Irvine, 1979; Wagner, 1984 and

Akinnaso, 1985); hence it would seem as if no discussion of

ritual events can be complete without a thorough consideration

of ritual speeches characterizing them. Below we shall briefly

observe the status of language in YTM and discuss its other

features later in the study.

4.1.1.3 The status of language in YTM

As already stated above, language represents one major

feature of ritual magic and it plays a major role in the

relations between the material and spiritual world in YTM.

It plays distinctive roles as a means of consultation,

divination and medication in YTM. Apart from serving

these roles, it also provides the means of coding all available sources of knowledge and practice in the institution.

Language is a major characteristic of YTM practice. But it does not occur independently in the treatment of diseases, which makes it difficult to assert its efficacious use in the system independently of other objects. Because language usually occurs in accompaniment of other pragmatic objects and actions in YTM, it is important that these other features should be mentioned while considering its particular role in the practice. Fortunately, many of these features are reflected through the medium of language itself and they further reveal the uniqueness of this pragmatico-linguistic endowment of human beings. Language is readily an object in the mainstream of YTM whose study can yield a lot of facts about itself, the whole traditional medical system and the culture of the Yoruba people. The description of language is the main concern of this study, but before we go fully into its study, let us look at the remaining aspects of the situation of its use, i.e. identify the features of tenor and mode of YTM texts.

4.1.2 The tenor of YTM texts

The human participants in YTM are the practitioners in the field and their clients. The practitioners generally belong to two broad groups: the adáhunṣe or oníṣègún (herbalist) which refers generally to all traditional doctors and which may also refer exclusively to those practitioners who specialize only in the art of diagnosing and recommending medication based on the symptoms of diseases; and the babaláwo (the priest or diviner) who may combine the role of herbalist with those of divination and priesthood.[1] Divination priests in YTM are specially noted for their ability to treat cases that are believed to have preternatural causation. Henceforth in this study, the term 'herbalist' will be used in two senses: first, as a cover term for members of the two groups above and second, as a term for members of the first group only. In this respect, the term 'priest' or 'diviner' will be used for members of the latter group.

Herbalists deal in various kinds of medicines ranging from the diagnosis and treatment of various kinds of physical, mental and psychological illnesses to evocation of good fortune, rain

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1. Olatunji (1984:199) mentions the few systems of divination which a Yoruba can choose from. He also observes the reputation of Ifa as the most important and reliable of these systems. The illustration of divinatory texts in this work derives from Ifa divination, which also have close similarities with the Èndínlógún divination described by Akinnaso (1982 and 1983).

and the making of poisons and their solutions[1] (cf. Verger, 1967:
4-5 and Maclean, 1971:98-99). But areas of speciality pertaining
to positive, personal (rather than communal) preventive or
curative medicine can be identified within the different
domains of herbalists. There are, for instance, the aremọ
(obstetricians and gynaecologists); the agbọmọlà (paediatricians);
the Ìyá àbíyè (traditional midwives); dọkítà eléégun (orthopaedic
doctors); the awowèrè (psychiatrists), etc; those who dispense
medicines for all kinds of ill-health are called onígbogbonṣe
(general herbalists). Whatever is the area of practice,
herbalists, quite expectedly because of their rigorous training
and practical experience,[2] usually exhibit the mastery of
phenomena pertaining to medicine. Their practice may be based on
rudimentary scientific procedure of classification of herbs as
well as preparation and dispensation of medicine, but through

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1. Note that the samples of texts collected for this study are,
   however, only representative of medicine in positive
   curative or preventive and personal terms, as opposed to
   such other considerations as òògùn ìkà (bad or evil medicine)
   and communal medicines like rainmaking, medicine for
   plentiful harvest, etc.

2. According to Dopamu (1977:634-640), the call to the
   profession of herbalism may be by any of four ways:
   (a) involuntary call in a dream by the spirit of Ọsanyìn;
   (b) abduction and training by Àjà (the spirit of the
   Whirlwind) or Àròní (the one-legged spirit that lives in
   the forest), both of whom are reputed to possess very strong
   medication powers; (c) inheritance, after training from child-
   hood; and (d) apprenticeship to a senior onìṣègùn. Although
   formal training ends with the aspirant establishing himself
   as onìṣègùn, learning the art of medication is an on-going
   process and does not end until one's death.

long term experience they will have developed so much confidence in
their own ability and the medicine. Their belief in the efficacy
of their medicine is never in doubt, and they are always quick
to show this to their clients as the two illustrations below
indicate.

55. Oníṣègùn: Abẹ́rẹ́ ò ranbàa. Àgbo.laá kà fún
                 ẹ, àti àgúnmu (Text 2, 11. 13-14)

    Herbalist: Injection does not cure fever. It
                 is herbs we shall prescribe for you,
                 and herbal powder.

56. Oníṣègùn: ...Bí o bá ti lo kinní yìí, kó tó
                 tọ́la, ara rẹ̀ ó ti yá. Bí ò bá ti jẹ́,
                 o fíka lọ mi nímú o ní baba mi kọ́ ló
                 bí mi. (Text 3, 11.31-34)

    Herbalist: ...If you use this thing, before
                 tomorrow she'll have got well. If
                 it doesn't work, abuse me and call me
                 a bastard.

Similar illustrations in this respect can also be seen in Text 5
(11. 24-25) and Text 7 (11. 103-106).

    The herbalist, in discharging his duty, always believes
he has an obligation to fulfil in respect of his client and
this he does often in a cordial and warm atmosphere. Even if
he sometimes detaches himself from the client communication-
wise in the course of doing this, the attitude remains unchanged.
But he is always quick to assert his authority and control

of the situation when occasion demands it. He does this in four
major ways: by dominating the conversation (see 4.5.1), by
issuing warnings and directives, counselling and educating
his clients (Text 2, ll. 25-26 and Text 7, ll. 141-148), and
by forcefully asserting his authority when this position is
threatened (Text 6, ll. 145-154).

Already, before a client goes to a herbalist for the
treatment of an ailment, he should share the belief in the
institution of traditional healing and must also confide in the
healer in order to achieve positive results. In this regard,
YTM is like a religion in which the factor of faith plays a
very important role in its efficacious application (cf. Idowu,
1973:189). Thus, whatever his social status or age, a client
must submit himself in deference to the authority of the
herbalist who is endowed with the powers to make him well:
a mark of respect in this regard can be seen in clients' usage
of honorifics such as baba (father) and ẹ (you - the 2nd
person plural pronoun) or individual herbalists, irrespective
of whether they are older than such herbalists or not (see,
for example, the male participants in Texts 6 and 7), and also
in their usual attentiveness to seek advice and learn from
herbalists.

The setting of communication in YTM speech events presumes
a formal relationship between herbalists and clients because
of the 'positional' or 'transactional' (cf. Gumperz, 1966;
Akinnaso, 1985) rather than 'personal' status assumed by
them; but in reality, the relationship can be better described
as a semi-formal one in which participants engage in formal
interaction with an attitude of familiarity with one another.
Such communication is either 'dyadic', when participants are
two in number; or 'multi-party', when participants number up

to three or more, including a herbalist, his attendant, a patient,
a client, friends and relations of client, etc. The 'client'
here refers to the person who consults the herbalist and partici-
pates actively in the YTM interaction between them, while the
patient refers to the sick person for whom a YTM interaction is
intended but who may not be present or may not participate in the
interaction. Whatever the number of participants in a YTM
interaction, other participants support the main participants
with recognized YTM status roles, viz. 'herbalist' and 'client';
and the focus of interaction between all of them is, naturally,
how to solve a health problem.

The last statement to make about tenor pertains to the
marked physical setting[1] of the YTM events. In this respect, the
interaction often takes place in special places: while individual
cases are often handled in the herbalist's home or shrine,
communal cases often take place at the king's palace or in the
shrine of some god. During the meeting, the pattern of
communication is almost always the same; for example, a typical
herbalist-client interaction will most probably follow these
steps:

(i)   the client makes summons or greets the herbalist;

(ii)   the herbalist replies greetings and later asks for
       the reason of the client's visit;

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1.   Akinnaso (1985:335) has earlier recognized this as an aspect
     of formality in his description of Yoruba divinatory speech.

(iii)   the client gives the reason, if he is able to
        do so;

(iv)   interaction continues on diagnosis (with or without
        divination) and treatment of the disease; and

(v)   participants finally exchange pleasantries and
        good wishes.

4.1.3   The mode of YTM texts

It is not surprising that communication in YTM is mainly
in the spoken medium. So also, it is never in doubt that the
efficacy of the system itself greatly relies on speech. In
spite of the growing civilization and modernization of the
Yoruba society, it is still pertinent to say that the people
still live greatly in a world of sounds. An explanation for
this is readily provided by Carothers' (1959:310) observation
that:

> Sounds are in a sense dynamic things, or at
> least indicators of dynamic things...
> Whatever form they take – thunder, the burble
> of running water, the snapping of twigs, the
> cries of animals, the beating of drums, the
> voice or music of man – they are usually of
> direct significance...

Thus there is greater reliance on speech than writing in pre-
literate societies of the world generally. And in respect

of YTM practice, the spoken word is believed to be enshrined with some hidden symbolic and inexplicable implications or importations the utterance of which can in itself produce the desired effect without the use of magical or medicinal preparations, objects or apparatus (cf. Dopamu, 1977:551).

While spoken sounds can be said to solely characterise the medium of all YTM communication, the type of communication cannot be so restricted to one particular feature. Normally, all YTM texts have features of conversation at their primary or most general level of communication. But a closer study of the texts will reveal that one of them may further incorporate features of monologues into the conversations. Two groups (or types) of texts are thus observed in YTM communication in terms of their different modes; but both groups are defined primarily by their mode as 'intertexts' (see 3.2). Following this definition, one can then recognise the first type of texts as intertexts from 'natural herbalism' indicating conversations between herbalists and their clients at at a prime-order level of communication only (see Texts 1-3), and the second type as intertexts from 'natural-cum-supernatural herbalism' indicating both conversations and non-conversations (monologues) at both prime-order and second-order levels of communication. (see Texts 4-7).

A corollary of the modes of communication identified with
YTM texts above is that the prime- and second-order levels
of communication in the second group reveal two different
situational types. While the prime-order level reveals a
simple situation of interaction between herbalists and their
clients, the prime- and second-order levels usually reveal
within the complex situation both real and fictionalized
situations in which herbalists interact with clients and also
communicate via monologues with some supernatural forces.
For example, in reciting or chanting a divinatory text at the
secondary level of an intertext (see Text 5, 11. 11-16; 11.26-29
and 11.35-43), the priest usually gives a narrative in which
fictionalized characters participate. Although the
communication is meant for the real audience, because the
mythological event which it narrates predicts the source(s) and
nature of their present predicament, it is ironically detached
from this audience in such a way that the clients cannot
contribute to it, just as the reciter himself does not express
his personal views in it but those of the spirits or gods
(cf. Akinnaso, 1985: 336-338). This mode applies in a similar
manner to incantatory recitations in which the priest addresses
certain agents on behalf of clients who are themselves
excluded from the communication.

To round up this discussion on the mode of YTM texts, maybe
one should state one further observation made in respect of the
length of the texts. There is the usual tendency for YTM
texts to be very long, especially if the texts operate at two
levels of communication: a five minute herbalist-client
interaction can run into several lines when transcribed. For
example, the shortest conversation in our collection which takes
place under five minutes runs into 26 lines when transcribed
(see Text 2) while some conversations of about fifteen to twenty
minutes duration run close to 200 lines (see Texts 6 and 7).
Longer texts than these can, of course, be found in our
collection but these have not been included in this work for
lack of space. One repercussion of the length of YTM texts
on this study is that the analyst may experience some difficulty
in illustrating some features which cover many lines,
particularly the situational features of texts.

4.1.4 Analysis of samples of texts

Below, a brief summary is made of the analysis of four
texts (Texts I, 3, 5 and 7) to provide illustrations of some
of the observations made in the three sub-sections above. A
summary of analysis of this kind can more clearly be shown in
a table, as presented below.

Table 2: Analysis of Situational Features in Some YIM Texts

SITUATIONAL FEATURES	TEXT 1	TEXT 3	TEXT 5	TEXT 7
A. FIELD				
1. Problem Attended	Haemorrhoids for a child	Body aches and pains for wife	Childlessness of a woman	Restlessness of a child
2. Means	a. <u>Language</u> Conversation b. <u>Pragmatics</u> (i) Observation of child (ii) Demonstration while giving instructions	a. <u>Language</u> Conversation b. <u>Pragmatics</u> Demonstration while giving instructions	a. <u>Language</u> Conversation and divination b. <u>Pragmatics</u> Divination	a. <u>Language</u> Conversation, divination and incantation b. <u>Pragmatics</u> (i) Divination (ii) Demonstration while giving instructions
3. Instruments	Herbs for drinking and bathing; ointment and herbal powder for application	Ointment to be applied; magical posture to be assumed	Warning; ritual sacrifices to be performed	Herbs and drugs for drinking and licking; incantations
4. Beliefs	Shows the authority of the herbalist in YIM (11.75-78)	Asserts confidence in the YIM system and in the herbalist's ability (11.30-34)	(i) Asserts confidence in Ifa and recognises his authority (11.22-32) (ii) Asserts belief in Abíkú and Emèrè (11.63-67) (iii) Indicates belief in ritual sacrifices (iv) Reveals the societal concern for blessings of children (11.43-52)	(i) Asserts the power and authority of Ifá (11.39-41 and 1.76) (ii) Asserts belief in some supernatural powers: mentions Ifá, Ilṣ̀ (Earth) and Ẹní (Mat), both symbolizing Death; Witches and Agbonìrègún (the name of Ifa's father) (iii) Asserts belief in the practice of bad magic (iv) Indicates belief in the existence of Ẹlẹ́dàá (personal god or destiny)
5. Place of meeting	In the herbalist's shop	In front of the herbalist's hut	In the priest's sitting (consulting) room	In front of the priest's house

SITUATIONAL FEATURES	TEXT 1	TEXT 3	TEXT 5	TEXT 7
B. TENOR				
1. Number of participants and their status	Five: Herbalist, attendant, client, client's friend and client's child who is ill.	Two: Herbalist and client. Sick wife or client absent	Two: Priest and client (husband and wife) and wife's friend. Sick son absent.	Four: Priest, 2 clients (husband and wife) and wife's friend. Sick son absent.
2. Roles of participants	Herbalist directs and dominates communication (see 11.21-26 and 11.31-42)	Herbalist directs and dominates communication (see 11.29-34)	Priest directs and dominates communication (see 11.8-18; 24-29; 33-49; etc)	Priest directs and dominates communication (see, especially 11.58-101)
3. Type of relationship between participants	Semi-formal	Semi-formal	Semi-formal	Semi-formal
4. Levels of communication between participants	Prime-order level	Prime-order level	Prime-and second-order levels	Prime-and second-order level
C. MODE				
1. Medium of text	Spoken medium	Spoken medium	Spoken medium	Spoken medium
2. Type of text	Conversation: face-to-face interaction associated with natural herbalism	Conversation: face-to-face interaction associated with natural herbalism	(i) Conversation: face-to-face interaction (ii) Internal mono-logues present as narratives (iii) Text associated with natural-cum-super-natural herbalism.	(i) Conversation: face-to-face interaction (ii) Internal monologues present as narratives and assertions (iii) Text associated with natural-cum-supernatural herbalism
3. Type(s) of situation	Simple situation	Simple situation	Complex situation	Complex situation
4. Duration/Length of text	10 minutes (60 lines)	5 minutes (55 lines)	12 minutes (120 lines)	16 minutes (167 lines)

4.2 Aspects of Language Use in YTM

Although no systematic investigation has been made on the
uses of language in YTM practice, different types of language
usage have been identified by scholars in the field, mainly in
anthropological and sociological studies. In his very
informative study on the sociology of the Yoruba, Fadipe
(1970:296) observes the use of the àfọṣẹ 'spell' among the
Yoruba to accompany medicinal preparations, "where the essence
of objects used stands out clearly in the mind of the man who
prepares the oògùn". In the study, he also identifies èpè
'the curse' which he observes is very close to science in that
a very considerable element of experiment, specialization
and verification of hypothesis is involved (Fadipe, 1970:300).
In a later study on this aspect, Sanda (1978:82) also lists
three types of language, viz. ọfọ̀ 'incantation', àfọṣẹ and èpè as
instruments of the magico-religious method of treatment in
YTM. Maclean (1971:18), especially, underscores the use of
conversation in the field, which many other scholars seem
to have taken for granted in their studies. In the last
one decade these and other types of language usage (e.g.
divination) have been emphasized by scholars without giving
any new insights into the uses of language in YTM practice.

It would thus be necessary to follow a new direction of analysis that will enhance a proper understanding and meaningful discussion of YTM texts.

In line with the principles stated earlier in this study (see 3.1.2), it is possible to recognize the types mentioned above with a more suitable content classification of uses represented in YTM texts. The term 'aspect' has already been suggested to cater for the analysis of content features of textual uses.

A broad classification of texts in YTM may be done in respect of certain major and minor pragmatic uses which language may serve in the five operational stages of events in the field, viz. pre-diagnosis, diagnosis, divination, medication and post-medication. Each of these stages corresponds to one pragmatic use; and the five stages above will correspond to the pre-diagnostic, diagnostic, divinatory, medicating and post-medicating uses respectively. The indication of these uses in YTM texts by aspects of the texts is the focus of the discussion below.

4.2.1 Aspects of language in YTM texts

The aspects of language in YTM can be seen in two categories:
the major and minor aspects. The minor aspects are the pre-
diagnostic and post-medicating aspects: these represent the use
of language for phatic communion (i.e. exchange of greetings
and pleasantries, expression of goodwill, exclamations, prayers
etc.) which normally mark the openings and closings of most
Yoruba communicative interaction, including communication in
YTM. In spite of the high frequency of occurrence of these
features and their significance in YTM texts, the two aspects
are still not considered major because they are not typical
of the texts. Also, they are not in the mainstream of
recognized activities peculiar to the YTM field. The pre-
diagnostic aspect only represents the preparatory stage of
YTM speech performance while the post-medication aspect
represents the closing stage.

The aspects that are central to YTM texts belong to the
mainstream of YTM speech performances and are therefore consi-
dered as major aspects of the texts. These aspects are
three, viz. diagnostic, divinatory and medicating, and are
briefly described below.

The diagnostic aspect refers to the linguistic means employed by a herbalist-client to discover the nature of the client's illness via its symptoms. In essence, the main linguistic requirement of a diagnostic exercise is the herbalist's ability to gather as much information as possible via conversation about the nature of the client's problem. He attempts to gather this information by asking some questions about the nature of such problems, and perhaps the time, the place, the severity and causes of the problems.[1] Compare the herbalist's utterances in the illustration below:

57a. Báwo ló ṣe ń ṣe ẹ́? (Text 2, ll. 3-4)
    How do you feel?

b. Ṣé' tọ̀ ẹ ò pọ́n? (Text 2, l.7)
    Is your urine any yellow?

Very often, clients attempt to provide answers to the herbalists' questions, as can be seen below:

58a. Ọkùnrin: Baba, ìyàwó mi nìì. Ara rẹ̀ ò
                dá. (Text 3, l.8)
    Man: Father, it's my wife. She's ill.

b. Ọkùnrin: Ara ríro ni. Kò síhun táá lò tán.
                (Text 3, l.10)

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1. Note that the linguistic activity stated here may be accompanied by the herbalist's pragmatic examination of the sick person.

Man: She's having pains all over her body.
          No medicines we haven't used.

Sometimes, however, clients may not be able to provide answers

to the questions when they are in a confused state or when they

do not know the exact nature of their illness; on such occasions,

the herbalists will attempt to find out the problems via

pragmatic means.   Compare the extract below:

59. Babalawo: Kí ló dé? Kí ló dé?
     Okunrin: Ẹ gbà mí ooo! Ẹ gbà mí ooo!...
     (Babalawo gba ọmọ lọ́wọ́ọ baba ẹ. Ó yẹ́ẹ́ wò.)
                                  - Text 4, 11.2-6

     Priest: What's wrong? What's wrong?
     Man: Help me! Help me!---
     (Priest receives child from his father and observes him.)

From the illustrations made above, one can see that questions

asked by a herbalist and the responses given by a client play

significant roles in the diagnosis of an illness. Of course,

there are other features noticed in the communication here

which are identified later in this study (see 4.5.2.2).

The divinatory aspect of YTM texts refers to the language

accompaniment of the process of divination in YTM. This

process itself refers to the special (divine) means of finding

out the sources, causes, and almost always the remedy for

illnesses that are believed to have preternatural causation.[1] The
aspect of divination in a YTM text is constituted by three parts:
(i) the recitation or chanting of names or praises of some gods
that should be invoked for the success of the divination exercise,
(ii) the rendition of a mythological narrative which predicts
the present case from the repository of the divination system,
and (iii) the interpretation of the content of the narrative by
the priest. While the first two parts stated above can be
associated with divination as a diagnostic device (i.e. diagnostic
divination), the third part, which is always done with client's
participation, can be identified with the prescription based on
divination (i.e. a divinatory prescription). In this part, the
interpretation of the content of the divinatory narrative merges
with the recommendation of solutions to the problem. An
illustration of these parts is provided by Text 7 according to
the sketch below:

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1. Extensive information about the practice of divination
   in Yorubaland already abound in previous studies which
   focus on the subject (cf. for example, Bascom, 1969
   and 1980; Abimbola, 1976, 1977a and 1977b; Akinnaso,
   1982 and 1983; and Olatunji, 1984). The information
   presented about the field of divination below is
   that which has immediate relevance to the present
   study.

    (i)   invocation of the gods - ll. 61-78; 79-91

    (ii)   recitation of a narrative[1] - ll. 92-100

   (iii) interpretation of the text - ll. 101-125

Note also that it is possible for priests to render the narrative part of the divination in bits, interspersed with interpretations of the different bits; so also, it is possible for them to render as many narrative precedents as may be related to a case. Both of these possibilities are illustrated by Text 5 (see ll. 11-16; 26-29 and 35-43).

Lastly, the medicating aspect refers to the linguistic accompaniment of the process of treatment or attempts at treatment of illnesses. This aspect is the most elaborate of the three aspects of YTM texts and it consists of three sub-aspects - prescriptions, incantations and supplications - of which two or all three can co-occur in a text. It is of course assumed that each of these sub-aspects is an aspect in its own right, like the diagnostic and divinatory aspects above. Nevertheless, for convenience, they are regarded as sub-aspects of the 'supra-aspect' of medication in this study.

The language of prescription is the most common sub-aspect of medication of the three sub-aspects mentioned above. Prescriptions in YTM may come as instructions which simply recommend the preparation and mode of application of certain drugs, herbs, ointment, etc. or the performance of certain magico-ritual actions; or they may occur as advice or warnings against doing certain things or using certain objects. The four extracts below illustrate the use of prescriptions in the three ways, which can co-occur in YTM texts.

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1. Note that the divinatory text here incorporates features of both the narrative and incantatory texts. Divinatory texts which include incantations or, rather, incantations which derive from divination sources are known as 'Àyájó' texts (see 5.3.1). In essence, these texts combine both divinatory and incantatory purposes whenever they are used.

60. Oníṣègùn: Ṣéẹ rí kinní yìí? Ẹ́ ẹ́ fi sínú ìkòkò.
              Ẹ́ ẹ́ wàá gé gbogbo kinní yìí lée lórí.
              Ẹ́ ẹ́ sè é. Omi tọ́mọ yín ó máa mu dáyá
              nìyẹn. (Text 1, ll. 21-24)

    Herbalist: You see this thing? You will put it
                in a pot. You will then cut all of
                this and put it on top. You will cook
                it. That is the water your child will
                just be drinking.

61. Babaláwo: Bóó bàá gbọ́, 'um tó le mú ara ọmọ
              un yá o.... Kó o wá délé nílsinyìí,
              kọ́ọ lọ rèé gbalù... kóo wá padà lọ
              sọ́jà níbi to ti purọ́ mọ́mọ un...
              (Text 6, ll.128-131)

    Priest: If you will hear, what can make that
             child get better.... When you get
             home now, go and get a drummer...
             and then go back to the market where
             you had lied against the child...

62a. Babaláwo: Kò fékèé o. Kò sì fẹ́ kó o purọ́
               mọ́un. Kò férọ́ pípa. O gbọ́. Kò férọ́.
               Kò fékèé. (Text 5, ll. 89-91)

    Priest: He doesn't like hypocrisy. And he
             doesn't want you to lie against him.
             Hear? He doesn't like lies. He
             doesn't like hypocrisy.

b. Oníṣègùn: Ẹ má jọ́mọ yín ó mumi mọ́ o---
Text A, 1.13

Herbalist: Don't let your child drink water again.

The examples above speak for themselves, but the extracts will no doubt be understood better in context.

No sharp distinction can be made between the sub-aspects of incantation and of supplication. Apart from having similar formal characteristics, the occurrence of one sometimes includes the other as part of it. The two sub-aspects are differentiated mainly by the socio-cultural criterion that an enchanter of incantation attempts to control the supernatural and natural powers while a supplicant submits himself to these powers in order to achieve their respective wishes. Further information about these sub-aspects is given below.

An incantation usually involves the uttering of words according to a formula and in a set order in order to achieve a set purpose (cf. Olatunji, 1984:140). In YTM, incantations are recited in different forms to achieve the purpose of medication. For example, they may occur as spells cast to suppress or counteract the evil forces responsible for an illness or as appeals made to invoke for one's need the powers inherent in some objects and supernatural or as a

combination of both of these forms. Also, they may occur as a
part or whole of the language of supplication to back up appeals
made to certain divinities. Incantations may be recited
independently of medicinal objects or they may be used to
enhance the potency of a medicine or medicines to be applied to
certain ailments. In the examples of incantatory speech
provided below, the first extract is produced independently of
any medicinal accompaniment in the text while the second is
accompanied by medicinal herbs and drugs.

63. Babaláwo: ...Báa fémo lójú, a ríràn-an.
    Ipá ńlá lorúkọ tí a ń payéé
    Arẹdòdò lorúkọ tí a ń pòkú.
    Báa bá pòkú, aláàyè níí dà...
        (Text 4, 11.8-11)

    Priest: ...When air is blown into a child's
    eye, he sees.
    Ipa nla is the name Life is called
    Arẹdodo is the name of the Dead
    When the Dead is called, he becomes alive...

64. Babaláwo: ...Àsàsí ọká níí pọká
    Àsàsí erè níí perè
    Àkótì ò gbọdọ pèètù
        (Text 7, 11.98-100)

Priest: ...It is the cobra's magic that kills
            the cobra
            It is the python's magic that kills the
            python
            No power of magic can subdue sacrifice...

The language of supplication is the language of prayers and
appeals to supernatural beings. Just as it occurs in almost
all spheres of Yoruba life, prayers may also be offered to God
in YTM to grant good health to a client or ask for blessings.
When such prayers are short in a text (see Text 3, ll.44, 46
and 52; and Text 5, l.20), they tend towards being mere phatic
expressions and do not attract attention to themselves. Even
an extended prayer expression will still be regarded as a
greeting if it is primarily oriented towards conversation and
phatic communion.

65. Oniṣègùn: Ọlọ́un á wòó. Ọlọ́un á dáa sí. Ikú
                ò ní gbà á. Àrùn ò ní gbà á.
                Gbọmọgbọmọ ò ní gbọmọ lọ́wọ́ọ yín.
                          (Text 1, ll.76-79)

Herbalist: God will look after him. God will
            preserve his life. Death will not
            claim him. Disease will not claim
            him. That which claims children
            will not claim children from you.

However, when prayers and appeals are directed at supernatural beings in monological transactions, they become a potent source of medication (see Texts 19 and 20). It is pertinent to note here that monological appeals may not occur in the mainstream of other aspects discussed above. Since this sub-aspect has to accompany the offering of sacrifices, for which certain preparations must be made beforehand, the setting on several occasions differ from the one in which the ailment is diagnosed. Appeals are made either by the herbalist on behalf of his client (see Text 20) or by the client himself who must have been told what to do and say, depending on the circumstances surrounding the rituals (see Text 19). Note that only the supplication in which priests have direct monological consultation with supernatural agents constitutes an aspect of medication, while the supplication in prayer greetings are peripheral to the YTM transaction.

4.2.2 The conditions for co-occurrences of aspects in YTM texts

The aspects above do not occur separately in YTM texts but co-occur in them according to certain social conditions. Two conditions are most especially relevant for recognition here. The first condition is set by the nature and severity

of illness to be diagnosed and treated and the second is set
by the communication method employed by the participants.
It has already been stated in this work (see 4.1.1.2)
that the nature and severity of an illness will most often
determine the method to be adopted in its diagnosis and
treatment. The 'natural' diagnostic method of conversational
interaction between a herbalist and his client is, for
instance, employed for a minor case of headache or cold or
cough; whereas this method is accompanied by a 'supernatural'
divinatory method which involves a priest having monological
consultations of supernatural powers if the headache or cough
or barrenness is persistent and has indications of preter-
natural causation. Again, the natural medication method of
prescription which involves direct conversation between a
herbalist and his client is employed towards the treatment of
a minor ailment; whereas it may not be employed in the treat-
ment of a complex case where such supernatural-oriented
medication methods of enchanting incantations and making
supplications are preferred.

Following the conditions stated above, some statements
in respect of co-occurrence of the major aspects of uses
of YTM texts can be made as follows:

a. The diagnostic aspect characterizes all YTM
   texts and it is always indicative of natural
   herbalism.

b. The divinatory aspect can occur only in texts
   that have a supernatural element in them,
   i.e. texts indicative of natural-cum-super-
   natural herbalism.

c. The prescriptive sub-aspect indicates natural
   herbalism and it can occur in either natural
   or natural-cum-supernatural texts.

d. Both the incantatory and supplicating aspects
   indicate supernatural herbalism and they can
   occur separately or together only in natural-
   cum-supernatural texts.

e. Only the combination of diagnostic and
   prescriptive aspects typifies texts of natural
   herbalism; all other combinations indicate
   natural-cum-supernatural herbalism.

f. The more complex a combination of aspects
   is, the more the suggestion of the degree
   of a complex problem being tackled.

The following combinations are among the numerous possibilities
observed in our collection of texts (see some illustrations
in 4.2.4 below):

    (i)   diagnostic + prescriptive

    (ii)   diagnostic + incantatory

  (iii) diagnostic + prescriptive + supplicating

   (iv) diagnostic + divinatory   + prescriptive

    (v)   diagnostic + incantatory   + prescriptive

   (vi) diagnostic + divinatory   + prescriptive + incantatory

  (vii) diagnostic + divinatory   + prescriptive + supplicating

 (viii) etc.

     Each of the aspects of YTM texts mentioned above has its
own definite position in any text in which it occurs.
Whenever two or all three major aspects occur in a text, the
usual order is that the diagnostic aspect will come first,
normally after the preliminary exchange of greetings or
summons - responses (see Text 1 ll. 4-10, Text 2 ll. 3-14,
Text 4 1.2, Text 6 ll.7 and 10, etc.). The medicating
aspect, in any one(s) of its sub-aspects, will come at
the later part of the text: where the divinatory aspect
is absent in a text, the aspect follows immediately after
the diagnostic aspect (see Text 1 ll. 11-74, Text 3 ll.16-43,

Text 4 ll. 7-29); but where the divinatory aspect is present,
the medicating aspect follows it (see Text 5 ll. 51-106,
Text 6 ll.122-144, and Text 7 ll. 149-163). The divinatory
aspect always occurs in the middle whenever it characterizes
a text. Its usual position is to begin after the initial
'question-answer' (brief or long) indicator of the diagnostic
aspect (see Text 5 ll. 11-49, Text 6 ll. 41-121 and Text 7
ll. 60-109) and to terminate at the point where medication
begins. Most of the time, the divinatory aspect merges
into the medicating aspect and it is difficult to demarcate
them. The merging of these aspects occurs when a medication
is based on the suggestion(s) in a divinatory text being
interpreted by a priest.

4.2.3 The relevance of aspects of YTM texts

That the three aspects of language above contribute to
the overall success of YTM performance cannot be in doubt.
At least, they play a major role in the system in respect
of the analysis and treatment of diseases. The language of
diagnosis plays a major psychological role in the identifi-
cation of a client's problem, which is always a major step
in the medical treatment. Psychologically, the Yoruba client

is well apt to consider his problem half-solved once it is effec-
tively diagnosed. An effective diagnosis in YTM often includes
the herbalist's desire to have a client in a proper psycholo-
gical state (see 4.1.2). An extract from a diagnostic text in
our collection (see Text 8) best illustrates how a herbalist
may consider it essential to assure a pregnant woman that she
is in a normal physical state,[1] thus:

66. Babalawo: Ó dáa, dìde o fò òkè léèmẹta kí
n wò ó. (Text 8, ll. 30-31)

Priest: All right, jump up three times
and let me see.

In another respect, a divinatory text can achieve both psycho-
analysis and psychotherapy on a patient via the soothing effect of
the aesthetic mode[2] and theme of its narration of a historical
myth. In this myth the main character encounters certain problems
which he later resolves or fails to resolve. And all the while,
the client puts herself in the protagonist's position, which is
similar to her own, identifying with his problems and in the

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1. This observation is on a par with the state of belief in modern
   orthodox medicine. Myles (1981:92), for example, considers
   the emotional welfare of a pregnant woman as an important part
   of her health and obstetric well-being.

2. The remark by Hayakawa (1974:103) that some people may care
   for what might be called the gentle inward message that the
   sound of words gives them, comes readily to mind here. There
   is no doubt that verbal entertainment can be of great help
   in the psychological treatment of a patient.

process seeking ways of solving her own problem.[1] The positive psychological predisposition of the client to the divination itself is enhanced by three factors which include: (a) the belief in the powers of the god of divination (see 4.1.1.1); (b) the belief in the ability of the divination priest himself who is revered for his knowledge of herbs and medicine, his show of mastery of natural and supernatural phenomena, his ability to converse directly with the gods (sometimes in esoteric language) and, most importantly, his ability to perform divinations successfully most of the time; (c) the special nature of the divinatory text itself which serves as a repository of knowledge and which can predict events correctly most of the time.

The essence of the medicating aspect is observed in two respects. In the first instance, the instructions and warnings are instrumental to the efficacy of the application of drugs since the end result of a proper medication will depend on how well the necessary instructions are followed and the warnings heeded. In the second instance, the effects of language of

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1. Note that this situation reflects one main assumption of psychotherapy in modern medicine which Shands, et. al. 1959. 290 state thus:

   A patient supported in a tolerable adaptive situation will institute attempts to solve his immediate problems and will tend to generalize the solutions to other problems; the therapist assists by pointing out the impediments in the patient's way.

incantations, in spells and supplications are both psychological
and magical. Apart from the psychological satisfaction which
the citation of precedents in Ifa incantations and allusions
can have on clients, the enchanting of essence and origins of
objects, actions and events can also have magical effects on
them (physically and psychologically) based on the tenacity of
certain beliefs, the force or modes of expressions, the strength
of the enchanter's wishes and the will power of the enchanter.
The bases of Yoruba people's belief magical citations have
already been recognized in this study (see 4.1.1.2).

4.2.4   Analysis of aspects in samples of YTM texts

A practical illustration of the aspects of YTM texts
identified in the discussion above and their patterns of
occurrence can be seen in the table below (see Table 3) which
summarizes the aspects of pragmatic uses of four of the sample
texts (Texts 1, 4, 6 and 7) on which this study is based.

205

Table 3: Analysis of Aspects of Uses of Some YTM Texts

	TEXT 1	TEXT 4	TEXT 6	TEXT 7
Number of Aspects	4	4	5	5
1. Pre-diagnostic	11.1-3	1.1	11.1-6	11.1-14
2. Diagnostic	11.4-13	11.2-6; 11.12-16	11.7-40	11.15-45
3. Divinatory	-	-	11.41-118	11.61-148
4. Medicating				
a. Prescription	-of drugs 11.21-76	-	-of ritual action 11.122-144	-of drugs and herbs 11.150-163
b. Incantation	-	11.7-24	-	11.96-100
c. Supplication	-	-	-	-
5. Post-medication	11.76-80	11.30-32	11.191-196	(not reflected)

4.3   The Functions of Texts in YTM

The description of aspects of YTM texts in the above sub-heading is certainly not the end of a content description of YTM texts. Further investigation into this area reveals certain communicative functions which underlie each of the five aspects above. These functions are identified in the discussion below, and a summary of the discussion is also presented.

4.3.1   The function(s) of a diagnostic text

Without mincing words, one can say that the main underlying function of a diagnostic text is the informative function. Each diagnostic text at the macro-level represents an exchange of information in terms of requesting for them or supplying them. Illustrations of information requested from or provided for participants in YTM diagnosis are already provided by Examples 52 and 53 above respectively. In the former example, i.e. 52a and b, a herbalist seeks information about the state of health of a patient and the symptom of his illness; and in the latter example, 53a and b, a client is observed stating his problem to a herbalist and also informing him about the nature of his wife's illness.

Both examples clearly illustrate the informative function which mainly characterizes diagnostic texts of YTM.

4.3.2 The functions of a divinatory text

Unlike the diagnostic text whose underlying function seems very straightfoward to recognise, the functions of a divinatory text of YTM are a bit complex. The divinatory text has functions that can be described as primary or secondary depending on the degree of their importance to the effectiveness of the text. Both the primary and secondary functions of a YTM divinatory text are discussed in the next four paragraphs.

The primary function of a divinatory text is the informative function. This function is projected in the text by the usual narration of one or more mythological events which predict the source(s) and nature of the present predicament of the client of a divination priest (see 4.2.1). The client is informed by the narration which represents the experience of a character which has a similar problem to the client's. The protagonist's experience serves to encourage the client that there is already a precedent to his problem and that all the client requires is

to perform actions similar to those of the obedient protagonist of the story. For example, the information expressed by the extracts of divinatory texts in Text 5 (ll. 11-16; 26-29 and 35-43) assures the client, who is a barren woman, that she would have a child and it also warns her not to illtreat the child after it is born.

In addition to the primary function above, a divinatory text may also perform three other secondary functions: the aesthetic, expressive and sometimes, directive functions. All these three functions, especially the first two, normally characterize divinatory texts and they are expected to occur wherever such texts are located. The aesthetic function represents the source of verbal entertainment by a YTM divinatory text, and it is able to achieve this value via some non-structural and structural devices such as fictionalization of characters and events (see 4.1.3), symbolism, and other features of the poetic structure like structural parallelism and repetition, tonal patterning, imagery and regularity of rhythm. A discussion of some of these features can be seen in 5.2.3 - 5.2.4.

The expressive function underlies the use of language in vocatives and invocations which often characterize the openings of divinatory texts. The representation of this

function may be very brief, as in a priest merely expressing
his attitude during the performance of divination (see
Text 5, l.11; Text 7, ll. 79-80 and 11.86-87), or extensive,
as in the priest invoking the names and qualities of
divinities and objects (see Text 7, ll. 61-77 and 88-91).
The extent of these representations are further determined
by other factors ranging from the circumstances of the
divination to the nature of the Odù that appears on the
divination board or chain and also the attitude of the
diviner.

Lastly, the directive function may be performed by
divinatory texts that do have an incantatory content in them
(see Text 7, ll. 61-100). The exponent of this function is
an utterance which expresses a wish (Text 7, l.100) based
on a series of forceful assertions (see Text 7, ll.94-99)
from which it derives its potency.

4.3.3 The functions of medicating texts

The functions of language in the three sub-aspects of
medication observed earlier in this study (see 4.2.1) are
recognized along two directions. In the prescriptive sub-
aspect, two functions - the informative and directive - are
productive and considered primary because they are emphasized

by the texts. Prescriptive sub-aspects of YTM texts always
require the clients of herbalists to carry out certain
directives that are given by the herbalists in order to
find remedy to a health problem. Such directives as are
given by herbalists should normally inform the clients
about what actions to perform or desist from performing and
what objects (herbs, powder, ointment, etc) to seek for,
prepare and drink or bathe with or rub on the body, etc.
(See Examples 60, 61 and 62).

In the incantatory and supplicatory sub-aspects, however,
about four functions – informative, directive, aesthetic
and expressive – are productive at the primary and secondary
levels. At the primary level of the texts are the directive
and informative functions which underlie the mild and subtle
requests in supplications (see Example 65; and also Texts
19 and 20) or the often forceful and aggressive expression
of wishes in incantations, which are backed by strong
assertions of known, observed or assumed truth and beliefs
about the origin and order of the universe and correlation of
objects, actions and events (see Examples 63 and 64; and
Texts 15-18). In both types of texts relevant agents are
summoned and directed or requested to help carry out the
enchanter's wish of finding solution to a problem. The

aesthetic and expressive functions characterizing YTM incantations at the secondary level can be likened to the characteristic of these two functions in divinatory texts. Like divinatory texts, aesthetic and expressive features are inherent properties of incantatory texts and they manifest themselves in the non-structural and structural devices of fictionalized narration, poetic structure and use of vocatives in the texts.

