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TEACH YOURSELF YORUBA

E. C. Rowlands

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INTRODUCTION

The Yoruba people and their language

Yoruba is the mother tongue of upwards of ten million people who live in the Western Region of Nigeria and in adjoining areas of the Northern Region and also in Dahomey. Their language was first written down, by Christian missionaries, in the early part of the nineteenth century. It is now being increasingly used in books and weekly newspapers and is widely taught in schools, but it has not yet attained the status of being an official language.

As is the case with most languages, Yoruba has certain regional variations—dialects—but a generally accepted 'Standard Yoruba'* has gradually come into being since the language came to be written and this is what is found in books and taught in schools. There are two slightly different forms of 'Standard Yoruba', one of them corresponding closely with the type of Yoruba spoken in Oyo province while the other is associated with Lagos. As the differences between the two forms are found mainly in the grammar we shall occasionally have to take note of them in the course of this book.

TONE

Like many other languages in Africa and other parts of the world, Yoruba is a 'tone' language. This means that in learning words we have to take account not only of the sounds but also of the tone which is an integral part of each word. To a limited extent we have something comparable in English in that we have to learn what

* The abbreviation 'S.Y.' is used to refer to this in the body of the book.

syllable to stress, e.g. we must learn to stress 'invalid—sick person' on the first syllable and 'invalid—null and void' on the second syllable. In Yoruba such cases are so numerous that unless you get most of your tones right you will either not be understood at all or you may find yourself making embarrassing mispronunciations which cause general amusement. The stock example of this is to say 'go and smash this dish' instead of 'go and wash this dish', the difference between 'smash' and 'wash' (*fô* and *fiô*) resting merely on a distinction of tone. These distinctions are explained in detail in the early lessons which follow.

The distinction between the two meanings of 'invalid' is, as we explained above, made by differences of *stress*. It is very important to realise, however, that the distinctions we make in English between stressed and unstressed syllables do not exist in Yoruba. All syllables are approximately equally stressed regardless of the *tones* they carry and we do not get any of the differences we make in English in the pronunciation of vowels and consonants according to their position in the word. In speaking Yoruba we must avoid the following habits:

(a) vowels in unstressed syllables in English lose their distinctiveness, e.g. the second syllables of 'heated' and 'fetid' sound the same. In Yoruba *kékeré* 'small', however, there is no variation in the quality of the vowels.

(b) unvoiced stop consonants (e.g. *p*, *t*, *c/k*) are in English pronounced with quite a strong puff of breath following them when at the beginning of a stressed syllable, but without this puff of breath elsewhere, e.g. in 'cocoa', 'total' the two 'c's and 't's differ. But in Yoruba *kikô* 'cocoa' and *téte* 'early' there is no distinction: in each syllable the consonant is pronounced with a very slight following puff of breath. (Yoruba *p*, as explained below, represents quite a different sound from English 'p' and is not followed by this slight puff of breath.)

(c) voiced stop consonants (e.g. *b*, *d*, *g* as in 'go') at

INTRODUCTION

the beginning of stressed syllables in English sound more energetically pronounced (because they are partially unvoiced) than in other positions, e.g. compare the consonants in 'bob', 'dead' and 'pig'. But in Yoruba *baba* 'father', *dúdú* 'dark' and *gigîn* 'long' the consonants are pronounced in all positions like their *unstressed* counterparts in English, i.e. they are always pretty well fully voiced.

LETTERS AND SOUNDS

The Yoruba alphabet has the letters *a b d e ë f g gb h i j k l m n o ò p r s ñ t u w y*. Note that there are three letters, *ë ò ñ*, which must be written with a distinguishing dot or line beneath them. Failure to insert such a distinguishing mark is a common spelling mistake in Yoruba.

By means of this alphabet Yoruba indicates very clearly the distinctive sounds of the language, so that there is rarely any doubt as to how a written word is to be pronounced. To describe these sounds we will make the usual distinction between vowels and consonants and in making comparisons with English we will take as our standard the pronunciation of B.B.C. news-readers on the national transmitters.

(a) Yoruba, like French, has two sorts of vowels—oral vowels, *a e ë i ò ù*, whose sound comes out entirely through the mouth, and nasalised vowels, *an/øn* in *un* *øn*, whose sound comes out through the nose as well. As in French, this nasalisation is shewn by writing an *n* after the vowel letter, so learners must be on their guard against pronouncing *n* in these cases as a separate consonant. All single vowels are to be regarded as short and length is generally shewn in this book by writing doubled vowels, e.g. *aa*. The earlier way of shewing a long vowel was by writing a tilde over the vowel, e.g. *â*, but the use of doubled vowels is now becoming popular because it is easier with this way to add tone marks.

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a is about mid way between the short front 'a' of 'fat' and the long back 'a' of 'father'.

e is like French 'é' or the first part of the vowel sound of 'bay', i.e. it is a simple vowel, not a diphthong.

é is like the vowel of 'bet', 'bed', pronounced in the very front of the mouth.

i is like the vowel of 'eat', 'feet'.

o is like the first part of the vowel of 'hoe', 'sew'.

ø is like the vowel sound of 'caught', 'brought' (only short).

u is like 'oo' in 'cool', 'hoot'.

an/qn has with many Yorubas a tongue position close to that of 'a' in 'father'. Some Yorubas actually make quite a difference between an and qn, but others do not and it is convenient for learners to adopt this latter pronunciation. The distinction then becomes merely a matter of spelling. The convention is that qn is written after consonants in which the lips play some part in the articulation, i.e. b f gb m p w, while an is written after the other consonants. A further convention is that ø is written after m instead of qn and a is written after n instead of an. This is possible because the oral ø and a cannot occur in this position. Thus na is to be pronounced as nan and mo as mó.

un has about the tongue position of short English 'oo' in 'foot', or of 'u' in 'put'.

in has about the tongue position of 'i' in 'pit', 'sick'.

en (which occurs only rarely) has the same tongue position as e.

(b) Among the consonants only two, gb and p, present any difficulty.

b d g (always as in 'go', never as in 'gem') and t k, apart from the differences already commented on, are very like their English counterparts.

f h as in English.

w y as in English when followed by oral vowels, but when followed by nasalised vowels these consonants themselves are strongly nasalised, so that you may think that an n is pronounced in front of them.

YORUBA

INTRODUCTION

5

m n as in English.

s is like English 's' only rather higher pitched.

ʃ is like English 'sh' but with higher pitch and pronounced with spread lips.

t is like the clear 'l' at the beginning of words in English, e.g. 'low'.

r is very like the 'r' heard in English between vowels, e.g. as in 'bury', 'carry'. It is a light sound, tending to drop out in certain words, and it must never be strongly trilled. Like w and y, it is itself strongly nasalised when it is followed by nasalised vowels so that you may think you hear an n pronounced in front of it.

j has less friction than English 'j', often sounding almost like 'dy'.

gb and p represent sounds which do not occur in any European language. These two sounds are related to each other in the same way that 'p' and 'b' are related to each other, but as Yoruba does not possess an ordinary 'p' sound the letter p is used for this other sound, which in various other West African languages is denoted by kp. Whereas in ordinary 'p' and 'b' the tongue is in a neutral position, in these two sounds the back of the tongue is raised to the position which it takes in pronouncing 'k' and 'g' while the lips are closed as in pronouncing 'p' and 'b'. The tongue is moved away from this position at the same time that the lips are opened, producing sounds in which the qualities of 'k' and 'g' are combined with those of 'p' and 'b'. The important point to note is that the qualities are heard simultaneously, not in succession. Learners practising these sounds are apt to tense the muscles of the mouth, but actually the sounds are produced with these muscles quite relaxed. There is no puff of breath after p, and gb is fully voiced. A useful way of acquiring these sounds is to take English words like 'Blackpool' and 'rag-bag' and try to pronounce them as 'Bla-ckpool', 'ra-gbag'.

To acquire a good pronunciation it is advisable to hear the sounds from the lips of a Yoruba, but the foregoing description will help to avoid some pitfalls. If you can get

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hold of an informant, get him (or her) to read slowly through the early examples and exercises in the book and repeat them after him. To help in picking up the distinction between e and ẹ, o and ọ, b and gb the following pairs of words will be useful: ogéde* 'incantation', ogéde 'banana'; oke 'farm-plot', ọkọ 'husband'; ení 'one', ẹní 'mat'; Ékó 'Lagos', ẹkó 'education'; èrò 'thought', èrò 'antidote'; igbé 'forest', ibé 'mouth sores'; ábálá 'sort of food', ágbálá 'back-yard'; ègbé 'destruction', ègbé 'side'; ábá 'attempt', ágbá 'barrel'. Note that in each pair the tone pattern is the same, so you will not be distracted by having to attend to this feature as well.

THE MAKE-UP OF SYLLABLES

A syllable in Yoruba may have one of three forms: it may be a vowel, a consonant plus a vowel or a nasal (written m or n). It is not possible to have groups of consonants in any position or to have syllables ending in consonants. This is seen clearly in the way English words borrowed into Yoruba are treated; vowels are added and consonants dropped to make them conform to the system, e.g. 'bed' becomes bẹ́di (b̄di), 'street' becomes títi, 'shilling' becomes sìlè, 'Christmas' becomes Kérésimesi and so on.

There are no diphthongs in Yoruba and sequences of vowels are pronounced as separate syllables, so that e.g. láipé 'soon' and ráúráú 'completely' are to be pronounced as three and four syllable words respectively. In some ways it is convenient to think even of long vowels as made up of two separate syllables as they are usually obviously derived from such groups, e.g. aago 'clock, watch' from agogo.

Learners often have difficulty in pronouncing a syllabic nasal at the beginning of words, though we are accustomed in English to saying them at the end of words, e.g. 'cotton' is usually pronounced 'cotn'. It is important to know that a syllabic nasal is always homorganic, i.e. pronounced in

* The significance of the marks over the vowels is explained later on in this Introduction.

INTRODUCTION

the same part of the mouth, as a following consonant, regardless of how it is actually spelt. For example, in nkó 'what about . . .' the nasal sound represented by n is the same as that found in the English word 'ink', while in ñpa 'is killing' the nasal has the same double articulation as the p. In a few cases the sound of n in 'ink' is represented by the spelling ng (as in English 'sing').

WORD DIVISION

Ordinary colloquial Yoruba is difficult to understand at first because there is a strong tendency to run words together and in the absence of a word stress accent it is hard to know where one word ends and another begins. In written Yoruba elisions are often not shewn and people tend to read a written text in an artificial, disjointed way. When asking a Yoruba to read something to you it is worth while explaining that you want it read as it would be naturally spoken. In this book we shall adopt as colloquial a style of writing as possible.

We speak of the 'elision' of a vowel when one of two vowels in contact is just dropped without any compensatory lengthening of the other vowel, e.g. in peja (p'ejá) from pa ejá 'to kill fish' = 'to fish' the a of pa 'to kill' disappears without any effect on the following e. But in dótó from òtító 'truth' we say that there is 'assimilation' of i to the preceding o after dropping or eliding the intervening t, because here the i is replaced by o, producing the long óó. Elision most frequently occurs when a verb or preposition is followed by a noun object, as in peja above, while assimilation often occurs between two nouns which are closely linked, e.g. ilé iwé 'school' (lit. 'house of books') is generally pronounced iléewé.