4.3.4 The functions of the minor aspects of YTM texts

Not all the functions that characterize aspects of YTM texts are productive features of the texts. For instance, one can further identify the phatic function which is very common in YTM texts but which does not project any major uses of the texts. As it were, features representing this function are peripheral to YTM texts and they can be found at the pre-diagnostic and post-medication aspects of the texts. Examples of features indicating the phatic function are given below, respectively, on the two minor aspects stated above.

67. Obìnrin: Ẹ ǹlẹ́ onílé o.
    Babaláwo: (Kò dáhùn. Ó ń.kifá)
    Obìnrin: Ẹ káàsán baba o.
    Babaláwo: Pẹ̀lẹ́ ọmọ̀.mi. Káàbọ̀ o...
               (Text 5, 11.1-4)

    Client: Salute to the owner of this house.
    Priest: (Not answering. Paying homage to Ifa)
    Client: Good afternoon, father.
    Priest: How're you my child? You're welcome.

68. Ọkùnrin: Ẹ ṣeun o.
    Oníṣègùn: Ǹlẹ́ o.
    Ọkùnrin: Aá mọ́ọ ri yín bá.o.
    Oníṣègùn: Wolè o. (Text 3, 11.50-53)

    Client: Thank you indeed.
    Herbalist: Mind your steps
    Client: May you continue to be useful to us.
    Herbalist: You're welcome.

While the phatic function prepares the ground for a cordial
atmosphere in a normal YTM speech performance, it is the
expressive function that is again utilized in summoning
herbalists at the pre-diagnostic stage of an emergency case
handled in YTM. The expressive function here represents
outbursts of emotions and attitudes of clients, or relations
of clients, who are in some kind of dilemma or harrowing state
of predicament and who will seek the prompt attention of

herbalists rather than afford the 'luxury' of exchanging preliminary pleasantries. The extract below provides a good illustration of the expressive function in a pre-diagnostic text.

69. Ọkùnrin kan: (Sáré wọlé pẹlù ọmọ lọ́wọ́)
                    Baba, ẹ gbà mí!

     Babaláwo: Kí ló dé? Kí ló dé?
                    (Text 4, ll.1-2)

     Client: (Runs in carrying child in his hands)
                    Father, help me!

     Priest: What's wrong? What's wrong?

4.3.5 The significant functions of YTM texts

In identifying the different functions in the aspects of YTM texts above, certain useful observations have been made which can be summarized in six points thus:

(a) that the primary function of a diagnostic text
     is the informative function;

(b) that the primary function of a divinatory text
     is also the informative function;

(c) that the primary functions of a medicating text
     are the directive and informative functions;

(d) that there are secondary functions performed by a
     divinatory text, in addition to the primary
     informative function, viz. the aesthetic,
     expressive and directive function (the directive
     function is included when there are incantations
     in the divinatory text);

(e) that the aesthetic, expressive and directive
     functions are normally present as secondary functions
     when there are incantations in a text; that the
     expressive function which occasionally opens a YTM
     text and the phatic function which most often opens
     and closes it are subsidiary to other functions
     mentioned above.

From the points above, it can thus be inferred that the informative
function is the most significant function in a YTM text. Also,
it can be inferred that the directive function will always be
in the text, since the medicating function will be there. Lastly,
it can be inferred that the presence or absence of secondary
functions in the text will depend on whether there are
divinatory or incantatory aspects in it. From the inference
above, a hypothesis can be formulated for the major co-
functions in a YTM text, in symbolic form, as:

P/E + I. D. (A) (E) + P

This formula can be re-read thus:

> For every YTM text, two major functions –
> informative and directive – are
> obligatory, while two – aesthetic and
> expressive – are optional. The obligatory
> functions are referred to as primary,
> while the optional ones are the secondary
> functions. The phatic function is always
> present as a subsidiary function in the
> text.

4.3.6 Analysis of functions in some YTM texts

A practical illustration of the functions of YTM texts
identified in the discussion above can be seen in the table
below (see Table 4) which represents a summary of analysis
of the functions in some sample texts (Texts 2, 4, 5 and 7)
in this study.

Table 4: Analysis of Functions in Some YTM Texts

Types of Function	Text 2	Text 4	Text 5	Text 7
	(a) Phatic (11.1-2)	(a) Expressive (1.1)	(a) Expressive (11.1-5)	(a) Phatic (11.4-13)
	(b) Informative (11.3-4)	(b) Informative (11.2-4; 12-16)	(b) Informative (11.5-8)	(b) Informative (11.15-59)
	(c) Directive/ Informative (11.16-26)	(c) Directive/ Informative/ Aesthetic/ Expressive (11.7-11; 17-29)	(c) Informative/ Aesthetic/ Expressive/ Directive (11.10-49)	(c) Informative/ Aesthetic/ Expressive/ Directive (11.61-148)
		(d) Phatic (11.30-32)	(d) Informative/ Directive (11.50-113)	(d) Directive/ Informative (11.149-166)
			(e) Phatic (11.114-120)	(e) Phatic (1.167)

4.4   The Message Content of YTM Texts

YTM texts in general represent participants' (clients' and herbalists') communication in the course of finding or attempting to find solutions to certain physical, mental and psychological problems. The message content of the texts can thus be represented briefly in this manner:

Client: I have a health problem which I want
               you to find out (or confirm) and
               help me to solve.

Herbalist: Such and such is what you are suffering
               from and it will be cured on the
               condition that you perform certain
               actions or say certain things or use
               certain medicines or appease some gods
               or react positively to a series of
               incantations or possibly do a combi-
               nation of some or all of these.

The details of the message in each individual communication situation will, however, have to be specified at the level of each individual text. For this reason, a brief discussion of the mode and content of messages of selected texts in our study (see Texts 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) is embarked upon in the sub-section below.

4.4.1   The mode and content of messages of
some YTM texts

<u>Text 2</u>

The message of Text 2 is made up of the content of messages
of the two aspects of diagnosis and medication (prescriptive)
in the text. The messages of both aspects are expressed at
the prime-order level of communication, and they are paraphrased
thus:

a.   Herbalist: How do you feel?

      Client: My daughter is ill, but she is already
                      receiving treatment in an hospital.

      Herbalist: Your daughter has fever and the
                      kind of treatment you are getting
                      for her is not enough. She needs to
                      use some herbs and herbal powder which
                      are going to be prescribed for her.

b.   Herbalist: The daughter should use such and
                      such herbs and drugs as prescribed
                      if she wants to get cured.

A summary of the content of the messages 'a' and 'b' above
will thus read as follows, from the point of view of the
herbalist:[1]

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1. The message of the text is stated from the point of view
   of the herbalist since he directs and controls the
   communication between participants here.

Herbalist: Your daughter has got yellow fever,
but this can be cured if she uses
the herbs and herbal powder prescri-
bed for her as directed.

Text 3

The message of Text 3 also derives from those of the two
aspects contained in it, viz. diagnostic and medicating
(prescriptive) aspects. As in Text 1, the messages of the
aspects are projected at the prime-order level of communication;
and they are paraphrased thus:

a. Herbalist: Hope nothing is wrong?

   Client: My wife is having aches all over
   her body and we have used various
   kinds of medicines to no avail.

b. Herbalist: I already know about it. You'll
   use this such and such ointment
   to rub her all over the body.
   And in doing this, you should
   assume a particular posture.

The message of the text can thus be summarized from 'a' and
'b' above, thus:

Herbalist: I already know about your wife's
sickness. She will certainly get
well if you rub this ointment on
her body, assuming a particular
posture while doing so.

Text 4

The message of Text 4 derives from the reduction of messages
of the diagnostic and medicating (incantatory) aspects of the
text. The diagnostic text expresses its message at the prime-
order level of communication with the import as follows:

a. Client: Help me father. I don't know what
is wrong with this child.

Priest: What is wrong?

Client: Help me!

The message of the medicating text is, however, expressed at the
second-order level with the import as follows:

b. Priest: In view of the recitation of primordial
names of you spirits, and of my own
will power, I wish that this child
should come back to life.

A reduction of the messages in 'a' and 'b' above gives the
message of Text 4, which can be paraphrased as follows:

Priest: The child will get well following the
        recitation of this such and such
        incantation.

Text 5

The message of Text 5 derives from the messages of the dia-
gnostic, divinatory and medicating aspects of the text. The
message of the diagnostic aspect is a prime-order message which
paraphrases thus:

a.   Priest: What's the matter?
     Client: I have a problem which I want to
             tell Ifa about.

The message of the divinatory text derives from a second-order
text, and it paraphrases thus:

b.   Priest: Your case has precedents in Ifa mythology
             where certain protagonists who had
             similar problems to yours were later
             blessed with children. Thus, you too
             will be blessed; only you have to avoid
             playing false against the child you will
             bear now.

The message of the medicating text derives from a prime-order
level of communication, and it can be paraphrased thus:

c. Priest: Ifa says you (woman) should make
            sacrifice in order to have child-
            ren, and that when you have a
            child, you should be faithful to
            him.

The message of Text 5 can be arrived at by summarizing the content

of message 'a', 'b' and 'c' above thus:

    Priest: Certain precedents in Ifa mythology
            indicate that you'll be blessed
            with children. But when you have a
            child, be careful not to cheat or
            maltreat him.

Text 6

    The message of Text 6 derives from the messages of the three

aspects of the text — the diagnostic, divinatory and medicating

aspects. The message of the diagnostic text is expressed at

the prime-order level and it can be paraphrased thus:

    a. Clients: (Father and Mother of Child): Please,
                save us father. This child is
                seriously ill and we don't know what
                is wrong with him.

        Priest: What's wrong?

        Clients: Help us.

The message of the divinatory text derives from a second-order text and it can be paraphrased thus:

b. Priest: This is a replica of the Ifa divination we performed the other day. The woman in this Ifa mythology has cheated, and this means you (the sick child's mother) have cheated too.

The message of the medicating text derives from a prime-order text and it can be summarized thus:

c. Priest: The only thing you (the mother) can do now to save this child is for you to perform a ritual dancing.

From the messages summarized in 'a', 'b' and 'c' above, an overall summary of the message of Text 6 can thus be stated thus, from the priest's point of view:

Priest: You (the mother of the child) caused your child's illness because you cheated him. To appease the 'orí' (personal god) of the child, you have to perform a ritual dancing in the market place.

Text 7

The message of Text 7 also derives from the messages of the three aspects of the texts. The first aspect, which is the diagnostic aspect expresses its message at the prime-order level of communication thus:

a. Priest: What really is the problem?

   Client: My child is seriously ill and I'm sure someone is working magical affliction on him.

The second aspect, the divinatory aspect, expresses its message at the second-order level thus:

b. Priest: As it was in the Ifa mythology, a protagonist (Akalamagbo) was destined to encounter a lot of problems during his lifetime but his personal god fought for him in all his problems. In a similar manner your (client's) son will be able to ward off all dangers posed by magical affliction.

The third aspect, the medicating aspect, expresses its message at the primary level thus:

      c. Priest: You need to give him these drugs which I
                am prescribing.

From the messages summarized in 'a', b and 'c' above, the overall
message of Text 7 can be stated thus:

      Priest: Your (client's) son's illness derives
             from magical affliction. But as the
             mythological precedent of his case
             shows, he will survive the ordeal. You
             however need to give him these drugs
             which I am prescribing.

4.4.2 General observations from messages of texts

In spite of the individual differences of the messages of
texts discussed above, dictated by the different problems to be
tackled by YTM texts, there are certain things which they indicate
generally. For instance, the messages indicate the emphasis on
the psychological aspect of healing in YTM practice, irrespective
of the nature of problems being tackled. They also indicate
the positive assurance that whatever the nature and severity
of the illnesses, patients normally will be cured if they follow
herbalist's instructions. The messages expressed in
aspects of YTM texts are either at the prime-order
level of the HC interaction or at both the prime-

and second-order levels of HC interaction and herbalist-supernatural consultation. However, since the messages expressed by the incorporated second-order texts are always re-interpreted at the prime-order level and integrated into the larger conversational text, the overall message of each YTM text is thus expressed at prime-order level as shown in the analyses above.

4.5 The Structure of YTM Texts

4.5.1 The turn-taking channels in YTM texts

In general, YTM texts exhibit two types of structures: the dialogical and polylogical structures. While some of the texts are dialogical because they solely present the conversational mode of communication (see Texts 2 and 3), some are, however, polylogical because they present monologues within their primary dialogical structure (e.g. Texts 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7). The complexity of the structure of polylogical texts as opposed to the simple structure of dialogical texts has already been attributed to the complex nature of problems in the speech events which the texts represent (see 4.2.2). Meanwhile, a common feature of the two groups of texts identified here is that both of them are marked by dialogue. But while this property is the sole feature of the first group, it is only the primary one of two sub-structures fused together in each text of the second group. In spite of this difference, dialogue

still remains the basic feature of all YTM texts, while polylogue
is a defining property of some of the texts.

Although dialogue in YTM texts normally alternates between
two recognized participants - a herbalist and a client -
there is no limit to the number of people who may participate
in the dialogue as those on some occasions may include the
herbalist's attendant who supports the herbalist, the client's
relations and friends who support the client, and co-clients
who may support either the herbalist or client. No matter the
number of participants in a dialogue, it is observed, however
that the dominant speaker from the point of view of
synchronization is the herbalist. Apparently, he plays more
roles in the communication than any other participant, acting
in his capacity as a doctor, dispenser and quite often,
a counsellor. The herbalist very often takes the longest turns
in a YTM text (see, especially, Text 1, ll.20-26 and 30-42;
Text 5, ll. 32-49; and Text 7, ll. 58-101). In fact, a turn
by the priest in Text 7 accounts for about 25% of the length
of dialogue in the text which has a total number of 64 turns.
Similarly, his turns are often the most numerous in a text
that has more than two participants. For example, the
frequency of turns made by participants in Texts 1, 6 and 7
is shown as follows:

Table 5:   Illustration of Herbalist's Turns in YTM Texts

Text No.	Total No. of Turns	No. of Partici-pants	No. of Herbalists' Turns	% Mean	% of Turns by Herba-lists	% of Excess
Text 1	42	4	20	25.0%	47.6%	22.6%
Text 6	103	3	37	33.3%	35.9%	2.6%
Text 7	65	4	28	25.0%	43.1%	18.1%

The dominance of a herbalist in YTM communication is most emphasized in a text that has a polylogical structure. In such a text (see Texts 4, 5, 6 and 7) the herbalist may use his right of one or more turns to present monological expressions which may be short or long. Although these monologues will necessarily relate to the purpose of the dialogue, the client is temporarily cut out of the communication which may narrate a mythological event or assert certain unerring principles based on observations of nature or request a wish (or wishes) from some supernatural beings. The dialogue can only resume when the herbalist gives the cue, like asking the client a direct question (see Text 4, 1.12), calling him (Text 5, 1.18 and Text 7, 1.101), or

commenting on the content of the monologue in such a way as to invite a response from the client (see Text 5, 11. 31- and 49; Text 6, 11. 45 and 55). The polylogical structure is very typical of YTM texts that have one or more of the aspects of divination, incantation or supplication in them; but it is more pronounced when a text combines more than one of these forms of expression with the diagnostic and, possibly, prescriptive aspect.

4.5.2 The structure of transactions in YTM texts

In terms of structuration, YTM texts represent interactional events constituted by two or more transactions, which correspond to the aspects of language identified in 4.2.1 above. Each transaction is made up of a conversational exchange or a monological contribution. The first transaction of a YTM text normally follows a prefatory exchange which opens the text and the last transaction precedes another prefatory exchange which closes it. The structure of exchanges and monologues in YTM transactions is described below, taking into consideration only texts that have the herbalist and the client as contributors.[1]

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1. The norm for YTM texts generally is to represent the herbalist and client as contributors but, sometimes, there are other contributors apart from these two. (See 4.1.2). There is enough evidence from our data to show that exchange structures in a multi-party diagnostic or medicating transaction will differ from a two-party transaction. See, for example, the illustrations in 3.3.2 and 4.5.3.

4.5.2.1 The prefatory exchange

The rule for a co-occurring set of prefatory exchanges in YTM texts can be stated symbolically thus:[1]

$$\text{Fr.} \qquad S \qquad + \qquad (\text{Fr.} \qquad S)^n$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{greeting} \\ \text{summons} \end{Bmatrix} . \text{ accept } + \text{ (greeting. accept)}$$

The above rule applies to the different occurrences of prefatory exchange in the texts as are described below.

Normally, every prefatory exchange has an obligatory frame and supporting move. However, because there can be a set of prefatory exchanges co-occurring, we thus recognize an opening frame move and a supporting move which are obligatory, followed by an optional set of frame and supporting moves which can recur in as many prefatory exchanges as co-occur in a text. The starting prefatory exchange in a YTM text, for example, has an obligatory

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1. While the '+' sign marks exchange boundaries, the brackets '( )' and braces '{ }' indicate optional features; the symbol 'n' raised marks recursiveness (i.e. possible recurrence) of features of an exchange; and lastly, the acts of respective moves symbolized are stated below the individual moves. Meanwhile, the marker of exchange boundary above does not in any way impose any co-occurrence restriction against exchange sequences. As it were, each exchange, whether obligatory in a transaction or optional in it, is independent in the transaction and can co-occur freely with any other exchange recognized by the specified rule.

opening frame of a client initiation of a greeting act followed by a herbalist supporting response of acceptance of the greeting. The greetings in the next prefatory exchange after the first are then initiated by the herbalist[1] and accepted by the client. The closing prefatory exchange(s) in a text will have similar features to the ones above, except perhaps that either participant may initiate the greetings here and that the greetings often include prayerful wishes (see Text 1, II. 76-79), Text 3, 1.52).

The structure of the exchanges above differs from that of prefatory exchanges in texts from emergency HC encounters in terms of the act in the first frame move. In the latter texts, the opening frame consists of a client summons for help and a prompt supporting move by the herbalist, accepting the summons through both verbal reply and non-verbal reaction (see Texts 4 6 and 9). Meanwhile, a few texts from our data (e.g. Text 8) show that a prefatory exchange with a summons act realising its frame may precede another prefatory with greetings act. In the text cited, the client first calls the herbalist who initially was not in the room but came in later to respond with a greeting to the client's initial summons.

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1. It is generally considered honourable by the Yoruba that it should be the older participant who first asks about the welfare of the younger participant after a younger person has initiated greetings (see Akindele, 1990:9).

4.5.2.2 The diagnostic transaction

The structure of diagnostic transaction encompasses four
motifs which are listed below and later discussed in exchange
terms. The motifs are as follows:

    a. Herbalist's elicitation of information about a
       client's problem, client's reply to the
       elicitation and herbalist's acceptance or
       reaction to client's reply;

    b. Client's checking of herbalist's response and
       herbalist's restatement or confirmation of it;

    c. Client's clarification of his problem, herbalist's
       confirmation of it and assurance of a possible
       remedy; and

    d. Herbalist's post-diagnostic directive and/or
       information of client to get things ready or make
       preparation for the next transaction.

Motif 'a' is the central motif of a diagnostic transaction. It
is obligatory in it and can occur alone. But often, it is
supported by other motifs. Motif 'd' is very common in the
transaction. It marks the end of a diagnostic exercise by
making propositions or proposals which are connected to the
next transaction. Motifs 'b' and 'c' are optional in the diagnostic
transaction and they only extend the content of Motif 'a' above.

The conversational exchange in a diagnostic transaction

always opens with a herbalist initiation move which elicits infor-
mation about the nature and symptoms of a client's illness (see
Text 1, 1.4; Text 3, 1.7 and Text 9, 1.8). This elicitation may
also recur in consequent exchanges in the transaction in opening,
bound-opening or re-opening moves (see e.g. Text 2, 11. 3-4 and
7). Following this opening initiation is a response move
supporting it by providing a reply to it. If the reply is a
satisfactory one, the herbalist makes a follow-up supporting
move, accepting the reply and/or reacting to it - by going in
search of objects of remedy (Text 9, 1.10). But if the reply is
unsatisfactory, the herbalist either reopens the elicitation
(see Text 8, 1.11) or reacts to the reply by using pragmatic
means to find out the problem (see Text 4, 1.5) or even reacts
and elicits at the same time (Text 6, 1.10).

The herbalist's follow-up move to a satisfactory response
by a client, sometimes, may serve as an incentive for the latter
to initiate a bound-opening move where she provides more
information to clarify her previous reply to the herbalist
(Text 3, 1.10; Text 8, 11. 15-16 and 11. 18-20); and
the herbalist very often supports her by confirming such
clarification and assuring her that all will be well.
Occasionally, however, a client may check her understanding
of what the herbalist says in the interaction (see Text 1, 11.9

and 12). Such a checking may require the herbalist to repeat or restate his earlier proposition or it may just require the herbalist's confirmation of the proposition. The former checking can be said to realise a challenge while the latter realizes a bound-opening move. The challenging move predicts a herbalist's re-opening move in which he repeats his earlier proposition while the bound-opening move predicts a support which confirms the client's echoic proposition.

Other essential acts performed by herbalists in diagnostic transactions include giving appropriate directives or information, or both, that are relevant to the consequent transaction of either divination or medication (see Text A, 11.10-11; Text 1, 11. 14-17 and Text 3, 1.13). These acts most often realize a herbalist's opening which is supported by a client's reaction. Remember, however, that the divinatory transaction follows a diagnostic mostly when the latter means has not proved suitable for identifying a client's problem (see Texts 6 and 7). Hence, the structure of a diagnostic transaction may be truncated (in terms of not representing most of the motifs above) if there is a divinatory transaction following it (see e.g. Texts 5 and 6). The moves and acts in the above discussion can be represented by the symbols below: [1]

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1. When it is apparent that both the obligatory and optional exchange features cannot be stated together on a line, these are presented separately.

a. $O.$ $S.$ S^n + O/Bo . S

    elicit. reply. accept + inform,direct. reaction   Herbalist
                                                                        initiation

b.   (Bo.   S.   S)

$\left(\begin{bmatrix} \text{clarify} \\ \text{check} \end{bmatrix}\right.$. confirm.accept)   Client
                                                       initiation

c.   (C.   Ro.   S)   Client
    (check.repeat.accept)   initiation

4.5.2.3   The structure of divinatory transactions

The two transactions pertaining to divination in YTM texts, viz. diagnostic divination and divinatory prescription, have already been identified in this study (see 4.2.1). Below, we describe the structure of the transactions.

4.5.2.3.1   The transaction of diagnostic divination (ddt)

The diagnostic divinatory transaction is a monological transaction constituted by four major parts: a focus, an opening, a series of informs constituting motifs and a conclusion. From the opening to the conclusion seven motifs can be recognized which correspond to the seven-part structure earlier presented by scholars on this subject (cf. Akinnaso, 1982; Olatunji, 1984). The motifs are stated as follows,

after the focus of the transaction:

Focus: a. summons (diviner's invocation of gods);

              b. starter (diviner's acknowledgement of odu

                      and preview of content);

Opening: a. citation;

              b. the protagonist involved and the problem

                tackled;

              c. medication (Ifa's reply in form of prescrip-

                      tion or incantation or both);

Body: d. the client's (non-) compliance with

                  prescription;

              e. the resolution or outcome of medication

                and client's reaction;

              f. intra-structural recapitulation;

Conclusion: g. comments on the greatness of Ifa and the

                need to obey his commands.

The boundary of a ddt is marked by a focus made up of a
summons, starter and conclusion. However, while the first two
features are peripheral to the content of the transaction,
the third is integrated into the content; thus the conclusion
is accounted for as one of the motifs of the transaction. The
summons represent invocations and chants of praises to some

gods that should be invoked for the success of a divination exer-
cise (see Text 7, 11.61-77). And the starter represents the
diviner's acknowledgement of the odu that emerges on the board
and his preview of the content of the odu (see Text 5, 11.
11-12 and Text 7, 11. 78-87).

The content of an odu opens with a citation, which Olatunji
(1984:130) describes thus:

> The citation can consist of the names of the
> babalawo followed by awo (priest for/of)
> and the names of their towns or clients...
> The characteristic sayings of the babalawo
> (àlàjẹ́) may be used to refer to them in the
> citation...

This feature is characteristic of all instances of the ddt and
it is represented briefly (Text 10, 1.1 and Text 12, 1.1-3),
extensively (Text 6, 11.35-40 and 11.50-53; Text 7, 11. 88-91)
or at different points (Text 11, I.1 and 11.10-11).

Motif 'b' in the structure identifies the protagonist of
the Ifa narrative in the transaction and the problem encountered
by him for which he requires solution. This motif is very
often signalled in divinatory texts by the phrase 'dia fun
(Ifa was cast for). On some occasions, however, other
indicators may signal this section, e.g.:

(i) Àwọn ni wọ́n kọ́fá ṣáráṣárá lọ́wọ́ Ọrúnmila

(Text 12, 1.4)

It was they who learnt Ifa thoroughly from Orunmila.

(ii) Ìọn mẹ́tẹ̀ẹ̀ta gbérù níkòlé ọ̀run---

Those three started in heaven---

Motif 'c' indicates the feature of medication in the tran-
saction. The term 'medication' is preferred here to
'prescription' which is used by other scholars because it
corrects whatever wrong impression analysts might create on
readers if their account does not cover the possibility of
certain divinatory texts having incantatory features in them
(e.g. Text 7, 11.94-100; Text 12, 1.55 and 62). Thus, as a
wider term than either 'prescription' or 'incantation',
'medication' covers any kind of treatment that may be mentioned
in a divinatory transaction, whether it is a prescription
followed later by the protagonist's (non-) compliance (Texts
10, 11. 9-20; 11, 1.16 and 27-29; 12, 11. 26-55 and 64-66) or
it is an incantation which expresses the diviner's requests
or wishes.

Motif 'd' is the structure which describes whether a
protagonist complies or fails to comply with Ifa's instructions
is commonly observed in divinatory texts which prescribe
regimen for clients (see Text 10, 1.21; Text 11, 11.17 and 30).

Motif 'e' is consequent on 'd' above (see Text 10, ll. 22-30; Text 11, ll. 31-43; Text 12, ll. 56-61 and 63). Note that the expression of resolution or outcome may not be found in those texts which express requests, appeals or wishes (e.g. Text 7, ll. 94-100).

Motifs 'f' and 'g' end the content of the ddt; they can be found in part or full in texts where the mythological narrative element is fully-developed (see Text 11, ll. 46-52 and Text 12, ll.67-72).

The motifs identified above form the composite structure of prototypes of YTM diagnostic divinatory texts, and they may not all be present in every single instance of the texts. In diviner-client interactions where the divinatory transaction is not represented in full, the motifs present in such interactions are those that are relevant to the situation of practice. For example, the bits of the ddt interspersed in Text 5 are all projecting the same topic via Motifs 'a', 'b' and 'd'. Also, Motifs 'a', 'b' and 'c' are present in the structure of the transaction in Text 7, which has a rather elaborate focus. In all, it would seem that Motifs 'a' and 'b' are really the definite parts of diagnostic divinatory transactions in YTM practice. Other motifs than these can be observed in full divinatory texts some of which

have been used for illustrations in the discussion above.

4.5.2.3.2 The transaction of divinatory prescription (dpt)

The transaction of divinatory prescription provides a necessary follow-up speech activity to the ddt discussed above. The transaction is bound to the former one because the prescription in it derives from the suggestions about medication in the earlier transaction. The priest interprets the suggestions for the client who might not have understood the highly elevated language in which they were previously encoded. Unlike the ddt which is monological, the dpt is dialogical and thus can be described in exchange structure. The exchanges in the latter transaction are accounted for below.

The dpt is characterized by both the prefatory and conversational exchanges. Both exchanges are constituted thus, in symbolic form:

Prefatory: Fr.   S   +   (Fr.   S)
            summons. accept + (prayer greeting.accept)

Conversational: a.   O. S^n +   O/Bo. S^n
                   assure.accept,+ inform.accept   Herbalist
                         react   initiation

b. $(\text{C.} \quad \text{S}) + (\text{Bo.} \quad \text{S})^n$

(check.react) + (elicit.reply)   Herbalist
initiation

The prefatory exchanges are constituted by an obligatory frame plus

supporting move and an optional frame plus another supporting

move. The first frame contains a summons act from the priest,

which calls the attention of the client and formally invites her

to participate in a conversation; and the client answers the call

and listens to him (see Text 5, ll. 17-19; Text 7, ll. 101-102).

In the optional frame the priest makes a prayer greeting act

followed by a client's acceptance act (e.g. Text 5, ll. 20-21).

The first conversational exchange in the dpt has the pair

of moves of opening initiation and supporting response. In

the initiation, the priest tries to assure the client about

the positive implication of the content of the previous narrative,

while the latter reacts happily to the assurance (see

Text 5, ll. 22-23; ll. 30-32; ll. 44-49 and Text 7, ll.103-105).

It is observed that the content of the narrative recitation

almost always has a positive implication for the client,

no matter the seriousness of the problem, provided

that she is ready to carry out Ifa's instructions to her.[1]

_____

1. This rule does not apply to Text 6 (see ll. 44-45, 55) where
   the priest in his interpretation of the content of an Ifa
   myth accuses the client of not heeding an earlier instruction
   given to her at a previous encounter between them. The
   peculiarities of the background experience of participants
   in this text will no doubt create features of exchange
   structure that are peculiar to the text.

The other obligatory exchange in the dpt is that in which the priest initiates an opening or bound-opening move which informs the client about the instructions Ifa expects her to carry out. The client supports this move and accepts the information. Note that the structure of this exchange may be recursive in the transaction.

In the optional exchanges, the choice of what kind of initiation the priest makes depends on the extent of reaction of the client to his earlier assurance. He may initiate a challenge move here or initiate an opening or bound-opening move. If the client overreacts to the assurance, the priest challenges her overenthusiasm and cautions her to keep calm and listen attentively to the rest of the message (see Text 5, ll. 25, 33-34). And if she reacts casually to it, the challenge becomes a reproach cautioning the client's ungratefulness (Text 7, l.106); the latter supports the priest's challenge and reacts appropriately to the assurance. An alternative to the exchange above is that in which the priest elicits further relevant information from the client to facilitate the interpretation process (Text 6, ll. 96ff.; Text 7, l.111). The optional exchanges above may co-occur in a transaction, and the latter further has the property of recursiveness.

4.5.2.4 The transaction of prescriptive
medication

The conversational exchanges in the prescriptive transaction can be seen from the herbalist-initiation or client-initiation point of view or both. The former viewpoint has the following structure:

a. O/Bo. , S^n
    direct, inform. accept, react

b. (O/Bo.   S)
    (check.reply,react)

An obligatory herbalist opening or bound-opening initiation move with both direct and inform acts is supported by a client's response of accept and/or react acts. This exchange may be recursive. Following the instructions given in the exchange above, the herbalist may use some opening moves to check whether the client has understood his instructions or not. The client supports these moves either by replying or reacting para-linguistically to it (see Text 3, ll. 26-28).

The structure of the exchange which a client initiates can be represented thus:

O/Bo.   S. S^n +   (Bo.   S.   S)
elicit.direct,inform. accept + (check, confirm. accept)

The above rule states that an opening initiation of elicitation
invites a herbalist's supporting response of inform and/or
direct and a client's final supporting response of accept
(Text 6, ll. 120-127; Text 7, ll. 149-154; Text 13, ll. 1-8).
Also there is a facility here for an optional exchange in which
the client seeks clarification of the herbalist's instructions.
The herbalist confirms the clarification and the client accepts
the confirmation (see Text 3, ll. 30-36 and Text 14, ll.9-10 and
and 11-12).

4.5.2.5 The transaction of incantations

The incantatory transaction in Yoruba has two major mono-
logical sub-types: the ọfọ̀ proper and the àyájọ́ (cf.
Olabimtan, 1971 and Olatunji, 1984). Ọfọ̀ is the general name
for all incantations,[1] whereas ayajo is often used to refer to
those ofo which derive from divinatory sources. However, apart
from the mythical narratives and allusions or the díá fún
'cast divination for' phrase which often marks ayajo from
other kinds of ọfọ̀, incantations generally seem to develop a
basic set of motifs as follows (cf. Olatunji, 1984:152ff.):

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1. Different sub-types of ọfọ̀ are recognized according to their
   uses in Yoruba communities. Such sub-types listed by Olatunji
   (1984:145) are the ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ or ìgẹ̀dẹ̀, àásọ́n 'a patent baleful
   incantation, àwúre 'that which brings lúck', atúbi 'that which
   unties evil', àsápa 'that used to kill', etc. This study does
   not focus on these different sub-types but, rather, recognizes
   them generally as incantations with positive or negative uses.
   Only those with positive significance are, of course, our
   major concern in this study.