It is not possible to give simple rules about which vowel will drop out in cases of elision. We can say that the commoner a word is the more likely it is to lose its vowel. Where a word is used in two different senses we may get different results, e.g. sí 'to' with ara 'self' produces s'íra but with ara 'body' it produces s'ára. It will be necessary to memorise examples as they turn up.

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TONE MARKING

Though tone is so important in Yoruba very few tones are marked in an ordinary Yoruba text. The general principle is that tones are marked when they are necessary to avoid ambiguity, but many writers use no marks at all, so that it is sometimes necessary to read a passage through more than once in order to be certain of what is intended. Where tones are marked, an acute accent, e.g. fó 'to break', indicates a high tone while a grave accent, e.g. fò 'to wash', indicates a low tone, mid tones being left unmarked. In this book (as will be explained later) some extra signs are used to indicate certain modified tones with which the ordinary orthography cannot deal, and tones will be consistently marked so that the learner may be in no doubt as to the pronunciation.

1

SIMPLE TONE PATTERNS
DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

Tone is so important in Yoruba that we shall have to concentrate our attention in the first few lessons on learning tone patterns, but various points of grammar will be introduced in the examples. In this first lesson these are:

(a) There is no grammatical gender in Yoruba. The single word ó equals English 'he/she/it', as in the phrase ó kéré 'he/she/it is small'.

(b) The subject always precedes the verb.

(c) Note that the single Yoruba word kéré corresponds to the two English words 'is small'. In English the adjective is the basic form and in making a statement containing an adjective we must add a verb 'is/was'. In Yoruba, on the other hand, the basic form is the one used in making statements and it is proper to think of this form as a verb. The adjective, in this case kékéré 'small', is derived from this basic verb form. We shall deal with the formation of adjectives later.

(d) The word kéré was translated above as 'is small', but if we add the word télerí 'previously' to it we shall have to translate the phrase ó kéré télerí as 'it was small'. In English the verb form itself shews whether the time referred to is present or past, but this is not so in Yoruba. It is the situation in which a phrase is used or some accompanying word which fixes the time as present or past. This may seem strange at first, but one soon gets used to it. In this present case it is as if we said 'it small' or 'it small once'; the first of these might refer to either the present or the past while the second obviously refers to the past.

(e) A number of descriptive words which begin with the letters l or n are made up of a verb *ní* 'to have' and a noun, e.g. *lówó* 'to have money, be wealthy' is made up of *ní* and *owó* 'money'. Most nouns in Yoruba begin with a vowel, as in the example just given. The vowel of *ní* is elided before the vowel of the noun but the high tone is transferred on to the surviving vowel. An l replaces the n of *ní* except when the noun begins with the vowel i, e.g. *nírun* 'have hair, be hairy' from *ní irun*. The spelling of these forms is not absolutely fixed and sometimes an apostrophe is used to shew that two words have run together, e.g. *l'ówó* instead of *lówó*. This does not mean that there is any difference in the pronunciation.

(f) Descriptive verbs often occur with some qualifying word added. This may itself be a verb, e.g. *tó* 'be enough', *jù* 'surpass'. ó *kéré* *tó* means 'it is small enough' while ó *kéré* *jù* means 'it is too small'. Other common words used in this way are *púpó* 'much' and *diè* 'some'. ó *kéré* *púpó* means 'it is very small' and ó *kéré* *diè* 'it is somewhat small'.

TONE PATTERNS

1. The first pattern given consists of a sequence of level high tones. The first syllable of the word or phrase is pitched at about the same level as the first accented syllable of the corresponding English word or phrase and this level is maintained over all the remaining syllables. Note particularly that there is no dropping of the voice on the last syllable. This is a speech tune which we do not use in English and it produces on an English ear an effect of chanting or singing. The actual level of pitch may vary from person to person and the same person will pitch his voice higher at some times than at others. A higher than usual pitch may indicate that the speaker is excited or is asking a question rather than making a statement.

ó *dúdú*, he is dark
ó *lówó* *tó*, he is wealthy enough
ó *fójú*, she is blind

ó *fúyé*, it is easy, light in weight
ó *jáfáfá*, he is active, keen
ó *ní kókó*, it has lump(s), is lumpy

Note that in the last example *ní* occurs as a separate word because the object noun *kókó* begins with a consonant. Other common nouns which, like *kókó*, have level high tones are *kókóró* 'key'; *ṣibí* 'spoon'; *dígí* (*jígí*) 'mirror'.

2. When a high tone is followed by a mid tone one is conscious of a step down in pitch but again it is important to note that the mid tone syllable maintains its own level of pitch even at the end of a sentence. In a short sentence said in a matter-of-fact way the interval between high and mid is about a major third, but it might be less in a longer sentence or more in the stress of excitement. If a high tone follows the mid it is on the same pitch as the preceding high tone.

ó *tóbí*, it is big
ó *tóbí* *tó*, it is big enough
ó *dára*, it is nice, good to look at
ó *le*, he is hard
ó *le* *tó*, it is hard enough
ó *ga*, it is lofty
ó *pupa*, it is red
ó *nírun*, it is hairy
ó *wúwo*, it is heavy
ó *lágbará*, he is strong (*agbára* 'strength')

3. When a high tone is followed by a low tone one hears a pronounced fall on the low tone syllable, particularly when this syllable is at the end of the sentence. The tune of Yoruba sentences like ó *dùn* 'it is tasty', ó *pò* 'it is plentiful' is very like that of such English sequences as 'hot stew', 'cold soup' pronounced with matter-of-fact statement intonation.

ó *dùn*, it is tasty
ó *kéré* *jù*, it is too small
ó *dúdú* *jù*, it is too dark (in colour)

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- ó dúdú púpò, he is very dark
ó fúyé diè, it is fairly light
ó dára púpò, it is very good
ó lémà, she is beautiful (ewà 'beauty')
ó gún jù, it is too long
When low tone follows mid tone the falling effect is not nearly so marked.
ó tóbí jù, it is too big
ó ga jù, it is too lofty
ó korò, it is bitter

EXTRA VOCABULARY FOR PRACTICE

wón, to be expensive	nípon, to be thick (cloth, paper)
téjú, to be level	wúlò, to be useful
kún, to be full	sanra, to be stout, fat
dájú, to be certain	funfun, to be white
kúrú, to be short	kan, to be sour
mó, to be clean	yi, to be tough

EXERCISE 1

Read aloud and then translate into English: ó lówó diè; ó kúrú púpò; ó kún jù; ó wón púpò; ó le jù; ó wúlò; ó mó tó; ó korò jù; ó lágbára púpò; ó ga diè; ó nípon jù; ó yi púpò; ó kan jù; ó wón jù; ó téjú tó; ó funfun diè; ó dájú; ó pupa jù; ó nírun púpò; ó dúdú tó; ó sanra púpò; ó wúwo jù; ó kan diè.

Now turn to the key at the back of the book and re-translate the sentences into Yoruba.

YORUBA

2

THE NEGATIVE KÒ; UNEMPHATIC PRONOUNS (1)

The negative kò 'not' is placed in front of the verb. No pronoun corresponding to 'he/she/it' is used with this word, so that e.g. 'he/she/it is not small' is translated simply by kò kéré. To say ó kò kéré would be completely wrong. Otherwise the subject is placed in front of kò, e.g. igi kò wón 'wood is not expensive'. When kò has a word preceding it in the sentence in this way, the k is generally dropped, e.g. igi kò wón (the usual written form) is pronounced igi ò wón unless one is speaking in a very careful way. Sometimes you will find the k actually dropped in writing. To remind learners of this point we shall write (k) in such situations in the early lessons.

Negative sentences containing kò will provide us with convenient examples for learning tone patterns which begin with a low tone. In such sentences the verb is often qualified with a following rará 'at all' or mó 'any more, again'. Note that this mó has no connection with the word mó 'be clean' which we learnt in the preceding lesson. In learning Yoruba it is often rather confusing to find that one and the same syllable functions as two or more different words according to the position which it occupies in the sentence or the words which accompany it. It is better to learn Yoruba words in sentences rather than try to memorise them as isolated items in a vocabulary.

TONE PATTERNS

1. Low tone followed by mid tone—the low tone has the pitch of an unaccented initial syllable in a phrase of comparable length in English and the mid tone rises a step above this with an interval of about a minor third in a

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short phrase. For example, in **kò ga** 'it is not lofty' the **kò** is pitched at about the level of the first syllable of 'correct' pronounced as an unexcited statement. But, unlike the second syllable of 'correct', the **ga** maintains a level pitch. If a high tone follows this mid tone, as in **kò ga rará** 'it is not lofty at all', that will be a step higher again with an interval of about a major third in a short phrase like the above.

kò pupa, she is not 'red', i.e. light of colour
kò pupa mó, it is not red any more
kò funfun tó, it is not white enough
kò yí, it is not tough
kò sanra rará, he is not fat at all

2. Low tone followed by high tone—the low tone is pitched as before and a very perceptible rise of pitch, starting a little above the low tone level, is heard on the high tone syllable. The effect is quite different from that of the step up in pitch which characterises the movement from low to mid. In a short phrase the interval at the top of the rise may be as much as a fifth above the level of the low tone. Any following high tone has level pitch. For example in **kò dúdú tó** 'it is not dark enough' the first syllable of **dúdú** has rising pitch but the two following syllables have level pitch.

kò dúdú rará, it is not dark at all
kò kéré mó, it is not small any more
kò dájú, it is not certain
kò tóbí tó, it is not big enough
kò wúwo rará, it is not heavy at all

3. A sequence of low tones has level low pitch and a final low tone drops right away below the level of audibility.

kò pò jù (pòjù), it is not too much
kò gún jù rará, it is not too long at all
kò dún mó, it is not tasty any more
It is very important to notice that, in unexcited speech

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at any rate, the intervals down to low tone are always bigger than the corresponding upward intervals. For example, in **májèlè** 'poison' after the low tone of **-jè-** the high tone of **-lé** does not rise to quite the same pitch as the high tone of **má-**, while in **adiè** 'chicken' the mid tone of **-è** sounds flat in comparison with that of **a-**.

UNEMPHATIC SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Yoruba is like French in having separate sets of unemphatic and emphatic pronouns, e.g. **je** and **moi** 'I' etc. In English we show emphasis by adding stress to the pronoun but this cannot be done in Yoruba. Leaving the emphatic pronouns to be dealt with later, we now give the complete set of unemphatic subject pronouns used with the verb forms we have so far learnt.

Singular	Plural
mo , I	a , we
o , you	é , you
ó , he/she/it	nwón , they

Notes:

(1) Note the distinction between **o** and **ó**, which is merely one of tone.

(2) The singular **o** is used in speaking to children, familiar friends and servants and in general implies familiarity. The use of the plural **é** implies respect. Even when referring to a person the plural is sometimes used to show respect, e.g. a child referring to one of its parents will use **nwón** instead of **ó**.