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Focus:      summons (enchanter's invocation of agents)
         ⎧ a:  statement of problem
Motifs  ⎨ b:  assertions
         ⎩ c:  application
```

The focus of incantatory transaction, like the citation in divinatory texts, refers to the summoning of agents (here incantatory agents) by their special and/or usual names. This feature is found in many incantatory transactions (see Texts 4, ll. 7, 15; 17, ll. 1-3, 18, ll. 1-3; 19, ll. 1-7, etc.), but it may not be realized in some others (see Text 16).

The problem motif normally states the reason for an incantation. It is always found in incantatory transactions, including the instances provided in this work (see Texts 4, 1.8; 7, ll. 94-95; 16, ll. 1-3; 17, ll. 4-9, etc.). In àyájọ́ incantations, the problem is often stated after the díá fún phrase mentioned above.

Assertions and applications are the most central motifs in incantations. Assertions here refer to expressions which argue the inevitability of certain occurrences based on some known, observed or assumed social truths or beliefs by the enchanter of incantations. There may be positive assertions of correlates of states and events in nature (see Texts 4, ll. 9-10; 17, ll. 16-19; 18, ll. 5-16; etc.) and there may

also be negative assertions of correlates (Texts 7, 1.100; 15, 11. 7, 9; 18, 11. 21-22). Both of thèse assertions may be expressed separately or together in a text; but whichever way they occur, the incontrovertibility of the facts in them within the culture and the mystic context of the enchantment is the reason why the people believe the incantation must operate effectively (cf. Olatunji, 1984:154). Lastly, the application motif in incantations refers to the expression of wishes, requests and appeals by the enchanter (Texts 15, 1.17; 16, 11. 8-9; 17, 11.20-26). These wishes are usually consequent upon the assertions mentioned above from which they partly derive the essence for their potency.

4.5.2.6 The transaction of supplication

The supplicating transaction has a similar structure to that of incantations above. That is, it has a focus that consists of a summons act and motifs of identification of problem, expression of assertions and expression of wishes. While only the expression of wishes is identified in the prayer greetings, Text 1, 11. 76-79, all the parts above are represented in the extensive medicating supplication in Text 20, thus:

Summons: ll. 1-3; 24-25, 35-37, 46, 54, 85, etc;

Problem: ll. 5-7, 11-13;

Assertion: ll. 14-16, 65-66, 86, etc;

Application: ll. 17-23, 43-45, 47-53, etc.

Note also the allusions and references made to previous diviners
and Ifa myths which support the supplications being made in the
text above.

 While incantations and supplications are difficult to
distinguish in terms of their composition, intuitively one
notices a difference in the application of the two. The
requests and wishes expressed in incantations are done with
forcefulness and aggression while those in supplication are
done submissively. Furthermore, the addressees of incantations
are more often belligerent divinities (see 4.1.1.1) whom
the enchanter wants to put under his control while those of
supplication are very often the benevolent ones whom the
enchanter holds in reverence.

 The intuitive suggestions above may also be supported by
some objective formal features which differentiate between
the two transactions. For example, one can differentiate
between the use of indirect imperative expressions Kó máa l&oṇ
'Let him be going' and (Ẹ) jé kó máa lọ /Ḱ ẹ jé kó máa lọ

'You let him be going' in which the latter explicitly realizes
the agent in the directive. The explicit realization of
agents in indirect imperatives in supplications shows that
the supplicant relies on them for his wishes to materialize;
otherwise, the wishes will come to pass on the accord of
unspecified agents in the directive. Apart from the above,
one can also notice the explicit use of such items of appeal
as dábọ̀/dákun 'please' (Text 20, ll. 22, 92), sàánu 'mercy',
etc. in supplications.

4.5.3 Summary and Illustration

It is observed from the analysis above that there is no
uniform structure for YTM texts. Instead, the texts are
identified in terms of certain transactions which make up
their dialogical or polylogical structures. While some of
these transactions — e.g. diagnosis, prescriptive divination
and prescription — have exchange structures, some of them —
diagnostic divination, incantations and supplications
— do not. Since the YTM texts which have dialogical
structures (i.e. Type 1 texts) always combine the diagnostic
and prescriptive transactions, it means that these texts are
constituted by exchanges which are already identified above

(see 4.5.2.2 and 4.5.2.4). In contrast, Type 2 texts have exchange structures which co-occur with the monological narratives, descriptions, arguments and requests made in divinatory, incantatory and supplicating texts in a parallel manner to the combination of aspects in YTM texts (see 4.2.2).

Talking about the exchange structures, it is observed that the first and last transactions identified in YTM texts are bounded respectively at the beginning and end by prefatory exchanges which mark the starting and closing of YTM interaction. Conversational exchanges are, however, identified with only the diagnostic and prescriptive medication transactions. Meanwhile, it is also observed that the divinatory prescriptive transaction, following a diagnostic divinatory transaction, also has a prefatory and series of conversational exchanges of its own whenever the divinatory transaction is present in a text.

In the conversational exchanges mentioned above, it is observed that opening and supporting moves are predominant, while the challenge move seldom occurs. The openings are very often initiated by the herbalist who either elicits, gives and confirms some information or gives directives to a client, while the supporting move is often made by the client who also gives information in the interaction. The occasional

occurrences of the challenge move are identified with some of the
herbalist's contributions which may accuse or caution some of
the client's replies and reactions. On the contrary, the
client seldom challenges the herbalist unless the communication
between them has broken down (e.g. Text 6, ll. 104-159). Even
on the few occasions when she checks the herbalist's moves,
such checks most often seek after confirmation or clarification
of the information she has already got rather than attempt to
caution, disagree with or ask protracting questions from him.

Generally, in YTM interactions involving the herbalist
and client, whether such interactions are two-party or multi-
party, it is the older participant, or oldest as the case may
be in terms of social status and/or age, who controls the
interaction (see Akindele, 1986). The herbalist does have
greater freedom to select from the options of moves and acts
available to him at a particular time in the interaction; for
example, he can challenge a client's previous response move or
open and re-open initiations irrespective of whether the
opening is supported or not. As a corollary to the above,
older participants have greater freedom to challenge the
moves of younger ones in the interactions. As shown by our
texts, the herbalist can challenge the moves of any of the
participants in an interaction (see Texts 5, 6 and 7); a

mother can challenge the move of a daughter (see Text 2); a husband
can challenge the move of his wife (see Texts 6 and 7); etc.

In order to illustrate the discussion above, we shall
analyse below the structure of Text 7 in the appendix of this
work. The text is selected purposely because it has interesting
structural features, being polylogical and also representing
a multi-party talk. The symbols 'P', 'W', 'M' and 'F' stand
for Priest, Wife, Man and Friend respectively.

Table 6: Analysis of The Structural Features of Text 7

Transaction	Exchange	Speaker	Move	Act	Domain
Pre-diagnosis 11.1-13	Prefatory	F	Fr. (O,I)	greeting	1.4
	Conversational 11. 5-6	P	C (I)	eliciting	1.5
		F	S (R)	replying	1.6
	Prefatory 11.7-13	P	Fr. (O,I)	greeting	1.7
		F	Fr. (S,R)	accepting	1.8
		P	Fr. (O,I)	greeting	1.9
		F	Fr. (O,I)	greeting	1.10
		P	Fr. (S,R)	accepting	1.11
		F	Fr. (O,I)	greeting	1.12
		P	Fr. (S,R)	accepting	1.13
Diagnosis 11.15-16	Conversational 11. 14-16	F	O (I)	requesting	1.14
		P	C (I)	eliciting	1.15
		F	S (R)	replying	1.16
Pre-diagnosis 11.17-23	Prefatory 11.17-23	P	O (I)	excusing	11.17-18
		P	O (I)	inviting	1.18
		M & W	O (I)	requesting	1.19
		F	O (I)	introducing	11.20-21
		P	S (R)	accepting	1.22
		P	O (I)	directing	11.22-23
Diagnosis	Conversational	P	O (I)	eliciting	11.23-24
		W	S (R)	replying	11.25-31
		M	C (I)	accusing	11.32-34
		P	O (I)	informing	1.35
		M	O (I)	accusing	11.36-58

Transaction	Exchange	Speaker	Move	Act	Domain
		F	O (I)	assuring	11.39-40
		P	S (R)	assuring	1.41
		W	O (I)	praying	1.42
		P	S (R)	assuring	1.43
	Prefatory	P	Fr.(O,I)	summoning	1.44
	Conversational 11.44-60	P	O (I)	directing	11.44-45
		W	S (R)	reacting	1.46
		P	C (I)	accusing	11.47-48
		W	Ro (I)	requesting	11.49-51
		P	C (I)	cautioning	11.52-54
		c	(I)	accusing	11.55-57
		P	Bo (I)	eliciting	11.58-59
Diagnostic divination 11.61-100	Monological 11.61-100	P	Focus	summoning	11.61-77
			Starter	previewing	11.78-87
			Content	citation	11.88-91
			"	informing	11.92-100
Divinatory prescription 11.101-148	Conversational 11.101-148	P	Fr.(O,I)	summoning	1.101
		W	S (R)	accepting	1.102
		P	O (I)	assuring	11.103-104
		W	S (R)	replying	1.105
		P	C (I)	accusing	1.106
		W	Ro (I)	reacting	11.107-108
		P	O (I)	informing	1.109
		W	S (R)	confirming	1.110
		P	O (I)	eliciting	1.111
		W	C (I)	accusing	11.112-113

Transaction	Exchange		Speaker	Move	Act	Domain
			P	C (I)	cautioning	II.114–115
			W	S (R)	excusing	I.116
			F	Bo (I)	reporting	I.117
			W	S (R)	replying	I.118
			P	Bo (I)	eliciting	I.119
			W	S (R)	replying	I.120
			P	S (R)	reacting	I.121
			W	Bo (I)	re-asserting	I.122
			P	S (R)	confirming	I.123
			P	Bo (I)	informing	II.124–125
			W	S (R)	confirming	II.126–130
			M	Bo (I)	eliciting	I.131
			P	S (R)	replying	I.132
			F	S (R)	confirming	I.133
			W	S (R)	confirming	I.134
			W	O (I)	accusing	I.135
			M	O (I)	eliciting	II.136–140
			P	S (R)	replying	II.141–143
			M	O (I)	eliciting	II.144–145
			P	S (R)	replying	II.146–148

Transaction	Exchange	Speaker	Move	Act	Domain
Prescription II.149-168	Conversation II.149-168	M	O (I)	eliciting	I.149
		P	S (R)	replying	II.150-152
		P	Bo (I)	eliciting	II.152-153
		W	S (R)	checking	I.154
		P	S (R)	confirming	I.155
		P	O (I)	directing and informing	II.155-164
		W	S (R)	reacting	I.165
		P	Bo (I)	requesting	II.166-168

SUMMARY OF FEATURES

PARTICIPANTS	TURNS		M	O	V	E	S	
	No	%	Openings		Supporting		Challenge	
Priest	28	43.1%	18	50.0%	12	42.85%	7	70%
Man	8	12.3%	5	13.9%	–	0%	2	20%
Wife	16	24.6%	6	16.7%	12	42.85%	1	10%
Friend	13	20.0%	7	19.4%	4	14.3%	–	0%
Total	65	100%	36	100%	28	100%	10	100%

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   SOME FORMAL FEATURES OF YTM TEXTS

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part
which is the longest presents a description of some of the
significant formal features of Text 1 as an illustration of
features of Type - 1 YTM texts identified earlier in this
study. The analysis done here also provides the base for
identifying those formal features which are characteristic of
aspects, types and register of YTM texts. The second part
presents the peculiar features of Text 5 as an illustration of
typical features of Type - 2 YTM texts. In both parts above,
the features described are those motivated by the situations,
uses, functions and messages of the texts. A summary of the
characteristic formal features of YTM texts ends the second
part of this chapter. The third part concludes this
investigation by summarizing the contributions of the work,
identifying its limitations and observing its application to
Yoruba studies in particular and linguistics in general.

5.1   Some Formal Features of Text 1 (A Type-1 Text)

5.1.1   Theme and Cohesion

Clause	Theme	Rheme	Status
i	Ẹ You	káàárọ̀ mà. (greeting) morning madam	unmkd
ii	Jọ́ọ́, Sorry,	káàárọ̀ o. (greeting) morning	unmkd
iii	A We	a jí bí o? didn't wake up well?	unmkd
iv	O O	ò wá bá mi mọ́mọ wá —	unmkd
v	Ṣé ∅ (Question) Hope	kò sí o? nothing is wrong?	unmkd
vi	Ó He	ń yọ̀dí. has piles	unmkd
vii	Tó bá ti ń yàgbé bàyìí, Whenever he passes excrement,	ìdí ẹ̀ á wá yọ. his anus will then protrude.	mkd
viii	Àfi tá Unless we	á báà ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ wá báa fọwọ́ tìí sínú. come to push it in for him.	unmkd
ix	Ìdí yíyọ Haemorrhoids	nìyẹn. (thematic) that is	mkd

Clause	Theme	Rheme	Status
x	Kí What	lẹ wí? did you say?	mkd
xi	Ìdí yíyọ Haemorrhoids	nìyẹn sẹ́ẹ́. (thematic) that indeed is	mkd
xii	Yọdí-yọdí Piles	nìyẹn (thematic) that is	mkd
xiii	Ẹ ẹ́ ṣe ñkan ẹ̀ You will make the antidote to it.	ni (thematic)	mkd
xiv	Ṣé páa máa ṣe ñkan ẹ̀ (Question) Does it mean we shall get the antidote?	ni? ø (thematic)	mkd
xv	Ẹ ẹ́ ṣe egboogi ẹ̀ You will make the medicine for it.	ni. ø (thematic)	mkd
xvi	Ṣé àṣalò àtìdí yíyọ nìkan (Question) Is it assorted herbs and pile drugs alone?	ni? ø (thematic)	mkd

Clause	Theme	Rheme	Status
xvii	Idí yíyọ Haemorrhoids	ni o. (thematic) it is.	mkd
xviii	∅	yóó gbolórìí àmọ́. will get the shea-butter ointment	unmkd
xix	∅	yóó dè gba èyí tí yóó maa tidi bọ will also get that which he will dip his bottom in	unmkd
xx	∅	yóó sì gba mimu-wíwẹ̀? will also get the one for drinking and bathing	unmkd

Evidently, the theme of the extract above (which has 20 clauses) can be seen in terms of three groups of items: (a) 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns a 'we', ẹ 'you' and ó 'he'; and zero realization of the 3rd person pronoun. (b) some lexical items referring to a problem Idí yíyọ, Yòdí-yòdí 'Haemorrhoids'; and (c) some question items sé? and kí?' what'. The pronouns used here indicate that reference is made situationally to at least three participants in the extract. The 1st person plural pronoun a 'we' is used to make two references at different points in the extract; it refers to both the herbalist (a female herbalist) and client at one point (cl. iii) and it refers to the client and some other people, whose identity are undisclosed, at another point (cl. viii). The second person plural honorific pronoun e 'you' also refers to the herbalist and client at different points; it refers to the herbalist at the opening (c.i) and to the client later in the extract (cls. xiii and xv). The 3rd person singular pronoun ó 'he' occurs twice in the text (cls. vi and vii) and on both occasions it refers to the client's son who is the patient in the interaction. Lastly, the zero theme in cls. xviii-xx makes situational reference to the client.

Although it is understood from the situational context of the extract that there is a fourth participant in the text, there is no formal feature that shows this in the theme. The said participant, who is an attendant of the herbalist,

contributes to the conversation in cls. xvi and xx.

The lexical items referring to a problem are ìdí yíyọ 'haemorrhoids', which occurs thrice in the extract (cls ix, xi and xvii), and yọ̀dí-yọ̀dí 'piles' (cl. xii). The two items refer to the same phenomenon, and they seem connected to the item yàgbẹ́ 'pass excrement' (cl. vii) because the object ìdí is associated with yàgbẹ́. Since it is the client's son above that performs this process of passing excrement, one can guess that he is also the person that has the problem mentioned here.

Lastly, in the theme, the question items sẹ́ and kí 'what' occur. The first of these occurs thrice (cls. v, xiv and xvi) while the second occurs only once. In the first occurrence, se expresses a hope and in the third, it introduces some items which refers to certain medicinal objects, viz. àsàló àtìdí yíyọ 'assorted herbs and pile drugs'. The mentioning of ìdí yíyọ here again links the objects of medicine mentioned to the problem identified above, and one tends to see the objects as sources of remedy for the problem.

Correlating both theme and rheme, the content opens with the expression of a hope that nothing is wrong (cl.v). However, since this expression is presented as a question,

a doubt is then created about this hope. Meanwhile, the next clause (cl. vi) ascertains that there is indeed a problem ń yòdí 'having piles'. The fact that this problem is repeatedly associated with the client's son in cls. vi-viii confirms our earlier guess about the sick person. It is the client who states the problem of her son as well as the efforts she and some other people have been making to curtail it (cl. viii). But it is the herbalist who really identifies the problem and confirms it (see cls. ix, xi, xii and xviii. The problem identified is expressed emphatically via clauses with marked theme in which the identifying verb jẹ́ 'be' is ellipted. With this emphasis, the herbalist does give final support to the response of the client in respect of the diagnosing question asked earlier.

Following the identification of problem above, two kinds of information are further given in the extract. First, the herbalist informs the client that the latter would need to prepare an antidote to the problem (see cls. xvi-xx). And second, she instructs her attendant, who now assumes the role of 2nd person, about the medicines the latter should bring for the client (see cls. xvi-xx). In the propositions that occur towards the end of this extract, the clauses do not explicitly indicate the reference of the person being

talked about in the theme. Nevertheless, since the herbalist
and attendant are now the 1st and 2nd persons in the conver-
sation, the 3rd person has to be the client or her son or
both of them. In this case, it is the client who has all the
while been speaking and acting for her son in the interaction;
hence, she is expected to receive the medicinal objects from
the herbalist on her son's behalf. Note that the role of the
client has changed from her former 2nd person to 3rd person
here.

The discussion about theme above shows implicitly that
the content of the extract above is cohesive. Some of the
features which create cohesion in it are shown schematically
below.

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Reference (situational)	ẹ 'you', ó 'he', a 'we', ìyẹn 'that', etc. (all over the text)
Reference (linguistic)	ọmọ 'child', ó 'He' ẹ 'his', a 'him' (cls. iv, vi, vii and viii) ìdí 'anus' í 'it' (cls. vii and viii) Yòdí-yòdí 'Piles' ẹ 'its' (cls. xii, xiii, etc.)
Ellipsis	
'P'	Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn /jẹ́/ (cls. ix, xi and xii) Piles (thematic) that is.
'SP'	Ṣé àsùlò àtìdí yíyọ nìkan ni [wọn ó ṣe]? (cls. xiii-xvi) Is it assorted herbs and pile drugs alone (they will do)?
'SP'	----/ yóó sì gba/ mímu-wíwẹ̀. (11.18-19) ----/ he will also get/ the one for drinking and bathing.
Substitution	egbòogi 'medicines' èyí 'the one' (cls. xv and xix) nnkan 'thing' egbòogi 'medicines' (cls. xiii, xiv and xv).

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Conjunction	dẹ̀ 'also' ←→ cls. xviii and xix , sì 'and' ←→ cls. xix and xx
Lexical repetition	Ìdí yíyọ 'Piles' (cls. ix and xi), Sé 'Question' (cls. v, xiv and xvi), nìyẹn 'is that' (cls. ix, xi, and xii), gbà 'get' (cls. xviii and xx), àṣàlò àtìdí yíyọ 'assorted and piles' (ll. 14-15) mímu-wíwẹ̀ 'drinking and bathing' (ll. 18-19)
Lexical relationship (hyponymy/co-hyponymy)	egbòogi 'medicines' → àṣàlò àtìdí yíyọ 'assorted herbs and pile drugs', olórìí amọ́ 'shea-butter ointment, etc.
(synonymy)	Ìdí yíyọ/Yọ̀dí-yọ̀dí 'Piles' (cls. xi and xii)
Lexical collocation	yọ/yọ̀dí 'protruding anus' Ìdí yíyọ/ Yọ̀dí-yọ̀dí 'piles' ← nìyẹn 'is that' (cls. vi, vii, ix, xi and xii) se 'make' - egbòogi 'medicine' gbà 'get' (cls. xv, xviii-xx).

It is apparent from the presentation above that a lot of ties
are woven around the items ìdí yíyọ 'Piles' and egbòogi
'medicines' to create texture in the extract.

The extract above is only a part of Text 1. The other
part will be discussed below. This other section is very
long, hence we may require to reduce the length in order to
prevent unwieldiness of illustration. The reduction is done
in such a way that it is only certain parts which are oriented
towards the reception of subject matter rather than the
subject matter itself that are not presented. The portions
remaining, which are crucial to thematic development, are
still lengthy but we shall manage to present this below.

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xxi	Ṣé ẹ	rí kinní yìí?	unmkd
	Question (Do) you	see this thing?	
xxii	Ẹ̀	ẹ́ fi sínú ìkòkò.	unmkd
	You	will put it inside a pot.	
xxiii	Ẹ̀	ẹ́ wá gé gbogbo kinní yìí lée lórí.	unmkd
	You	will then cut all these things on top of it.	
xxiv	Ẹ	ẹ sè é.	unmkd
	You	will cook it.	
xxv	Omi tọmọọ yín ó máa mu dáyá	nìyẹn.	mkd
	The water that your child will be drinking	is just that.	
xxvi	Múmu lásàn	ni	mkd
	Drinking alone	(it) is	

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xxvii	wọn	ò ń fíí wẹ̀ o .	unmkd
	they	do not bathe with it.	
xxviii	Múmu lásán	ni	mkd
	Drinking alone	(it) is	
xxix	wọn	ò ń fíí wẹ̀ o .	unmkd
	they	do not bathe with it.	
xxx	ó	yá	unmkd
	It	is time (Be quick about it)	
xxxi	Ẹ	gbé e síbí yìí .	unmkd
	You	bring it here ,	
xxxii	Mà	á fi eléyìí sínú ìkòkò?	unmkd
	I	will put this one inside a pot?	
xxxiii	Ẹ̀	ẹ sọ ọ́ sínú ìkòkò .	unmkd
	You	will throw it inside a pot .	

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xxxiv	ẹ	ẹ wá gé yìí sí i lórí .	unmkd
	you	will then cut this on top of it.	
xxxv	Mà	á sọ ọ́ sínú kinni tí mà á fi ṣè é?	unmkd
	I	will throw it into the pot I'll use to cook it?	
xxxvi	Ṣé ẹ	réléyìí?	unmkd
	Question (Do) you	see this?	
xxxvii	Ẹ	ẹ pò ó mọ́ mẹntilétọ .	unmkd
	You	will mix it with mentholatum .	
xxxviii	Ó	yagbẹ o . .	unmkd
	He	passes excrement .	
xxxix	ọ̀	kò yagbẹ o .	unmkd
	(He)	not pass excrement .	
xL	Ní gbogbo ìgba	ẹ máa fi bọ́ọ nídìí .	mkd
	All the time	you will be dipping it into his anus.	

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xLi	ṣó	ti ye yín?	unmkd
	Question it	has become clear to you?	
xLii	ṣé ẹ	rí i?	unmkd
	Question (Do)you	see?	
xLiii	ẹ	ẹ wá bu 'làjì ẹ síi báyìí.	unmkd
	you	will then scoop half of it on it like this.	
xLiv	ṣó o	ti ríi?	unmkd
	Question you	have seen it?	
xLv	O	ó wáá bu díẹ.	unmkd
	You	will then take a little.	
xLvi	O	ó fi wọ́n ojú ìdí to yọ yẹn.	unmkd
	You	will scoop it.	
xLvii	Wà	á wá máṣọ yìí.	unmkd
	You	will then take this cloth.	

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xlviii	wà	á fi tìí wọlé .	unmkd
	You	will use it to push it in..	
xlix	ṣó	ti yé ẹ?	unmkd
	Question	have you understood?	
L	Wà	á dẹ̀ tún fọ aṣọ yìí.	unmkd
	You	will also again wash this cloth.	
Li	Wà	á sá a .	unmkd
	You	will let it become dry .	
Lii	Ø	Má jẹ kí ó junù o .	unmkd
		Don't let it get lost .	
Liii	Bó junù	a à níí fún ẹ ni ìmìì o .	mkd
	If it gets lost		
	lost, we	shall not give you another .	
Liv	Tó bá ti yọ	ni eléyìí o .	mkd
	When it		
	protrudes	is (the relevance) of this one.	

	Theme	Rheme	Status
L v	Ó It	yá is time	unmkd
L vi	ẹ You	gbágbo jáde bring the herbs out	unmkd
L vii	Eléyìí This one	ńkọ́? what about it?	unmkd
xxxvii	Ṣé ẹ Question (Do) you	réléyìí? see this?	unmkd
xxxviii	Á He	á máa mu ú léẹmẹta lóóojọ́ will be drinking it three times a day	unmkd
xxxix	Owóo yín Your fee	jẹ́ pọ́nun mẹ́waa-aabọ is ten and a half pounds	unmkd

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xc	Ẹ́ You	ṣé . thanks.	unmkd
xci	Ṣé ø Question (Hope there is)	kò níídì kí n tún padà wá mọ́? no need for me to come back again?	unmkd
xcii	Bó bá ṣe rí However things turn out	ké ẹ wá fún wa lálàyé nijọ́ mẹẹdógún . you should come and inform us in fifteen days time .	unmkd
xciii	Ọlọ́run God	a wò ó . will look after him.	unmkd
xciv	Ọlọ́run God	á dáa sí . will preserve him.	unmkd
xcv	Ikú Death	ò níí gbà á . will not claim him.	unmkd

	Theme	Rheme	Status
xcvi	Àrùn	ò níí gbà á .	unmkd
	Sickness	will not claim him .	
xcvii	Gbòmogbòmo	kò níí gbọmọ lọ́wọ́ọ yín.	unmkd
	That which claims		
	children	will not claim your child from you .	
xcviii	ó	dàbọ̀ o .	unmkd
	It	is bye.	

The trend of the first extract described above continues
in the one just presented. The use of the 2nd person
pronouns ẹ́, ọ́ and wà --- contracted from ìwọ 'you' also marks
the thematic participant in the latter extract. These
pronouns as well as the 1st person pronoun mà contracted
from èmi 'I' (cls. xxxii and xxxv) occur many times in it,
referring to the listener whom we have already identified as
client in the first extract. Other items under theme include
the question items ṣé, ṣéé/ṣóo 'question+you'; the item omi
'water' and its collocate múmu 'drinking; the demonstrative
item eléyìí 'this one'; and the names of certain supernatural
powers - Ọlọ́run 'God', Ikú 'Death', etc. Furthermore, the
items Tó bá ti yọ 'When it protrudes' (cl. xliv) indicate a
link between this extract and the previous one.

The rheme is introduced with the identification of an
object kínní yìí 'this thing' on which certain actions are
to be performed, e.g. fi sínú ìkòkò 'put it inside a pot',
gé lé lórí 'cut on top of' and sè é 'cook it' (cls. xxi-xxiv).
The object after some actions have been performed on it will
produce omi 'water' which is only mímu 'drinking', not wíwẹ̀
'bathing'. The water mentioned here cannot just be ordinary
water in the manner in which it has to be prepared and used
following some specified instructions. It should be a kind of

medicine whose major or sole ingredient <u>kinní yìí</u> 'this thing'
is mentioned in cl . xxi. The objects of medicine here
link this extract to the first one discussed which ends with
some medicines that will be received by the client. Here, it
appears the medicines have been received and instructions
are being given as to what to do with them. Further down
this extract, some other objects of medicine are introduced,
e.g. <u>eléyìí</u> 'this one' (cl. xxxii) <u>aṣọ yìí</u> 'this cloth'
(cl. xlvii), <u>gbágbo jáde</u> 'bring out the herbs' (Lvi), and their
preparation and administration specified – <u>sọọ́ sínú ìkòkò</u>
'throw into a pot', <u>gé yìí síi lórí</u> 'cut this on top of it',
<u>pò ó mọ́ mentilétọ</u> 'mix with mentholatum', <u>bu díẹ̀</u> 'take a
little', <u>fọṣọ yìí</u> 'wash this cloth', <u>sá a</u> 'dry it', etc. The
client identified in the theme is the person supposed to
carry out this prescription given by the herbalist.

    The medicinal objects in the text are administered to
certain parts of a person's body: <u>fi bọọ́ nídìí</u> 'dip it in
his anus' (cl. xl), <u>fi wọn ojú ìdí</u> 'scoop on the anus',
<u>fi tìí wọlé</u> 'use to push it in', etc. The person affected
here is denoted by the 3rd person pronouns <u>ó</u> 'he' (cl. xxxviii),
<u>ọ</u> 'him' (cl. xl) and <u>a</u> 'him' (cls. xciv-xcvi), and these
refer to <u>ọmọ</u> 'child' mentioned towards the end of the extract
(cl. xcvii).

The question items in the extract are of two kinds. The
first kind refers to those uttered by the herbalist to
either demonstrate or call the attention of the client to
something, e.g.: Ṣó o /Ṣé ọ ri---? 'You see this---?' (cls.
i, xLii, xLiv, etc.), or those uttered to check the latter's
comprehension, e.g.: Ṣó ti ye yín? 'Have you understood?'
(cls. xLi and xLix). And the second kind refers to those
questions asked by the client to seek further clarification of
the herbalist's instructions, e.g.: Màá fi eléyìí sínú ìkòkò?
'I will put this one inside a pot'. (cl. xxxii), Eléyìí ńkọ́?
'What about this one?' (cl. Lvii).

Lastly, it is observed that the references in the extract
are not restricted to natural human and non-human objects. The
names of some supernatural powers are also mentioned in the
closing greetings. From all indications available in the
extract, the herbalist is calling these agents to preserve
the sick child's life and restore his health. This call, if
anything at all, is intended to complement the efforts of the
herbalist and client in the medication process.

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Reference (situational)	Ẹ 'You' (all over); <u>kinní yìí</u> 'this thing' (cl. xxi); i/o/e 'it' (cls. xxvii, xxix, xxxi); <u>eléyìí</u> 'this one' (cl. xxxii), etc.
Reference (linguistic)	<u>egbòogi</u> 'medicines'⟶<u>kinní yìí/eléyìí</u> 'this thing/one' (1st extract cl.xv and 2nd extract cl. xxiii); <u>kinní yìí</u> 'this thing'⟵ e/i 'it' (cls. xxiii and xxiv); <u>omi</u> 'water'⟵ i 'it' (cls. xxv and xxvii); <u>Idí</u> 'Anus' (1st extract)⟵ ó 'it' (2nd extract cl. Liv); <u>eléyìí</u> 'this one⟵ ọ 'it' (cls. xxxii and xxxiii) <u>aṣọ yìí</u> 'this cloth'⟵ a 'it' (cls. L and Li); eléyìí 'this one⟵ u 'it' (cls. Lxxxvii and Lxxxviii); ó/<u>a</u> 'him'⟶omọ 'child (cls. xciii-xcvii), etc.
Ellipsis 'SP'	Mímu làsán ni ⌊ ó jẹ́ ⌋ (cls. xxvi and xxviii) Drinking alone (thematic) it is.
'SPC'	Ẹ̀ẹkan náà ni ⌊ẹ máa se gbogbo è pọ̀⌋ (ll. 54-55) It is once ⌊you will cook everything⌋

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
Substitution	ìkòkò 'pot' (cl. xxxiii)← kinní tí màá fi sè é 'the thing I'll use to cook it' (cl. xxxv)
Conjunction	wá 'then' ←→ (cls. xxxiii and xxxiv, cls. xLii and xLiii, xLiv and xLv, xLvi and xLvii); dé tún 'also again' (cls. xLvii-L)
Lexical repetition	kinní yìí/eléyìí/yìí 'this thing/one' (cls. xxi, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, Liv, etc.); ìkòkò 'pot' (cls. xxii, xxxii and Lxix); aṣọ 'cloth' (xLvii and L); mímu/mu 'drinking/drink' (cls. xxvi, xxviii, Liii, Lxxxviii, etc.); gbà 'claim' (cls. xcv - xcvii); yàgbé 'pass excreta' (cls. xxxvii and xxxviii), wẹ̀ 'bathe' (cls. xxvii, xxix, Lxiv, Lxvi, etc.); bù 'take' (cls. xLiii and xLv); etc.
Lexical relationships a. synonymy	wò 'look after' → dá sí 'preserve' (cls. xciii and xciv)

Cohesive ties	Items and Location
b. antonymy	yọ 'protrude' ⟶ wọlé 'enter' (cls. xLvi and xLviii); yìí 'this' ⟶ mìíì 'another' (cls. L and Liii)
c. hyponymy/co-hyponymy (time reference)	Ní gbogbo ìgbà 'All the time' ⟶ léèmẹta lóòjọ́ 'three times daily' /ní jọ́ mẹ́ẹ̀dógún' in fifteen days (cls. xL, Lxxxviii and xcii)
(medicinal objects)	omi 'water' /mentilétọ̀ 'mentholatum' /aṣọ 'cloth' /agbo 'herbs', etc.
d. collocation	omi 'water' ⟶ múmu 'drinking' /wẹ̀ 'bathe' (cls. xxv, xxvi, xxix); yàgbẹ́ 'pass excreta' ⟶ ìdí 'anus' (cls. xxxviii and xL); ìkòkò 'pot' ⟶ sè 'cook' (cls. xxii and xxiv); aṣọ 'cloth' ⟶ fọ̀ 'wash' and sá 'dry' (cls. xLvii, L and Li)

Apparently, Text 1 above exhibits a lot of cohesive features in its two extracts described above. But it is important to note that cohesion is not peculiar to this text alone. It is a characteristic feature of YTM texts. Every YTM text exhibits features of cohesion which are projected via different cohesive categories. It is these features which enhance the communication of meaningful ideas by the texts as well as the reception of these ideas by interpretants. Although all YTM texts can be said to display cohesion, they cannot be said to display this phenomenon in the same way. Hence, one might curiously want to observe the ways in which different YTM texts contain cohesive features. The features of cohesion in the seven texts analyzed in this study are thus observed and the findings presented in a table below (see Table 7). Meanwhile, there are some statements made about the method of presentation as follows:

a.   the features are observed in terms of (i) the number of texts in which they occur, and (ii) the frequency of those features that are quantifiable in the texts;

b.   a feature with a high frequency of occurrence (H) will occur at least five times in a text, while that with a low frequency (L) will occur less than this number;

    c.   a feature is considered characteristic (C) if it

          occurs frequently in five or more of the seven

          texts analyzed, otherwise it will be regarded as

          not characteristic (NC);

    d.   the total frequency of occurrences of features

          is indicated in the 'comment' column in the table,

          alongside the symbol for characteristic or non-

          characteristic; and

    e.   the '+' sign indicates the presence of a feature

          in a text while the '-' sign indicates its absence.

Table 7: The Representation of Cohesive Features in YTM Texts

CATEGORIES	T	E	X	T	S			Comments
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a. Reference	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C
(i) Situational	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	7H
(ii) Co-textual	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	7H
b. Substitution	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	NC
	H	−	L	−	H	H	L	3H
c. Ellipsis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C
	H	L	H	L	H	H	H	5H
d. Conjunction	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	NC
	H	L	L	−	H	L	H	3H
e. Lexical Repetition	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C
	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	7H
f. Lexical Relationships	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C
g. Lexical Collocation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C

The table above shows that cohesion is achieved in YTM texts in different ways, but these are explained in two directions below. First, it is observed that features represented by categories 'a', 'c', 'e', 'f' and 'g' are characteristic of YTM texts, while those represented by categories 'b' and 'd' occur only in some of the texts. Although the frequencies of features of categories 'f' and 'g' are not stated in the table because both of them are not easily quantifiable or delimited in the texts, it is observed that features of both categories are normally present in every YTM text and their features are easily identifiable in it. Thus, one can state that communication in YTM involves, especially, making references (co-textual and situational) to a lot of objects, actions and events, repeating words which indicate certain key ideas in the system and indicating via lexical means the relationships which exist between participants, objects, actions and sequences of events. It also involves indicating via ellipsis the shared non-linguistic and linguistic experience of participants.

Secondly, it is observed that while some texts, e.g. Texts 1, 5, 6 and 7, utilize features represented by all or almost all of the categories above, other texts like Texts 2, 3 and 4 do not utilize features of some of the categories. The observation further reveals that the first set of texts

are longer than the second set. Thus, it seems that the longer YTM texts seem to have more cohesive features, apart from the characteristic ones listed above, than the shorter texts.

Concerning the status of clauses in Text 1 above, it is observed that there are more unmarked clauses (80.6%) than marked ones (19.4%). This prominence of clauses with unmarked theme is in fact a feature common to all the texts analyzed in this study, as the next table below shows:

Table 8: Options of Theme in Some YTM Texts

THEME	T	E	X	T	S			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Unmarked	80.6%	57.1%	82.7%	65.5%	80.6%	72.7%	71.25%	72.9%
Marked	19.4%	42.9%	17.3%	34.5%	19.4%	27.3%	28.75%	27.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Most of the time, unmarked clauses are used to represent the ideas and thoughts expressed, except perhaps on the few occasions when problems are identified via the use of marked forms, e.g.: Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn 'Piles is that' (Text 1), Ara ríro ni 'Body pains is it' (Text 3), Àsàsí sì ni 'Magical affliction