(3) **nwón** is pronounced as if written **wón**. This arbitrary spelling was adopted in order to distinguish the pronoun from the verb **wón** 'be dear'.

Before the negative **kò** the forms are slightly different:

Singular	Plural
ng , I	a , we
o , you	é , you
(zero), he/she/it	nwón , they

Tea
mo
mill
Nig
Nig
wri
nin
bec
and
ne
ma
The
Sci
Stu
thr
ste
tra
ch
tra
ex
se
an
etc
ab
cu
lit
th
fo

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Notes:

(1) **ng** is pronounced like 'ng' in English 'sing'. Southern Yorubas use **mi** instead of **ng**, e.g. **ng (k)ò mò**, **mi (k)ò mò** 'I do not know'. This **mi** is not often written.

(2) **nwọn** has a *mid* tone here, not a high tone.

(3) After **a** and **é** the negative **kò** not only loses its **k** in ordinary speech but the remaining **ò** is also assimilated to the preceding vowel, e.g. **a kò mò** 'we do not know' is heard as **a à mò** and **é kò mò** as **é è mò**, or rather, **aà mò** and **éè mò**. To distinguish the negative from the positive, note that the vowel is longer and *drops to low tone*. The same distinction holds good between **o** and **ó (k)ò**, as in **o mò** 'you know' and **ó (k)ò mò** 'you do not know', and the distinction between **mo** and **ng (k)ò** is very similar.

The verb in Yoruba does not alter for person or number.

TONE PATTERNS

Phrases containing pronouns will provide examples of patterns beginning with a mid tone. Be careful to distinguish **o** from **ó**, and also to fall on a low tone following a high and to rise on a high tone following a low.

VOCABULARY

gbó , to hear, understand	kàwé , to read
jó , to dance	kòwé , to write
mò , to know	ṣisé , to work
lè , to be able	ṣiré , to play
kòrin , to sing	pàlò , to ask riddles
lọṣò , to wash clothes	pitàn , to tell stories

EXERCISE 2

Read aloud the following pairs of sentences and then translate them into English: **o sanra pupò**, **ó sanra púpò**;

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a lè kàwé, **a à lè kàwé**; **mo gbó**, **ng (k)ò gbó**; **nwòn lè sáré**, **nwòn (k)ò lè sáré**; **ó lè kòrin**, **kò lè kòrin**; **ó kéré jù**, **o kéré jù**; **o lè lọṣò**, **o (k)ò lè lọṣò**; **é lè pàlò**, **é è lè pàlò**; **mo lè pitàn**, **ng (k)ò lè pitàn**; **nwòn ṣisé púpò**, **nwòn (k)ò ṣisé púpò**; **o lè kòwé díè**, **ó lè kòwé díè**; **mo mò**, **ng (k)ò mò**; **ng (k)ò lè ṣiré mò**, **nwòn (k)ò lè ṣiré mò**.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

3

MORE ABOUT VERBS UNEMPHATIC PRONOUNS (2)

We have said something about verbs which denote qualities; we now go on to talk about verbs which denote actions and processes and the states arising from them. We shall see that the great majority of these verbs are monosyllables, e.g. *ti* 'push', *jé* 'eat', *kú* 'die'.

It has already been pointed out that the Yoruba verb does not contain any built-in distinction between past and present and we must keep on bearing this fact in mind in dealing with these new verbs. When we describe the completion of an event in English we normally use the past tense, e.g. 'he suddenly got up, ran to the door, opened it and rushed out'. But if we want to produce a vivid, dramatic effect or are giving instructions to actors in printed copies of plays we use the present, e.g. 'he suddenly gets up, runs to the door, opens it and rushes out'. This particular dramatic effect is something which cannot be easily reproduced in a Yoruba translation because that language has only one form—made up of the simple stem of the verb—which conveys the meaning of completed action. There is another form which corresponds to the English present tense in 'he gets up at seven o'clock every morning and goes out for a walk' but we cannot use this form to translate 'gets up' in the other sentence because it conveys the idea of the habitual repetition of an action.

Besides denoting a completed action or process the simple stem form can also convey the idea of a state which is the result of this, e.g. *ó kú* 'he died, he is dead'. Here too the absence of any distinction between past and present must be kept in mind. English uses a past tense to describe a state existing in the past, e.g. 'they said he

MORE ABOUT VERBS

was dead', while *nwón l'ó kú* (*nwón ní ó kú*) can be rendered as 'they say he is dead' or 'they said he was dead'. (The verb *ní* 'say' used here behaves in every way like *ní* 'have' which was mentioned earlier.)

Because the same simple verb form can denote both action and state there are some cases where Yoruba uses one verb while English uses two quite different verbs, e.g. *ó wò aşo dudu* 'he put on dark clothes, he is/was wearing dark clothes' English treats the wearing of clothes as a sort of process or action while Yoruba treats it as a state resulting from the putting on of clothes. We could actually here get nearer to the Yoruba way of expressing the idea by saying instead 'he has/had on dark clothes'. (Note that in this example the adjective 'dark' happens to have the same form as the verb 'be dark'.)

UNEMPHATIC OBJECT PRONOUNS

Verbs of action may be followed by noun or pronoun objects, e.g. *ó lù Ojó* 'he hit Ojo', *ó lù mí* 'he hit me'. Yoruba is like English in having different sets of forms for subject and object pronouns but not for nouns, e.g. *mo lù Ojó* 'I hit Ojo', *Ojó lù mí* 'Ojo hit me'. But this distinction occurs only among the *unemphatic pronouns*; we shall see later (p. 27) that the *emphatic pronouns* behave just like nouns.

The unemphatic object pronouns are:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>mi</i> , me	<i>wa</i> , us
<i>ø/ɛ</i> , you	<i>nyin</i> , you
vowel of verb repeated, him/her/it	<i>won</i> , them

Notes:

(1) The distinction between *ø* and *ɛ* is one of dialect. *ø* is generally written in books but *ɛ* is widely heard in speech.

(2) The 'vowel of the verb repeated' is best explained by examples, e.g. *fá á* 'pull it', *ti í* 'push it', *sé é* 'stew it',

fò ó 'wash it'. Nasalised vowels are extended in the same way, but it is a fairly general convention not to write n twice, e.g. sín i 'accompany him' rather than sín in is the commoner written form. The verb plus extension is pronounced as one long vowel, not as two separate short syllables. This serves to distinguish 'him/her/it', in deliberate pronunciation at any rate, from 'you' where the written forms are identical, e.g. kò ó 'reject you/reject him', 'reject him' being pronounced as one long vowel while 'reject you' is pronounced as two separate short vowels. A hyphen is sometimes written where 'you' is intended, e.g. kò-ó 'reject you'.

(3) nyin is an arbitrary spelling. Yorubas not familiar with the convention write it yin, which represents the actual pronunciation.

(4) It is conventional to write nwón for 'they' but wón for 'them'. People not familiar with the convention write wón for both.

(5) The tones of these pronouns vary according to the tones of the preceding verbs. The general rule is that they have *high tone* after low and mid tone verbs but *mid tone* after high tone verbs, e.g. pè mí 'call me', pa mí 'kill me', but fún mi 'give me'. nyin is exceptional in having high tone even after a high tone verb. In this case the vowel of the verb is extended onto the mid tone in front of the pronoun, though this extension is not shewn in writing, e.g. mo rí nyin 'I saw you' is pronounced mo rí (i)nyin.

The long vowel of the third person singular is a special case. It follows the general rule (a) regularly in careful pronunciation, (b) even in quicker pronunciation when it has either a high tone syllable or nothing preceding it in the sentence, e.g. ó fà á 'he pulled it', fà á 'pull it'; ó je é 'he ate it', je é 'eat it'; ó sì i 'he opened it', sì i 'open it'. Otherwise some simplification occurs. After a mid or low tone syllable je é sounds as jé and so on, e.g. mo je é sii or even sì and so on, e.g. mo sì i 'I opened it', kò sì i 'he

MORE ABOUT VERBS

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did not open it'. After a *low tone* not only does je é sound as jé but also dè é sounds as dé and so on, i.e. the distinction here between mid and low tone verb does not operate. We shall see later (p. 35) that there are other cases of this.

VERB COMBINATIONS

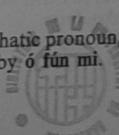
The English learner of Yoruba may be struck by the fact that it is often necessary to use two or more Yoruba verbs to convey an idea expressed by a single English verb. For example, 'bring' will according to circumstances be translated by mú...wá 'grasp...come', gbé...wá 'lift...come' or kó...wá 'gather...come'. mú...wá is used if we are talking of a person or a light object such as a book, gbé...wá if we are talking of a heavy object or a person who has to be carried, e.g. somebody on a stretcher, and kó...wá if we are talking of several persons or objects thought of collectively. Similarly, 'take' is translated by mu...lo, gbé...lo, kó...lo 'grasp...go etc.'. Note that in these combinations the object is placed after the *first* verb, e.g. ó gbé e wá 'he brought it'.

A second feature we should notice is that many verbs are followed by the preposition ní. This word may be regarded as equivalent to 'in, at' in English and is actually the only word in Yoruba which we can properly call a preposition. From the point of view of elision it behaves exactly like the verbs ní 'to have' and ní 'to say'. Looking at these combinations with their English translations in mind we can distinguish two types.

(a) Where English verbs have two objects the second object in Yoruba is always preceded by ní.

ó fún mi l'ówó (ní ówó), he gave me money
nwón kó wa ní Yorùbá, they taught us Yoruba
mo yá a ní sisi, I lent him 6d

This ní cannot be followed by an unemphatic pronoun, and 'he gave me it' is translated simply by ó fún mi.



(b) Various single English verbs are rendered in Yoruba by a verb plus *ni* with a noun.

ó yá mí l'énú, it surprises me (it opens me in mouth)
ó fá mí l'éti, he gave me a hint (he pulled me in ear)
ó rán mi l'ýwó, she helped me (she helped me in hand)

Very often the verb, as actually in the last example above, has no clear meaning apart from the words which follow, cp. 'do' in 'do up, do down'. Notice how Yoruba prefers to say 'pull me in ear' rather than 'pull my ear'. Other examples are:

ó jí mi l'ówo gbé, he stole my money (stole me in money take)
ó bà mí n'inú jé, it made me sad (spoilt me at inside—bà . . . jé 'spoil')
ó bá mí l'ára mu, it agrees with me (bá . . . mu 'agree', l'ára 'in body')

VOCABULARY

tí, to push; to shut	sé, to stew
jé, to eat	fí, to wash (articles)
kú, to die	sín, to accompany person
mí, to say; to have	kò . . . sílè, to reject, divorce
lù, to hit	pá, to kill
pé, to call, pronounce word	fún, to give, transfer to (often = to, for)
rí, to see, find	se, to do, cause, affect
ká, to fold; to pluck fruit	mú, to grasp; to cause to do
wá, to come	gbé, to lift, carry
lo, to go	kó, to gather, collect
kó, to teach, learn	bá, to meet, be in association with (often = for)
yá, to lend, borrow	inú, inside
ilé, house, home	nínú (n'inú), (at) inside
nílè, (n'ilé) at home	ojá, market
wà, to exist, be located	
oko, farm	
wú, to please, attract	
fá, to pull	

MORE ABOUT VERBS

EXERCISE 3

Read aloud and then translate into English: ó wú mí púpó; ó kó nyín ní Yorubá; nwón fún wa l'ówo púpó; kó wú wá rará; nwón pa á kú; ó kò ó sílè; nwón gbé e lo; mo bá wón nilé; a rí o l'ójá; nwón wá nilé; ó bá wa l'óko; ó wá nínú ilé; mo pé é fún wón; kò fó ó tó; ó l'ó wú wón dié; ng (k)ò lù nyín rará; ó yá mí ní sibi; ó rà á fún mi; kò tå á fún wón; nwón bá wa rà á; mo rí i nínú àpótí; nwón l'ó tó; ó ní kò tóbí tó; nwón (k)ò yá wa l'ówo rará; mo gbé e wá fún u; ó bá wón nínú jé; nwón jí mí ní kókóró gbé.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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EMPHASIS QUESTION WORDS (1)

It has already been remarked that we cannot, as we do in English, give extra stress to words to shew emphasis. We now take up this point in greater detail.

If asked to give the English for the Yoruba word *igi* we would say 'wood' or 'tree' with an unemphatic sort of intonation which we might say carried no implications beyond the information given. In answer to the question 'what is this?', however, we would say 'wood/it's wood (a tree)' with an intonation which implied, e.g. that the material in question was wood and not some other possible material such as metal or plastic. The point to notice is that the presence or absence of 'it's' in the answer really makes no difference to the meaning; it is the intonation on the word 'wood' which is important. In Yoruba the situation is quite different. Reversing the questions one would answer the first with *igi ni* and the second with *igi ni*. The *ni* can be translated by 'it's' but what it really corresponds to is the intonation we give to 'wood' in that context. Whereas the 'it's' can be omitted in English without altering the sense the Yoruba *ni* is essential.

Words or phrases made emphatic with *ni* are always placed at the head of the sentence.* Contrast the unemphatic *a fé owó* 'we want money' with the emphatic *owó l'a fé* 'it's money we want, we want money'. In 'we want money' English has the same order of words as in the unemphatic sentence but the difference of intonation shews the difference of meaning. It is not possible to do

* We shall see later (p. 157) that *ni* can be placed at the end of a whole clause or sentence to add emphasis.

EMPHASIS — QUESTION WORDS (1)

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this in Yoruba; *owó l'a fé* is the only possible order for the emphatic meaning.

aso ni mo rà, it was cloth I bought

Kéhindé ni nwón mú wá, it was Kéhinde they brought

Táiwò ni mo fún Pówó, it was Taiwo I gave money to

When a subject is emphasised with *ni* a pronoun follows.

Táiwò l'ó fó q, Taiwo broke it

Àdùké l'ó rà á, Aduke bought it

Ójó l'ó kó mi ní Yorùbá, Ojo taught me Yoruba

When a noun subject is plural—shewn by the presence of *àwọn* in front of it (see p. 40)—the following pronoun is generally still singular, though some Yorubas use the plural.

àwọn ɔkùnrin l'ó gbé e wá, it was the men brought it

àwọn ɔkùnrin ni nwón gbé e wá, it was the men brought it

A second object in this emphatic position is not preceded by *ni*.

owó ni nwón fún mi, it was money they gave me

The case of other extensions which have *ni* in the unemphatic order is more complicated and is left for treatment later (p. 85).

Notes:

(1) The mid tone of *ni* is lost in elisions.

(2) An English sentence like 'it was cloth I bought' can be given several different intonations. The one intended here is that in which 'cloth' is the only stressed word and is given a falling intonation, the implication being that cloth and not some other commodity was bought on the occasion in question. Other intonations would need a different Yoruba translation.

The negative of *ni* is *kó*, which must not be confused with the word *kò* 'not' which is used before verbs. *kó* by

Te
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itself means 'is/was not', and the word preceding it is emphatic in the same way as when it is preceded by *ni*, e.g. *eja kó* 'it is not fish'. *kó* is usually followed by *ni* when a verb phrase follows, e.g. *eja kó ni mo fé* 'it is not fish I want'. On the other hand, *aláfiá k'è dé bí* 'is it not in health you have arrived?' (a greeting), where *k'è* is for *kó* *è*.

'WHO' AND 'WHAT'

In *tani* and *kini*, the common forms of the Yoruba words for 'who?' and 'what?', the *ni* we have just been discussing is written as part of the word. The basic forms are *ta* and *kí* but these are always emphatic, i.e. followed by *ni*, though *ni* is occasionally separated by an intervening word (see p. 149), in which case the two elements are naturally written as separate words. Departure from the usual emphatic order is uncommon, cp. English 'he gave you what?' compared with 'what did he give you?'.

When *tani* is the subject of the sentence two dialectal variants are heard, e.g. *tal'ó rà á*, *tam' rà á?* 'who bought it?'. These can be regarded as different reductions of *tani ó rà á?* In *tal'ó rà á?*, the northern Yoruba spoken form and the usual book form, the *ni* is elided in the normal way, while in *tani rà á?* the *ó* is elided and its high tone is thrown back onto the *ni*. As the tone patterns of the two forms are the same, the difference to a Yoruba ear is very slight. The same variants occur also with *kini*, e.g. *kil'ó dé*, *kini dé?* 'what has happened?' (literally 'arrived'); *kil'ó se*, *kini se?* 'what caused?'—the Yoruba for 'why'.

The answer to such a question as *tal'ó rà á?* is generally of the form *Kéhindé ni* 'it was Kéhinde'.

When *tani* and *kini* are objects there is, of course, no variation.

tal'ó rí nibè? who did he see there?
tal'è rí l'ójá? who did you see in the market?
kil'ó mú wá? what did he bring?
kini nwón tà fún u? what did they sell him?

EMPHASIS – QUESTION WORDS (1)

When *tani* and *kini* are objects there is often no emphasis in the answer.

kil'ó rá nibè? what did you buy there?
mo ra ata, I bought pepper
tal'ò bá l'óko? who did you meet at the farm?
mo bá Òjó, I met Ojo

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

There is a special set of emphatic pronouns which must be used with *ni* (and also in other emphatic contexts).

Singular	Plural
<i>èmi</i> , I, me	<i>áwa</i> , we, us
<i>iwø</i> , you	<i>ènyin</i> , you
<i>òun</i> , he/him etc.	<i>awon</i> , they, them

Notes:

(1) *òun* is sometimes spelt *òn*.

(2) *ènyin* is an arbitrary spelling. Yorubas who do not know the convention spell it *éyin*, which reflects the pronunciation better.

(3) As the translations given above clearly show, these forms are used as either subject or object.

When these pronouns are the subject of emphatic sentences of the type we have just been describing we find a variation in use which is exemplified in the following pairs of sentences: *èmi ni mo fó q* and *èmi l'ó fó q* 'it was I broke it'; *iwø l'o mó* and *iwø l'ó mó* 'you know'. The emphatic pronoun is followed either by the corresponding *unemphatic* form or by the unemphatic *ó* 'he/she/it' throughout just like a noun. From the point of view of grammar we can in fact regard these pronouns as a special sort of noun. There does not seem to be any difference of meaning between the two uses; some Yorubas use one and some the other.

VOCABULARY

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éja, fish	àgùtàn, sheep
èran, meat	ewúré, goat
igi, tree, wood (material)	òdà, paint
irin, iron, metal	èjè, blood
wúrá, gold	omi, water
gòlù (góòlù), gold	emu, palm-wine
fádákà, silver	ata, pepper
iṣu, yam	ilá, okro (a vegetable)
páki, cassava	eiyé, bird
ópe, oil-palm	òbò, monkey
áràbà, silk cotton tree	fé, to want
fó, to break, smash	jù . . . nù, to throw away
dà . . . nù, to throw away (pour be lost) (liquids, collectives)	(throw be lost) (single things)

EXERCISE 4

Feed alcud and then translate into English: kíni nwón fé? kíl'ó fún nyín? taní nwón bá l'óko? taní táké rà á? taní fún nyín l'ówó? kíni nwón rí ninú àpótí? cmi kó, ému ni; éja kó ni mo fé, èran ni; ata kó l'a rà, ilá ni; ému kó ni mo dà nù, cmi ni; Adùké kó l'ó gbé e wá, Eísí ni; àgùtàn kó l'ó fé, ewúré ni; ó ni wúrá/gòlù kó, ó ni fádákà ni; ó l'èdà kó, ó l'éjè ni; òun l'ó jù ú nù; iwó kó ni mo pè wá, ni mo rà, àpótí igi ni.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences back into Yoruba.

5

MORE ABOUT TONES

We have seen that a low tone has an effect upon following tones—a following mid tone is flat compared with a preceding mid tone while a following high tone glides up and also does not rise to quite the same pitch as a preceding high tone. It is very important to realise that these effects remain even when owing to elision a high tone comes onto the syllable that originally bore the low tone.

Expressions of time and place consisting of a noun preceded by the preposition *ní* will provide plenty of examples to illustrate this point. In English prepositions are necessary in some time expressions, optional in others and absent in yet others, e.g. 'he came at 2 o'clock, he came (on) Wednesday, he came yesterday'. Similarly in expressions of place, e.g. 'he is at the cinema, he is (at) home, he is outside'. In Yoruba the preposition *ní* is used with all expressions of place and time of this sort, though this may be obscured by the fact that it is often written as one word with the following noun, e.g. *nílé* 'at home', *nínú* '(at) inside'. The noun 'today' is *óní* but 'I saw him today' is *mo rí i lóní*. Similarly the noun 'outside' is *òde* but 'I saw him outside' is *mo rí i lódé*.

In the ordinary orthography there are no special signs for shewing these modified tones, but we shall here use the tone marks seen on the second syllables of *lóní* and *lódé* when modified tones occur without any obvious low tone to cause them. Most words containing such tones can easily be analysed into their component parts, e.g. *kówé* 'to study' is from *kó iwé* 'to learn book' and *jádè* 'to get out' is from *já òde* 'to reach to outside'. In the speech of some Yorubas one can actually hear a sharp fall at the end of the preceding high tone syllable, but even if

such a fall is not audible the modification of the following tone bears witness to what we may call a latent low tone preceding it.

It remains to ask whether any difference can be heard on a *low* tone to shew that the preceding syllable (onto which a high tone has been thrown) was originally low, not mid. For example, are there two different pronunciations underlying the written form ó l'ókò méjì according to whether it means 'he has two canoes' (ókò) or 'he has two spears' (ókò)? Many Yorubas, though certainly not all, definitely do make a difference. In l'ókò 'has canoe' the syllable l'ó has level high tone while the syllable kò has the fall in pitch which we normally get on a low tone after high and, to a lesser degree, after mid tone. In l'ókò 'has spear', however, there is a sharp fall in pitch at the end of l'ó while kò has level low pitch, shewing that the syllable preceding it must originally have had low tone. The difference between the two is, indeed, very like the intonational difference in English between '(a) black bird' and '(a) blackbird' when answering the question 'what is that?'. No special sign has been introduced in this case, so the learner must be careful to check on the underlying basic words in the few examples which occur. Note that in some fixed phrases containing òkè 'up', e.g. sòkèsòdò 'up and down' (sí òkè sí odò), the distinction has been obliterated, sòkè being pronounced as if derived from sí òkè.