is it' (Text 7) and Erépá ni o 'Rough play is it' (Text 9); when

questions are asked, e.g.: Báwo ló ṣe ń ṣe ẹ́? 'How does it

worry you?' (Text 2), Ṣé ìyàwó rẹ kó lo pè é?'Is n't it your

wife that you call her?(Text 3), etc; and also when particular

objects and circumstances are emphasized in the recommendations

of medication, e.g.: Ọ̀nà mẹ́ta ni o ó dá a si 'It is three

places that you'll divide it into' (Text 2, 1.16) and

Aṣọ rẹ̀ ni kóo ló mọ́dì í 'It is her cloth you should tie round

your waist' (Text 3, 1.25). Note that even the unexpected

pattern of some of the marked clauses above is only construed

in grammatical terms and that some of these expressions are

more conventionally accepted in Yoruba than the unmarked

grammatical options. Contrast Ó jẹ́ erépá 'It is rough play'

or Ó jẹ́ ìdí yíyọ 'It is piles' with Erépá ni or Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn

mentioned above: the latter Yoruba pair is more acceptable in

Yoruba conversation.

In semantic terms the more frequent selection of the

unmarked option would indicate that the aggregate of propositions

and proposals in the texts represent information in the normal

order provided by the linguistic system. The normal linguistic

patterns and usual conversational forms are preferred in

YTM texts perhaps because the occasion demands a straight-

forward expression of ideas. This is one reason why one can

say that the diviners are not communicating with their clients
when they use elevated language in the divinatory system,
until when they later interpret such elevated language in a
simplified one. The YTM herbalist undoubtedly has to make
himself clear at all times to his client, otherwise he will be
constantly challenged to repeat or clarify his ideas.

5.1.2 Some significant lexical items

The lexical items which project the message of the above
text can be identified in two parts: (a) items indicating
objects/entities, and (b) items indicating processes. The first
group of items is identified as the lexical nodes while the
second group is the collocates. The items are listed below
with the number of occurrences of each item put in brackets:

a. Items indicating objects/entities

    (i) ìdí yíyọ/yọdí-yọdí 'haemorrhoids/piles'
        (4 times), ìdí 'anus' (5 times)

    (ii) ìkòkò/abọ́ 'mud pot/bowl' (8 times), kinní
         yìí/eléyìí 'this thing/this one' (8 times),
         mímu-wíwẹ̀ 'that for drinking and
         bathing'(2 times), aṣọ 'cloth' (2 times),
         àṣàlo àtìdí yíyọ 'assorted and piles'
         (2 times), àgbo 'herbs' (1 time), egbòogi
         'medicine' (1 time), mentilétọ̀

'mentholatum' (1 time), etc.

    (iii) Ọlọ́un 'God' (2 times), Ikú 'Death' (1 time),
           Àrùn 'sickness' (1 time), Gbọmọgbọmọ
           'That which claims children' (1 time).

  b.   Items indicating processes

    (i) yọ 'protrude' (4 times), nìyẹn 'is that
       (4 times), yàgbẹ́ 'pass excreta' (2 times),
       yọdí 'protrude anus (1 time).

    (ii) se 'cook' (6 times), rí 'see' (6 times),
       mu 'drink' (5 times), wẹ 'bathe' (5 times),
       fi sí/sọ sí 'put in/throw into' (5 times),
       gbà 'get' (3 times), gé lé 'cut on' (2
       times), bù 'take' (2 times) fi tì wọlé
       'use to push in' (2 times), jókòó lé 'sit
       on' (2 times), pò mọ́ 'mix with' (1 time),
       fi bọ (1 time) fọ̀ 'wash' (1 time), sá 'dry'
       (1 time), yọ́ 'sift' (1 time).

    (iii) gbà 'claim' (3 times), wò 'look after'
       (1 time), dá sí 'preserve' (1 time).

The co-occurrence relationship between the lexical nodes
in 'a' above and collocates in 'b' can be described in the
two parts which correlate with the transactional structure
of the texts. The relevant items in the first part which
project the diagnostic transaction identify and describe a
client's problem in the text. The process of identification
here is indicated by the strong probability of collocation

(3/4) between Ìdí yíyọ/Yọ̀dí-yọ̀dí which both refer to a kind of disease and nìyẹn which foregrounds the items by thematizing them. In other words, both these nodes and collocates co-occur three times out of the four instances in which the items occur individually. Similarly, the description of the nature of the problem is projected by the strong collocation of Ìdí and yọ in the text. Both items co-occur three times out of the five occurrences of the former item (3/5) and four occurrences of the latter 3/4; on one occasion, the two items even combine to form a verb+noun collocation, yọ̀dí. Lastly, one can notice that the name of the disease identified above is composed of these two items which describe it; hence, one can also see a strong connection between Ìdí yíyọ, yọ and ìdí which are the key items in the diagnostic aspect of the text.

The nodes and collocates relevant to the second part of the prescriptive transaction identify some medicinal objects and describes their preparation and application. Most of the nodal items mentioned collocate individually with different items, expressing many actions. However, the items kìnní yìí/ eléyìí 'this thing/this one' cut across other nodes by referring to many of them at different points in the text. In the eight instances in which these items occur, they co-

occur with rí 'see' (3 times) and with some other items gé lé 'cut on', fi sí/sọ sí 'put in/throw into and sè 'cook (1 time each). The items rí 'see', sè 'cook', mu 'drink' and wè 'bathe' are more frequent than other items, thus making the processes which they represent very prominent. Also, the prominence of the nodal items ìkòkò/abọ́ 'mud pot/bowl', which refer to objects for cooking, is linked with the significance of the cooking process in the prescriptive transaction represented in the text. Note that a cooking event or process is itself made up of other processes which occur either simultaneously or sequentially with one another.

Finally, in the prayer greetings expressed at the closing prefatory exchanges in the text, some nodal items and collocates indicate supernatural agents which are appealed to. Three observations are made in respect of these items. The first is that the node Olọ́run 'God' is mentioned twice while each of the other nodes is mentioned once. Second, the items seem to occur in the text according to the magnitude of seniority of their referents. For instance, God is mentioned first as the greatest supernatural being; Death is mentioned next; Sickness follows; and the last referent is identified by function rather than by name. A knowledge of this hierarchy is an essential part of the

training of herbalists, and the root can be traced to the Ifa corpus. Lastly, the co-occurrence of the nodes and collocates suggest meanings in the manner in which it expresses the wish that God should perform beneficient actions - of looking after and preserving a child - while the other agents should not perform the maleficent action of taking a child's life'. Indeed in the Yoruba socio-culture, God is seen to be the greatest benefactor of mankind while Death and Sickness are among Yoruba's most dreaded evil spirits (see 4.1.1.).

The lexical items and collocation discussed above are indicative of the characteristic lexical items of YTM texts. Items which indicate problems of ill-health as well as the remedy to them are located in all texts of YTM. Apart from the examples given in the discussion above, some common items which indicate problems in the texts include: ibà 'fever', yẹ́lọ́ fífà 'yellow fever', ara riro 'body aches and pains', inú rírun 'stomachache', orí fífọ́ 'headache', kòkòrò 'infection', etc. Items which indicate objects and processes of medication also may be grouped as either common or restricted. Such items as egbòogi 'medicine', àgbo 'liquid herb', ewé 'leaves', ọṣẹ 'soap', epo 'palm oil', ìpara 'balm or ointment', ìkòkò 'pot', ìgò 'bottle', ṣíbí, etc. are very common in the texts, while items such as ètùtù 'appeasement',

ẹbọ 'sacrifice' and names of supernatural agents (Ifa, Ọrunmila, Eṣu, Ajẹ, etc.) are restricted to Type 2 texts. Some common items of process include lò 'use', bù 'scoop or take', mu 'drink', jẹ 'eat', pa 'rub', sè 'cook', pò 'mix', lá 'lick', etc.

5.1.3 Transitivity

Three process options - material, relational and mental - realize the message of Text 1. The first two options significantly project the message content of the text, while the last plus the only one instance of verbalized process wí 'say' (cl. x) realize the reception of this content. The text opens with the use of relational circumstantial verb kú 'a phatic item' to express greetings in káàárọ̀ 'good morning' (cls. i and ii). In these clauses àárọ̀ 'morning' is expressed as a circumstantial attribute serving as range while the explicit and implicit carrier Ẹ 'You' (cls. i and ii) serve as the medium. Further in the greeting, the herbalist asks a question in which the material action verb jí 'wake' indicates a non-extended action which has the participants a 'we' (i.e. the herbalist and client) both as agent/medium. The answer to this question is realized by a minor clause (see 1.3).

At the next stage of diagnosis, the herbalist asks another
question in which the relational existential verb sí 'be/
exist' enquires whether there is any problem; the client
replies this question using material action and event verbs
in cls. vi and vii respectively. The formal interpretation of
the items ó ń yòdí (literally 'He is protruding anus') gives
an absurd meaning in which an animate agent ó 'He' performs
a material action process having ìdí 'anus' as medium.
Normally, one would expect the herbalist here to use formal
items that will reflect an inanimate agent occurring
as medium in a material event process as the client does in
cl. vii, viz ---- Ìdí ò á wá yọ 'His anus will then protrude'.
Although the forms of the latter expression give a more
plausible meaning, the former expression is also understood
by the listener because the re-interpretation to be done is
already a part of the socio-cultural consciousness of the
Yoruba in their day-to-day interaction. Thus, the two
expressions above are acceptable in Yoruba conversation as well
as in YTM transaction.

Following the statement of the client's problem above,
the herbalist confirms the problem via the propositions
Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn/Yòdí-yòdí nìyẹn (cls. ix, xi and xii). In
these propositions, the relational identifying verb jẹ́

'be' is ellipted in the clauses in which the name/token of the problem is thematized (see 5.1.1). While Ìdí yíyọ and Yòdí-yọ̀dí name the problem being diagnosed above, the item ìyẹn 'that' refers to the referent of the problem itself. This identifier also represents the value and medium of the identifying process above.

Idí yíyọ

Further in the diagnostic transaction, the herbalist proposes that the client should carry out some material action processes of creation and operation, viz. ṣe 'do' and gbà 'get' respectively (see cls. xiii and xv; and cls. xviii-xx). The agent of these actions is the client while the medium is a set of medicinal items egbòogi 'medicine', àṣàlò àtìdí yíyọ 'assorted herbs and piles', etc.

The medicating aspect of the text is constituted by the prescriptive transaction. In this transaction, instructions are given as to how medicines should be prepared and administered. The preparation and administration of medicines are indicated via material operation verbs fi sí 'put in', gé 'cut', ṣe 'cook', fi...wọ́n 'scoop...on', pò mọ́ 'mix with', fi tì 'use to push', fọ̀ 'wash', sá 'dry', etc. The client is the agent that will perform all these actions, while her son will perform such actions as jókòó lé 'sit on' and mu 'drink' (cls Lxxxii-Lxxxiv and Lxxxviii). In all these

instances, the medicinal objects omi 'water', aṣọ 'cloth', àgbo
'herb', mẹntilétọ̀ 'mentholatum' and their references ọ́, í, é,
ó, a 'it' are the medium of the actions, being the things
to be prepared and administered by the client. Occasionally,
the beneficiary of the actions is mentioned in the material
clauses, viz. ọ́ 'him' in fi bọ̀ ọ́ 'dip him' (cl. xL), i 'it'
in si i 'on it' (cl. xLiii) í 'it' in ti í 'push it' (cl.
xLviii). The pronouns here refer to the child and the part
of his body affected by the disease. The circumstantial
details given about the preparation and administration of
medicines are mostly about time and place. The time adverbials
give details about the period of client's affliction by a
disease, the periods of preparation and application of medicines
and the date of re-appointment between the herbalist and
client, e.g.: Tó bá ti ń yàgbẹ́ báylí 'Whenever he passes
excrement like this', lẹ́ẹkan náà 'once', ní gbogbo ìgbà 'all the
time', lẹ́ẹmẹta lóòjọ́ 'three times daily' and ní jọ́ mẹ́ẹdógún 'in
fifteen days'. And the place adverbials often indicate
location of objects during preparation and application, e.g.:
sínú ìkokò 'inside a pot', lórí 'on top', nídìí 'in the anus', lójú ìdí tó yọ
yẹn 'on the piles', etc.

Lastly, the herbalist's use of mental verbs of perception
rí 'see' and cognition yé 'understand' in the prescription

of medicines in Text 1 does not contribute directly to the message

about prescription. Instead the verbs indicate a checking

of the client's understanding of the message. Mental verbs

may not occur prominently in YTM texts, but they do play the

significant role of ensuring the comprehension of the message

whenever they occur in a text. The use of the mental perception

verb gbọ́ 'hear/listen' is especially noted for this purpose

(see Text 2, 1.3; Text 3, 11. 7, 27 and 28; and several instances

in Texts 5, 6 and 7).

The brief analysis of transitivity features above gives

an indication of what to expect in most YTM texts, especially

Type 1 texts. Both the relational and material process

options play significant roles in different aspects of the

texts, with the latter being the more overall prominent

feature of the two (see Table 9 below). Apart from the

relational attributive verbs which realize the pre-diagnostic

and post-medication greetings in the texts, relational verbs

also serve prominently to indicate the existence of a problem

and identify such a problem as well as its causes, symptoms

and attributes, e.g.:

70a.   Kà a sí nkan o? (Text 3, 1.7; Text 7, 1.15)
       Hope there is nothing wrong?

   b.   Báwo ló ti wá jẹ́ o? (Text 7, 1.24)
       What is it then that is wrong?

c. Ara ríro ni ⌊ó jé ⌋ o. (Text 3, 1.10)

Body pains is what it is

d. Ṣé tọ̀ ẹ ò pọ́n? (Text 2, 1.7)

Is your urine any yellow?

e. Wókowoko báyìí laraà mí rí.(Text 8, 1.15)

My body is in a disordered state.

The relational process is vital to a YTM text because the parti-
cipants believe that a problem cannot be controlled or
remedied unless it or the cause of it is recognized and
identified by name (see 4.1.1.2). Thus, by identifying the
client's problem or its cause by its real name, viz. ìdí yíyọ
'piles', ara ríro 'body pains', asasi magical affliction',
etc., it seems the task of the herbalist-client encounter is
half-done. To complete the task requires, especially, the
use of material verbs as pointed out below.

Table 9:   Options of Process in Some YTM Texts

PROCESS	TEXTS							Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Material	59.2	71.4	40.4	62.1	15.8	48.8	39.4	48.2
Mental	10.2	3.6	17.3	3.5	22.2	23.0	11.9	13.1
Relational	29.6	17.8	36.5	34.4	32.4	16.7	27.5	27.9
Verbalized	1.0	3.6	5.8	–	21.3	10.5	21.2	9.1
Behavioural	–	3.6	–	–	8.3	1.0	–	1.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Although the domain of the material process in YTM texts
is the medication aspect, the process also complements the
relational process in the diagnosis of a client's problem by
realizing some propositions about the nature, symptoms and
circumstances of the problem and also some other propositions
which precede the medication aspect, e.g.:

71a.   Kí/Ewo ló dé? (Text 4, 1.1; Text 6, 1.7)

   What is the matter?

   b.   Ara ń ro mí. (Text 2, 1.6)

   My body aches.

c. Ó kàn má a ń sùn kalè ni.(Text 2, 1.9)

He just sleeps on the ground.

d. ---n ó fún ọ ní dògun kékeré kan ---
(Text 8, 11. 33-34)

---I shall give you one medicine---

Even in emergency situations of YTM practice, the expressives
in the pre-diagnostic aspect are realized by especially the
material clause E gbà mí ooo! 'Help me!' in which the action
verb gbà 'help' represents a client's distress call for quick
action from a herbalist.

The material process is found to be most prominent in
the medicating of YTM texts. Whether the transaction is
prescriptive, incantatory or supplicating, it emphasizes
physical activities. In the prescriptive transaction (see
Text 1, 11. 21-73; Text 2, 11. 16-28; Text 3, 11. 19-41; etc.)
material verbs indicate certain actions which the client should
perform on medicinal objects while preparing and applying
them. In the incantatory transaction, the material process
option may represent actions involving different participants.
First, it may represent the wish that a certain problem should
cease (see Text 16, 11. 1-3 and 8-9). Second, it may
represent actions performed by supernatural forces for or on
certain objects (Text 7, 11. 96-100). Third, it may represent

some other actions performed by supernatural forces on a patient
(Text 17, ll. 20-21). Lastly, it may represent the client
acting on certain objects in order to solve his problem
(see Text 18, ll. 17-21). In the supplicating transaction,
or prayer greeetings the material clause represents the wish
that some supernatural agents should explicitly or implicitly
perform the action of guiding, providing the supplicant
with good health or wealth, preventing him from any evil or
giving support to the client (Text 19, ll. 13-15; Text 20,
ll. 72-76). It also represents the wish that the agents should
accept the sacrifices offered by the client (Text 20, ll. 43-45
and ll. 56-57).

Also in the divinatory aspect of YTM texts, the impact
of the material process can be felt in the representation of
protagonists' worries, quest for divination, later successes
and expressions of happiness and joy.

Generally, in YTM texts, the predominance of material
verbs reflect the participants' belief that the mark of being
alive and healthy is the ability to perform physical activities
(see, e.g. Text 4, ll. 9-10). Thus, when a natural sickness
becomes active in a patient, the patient too has to counter-
act by preparing and applying medicines to overpower the
sickness.

Though it characterizes most YTM texts, the material process
may not be predominant in some of the texts. For example, in
Text 5 the relational process occurs most prominently because
the divinatory interpretation (see especially 11. 62-69)
emphasizes the existence of certain agents which are crucial
to the problem being tackled. One further observation made
here is that the verbalized process, realized by verbs like
ní/wí/sọ 'say/speak/talk', has the tendency to occur frequently
in transactions pertaining to divination (see e.g. Texts 5,
6 and 7; and also Texts 10-12).

Having described the process options which are central
to the transitivity system, a few remarks need to be made about
the participants and circumstantial options too. Talking
about participant roles, it is observed that most clauses with
the material process further select the non-middle participant
option (see Table 10 below). At different points in the texts,
the non-middle clauses represent both the medium and agent,
and sometimes the beneficiary, of material action or event
processes. For example, most of the material clauses in
Texts 1, 2, 3 and 7 above show the client or patient as an
agent instructed to perform actions on certain objects which
serve as medium. See, for example, the sentences below (the
participant items are underlined):

72a. Wà á wá máṣọ yìí, wháfi Ø tì í wọlé.
(Text 1, ll. 37-38).

You will then take this cloth, and use it to
push it in.

b. Ø Yó ó má a mu ú gẹ́gẹ́ bí omi --- (Text 2, l.22)

He will be drinking it like water---

c. Kẹ́ ẹ wa Ø lọ, kó lọ bẹ̀ ẹ́. (Text 13, l.14)

You should look for her and let him go and
beg her.

Note the pronoun í in tìí 'push it' in Example 72a which serves
as beneficiary in the clause. The pronoun refers to the piles
earlier identified as the problem of the patient.

Also in some of the texts, the herbalist and supernatural
forces are called upon as agents to work for the clients or
patients as goal or beneficiary or fight some problems which
serve as medium (see Text 4, ll. 3-4 and 15-16; Text 9, ll.5
and 9; Text 7, ll.96-100; Text 17, ll. 20-21, etc.).

When material middle clauses occur in the texts, they often
express clients' problems or worries that are revealed
in their performance of non-extended actions (see Examples
71 a, b and c above). Consider also some other clauses in
Text 6, l.26; Text 10, ll. 4-5; Text 12, ll. 11-16 and
45-52; etc.

Table 10: The Participant option in Material clauses in Some YTM Texts

PARTICIPANTS	T E X T S													
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Mean	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Non-middle	55	93.2	16	76.2	13	76.5	14	77.8	9	52.9	43	42.2	41	62.1	191	63.7
Middle	4	6.8	5	23.8	4	23.5	4	22.2	8	47.1	59	57.8	25	37.9	109	36.3
Total	59	100	21	100%	17	100%	18	100%	17	100%	102	100%	66	100%	300	100%

Meanwhile, other clauses which indicate mental, relational, verbalized and behavioural processes often indicate the medium and range participant roles. The range in these clauses normally expresses the sickness attributes of patients, greeting attributes of participants, the verbiages of super- natural forces and diviners and the perceptions and cognitions of or reactions to phenomena by clients or herbalists.

The representation of circumstantial details shows that the place adjunct occurs most frequently in the texts, followed by the time adjunct (see Table 11 below). Apart from indicating the location of medicines during their preparation and application as in Text 1 above, the place adjuncts also give information about herbalists' location as well as client's direction and destination in the search for remedy for her problem (see Text 2, l. 11; Text 3, l.5; Text 5, l.15; Text 6, l.86; see also Text 7, ll. 155-156 and 160-161). The time adjunct very often gives details about the period of preparation and application of medicines (Text 2, ll. 17-18; Text 3, l.23; Text 5, l.104; etc.).

Table 11:   The Circumstantial Options in Some YTM Texts

CIRCUMSTANCE	T	E	X	T	S			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Place	48.0	30.0	60.0	66.7	38.9	34.2	50.0	46.8
Time	36.0	40.0	30.0	33.3	22.2	42.5	18.8	31.8
Manner	12.0	30.0	10.0	–	22.2	19.2	28.1	17.4
Reason	4.0	–	–	–	16.7	2.7	3.1	3.8
Purpose	–	–	–	–	–	1.4	–	.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

5.1.4 Polarity

From the socio-cultural point of view, the field of YTM
has both positive and negative applications to the Yoruba
people. But it has already been stated in this work (see
4.1.1.2) that the positive view is the object of this study.
The goal of a positively-oriented YTM event is the efficient
diagnosis of a problem of ill-health and appropriate
suggestion of a remedy to this problem. No problems can
prove intractable to solutions in YTM practice and herbalists
do not admit defeat even in the face of seemingly apparent
failures (see e.g. Text 4).

Talking about form, it is already recognized that the
first three clauses in the text represent greetings. The
first two of these clauses are positive while the third has
a negative form. While the goodwill expressed by the positive
clauses is apparent, that expressed by the negative one is
implied and it has its proper interpretation tied with socio-
cultural experience. The clause A à jí bí o? 'Didn't we
wake up?' can be seen as an alternative greeting expression
to other forms like Ṣé dáadáa la jí? or Ṣá a jíire? 'Did
we wake up well?' The greeting with a negative form above is
emphatic, unlike the other two, and it does not take the act

of waking up well for granted; what the meaning implies can be stated thus: 'Did we really wake up well?'.

Nearly all the clauses in the text indicating the problem and sources of remedy are positive. The problem of the client, for example, is identified by the herbalist via the use of positive clauses (cls. ix, xi and xii) with emphasis on one of them Idi yíyọ nìyẹn sẹ́ ọ 'Piles that certainly is', This reflects the herbalist's positiveness about the diagnosis, and the client's total agreement with her is assumed. Also, the later prescription by the herbalist is expressed by very many positive declarative clauses which indicate what actions the client should perform towards achieving a positive consequence than what actions she should not perform. Even the interrogative clauses which express part of this prescription are positive as they represent demonstrations and demands for clarification both of which are essential to the success of the encounter.

Although positive clauses are predominant in the text, some negative clauses occur too to project the preventive-diagnostic-curative YTM view. One negative clause is the one that represents the apparently ironical initiating question of the herbalist, viz. ṣé kò sí o? 'Hope there is nothing?' The questioner here knows that something is

wrong with the listener but she does not want to be blank about

this since lack of well-being is a social malaise. A more

direct and positive question such as Kí ló dé? 'What has

come?' may not be as appropriate in this text as it would

have been in a text representing an emergency YTM situation

(see Texts 4, 6 and 9). Some other negative clauses in the

text (see cls. xxvii, xxix, Lii and Liii) represent

instructions which are not intended to instigate actions with

negative consequences; rather, they are intended to warn

against such actions that may prevent a timely achievement

of a positive goal. Similarly, those negative clauses that appear

towards the end of the text (cls xcv-xcvii) are representing

appeals against occurrences of bad events so that the

positive goal of the encounter represented by it is achieved.

One further observation about negative clauses in Text 1 is

that they sometimes serve to emphasize a positive event by

denying a contrary positive action. For example, the proposition ---

wọn ò ń fi í wẹ ọ 'they don't bathe with it' in cl. xxvii

emphasizes the action of drinking expressed in the preceding

proposition, viz. Mímu ni wọ́n ń mu ú 'It is drinking that
they drink it' via the juxtaposition of a 'drinking'
and 'non-drinking' (i.e. bathing) action. Also, the

expressions Ikú ò níí gbà á 'Death will not claim him',

Àrùn ò níí gbà á 'Sickness will not claim him', etc. negates
the positive actions Ikú á gbà á 'Death will claim, him and
Àrùn á gbà á 'Sickness will claim him' both of which have a
negative consequence in order to achieve a positive event.
Note also that while the expression Ọlọrun á dáa sí 'God will
preserve him' is acceptable to the Yoruba speaker, the
expressions Ikú á dáa sí or Àrùn á dáa sí look absurd because
the latter agents are noted for their destructive rather than
creation or preservation tendencies.

    Even though both the options of positive and negative play
significant roles in projecting the positive view in remedy-
oriented YTM texts, it is very clear that the positive option
is more frequently employed in the texts, as Table 12 below
reveals:

Table 12: <u>Polarity Options in Some YTM Texts</u>

POLARITY	T	E	X	T	S			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Positive	83.7	82.1	86.5	100	88.0	83.7	87.7	86.7
Negative	16.3	17.9	13.5	-	12.0	16.3	13.3	13.3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The significance of the two options above in the texts is similar
to that pointed out in the description of Text 1 above.

5.1.5 Tense

Before we identify the tenses in the above text, we need
to point out that we already have some clues about its
reference to time. From the conversational mode of the text,
for example, we know that it is a representation of a
present time interactional event between participants. All
actions and events that take place during the interaction
are thus assumed to be present time-bound; those which took
place before the interaction are past time-bound; and those
which are yet to take place at the time of the interaction
are future time-bound. We now combine our social experience
here with the interpretation of tense forms in the text in
order to understand fully how it makes references to time.

The first occurrences of tense in the text are the
non-future neutral phatic expressions in cls. (i) - (iii).
The first two expressions refer to the present time because
they occur contextually in a present time-bound speech event
while the third expression A à jí bí o? 'Did we wake up well?'
refers to a past time because the action of 'waking up'
preceded the time of conversation.

At the diagnostic aspect of the text, different tenses mark
the exchange of information. The initiating question
Ṣé kò sí o? 'Hope there is nothing?' is a non-future tense
expression which is present time-bound because it is asked
in a present-time conversation. And the reply by the client
contains three different tenses. First, it contains the non-
future durative expression Ó ń yǫdí 'He is having piles' the
expression indicates habitual action, or rather event, which
transcends the past time into the present. Second, it contains
a future tense expression in a major clause (cl. vii) which
indicates that the problem identified above is however
consequent on another past/present time-bound action expressed
in the subordinate clause preceding it:

73.   Tó bá ti ń yàgbé (non-future durative)

       When he passes excreta

       Idi è á wá yǫ.(future-neutral)

       His anus would then protrude.

In other words, the problem idí yíyǫ co-occurs with the passing
of excrement by the patient. Thirdly, the reply contains an
expression in non-future neutral tense of a temporary remedy
for the problem at the time of its occurrence. The
diagnosis of the problem is then rounded off with the use
of two tenses - the non-future neutral tense and future

neutral tense. The former tense which is present time-bound identifies the problem, while the latter indicates a future time-bound remedy to the problem.

The medication aspect of the text is projected mainly via the use of future neutral and durative tenses all of which are bound to the present time communication. These tenses indicate the future time actions to be taken in remedying the problem identified above, e.g.: <u>Má jẹ́ kí ó jùnù o</u> 'Don't let it get lost' (cl. ii), <u>Ẹ ẹ́ pò ó mọ́ mẹntiléto</u> 'You will mix it with mentholatum', <u>Wà á wá másọ yì í</u> 'You will then take this cloth' (cl. xLvii), <u>Yóó maa mú ú</u> --- 'He will be drinking it---' (cls. Lxiii and Lxv), etc. On some occasions the non-future neutral and durative tenses are also used, the first representing mainly demonstrative questions asked by the herbalist to make the client pay attention and also recognize the objects whose functions she is describing (see e.g. cls. xxxvi, xLii and Lx) while both tenses representassertions by the herbalist about some conventional ways of using a medicine (see cls. xxvi, xxix and Liv). A few occurrences of non-future terminative tenses can also be cited from the text (cls. xLi, xLiv and xLix): these occurrences reflect the herbalist's method of checking and making sure that the client understands one point before

she introduces another.

In all, five tenses - the future neutral, future durative, non-future neutral, non-future durative and non-future terminative tenses - project the message of the text and these refer mainly to the present and future time. Meanwhile, there is no evidence given contextually about time reference points in the text; even the time adjuncts in it such as <u>gbogbo ìgbà</u> 'all the time', <u>ẹ̀ẹ̀mẹta lóòjọ́</u> 'three times daily' are timeless as they can all co-occur with an expression of a past, present or future time.

The description of tense above shows that the YTM text has relevance for both the present and future time. As already noted, the interaction represented by the text is a present time event. And this event provides the node for all other references to time in the text. While it provides the environment for identifying a problem whose existence has spanned the past and present and which will continue into the future time until it is solved, it also provides the environment whereby moves are made towards solving the problem identified. However, the solution to the problem itself lies sometime in the future when adequate steps are taken in this direction in accordance with the instructions given by herbalists.

Our findings in the analysis of tense features in the seven intertexts of this study can be presented in a table below (see Table 13). Although the table gives a clear indication of which tenses are more prominent than others in the texts, we, however, need to look further into the aspects of the texts because it appears that features of tense have a closer affinity with aspects of texts rather than the texts themselves. The discussion below thus describes tense features in aspects of YTM texts and also looks at the combination of such features in individual texts.

Table 13: Tense Options in Some YTM Texts

TENSE		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
		T E X T S							
a.	Non-future neut.	40.8	32.1	44.2	72.4	72.2	70.3	65.6	56.8
b.	Non-future dur.	5.1	21.45	13.5	10.35	5.6	3.3	7.5	9.5
c.	Non-future ingr.	–	–	–	–	.9	1.0	–	.3
d.	Non-future term	3.1	14.3	7.7	–	7.5	4.8	1.9	5.6
e.	Future neut.	39.8	21.45	30.8	10.35	12.0	19.6	23.1	22.5
f.	Future dur.	11.2	10.7	3.8	6.9	.9	1.0	1.9	5.2
g.	Future ingr.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
h.	Future term.	–	–	–	–	.9	–	–	.1
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The occurrence of tense features in aspects of YTM texts
is very predictive. The non-future tenses clearly dominate
the first three (pre-diagnostic, diagnostic and divinatory)
and the last (post-medicating) aspects while the future
tenses dominate the medicating aspect. In the aspects
characterized by the non-future tenses, it is observed that
the neutral option is the most prominent, distantly followed
by the durative option, and the ingressive option rarely
occurs. The pre-diagnostic and post-medicating aspects
represent greetings and these are almost always realized
mainly in the non-future neutral tense, e.g.:

74. Obìnrin: A dúpẹ́ o.
    Babaláwo: Ó mà tójọ́ mẹ́ta--- Ṣára lọ́fẹ daada?
    Obìnrin: Kò lọ́fẹ kankan--- (Text 8, ll. 4-8)

    Woman: We are grateful
    Priest: It is quite some days--- Is your body
                sound?
    Woman: It is not sound at all.

75. Obìnrin: Ẹ ṣé o.
    Babaláwo: Ẹ rọra. Ẹ kílé o. Dákun bá mi ti
                àgánrandì mi un o. (Text 5, ll.119-120)

    Woman: Thank you
    Priest: Take care. Greet your house. Please
                help me lock that entrance.

The diagnostic aspect is most often characterized by the non-future neutral tense because they describe events that relate mainly to the present time; but, occasionally, some problems may show some duration or persistence spanning the past and present time thus necessitating the occurrence of the non-future durative tense, e.g.:

76a.   Oníṣègùn: Kí ló dé? Kí ló dé? Kí ló
                         fẹsẹ̀ ṣe?

       Ìyá Ọmọ: Erépá ni o --- (Non-future neutral
                         - Text 9, ll. 7-9)

       Herbalist: What happens? What happens? What
                         did he do to his leg?

       Child's Mother: It's rough play.

b.   Oníṣègùn: Báwo ló ṣe ń ṣe ẹ́?
       Ọmọ: Ara ń ro mí. (Non-future durative
                         - Text 2, ll. 4 and 6)

       Herbalist: How does it trouble you?
       Child: My body aches

Also the divinatory aspect is characterized by the non-future neutral tense because it describes a present time recitation and interpretation of events which occurred at particular points in the past time, e.g.:

77. Ọ̀rúnmìlà ò lè jẹ.

Ọ̀rúnmìlà ò lè mu, etc. (Text 12, 11..12-12)

Ọrunmila could not eat.

Ọrunmila could not drink.

In contrast to the expression of non-future tenses in the aspects above, future tenses, in the neutral and durative forms characterize the medicating aspect. The medicating aspect mainly describe future time activities unlike the other aspects which describe present and past time activities. The future tenses in this aspect thus represent the future time activities in a YTM text such as the fulfilment of obligations and commands.

78a. Babaláwo: Kóo wá délé nírsìnyìí, kóo lọ réé

gbàlù---(Text 6, 11. 129-130)

Priest: (Let) you get home now and (let you) get a drummer.

b. Ké ẹ jẹ́ n lówó

Ké ẹ jẹ́ n lọlá (Text 19, 11. 13-14)

Let me have money

Let me have wealth

c. Á á bù ú báyìí, á á lá gbogbo ẹ̀.(Text 7, 11. 156-157)

He will take it like this and he will lick everything.

Although the future tenses typically mark the medicating aspect, exceptions can be observed in some incantatory and supplicating transactions where assertions of facts are prominent instead of the expression of wishes (see e.g. Texts 15 and 18). Non-future tenses which realize assertions in incantations and supplications may be prominent in some texts, they do not, however, override (but rather support) the future tenses which realize obligations and commands that are the significant features of medicating texts.

Now talking about individual YTM texts, one should say that although the texts may have clauses selecting both the non-future and future tenses which may refer to the three periods of past, present and future time, the selection of tense options in them may differ from one another depending on which aspects or transactions are prolonged in each text; for example, Text 1 has more future tense verbs (51%) than non-future verbs (49%) because the prescriptive transaction in it is very extensive, whereas the non-future tense is predominant in Texts 2-7 where the medicating aspect is less-developed. Texts can also differ from one another in respect of the more delicate choices of non-future or future tenses their clauses represent (see Table 12). Thus, although most of the texts similarly express the non-future neutral, future

neutral, non-future durative and future durative tenses in a descending order of prominence, the case of texts which do not follow this order, or of texts which represent the remaining options of terminative and ingressive tenses differently, may make the difference between them.

Furthermore, in spite of the differences that may occur in the expression of tense by these texts, they have a lot of similarities occasioned by the affinity of tense expression in the aspects they share. Thus, predictably, Type 2 texts which have the divinatory aspect in them will have a lot of non-future tense expressions referring to past time in them and these expressions will mark them off from those texts without any divinatory aspect in them.

5.1.6 Mood and modality

The text begins with imperatives Ẹ káááṛọ mà 'Good morning madam' and Jọọ́, káàáṛò o 'Sorry, good morning' in the first two clauses. Both imperatives indicate an exchange of greetings between the herbalist and client. The herbalist's reply had the apologetic word 'sorry' because the reply was delayed as she had her attention somewhere before she was greeted. The third clause which is an interrogative comes

from the herbalist who initiates a second greeting A à jí bí o? 'Didn't we wake up well?' and the client replies via a group of moodless items Yẹẹsì mà 'Yes madam'. The above preliminary exchange of greetings promotes an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality to defuse whatever stiffness or formality that could characterize a transactional encounter like this one between the participants. The cordial feeling which develops between the participants here is vital to the later diagnosis because it encourages the client to bare her heart to the herbalist and the herbalist to get more involved in the interaction between them.

The aspect of diagnosis in the text is initiated by an interrogative clause from the herbalist which seeks information about the client's problem Ṣé kò sí o? 'Hope there is nothing?'. The latter supplies the required information via some declarative forms in cls. vi-viii. And this response of hers occasions further declarative clauses from the herbalist in cls. ix-xii which identify and confirm the problem, viz. Idí yíyọ nìyẹn sẹ́ẹ́. Yọ̀dí-yọ̀dí nìyẹn 'That indeed is haemorrhoids. It is piles'. She later,   amidst some interrogatives by the client seeking clarification, suggests a remedy for the problem using more clauses of the declarative type. It is significant to note the role changes in this

aspect of the text. First, it is the herbalist who is seeking information from her client. Later, the questioner becomes the knower who now provides answers to the client's questions. This role-changing shows how the herbalist gradually stamps her authority on the conversation. She confidently reveals her knowledge of medicine by authoritatively asserting the nature of the client's problem and ordering for the objects to remedy this. As soon as the herbalist takes control, the attitude of deference is forced on the client who now submits to the former's knowledge and power.

At the aspect of medication, or rather prescriptive transaction, the herbalist now takes over the full control of the conversation. She uses predominantly declarative modalized clauses, e.g.: --- o ó fi wón ojú ìdí tó yọ yẹn. '---you will scoop it on the piles' (cl. xLvi), and a few imperatives, e.g.: Má jẹ́ kó jùnù o 'Don't let it get lost' (cl. Lii) in her prescription of preparation and administration of medicines and also in her appeal to supernatural agents in the prayer greetings towards the end of the text. Also, occasionally, she uses non-modalized interrogatives like Ṣé ẹ réléyìí? 'Do you see this one?', Ṣó ti ye yín? 'Have you understood?', etc. not to seek information but to enhance the client's reception of the message. The client's

participation in the transaction is reduced to almost a passive
one but for the occasional clarifications which⌐she⌐seeks via the
use of interrogative modalized or non-modalized clauses, e.g.:
Mà á fi eléyìí sínú ìkòkò? 'I'll put this in a pot?',
Eléyìí ńkó? 'What about this one?' etc. Indeed some of her
questions (see 11.50-56) are interrupted by the herbalist who
already must have anticipated these and provided answers for
them before the client could finish.

The findings of this study reveal that the declarative
option is the most prominent option of mood (61.7%) in YTM
texts; the imperative option, quite distantly follows it
(23.2%); and the interrogative option has the least number
of occurrences (15.1%). The occurrences of these options
in the texts analyzed are presented in the table below.

Table 14:   Options of Mood in Some YTM Texts

| MOOD | T E X T S | | | | | | | |
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Declarative	75.5	57.1	53.8	44.8	76.9	56.9	66.9	61.7
Interrogative	18.4	14.3	19.2	13.8	8.3	18.2	13.7	15.1
Imperative	6.1	28.6	27.0	41.4	14.8	24.9	19.4	23.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The declarative clauses realize statements, assertions
and commands which indicate the informative and directive
as well as other functions underlying the diagnostic,
divinatory and medicating aspects of YTM texts. In the
diagnostic aspect, the client's replies to the herbalist's
questions are realized by declarative clauses (see Examples
58'a' and 'b', 70'c' and 'e' and 71'b' and 'c') while the
herbalist's identification or confirmation of client's

problems is also realized by declarative clauses (Texts 2, l.
24; Text 8, 1.14). The divinatory aspect is dominated by
declaratives giving information about certain mythical events.
The diviner uses mainly declarative clauses in the
recitation of mythical narrative in the diagnostic divinatory
transaction (see Text 5, 11. 13-16, 29, 35-43; Text 6, 11. 50-54;
50-54; Text 7, 11. 63, 66-68, 74-78, 81-100; and Texts 10-
12). And he also uses declarative clauses to report the
message of the narrative while interpreting the narrative
(see Text 5, 11. 17, 22, 30-31, 44-49, etc.). In the
medicating aspect, declarative clauses realize assertions in
incantatory and supplicating transactions (Text 15, 11.
7-9; Text 18; Text 20, 11. 59-68 and 70-71) and they also
realize the information and directives in the prescriptive
transaction (Text 2, 11. 16, 21-22; Text 3, 11. 23-24,
26, 29-30, etc.).

The imperative clauses have their domain in the
medicating aspect of YTM texts where they realize directives
(Text 13, 11. 22; Text 14, 11. 5-6, 7, 12-13, 15, etc.) and
expression of wishes and requests (Text 17, 11. 22-26; Text
20, 11. 43-53). They also realise the summons in prefatory
exchanges in emergency situations of YTM interaction (see
Text 4, 1.3; Text 6, 11. 35-36 and Text 9, 1.5).

Talking about modality, it is observed that neither the modalized nor non-modalized option has a clear-cut characteristic occurrence in YTM texts. As can be seen from Table 15 below, the mean frequencies of occurrence of both options are so close that one cannot confidently predict which of them will be dominant in subsequent texts. In two texts, Texts 1 and 4, the modalized clauses occur more frequently than the non-modalized ones. And in another two texts, Texts 5 and 6, the non-modalized option is more frequent. In Texts 2, 3 and 7, the occurrences of the two options are almost balanced even though the non-modalized clauses seem to continuously have a slightly greater frequency.

Table 15:   The Modality Options in Some YTM Texts

MODALITY	T	E	X	T	S			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Modalized	65.2	45.0	47.4	65.6	28.3	22.3	45.7	45.6
Non-modalized	34.8	55.0	52.6	34.4	71.7	77.7	54.3	54.4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Although the present investigation does not reveal any charac-
teristic feature of modality for YTM texts, some useful comments
about these features can be made to help possible future
investigations into the subject. For instance, it is observed
that modalized clauses occur alongside declaratives in the
medicating aspect of YTM texts. If such clauses are prominent in
extensive medicating aspects, there is every likelihood that they
will dominate the texts in which such aspects occur (e.g. Texts
1 and 4). However, if on the contrary the diagnostic and/or
divinatory aspects, both of which are realized mainly by
declarative non-modalized clauses, are extensive in texts, it
is most likely that such texts will have more non-modalized than
modalized clauses in them (e.g. Texts 5, 6 and 7).

5.1.7 Sentence types

Text 1 is dominated by simple sentences which represent the
rather simplistic nature of the language style employed by the
speakers. Most of the statements and questions asked are
short and they aim at easier comprehension of the meanings by
listeners. Apart from the lots of demonstration by the
herbalist (shown by the frequent use of the demonstrative item
<u>yìí</u> 'this'), a lot of checking explanations and clarifications

are made to ensure that the client gets her message properly.

Apart from the simple sentences, some minor and compound
sentences are also observed. The minor sentence is no doubt
typical of casual conversations in informal settings (see
Akindele, 1986); it cannot however be so typical in a YTM
text which naturally reflects a semi-formal setting. In its
occurrence in this text, it represents either affirmations
of the client's questions by the herbalist (11.19, 51 and 53)
or the unfinished contributions of the client resulting from
constant interruptions by the herbalist (see 11. 50-57).

The compound sentences and the few   complex sentences
in the text clarify (see 11. 24-25 and 11. 45-47) and elaborate
(11. 35-37) points that are already made to enhance easier
comprehensibility of the message by the client.

Of the four types of sentences which occur in varying
degrees of frequency in YTM texts, only two are considered
prominent in the texts. While the very few compound and
complex sentences in the text serve to emphasize, elaborate
and clarify ideas already raised in them (see Text 5, 11. 81-82;
Text 6, 11. 116-118), the simple and minor sentences
significantly project the simple and comprehensible mode
of YTM communication between herbalist and client. The
simple sentence type occurs most frequently in the texts,

accounting for as much as 72.3% of the mean frequency pattern in the texts, followed by the minor sentence type which accounts for 15.1% of the mean frequency (see below).

Table 16: <u>The Occurrences of Sentence Types in Some YTM Texts</u>

SENTENCE TYPES	T	E	X	T	S			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Minor	10.4	10.7	8.9	34.1	14.7	17.8	9.5	15.1
Simple	74.0	82.1	80.4	59.1	69.8	68.3	72.1	72.3
Compound	11.5	3.6	1.8	–	8.6	6.5	9.5	5.9
Complex	4.1	3.6	8.9	6.8	6.9	7.5	8.9	6.7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The simple and minor sentence types dominate the turns of different participants in each YTM speech event, whether such turns are long or short. Their dominance of these turns very often indicates a plain atmosphere of the YTM speech events in which the intentions of speakers are normally expressed simply and emphasized. Even the monological recitations typical of divinatory, incantatory and supplicating transactions are

projected by simple sentences supported by minor sentences which
represent vocatives and exclamations in them; the simple
sentence realizes the narrations, assertions and requests that
may be expressed in such recitations.

Lastly, both the simple and minor sentence types regulate
the rhythm of YTM texts, especially when the sentences occur
contiguously or alternate with each other as they most often
do in dialogues; e.g.:

79a. Ọmọọṣé: Yóó sì gba mímu-wíwẹ̀?
     Onísẹ̀gùn: Ẹn - ẹn - ẹn, mímu-wíwẹ̀. (Text 1,11.18-19)

     Attendant: She will also get that for drinking
                 and bathing?
     Herbalist: Yes, drinking and bathing.

   b. Ọkùnrin: Kí n lọ́sọ mọ́dìí ?
      Onísẹ̀gùn: Kò o lọ́sọ mọ́dìí. (Text 3, 11. 37-38)

      Client: I should tie a cloth round my waist?
      Herbalist: You should tie a cloth round your waist.

   c. Babaláwo: Ọmọọ̀ mi.
      Obìnrin: Baba. (Text 5, 11. 18-19)

      Priest: My child.
      Client: Father.

The illustrations above indicate both the simple and minor
sentences alternating in 'a', the simple sentence occurring

contiguously in 'b' and the minor sentence occurring contiguously in 'c'.

5.1.8 Recurrence of patterns

The patterns that recur in Text 1 above involve both partial and full repetition of items. Either pattern of repetition may occur in contiguous lines (see ll. 10, 24-25, 46-47 and 47-48) or in non-contiguous ones (see cls. xxi, xxxvi, Lx, etc.), and they serve mainly the purposes of emphasis and elaboration when they occur. For example, there is a repetition of the SP structure in cls. ix, xi and xii which emphasizes the problem. Also, the lexico-structural repetition observed in ll. 24-25 and 46-47 serves to reinforce, emphatically, the instructions given by the herbalist to the client. Lastly, the structural repetition SPC in ll. 76-78 also serves to reinforce the appeal of the herbalist to the supernatural agents represented in the text.

The significance of the use of repetition in all the instances mentioned above can be seen in three ways. First, the emphasis on identification of the client's problem serves to ensure an effective diagnosis of the problem because the certainty of the herbalist's identification can have a positive

curative effect on the client. Second, the emphases of certain instructions serve to enable the client to comprehend the instructions fully so that she can successfully perform the obligations expected of her in order to remedy her problem. Third, and finally, the emphasis on the appeal in the prayer greetings at the end of the text reflects the participants' belief in the efficacy of tenacity of expression of one's wishes in supplications (see 4.2.3).

Patterns recur in YTM texts in terms of full and partial lexico-structural repetition of structures. In Type-1 texts (like Texts 1, 2 and 3) the recurring patterns occur mainly in form of full repetition of structures and they enhance comprehensibility via their emphatic property. In the polylogical structures of Type 2 texts, however, the patterns recur in form of both the full and partial repetition of structures and they enhance both comprehsnsibility and aesthetics via their emphatic and rhythmic properties. Both of these modes are employed to draw the attention of listeners to get the messages of texts. Thus, structural repetitions help speakers in YTM interaction to achieve their aims because such speakers can attract the attention of listeners to the text messages by coaxing, forcing or charming such listeners.

5.2 Some Peculiar Formal Features of Text 5 (A Type-2 Text)

In identifying the characteristic features of YTM texts above, it is observed that the features of Text 1 and other Type-1 texts are contained in YTM texts generally; hence most features of Type-1 texts are also shared by Type-2 texts. However, there is evidence from our analyses of texts that certain formal features are found in Type-2 texts which are not shared by Type-1 texts. Such features are thus not characteristic of YTM texts, but they serve to distinguish the two broad types of texts in the register. Since it is part of the concern of this study to also look at features that are typical of text types, we shall identify some of these peculiar features of Type-2 texts below, using Text 5 as the base of analysis. The most noticeable features in this category which have not been discussed earlier in this chapter are those that pertain to the modes of texts, particularly the theme, lexico-structure and rhetorical devices.

5.2.1 Theme

A basic difference of content between Texts 1 and 5 is the mode of organization of their messages. The message of

the former is prime-order while that of the latter is both second-order and prime-order (see 4.4). A second-order interpretation of content becomes necessary in the diagnostic divinatory transaction in Text 5, while a re-interpretation of the second-order message at a prime-order level becomes essential in the divinatory prescriptive transaction. With the prime-order participants in Text 5 recognized as an Ifa priest, a client and Ifa (represented by divination instruments) from the analysis of theme and rheme projecting the pre-diagnostic and diagnostic aspects of the text (ll. 1-9), we present an analysis of theme and rheme projecting the divinatory transactions below.

Clauses	Theme	Rheme
x	Ìrẹ̀ You	ò ṣọ̀kánjúwà! are not greedy
xi	Atapatìpì	ló díá fún Ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀--- it was who cast divination for Sekere---
xii	Ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀-mú-wẹkùn	ò mọ bi à kéé mọ́ does not know where to cry to again
xiii	Ara kálukú Everybody's self	ni kára ó fu is what he should examine
xiv	Ó He	ní "ire ọmọ" says "blessings of children"

Clauses	Theme	Rheme
xv	Ø	Yó ó dára fún ọ.
	It (There)	will be blessings for you.
xvi	Ire	nifá ẹ wí.
	Good news	is what your Ifa says.
xvii	Ifá	ti lóó ṣiyèméjì.
		has spoken that you are resolute.
xviii	Ń	bá dúpé o.
	I	would be grateful.
xix	Ø	Ti ẹ gbóràn àn.
	–	Just listen.
xx	Ifá náà	ti ríi nígba tóo ti le dódọ ẹ un.
	Ifa too	has seen it since you've got to him.
xxi	Òkè ṣe rìkì, òkè ṣorí ṣonṣo	Ø níwájú Lìílí---
	A mighty hill, a hill with pointed peak	Ø in front of Liili
xxii	Àwá	mọmọ dúpé ọmọ wa àbíyè.
	We	indeed rejoice that our babies will live.
xxiii	Ifá	ti lóun pere ọmọ fún ọ ńbẹun.
		has said that he invited blessings of children for you there.
xxiv	Ifá	ti lóó ṣiyèméjì.
		has talked that you are resolute.
xxv	Mọ	mọ dúpé o.
	I	am indeed grateful.

Clauses	Theme	Rheme
xxvi	Ò	ń kánjú .
	You	're hasty.
xxvii	Ifá	ti ń sòròo.
	Ifa	has started to talk.
xxviii	Ø	Ní sùúrù .
	-	Have patience.
xxix	O	kú foùn ṣe
	You	caused trouble with your voice
xxx	O	sòrò
	You	spoke
xxxi	O	rò dèdè
	You	talked carelessly
xxxii	O	sòrò ìtìjú tán
	You	finished talking shamelessly
xxxiii	Wón	wá ṛolúkòlú kò ó lójú
	They	then called you to face the music
xxxiv	Wọn	ṛolúkòlú kò ó lójú tán
	They	called you to face the music
xxxv	Irọ́ ńláńlá	ló ń jáde lénu wọn
	Big lies	started coming out of their mouth
xxxvi	A	dífá fábìamọ---
	Someone	cast Ifa for a mother---
xxxvii	Ifá	ti lóun pere ọmọ fún ọ
		has said that he called blessings of children to you

Clauses	Theme	Rheme
xxxviii	Ifá	wí pe ní nhkan tí ti ń dàámú.
		says that something which has been worrying.
xxxix	Ó	ní ohun tí ti ń dàámú dàámú———
	He	says something that has worried———
xL	Òun náà	ló jí báyìí, ló dáfá sí.
	That also	is what he now wakes up and seeks divination for.
xLi	Ifá	wí peni kóo rúbo torí omo.
		says you should perform sacrifice for the sake of children .
xLii	Bó ti wí	nù u.
	What he said	is just that.

The extract above consists of three disconnected but interrelated divinatory recitations by an Ifa priest (see cls. x-xiii, xxi-xxii and xxix-xxxvi) and the comments of the priest in bits after them. The theme of the extract is closely woven around certain reference items in the text. There are some names mentioned in the first recitation, such as Atapatìpì and Sèkèrè-mú-wekùn; these refer to some archetypal characters mentioned in the myths. There are also

some pronouns mentioned in the recitations which refer to
characters; for example, the 2nd person pronouns ìrẹ and ọ
'you' refer to the protagonist of an Ifa myth. Similarly,
the 1st and 3rd persons plural pronouns Àwa 'We' and Wọ́n
'They' also refer to archetypal characters in the myth,
whose names are not mentioned. Apart from the pronouns
above, some other objects are mentioned which are both
concrete and abstract, e.g. òkè ṣe rìkì, òkè ṣorí ṣọnṣọ
'a mighty hill with a pointed peak', ire 'blessings' and irọ́
ńlánlá 'big lies'. In the comments on the recitations,
there are pronominal references to the client and Ifa via
the items m̀/Mo 'I' (cl. xviii and xxv) ọ 'you' (cl. xxvi)
and ó 'he' (cls. iv, xxxix and xLii). The name of Ifa is
mentioned several times in these comments.

Under rheme different kinds of information are provided
about the thematic items mentioned above. In the recitations,
for example, three kinds of information are developed.
First, information is gathered that Atapatìpì is an archetypal
diviner while Ṣèkèrè is his client (cls. x-xiii). Second,
it is gathered that another archetypal character, Lììlì, is
the one in whose front there is a hill; some other characters
also rejoice about blessings of children (cls. xxi-xxii).
And third, a character seemed to have done a shameful act but

had lied in order to avoid disgrace (cls. xxix-xxxvi). In the
interpretation of the recitations three kinds of information
are also presented. First, the priest comments after the
first recitation by reporting that Ifa has some good news
for the client. He also comments on the second recitation
by reporting that Ifa has called for blessings of children
for her. Third, he confirms his earlier two comments by
reporting that Ifa has good news for the client and that he
has called for blessings of children for her; in addition, he
reports that the client will have to perform a sacrifice
amidst some other requirements that will soon be mentioned.

From the cue given by the priest in his comments
on the recitations in the extract above, it is clear that
the extract has a prime-order significance even though part
of it has second-order features. The content of the
recitations can be related to the prime-order situation of
participants in the extract via the correspondence of features
below:

    a. Atapatipi, the archetypal diviner, is playing
        the same role as the priest performing divina-
        tion in the real communicative interaction;

b. Ṣèkèrè-mú-wèkùn and Lílí are archetypal characters
who symbolize the client in the interaction;

c. òkè 'hill' in one of the myths symbolizes an
obstacle or problem, and that some characters in
the myth later expressed gratitude implies that
the real client will get over her problem;

d. the problem of childlessness and the worries of
the mythical client over this problem also apply
to the real one, hence the reason why the priest
interprets the mythical narratives for the client;

e. the picture of a character who lied in order to
save her face (cls. xxix-xxxvi) is intended to
serve as a lesson for the participant-client.

Text 5 certainly goes beyond the presentation of **divinatory**
transactions above and extends into a full presentation of
prescription. Although the prescription has a prime-order
content, it is based on the second-order content of configu-
rations from the corpus from which the recitations above are
made.

In one form or the other, Type-2 YTM texts reflect the
two levels of communication shown above. While they always

show a prime-order level of communication between the priest
and client, they also show a second-order level of communi-
cation where the priest communicates directly with super-
natural forces on behalf of his client (see Texts 17, 19,
and 20) or directly with the sickness afflicting his client
or himself (see Texts 15, 16 and 18).

The use of a two-level communication mode in Type-2
texts can be attributed to the nature of the cases which the
texts are used to handle. Naturally, a two-level
communication mode in a ^{Y}TM event will handle complex
cases with deep mysterious and psychological circumstances
more effectively than a one-level mode which is designed to
handle simple cases. In essence, a two-level mode is a
justifiable tool of arbitrating between the supernatural
and natural when one interferes in the world of the other.

5.2.2 Unusual lexical items

In Text 5, some lexical items and collocations occur in
the recitations which are unfamiliar to listeners because
they are not conventionally used. These include names of
mythical characters, places and objects, for example:

a. Characters/places,

Atapatipi (1.13), Ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀/Ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀-mú-wẹkùn (11.13,15),
Líílí (1.27), ọjà Èjìgbòmẹfọ̀n 'Ejigbomẹfọn
market' (1.41);

b. Objects/actions,

Polúkòlú kò lójú 'call to face the music' (1.39)

Numerous examples abound in other Type-2 texts, which also
may have occasional preferences for primordial names of
divinities, diviners and objects, e.g.:

a. Character/places,

Olúṣogbó, Àjáayàníwàjìn (Text 7, 1.88), Ìdónpétu-a
place (Text 10, 1.1), Mọ́yamọ̀ya (Text 11, 1.9),
Alásáká-mo-wáre, etc. (Text 12), Ọlọ́fin Àgbó-dì-
wọ́nrán - a king (Text 18, 1.4), akogun Elesii
'the warrior of Elesii' (Text 20, 1.28), etc.

b. Objects/actions,

àwìrìnṣòki, àbálárìṣà 'bad magico-medicinal objects
(Text 12, 11. 6-7, 9-10) dì wọ́nrán 'grow old' Text 18)
ògìrìṣákọ́ 'a type of palm tree', ẹrùn 'palm kernel',
àpàtàrákù 'thumb', teételùu 'the slightest noise
in the midnight, etc. (Text 20)

c. Divinities and diviners,

    Ọpakanlaun, Ọpakangbemi (Text 15), Ejigbede (Text 11),
    Elẹmọgiiri Ajògé, etc., ìsìnkú ọrun 'spiritual
    children' (Text 17), A-rí-ọ-rí, etc. (Text 19),
    Ọsẹẹtúrá, Ahéré, Ṣánko, etc. (Text 20).

The unfamiliarity of the items in 'a' above may be partly because
the myths in which they occur make allusions to ancient history
and legends and partly because the myths are models in which
the lexical items are imagined and have symbolic significance
instead of referring to specific individual events. For some
of the items in 'b', it is possible that their meanings must
have got lost or changed over the ages or that their
pronunciations have undergone dialectal modifications, e.g.
àpàtàrakù which in standard Yoruba is atànpakò. The items
in 'c' occur because of the magical belief of users in the
potency of primordial and praise names in YTM practice.

    The items listed above have different implications in
the verses of Type-2 YTM texts. Some of them, i.e. those
under 'c' perform an expressive function, hence their occurrence
may have little to do with the interpretation of the texts.
Also, some other items, like those under 'a', perform an
informative function by making situational references only;
these too do not affect the interpretation of texts. In

contrast to the above, some of the items under 'b' which make
co-textual reference and enter into lexical relationships
with other items may affect interpretation irrespective of
whether the verses in which they occur have a simple structure
or not. The consequence of this is that the information
content of verses in divinatory transactions is always explained
by the diviner so that the client can comprehend it.

5.2.3 Lexico-structural and rhetorical features

Apart from certain features of theme, cohesion and
sentence patterns which generally characterize YTM texts,
Type-2 YTM texts further utilize some aesthetic features to
achieve emphasis and comprehensibility. The second order
communication in these texts is always marked by a bundle of
aesthetic features which derive from the poetic structure
of the texts. Some of these features are described below as they
occur in the texts, viz. partial lexico-structural
repetition, fictionalization, symbolism and imagery.

5.2.3.1 Partial lexico-structural repetition

There are not many instances of partial lexico-structural repetition of items in Text 5 because the poetic recitations in the text are truncated. Nevertheless, the few instances of occurrence (see also 11. 35-37) are however supported by other examples which derive from the recitations, thus:

80a.　Òkè ṣe rìkì　(MLL)
　　　 Òkè ṣorí ṣonṣo (MHMMM) (1.26)

　　　 A hill which is mighty
　　　 A hill which has a pointed peak

　b.　Ifá ti lóun pere ọmọ fún ọ ńbẹun
　　　 Ifá ti lóò siyèméjì (11. 30 and 31)

　　　 Ifa has said that he called blessings of children
　　　　　 for you there
　　　 Ifa has said that you are steadfast.

　c.　Elẹ́gbẹ̀run m bẹ.
　　　 Àbíkú ọmọ ḿ bẹ.(11. 63 and 65)

　　　 Members of societies in the world beyond exist.
　　　 The Abiku (Born again) children exist .

　d.　Kò fẹ́kéé o
　　　 Kò fẹ́rọ́ pípa (11. 89 and 90)

　　　 He doesn't like hypocrisy
　　　 He doesn't like telling lies

In the examples above, items are matched in a way in which they show contrasting tones and semantic relationships (the matched items are underlined). In 'a', the matched items both express the attributes of a hill. There is semantic correspondence between them because the two attributes show the probable insurmountable nature of the hill. The items in 'b' also show semantic correspondence, with one of them (the blessings) coming as a consequence of the other (the steadfastness of the client). The items in 'c' refer to different members of the malevolent group of spirits. Lastly, the items in 'd' show different negative behavioural characteristics detested by someone in the text.

Examples of partial lexico-structural repetition indicating different instances of lexical matching can be shown from our data as follows:

(i)   tonal counterpoint: Text 10, ll. 10-14; Text 17, ll. 4-5 and 6-7, ll. 23-26

(ii)   word play: Text 12, ll. 62-63

(iii)   parallelism: Text 4, ll. 8 and 11, ll. 9 and 10; Text 7, ll. 81-84, ll. 96-97, ll. 98-99; Text 12, ll. 6-7; Text 17, ll. 16-17.

(iv)   sequence of related actions: Text 10, ll. 19-20; Text 12, ll. 11-16; Text 18, ll. 5, 8, 11, 14; Text 19, ll. 9-11.

The matching of lexical items in Type-2 YTM texts complement the full lexico-structural repetition of items (see 5.1.8) to project the informative and aesthetic functions. The unity of sense created by these features enhances greatly the coherence of the above texts.

5.2.3.2.   Figurative expressions

The analysis of theme in 5.2.1. above already has recognized the presence of recitations of mythical event in the diagnostic divinatory transaction of Text 5. The mythical events recited in the text have metaphorical items which show some fictionalized characters performing certain actions which imitate those of real communicative experience. This recitation undoubtedly adds an aesthetic dimension to the information expressed in the transaction. The aesthetic effect of this device added to the other effects — informative, directive and expressive — makes Type-2 texts more powerful than Type-1 texts because the affective elements in the device are essential ingredients of dynamic speech (cf. Hayakawa, 1974. 89). Figurative expressions in Type-2 YTM texts have affective connotations by their representation of symbolic events which serve as precedents to clients' problems and also by their

indication of the supernatural via the divinatory means
of communication. The domains of fictionalization in
these texts are in the divinatory recitations, incantatory
chants and supplicatory requests and wishes.

Also, the analysis of theme has shown certain
metaphorical items symbolize experience in the text.
Further examples of symbol from our data collection
are given thus:

(i) Àgbò funfun láí 'ram of pure white colour'
(Text 10) — old age.

(ii) Eyelé 'The Pigeon' (Text 11) — a client

(iii) àgbagbà aládìpò méjì 'two double-fruited
plantains (Text 11) — a set of twins.

(iv) ahun 'the tortoise' (Text 12) — undisturbed
breathing.

(v) àáké 'axe' (Text 15) — breaking of head
(headache).

(vi) ejò 'a snake' (Text 16) — worms causing
stomachache.

(vii) ewé 'various leaves' (Texts 17-19) - different

kinds of medication.

(viii) ẹpọn--- ldí òbúkọ 'scrotum--- of a he goat'

(Text 18) - delicacy for elders (old age)

(ix) ọta 'stone', ẹrùn 'palm hernel' and ògìrìsákọ́

'a type of palm tree (Text 20) '- resilience.

Furthermore, figures of speech which create the

visual, vocal and aural imagery are utilized for

meaning in the text above, especially in the divinatory

transactions. The visual imagery is created via ideophones

ríkì 'mighty' and ṣonṣo 'pointed' which qualify òkè 'hill'

(1.26). From these attributes of a hill, one can visualize

the degree of Lílí's problem in the myth.

The vocal imagery is created in the text in three

ways. First, it is created via the repetitive use of

items of speaking sọ, wí, ní, rò, fọ, ṣe, ké and pè.

The recognized speakers in the text include Ifa, a mythical

character and the priest. Second, the repetition of the

velar plosive voiceless sound /K/ (in ṣọkánjúwà, ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀-

mú-wẹkùn, ké é, kálukú, kára) in the myth recited in