We shall need to use the signs for modified tones on certain commonly occurring words which have two forms, a longer form with a low tone prefix and a shorter form without the prefix but with the effect of its low tone remaining on the high or mid tone of the following syllable. These words are èyi/iyí and yí 'this', iyéñ and yén 'that', ókan/ikan and kán 'one' and èwo and wò 'which?'. (The pairs èyi/iyí and ókan/ikan are dialectal variants.) The longer forms are used independently while the shorter forms are always dependent on a noun or other word.

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èyi tóbi jù, this/this one is too big
ápóti yí (k)ò tóbi tó, this box is not big enough
iyéñ (k)ò wú mí rárá, that does not attract me at all
emu yén (k)ò dún rárá, that palmwine is not tasty at all
ókan soso ni mo fé, it is one only I want
ojú kán soso l'ó ní, he has only one eye
èwo l'o fé? which do you want?
ewúré wó l'ó rà? which goat did he buy?

We have already remarked that when a modified high tone follows a high tone it does not rise to quite the same pitch. We can hear this in lóní 'today' and ilé yí 'this house'. Where modified high tone follows a mid tone the glide starts rather below the level of the mid tone and rises to slightly above it but not as high as an unmodified high tone. When a modified mid tone follows a high tone, e.g. as in lódé 'outside', ilé yén 'that house', there is a wider interval drop than when the mid tone is unmodified, e.g. as in tóbi 'be big', l'óko 'at the farm'. After a preceding mid tone it sounds perceptibly flat, e.g. emu yén 'that palm-wine'.

To recapitulate, in a sequence of words pronounced as a single intonation group a modified tone is always slightly flatter than the preceding *tone of the same rank*, regardless of whether the low tone producing the modification is obviously present or not. An intonation group may be a whole sentence, if that is not very long, or a phrase or clause forming part of a longer sentence.

ELISION

We have used some examples of elision in our discussion of modified tones, e.g. lódé from ní òde and jádè from já òde. Elision occurs very frequently in Yoruba between a verb or the preposition ní and a following noun. Unfortunately the elisions which occur in normal speech are not always shewn in writing. Quite a number of elided forms have come to be written as one word, e.g. lódé, jádè above, while others are written with an apostrophe, e.g. lórí and l'óri from ní orí 'on top'. In the

examples given we see that, whereas **ní** elides its vowel before **òde** (and also **n** appears as **I**), **já** retains its vowel. There are no simple rules for deciding which vowel will be elided though we can make a rough generalisation that the commoner, more easily recognisable word will elide its vowel. The rules about tone, however, are fairly simple.

(a) A high tone always survives whether the vowel which originally carried it survives or not, e.g. **lódé**, **kówé** 'to study' (from **kó iwé** 'learn book').

(b) When a mid or low tone verb is involved the tone of the verb can be disregarded; it is always the tone of the initial vowel of the noun which survives, e.g. **kówé** 'to write' from **kó iwé** 'write book'; **kawé** 'to read' from **ká iwé** 'read book'; **foso** 'to wash clothes' from **fó aso**; **korin** 'to sing' from **kó orin** 'sing song'. (Note the two different words **kó**.)

We see from these examples that when involved in elisions the distinction between mid and low tone verbs is neutralised. Before a noun object this is so even if no elision takes place, for in that case both classes of verbs are said on a mid tone. Thus, 'he bought cloth' would be heard as **ó r'asó** or **ó ra asó** and 'he bought bananas' as **ó r'ogédé** or **ó ra ogédé**, though in the Vocabulary 'to buy' is given as **rà***. The same neutralisation occurs also before emphatic pronouns, which we have already seen behave grammatically like nouns, e.g. **ó lu èmi sá** 'he hit me at any rate' (**lù**). But in writing Yoruba the correct practice is always to give such words their dictionary tones, leaving the reader to make adjustments when necessary. The distinction between mid and low tone verbs which take an object actually appears in two cases:

(a) When the verb is followed by an unemphatic pronoun object, e.g. **ó fó ó** 'he washed it', **ó je é** 'he ate it'.

*Before a noun beginning with a consonant, of course, it must always be so, e.g. **ó ra kòkó** 'he bought cocoa'.

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(b) When a noun object precedes the verb, e.g. **èran ni mo je**, **èran ni mo rà** 'it was meat I ate/bought', **èmu ti nwón mu**, **èmu ti nwón tà** 'the palm-wine which they drank/sold'.

VOCABULARY

àwòrán , picture	pé , to be complete; to be profitable
òmòdé , child	méjì , two
òkùnrin , man	métá , three
obìnrin , woman	mérin , four
àná , láná , yesterday	léjà , letter
rí...rà , to find to buy	isé , work
orín , song	àti , and
àbí , or	kó , to write; to sing

EXERCISE 5

Translate into English: **kíl'o rí nínú àwòrán yí? mo r'ómòdé kán; mo r'igi òpé kán; mo r'òkùnrin kán àt'obìnrin méjì; mo r'ágútarí métá àt'ewúré mérin; éwo ni nwón fún e? àpótí wó ni nwón gbé wá? mo r'òkán rà l'ójà láná; mo r'émú púpò rà fún wón; asó yén (k)ò nípón tó; àwòrán yén (k)ò wù mí rárá; asó kán şoso l'ó wò; lyén (k)ò bá mi lára mu; tal'ó lè ràn wá l'owó? isé yí le púpò; isé wó l'ę se láná? ówó yí (k)ò pé; òmòdé yí (k)ò lè se é; taní fún e l'owó yí? orín wó ni nwón kó? a kó léjà méjì; òbó ni mo rí lórí igi yén àbí éiyé ní? fàdákà l'èyí àbí wúrà ní? taní dà omi yí nù?**

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

6

STILL MORE ABOUT TONES QUESTION WORDS (2)

If we compare the two sentences *ejá'pò l'ójà lóní* 'fish is plentiful in the market today' and *ejá (k)ò pò l'ójà lóní* 'fish is not plentiful etc.' we shall hear in the first, but not in the second, a high tone on the last syllable of *ejá*. So too, comparing *ögèdè'wón lóní* 'bananas are scarce today' with *ögèdè (k)ò wón lóní* 'bananas are not scarce today' we hear in the first sentence, but not in the second, a rise in tone from low to high on the last syllable of *ögèdè*. But in *ilá pò lóní* and *ilá (k)ò pò lóní* we hear no difference—the second syllable of *ilá* 'okro' has a basic high tone. These added high tones are not shewn in the ordinary orthography. We shall here adopt the special device of writing a high tone mark after the syllable on which the high tone is heard, e.g. *ejá'pò*, *ögèdè'wón*.

When the subject noun is qualified in any way, then it is the final syllable of the last qualifying word which is modified in this way, i.e. the syllable which immediately precedes the verb. Examples of this are *aṣò yén'nípòn* 'that cloth is thick', *aṣò funfun wón* 'white cloth is expensive'. But if we put the negative *kò* in front of the verb the modification does not take place, e.g. *aṣò yén (k)ò nípòn*. We can in fact make a simple rule that a high tone is added to the final syllable of the subject wherever it is grammatically possible to put the pronoun *ó**. We say *ó wón*, *ó pò* but, as we have seen, we cannot use this pronoun in front of *kò*; for 'it is not expensive, it is not plentiful' we say simply *kò wón*, *kò pò* and in accordance with our rule the modification does not take place in front of *kò*. Similarly, *ó* cannot be placed in front of *ni* 'it is/was' and *kò* 'it is/ was not'—these words need to be described in Lesson II.

*This high tone, however, is not often audible before the *í* prefix described in Lesson II.

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preceded by the *emphatic* pronouns—and again in accordance with our rule the modification is absent.

We find that in this situation again emphatic pronouns behave as nouns. We say *èmí'rí i* 'I (at any rate) saw it' but *èmí (k)ò rí i* 'I (at any rate) did not see it' and *èmí ni* 'it was me'.

When a mid tone is modified in this way the result is indistinguishable from a high tone when the preceding syllable has low or mid tone, but a glide from mid to high is heard if the preceding syllable has high tone. For example, *ejá'wón* sounds as *ejá wón* and *èmí'rí i* sounds as *èmí rí i*, but *òkúta'le* does *not* sound as *òkúta le*. A very interesting point in connection with this difference is that if through elision a high tone is thrown onto a syllable which was originally *mid*, then the glide from mid to high is clearly heard, e.g. in *ó l'ejá'wón* 'he says fish is dear' the tone on *-ja* is heard as mid rising to high. This variation according to whether or not a high tone precedes may be compared with the similar variation in mid tone verbs followed by the third person singular unemphatic pronoun noted on p. 20.

In slow, careful speech the upward glide from low to high heard in such a sentence as *ögèdè'wón* can be clearly distinguished, as starting from a relatively lower point, from the upward glides of *èkò'wón* 'pap is dear' and *èlùbò'wón* 'yam-flour is dear', but in quicker speech the distinction is not maintained. This ties up with what we learnt about the tones of verbs with a third person singular pronoun (p. 21).

YES AND NO QUESTIONS

Questions of this sort are sometimes expressed in Yoruba merely by raising the general pitch of the voice; this, combined with the obviously expectant attitude of the speaker, is enough to shew that a question is being asked. More usually, however, special words are used, placed at the beginning or end of the sentence. There is no difference in the order of words between a question and

a statement, but the pitch of the voice is usually rather higher.

1. The word *sé* at the beginning of a sentence usually shews that the speaker is asking for confirmation of an idea he already has in his mind; he thinks he knows what the answer is going to be. This idea is often expressed merely by intonation in English.

ṣ'ó dára? (*sé ó dára*), it's nice, I think?

(The speaker is expecting some such answer as *ó dára púpó* 'it is very nice'.)

ṣé kò dára? it's not nice then?

(The speaker has perhaps seen some expression of disapproval and is expecting some such answer as *kò dára rará* 'it's not nice at all'.)

Agreement with the suggestion contained in this sort of question, whether positive or negative, is most simply made by answering *en*. It is important to notice here the difference between Yoruba and English. In English we express agreement with 'yes' in answer to a positive question but with 'no' in answer to a negative question, e.g. 'yes, it's very nice'; 'no, it's not nice at all'. Yoruba says *en*, *ó dára púpó*; *en*, *kò dára rará*. As in English, it is rather abrupt merely to express agreement and leave it at that; as in the examples given above, an appropriate sentence is usually added; in fact agreement is often expressed by means of the sentence alone, e.g. *ṣ'ó dára?* *béení* (*béni*) 'it is so' (*bé* 'so' is here written as one word with *ni*). This, however, is more generally used to express agreement with a statement somebody has made.

Disagreement is most simply expressed by saying *én-én*, to which an appropriate sentence is usually added, e.g. *ṣ'ó dùn?* *én-én*, *kò dùn rará*. Often the appropriate sentence is used without a preceding *én-én*. The actual what; a commonly heard form might be better shewn by writing '*m-m*', i.e. two glottal stops pronounced with the

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lips closed. Other expressions of disagreement are *ó ti* or *ó tì o* and *béékó*. The latter means 'it is not so' and is generally used to disagree with a statement, while *ó ti* could be translated literally as 'it fails'. The addition of *o*, as we shall see later, makes it more exclamatory.

The word *sé* usually elides its vowel where possible, e.g. *s'ogèdè'pò lóní* 'I hope bananas are plentiful today?'. (For the tone of *s'ó* see p. 30.) With *ó* 'he/she/it' it produces *ṣ'ó*, while with *o* 'you' we get *só o*, actually written *ṣ'ō*, and even *ṣ'o*. Similarly with *a* and *é* we get *ṣ'ā*, *ṣ'a* and *ṣ'ē*, *ṣ'ē*.

2. Doubtful questions are expressed by putting *njé* at the beginning of the sentence or *bí* at the end, e.g. *njé isú'pò lóní?* or *isú'pò lóní bí?*, the difference being purely dialectal. The speaker half expects to be contradicted, a nuance which English again tends to convey by intonation. When the form of the question is negative there is usually a strong suggestion that the answer will be positive, cp. in English, 'am I not right? yes, you are right'.

njé elides its vowel in much the same way as *sé*. *njé ó* gives *nj'ó* while *njé o* gives *nj'oo* (*nj'ō*), with level mid tones on *j'oo* because of the preceding low tone, cp. the verb and pronoun tones on p. 20.

3. If the questioner has an open mind the two alternatives are posed, e.g. *ó tóbí ábí kò tóbí?* 'is it big or not?'. Note that in Yoruba the second alternative always forms a complete sentence, though it need not contain a full repetition, e.g. *ó wá nínú ápótí ábí békó?* 'is it in the box or it is not so?'.

Not infrequently the first alternative is suppressed and *ábí* is used to introduce a question which suggests an after-thought, e.g. *áb'ó wúwo jù?* 'or is it too heavy?', *ábí kò lè kà á?* 'or cannot he read it?'. *ábí*

*élides with following words in the same way as *njé*, *ábí ó* giving *ab'ó* and *ábí o* giving *ab'oo* (*ab'ō*), e.g. *ó tán ab'ó kù?* 'is it finished or does it remain?' = 'have you said all you want to say or not?', *o fé ab'ó (k)ò fé?* 'do you want (it) or not?'.*

VOCABULARY

òrò, words, talk, matter, affair	igò, bottle
tésàn, station	òba, king, crowned ruler
jinnà, to be far	òmọ, child
jinnà sì, to be far from (Yoruba 'to')	òtí, liquor
erù, load	ilú, town, territory, country
òrombó, orange	òyinbó, white man
ghágudá, cassava	àgbádo, maize
igbà, time	tutù, to be fresh, cold, damp
ajá, dog	tútú, fresh, etc.
gbóná, to be hot	rorò, to be fierce
sísi, 6d	dáadáa, well, to a high degree, properly
rí, formerly	maa, expresses intention

EXERCISE 6

Translate into English: níjé òrò yí yà nyín l'énú? sé àpótí yí kò wúwo jù? níjé e lè wá lóní? s'ó lágbára dáadáa? o lè yá mi ní sísi bí? tésàn Ibádán'tóbi púpó; Ibádán'jinnà dié sí Òsogbo; Òsogbo kò tóbí tó Ibádán; ní igbà kan rí òba kán'wá, ó bí òmọ métá; igò òtí métá'pójù; ògèdè'wón púpó ní ilú òyinbó; mo maa rà àgbádo áti ògèdè; ní'ajá yí rorò? ní'omí yí gbóná tó? àbí owó yí kò tó? sé nwón lè kà á dáadáa? s'è maa ràn mí l'òwó? àgbádo tutù'dún púpó; ògèdè l'o maa rà l'òjá àbí òrombó ni? nwón fún è àbí nwón kò fún è? ó ní gbágudá l'òun'maa rà; àwá'lè kó ó.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

7

NOUNS

We have made frequent use of nouns to illustrate the rules of tone change and elision; it is now time to deal with them more systematically and in greater detail.

Nouns are always words of two or more syllables and they generally begin with a vowel, e.g. ejá 'fish', ògèdè 'banana' though a certain number begin with a consonant, e.g. báta 'pair of shoes', kókóró 'key'. The initial vowel syllable may have mid or low tone but never high tone. The other syllables may be on any of the three tones, so that even in nouns of two syllables quite a variety of patterns is possible. Examples of pairs of disyllabic nouns differentiated by tone are:

èkó, gruel	ókó, husband
èkó, education	ókó, hoe
òbè, stew	ònà, decoration
òbè, knife	òna, road
òpó, post	àgbón, coconut
òpó, widow	agbón, wasp

Many nouns of three syllables are found in two forms—a full form and a reduced form in which the middle syllable loses its consonant and has its vowel assimilated to that of the preceding syllable. This produces a long vowel which has the tones of the two syllables of the full form, e.g. òtító, óótó 'truth'; agogo, aago 'clock, watch'; egungun, eegun 'bone'; egungun, eégún 'masquerader'; àdirò, àárò 'hearth'; átitàn, ààtàn 'refuse heap'. The use of these forms is to some extent a matter of dialect but, in general, the reduced forms are most commonly used in the spoken language, while the full forms often occur in books. There are, however, some nouns of which only reduced forms are in common use, even in books, e.g.

òògùn 'medicine', òòrùn 'smell'. Notice that some nouns are distinguished by the difference between long and short vowels, e.g. ààlà 'boundary', àlà 'variety of white cloth'; ààyè 'life', àyè 'chance, opportunity'; ààjá 'fairy, whirlwind', àjá 'ceiling'. Long vowels are not confined to the first syllable; they can occur also in other positions, e.g. ibòòji 'shade', málùù 'ox'.

3. Yoruba nouns are like the English noun 'sheep' in having no separate forms to distinguish singular from plural. Where it is necessary to shew plurality the emphatic pronoun àwọn 'they' is placed in front of the noun, e.g. àwọn ọkùnrin 'the men', but in many situations where English uses a plural Yoruba does not use àwọn, though in written Yoruba there is a tendency to follow English idioms. Yoruba also has no words which correspond closely with the English articles 'the, a/an', though kán 'one' and náá 'that (mentioned)' cover some of their meanings. The main differences between Yoruba and English usage on these points are brought out in the following sections.

(a) English makes a fundamental difference between nouns denoting liquids, substances and materials on the one hand and nouns denoting countable things on the other. This difference is seen in the sentence 'I want to buy a knife, some dusters, some milk, some flour and some boot-polish'. With countable things like knives and dusters English cannot avoid giving some information as to the number of the objects in question we are going to buy—we must at least state whether it is one or more than one of them that we want. With the milk, flour and boot-polish we can, if we wish to, give this information by talking about bottles, pounds and tins, but we are not forced to give this information as in the case of the knife and dusters. Yoruba here makes no distinction; *everything* is treated as in English we treat a substance. For example, in answer to kil'o maa rà? 'what are you going to buy?' I could reply mo maa rà wàrà, élùbó áti ọbẹ 'I am going to buy milk, yam-flour and knife', i.e. I state

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the sort of things I want to buy but I give no information as to the quantity or number I want of any of them.

The same difference between the two languages is seen in answers to the questions kin'yí? 'what is this?' and kin'iwónyí? 'what are these?'. In English we would say 'it is meat, it is an ant, they are ants' where in Yoruba we would say èran ni, èèrà ni, èèrà ni. The Yoruba answer restricts itself to giving information about the nature of the object in question—very logically, since the questions themselves shew that the questioner is fully aware of the number of objects he is enquiring about. Yoruba *can* make a distinction between èèrà ni 'it is an ant' and èèrà ni wón 'they are ants', but this distinction would not necessarily be made in answering the questions given.

(b) We make a distinction in English between 'she is washing dishes' and 'she is washing the dishes'; we use the article 'the' with both singular and plural when we are thinking of a particular individual or object or set of individuals or objects that we can identify. We speak of 'the king', 'the doctor', 'the fire' (i.e. one in a particular room), 'the blankets' (i.e. those on a particular bed). Yoruba does not make this distinction; fò àwò means both 'to wash dishes' and also 'to wash the dishes', while 'the king, the doctor' are just ọba, dòkítà. But Yoruba sometimes makes a distinction which we do not make in English; whereas 'I washed the dishes' is mo fò àwò, 'I saw the chiefs' is mo rí àwòn ijòyé. The distinction is that the dishes are thought of collectively while the chiefs are thought of as a group of individuals. As a rough generalisation we can say that àwòn is used more frequently with nouns denoting human beings than with other nouns but there is no fixed rule about this. For example, in ó pa ọmọ wọn áti iyàwó wọn 'he killed their children and wives' we have 'children' and 'wives' treated as collectives without àwòn, while 'where are my books?' can be translated iwé mi dà? or àwòn iwé mi dà? according to the way we think of 'books'. àwòn iwé mi means 'my (various) books'.

(c) When a noun is used in conjunction with a word denoting number or quantity, if àwòn is absent the English

translation will be indefinite, e.g. **mo rí ọkùnrin méjì** 'I saw two men', **mo rí ọpòlòpò ènià** 'I saw a lot of people/many people', **mo rí orisiriṣi ñkan** 'I saw a variety/various things'. If **àwọn** is used the translation will be definite, e.g. **àwọn ọkùnrin méjì náà** 'the two men (mentioned)', **àwọn ọkùnrin métà yí** 'these three men', **àwọn ọmòdé mérin tí ó dé** 'the four children who arrived', **ọpòlòpò àwọn ènià** 'a lot of the people'.

In these examples with numerals we find that **àwọn** is used when the noun is followed by a qualifying **náà**, **yí** or relative clause. This will, in fact, be so even if no numeral is present, e.g. **àwọn ọmòdé náà** 'the children (mentioned)', **àwọn obinrin yí** 'these women', **àwọn àgùtàn tí ó kù** 'the sheep which remain'. In other words, nouns qualified in this way are not treated as collectives.

(d) In making a general statement in English we can use either the singular or plural, e.g. 'a goat is very stupid, goats are very stupid'. In Yoruba we use the bare noun, e.g. **ewúré gò púpò**. Here again the bare noun is used collectively.

(e) **kán** 'one' is used when an indication of number is an important part of the information to be conveyed, e.g. **mo rí ọkùnrin kán lódè** 'I see a man outside'. Note the difference between the situation here and the one exemplified in the second paragraph of (a); it is important here to state not only the nature of the object but also its number. Another example is **nígbákán (ní iga** kan) **ọba kán'wà** 'once upon a time (at one time) there was a (certain) king'.

Notes:

(1) You will have noticed that 'these' in the examples was **iwonyí** when used independently but **àwọn . . . yí** when used with a noun. This difference will be explained later (p. 195). Further details will also be given of the use of **àwọn**, **kán** and **náà**.