ll. 11-16 draws attention to itself by also creating a

vocal image. The sound further, primitively, projects the

image of ké 'cry' in the myth: one can imagine that the crying done is silent since /k/ is a voiceless sound, and it may not be out of place to use sunkún 'cry' or 'sob' rather than kígbe 'shout' in the positions of ke in the text. Thirdly, there is the vocalized metaphor in 1.40, viz. Iró ńlańá ló ń jáde lénu won 'Big lies started coming out of their mouths', in which one visualizes an inanimate object performing an action. The personification of iró 'lie' here shows the lack of control of the speaker over it; that is, the lies are told involuntarily by the speaker in order to avoid shame.

Lastly, the aural imagery is created via the repetitive use of the item gbó 'hear' (9 times) in the text. The repetition of this item emphasizes the receptive role of the client in the text and the seriousness with which she must fulfill the obligations attached to it.

Talking generally about YTM texts, imagery is created in them in two different ways: via the repetition of items and via figures of speech. In most YTM texts (see Texts 3, 5, 6 and 7), the item of hearing gbó 'listen/hear' is repeated very often to emphasize the need for the client to pay attention to and comprehend the priest's message. Items of 'saying' are also repeated in the texts in order to (i) invoke agents of divination/incantation/supplication (see Texts 7,

ll. 61-73; Texts 12 and 15-20) and (ii) report the authoritative speech of Ifa (Texts 5, 7 and 11). Visual images are created via the use of ideophones, metaphors and similes. See, for example:

(i) Ideophones

81a. Iwájú b bá pón térétéré (Text 7, l.94)

If the front does not show deep red

b. Bó ti ń gbọ̀n lẹ́yin mi nìyìí wà-wà-wà. (Text 6, l.38)

This is how he's shaking violently at my back.

(ii) Simile

82. Onísègùn: Ṣó lè bí eéwo bayii ni? (Residual)

Herbalist: Does it swell out like a boil?

(iii) Metaphor (Personification)

83. Kóóko kí kóóko a dì wọnran .
A re walẹ̀ aṣà (Text 18, ll. 12-13)

The worthless grass will grow old
And go to the world beyond

The affective imagery is created via the repetition of items and use of ideophones, e.g.:

(i)   Repetition

84a.   Baba, ẹ gbà mi---- Ẹ gbà mí ooo!--- (Text 4, 11.1-3)

Father, help me---- Help me!---

b.   A à gbọdọ pa á

Bẹ́ẹ́ ni a à gbọdọ jẹ ẹ́ --- (Text 7, 11.81-84)

One shouldn't kill him

One shouldn't eat him---

(ii)   Ideophones

85a.   Akarakara òkúta!

Akirikiri àjànà!

Ìkòkò kúdukùdu láàrin ẹyin iná! (Text 18, 11.1-3)

The strong time-tested stone!

The hard well-baked brick!

The hoary pots in the midst of fire!

b.   --- gbágungbágun lara--- (Text 8, 1.13)

--- disorganized is my body---

And lastly, an example of the tactile imagery can be found in
Text 7, 1.79, created via a metaphorical expression, thus:

86.   --- aawọ eerin lọmọ yìí

---the elephant's skin is this child

The images in YTM texts serve to create aesthetics and
they also present ideas of the texts vividly to the listeners.

They seem to occur more often in Type-2 texts of the register, especially in the poetic genres characterizing them.

5.2.4   Vocatives

The more frequent use of vocatives typically marks Type-2 YTM texts as distinct from the Type-1 texts. Vocatives occur only occasionally and sparingly in Type-1 texts, but in Type-2 texts their occurrence is more frequent. Their occurrences in the latter type of texts are described below.

Vocatives serve mainly an expressive function in the texts where they occur. First, they indicate the summons which occur in emergency situations represented by some texts (e.g. Texts 4 and 6). Second, they indicate the calling of attention of participants in the texts. The herbalist calls the attention of his client so that the latter can listen to him (Text 5, ll. 17-18, Text 6, l.44 and Text 7, ll.101), while the client also calls the herbalist's attention when she wants to speak to him or when she feels excited about certain information revealed to her (see Text 5, ll. 19 and 50; Text 6, ll. 59 and 79). Third, vocatives indicate the herbalist and/or client's calling of a patient's name to ascertain his consciousness (see Text 4, ll. 17-22; Text 6, l.28). Lastly, and more typical of Type-2 texts, vocatives

indicate the calling of names or praises of divinities, spirits
and diviners in the diagnostic divinatory transaction, ayajo
incantations and supplications (see Text 4, 1.7; Text 7,
11. 61-73; also Text 11, 1.1; Text 12, 11.1-3, Text 15, 11. 1-6
and Texts 17-20).

5.3 A Summary of Formal Features of YTM Texts

Chapter five has identified certain formal features of aspects,
sub-types and register of YTM texts and their sociocultural and
situational significance. While some systemic and lexical features
distinguish aspects of the texts, only a few lexical features
appear to distinguish the two sub-types of texts in the register.
Although we would like to relate YTM texts to other texts in terms
of their shared and non-shared features, such a relation looks
premature now, until features of other registers are identified.
Meanwhile, the characteristic features of YTM texts as well as those
typical of sub-types or aspects of the texts are stated below
together with their significance to YTM practice.

5.3.1 Features of YTM texts

Cohesion is a common property of YTM texts which enhances
the communication of meaningful ideas by the texts as well as the
reception of these ideas by interpretants. The prominent cohesive
features of the texts are those of reference and lexical cohesion.

The unmarked theme (80.6%) is more prominent than the
marked theme (9.4%) in YTM texts because the texts express

their ideas normally in a simple and straightforward manner to
enhance comprehensibility of their information and directives.

Although the lexical items identified in YTM texts
indicate several objects and processes in the YTM field,
the typical items indicate problems of ill-health as well as
objects and processes of medication.

The material process (48.2%) is the most prominent
process feature in YTM texts because the participants of YTM
believe that the performance of physical activities is the
mark of being alive and healthy. Material action verbs thus
cut across all aspects of YTM texts unlike the relational
verbs which occur frequently in the pre-diagnostic, diagnostic
and post-medicating aspects and verbalized verbs which occur
frequently in divinatory transactions. To remain healthy
or be able to fight ill-health, one has to perform physical
actions. The actions performed are realized by non-middle
clauses (63.7%) in which some agents (herbalists, divinities
and clients) extend mainly operation actions on objects
(clients, patients, medicinal objects) serving as medium.
The circumstances of such actions are expressed mainly
by place adjuncts (46.8%) and time adjuncts (31.8%).

The predominance of positive clauses (86.7%) over
negative clauses (13.3%) projects the positive view of

herbalists and clients in YTM interactions that there are always
remedies to problems of ill-health.

The non-future neutral tense (56.8%) dominates the
expression of tense in YTM texts because the problems which
dominate YTM interaction very often occur as events at
particular points in the past time and extend to the present
time when attention is given to them. Also, the second
position occupied by the future neutral tense (22.5%) too has
some relevance, especially as it pertains to finding remedies
to YTM problems at a future time. The future tense marks the
medicating aspect of YTM texts from the other aspects.

The declarative option of mood characterizes YTM texts
(61.7%) to indicate the primary informative function of YTM
texts. While declarative non-modalized clauses are frequent
in the diagnostic and divinatory aspects, declarative
modalized clauses accompany imperatives to indicate the
directives in the medicating aspect.

The simple sentence type (72.3%) clearly dominates YTM
texts to project the goals of simplicity and comprehensibility
of YTM texts. The sentence type also reflects the plain,
non-formal, non-colloquial style of communication in YTM
interaction.

Some of the peculiar lexical items are listed as follows:

a. diagnosis: idí yíyọ 'haemorrhoids'; ibà 'fever'; yẹló fifà 'yellow fever'; ara ríro 'body aches and pains'; inú rírun 'stomachache'; orí fifọ 'headache'; kòkòrò 'infection'; àsàsí 'magical affliction'; etc.

b. prescription (pharmacy): egbòogi 'medicine'; àgbo 'liquid herb'; ewé 'leaves'; ọṣẹ 'soap'; epo 'palm oil'; ipara 'balm or ointment'; mẹntiléto 'mentholatum' àsàlò 'miscellaneous herbs'; etc.

Lastly, it is observed that the feature of full lexico-structural repetition also characterizes YTM texts to serve the purpose of emphasis. This purpose is undoubtedly vital to the interpretation of the texts.

5.3.2 Features typical of a sub-type of YTM texts

The general features of YTM texts listed above are shared by both Type-1 and Type-2 texts. However, because the latter texts have deeper psychotherapeutic and/or magical consequences and deal with complex and mysterious cases of ill-health, they naturally contain strong affective elements which are lacking in the more usual and ordinary Type-1 texts. The affective elements of Type-2 texts derive from some aesthetic features which further enhance the emphatic and comprehensible properties of the texts. The aesthetic features of Type-2 YTM texts include:

a.   partial lexico-structural repetition

b.   the use of unfamiliar lexical items

c.   figurative expressions.

In addition to the above features, Type-2 texts also
utilize the expressive feature of vocatives more often than
Type-1 texts. This feature is utilized, especially by the
former texts, to call the attention of divinities, diviners
and other objects that are essential to the successful
remedy of a complex problem of ill-health in YTM practice.

5.4.   Conclusion

5.4.1. Research contributions

This study has made two major contributions to Yoruba
language studies in respect of (1) using an eclectic textual
model as framework for an explicit and comprehensive des-
cription of texts from therapeutic communication in Yoruba;
and (2) identifying some content and formal features of
these texts. The eclectic textual framework outlined and
applied in the study provides a framework in which a
text can be analysed along five lines, thus:

a.   the socio-cultural context and situation in
     which the text is produced;

b.   the pragmatic uses of the text;

c.   the communicative functions of the text;

d. the message and macrostructure of the text; and

e. the forms of the text in relation to 'a - d'
above.

Any analysis of text(s) can be done using one or more of these
levels, depending on the extent of coverage or details for such
analysis, but no comprehensive description of features of a text
can be claimed to have been made until all the levels are catered
for.

A comprehensive description of texts via an Etf framework
also necessarily has to focus on form among the other levels,
most especially because only these features can give adequate
and sincere evidence about the dynamic nature of language and
its capacity to change according to social and situational demands.
The analysis of formal features of YTM texts is done in this
study using a lot of general linguistics-oriented formal
categories of systemic linguistics as tools, but some of these
tools have been adapted for Yoruba textual description.

The contribution stated above is no doubt consequential
to Yoruba studies and general text **analysis** but its
significance is not as immediate to Yoruba studies as the
findings on the features of YTM texts which constitute the
main subject of the work. The originality of this research

is noted in regard of this latter contribution of systematically
accounting for features of language use in YTM practice. The
features identified in the work reveal both the general
characteristics of YTM texts and also the peculiarities of
transactions, aspects and types of these texts. For example,
YTM texts are either those of natural or natural-cum-divine
herbalism; the aspects are pre-diagnosis, diagnosis, optional
divination, medication and post-medication; and the transactions
are pre-diagnosis, diagnosis, optional diagnostic divination
and divinatory prescription, prescription, incantation and
supplication.

5.4.2   The application of the study

The attempt to establish a norm for YTM texts in the work
is a bold step in both Yoruba and linguistic studies and it
has positive implications for both fields. It should stir
scholars to further explore the transactions and register
of YTM texts (even along other lines) and, possibly, compare
these to other Yoruba registers or non-Yoruba medical registers.
The study of language registers is already noted as a key to
language development in terms of its proper understanding
and learning. An understanding of diverse Yoruba registers
enhances the effective teaching and/or learning of the

language, as Young (1985:288) rightly observes in respect of
learners thus:

> "It provides a bridge from the purposes they
> wish to realize in life by the use of
> language to the actual linguistic exponents
> from which text is created."

In respect of teachers, Young observes (ibid.) that:

> "The theory of register offers a highly
> developed and rigorous method for language
> teachers to select focal teaching points
> that relate to the communicative needs of
> their pupils."

In the present era of consistently increasing awareness of
Nigerians in some aspects of their indigenous culture and the
values of such aspects, it is important that Yoruba learners/
users should be made aware of some facts about language in
the YTM system which they are fast utilizing for solutions
to their health problems.

5.4.3 Research limitations

The contributions of this work, notwithstanding, it has
certain limiting factors. One obvious limitation of it is
that the texts analyzed cannot be said to have adequately
represented the numerous and diverse texts in the YTM institution;
and this brings to mind the question earlier raised in the

work as to the degree of reliability of an inductive-oriented research. Even when one readily admits the impossibility of gathering texts from all areas of speciality and speech encounters in YTM, one equally faces the limitation of getting only a fraction of texts analyzed and getting an even lesser number to appear in a description.

It is also recognized that there are other variations in language use in YTM besides Herbalist-Clients' communication, e.g. 'Herbalist-Herbalist', 'Herbalist-Trainee', etc. As more and more of these variations are identified and investigated, more and more facts will be revealed about the features in them to either confirm the text types and register proposed by this study or identify more types or registers within the YTM institution.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the texts analyzed in this study derive from orthodox traditional medical practice. In recent times, certain traditional herbalists have started modernizing procedures of their profession along the lines of Western medicine. Two notable features of such modernization of procedures are the writing of prescriptions, instead of saying them, and the separation of roles between the herbalist and pharmacist/dispenser, instead of resting these roles in one individual. And one of the linguistic

consequences of these features is the absence of very long turns by herbalists during medication. This new trend of medical practice in Yorubaland which may be tagged 'Yoruba modern (indigenous) medicine' could be distinguished from the existing systems identified at the beginning of this study, viz. YTM and Yoruba modern (Western) medicine. There is no gainsaying the fact that each of these systems deserves separate attention in its own right.

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national concord

ENCOURAGING TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

FROM no less reliable a source than the Federal Minister of Health, Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti himself, comes the fact that an estimated 75 per cent of the nation's populace rely on the services of traditional healers. This figure could be expected to go higher, considering the abnormal increases in the cost of drugs attendant on SFEM.

It is obvious then that if such a substantial proportion of the nation's population still depend on the services of unorthodox practitioners, a way must be found to incorporate them with orthodox medicine in the health care delivery system of the country.

In fairness to the Federal Government, it has taken a number of encouraging steps in this connection. The Buhari/Idiagbon regime appointed a panel headed by a distinguished medical scientist, Professor Ayodele Tella, to look into all the various aspects of alternative medicine - traditional healing, homoepathy and so on. In fact, it is widely believed that a decree to recognize and regulate the practice of alternative medicine, based on the Tella report, was in the offing just before events overtook that administration.

It now looks, however, that Nigerians may even-

tually be denied the benefit of the Tella report, because certain top notchers in the orthodox health establishment appear to be opposed to substantial parts of that report. But this subject is of too much importance to the health of the nation, for it to be disrupted by unnecessary quibbling, or indeed by the jealousy with which orthodox medical practitioners guard their presumed right to be

the final arbiter in matters of health care delivery.

They have often decried the reluctance of alternative medical practitioners to submit their drugs and methods for evaluation. No right thinking person would fault this. However, we are of the opinion that rather than intimidate the alternative physicians, our orthodox doctors should seek to co-operate with them. After all China, through its traditional healers, gave the world acupuncture, which has consistently defied the logic of western medicine.

Already some commendable work has been done in trying to upgrade traditional healers and accord deserved recognition to alternative medicine. Traditional birth attendants in several states have had workshops 'organised for them. The Lagos State Government has established a board for traditional medicine and this understood that many other states are planning to follow suit.

Since both the orthodox doctor and the traditional healer are concerned about the health of the patient, there is no room for any mistrust between them. Rather, they should see each other as opposite sides of the same coin.

TEXT 1

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ẹ káàárọ̀ mà.

Oníṣègùn: Jọ́ọ́, Káàárọ̀ o. A à jí bí o?

Ìyá Ọmọ: Yẹẹsì mà. (Sí ọ̀rẹ́) O ò wa bá mi mọ́mọ wá.

Oníṣègùn: Ṣé kò sí o?

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ó ń yọdì. Tó bá ti ń yàgbẹ́ báyìí,   5
    ìdí ẹ̀ á wá yọ. Àfi tá a bá ṣèṣè wá
    báa fọwọ́ tì í sínú.

Oníṣègùn: Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn. (Ó yẹ ọmọ wò) Bàbá agbalagba!

Ìyá Ọmọ: Kíle wí?

Oníṣègùn: Ìdí yíyọ nìyẹn ṣẹ́ẹ. Yọdí-yọdí nìyẹn.   10
    Ẹ ẹ́ ṣe nǹkan ẹ̀ ni.

Iya Ọmọ: Ṣé páa máa ṣe nǹkan ẹ̀ ni?

Oníṣègùn: Ẹ ẹ́ ṣe egbòogi ẹ̀ ni.

Ọmọọṣẹ́ Oníṣègùn: Ṣé àṣàlò àti 'dí yíyọ nǹkan ni?

Oníṣègùn: Bẹẹn. Àṣàlò àti 'dí yíyọ ... ìdí yíyọ   15
    ni o. Yóó gbolórìí àmọ. Yóó dẹ gba
    èyí tí yóó máa tìdí bọ́.

Ọmọọṣẹ́: Yóó sì gba mímu-wíwẹ̀?

Oníṣègùn: Ẹn-ẹn-ẹn, mímu-wíwẹ̀.

(Lẹ́yìn ìgbà díẹ̀, ọmọọṣẹ́ gbé nǹkan àgbo dé)   20

Oníṣègùn: Ṣẹ́ẹ rí kinni yìí? Ẹ ẹ́ fi sínú ìkòkò. Ẹ
    ẹ wàá gé gbogbo kinni yìí lée lórí.   Ẹ
    ẹ sè é. Omi tọ́mọ yín ó maa mu dáyá
    niyẹn. Mímu lásán ni; wọn ò ń fi í wẹ
    o. Mímu lásán ni; wọn ò ń fi í wẹ o.   25
    Ó yá ẹ gbé e síbí yìí.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Mà á fi eléyìí sínu ìkòkò?

Oníṣègun: Ẹ ẹ́ sọ ọ́ sínú ìkòkò, ẹ ẹ́ wá gé yìí
    síi lórí.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Màá sọọ́ sínú kinni tí màá fi sè é?   30

Oníṣègun: Ṣé ẹ rélẹ́yìí? Ẹ ẹ́ pòó nọ mẹntilétọ̀.
    Ó yàgbẹ́ o. Kò yàgbẹ́ o. Ní gbogbo ìgbà
    ẹ máa fi lbọ́ọ́ nídìí. Ṣó ti ye yín? Ṣẹ́
    ẹ rí, tídìí yẹn bá yọ, ẹ ẹ́ wà á
    bu 'làjì ẹ̀ síi báyìí. Ṣó o ti rí? O ó   35
    wàá bu díẹ̀, o ó fìi wọ́n ojú ìdí tó yọ
    yẹn. Wàá wá máṣọ yìí, wàá fìtì í
    wọlé. Ṣó ti yẹ ẹ? Wàá dẹ tún fọ aṣọ
    yìí. Wàá sá a. Má jẹ kó jùnù o. Bó
    jùnù, a à nííí fún ẹ ní 'mìíì o; torí   40
    rírẹ ni o. Tó bá ti yọ leléyìí o. (Sí
    àwọn ọmọọṣẹ́) Ó yá ẹ gbàgbo jádèe.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Eléyìí ńkọ́?

Oníṣègùn: Jẹ́ kó gbé tòún yẹn dé ná.

Ọmọọṣé: Ọun nìyìí. Ṣẹẹ réléyìí? Bẹ́ ẹ sè é, á á jinná dáadáa. Yóó máa nu ú, yóó máa fi wẹ̀. Yóó máa nuú, yóó maa fi wẹ̀.   45

Oníṣègùn: Ṣó ń ye yín bó ṣe ń wí?

Ọmọọṣé: Ọṣẹ tí yóó máa fi wẹ̀ nìyìí.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ṣéé ...? A à ní kèkò ...   50

Oníṣègùn: Ìbáà jábọ́.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ṣéé ...?

Oníṣègùn: Eèbà.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ṣé ẹ̀ẹkan náà la máa ṣe gbogbo ẹ̀ pọ̀?

Oníṣègùn: Ẹ̀ẹkan náà ni. Bẹ́ ẹ daá méjì ò ...   55

Ìyá Ọmọ: A à ní ....

Oníṣègùn: A à! Bẹ́ ẹ lábọ́ tó le gbà á nílé? Bẹ́ ń yábọ́ sebẹ̀ ni?

Ọ̀rẹ́ Ìyá Ọmọ: Bó ṣe abọ́ tí mo ní sílé tó jẹpé tuntun ni, mo lè fi sè é.   60

Ọmọọṣé: Eléyìí, abọ́ tẹ̀ẹ bá lò mọ́ lẹ máa fi sè é o. Bẹ́ ẹ séé, áá jinná dáadáa. Bẹ́ ẹ máa yọ̀ ọ sínú pọ́ọ. A á máa jókòó léé.

Oníṣègùn àti Ọmọọṣé: Kò ní mì yìí o. Yóó kàn máa jokòó léé lásàn ni.   65

Oníṣègùn: Ọorù ẹ̀ ni yóó máa jù ú lẹ́nu àdí.

Ọmọọṣé: Abọ́ tẹ̀ẹ bá sì mọ pẹ́ẹ nílò mọ́ ni kẹẹ fi sè é o.

Oníṣègùn: Ṣéé réléyìí? A á máa mí u lẹ́ẹ̀mẹta lóòòjọ́. Tọmbìlà kékeré yẹn; ìkan lọ́sàn-án , ìkan lálẹ́. Owóo yín jẹ́ pọ́nùn mẹ́wàá-à-àbọ̀.   70

Ìyá Ọmọ: Bẹ́ ṣé. Ṣé kò níàdì kí n túń padà wá mọ́?

Oníṣègùn: Bó bá ṣe rí, kẹẹ wá fún wa lálàyé níjọ́ mẹẹdógún ... Ọlọ́un á wò ó. Ọlọ́un á dáa sí. Ikú ò níí gbà á. Àrùn ò níí gbà á. Gbẹ̀ọ gbọmọ ò níí gbọmọ lọ́wọ́ọ yín.   75
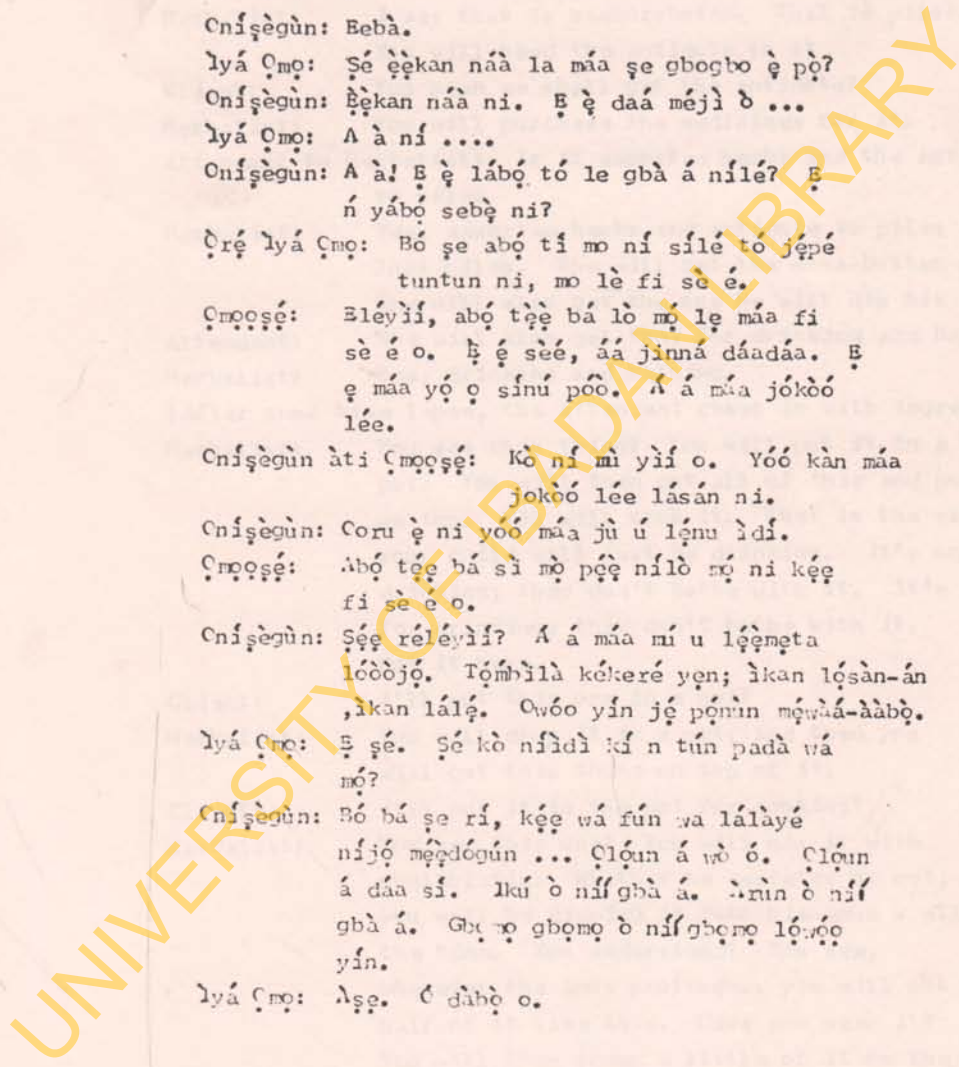
Ìyá Ọmọ: Àṣẹ. Ó dàbọ̀ o.   80

Client (Mother of a Child): Good morning madam.

Herbalist: Sorry, good morning. Hope you woke up well?

Client: Yes madam. (To friend) Won't you bring my
child here.

Herbalist: Hope there is nothing wrong?

Client: He has   piles. Whenever he excretes,   5
his anus protrudes. Unless we use our
hand to push it in.

Herbalist: That is haemorrhoids. (Examines child) Big man!

Client: What do you say?

Herbalist: I say that is haemorrhoids. That is piles.   10
You will need the antidote to it

Client: You mean we shall get the antidote?

Herbalist: You will purchase the medicines for it.

Attendant to Herbalist: Is it assorted herbs and the antidote
to piles

Herbalist: Yes, assorted herbs and antidote to piles ...   15
Just piles. She will get the shea-butter ointment.
She will also get the one he will dip his bottom in.

Attendant: She will also get that for drinking and bathing?

Herbalist: Yes, drinking and bathing.

(After some time lapse, the attendant comes in with ingredients)   20

Herbalist: You see this thing? You will put it in a
pot. You will then cut all of this and put it
on top. You will cook it. That is the water
your child will just be drinking. It's only for
drinking; they don't bathe with it. It's only
for drinking; they don't bathe with it.   25
Put it here.

Client: I'll put this one in a pot?

Herbalist: You will drop it in a pot, and then you
will cut this thing on top of it.

Client: I'll put it in the pot for cooking?   30

Herbalist: You see this one? You will mix it with
mentholatum. Whether he excretes or not,
you will be dipping it into his anus - all
the time. You understand? You see,
whenever the anus protrudes, you will put
half of it like this. Have you seen it?   35
You will then scoop a little of it on the piles,
You will then take this cloth and use it
to push it in. Have you understood? You
will later wash the cloth and let it dry.
Don't let it get lost. If it gets lost,
we shall not give you another one; for   40
it is medicinal. This one is relevant when

the anus protrudes (To attendants) Bring
the herbs out quick.

Client: What about this?

Herbalist: Let her bring that one first.

Attendant: Here is it. You see this one? You will   45
                  cook it very well. He will be drinking and
                  bathing with it. He will be drinking and
                  bathing with it.

Herbalist: Do you understand what she's saying?

Attendant: This is the soap he will be bathing with

Client: Can ....? We don't have a mud pot ...   50

Herbalist: A cooking bowl is alright.

Client: Do ...?

Herbalist: Yes.

Client: Are we cooking everything together at once?

Herbalist: It's only once. You shouldn't split it
                  into two ...   55

Client: We don't have ...

Herbalist: Eh! You don't have a pot that can contain
                  it? Do you borrow pots to cook your soup?

Client's Friend: If I have a new bowl at home, I can
                  use it to cook it.   60

Attendant: This one, you will cook it with a pot
                  that is no longer in use. You will
                  cook it very well. You will sift it
                  into a small toilet bowl . He will be
                  sitting on it.

Herbalist and Attendant: He won't drink this. He will just   65
                  be sitting on it.

Herbalist: It's the steam that will just be lapping
                  against his bottom.

Attendant: Make sure you cook it in a bowl that
                  you're no longer using.

Herbalist: You see this? He will be drinking it   70
                  three times in a day. That small tumbler,
                  one each in the afternoon and night.
                  Your fee is twenty-one naira.

Client: Thank you. Do I need to come back again?

Herbalist: However things turn out, come an inform us   75
                  in fifteen days time ... God will look after
                  him. God will preserve his life. Death will
                  not claim him. Sickness will not claim him.
                  That which claims children will not claim
                  children from you.

Client: May it be so. Goodbye.   80

TEXT 2

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ẹ káàárọ̀ mà.

Oníṣègùn: Ẹ káàbọ̀ o. Ẹ wọlé jókòó. (Lẹ́yìn ìgbà
díẹ̀, ó ń yẹ ọmọ wò.) Báwo ló ṣe é ṣe
ẹ?

Ìyá Ọmọ: (Sí ọmọ) Ìwọ kọ́ nọ ń bi ní?

Ọmọ: Ara ń ro mí.

Oníṣègùn: Ṣe 'tọ̀ ẹ ò pọ́n? (Pe ọmọọṣẹ́) Gàníyá!
Ẹ wá dáa lóhùn.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ó kàn máa ń sùn {kàlẹ̀ ní.}

Oníṣègùn: {En-ẹn.} Ó wọ̀ ó lára ni.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Mo dẹ ti gbe lọ si hospitu, ti mo ti
bẹ̀rẹ̀ abẹ́rẹ́, ti wọ́n ti kòògùn fún un.

Oníṣègùn: Abẹ́rẹ́ ò ran'bàa. Agbo láá kà fún ẹ,
àti agúnmu.

(Lẹ́yìn ìgbà díẹ̀, ọmọọṣẹ́ gbé nǹkan àgbo dé).

Oníṣègùn: Ọ̀nà mẹ́ta ni o ó dáa sí. Kóo lọ̀nà kan
lálẹ̀ yìì. Tó bá tún dọ̀túnla, kó o tún
lọ̀nà kan. Tó bá tún dọ̀túnla mìì, kóo
lọna kan.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Eléyìi ni yóó máa mi?

Oníṣègùn: En-ẹn. Múmu lásán ni; wọn ò ń fìí
wẹ̀ o. Yóó máa mu gẹ́gẹ́ bí omi ní
gbogbo ìgbà. (Sí ọmọ) Ṣóo ti gbọ́?
Yélo fifà ló wà lára ẹ o. Kóo ya
máa lò ó dáadáa. Ó máa ń kọ̀ọ̀yàn
lóòyì o. Kóo má tan 'ra ẹ o.

Client (Mother): Good morning madam.

Herbalist: You're welcome. Come in and sit down.
(Later, she examines client's daughter.) How
do you feel?

Mother: (To daughter) Aren't you being asked a
question?

Daughter: My body is aching.

Herbalist: Is your urine any yellow? (Calls attendant)
Ganiya! Come and attend to her.

Mother: She just sleeps on the ground {all the time}.

Herbalist: {Yees.} It deadens her nerves.

Mother: And I've taken her to the hospital, that
she has started getting injection and they
have prescribed medicine for her.

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Herbalist: Injection cannot cure fever. It is herbs
               we shall prescribe for you, and herbal
               powder.

(After some time, the attendant comes in with medicinal
   ingredients.)   15

Herbalist: You will divide it into three places. Use
               one part tonight. When it is the day after
               tomorrow, use another part. When it is
               yet another two days after, use one part.

Mother: Is this the one she will be drinking?   20

Herbalist: Yes. Drinking only; they don't bathe with
               it. She will drink it like water every
               time. (To daughter) Do you hear? Yellow
               fever is what you're suffering from. So
               you had better use it well. It sometimes   25
               causes dizziness, so don't deceive yourself.

TEXT 3

Ọkùnrin kan:	Ẹ káààsán baba. Ẹ ǹlẹ́ o.
Oníṣègùn:	(Ó ń gún awọn ewé kan lábẹ́ bòòji niwaju ahéré kan.) Ṣé ò sí o? Wọlẹ̀ o. Bmi lo wá ṣe o?
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ pẹlẹ́ baba. Wọn júwe 'bí fún mi ni baba. [5]
Oníṣègùn:	(Gbójú sókè) Mọ ń gbọ́. Kàa sí nnkan?
Ọkùnrin:	Baba, ìyàwó mi nìí. Ara ẹ̀ ò dá.
Oníṣègùn:	Mo ti ríi.
Ọkùnrin:	Ara ríro ni, baba. Kò sìhun tàa lò tán. [10]
Oníṣègùn:	Mọ mọ̀ọ. Mo rí ọ pọ́ ń bọ̀ lọ́nà.
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun baba.
Oníṣègùn:	Ọ dáa náà, mò ń bọ̀. (wọnú ahéré lọ.)
(Léyìn ìgbà díẹ̀, o jáde)	[15]
Oníṣègùn:	Ẹrù lọ́ pọ̀ níbẹ̀. Mo ṣẹ̀ṣẹ́ ń túu káakiri ni. Ṣé ìyàwóò rẹ ko lo pe é?
Ọkùnrin:	Ìyàwóò mi ni.
Oníṣègùn:	Tọ́ọ bá ti délé (Ó fún un ni òògùn) ...
Ọkùnrin:	Han-in o. [20]
Oníṣègùn:	Wọn ni "sà á bí olóògun bá ṣe wí".
Ọkùnrin:	Baba, mo ń gbọ́.
Oníṣègùn:	Tọ́ọ bá ti délé, aṣọ rẹ ni kọ́ọ lọ mọ́dìí.
Ọkùnrin:	Aṣọ rẹ ni ki n lọ mọ́dìí? [25]
Oníṣègùn:	O ó sì wà ní àhòòhò omọlúwàbí. Ọ ò ń gbọ́ mi bí?
Ọkùnrin:	Mo ń gbọ́.
Oníṣègùn:	Ọ́ọ waá gà lée lórí. Ọ ọ́ fi pa á látorí tẹkìkánná tẹkìkánná ni. Sàá bí olóògun ṣe wí o. Bí o bá ti lo kìnní yìí, kó tóó tọ́làa, ara rẹ̀ ó ti yá. Bí ò bá ti jẹ, o fìka lọ mí ńmi o ni babaà mi kọ́ lọ́ bí mi. [30]
Ọkùnrin:	Wípé ara rẹ̀ ó yàá? [35]
Oníṣègùn:	Yóó yàá ni.
Ọkùnrin:	Ki n lọ́ṣọ mọ́dìí?
Oníṣègùn:	Kọ́ o lọṣọ mọ́dìí.
Ọkùnrin:	Ki n fi wọ́ọ ní gbogbo ara?
Oníṣègùn:	Tẹkìkánná tẹkìkánná. Ẹn ẹn. Bó ti jẹ́ náà nùu. [40]
Ọkùnrin:	Ọoo.

Oníṣègùn:	Bó bá ti wá rí, o jẹ́ kí n gbọ́.
Ọkùnrin:	Yóó daa fún yín baba.
Oníṣègùn:	Hìn-ín?
Ọkùnrin:	Yóó daa fún yín baba.
Oníṣègùn:	Ó dàbọ̀ o.
Ọkùnrin:	Un-ún tún mọ́ọ de hìn-ín, bó bá ti rí.
Oníṣègùn:	Mo ti gbọ́ o.
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun o.
Oníṣègùn:	Ǹ lọ́ o.
Ọkùnrin:	A á mọ́ọ rí yín bá o.
Oníṣègùn:	Wolẹ̀ o.
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹkú àgbà,
Oníṣègùn:	Ooo.

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Client (One man):	Good afternoon sir. I greet you.
Herbalist:	(Pounding some leaves under a shade in front of an isolated little hut) Hope there is nothing wrong? You're welcome. What's your mission?
Client:	I greet you. Someone directed me to this place. 5
Herbalist:	(Looks up) I'm listening. Hope nothing is wrong?
Client:	Sir, it's my wife. She is ill?
Herbalist:	I've seen it.
Client:	She's having pains all over her body. No medicines that we haven't used. 10
Herbalist:	I know. I knew you were coming.
Client:	Thank you sir.
Herbalist:	That's all right. Wait for me, I'll be back. (He goes into the hut.)
(After a few minutes)	15
Herbalist:	There's a lot of luggage there. I just started to search and search for it. Did you say she's you wife?
Client:	She is my wife.
Herbalist:	When you get home (He gives him a medicine)...
Client:	Yeees 20
Herbalist:	They say "use it as a herbalist has prescribed"
Client:	Father, I'm listening.
Herbalist:	When you have reached home, it's her cloth that you should tie around your waist.

Client:	I should tie her cloth around my waist?	25
Herbalist:	And you will be stark naked. Are you	
	listening?	
Client:	I am .	
Herbalist:	You will then straddle her and rub her	
	with it from head to toe, including her	
	nails. "Use it as the herbalist has advised".	30
	If you use this thing, before tomorrow	
	she'll have got well. If it doesn't work	
	, abuse me and call me a bastard.	
Client:	You're sure she will get well?	35
Herbalist:	She will, definitely.	
Client:	I should tie a cloth around my waist?	
Herbalist:	You should tie a cloth around your waist	
Client:	I should rub it all over her body?	
Herbalist:	Including her nails. Yees, That's all.	40
Client:	Okay.	
Herbalist:	When you have used it, let me know the result.	
Client:	May you meet with good things in life sir.	
Herbalist:	Yees.	45
Client:	May you prosper.	
Herbalist:	Bye	
Client:	I'll surely come again, however it comes out.	
Herbalist:	I've heard you.	
Client:	Thank you very much.	50
Herbalist:	Mind your step.	
Client:	May you continue to be useful to us,	
Herbalist:	You're welcome.	
Client:	Kind regards for your age.	
Herbalist:	Yees.	55

TEXT 4

Ọkùnrin kan:	(Sáré wọlé pẹ̀lú ọmọ lọ́wọ́) Baba, ẹ gbà mí!
Babaláwo:	Kín lo dé? Kín ló dé?
Ọkùnrin	Ẹ gbà mí ooo! Ẹ gba mí ooo! Ẹ gbà mí ooo! ...
Babaláwo:	(Ó gba ọmọ lọ́wọ́ọ baba ẹ̀. Ó yẹ́ẹ́ wò. Ó wá ... 5
	ń pọ́fọ̀, bí baba ṣe ń ké.)
	Ojòólá!
	Báa fẹ́mọ lójú, a ríràn-an.
	Ipá ńlá loríkọ tí à ń payéé
	Arẹ̀dòdò loríkọ tí à ń pòkú ... 10
	Báa bá pòkú, aláàyè níí dà ...
	Kín loríkọ rẹ̀?
Ọkùnrin:	Ikọ́bùnmi nìì. Ikọ́bùnmi ni ń jẹ. (Babaláwo
	bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí níí pọfọ̀ jẹ́jẹ́ sí ọmọ.) Ẹ gbà mí
	ooo! Ẹ gbà mí ooo! Ẹ gbà mí ooo! ... 15
	Ẹ gba mí ooo! Ikọ́bùnmi ni ń jẹ o.
Babaláwo:	Ikọ́bùnmíí!
Ọkùnrin:	Ikọ́bùnmi!
Babaláwo:	Ikọ́bùnmíí!
Ọkùnrin:	Ikọ́bùnmi! ... 20
Babaláwo:	Ikọ́bùnmíí!
Ọkùnrin:	Ikọ́bùnmíí! Ikọ́bùnmi! Ikọ́bùnmi! Àá! Ẹ
	gbà mí ooo! Bẹ̀ẹ̀! Bẹ̀ẹ̀!
Babaláwo:	Ikọ́bùnmi! (Ó ń pọfọ̀ síí) ... Àáàà!
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ gbà mí ooo! Ikọ́bùnmi ni ń jẹ. 25
Babaláwo:	Ẹ mọ́ gbée lọọlé.
Ọkùnrin:	Yóó lajú?
Babaláwo:	Igba tẹ́ bàá i délé, yóó yajú. Ara
	rẹ̀ ó sì wálẹ̀.
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun. 30
Babaláwo:	Ọ mọ́ gbe relé. Àáàà!
Ọkùnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun o jàre. Ikọ́bùnmi ni oo...

Client:	(Man runs in carrying a child) Father, help me!
Priest:	What's wrong? What's wrong?
Client:	Help me! Help me. Help me!
Priest:	(Receives child from his father and observes him. 5
	He then continues to recite incantations while the
	father keeps shouting.)
	Ojòólá!
	When air is blown into a child's eye, he sees.

Ìpá ńlá (Great Force) is the name Life is called

Aròdòdò (The Cool relaxant) is the name the Dead is called 10

When the Dead is called, he becomes alive ....

What's his name?

Client: It's Ìkóbùnmí. Ìkóbùnmí is his name. (The

priest continues to chant incantations silently on

child.) Help me! Help me! Help me! Help me!　　　　15

Ìkóbùnmí is his name.

Priest: Ìkóbùnmíì!

Client: Ìkóbùnmí!

Priest: ⌈Ìkóbùnmíì!⌉

Client: ⌊Ìkóbùnmíì!⌋　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　20

Priest: ⌈Ìkóbùnmíì!⌉

Client: ⌊Ìkóbùnmíì!⌋　Ìkóbùnmí! Ìkóbùnmí! Aah! Help

me e! Eh!

Priest: Ìkóbùnmíì! (Chants more incantations) Aah!

Client: Help meeee! Ìkóbùnmí is his name.　　　　　25

Priest: Take him home.

Client: He will open his eyes?

Priest: By the time you get home, he will open his eyes.

And his body will be at ease.

Client: Thank you.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　30

Priest: Take him home.　Aah!

Client: Thank you indeed.　Ìkóbùnmí ni oo ...

TEXT 5

Obìnrin kan:	Ẹ nlẹ́ onílé o.
Babaláwo:	(Kò dáùn. O ń kifá.)
Obìnrin:	Ẹ káààsán baba o.
Babaláwo:	Pẹlẹ́ ọmọ̀ mi. Káààbọ̀ o. Fìdí le
	lẹ̀. (Lẹ́yìn ìgbà díẹ̀, o wòkè.) Bétijẹ́	5
	7 Ṣé kò sí ǹkan o?
Obìnrin:	Mo fẹ́ báfá ní gbólóhùn.
Babaláwo:	Ùn nìlí. (Ó sún ọpọ́n Ifá sọ́dọ̀ Obìnrin.
	Obìnrin náà sì bá'fá sọ̀rọ̀. Lẹ́yìn ìgbà
	díẹ̀, Babaláwo ń dáfá.)	10
	Ire ọmọ!
	Ìre ò sọkánjúwà
	Atapatàpì ló díá fun sẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀
	Tí ń lọ 'bi a lìí kéé lọ
	Sẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀-mi-wẹkùn ò mọ bí à kéé mọ́	15
	Àra kálukú ara kára ó tóó fu.
	Ó ní "Íre ọmọ". (Ó dáfá díẹ̀ sí.) Ọmọ̀
	mi.
Obìnrin:	Baba.
Babaláwo:	Yóọ́ dáa fún ọ.	20
Obìnrin:	Àṣẹ. Àṣẹ.
Babaláwo:	Ire nifá rẹ wí. Ifá ti lóò ṣiyèméjì,
Obìnrin:	M bá dúpẹ́ o.
Babaláwo:	Ti ẹ̀ gbọ́ràn-àn. Ifá náà ti rí i
	nígbà tóo ti le dọ́dọ̀ ẹ un.	25
	Òkè ṣe ríkì òkè ṣorí ṣonṣo
	Níwájú Lìlí ọmọ ọlọ́rọ̀ lẹ́sẹ̀ òkè
	Lìlí Olèlé ọmọ ọlọ́rọ̀ lẹ́sẹ̀ òkè
	Àwá mọ̀mọ̀ dúpẹ́ ọmọ wa àbíyè
	Ifá ti lóun pere ọmọ fún ọ ńbẹun.	30
	Ifá ti lóò ṣiyèméjì.
Obìnrin:	Mo mọ̀ {dúpẹ o.}
Babaláwo:	{Ọ ń kánjú.} Àà! Ifá ti ń sọrọ̀. Ní
	sùúrù ù.
	Ọ kú foùn ṣe	35
	Ọ sọ̀rọ̀ o rò dẹdẹ
	Ọ sọ̀rọ̀ ìtìjú tán, wọ́n wá polúkòlú
	kò ọ́ lójú
	Wọ́n polúkòlú kò ọ́ lójú tán
	Iró ńláńlá ni ń jáde lẹ́nu wọn	40
	A dífá fábiamọ tí ń loọjà Ẹjìgbòmẹfọ̀n
	Nígba "onísó ijó àná,
	Ẹmi n mọ só, ọmọ̀ mi kóọ nì".

Ifá ti loun pere ọmọ fún ọ. Ifá wí pe
ní nnkan ti ti ń dààmi. O lóhun tíí ti   45
ń dààmi torí ọmọ, tó dààmi dààmi
dààmi dààmú, tó ṣe ṣe ṣe, tí kò
rójútùú rẹ̀. On náà ló jí lọ báyìí, ló
dáfá sí.

Obìnrin:	Baba! 50
Babaláwo:	Ifá wí pení kóo rúbọ torí ọmọ. Bó
	ti wí nùu
Obìnrin:	Ẹ jáfá baba! Ẹ jáfá! Ẹ jafa; ẹ ṣeun!
Babaláwo:	Ifá wí pení tọ́ọ bá wá rúbọ. Ifá
	wípe ní Ifá náà sì tún wá kì ọ́ ńlọ, 55
	ipa rẹ̀. Ṣọ́ọ gbọ́ mi. Ọmọ un ......
Obìnrin:	Nnkan kékeré ni.
Babaláwo:	Nnkan kékeré nù u? ..... Ṣùgbọ́n Ifá wá
	kì ọ́ ńlọ o.
Obìnrin:	Mo ń gbọ́ baba o. 60
Babaláwo:	Oríṣiríṣi lọ̀nà tọ́mọ ń gbàà wáyé.
Obìnrin:	Ẹn ẹn. Òótọ́ ni. Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni, bẹ́ẹ̀ ni.
Babaláwo:	Ẹlẹgbẹ́'run ń bẹ.
Obìnrin:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni.
Babaláwo:	Àbíkú ọmọ ń bẹ. 65
Obìnrin:	Àáà! Àwa táa jókò yìí, kódà, pómbélé
	ni á.
Babaláwo:	Kálukú ló sì ní èèwọ̀ tiẹ̀.
Obìnrin:	Bẹ́ẹ̀ ni, bẹ́ẹ̀ ni.
Babaláwo:	Ọmọ tí bá wá ń bọ̀ fún ọ yìí o, 70
	tí ń bọ̀ fún ọ yìí o. Éèè! Ọmọ̀
	mi, Ifá wá lóun ...
Obìnrin:	Ẹ fara balẹ̀ ...
Babaláwo:	Gbọ́ọ́. Ọ́ ọ́ ti ṣe fíyè de'hun tí mo
	fẹ́ sọ fún ọ yìí o? Ọ́ ọ́ ti ṣe bá mi 75
	fíyè déè?
Obìnrin:	Mo ti sún mọ yín.
Babaláwo:	Ṣóò ní ṣì mí gbọ́?
Obìnrin:	N ò le ṣì yín gbọ́ baba. Mo ti
	fetí balẹ̀. Mo ti fara balẹ̀ páápàá. 80
Babaláwo:	Ọmọ tí ń bọ yìí, tí ń bọ̀ wá bá
	ọ yìí, abàmì ọmọ ni.
Obìnrin:	Tí ń bọ̀ wádọ̀ọ̀ mi?
Babaláwo:	Wádọ̀ rẹ. Olóríire ọmọ ni o. Ṣùgbọ́n
	abàmì tí mo wáá wí, kó le yé ọ 85
	dáadáa, Ifá wí pení .... ọmọ náà,
	kò fékèé.

Obìnrin:	Ọmọ tí m bọ̀?
Babaláwo:	Kò fekéé o. Kò sì fẹ́ kọ́ọ purọ́ mọ́ un. Kò fẹ́rọ́ pípa. Ẹ gbọ́. Kò fẹ́rọ́. Kò fékéé.
Obìnrin:	Ẹn ẹ̀n, baba ....
Babaláwo:	Hùwà mímọ́ nìkan sìí o.
Obìnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun. Gbogbo àlàyé tẹ́ẹ ṣe fún mi ni mo gbọ́. Kínni mo fẹ́ fèké ṣe? Nígbà tíruù mi gìlọtọ̀ gilotọ, ìyáálé ile ... Kínni ń wáà ní pọ́mọ̀ mí ṣe tí n ó fi purọ́ mọ́ọ, tí n ó fi máa ṣèkě mọ́? Mọ gbọ́ gbogbo àlàyé yín o. Ọwọ́ òsì ni mo fi sí; [n ò nì fi jẹun.]
Babaláwo:	[Mo gbọ́.] Tọ́ọ bá ti ṣèyun-ùn-ùn, o dáa.
Obìnrin:	Ẹn ẹn, tó bá di ọwọ́ 'rọlẹ́, [gbogbo nhkan ètùtù tẹ́ẹ ní n ṣe ...]
Babaláwo:	[Ẹn-hẹn-ẹ̀n. N tó bá yẹ kó o ṣe.]
Obìnrin:	O dáa, kóo wá.
Obìnrin:	N ó ti sọ fún baálèé mi.
Babaláwo:	O dáa, kò burú.
Obìnrin:	N ó sì tọrọ, bó bá ráàyé tó le bá mi de [hàà-hin in] ...
Babaláwo:	[Awùù.] O dáa, ko burú.
Obìnrin:	Ẹ ṣeun. Ẹ ṣeun o. Ẹ ẹ́ pẹ̀ẹ́ fún wa.
Babaláwo:	Fọkàn si o. Fọkàn sí'un tí mo sọ fún o o.
Obìnrin:	Ẹ ṣe o.
Babaláwo:	Ẹ rora. Ẹ kílé o. Dákun bá mi tì àganrándì mi un o.

Line numbers in right margin: 90, 95, 100, 105, 110, 115, 120

Client (a woman):	Salute to the owner of this house
Ifá Priest:	(Not answering, paying homage to Ifá).
Client:	Good afternoon father.
Priest:	How're you my child? You're welcome. Sit down. (After a few moments, looks up). What is the matter? I hope there is nothing wrong?
Client:	I'd like to speak with Ifá.
Priest:	Here it is. (He pushes the divination tray towards the woman. Woman talks silently to the

Line number in right margin: 5

tray. After some time, the priest performs
Ifá divination)   10

      Blessings of children!
      You're not being greedy
      Atapatìpì it was who performed divination
          for Ṣèkèrè
      Who was seeking help where he wasn't
          supposed to go
      Ṣèkèrè-mí-wọkùn didn't know where
          to cry to again   15
      Everybody should seek a way to solve his
          own problems
He says "blessings of children". (Priest performs
further divination) My child!

Client:	Sir!	
Priest:	May you be blessed.	20
Client:	Amen. Amen.	
Priest:	It's good news that Ifá has for you. Ifá has recognised your fortitude.	
Client:	I would be grateful.	
Priest:	Just listen. Ifá himself has seen it the moment that you have come to him.	25

      A high hill, a high steep hill
      In front of Lìlí, the child of the wealthy
        man at the bottom of the hill
      Lìlí Dìèlè, the child of the wealthy man
        at the bottom of the hill
      We are grateful indeed, our babies are
        destined to live
Ifá says he has invited blessings of children to
you for that. Ifá has talked about your   30
sincerity.

Client:	I'm {indeed grateful.}	
Priest:	{You're hasty.} Aah! Ifá has started to talk Be calm.	

      You deliberately caused trouble with your voice 35
      You spoke, you talked carelessly
      Your talk brought cries of Shame
     They were to cry shame on you
      Big lies continued to come out of your
         mouth   40
      Ifá divination was performed for a mother
       who was going to Bjìgbòmefọn market

During the period of that song "the dancer
who farted yesterday
It was 1 who farted, not my child

Ifá says he has called blessings of children
to you. Ifá says something that has been
worrying. He says something that has been   45
worrying because of children, that worried
and worried and worried, that struggled
and struggled without finding any solution
to the problem. It is this same problem that
has caused her to wake up early and seek
the attention of Ifá

Client:	Sir! 50
Priest:	Ifá says you should make a sacrifice
	because of children. That was how he said it.
Client:	You have represented Ifá correctly sir!
	You represent Ifá correctly! You understand
	Ifá very well, thank you!
Priest:	Ifá says when you have performed the sacrifice
	Ifá says he also warns you, concerning it. 55
	Do you hear me? That child ...
Client:	That's a small matter.
Priest:	That's a small matter? ... But then Ifá
	has a warning for you.
Client:	I'm listening sir. 60
Priest:	Children come into this world by various means.
Client:	Yees. That's true. Yes. It is so.
Priest:	There are those who are members of societies in
	the world beyond.
Client:	Yes.
Priest:	There are the Abíkú. 65
Client:	Indeed! Even we sitting down here, we are
	prominent members.
Priest:	And every one has his own taboo.
Client:	Yes, yes.
Priest:	This baby that will be coming to you, who 70
	is coming to you; my child, Ifá says that
	what ....
Client:	Take it easy ...
Priest:	Listen. How are you going to remember
	What I want to tell you now? How are 75
	you going to retain it in your memory?
Client:	I've moved close to you.

Priest:	Hope you won't misunderstand me?	
Client:	I can't misunderstand you, father. I'm all ears. Even my body too is eager.	80
Priest:	This child that is coming, that is coming to you so, he is a stange child.	
Client:	That is coming to me?	
Priest:	Coming to you. He is a lucky child. But the strangeness that I talked about, so that you can understand very well, Ifá says that ... the child, he doesn't like deceit.	85
Client:	The child that is coming?	
Priest:	He doesn't like deception at all. And he doesn't want you to lie against him. He hates lies. You hear. He hates lies. He hates deception.	90
Client:	Emmm, sir ...	
Priest:	You just have to be honest with him.	
Client:	Thank you. I heard all your explanations. What do I want to do with deceitfulness? When a big person like me, mother of the house ... What will I then say that my child has done that I will lie against him, that I will cheat him . I heard all your explanations. I keep them in my left hand. {I won't eat with it.}	95 / 100
Priest:	{I hear.} If you have done that, it's Okay.	
Client:	Eemm, when it's towards the evening time. {all the ingredients of sacrifice you asked me to provide ...}	105
Priest:	{Oh yes. What you ought to do,}	
Client:	I shall bring them.	
Priest:	All right, you should come.	
Client:	I should have told my husband by then.	
Priest:	Okay, that's fine.	110
Client:	I would ask. If he can spare the time to accompany me {here} ...	
Priest:	{That's no big deal.} That's all right. It is okay.	
Client:	Thank you. Thank you very much. May you live long for our sake.	115
Priest:	Keep your mind on it. Remember what I told you	
Client:	Thank you.	
Priest:	Be careful. Greet your home. Please shut that my mini-door for me.	

TEXT 6

(Bàbá àti Ìyá ọmọ sáré wọlé pèlú ariwo. Ìyá gbé
ọmọ dání)

Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Babaa! Baaba ooo! }
Bàbá Ọmọ:	{Bàbàá! Ẹ gba ni ooo!}
Babaláwo:	À á!
Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Baba! ... } Ẹ dákun.
Babaláwo:	{Bwo ló dé?} Bwo ló dé? Kí ló dé?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Mo dáràn. Látànàá tí mo ti tọjà dé ni
	baba. Látànàá tí mo ti tọjà de ni ......
Babaláwo:	Kí lẹ pó ṣeé? (Ó ń yẹ ọmọ wo.)
Bàbá Ọmọ:	{Mẹ́ mọún ṣe ooo. Mẹ́ mọún ṣe é.}
Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Látànàá tí mo ti tọjà dé ni o.}
	Látànàá tí mo ti tọjà dé ni; ẹ ṣàánú
	mi o. Mo dáràn. Mo dáràn ...
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Panu ẹ mọ́. Kóọ́ ṣe ọ́?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Baba! Baba! }
Babaláwo:	{Ẹ jókòó. Ẹ jókòó.} (Ọmọ ń sunkún.)
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Mo dágun poo.
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ẹ ẹ rí i bí ti ń sojú ni? Ẹ ṣàánú mi.
	Látànàá tí mo ti tọjà dé ni. Àà! Àà!
	Mo dáràn.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	(Sí Ìyàwó rè). Ó yá, jókòó ẹ síbẹ yẹn.
	(Sí babaláwo tó ń fi ọpẹlẹ kan orí ọmọ
	yípo) ṣé é sìí?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ẹ ṣàánú mi.
Babaláwo:	Àwúù! Ṣebi nnàá ló sunkún jàkè tóọ
	gbọ́ un?
Bàbá Ọmọ:	(Ó ń pe ọmọ rẹ wò) Déédèjì!
Babaláwo:	(Ó pe Ìyàwó ṣégbèẹ.) Wá ná. (Ó sọrọ
	kẹlẹkẹlẹ síi létí.)
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Irọ́. Kìí ṣe tàgbo. Gbogbo nnkan tẹẹ fún
	wa pátápátá ni mo ti lò fún un. Látìgbà
	tí mo ti wọlé látọjà ni.
Babaláwo:	(Sí baba ọmọ) Ṣóọ ń gbọ́ niisinyìí?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba ẹ bá mi wòó wò ni. {Ẹ dákun, ẹ
	ṣàánú mi.}
Bàbá Ọmọ:	{Mẹ́ mọún ṣeé o.}
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Bó ti ń gbòn lẹyìn mi nìyìí wà-wà-wà.
	Mo mà dáràn o. Mo ma dáràn o. Ẹ ẹ rí
	i bó ṣe gbónà?
Babaláwo:	(O ń dáfá.) Àà! Ọguujì. Àà! Ẹ ẹ rí
	bó ṣe gbónà? Àà! Ifá táa dá níjóòóni

Line numbers (right margin): 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40

rèêe. Àà! Ojúkalówí rèêe! Ifá táa dá
nijóòònì rèêe. À á! Wá ná 'mọdé yìí,
(sí ìyá ọmọ) o ò lóràn àn gbọ́ o.   45

Ìyá Ọmọ:	Kíni mo ṣe baba?
Babaláwo:	Ifá táa dá nijóòònì ni ....
Baba Ọmọ:	Kíló ṣèlè?
Babaláwo:	(Ó ń dáfá)

... O sòrò tán   50
Wọn tún wá poníkòkí kò ọ́ lójú
Nígbàa wọn wá poníkòkí kò ọ́ lójú tán,
Irọ́ ńláńlá ló ń jáde lénuu wọn.
A díá fábíamọ tí ń lọ sójà Otìko ....
Ifá 'jóòònì náà rèê. Bléyìí ò lóròọ́ gbọ́ o.   55

Ìyá Ọmọ:	Kíni mo ṣe baba?
Babaláwo:	Ìwọ! Ó dáa, arúfin ni ọ́! Arúfin ni ọ́
	, bímí ẹ ti rí ....
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba, òfin wo ni mo ru? N ò rúfin
	baba. 60
Bàbá Ọmọ:	À á, heèèèè! Olọ́un mámà jẹ́ kó kó bá
	mi. (Sí ìyàwó ẹ) Ó yá gbahùn rẹ, ó yá
	nílé.
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Mi ò rúfàn-in ìn.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Gba'ùn rẹ o. 65
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ẹmí ni mo ṣe baba? {Ko sófin kan tí mo
	rú.}
Bàbá Ọmọ:	{Ẹ̀ẹnú mi ni ko ṣe.}
Babaláwo:	Ẹ ní kó jẹ́wọ́ 'hun tó ṣe.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Ngbó, kí o ṣe? Àà, ọ́ ti mí dóko? 70
Babaláwo:	Bèèe! Àánú ẹ ṣe mí o. Ẹ ní kó jẹ́wọ́.
	Bóò bá fi ... kò dóko o.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Kò dóko?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Kíni, mo ṣe? Baba náà mọ ...
Babaláwo:	Tí ò bá jẹ́wọ́ o, ọmọ yìí ó ò kú o. 75
Bàbá Ọmọ:	À à! Kí sònpònná ... Mi ò fẹ́ kó jẹ ọ́.
	Kí mi gérí rẹ bọ́ ni? Baba, tèmi ni
	kóo ròo.
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba! Baba! Mo ti ránti.
Babaláwo:	Ṣèbí o lóò mọ́ọ ni? 80
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Mo ronú sìí ni. N ò mọ òfin tí mo
	rú; mo ṣeṣe ronu sìí ni baba. Tòótọ́
	ni. Mo mọ̀ pé mo rúfin-in. Mo ṣàìgbọ̀ràn
	. Un táá bàà wá ṣe ni kẹ́ ẹ sọ fún mi.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Kí lo ṣe? 85

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ìhìn táa dé ló jẹ́ kójú ọmọ̀ mi ó wálẹ̀
          báyìì.

Babaláwo: Kílo wá ṣe? Bèèè! Ọmọ yìí óò mọ̀ sí
           kúù? Bèè!

Ìyá Ọmọ: Mo ti rántí. Ẹ dákùn-un. Ṣéẹ rí, mo lọ   90
          ọjà lánàá. Ṣéẹ mọ̀ pé mo ní látìgbà
          tí mo ti tọjà dé ní ọwọ́ ìyálẹ̀ta àná
          ni ò ti gbádùn, ló ti bẹ̀rẹ̀ ẹ gbígbóná
          fòó? Ẹn-ẹm, mọ wá rọjà. Bàbá kan
          wà tí mọ́ ọ ra àgbàdo 'ọmọ ńlá' lọ́wọ́   95
          mi. Ọ wa bèèrè àgbàdo un, mo sì ní n ò
          ní. Mo wá lọ sí ìsọ̀ èkejì mi, Lálónpé
          ọ̀rẹ́ẹ mi, pé kí n lọ bèèrè àgbàdo o.
          Bí mo ṣe débẹ̀ bayìì, tí mo kó àgbàdo
          un, kí n gbe rù, ọ gbà ọ. Bí mo ṣe   100
          ní kí n dìde báyìì, n lọ́ bá jábọ́.

Babaláwo: Kíló jábọ́?

Ìyá Ọmọ: Isó ni.

Babaláwo: Un hùn-ún, nìgbà tísó jábọ́ tán, kíló ṣelẹ̀?

Ìyá Ọmọ: Gbogbo wọn sì ti dojú bò mi, láarin ọjà.   105
          Ojú wá gbà mí tì. Mo bá bẹ̀rẹ̀ síí fìyà
          jẹ ọmọ yìí pé òun ló só.

Babaláwo: (Sí baba ọmọ) Ṣóọgbọ́ báyìí? Ó puró mọ́mọ.
           Ṣóọgbọ́ báyìí? O gbọ́, àbóọgbọ́?

Bàbá Ọmọ: Aṣèé àwo lo fẹ́ẹ pa mí lọ́mọ?   110

Babaláwo: (Sí ìyá ọmọ) Ó dáa náà, gbà.

Bàbá Ọmọ: Ẹ dákun. Tèmi ni kóo rò.

Ìyá Ọmọ: Ẹ dákun ...

Babaláwo: Bó ti ń wò kàbìkàbì bíi màálù rọ́bẹ.
           Dáké ẹnu ẹ o kojá síhìn-ín. Mo sọ fun   115
           níjọ́ kìnníí àná o. Mo lọ́mọ tí ḿ bọ̀
           yìí o, èèyàn ò gbọdọ̀ ṣèké síí; èèyàn
           ò gbọdọ̀ puró mọ́ọ. Àbí mi ò wí?

Bàbá Ọmọ: Kì í gbọ́ràn-án. Baba, tèmi ni kó o rò.
           Bẹ̀nú mi ni kó o ṣe. Un ún báa ṣe, ko   120
           bá ni ṣéẹ́ létùtù.

Babaláwo: 'Un tó wá wà nìbẹ̀ ni pé, níìsinyìí, kò
           jọ ... kò létùtù. Ètùtù tó ní nínú
           níìsinyìí, tí ó báá tún gbọ́. Bóo bá le
           gbọ́ .... Kóo tó tún mía ṣéjú pàkò bíi   125
           màálù rọ́bẹ.

Bàbá Ọmọ: Kíní ṣe tí ò gbọ?

Babaláwo: Bọ́ọ̀ báá gbọ, 'un tó le mí ara ọmọ un
           yá o .... Kó o wá délé níìsinyìí, kóo

	lọ rèé gbàlù ... Kóó lọ gbàlù, kóo wá	130
	padà lọ sójà níbi tó ti purọ́ mọmọ un ...	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	To ti so?	
Babaláwo:	Tó ti só. Kọ mọ́ọ wá kọrin. Kó mọ́ọ kọ:	
	"Onísó alẹ́ àná o	
	Bmi n mo só, ọmọọ̀ mi kọ́ ⎫ (Bẹ̀mejì)	
	Bmi n mo só, ọmọọ̀ mi kọ... ⎭	135
Ìyá Ọmọ:	⎧Hìn ín! Baba! Baba! Baba! ⎫	
Babaláwo:	⎩O ń kọrín lọ.) Onísó alẹ àná o⎭	
	Bmi n mo só	
	Ọmọ ọ̀ mi kọ́	140
	Bmi ń mo só	
	Ọmọ ọ̀ mi kọ́ o	
	Ó sì tò ó. 'Gbànáà lara ọmọ ó tò ó yá,	
	'Gbànáà ...	
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba! Byí ẹ sọ un, ẹ pa á dà. Níbi	145
	tí mo ní ojú ti tì mí tí mo ti ...	
Babaláwo:	(Pẹ̀lú ìbínú) kó ró gbáú fún un o wí un!	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	⎧Gbogbo ún bá ti wù ú kó dá lárà.⎫	
Babaláwo:	⎩Kó ró gbáú lẹ́nu ẹ.⎭	
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba ...	150
Babaláwo:	Kó ró gbáú lẹ́nu ẹ.	
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Baba ...	
Babaláwo:	Irú ọ̀rọ̀ wo lo ní kí n má sọ? Yóó	
	bàa pòrípòrí ọ̀run ẹ.	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Baba! Gbà mí, má bìnú ú. Ipa mi ni	155
	yèe nì. (Sí ìyàwó) Ogun láa síri rẹ, ó yá, jade.	
Ìyá Ọmọ:	(Ara ẹ ti wálẹ̀.) Àà ... ẹn - ẹ̀n-ẹ̀n...	
Babaláwo:	Gbẹ́nu! Olọ́run ò ní jẹ́ o gbọ́. (Pariwo)	
	Jáde nílé mi! Jáde nílé mi!	
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Àà .... In-ìn ... Baba, ẹ dákun. Bẹ	160
	dákun.	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	(Sí babaláwo) Olọ́run ni mo fi bẹ̀ ọ́.	
Babaláwo:	Yóọ́ mọ́ọ lẹ́nu bébébébébé sí mi.	
	Olọ́run ó kọ̀ ọ́.	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	A à, iró lẹ́ẹ́ paà.	165
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Bẹ ṣé é. Ń jóo tún ni n wá gbàlù	
	lẹ́yìn-in tìẹ, ọmọ?	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Afẹ́fẹ́ lọwọ́ rẹ gbà ní. Àdá ... Bó bá	
	wùú, ke ṣé é; bó bá wù ú ke má sè	
	é. Àdá ni mo fi a bẹ́rí rẹ. Yì un sẹ́lẹ̀	170
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Byí ò lọ́rọ̀ọ́ gbọ́ o ...	
Bàbá Ọmọ:	B lọrọ̀ọ́ gbọ́ ọ́.	

Babaláwo:	Ẹni tí sì ń purọ́ o jalè.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Bẹ́ẹ ni. {Ó pẹ́ mo ti mí wí hàn-án àn.}
Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Bàá Deleke, ẹ jẹ́ á re lé.} Ilé ẹni 175
	là á tíí jèkúté endodo.
Babaláwo:	Ó ti parí. (Ó rẹ́rìn-ín). Ó ti parí. Ó ti
	parí. Bíí tíí ṣe nù u?
Ìyá Ọmọ:	Ẹ jẹ́ á relé.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Ọrọ̀ dọwọ́ rẹ o. 180
Babaláwo:	Abájọ.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Ìrọ́ ti pẹ́ ná sìì lẹ́nu, bo ti mí wòó o
	nì. Bó bá dá tan, bó bá ṣẹ̀ tán,
	gbogbo ìbí yìí (ó fọwọ́ kan ẹnu.) ìrọ́ lẹ
	ẹ be níbẹ̀ ... {Olọ́run láá mu ẹ.} 185
Babaláwo:	{Á à à. Ẹyí tí yóó ṣe nuu?}
Ìyá Ọmọ:	(O m bẹ̀bẹ̀.) Ẹ ẹ̀ sì le bá mí rí nnkan
	ṣe síí?
Babaláwo:	Kò létùtù jù báun lọ, o gbọ́. Ẹ mọ́
	ọ wá relé. 190
Bàbá Ọmọ:	O ṣé o.
Babaláwo:	Mójú tóo o. Ẹ kílé o.
Bàbá Ọmọ:	Ọ́ pẹ́ mo ti mí wí hàn án. {Mo bá a
	sòrò tì.}
Ìyá Ọmọ:	{Ẹ jẹ́ á relé.} Ẹ jẹ́ á relé. Ó ti to 195
	yín, ẹ jẹ́ á relé.

(Child's parents run in shouting. The mother carries
   the baby in her hands.)

Child's Mother:	{Father! Father!	}
Child's Father:	{Father, please save us!}	
Ifá Priest:	Ẹh!	5
Mother:	{Father .... }	please!
Priest:	{What's wrong?}	What is wrong? What is
	the matter?	
Mother:	I'm in trouble. Sir, it was since yesterday when	
	I came back from the market. It was since	
	yesterday when I came back from the market	
	.....	
Priest:	What do you say is wrong with him? (He	10
	examines baby.)	
Father:	{I don't know what has happened to him. I	
	don't know what has happened to him.}	
Mother:	{It was since yesterday when I cam back	
	from the market.) It was since yesterday	

*

when I came back from the market; have

pity on me. I'm in trouble. I'm in trouble...

Father: Shut up your mouth. What's wrong with you? 15

Mother: ⎧Father! Father! ⎫

Priest: ⎩Sit down. Sit down.⎭ (Baby cries.)

Father: I'm in real trouble now.

Mother: Don't you see how his eyes are moving?

Have pity on me. It was since yesterday when

I came back from the market. Oh! Oh! I'm 20

in trouble.

Father: (To his wife) All right, sit down there. (To

the priest who passes divination instrument round

baby's head) Hope there is nothing?

Mother: Have pity on me. 25

Priest: What the hell! You hear him cry out, don't

you?

Father: (Calls the child) Déédèjì!

Priest: (Calls child's mother aside) Come here. (Talks

silently to her.) 30

Mother: No. It's not the herbs. All the things you

gave us I've given to him. It was since

when I came back from the market.

Priest: (To child's father) Are you listening now?

Mother: Sir, help me to find out the cause. ⎧Please, 35

have pity on me.⎭

Father: ⎧I don't know what's wrong with him.⎭

Mother: This is how he's shaking violently at my back.

I'm indeed in trouble. I'm surely in trouble.

Don't you see how hot his body is? 40

Priest: (Performing divination) Ah! Oguùjì.[1] Aaah! Don't

you see how hot his body is? Aah! This Ifá

is the one that came out the other day.

Aah! This is Ùjúkaléwì.[2] This was the Ifá of the other/ day.

Eh! Come here this child (to baby's mother)

you're not ready to heed warnings. 45

Mother: Sir, what have I done?

Priest: This Ifá was what the divination revealed the

other day ...

Father: What has happened?

Priest: (Divining)

..... You finished speaking 50

Then you were to take the consequences

When you were to take the consequences,

Big lies started coming out of their mouth.
Ifá divination was performed for a mother going
    to Otìko market ...
This Ifá is that of the other day. This one isn't
ready to heed warnings.   55

Mother: Father, what have I done?
Priest: You! All right, you're a lawbreaker! You are
a lawbreaker, with your nose like ...
Mother: Sir, which law have I broken? I haven't
violated any rule.   60
Father: Ah! May God not let you put me into trouble
(To his wife) Have your child then, let's go
home.
Mother: I haven't violated any rule.
Father: Just get your thing.   65
Mother: What have I done sir? {There is no law I
have broken.}
Father: {It's me you should take pity on.}
Priest: Tell her to confess what she has done.
Father: Listen, what did you do? Eh, you've started
flirting?   70
Priest: Eh! I pity you. Tell her to confess. If you
don't .... She isn't a flirt, however.
Father: She is not a flirt?
Mother: What did I do? Father himself knows ...
Priest: If you don't confess, this child will die.   75
Father: Ah! Should Sònpònná ... I don't want it to
'eat' you. Should I cut of your head? Father,
think about me.
Mother: Father! Father. I've remembered.
Priest: Didn't you say you don't know it?   80
Mother: I thought about it. I didn't know what
rule I broke; I just thought about it sir.
It is true. I know I broke a rule. I was
stubborn. You will now tell me what we're to do.
Father: What did you do?   85
Mother: It's because we're here that my child's state
is improving.
Priest: What then did you do? Eh! This child is
going to die? Eh!
Mother: I have remembered. Pleeease. You see,   90
I went to the market yesterday. You know
I told you that it was since I came back
from the market just before noon yesterday

that he has been ill, and has been feeling
very hot? Bem, I went to the market. There
is an elderly man that used to buy the
'big-seeded' corn from me. He came to ask   95
for the corn and I said I didn't have it.
I then went to the stall of my colleague,
Lálónpé my friend, to ask for the corn. As
I reached there and packed the corn, put
it on my head and paid for it. As I prepared   100
to get up like this, it escaped suddenly.

Priest: What escaped?

Mother: Air from my bowels.

Priest: Yees, when you finished farting, what
happened?

Mother: And everybody had focused on me, in the market   105
place. I was ashamed. Then I started punishing
this child claiming that he farted.

Priest: (To child's father) Do you hear that? He lied
against the child. You hear now? Do you hear
or you don't?

Father: So it's you who want to kill my child?   110

Priest: (To child's mother) All right, get this.

Father: Please. Think about me.

Mother: Please ...

Priest: As she's looking muddled like a cow about to
be slaughtered. Shut up your mouth and come
over here. I told her on that very day. I   115
said the child that was coming so, noone
should cheat him ; noone should lie against
him. Or didn't I say so?

Father: She's stubborn. Father, think about me. It
is me you should pity. Whatever is to be   120
done, help us to do the appeasement.

Priest: What is there now is that it doesn't .... it
has no remedy. The remedy for it now, if
she will hear again. If she can hear ....
Before you start blinking your eyes again like   125
a cow to be slaughtered.

Father: Why will she not hear?

Priest: If you will hear, what can make that child
get better .... When you get home now, go
and get a drummer .... Go and get a drummer   130
and then go back to the market where you had
lied against that child ...

Father:	Where she farted?
Priest:	Where she farted. You should then start
	singing. You should sing:

<pre>
        "The person who farted yesterday night ⎤
            It was I who farted, not my child   ⎬2ce   135
            It was I who farted, not my child ⎦
</pre>

Mother:	⎡What! Father! Father! Father! ⎤
Priest:	⎣(Continues singing) The person who farted ⎦

<pre>
    yesterday night
     It was I who farted
     Not my child   140
     It was I who farted
     Not my child
</pre>

And that is all. That's when the child will
be cured. That's when ....

Mother:	Sir, what you said now, say something else. 145
	Where I told you I was ashamed, that I have ....
Priest:	(With annoyance) will you stop talking nonsense!
Father:	⎡Let her try whatever tricks she likes.⎤
Priest:	⎣Shut up your mouth. ⎦
Mother:	Father ... 150
Priest:	Shut up your mouth.
Mother:	Father ...
Priest:	What kind of utterance can't I make? May
	curse be on your ancestors.
Father:	Father! Save me, don't be annoyed. That's 155
	my own role. (To wife) May war claim your
	head. All right, get out.
Mother:	(Now sober) Bem ....
Priest:	Keep quiet. God will not let you hear
	(Shouts) Get out of my house! Get out of
	my house!
Mother:	Bem .... Father, please. Please. 160
Father:	(To priest) I beg you in the name of God.
Priest:	She wants to be bandying words with me. May
	God punish you.
Father:	Ah, she is always telling lies. 165
Mother:	Thank you. When should I get a drummer
	for you, child?
Father:	She requires the use of force. Cutlass ...
	If she likes, let her do it; if she likes
	let her not do it. It's cutlass I'll use to
	cut of your head. Leave her alone. 170
Priest:	This one isn't ready to heed advice.

Father:	She isn't ready to listen to advice.
Priest:	And whoever is a liar will steal.
Father:	Yees. {It's a long time I've been warning her.}
Mother:	{Báá Délékè, let's go home.} One's secrets 175 should be confined to one's home.
Priest:	It's finished. (Laughs) It's finished. It's Finished. That's what she does?
Mother:	Let's go home.
Father:	Everything is in your hands. 180
Priest:	No wonder.
Father:	She is a chronic liar, as you see her. When she has done anything wrong, all this (touches mouth) is filled with lies .... {May God catch you} 185
Priest:	{Ah. That's what she will do?}
Mother:	(Pleading) And you can't help me do anything about it?
Priest:	There is no other remedy besides that, you hear. You can now go home. 190
Father:	Thank you.
Priest:	Watch her properly. Greet you house.
Father:	It's a long time I've been telling her. (I talked to her to no avail.)
Mother:	{Let's go home.} Let's go home. You've spoken enough, let's go home.

TEXT 7

(Ìpàdé ènìyàn mérin kan: babaláwo, ọkùnrin kan àti
ìyàwó ẹ pẹ̀lú ọ̀rẹ́ ìyàwó obìnrin kan ní ìta, niwaju
ilé babaláwo)

Obìnrin (Ọ̀rẹ́ Ìyàwó):	Ẹ nlẹ́ baba o.	
Babaláwo:	Ìwọ taa ni o?	5
Obìnrin:	Ẹmi ìyá Ọṣogbo ni o.	
Babaláwo:	Àà, ẹ ma káàbọ̀ o.	
Àwọn Àlejò	Òòoo.	
Babaláwo:	Ẹ rọra o.	
Obìnrin:	{ Ẹ kúùṣẹ́ o }	10
Babaláwo:	{ Ẹ pẹ̀lẹ́ o. }	
Obìnrin:	Ẹ kúùṣẹ́ o.	
Babaláwo:	Ooo, káàbọ̀ o.	
Obìnrin:	Ẹyin la wáá ri o.	
Babaláwo:	Kàa sí nkan o?	15
Obìnrin:	Kò sí nkan o....	
Babaláwo:	Bwé tí mo jókòó tì yìì ò ṣe é dìde	
	ńdìì ẹ. Ẹ jókòó; ẹ jókòó.	
Ọkọ àti Ìyàwó:	Ẹyin la wá ri o.	
Obìnrin:	Ọ̀rẹ́ẹ mi ni mo mú wábí, àti baálẹ̀	20
	rẹ̀.	
Babaláwo:	Ẹ jókòó. (Si omoọṣẹ́) Lọ gbé àpò Ifá	
	wá nínú ilé. (Lẹ́yìn ìgbà díẹ̀) Báwo	
	ló ti wá jẹ o?	
Ìyàwó:	Ẹn ẹn-baba, ẹ é jèrè o. Ẹ dákun.	25
	Ẹ ṣàánú mi, ayée yín óó da o. Ẹn	
	-ẹn, lórí ọ̀rọ̀ ọmọ mi ni mọ ba wa	
	o. Àsàsí sì ni o. Ṣé bènìyàn bá tiẹ̀	
	sì léni léni náà, ṣe bẹ́ẹyàn ó sì	
	padà lẹ́yìn eni? N ò mọ mọun tí mọ	30
	rà o. Nígbà mo....	
Ọkọ:	Ṣe bóo wá ṣèbéèrè nkan ni? Gbòo	
	tí wá sọ fún baba pásàsí ni nkọ́?	
	Àsàsí bóoo? { Jé wọn ǹ sọ̀rọ̀ tán ... }	
Babaláwo:	{ Ẹ ẹ̀ẹ, ayé ḿ bẹ̀ẹ. } Ayé ḿ bẹ ẹ.	35
Ọkọ:	Nígbà tó wá ń sọ fun yín pe àsàsí	
	ni. Sebí a wá ṣèbéèrè bóyá àsàsí ni	
	bóyá àsàsí kọ, tí wá ń sọ ọ́ fun yin?	
Obìnrin:	Wòó. Bó ṣàsàsí, bí ò ṣàsàsí, Ifá ó sọ	
	....	40
Babaláwo:	Ifá á sọ fun waà. Gbogbo ẹ làá rìì.	
Ìyàwó:	Ẹ ọ ni réni tí yóó ba tiyín jẹ o.	

Babaláwo: Ngbòo ti débí, ọrọ̀ rẹ ti dayọ̀. (Ó fún
           obìnrin ni ọpẹ̀lẹ) Arábìnrin! Báfá sòrọ̀
           . Báfá sòrọ̀.   45

Ìyàwó: Ooo. Ifá òo ...

Babaláwo: Ọọ sòrọ̀ síì ... Wàá báfá sọrọ láì
           fowó síì ni?

Ìyàwó: Ifá, dákun o. Gbà mí o lọ́wọ́ àwọn
           amọnìṣẹnì o; àwọn aṣenitán tí ń bá ni   50
           dáró o ....

Babaláwo: À à mà gbóun tó ńń wí. Ifá lo ń
           bá sòrọ̀. Ẹmi kọ́ ni n máa gbọ́.
           Máa sọọ díẹdíẹ.

Ọkọ: Gbogbo wọ̀nranwọ̀nran tí ń ṣe yìí kò   55
           yé mi to. Oò le wí un tó ò wí; ọ ọ́
           kàn ń .....

Babaláwo: Wọ̀nran wọ̀nran tí ń ṣe yìí, bóo ló
           ti jẹ́? (Ìyàwó sòrọ̀ kelekele sí ọpẹ̀lẹ̀,
           babaláwo sì gba ọpẹ̀lẹ̀ náà. Ó ń dáfá.)   60

                Ifá,
                Ẹlẹ́rìì ìpín
                Iwájú ọpọ́n, o gbọ́ o
                Ẹ̀yìn ọpọ́n òun Olòkànràn òtún
                Olòkànràn òsì   65
                Àarin ọpọ́n gangan nìta ọrun
                Ilẹ̀ o gbọ o, Ọgẹ́ẹ́rẹ́ a-fokọ́-ye-rì
                Ẹní o gbọ́ o, Pàkìtí Àmí
                Ìbà ẹyìn ìyáá mi Ọṣòròngà
                Apẹnran mọ́ leè wágún   70
                Olókìkí òru
                Akìnrínjẹ, Akììrínjẹ
                Àgada momi ẹran sòsòsò
                Ẹ̀yìn lẹ dá mi lódù, lẹ tẹ̀ mí nifá
                Ẹ ni n máa jí bọfá ni mo jí bọfá   75
                Bééyàn bá ti jí gbọ́ tifá kò le ṣìsọ o
                Àgbàlagbà ìì dawọ́ bojú ó purọ́
                Ire ni! .... (Ó na ọpẹ̀lẹ̀ mọ́lẹ̀).
       Àáà! Ọsẹ́tìrẹtẹ̀. Àáà, aawọ eerin lọmọ
yìí.   80
                À à gbọdọ̀ paá
                Bẹ́ẹ̀ nì a à gbọdọ̀ jẹẹ
                Ẹnìkan ò sì gbọdọ̀ gbe sọnù.
                À à! Kò gbọdọ̀ jẹẹ
                Ibi ayé fojú sí, ọnà ò gbabẹ̀ lọ   85
                Iree! (Ó na ọpẹ̀lẹ̀ mọ́lẹ̀.)

Ẹ̀ẹ̀a, ire ni. Àá, o kárèè.

Wọ́n wí pé Olúṣogbó Olúṣogbó ni í ṣọmọ

Ajáàyàníwájàn

Tíí ṣọmọ Ìwòrì Méfà

Ìwòrì Méfà ìwọ lo bí mi, ìwọ lo rà mí   90

Mo túń dẹrú oníwọ Ìwòrì Méfà

Ló dífá fún Àkàlàmàgbò

Níjọ́ tó ń tinú ìyá ẹ̀ bí ọmọ tuntun

wálé ayé

Iwájú ò bá pọ́n téré-téré

Awo ò lè rí un ṣe   95

Á, orí ọká a jà fún ọká

Orí Àgbọnmìrègún a jà fun Àgbọnmìrègún

Àsàsí ọka níí pọká

Àsàsí erè níí perè

Àkótì ò gbọdọ̀ pèètù...   100

Arábìnrin!

Ìyàwó: Ẹ̀n ẹ́n.

Babaláwo: Fọwọ́ balẹ̀ o fi kànyà ẹ nígbà mẹ́ta.

Kóọ pọọ kẹ́lẹ́dàá rẹ ku oríire.

Ìyàwó: Mo kẹ́lẹ́dàá mi kú oríire o   105

Babaláwo: {Ńgbò o ó fi dẹbí, ọ̀rọ̀ rẹ jù báun lọ.}

Ìyàwó: {Mo kí ọ kú oríire o.} Mo kí ọ kú

oríire ẹlẹ́dàá mi o.

Babaláwo: An-in o. O wa dáa o. Àsàsí ni.

Ìyàwó: Mo wí, wọn ọn jẹ́ á wí   110

Babaláwo: Ṣé àkọ́bí ẹ ni àbí bóo lo ti jẹ́?

Ìyàwó: Mo wí baba Mọlabí. Mo wí, o jẹ́

n wí? Baba ...

Babaláwo: Mò ń bèèrè nkan lọ́wọ́ ẹ ni. Ṣ'àkọ́bí

ẹ ni àbí ...   115

Ìyàwó: Ẹ ẹ jẹrẹ baba.

Obìnrin: Wọ́n ni "ṣàkọ́bí ẹ ni?"

Ìyàwó: Àkọ́bí ni.

Babaláwo: Ọkùnrin sì ni?

Ìyàwó: Ọkùnrin ni o.   120

Babaláwo: Á à, ó mà ṣe o.

Ìyàwó: Àkọ́bí ni; àkọ́bí ni....

Babaláwo: Ẹ̀n ẹn, àsàsí ni o. Ṣùgbọ́n àsàsí

yìí, nnkan mi ni lọmọ, èèyàn ló

wà nídìí ẹ̀.   125

Ìyàwó: Baba Mọlabí, ò ń gbọ́. Ẹ mọ́ kàn

mi léyìn ọọ́kán. Ẹ bá mi sọ fún

wọn wọn ń ṣẹ́ẹ́kánná léyìn ọrùn mi.

Tèmi n mo wá ṣe, ẹ má pa mí lápa

áyé.   130

Ọkọ:	Ngbọ́ baba, ńbo làsàsí ọ̀ín ti wá?	
Babaláwo:	Asàsí ínú 'lé ni. Ọ̀rọ̀ inú ilé ni.	
Obìnrin:	Ọ̀rẹ́ẹ̀ mi n ò wì í?	
Ìyàwó:	Bẹ̀ẹ́, èmi náà wi bẹ́ẹ̀. Wọn ọ̀n	
	jẹ́ á wí. Awọn ọkọ ìyàwó, Títù ọkọ	135
	obìnrin.	
Ọkọ:	Baba, àwa mẹ́ta náà la wà nínú ile.	
	Orogúnun rẹ̀, Bọ́láńlé, kìí ṣe èèyàn burúkú	
	.Ènìyàn dáadáa ni. Ta a wá ni óó tún	
	mọ́ọ sà síí?	140
Babaláwo:	Baba, ẹ̀yin lọ ń sọ̀rọ̀ bí ọmọ kékeré	
	báyìí. Nbẹ́ẹ̀ mọ̀ pé àjẹ́ tí bá ń pa	
	ni, wọn ìí rẹ́jẹ̀ lẹ́nu ẹ̀.	
Ọkọ:	Ẹ̀ ẹ gbọ́? Ọmọ yìí ò le dìde. Kíni	
	n táa le lo fún un bayìí?	145
Babaláwo:	Ẹ̀ bẹ̀ẹ mọ̀ pé àsàsí nìlì jẹ èèyàn ...	
	àsàsí nìlì jẹ́ wèrè ó lójú oorun. Asàsí	
	nìu.	
Ọkọ:	Un un, kín laá ṣe síí?	
Babaláwo:	N ń wàá òògùn kan fun yín bayìí.	150
	Ẹ̀ ẹ bu epo pupa sínú àwo tó gún	
	rébété. Ṣẹ́ẹmọ àwo tó tẹ́ báyìí, bí	
	àwo ìbílẹ̀, àwo aláṃọ̀?	
Obìnrin:	Àwo aṃọ̀?	
Babaláwo:	Àwo aṃọ̀. Ẹ̀ ẹ fi í inú ẹ̀. Ẹ̀ ẹ	155
	fepo pupa síí. Á á bù ú bayìí á á	
	lá gbogbo ẹ̀. Bó bá ti la, ara ẹ̀	
	á wálẹ̀. Áá róorun sùn. Ẹ̀ ẹ wà	
	á ra pọnpò-wà. Ẹ̀ ń gbọ́ bayìí?	
	Ẹ̀ ẹ wà bi seé kẹẹ gbe sinu	
	ọ̀ẹdẹ yín. Ẹ̀ ẹ máa wá mọ́ọ lòó	160
	fun un. Gbogbo ara rẹ̀ ó wálẹ̀. Ara	
	ó tù ú, tó jẹ́ pé kò tún ní gbúròò	
	ẹ̀ mọ́.	
Obìnrin:	Àyée yín ọ daa o. Ẹ̀ ẹ jèrè o.	165
Babaláwo:	Ṛyí tí n ọ̀ wá fún yín lọ bayìí	
	, ẹ jẹ́ n lọ mu wá nimu ilé.	
	Mo ńbọ̀. (Ó wọnú ilé lọ.)	

(A meeting of some four people: a divination priest, one man,
his wife and his wife's friend outside in front of the
priest's hut).

Woman's Friend:	Good day father.
Priest:	Who's that person? 5
Friend:	It's me the woman from Ọṣọgbo.
Priest:	Ah, you're welcome please.
The visitors:	Thank you.
Priest:	Mind your step.
Friend:	Salute to you at work 10
Priest:	Good day to you
Friend:	I salute you at work.
Priest:	Thanks, you're welcome.
Friend:	Hope there is nothing wrong? 15
Friend:	There is nothing wrong ...
Priest:	This herb I'm working on can't be left abandoned. Sit down; sit down.
Man and Woman:	It's you we've come to see.
Friend:	It's this my friend I bring to you, and 20 her husband.
Priest:	Sit down. (To attendant) Go and bring the divination bag inside the house. (After some time) What really is the problem?
Woman:	Em---father, may you prosper. Please. Have 25 pity on me, your life will meet with joy. Yes, it's for my child's sake that I have come here. It is magical affliction. If an assailant has pestered one's life for a long time, shouldn't he leave one alone? I really don't 30 know what I did. When I ...
Man (Woman's husband):	Isn't it that you've come to ask about something? What happens now that you've told father that it's a magical problem? How can it be magic? (Let him finish speaking ...)
Priest:	Believe it, There is Man. Man is a complex knot. 35
Man:	When she was telling you that it is a magical problem. Isn't it that we have come to ask whether it is a magical affliction or not, and she was telling you.
Friend:	Look. Whether there are magical workings or not, Ifá will say ... 40
Priest:	Ifá will tell us. We shall see everything.
Woman:	May you not see the one who will spoil your life.
Priest:	When you've reached here, your plight has turned into blessings. (Gives woman the divination chain) Woman: Talk to Ifá. Talk to Ifá. 45
Woman:	Okay. Ifá ...

Priest: Talk to it ... Would you talk to Ifá without
putting money on it?

Woman: Ifá, please. Save me from the treacherous ones
; those who work evil against you and later   50
show false pity ...

Priest: We're not listening to you. It's Ifá you're talking
to. It isn't 1 who will hear you. Be speaking
silently.

Man: All this restlessness of hers 1 don't understand.   55
Can't you say what you have to say. You're
just ...

Priest: This restlessness of hers, how does it come
about? (The woman speaks silently to the
divination chain, and the priest later receives
the chain from her. He performs divination.)   60

    Ifá

The witness at the sharing of destinies

The front of the divination tray, you hear

The back of the tray and the Olòkànràn[3] on the
    right.

The Olòkànràn on the left   65

The centre of the tray exactly is the outside
    of heaven

Hear you Earth who uses the hoe to till its