(2) Relative clauses (which are explained in detail later, p. 87) are introduced by the word **tí**. If this is the subject

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of the clause, as in **àwọn ọmòdé tí ó dé** 'the children who arrived', it is often followed by the pronoun **ó** 'he/she/it'.

VOCABULARY

wó, to collapse	àkàshù, portion of porridge
dí, to block up	àgbónrín, antelope
gún, to climb, ride, mount	ewé, leaf
kojá, to pass	kó, to build, construct
odé, hunter	abà, farm-hut
ékùn, leopard	férè, flute, whistle
dáradára (dáadáa), fine, good	ihò, hole
alárabarà, of many colours	ṣòòbù, shop
ńlá, big, important	irú, sort
ipàdé, meeting	erankó, animal
	mélò, how many?
	iwájú, front

EXERCISE 7

Translate into English: igi kán'wó dí ọnà oko láná; a kò lè gún ú kojá; odé tó pa ekún láná n'iyí; mo rí aṣo dáadáa kán l'ójà; àwọn ẹégún wò aṣo alárabarà; kíl'àwọn obinrin yí maa rà? nwón maa rà ata áti élùbò; irú erankó wó n'iyí? àgbónrín ni; ọkó Ádùké rà ọkó kán l'ówó Ojó; ọnà Ibàdàn dà? oun n'iyí; ọnà ara aṣo yí dára púpò; ewé ni nwón fi kó àwọn abà yí; mo rí férè kan rà ní ṣòòbù kan lóní; férè náá'gún, ó ní ihò mérin; kíl'o tún rí ninú àwòrán yí? mo rí màlùù ńlá kán áti àgùtàn kékéré méjì; àwọn ọba'sé ipàdé ńlá kán ní Ibàdàn; sé mo lè rà ọbe níbi? àkàshù ékò mélò l'àwọn ọmò ilé-ékò (ilé-iwé) je? ọkó melò l'ókó obinrin yí maa rà? mo rí ọkùnrin métà n'iwájú ilé; kíl'àwọn ọkùnrin náá'maa şe?

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

8

NOUN COMBINATIONS POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Combinations of two or more nouns are widely used in Yoruba to express a great variety of relationships.

(a) Possession:

filà Akàndé, Akande's cap
oko Àiná, Aina's farm

(b) Space:

inú ápóti, the inside of the box
ori igi, the top of the tree

(c) Time:

alé òní, evening of today, this evening
oúnjé àárò, morning food

(d) Use:

ápóti aṣq, box for clothes, clothes box
iwé èri, paper for testimony, testimonial

(e) Material:

ṣòkòtò árán, trousers of velvet
ọbè ata, pepper stew

We can combine some of the above examples to form longer groups, e.g. *inú ápóti aṣq*, 'the inside of the clothes box', *oúnjé alé òní*, 'this evening's food'. Notice that Yoruba expresses all these different relationships by the same simple order of words. Because of this the same combination of words can sometimes have different meanings in different contexts, e.g. *òrò Ojò* can mean 'Ojo's words' or 'business/matter about Ojo'. Where the second noun is descriptive, e.g. *iwé èri*, there may actually be slight differences of stress which distinguish such combinations in speech from possessive groups such as *iwé Ojò*. There is also in such combinations a tendency to run

NOUN COMBINATIONS

the two words together, e.g. *ilé iwé* 'school' (lit. 'home of books') is pronounced *iléewé*.

If the second noun (or any following noun) in a group begins with a consonant the final vowel of the preceding noun is modified. This is given an extra unit of length, i.e. a short vowel becomes long and a vowel already long becomes still longer. This extra unit (which is not shewn in the normal spelling) is given a mid tone whatever may be the tone preceding it.

filà Túndé, 'Tunde's cap', is pronounced *filà Túndé*
omò Táiwò, 'Taiwo's child', is pronounced *omò Táiwò*
ilé Bisi, 'Bisi's house', is pronounced *iléé Bisi*
málúù Tòkunbò, 'Tokunbo's ox', is pronounced
málúùù Tòkunbò

The low to mid long vowel of words like *filà* in this situation may also be heard as a long level mid tone, e.g. *filaà Túndé*. Note that the words *tani* 'who?' and *kini* 'what?' also have this effect, e.g. *bàtà tan'iyí?* 'whose pair of shoes is this?' (*bàtaa*) and *àwòràn kin'iyí?* 'picture of what is this/what is this a picture of?' (*àwòràn* becoming *àwòràn*) because of the low tone on *-wò*, as elsewhere, cf. p. 20).

Where in English we use a genitive form independently, as in e.g. 'John's is no good', Yoruba puts a little word *ti* in front of the noun, e.g. *ti Ojò (k)ò dára*. This *ti* is normally elided when possible, so that our example would be pronounced *t'òjò*. Yoruba frequently uses a noun preceded by *ti* where English uses such phrases as 'matter of, business of', e.g. *t'òjò yí sú mi* 'this business about Ojo has tired me/I am tired of this business about Ojo'. It occurs in the common phrase *t'òótí?* 'really?', more literally 'matter of truth?'

If this *ti* form is used after another noun (in which case its consonant initial will modify the final vowel of that noun in the way already described) the effect is equivalent to that of a stressed genitive in English, e.g. *filà t'òjò n'iyí* 'this is Ojo's cap', i.e. not Aina's or some

other person's, while *filà Òjó n'iýí* means 'this is Ojo's cap/here is Ojo's cap' without any extra stress on 'Ojo'.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The unemphatic forms are:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
(-) <i>mi</i> , <i>mi</i> , my	(-) <i>wa</i> , our
(-) <i>rè</i> , <i>è</i> , your	(-) <i>nyín</i> , your
(-) <i>rè</i> , (-) <i>è</i> , his/her/its	(-) <i>won</i> , their

When carefully pronounced one hears before all these pronouns a lengthening (not written) of the final vowel of the preceding word. Before *mi* and *rè* 'your', the added element has a low tone and before the other forms a mid tone. In the usual colloquial pronunciation *rè* and *rè* lose their *r*; the extension of the vowel is not heard before *è* but its flat mid tone bears witness to an original low tone element in front of it, as does also the flat tone of *mi*.

qmo mi dà? (*qmo* *mi*, *qmo* *mi*), where is my child?
sé ilé rè n'iýí? (*ilé* *rè*, *ilé* *è*), is this your house?
èwù rè dà? (*èwù* *rè*, *èwù* *è*), where is his gown?
ilé wa kò tóbí (*ilé* *wa*), our house is not large
ilú nyín jínnà (*ilú*=*iluu* *nyín*), your town is far
òrò won kò dógba (*òrò* *won*), their words are not equal, consistent

When a possessive pronoun, being the last word of a subject group (as described on p. 34), has a high tone added to it, it is usually very difficult for a learner to hear the difference between *è* and *è*, the distinction being now between mid rising to high or high and low rising to high. It is helpful in this situation to pay special attention to differences which can be heard on the preceding syllable, i.e. the final syllable of the noun.

filà è'sónù, your cap is lost
filà è'sónù (*filaa*), his cap is lost

NOUN COMBINATIONS

<i>ilé è'jínnà</i> , your house is far
<i>ilé è'jínnà</i> (<i>ilée</i>), his house is far
<i>oko è'kún</i> , your farm is full (of weeds)
<i>oko è'kún</i> (<i>okoo</i>), his farm is full (of weeds)

As with nouns, there is a *ti* form which can be used independently or after a noun to shew emphasis. The *ti* is written as one word with the pronoun.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>témi</i> , mine	<i>tiwa</i> , ours
<i>tirè</i> , <i>tie</i> , yours	<i>tinyín</i> , yours
<i>tirè</i> , <i>tiè</i> , his/hers/its	<i>tiwon</i> , theirs

Note that the first syllable of these forms has in each case the tone of the extension before the corresponding unemphatic forms—low tone in the first two persons of the singular, but otherwise mid tone.

témi n'iýí àbí tirè ni? is this mine or yours?
tiwa dà? where is ours?

oko tiwon kò tóbí tó tiwa, their farm is not as big as ours (is not big reach ours)
tirè'dára púpò, hers is very nice

We have already seen that emphatic pronouns are really a special sort of noun, so it is not surprising to find that they can be used as possessives just like any other noun.

òrò iwo àti Àkàndé, the matter of you and Akande
èbi èmi nikànṣo ni, it is the fault of me alone

When *ti* is used with an emphatic pronoun it shews greater emphasis than the *ti* form of the corresponding unemphatic pronoun. This difference tends to be shewn by a change of stress in English.

tiwa náá'dára púpò, ours is very nice too
t'awa náá'dára pupò, ours too is very nice

(For *náá* with the meaning 'too' see p. 197.) Note that in the 1st pers. sing. this distinction cannot be made.

VOCABULARY

òdù, reverse side	apá, arm; part, direction
kejì, second, other	isálè, bottom part
títi, street	àárin, centre, middle
dötí, to be dirty	iròhin, news
òfi, loom	ìṣàasùn, cooking pot
yàtò, to be different (sí ‘to’)	kóbódù, cupboard
iwé ọkò, ticket	èrò, people (collective); èrò ọkò ‘passengers’, èrò ọnà ‘passers-by’
féràn, to like	nígbáwo, when? (ní igbà wo)
àkárà, fried bean-cake	erèé, variety of bean
sókalè, to put down, get down	ítan, story
aiyé, world	iyá, mother
igbésí aiyé, life	bábá, Father
baba, father, senior person	

EXERCISE 8

Translate into English: iwé èrí rẹ dà? dùn n'iyí; ilé(e) Túndé n'iyen l'ódi kejì(i) tití; inú ápótí aṣo yí dötí púpò; nígbáwo l'o maa rà iwé ọkò? aṣo Ádùké kò dárá tó témí; ti Bisí'wù mí púpò; ti bábá mí'tobi dádáa; níjé e féràn àkárà erèé? díè nínú àwọn èrò ọkò'sókalè ní Ondó; a lè kà itán igbésí aiyé rẹ nínú iwé iròhin yí; àwórán ara ògiri yí kò wù mí rárá; sé apá isálè ilé náà l'o maa gbé? éwù mi'wà l'ápá òkè kóbódù; ilé ódi kejì tití yéng'a púpò; àárin lgbooro ilú ní mo maa gbé nísisiyi; òfi obinrin'yatò sí t'okùnrin; oko bábá wa'jinnà púpò sí tinyin; iyá mi l'o rà aṣo yí fún mi; apá kejì itán yí dùn púpò.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

9

YORUBA GREETINGS AND PROVERBS

The Yoruba are a very punctilious people and attach great importance to the proper use of greeting formulas, of which they have a great many. Apart from enquiries after the health of various members of the family and references to the time of day, their greetings always make some mention of the special circumstances in which the person addressed is found. The commonest type of greeting is of the form ‘you are greeted for morning, for work, for trouble, for enjoyment etc.’. These greetings always have two forms—a singular, familiar form and a plural, polite form which is also to be used in speaking to more than one person. In the familiar form the pronoun o ‘you’ is usually omitted but in the polite, plural form the pronoun e ‘you’ is always present. A typical pair are kú isé, e kú isé ‘you are greeted for work’; it will be seen that kú ‘be greeted’ is followed directly by the appropriate noun. This kú is irregular as a verb because there is no elision with a following noun; instead of that, in common greetings either the vowel of kú or the vowel of the noun is assimilated. The rule is that a following i- is assimilated to the -u, otherwise -u is assimilated to the following vowel. Thus kú isé is heard as kúusé, while kú àbò ‘greetings on coming, welcome’ is heard as káàbò. Where an elision is not made, then the greeting is more formal, so that whereas káàbò is equivalent (sometimes) to not much more than a perfunctory ‘how do you do?’, kú àbò is equal to ‘I am very glad to see you’. The plural will, of course, be substituted for the singular according to circumstances.