    head

Hear you mat, Pàkìtí Àmí

Homage is paid to you my mothers, Osòròngà

The one who delights in wasteful killings   70

The one who is famous for nocturnal activities

Akánrìnjè, Akìárìnjè

Agada who delights in sucking the blood of meat

It was you introduced me to Odù and taught me how
    to perform Ifá divination

You said I should perform divination early in the
    morning and so I did   75

If one listens to Ifá first thing in the morning,he
    cannot talk nonsense

An elderly person does not cover his face with his
    hands and tell lies

It is blessings ..... (Throws divination chain.)

Ah! Osétìretè! Ah, an elephant skin is what
this child is.   80

    It shouldn't be killed

    So also it shouldn't be eaten

    And nobody should throw it away.

Ah! It must not happen

What man expects isn't the turn of events 85

Blessings! (Throws chain on the ground)

Yes, it's blessings. Ah, you're commended.

They said Olúṣogbó Olúṣogbó was the child

    of Àjàáyànìwájìn

Who was the child of Ìwòrì Mẹ́fà

Ìwòrì Mẹ́fà you bore me, you bought me 90

I again became the slave of you Ìwòrì mẹ́fà

Ifá divination was performed for Àkàlàmàgbò

    (the Ground Hornbill)

On the day she was coming to the world as a

    baby in her mother's womb

If the front does not give red (danger) signals

The Ifá priest cannot have anything to do 95

Ah, the orí (personal god) of the cobra fights

    for the cobra

The personal god of Àgbọnmìrègún fights for

    Àgbọnmìrègún

It is the magic of the cobra that kills the

    cobra

It is the magic of the python that kills the

    python

No power of magic can subdue sacrifice 100

Woman!

Woman: Yees.

Priest: Place your hand on the ground and put it on
your chest three times. Say you thank your
star for your luck

Woman: I thank my star for being lucky 105

Priest: {By the time you came here, your case was more
than that}

Woman: {I thank you for your luck.} I thank you
For your luck my stars.

Priest: Yes. Okay now. It is a magical affliction.

Woman: I talked, they didn't allow us to talk. 110

Priest: Is he your first born or how come?

Woman: I talked, the father of Mọlabí. I complained,
did you allow me to complain? Father ...

Priest: I'm asking you a question. Is he your first
born or .... ? 115

Woman: May you prosper, father.

Friend: He says "is he your first born?"

Woman:	He is the first born.
Priest:	And he is a male?
Woman:	He is a male 120
Priest:	Ooh, what a pity.
Woman:	He is the first born; he is the first born ...
Priest:	Yes, it is a magical affliction. But this
	affliction, something afflicts one's child, there
	is a person at the root of it. 125
Woman:	Molabi's father, are you listening? Do not
	break my front tooth. Help me tell them
	they are pinching my neck. I've come to
	live my own life, don't make me a living
	- dead person. 130
Man:	Listen father, where does the magical affliction
	come from?
Priest:	It's an affliction from inside the house. It is
	a home affair.
Friend:	My friend, didn't I say it?
Woman:	I too said it. They didn't allow us to talk.
	The husband of wives; Titus the husband of 135
	women.
Man:	Sir, there are only three of us in the house.
	Her co-wife, Bọláńlé, is not a bad person.
	She is a good person. Who can then be
	working magic against him? 140
Priest:	Father, you're the one talking like a small
	child so. I suppose you know that a witch
	that kills someone, no blood ever shows on her
	mouth.
Man:	Excuse me. This boy cannot stand up. What
	can we use for him now? 145
Priest:	I thought you knew that it is magical affliction
	that doesn't let someone ... magical affliction
	is what makes a mad person sleepless. That
	is magical affliction.
Man:	Yes, what are we going to do to it?
Priest:	I'll look for a medicine for your now. You will 150
	put palm-oil inside a fine plate. Do you know
	the plate that is spacious, like the traditional
	crockery made from mud?
Friend:	A mud plate?
Priest:	A mud plate. You will put it inside it.
	You will add palm-oil to it. He will take 155
	it like this and lick everything. When he
	has licked it, his body will cool down. He

will then be able to sleep. You will then buy
pònpò-wà (a herb). Are you listening so? You
will look for a place to cook it and put it   160
in your house. You will then be using it
for him. He will get completely healed. His
body will be at ease, to the end that he
won't ever feel it again.

Friend: May your life be blessed. May you prosper   165
             in life.

Priest: The one that you will take away from me
             now, let me go and bring it from the
             house, I'll be back. (He enters house).

TEXT 8

Obìnrin aláboyún kan:	(O wọnú ilé babaláwo) Baba oo! ... Baba!
Babaláwo:	(O ń jáde nínú ilé) Ẹ wọlẹ o. Àà! Ṣé daadaa ni?
Obìnrin:	A dúpẹ́ o.
Babaláwo:	Àà! Ó mà tójọ́ mẹta à?
Obìnrin:	Ó tó bẹ́ẹ̀ o jare.
Babaláwo:	(Ó wòkùn obìnrin) Ááá, áà! Ṣára lófẹ daàda?
Obìnrin:	Kọ̀ lófẹ kankan.
Babaláwo:	Bẹ́ ti jẹ́? Kí ló de?
Obìnrin:	N ló jẹ́ n wá.
Babaláwo:	Ẹ e ṣe o?
Obìnrin:	N ò mọ bí ara mi ṣe ń rí. Bí m bá sùn, gbágungbàgun lara ...
Babaláwo:	Àà! Báun ni. A mọ́ọ wá bẹ́ẹ. Ááá.
Obìnrin:	Wókowòko báylí laraà mí rí. Bylí tó wá ṣe mí ti tójọ́ mẹta ...
Babaláwo:	Ẹn-ẹn, a máa rí bẹ́ẹ.
Obìnrin:	Gbogbo ẹẹ̀ ... un-ùn, àkójọ gbogbo rẹ̀, jọnni-mọ́lẹ̀ jọnni-mókẹ ti tẹ́lẹ. Gbogbo ẹ wá ṣodo pọ̀.
Babaláwo:	A máa wá báun. Súúrù ló gbà. Un tọ́ lójọ́ ni, súúrù ni ... Ẹn-ẹn ... Ọ joun wípe ọ́ ọ́ bá mi ṣiṣẹ́ kan kóo tó lọ. Cọ́ bá mi gángúnmu kékeré kan kóo tó lọ.
Obìnrin:	Babá dé nùu o jàre.
Babaláwo:	(Pẹlú àwàdà) Ọ ọ́ bá mi gángúnmu kékeré kan lẹ́ẹkùlé ... ẹn ẹn?
Obìnrin:	Ẹn-ẹn.
Babaláwo:	O dáa, dìde ọ fò ókè lẹ́ẹmẹta kí n wò ó.
Obìnrin:	Àà.
Babaláwo:	(O rẹ́rìn-ín) Àáà, arúgbó. Ó dáa, n ó fún ọ ní òogùn kékeré kan tọ́ọ mọọ lò. No ń bọ̀ o.

One pregnant woman:	(Entering the hut of an Ifa Priest) Father! ... Father!
Priest:	(Coming from an inner room) You're welcome. Ah! How are you?
Woman:	We thank god.
Priest:	Ah! It's quite up to three days now?

Woman:	It's indeed up to that.
Priest:	(Looks at woman's tummy) Ha ha! Is your body very sound?
Woman:	It isn't at all.
Priest:	What is amiss? What's wrong?
Woman:	That's what has brought me here. 10
Priest:	What's amiss?
Woman:	I don't know how I'm feeling. When I sleep, my body is so disorganized ...
Priest:	Ah! That's how it is. It normally happens like that. Ha ah!
Woman:	My body is disordered. And I've been in 15 this present condition for up to three days.
Priest:	Yees, it sometimes occurs like that.
Woman:	All the ... em ... the result, the knocking up and down of the previous times. Everything now combines together. 20
Priest:	It sometimes comes like that. Patience is what it requires. Whatever has a time span requires patience ... Em ... it seems as if you will do some work for me before you go. You will help me pound a small herbal powder before you go. 25
Woman:	Father has come again with his teasing.
Priest:	(Jokingly) You will help me pound a small herbal powder at the background ... okay?
Woman:	(Sancastically) Yes.
Priest:	All right, jump up three times and let me see.
Woman:	Ah!
Priest:	(Laughs) Ha ha! Old woman. Okay, I'll give you one little medicine which you'll be using. Hold on for me.

TEXT 9

> (Àwọn ènìyàn mẹ́rin sáré wọlé pẹ̀lú Bàbá àti Ìyá ọmọ.
> Ìyá gbé ọmọ dání; ẹsẹ̀ ọmọ ń ṣẹjẹ̀.)

Àwọn Ènìyàn: Bàbáá! Bàbá ooo!

Bàbá Ọmọ: (Àbí ò sí baba ńlé ni?)

Ìyá Ọmọ: (Ẹ gbà wá o!)   5

> (Oníṣègùn wọlé láti ẹ̀yìnkùnlé.)

Oníṣègùn: Kí ló dé? Kí ló dé (Ó ri ẹsẹ̀ ọmọ.)
           (Àáà. Kí lọ fẹsẹ̀ ṣe?)

Ìyá Ọmọ: (Brépá ni o, ẹ gba ni!)

> (Oníṣègùn wọ inú yàrá lọ.)   10

(Four people run in, including the Father and Mother of
a child. Mother carries child in her arms, with the child's
leg bleeding.)

Clients: Father! Father!

Child's Father: (Is Father not in?   )

Child's Mother: (Someone help us!   )   5

   (Herbalist comes in from the backyard.)

Herbalist: What's wrong! What's wrong! (He sees
                                                        do
                child's leg.) (Ah ah! What did you↲to
                your leg?)

Mother: (It's rough play, help us!)

   (Herbalist goes into the inner room).

TEXT 10
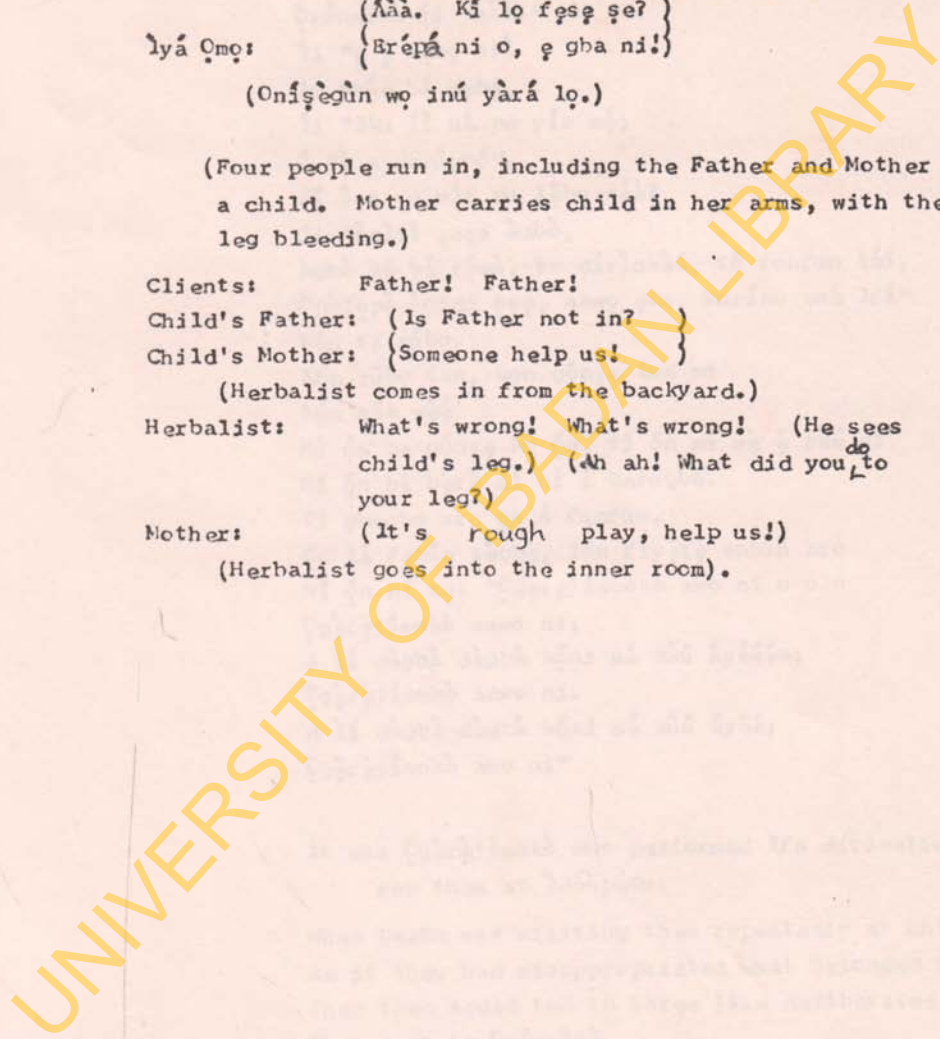
Ọgẹrẹjìmokò ló dífá fún wọn n'Ìdònpétu,
Nìjọ́ ikú ń pa ọ́n lémèrè lémèrè
Bí ẹni ọ́n jí un ikú jẹ.
Ìọ́n wá fi eéjì kẹnẹ́ẹta
Ìọ́n tọ Ọrúnmìlà lọ   5
Ìwọ Ọrúnmìlà!
Ikú ó ń pàọn yìí,
Kéẹsẹ ní pàọn mọ́?
Ọrúnmìlà ìi "aàà!"
Ìi "ẹ ẹ̀ mẹbọ nìì   10
Ìi "kẹ́ẹ bá mẹbọ,
Ìi "Ikú ìì ní pa yín mọ́;
Ì "ẹ a darúgbó".
Kí àọn pa máa ru lẹ́bọ náà?
Ìi "ògìrì ṣaṣa àgbò,   15
Àgbò kó bá rọ́nù, to dárìnkáà, tó funfun láú,
Ọpọ̀lọpọ̀ ògìdì oṣẹ, aawọ ẹtu, koríko ewé Ifá"
Kọ́n fi rúbọ.
Kọ́n rúbọ tan, kọn gọ́nṣẹ kun ni
Kọ́n máa wẹ̀ẹ́   20
Ní ọ́n ba gọ́nṣẹ kò ọ́n, tì ọ́n mí wẹ̀ ẹ́ rèè nì
Ní ọ́n bá bẹ̀rẹ̀ sì ní í darúgbó.
Tì gbogbo ara ọn ń funfun.
Ọn lá fẹkín ṣegbè, ìọ́n fàyèrẹ̀ sohùn arò
Ní ọ́n mí sọ: "Ọgẹrẹjìmookò awo ni o o o   25
Ọgẹrẹjìmokò aawo ni;
A ìí dagbà dàgbà kọ́ni má kùú áyéééè;
Ọgẹrẹjìmokò aawo ni.
A ìí dagbà dàgbà kọ́ni má kùú áyéé;
Ọgẹrẹjìmokò awo ni"   30

It was Ọgẹrẹjìmokò who performed Ifa divination
        for them at Ìdònpétu.

When Death was visiting them repeatedly at childhood
As if they had misappropriated what belonged to death
They then added two to three (i.e deliberated over it)
They went to Ọrúnmìlà   5
You Ọrúnmìlà!
This Death that was killing them,
How would it not kill them again?
Ọrúnmìlà said "ah!"
He said "it is because you people don't know sacrifice   10

He said "if you know sacrifice

Death will not kill you again;

You will begin to grow old".

What should they offer as sacrifice?

He said "a mature ram,   15

A ram that is fat, fleshy and pure white,

A lot of pure native soap, antelope's skin, the

    grass from the leaf of Ifa".

Let them offer these for sacrifice.

Let them offer the sacrifice and pound the soap in

    addition.

And bathe with it   20

So they pounded the soap for them, which they started

    bathing with

Then they began to grow old,

With all their bodies turning white.

So they cried in unison and sang solemnly an ìyèrè

    (Ifa's chant)

And they started singing "it is Ọ̀gẹ̀rẹ̀jìmokò the priest; 25

It is Ọ̀gẹ̀rẹ̀jìmokò the priest;

One doesn't grow old without dying in this world;

It is Ọ̀gẹ̀rẹ̀jìmokò the priest.

One doesn't grow old without dying in this world;

It is Ọ̀gẹ̀rẹ̀jìmokò the priest".   30

TEXT 11

Bjàgbèdè gbàgbè ni o gbè mí!
A díá fun Cjúoró
Tí ń lọ ìsàlẹ̀ Àbàtà,
Tí ń lọ réé kanrílẹ̀ ọmọ ní bìbì.
Bjàgbèdè, ẹyẹlé ò ṣakọ ò ṣabo.   5
Wọn a jùmọ̀ jọraa wọn;
Láìjùmọ̀ yàtọ̀;
A díá fún Bjàgbèmí
Tíí ṣe ọmọ ìyáa Móyàmọ́yà.
Bjèèjì ni mo gbè;   10
N ò gbẹnìkan ṣoṣo mọ́.
A díá fún Byẹko
Níjọ́ tí ń bẹ láàrín ìgbẹ́,
Nígbà tí Byẹlé ń sunkún
Òun ò rọ́mọ bí.   15
Wọn ní ẹbọ ni kí ó wáà rú
Ó sì rú u
Nígbà láéláé rí
Wọn kìì pe ẹyẹlé ní ẹyẹlé.
Byẹko ni wọn ń pè é,   20
Nítorí pe oko ni ń gbé.
Ọmọ ìyá ni òun àti àdàbà
Oori, ọmọ ìyá ẹyẹlé ni oun náà pẹ̀lú
Gbogbo wọn ló bímọ
Byẹlé nìkan ni ò bí   25
Ó wáá tọ Bjì Ogbè lọ
Bjì Ogbè ní kó tọ́jú àgbagba aládìpọ̀ méjì.
Bku méjì, ẹja méjì, ẹyindìẹ meji;
Kí ó fi gbogbo rẹ̀ rúbọ.
Byẹlé sì ṣe bẹ́ẹ.   30
Nígbà tí ẹyẹlé ó pamọ,
Méjì ló pa.
O wáá kó àwọn ọmọ náà han Bjì Ogbè
Ó dípẹ́ ó sì tún san ẹjẹ́ẹgùn.
C ní láti fi ìmoore oun hàn.   35
Kí Bjì Ogbè ó kọ́lé fún òun
Ní ìta rẹ̀,
Kí oun ó máa gbé.
O ní "mo bímọ méjì
Mo dẹyẹ ilé; mo bímọ méjì   40
Mo dẹyẹ ilé.
Bjì Ogbè ní "ẹyẹ yìí yẹ ilé lóòótọ́";
Ni wọn bá fi ń pè é ni ẹyẹlé.

Ó ní kí ẹyẹlé o fi ọkan
Tí kò bá fẹ́ nínú àwọn ọmọ náà rúbọ;   45
Ẹyẹlé ní "n ò lè fìkan rúbọ o
Àjèèjì ni mo gbè;
N ò le pàkan
Àjèèjì ni mo fẹ́ràn".
Ni Èjì Ogbè bá fi àṣẹ sìí pé   50
Méjìméjì lẹyele o máa bí
Nigbakugba tí ẹyẹlé ó bàá pamọ

Èjìgbèdè, it is your support that you should give me!
Ifá divination was performed for Ojúoró
Which was going to the bottom of the muddy waters,
To prepare the ground for child-bearing.
Èjìgbèdè, the pigeon whether male or female,   5
They both resemble each other;
No distinguishing mark between them.
Ifá divination was performed for Èjìgbèmí
Who shares the same mother with Móyàmóyà.
It is in pairs that I support;   10
I no longer value a single person.
Ifá divination was performed for the Bush-pigeon
The day she was in the wild,
The time she was sobbing
She had no offspring of her own.   15
They said it was sacrifice she needed to offer
And she offered it
In the olden days
The never used to call the pigeon 'house-pigeon'.
It is Ẹyẹko (Wild-bird) that they call her,   20
Because it was in the wild that she lived.
Both she and the turtle-dove were offspring of the
    same mother
The wood-dove too shared the same mother with the pigeon
All of then had young ones
The pigeon alone had none   25
She then went to Èjì Ogbè
Èjì Ogbè asked her to look for two plaintains,
Each double-fruited, two rats, two fish, two eggs,
Let her use everything for sacrifice.
And the pigeon obeyed.   30
When the pigeon was to hatch,
It was two that she hatched.
She then came to show the offspring to Èjì Ogbè
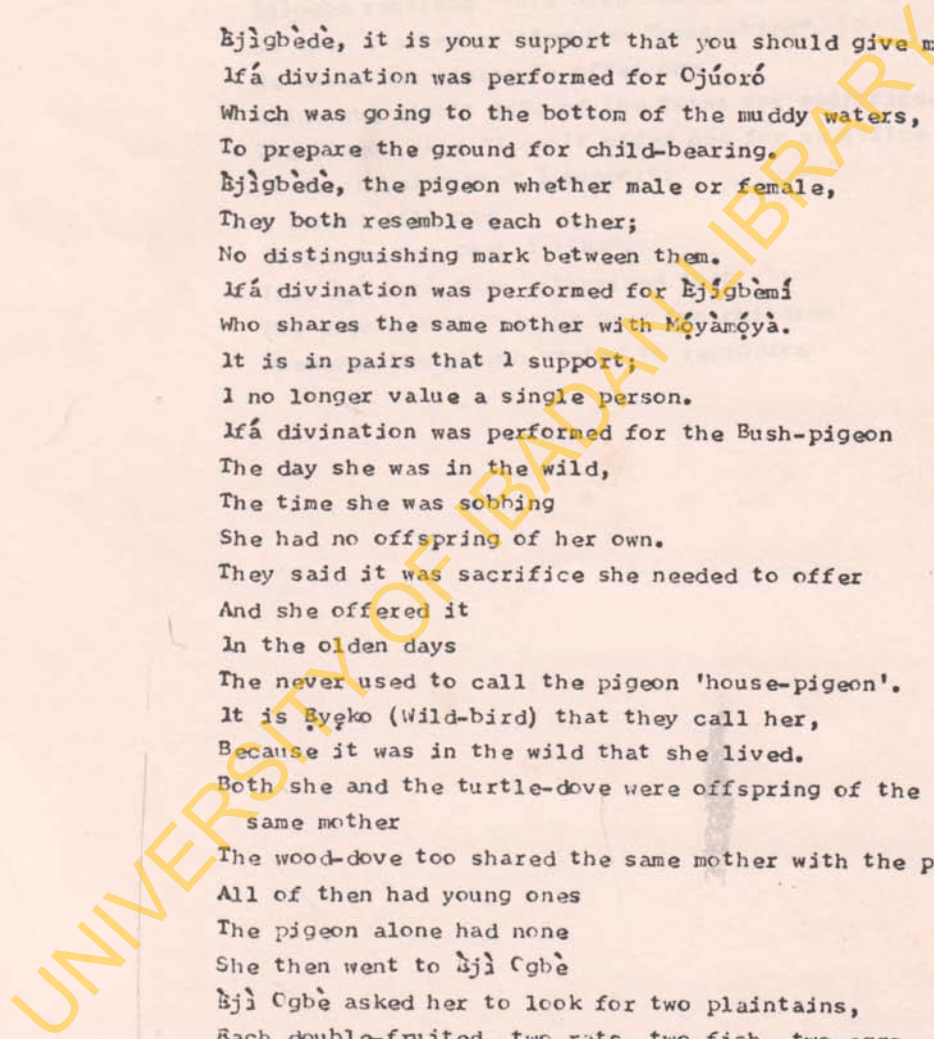
She gave thanks and also paid the dues.
She said in order to show her gratitude,   35
Ọ̀jị̀ Ogbè should build a hut for him
Outside his house,
For her to be living in.
She said "1 bear two children
1'm now a domestic bird; 1 bear two children   40
1'm now a domestic bird".
Ọ̀jị̀ogbè remarked "this bird indeed fits the home";
So they started calling her "house-bird".
He asked the pigeon to offer one
Which she didn't like of the twins for sacrifice.   45
The pigeon said "1 can't offer one for sacrifice
It is in pairs that 1 support;
1 cannot kill one
It is the two that 1 like".
Thus Ọ̀jị̀ Ogbè then authorised that   50
The pigeon would always bear two children
Whenever the pigeon wanted to reproduce

Alásáká-mo-wáre!
Àgbè-ni-ò-túbì-ara-rè!
Mo-ba-ọ-were, awo Qláńregín!
Àwọn ni wọn kọ́fá ṣáráṣárá lọwọ Ọrúnmìlà
Tí wọn fi pọmọ Qlọ́fin Ògùn.   5
Wọ́n kọ́ àwinrìnṣọ̀kì lọ́wọ́ Òrìṣàálá
Wọ́n sọ àwinrìnṣọ̀kì s'Òrìṣàálá
Wọ́n fi pa Òrìṣàálá
Wọ́n tún wá k'ábàlárìṣà lọ́wọ́ Ọrúnmìlà
Wọ́n sọ abálárìṣà s'Ọrúnmìlà   10
Ọrúnmìlà ò le jẹ
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mu
Ọrúnmìlà ò le ṣu
Ọrúnmìlà ò le tọ̀
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jakè   15
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jálẹ̀
Ọrúnmìlà wáá ní "èè é o!"
Ó ní, "kò sáwo mọ́ nílẹ̀ yìí ni ndan?
Wọ́n láwọn awó tún kì
Ó ní "kílorúkọ wọn ń jẹ"   20
Wọ́n ní "àwọn olóhùn páhéré páhéré"
Wọn ní "àwọn olóhùn àpeṣekelájà"
Ọrúnmìlà wáá dáhùn
Ó ní ki wọn lọ pè wọn wá.
Nígbà wọ́n pe wọn dé,   25
Wọn ní "Ọrúnmìlà!"
Wọ́n láwọn kí ọ, Neréntélú
Wọn ní àwọn kí ọ, Mèsì Akalùbà
Wọn ní àwọn kí ọ, ọmọ Qlóde Àtìlẹmọ́
Wọn ní "kí ló wá le mú baba bàyìí o   30
Tí baba ò le jẹ, tí ò le sùn, tí ò le mu,
Tí baba ò le ṣu, tí ò le tọ̀,
Tí baba ò lè mí jálẹ̀, tí o lè mí jáke?"
Ni Ọrúnmìlà bá tún dá wọn lóhùn
Ó ní "Alásáká-mo-wáre"   35
Ó ní "Àgbè-ni-o-túbí-ara-rẹ"
Ó ní "Mo-bá-ọ-wéré awo Qláńregín"
Ó ní "àwọn ni wọn kọ́fá ṣáráṣárá lọwọ Ọrúnmìlà,
Tí wọn fi pọmọ Qlọ́fin Ògùn".
Wọn kàwinrìnsọ̀kì lọ́wọ́ Òrìṣàálá   40
Wọ́n sọ àwinrìnsọ̀kì sÒrìṣàálá
Òrìṣàálá kí

Wọn kábàlárìṣà lọ́wọ́ Ọrúnmìlà
Wọn sàbálárìṣà s'Ọrúnmìlà
Ọrúnmìlà ò le jẹ   45
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mu
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jáke
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jále
Ọrúnmìlà ò le tọ
Ọrúnmìlà ò le ṣu   50
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jáke
Ọrúnmìlà ò le mí jále
Ni àwọn awo wá sọ f'Ọrúnmìlà pe
Wọn láwọn ò mọ pé báyìí ni.
Wọn ní pé "à mín kangbá ahun ni tahun"   55
Ọrúnmìlà bá ní "áá!"
O lóun ti le mí jále
Òun ti le mí jáke ńsìnyìí o.
Ó ní "hin-hin o!"
A! O lóun ti le mí jále   60
Òun ti le mí jáke ńsìnyìí o.
Wọn nípé "tútútútú làá bá koríko gbàkìọ̀"
Ọrúnmìlà ní ará ti tù un báyìí
Wọn ní "kin nìrójú ọbẹ?"
Ẹpo n màmà nìrójú ọbẹ   65
Ẹpoo.
Ni Ọrúnmìlà bá ń jẹ
Ni Ọrúnmìlà bá ń mu
Ọrúnmìlà bá ń ṣu
Ọrúnmìlà bá ń tọ   70
Ni bá ń mi jále
Ní bá ń mí jáke

Aláṣáká-in search of blessings!
A farmer does not openly show his worth!
I meet you in a haste, the priest of Ọláńregún!
It was they who learnt Ifa divination thoroughly from
    Ọrúnmìlà
Which they used to kill the son of Ọlọ́fin Ọgùn.   5
They learnt àwìnrìnṣọkì (a bad medicine) from Ọrúnmìlà
They threw àwìnrìnṣọkì at Òrìṣàálá
They used it to kill Òrìṣàálá
They also got àbálárìṣà from Ọrúnmìlà
They threw àbálárìṣà (a bad medicine) at Ọrúnmìlà   10
Ọrúnmìlà could not eat
Ọrúnmìlà could not drink
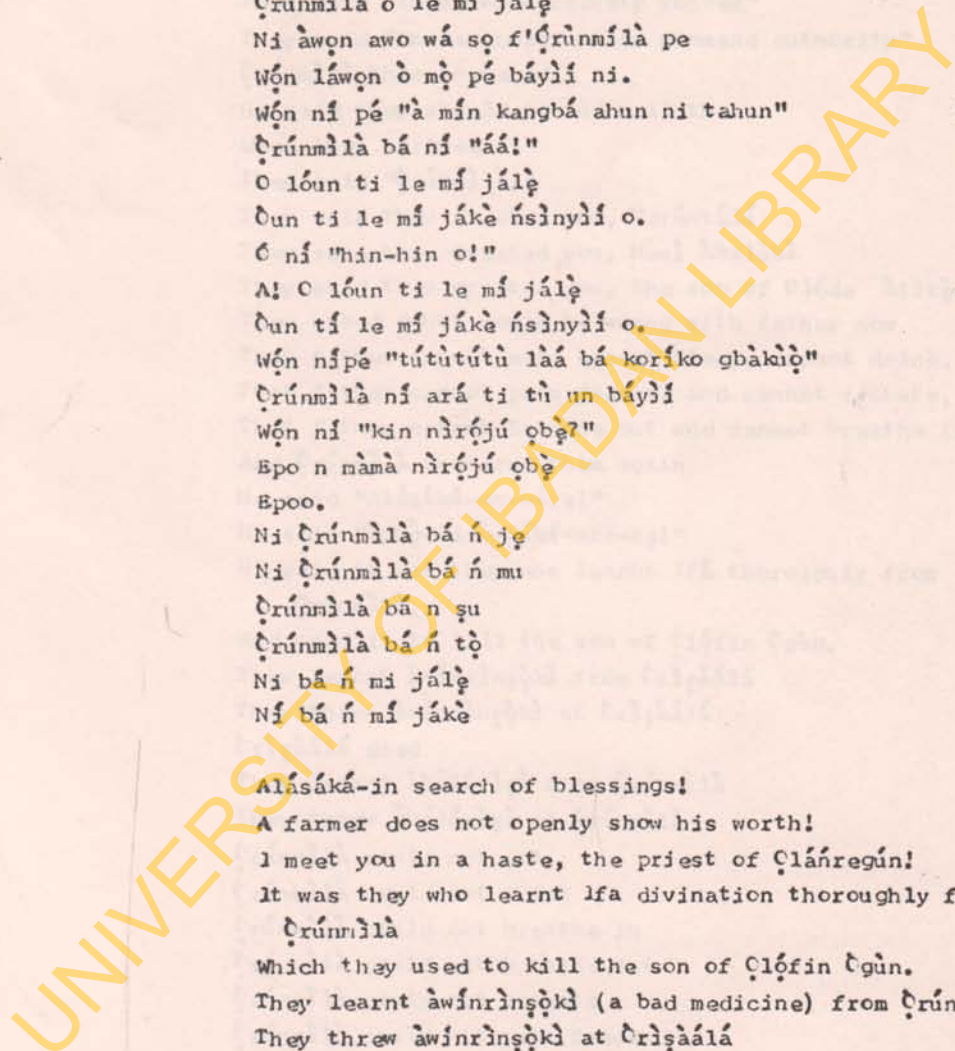
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not pass faeces
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not urinate
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe in   15
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe out
Ọ̀rúnmìlà then said "eh oh!"
He asked "are there no more priests remaining in this
    town as it is?"
They said there were priests remaining
He asked "what names do they bear?"   20
They said "those with relvety voices"
They said "those whose voices canmand authority"
Ọ̀rúnmìlà then answered
He said they should go and call them
When they arrived   25
They said "Ọ̀rúnmìlà!"
They said they greeted you, Merèntélú
They said they greeted you, Mèsì Àkalùbà
They said they greeted you, the son of Olóde Àtìtẹmọ́
They asked "what could be wrong with father now   30
That father cannot eat, cannot sleep, cannot drink,
That father cannot pass faeces, and cannot urinate,
That father cannot breathe out and cannot breathe in?"
And Ọ̀rúnmìlà answered them again
He said "Alásáká-mo-wáre!"   35
He said "Àgbè-ni-ò-túbj-ara-rẹ!"
He said it was they who learnt Ifá thoroughly from
    Ọ̀rúnmìlà,
And used it to kill the son of Ọlọ́fin Ògùn.
They learnt àwínrìnṣọ̀kì from Ọ̀rìṣàálá   40
They threw àwínrìnṣọ̀kì at Ọ̀rìṣàálá
Ọ̀rìṣàálá died
They learnt àbálárìṣà from Ọ̀rúnmìlà
They threw àbálárìṣà at Ọ̀rúnmìlà
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not eat   45
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not drink
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe in
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe out
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not urinate
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not pass faeces   50
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe out
Ọ̀rúnmìlà could not breathe in
Then the priests told Ọ̀rúnmìlà that
They said they didn't know the situation was so bad

They said "the tortoise breathes to the inside of its
   shell"   55
Ọrúnmìlà then said "ah!"
He said he could breathe out
He could breathe in now
He said "Hìn-hìn o!"
Ah! He said he could breathe out   60
He could breathe in now
They said it is in greenish freshness that we always
   meet the grass in a swamp
Ọrúnmìlà said he now felt relieved
They asked "what is the soothing ingredient of soup?"
Palm oil surely is the soothing ingredient of soup   65
Palm oil.
So Ọrúnmìlà started to eat
Ọrúnmìlà started to drink
Ọrúnmìlà started to pass faeces
Ọrúnmìlà started to urinate   70
Ọrúnmìlà started to breathe out
Ọrúnmìlà started to breathe in

TEXT 13

Babá Ọmọ:	Ẹn ẹn, kí la á ṣe ṣíi báyìì? Gba mi, kí n ṣe e.
Oníṣègùn:	Bẹ́ ẹ.
Babá Ọmọ:	Irú òògùn wo ni ká ṣe báyìì?
Oníṣègùn:	Deagbo! Ṣé ẹ ri un bẹ ńsìnyìí. Ṣe ẹ máa wá a
	lọ ... ?
Babá Ọmọ:	À á wá a lọ?
Oníṣègùn:	Ṣe ẹ máa wá a lọ.
Babá Ọmọ:	Àlàbí! Ṣóọ mọ 'bi ọ fi sí?
Ọmọ:	Mìì, mìì ...
Babá Ọmọ:	O ò ṣá gbọdọ̀ má mọ 'bi ẹ ti bára yín ṣe?
Ọmọ:	Ó ti pẹ́ẹ.
Babá Ọmọ:	Àáà, mọ kú!
Oníṣègùn:	Ṣí kẹ́ẹ wá lọ o. Kẹ́ẹ wá lọ kó lọ bẹ́ ẹ.
	Odidi ọdún méloò ni?
Ọmọ:	Mẹ́talá ni.
Babá Ọmọ:	Ọ́ wá ṣọdún mẹ́tàlá ni, ó ṣe ogun ọdín o,
	ìwọ lọ mọ bẹ́ọ ti ṣe wá a tọ́ọ wa kàn. O
	ya nìṣòó. Ibi a bá le wa kíri ... Bá a bá
	délé a á mọ bá á ṣe wa. Ṣe ká ṣá ti wa
	ká bẹ́ẹ?
Oníṣègùn:	Kẹ́ ẹ wa, kẹ́ẹ bẹ́ẹ. Kẹ́ ẹ bẹ́ ẹ.
Babá Ọmọ:	Àa Àlàbí! N tóọ ṣe lọ gbọ́ un. Táa bá
	délé, ọ ọ́ mọ gbọ́ o. Kẹ́ọ dáhùn o. Ba ń ni
	fúmọ a gbọ́. Bí ò bá gbọ́ 'un tí mọ ọ́ dáálè
	nìyìí. Ọ wá daálẹ̀ tan, ó di ti bàbá-tọmọ.
Oníṣègùn:	Bó ti ri gan-an lo ní yẹn.
Baba Ọmọ:	O ṣé gan-an, mo dúpẹ́.
Oníṣègùn:	À ìí dúpẹ́ ara ẹni.
Baba Ọmọ:	Bá a bá dé ọ ọ́ móọ gbọ o. Ṣé ká bẹ ẹ náà ni?
Oníṣègùn:	Ẹ níun méjì? Bẹ́ẹ bá ṣá ti lé bẹ́ ẹ, tínú ẹ
	bá ti le yọ́ ṣíi báyìì, àbùṣe bù ṣe. (Àbùṣe bù
	ṣe ooo)
Baba Ọmọ:	(Kọ́lọ́run jẹ á ríi). O ṣeun, mo dúpẹ́. O dàbọ̀ o.
Oníṣègùn:	Àáà.

Client (Child's Father): Ẹn ... em, what are we going to do
now? Help me, let me do it.

Herbalist: Well

Father: What kind of drug should we make now?

Herbalist: Deagbo! You see what is there now? You will 5
have to look for her.

Father: We shall go and look for her?

TEXT 14

Oníṣègùn:	Eléyìí, wàá máa mu ú gẹ́gẹ́ bí omi ní gbogbo ìgbà ni.
Aláìsàn:	Màá dẹ̀ fi wẹ̀?
Oníṣègùn:	Bẹ́ẹ̀n ẹn, ṣùgbọ́n mímu ni kó pọ̀ jù. Inú ló wà o.
	Kó náa wá fi epo ati karosíìnnì, kó máa fi para.
	Ṣóo répo yẹn? Kóo bùú sínú abọ́ bayìí, koo fi 5
	karosíìnnì si. Ṣóo meérú àrò?
Aláìsàn:	Bérú àrò?
Oníṣègùn:	Bẹ́ẹ̀n ẹn. Kìí ṣe ẹẹdí o.
Aláìsàn:	Bérú funfun?
Oníṣègùn:	Bẹ́ẹ̀n ẹn, tí wọ́n fi igi dá. Kóo wá bùú si. 10
	Kó máa póó pọ̀, kó máa fi pa gbogbo ara.
	Wéré ló máa lọ. ... Jẹ́ n fún ẹ lagunmu.
	Kóo máa lò déédé, eléyìí. Tó bá tún dijọ́
	kẹta, kóo tún lò ó. Ijọ́ mẹ́tamẹ́ta loó lò ó.
Aláìsàn:	Kíni mo fi le lò ó? 15
Oníṣègùn:	Ẹ̀kọ gbóná. Òun nìyìí. Wàá gbádùn.

Herbalist:	This one, you will be drinking it like water
	every time.
Client:	And I should bathe with it?
Herbalist:	Yes. But the drinking should be more. It's
	inside you. You should then be using palm oil 5
	and kerosene, to rub your body. You see that
	oil? You'll put it in a plate like this,
	you'll put kerosene in it. Do you know the ash
	from fire?
Client:	Ash from fire?
Herbalist:	Yes. It's not charcoal, however, 10
Client:	Grey ash?
Herbalist:	Yes, the one made from wood. You should put
	this in the plate. Mix everything together and
	be rubbing your body with it. It will disappear
	immediately. ... Let me give you some herbal
	powder. Use it regularly, this one. In another 15
	three days, use it again. You should use it at
	every three days' interval.
Client:	With what should I use it?
Herbalist:	Hot pap. Here it is. You'll get well.

Herbalist: You will go and look for her.

Father: Alabi! Do you know where you left her?

Son: I don't I don't ...   10

Father: You certainly cannot deny knowledge of the
place where you had sex with her.

Son: It's a long time.

Father: Ah, I'm finished!

Herbalist: Make sure you look for her. Go and look for
her and beg her. For how many years is it?   15

Son: It's thirteen

Father: Whether it is now thirteen years or it is twenty,
you should know how to look for her and find her.
Now move on. Where we can look around for her.
When we get home, we'll know how you will look
for her. Is it just to look for her and beg her? 20

Herbalist: Look for her and beg her. Beg her.

Father: Ah Alabi! What you did is what you just heard.
When we get home, you'll hear. Be quick. When we
advise a child, he should listen. If he doesn't,
this is the consequence. You now cause a problem, 25
and it concerns both father and son.

Herbalist: You've said it exactly as it is.

Father: Thank you very much, (I'm grateful)

Herbalist: (That's no big deal.)

Father: When we return, you'll hear. Do we only need
to beg her.   30

Herbalist: You have any alternative? If you can just
apologise to her, and she can forgive him, that's
all. (That is all)

Father: (May God let us see her.) Thank you, I'm
grateful. Bye-bye.

Herbalist: Ah ah!

TEXT 15

Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!   5
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!
 Àáké òrìṣà mú kò ọ́ rèé o
Ọn ọn ní kóo fi larí lágbájá o
Igi ni ọn íi kóo fi là o
Ọn ọn íi kóo fi larí lágbájá o   10
Igi ni ọn íi kóo fi là o
Àáké òrìṣà mú kò ọ́ rèé o
Ọn ọn íi ko fi larí lágbájá o
Igi ni ọn íi ko fi là o
Igi ni ọn íi ko fi là o   15
Igi ni ọn íi ko fi là o
Má larí lágbájá o

Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkànlaùn!
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!   5
Ọ̀pàkàngbemì!
This is the axe the god gave you
They didn't say you should break so and so's head with it
It's wood they ask you to break with it.
They didn't say you should break so and so's head with it   10
It's wood they said you should break with it
This is the axe the god gave you
They didn't say you should break so and so's head with it
It's wood they said you should break with it
It's wood they said you should break with it   15
It's wood they said you should break with it
Don't break so and so's head.

TEXT 16

Kínú yìi túká o
Kínú lágbájá túká o
Kí ejò inú yìi kó máa re'bí é ti á o
Bí ejò bá kákì,
Lóó tú.   5
Bí ejò bá ká, kó̩ bá ló̩pò̩,
Lóó tú.
Inú ó ń run lágbájá
Kó máa tú nììsinyìí
Lálàìpé̩, lálàìjìnnà.   10
Kó máa tú nììsinyìí.

Let this stomachache subside
Let so and so's stomachache subside
Let the worm in this stomach go back to where it
    comes from
When a snake coils,
It later uncoils itself.   5
When a snake coils, and twists itself.
It later uncoils itself.
The stomache that is troubling so and so
Let it subside now
Without wasting time, or going any further distance.   10
Let it subside now.

TEXT 17

Bélémogíìrì Ajògé!

Àjànàgìrì Ajèle!

Ajá dídú tíí ṣoko Yèyé Ọṣinṣin

A ní ẹ má pa òkinkin

B pa òkinkin   5

A ní ẹ má pà'sìnkí òrun

B pà'sìnkí òrun

Ìsìnkí òrun náà ló wa padà

Tí ń le yìn kiri

B wá sáré kèkẹ   10

B wá sáré dódò Òrúnmìlà

B ní k'Órúnmìlà ó gbà yín

Òrúnmìlà wá ní pé

Kí ẹ máa lọ òdọ Ọsá méjì.

Ọsá méjì wá sọ wípé   15

Ẹfun níí bàawò osùn jẹ

Osùn níí bàawò ẹfun jẹ

Atẹfun, àtosùn, ẹẹdú níí bàwa wọn jẹ.

Owó wá dẹwé abírikolo

Ìsìnkí òrun, ẹ padà léyìn in lágbájá ọmọ lágbájá   20

Ìsìnkí òrun, ẹ padà léyìn in lagbaja ọmọ lágbájá

Kí lágbájá ọmọ lágbaja ó mọ làá àlàkálàá mọ́

Kó má rókọ òrun lójú oorun mọ́

Kó má ṣe wọnranwọnran mọ́

Kíwà rẹ ó namàa le mọ   25

Kó namàa binu mọ.

Bélémogíìrì Ajògé!

Àjànàgìrì Ajèle.

The black dog who is the husband of Mother Ọṣinṣin

We asked you not to kill darkness

You killed darkness   5

We asked you not to kill Ìsìnkí òrun[5]

You killed Ìsìnkí òrun

It is the Ìsìnkí òrun that has turned book

And is chasing you about

You then ran in a bustling manner   10

You ran to Òrúnmìlà

You asked Òrúnmìlà to save you

Òrúnmìlà then said that

You should go to Ọsá méjì

Ọsá méjì then said that   15
The white spoils the odour of the red
The red spoils the colour of the white
Whether white or red, it is the black charcoal which
  contaminates them
Hope than lies with the abírikolo leaf[6]
Ìsìnkí ọrun, turn back from so and so   20
Ìsìnkí ọrun, turn back from so and so
Let so and so not have horrible nightmares again
Let her not copulate with spiritual husbands again
Let her not feel restless again
Let her not have a stubborn character any more   25
Let her not get angry any more

Àkàrakàra òkúta!
Akìrikìri àjànà!
Ìkòkò kídìkìdì laàrin èyin iná!
Ó dífá fún Ọlọfin Agbódìwọnrán
Olóḳùnrin ló ì kí n má dì wọnrán nílé bàbáà mi   5
Koóko kí koóko a dì wọnran
A rè wàlè àṣà
Olóbìnrin ló ì kí n má dì wọnrán nílé bàbáà mi
Koóko kí koóko a dì wọnran
A rè wàlè àṣà   10
Àjẹ ilé ló ì kí n má dì wọnrán nile bàbáà mi
Koóko kí koóko a dì wọnran
A rè wàlè àṣà
Elébọlóògùn ló ì kí n má dì wọnrán nile bàbáà mi
Koóko kí koóko a dì wọnrán   15
A rè wàlè àṣà
Mo jẹwée rorò
Mo jẹwée awẹdẹ
Mo jẹpòn kan lòòlòòlòò tí m bẹ nídìí òbúko
Ṣèwò òrìṣà   20
Ọmọde kìí jẹ ẹsẹ kan Ọfún
Kíkí ó paá mọ.

The strong time-tested stone!
The hard well-baked brick!
The ^rugged clay pots in the midst of fire!
Which prompted Ifa divination for Ọlọfin Agbódìwọnrán
Whichever man that says I should not grow old in my
     father's house,   5
The valueless grass will grow old
And go to the world beyond.
Whichever woman says I should not grow old in my father's
     house,
The valueless grass will grow old
And go to the world beyond.   10
If it is the witch in the house who says I should not
     grow old in my father's house,
The valueless grass will grow old
And go to the world beyond
The herbalist who says I should not grow old in my
     father's house,

The valueless grass will grow old
And go to the world beyond
I eat the roro leaf[7]
I eat the awẹdẹ leaf[8]
I eat one succulent scrotum which is underneath the he goat
And abomination to the gods!
A small child does not eat one arm of Ọfún
And still encounter death.

TEXT 19

A-rí-o-rí!
A-mò-ó-rí!
Ògémowó!
Ògémosè!
Ògémore Àdó!   5
Àjòjì ò wòlú won ó fàsokin sawo!
Ìdanndán a bojú dànràndànràn!
Sèyin lolórí àjé méjèèje tí m̀ bę lóde òrun
Èyin lęę í jéèyàn ó lówó
Lęè í jéèyàn ó lólá   10
Lęè í jéèyàn ó se nǹkan rere nílé ayé
Ẹ wá
Kęę ję n lówó
Kęę ję n lólá
Kęę ję n se nǹkan rere nílé ayé   15
Ewe elésìkujìnnà ló ní kí ę jìnnà sí mi
Ataare ìì túlé kó mó sunlé baba ę.

We saw you before!
We knew you before!
The one with truncated fingers!
The one with truncated toes!
The Ògémore of Àdó!   5
The initiated is not used for sacrifice when a stranger
    is in town!
Ìdànndán whose eyes is as deceptive as the negative film!
You are the seven heads of witches in heaven
It is you who prevent someone from having wealth
Who prevent someone from having riches   10
Who prevent someone from achieving good things in life
Come
Let me have wealth
Let me have riches
Let me achieve good things in life   15
It is the elésìkujìnnà leaf[9] that says you should
    keep far away from me
The alligator pepper does not wreck a home and ri
    refuse to sleep in his own father's house

Òrúnmìlà o gbọ́ o
Ẹlẹrìí ìpín!
Ajégìògùn!
Lágbájá ọmọ rẹ o
O ṣeé fọ̀rọ̀ sówó   5
O ṣeé fi lurí
O ṣeé fọpẹlẹ bàá
Fọn-ọn ńlẹ̀!
Ríri ọn máa rí,
Ọn rí àwòrì Ìrèkú   10
Ọn sìl fọ́n eegun sí ọ
Ọn sọ ọta sí ọ
O nawọ́ gánná, o mọ́ta
Ìjí ọta áàá kí
Ìjí ẹrùn un-ùn rín ùn   15
Ìjí ògìrìṣákọ́ ẹè ráxùn ẹṣí
Kì lágbájá náà ó mọ́ kìú
Kọ́ mọ́ rùn
Kọ́ mọ́ ṣòfò
Ko jiṣẹ́ rẹ, Òrúnmìlà Àjànà   20
Kóo gbe dèbi gíga
Kóo dábọ̀ Ọ̀ṣẹ̀túrá!
Kóo ṣìlùn un
Pèsí Ìkọ̀lẹ́!
Ogbeèlẹjì!   25
Ọmọ a ungún rẹ́bọ jẹ!
Ṣeran ìkookò
Ló dífá kakogun Bléṣìí
Ẹkan a búdí òjò
Ló dífá kẹgẹ́   30
Ẹyin awo ará ọjà
Ẹyin ló dífá kolá
Ìgbàlẹ̀ tútu
Ẹyin ló dífá kOlúwẹri
Àhéré   35
Sánko
Mọọmólè
Ló dífá kOdùdùwà atỌ̀ránnífẹ̀
O ìí kọni mọ́ ṣèká
Kọni mọ́ ṣẹdà   40
O ṣèṣẹ̀ dèbi hẹ kékì ni
Odùdùwà ko báa ṣeé
Jẹ́ kẹ́bọ rẹ̀ fín ín

Kóo jẹ́ èrù rẹ̀ dà dan-dan-dan
Kẹ́bọ rẹ̀ dóde ọ̀run   45
Ọ̀rúnmìlà Àjànà
Kí lágbájá náà
Kọ́ nípá
Kọ́ nídà
Kó tóorè   50
Kó dàgbà
Kọ́wọ́ rẹ̀ máa ròkè níbi iṣẹ́ náà
Kó nímọ̀ níbẹ̀, kọ́kìkí rẹ̀ kan mbẹ̀
Olọ́fin ọ̀run, ìn-in ará'lẹ̀
Ẹmi lágbájá ni mò ń bá lágbájá ṣe ètùtù lónìí   55
Kẹ́ẹ jẹ́ kétùtù náà gbà o
Kẹ́ẹ jẹ́ kẹbọ rẹ náà dóde ọ̀run dan-dan-dan
Ẹyin àarọ̀'lẹ̀ kẹ́ẹ bá ni ṣé
Ọn íi "Mímọ́ọ dá
Lawo Agbá-mi-dá"   60
Àrìmọ̀kànán dá
Lawoò 'Kanrìgì
Ò-ṣé-gbọ̀dándè-sílẹ̀
Lawo Agúnragba
Àpàtàràkù lóó pẹkìn òréré!   65
Ajebisùn ló ń gbóhùn teetelùu!
Ló dífá karúgbó aborìkoko
Tó ń lọ sọ́jà Èjìgbòmẹ̀kùn
Kí lẹrú wáá tà?
Ẹrú wáá jèrè   70
Ẹrú wáá forí ẹ̀ kérè wálé
Jẹ́ kí lágbájá, jẹ́ kọ́ tà
Jẹ́ kọ́ jèrè
Jẹ́ kọ́ forí ẹ̀ kérè wálé
Kọ́ rí jẹ   75
Kọ́ rí mu
Kínàá owó mọ́ dà
Kínàá aya mọ́ dà
Kínàá ọmọ mọ dà
Kí nnkan mọ́ ṣọmọ rẹ̀   80
Kí nnkan mọ́ ṣaya rẹ̀
Kí nnkan mọ́ ṣoun náà
Gbogbo 'bi bá ń forí sí, tí bá ń dorí kọ báyìì,
Ọ̀nà ni kó jẹ́
Ọ̀rúnmìlà Àjànà!   85
Ikọ́ ọ kẹjò
Kíkọ́ọ mọ́ kọ́ọ lọ́nà

Ọnà án àn dí mọlúwẹri
Kọnà mọ́ dìí mọ o
Olọ́fin ọrun, in-in ará'lẹ̀!   90
Kẹ́ẹ bá ni ṣé
Kẹ́ẹ dábọ̀, kẹ́ẹ láṣẹẹ síi.
Byin ìyáà mi Ọ̀ṣòròngà,
Ajọkàn má jorí!
Mo tẹrun yín gbàṣẹ o   95
Kẹ́ẹ jẹ́ kẹ́bọ lágbájá náà fin
Kẹ́ẹ jẹ́ kẹ́rù rẹ̀ náà dà dandan-dandan ...

(Bí babaláwo ti ń súre láì dánu dúró, ẹni tí àn súre
fún yóó máa ṣe àṣẹ lẹ́yìn-ìn ire kọọ̀kan)

Hear O Ọrúnmìlà!
The witness at the sharing of destinies!
Ajẹ́gìògùn!
So and so who is your child
He has talked to some money   5
He has used the money to touch his head
He has touched the money with the divination chain
Thrown onto the ground!
What would they see?
They saw Ìwòrì Ìrẹkú   10
They threw a bone at you
They gave you a stone
You stretched your hand and chose the stone,
Because the stone does not die
Because the palm karnel never falls ill   15
Because the ògìrìṣákọ́ tree never lacks growth in a year.
Let so and so not die
Let him not fall sick
Let him not suffer from loss
Let him reap the fruits of his labour, Ọrúnmìlà Àjànà   20
Take him to the height of fortune
Please Ọ̀ṣẹ́túrá[11]!
Open the door
Pẹsí ìkọlé!
Ogbèèlẹjì!
The son of the one who gives vultures sacrifice to eat! 25
It was the hyena
Who performed divination for the leading Ìlésà warrior
The intermittent rainfall it was

Which cast divination for the cassava   30
You the initiates in the market
It was you who cast divination for the okro
The wet shrine!
It was you which cast divination for Olúwẹri
Ahéré   35
Ṣánko
Móọmólè
Who cast divination for Odùduwà and Ọránnífẹ̀
He says one should not cheat
One should not connive   40
He just started in life
Odùduwà give him your assistance
Let his sacrifice appease you
Let his appeasement be accepted by all means
Let his sacrifice get to heaven   45
Ọrúnmìlà Àjànà!
Let so and so
Let him have might
Let him have strength
Let him measure up to his colleagues standard   50
Let him become big
Let him have progress in his place of work
Give him knowledge, make him shine there
The king of heaven, you people of the earth!
It's I so and so making appeasement on behalf
    of so and so today   55
Let the appeasement be accepted
Let his sacrifice reach heaven by all means
You rulers of earth, do help us
They say "Ability to cast
Is the attribute of Agbá-mí-dá, a priest"   60
Inability to cast
Is the attribute of priest Kanrìgì
He who casts divination to save one from trouble
Is the priest of Agínragba
The thumb is the end point of fingers!   65
It is a hungry sleeper who hears the slightest
    noise in the midnight!
Ifá divination was cast for the very old man
Who was going to Àjìgbòmẹ̀fọ̀n market
What has the slave come to sell?
The slave has come to make profits   70
The slave has come to use his head to bring his
    profits home

Let so and so, let him sell
Let him make profits
Let him use his head to bring his profits home
Let him have food to eat   75
Let him have water to drink
Let him not be short of money
Let him not be short of a wife (or wives)
Let him not be short of children
Let nothing happen to his children   80
Let nothing happen to his wife
Let nothing happen to he himself
Everywhere he faces, and he is going,
Let it be through
Ọ̀rúnmìlà Àjànà!   85
Nothing obstructs the movement of a snake
Let nothing obstruct him on his way
No road blocks against the Queen of the sea
Let no road block against him
The king of heaven, the people of the earth!   90
Help us to achieve our goal
Please, give your sanctions to it.
You my mothers, Ọ̀ṣòròngà,
Who eat the heart and not the heard!
I seek authority from you   95
Let the sacrifice of so and so be acceptable
Let his appeasement receive your blessings ...

(As the priest continues to appeal to the gods, without
   pausing, the client too continues to say Àṣẹ
'May it be so' after each request is made.)

NOTES

1 - 4   Ifa configurations

5.   Children who belong to spiritual associations in the
      world beyond

6.   Crotolaria Lachnophona

7.   Tephrosia Bracteolata

8.   Melastomaceae

9.   Name unknown

10-11   Ifa configurations

SOURCES OF DATA

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2.   Mr. Demola Oyewumi, Oluwasanmi Road, Ile-Ife.

3.   Mr. Oyinbo Orunmila' Awotidoye, Odi-olokun Street, Ile-Ife.

4.   Extracts from plays acted on the Television Service
     of the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS).

5.   Wande Abimbola (1977) Àwọn Ojú Odù Méréèrìndínlógún
     Oxford University Press, Ibadan.