Just as in English we raise the voice in a greeting when we want to call the attention of the person concerned so

too in Yoruba, but in addition to that a little word *ò* is added at the end of the greeting. For example, in calling out a greeting as we pass to people working at the side of the road we must say *è kú isé ò!* Raising the voice by itself is not enough; the final *ò* is the signal to the people working that they are being addressed. (We shall see in the following chapter that this *ò* is not confined to greetings; it occurs in all sorts of situations where we would tend to raise the voice in English.)

A greeting which contains *kú* is always acknowledged in the first place with a long drawn out *o* (rising from low to mid tone), after which we often add some appropriate remark which may itself be a greeting of the same form, in fact a repetition of the original greeting, e.g. *è kárò!* (*kááárò* from *kú áárò*) 'good morning!' is often answered by *ò*, *è kárò*. It will be noticed that the signal *ò* is not necessary in the answer.

We now give a list of the commoner greetings and enquiries. As these are given in the polite (plural) form you must remember to make the necessary adjustments for the familiar form—drop the *è* before *kú* and change *è* to *o* in the enquiries. Remember too to add *ò* at the end if you want to call somebody's attention.

è kárò, good morning

Besides the form *áárò* (*áwúrò*) used in greetings, there is another form *òórò* (*òwúrò*) 'morning' which is a dialectal variant frequently found in contexts other than greetings.

è k'ásán (*kú ásán*), good day, good afternoon

Apart from greetings, the form *òsán* is generally used. This word originally meant the main part of the day when the sun was well up and it is still used in certain phrases to mean 'day' in contrast with 'night'. Yorubas who speak English—and they are many—tend to use it in the greeting as equivalent to English 'afternoon'.

è kú'ròlè (*kú iròlè*), greetings for early evening

This is said from the time that the sun is beginning to set until about nightfall.

è k'álé (*kú alé*), greetings for late evening
ò d'árò (*ò di áárò*), good night

This greeting might be translated literally 'it becomes/will be morning (that we shall see each other again)'. Various phrases beginning with *ò di* are used in 'farewell' situations, e.g. *ò d'òla* 'until tomorrow', *ò d'igbà* 'until (some other) time'. As a reply to *ò d'árò* one says, *ò*, *ò d'árò*, adding sometimes *kí Olórun só wa ò!* 'may God preserve us'. (For *kí* introducing a wish see p. 74.)

è kú isé, greetings for work

This may be said either when one comes on people working or as equivalent to 'well done, you have done a good job' on the completion of a task.

è k'ábø (*kú ábø*), greetings on arrival

This can be equivalent to 'glad to see you' or 'glad to see you back'. If you are being welcomed to a house you can reply *ò*, *è kú ilé* 'greetings to the household'. In returning to your own house this latter can be used to announce your arrival, in which case the *reply* will be *è k'ábø*.

è kú ijókò, greetings for being seated

This is said on entering a room where a party or meeting is to be held and finding some people already seated. *Ijókò* is a noun derived from the verb *jókò* 'to sit down, be seated'.

è kú idúró, greetings for standing

This may be said when passing people who are standing about waiting for something or other.

è kú ináwó, greetings for spending money

This may be said by the recipient of a present, however small, or by a guest to the host at a party or, in fact,

on any occasion when money has been spent. Where the expenditure has been small one may reply *kò tó nkánkan* 'it does not amount to anything', while a host at a party may say *è kú àbáṣe* 'greetings for taking part', i.e. 'thank you for coming along'. *ináwó* is derived from *ná owó* 'to spend money', while *àbáṣe* is derived from *bá* 'to join with' and *ṣe* 'to do'.

è kú irójú, greetings for carrying on under difficulties

This is said to a person who has suffered bereavement or loss. The verb *rójú* has the idea of doing something though one has no joy in doing it.

è kú àṣéhíndè, greetings on death of old person

This greeting is bound up with the old Yoruba belief that an old member of a family who died would soon be reincarnated in a new baby (see the chapter on Yoruba names, p. 216.) It means something like 'greetings for living on in expectation'. *èhín* is 'back, behind' and *ṣéhín* (*ṣe èhín*) means 'to live on after'. *dè* is a verb meaning 'to await'.

ENQUIRIES

There are two points to note in connection with enquiries after health. One is that in some cases the forms of enquiry differ somewhat in different parts of the country, though of course it does not matter if a foreigner does not happen to use the local form. The other is that whereas in English we thank a person for making an enquiry, in Yoruba one gives thanks to God for being well. This is the meaning of the commonly heard phrase *a dúpé* 'we give thanks'—'we' here is used in a general sense equivalent to 'one'. The Yoruba for 'thank you' is quite different, being *o/è* *ṣe* *é* or *o/è* *ṣeun*, literally 'you have done it' or 'you have done something' (*ṣe ohun*). This is not used in answer to enquiries.

ṣ'áláfià l'a jí? it is in health we have woken?
a à jjire bí? (*jí rere*), have we not woken well?

The word *àláfià*, which is derived from Arabic, means 'health of body and mind, wellbeing'. The answer to either enquiry is a *dúpé*.

àwọn ọmọdé (*kò*) *jí bí?* have not the children woken?

The answer will be *nwón jí*, a *dúpé* 'they have woken, thanks be to God'.

Later on in the day the enquiry will be simply *ṣ'áláfià ni?* or *ṣé dáadáa ni?* answered by a *dúpé* or by this phrase tacked on to *àláfià ni*, *dáadáa ni* as the case may be. Enquiries may then be made about various members of the family, as *bábá nkó?* *iyá nkó?* *iyàwó nkó?* 'what about father, mother, wife?'. The answer may be *ó wà* or *ó mbé*. *wà* and *mbé* are dialectal variants meaning 'to exist', so the answer means in effect that the people enquired after are quite well. After *àwọn ọmọdé nkó?* *àwọn iyàwó nkó?* 'how about the children, the wives?' the answer will of course have a plural pronoun—*nwón wà*, *nwón mbé*.

To someone arriving from a journey one may say *ṣ'áláfià l'è dé?*, it is in health you have arrived?
dáadáa k'è dé bí? (*kó è*), have you not arrived well? (the *kó* here is the negative of *ni* 'it is').

Two other common phrases, of a rather different type, are *ágò, onilé ò?* 'may I come in?' and *níbo l'ò dà báyì?* 'where are you off to?'. The answer to the first query, which may be translated 'permission to enter, householder?', is *ágò yà o* 'permission to enter is given'. The second query means literally something like 'where will it be/does it become so?', *dà* being the form which *di* (as in *ò di àárò*) takes when it is not followed directly by a noun. The answer might be *mo nkó s'òjù ni* 'I am going to the market (it is)'. The form of the verb is explained later on p. 60.

To finish off this section on enquiries, there is the idiomatic *kò tó ijó métà?* 'it does not amount to three days?', used on meeting a friend whom one has not seen for some days—the 'three' here is not to be taken literally. To this there is a fixed answer, *ijó kán pèlú* 'one day as well'.

PROVERBS

The Yoruba have a great store of proverbs which, strictly speaking, should only be quoted by elders since it requires a great deal of experience to know which proverb is applicable in any particular situation. If a younger person quotes a proverb in the presence of an elder, he gets round this difficulty by pretending that what he has said resembles a proverb but is not really one! The elder accepts the apology with a prayer that the speaker will live long enough to quote more.

We have not yet covered enough grammar to deal with proverbs at this point, but a number of them are given in the later Exercises. It will be enough here to observe that, like English proverbs, they can be divided into two types: those that make straightforward statements about life, e.g. 'pride comes before a fall', and those that generalise from a particular type of experience, e.g. 'you can take a horse to the water but you cannot make him drink'.

10

EXCLAMATIONS

COMMANDS AND PROHIBITIONS

We saw in the last chapter that a little word *ò*, added at the end of a greeting, has the function of calling the attention of the person to whom the greeting is addressed. This *ò* is, in fact, along with a general raising of the voice one of two devices which the language uses to produce an exclamatory effect with all sorts of utterances. The second device is to lengthen the final syllable. This extra length has low tone when the final syllable is high or mid and mid tone when the final syllable is low. The extra length is not shewn in the ordinary spelling, so one has to learn to add it on automatically before an exclamation mark when *o* is not used.

èmi kè! (*kè*), me indeed!
ó tóbi! (*tóbi*), it is big!
ó lè se é! (*éè*), he can do it!
béñi! (*béñi*), yes!

The difference in meaning between the two types of exclamation is conveyed in English, as so often, by differences of stress and intonation. The main point to remember is that without *ò* an exclamatory sentence gives an idea of the attitude of the speaker but does not so directly call the attention of the listener. For example, *ó ti dé ó!* 'he has come!' would be said in calling out to other people, a situation where in English we often cause the voice to rise at the end of the sentence, while corresponding to *ó ti dé!* we might have 'he's come!' with a sharp fall on the word 'come'.

Exclamatory sentences of both types often contain a word *mà* between the subject and the verb. This adds an emphasis often associated with surprise.

ó mà tóbi ó! how big it is!
 kò mà lè sé é! he can't do it!
 èmí'mà ní i ó! well, I saw it!
 é mà sé é ó! thank you very much!
 é mà kú isé ó! greetings, you have worked hard!
 Ojó mà ní! why, it's Ojo!

Notice that putting **mà** in between the subject and the verb does not affect the situation with regard to the addition of a high tone to the final syllable of the subject. If this happens without **mà** it happens with **mà** and vice-versa.

ejá'mà wón púpò lóní ó! fish is terribly dear today!
 ejá mà ní! why, it's fish!

COMMANDS

The simple stem of the verb is used in commands in which the completion of the action is envisaged. If no pronoun is put in front of the verb the command is addressed to a single person in a familiar way, as when speaking to a child or a servant. When speaking in a more polite way to a single person or when speaking to several people the pronoun **é** must be used.

wá, é wá, come
 wá níbí, é wá níbí, come here
 (níbí is pronounced níbí)
 fetísilè, é fetísilè, pay attention
 jù ú nù, throw it away
 é mú u wá, bring him in

If **máa/maa*** is put in front of the verb, the completion of the action is not in the speaker's mind. There are three possible meanings in English:

- starting to do something—*inceptive*
- carrying on doing something—*continuative*
- repeating an action an indefinite number of times—*iterative or habitual*.

* Some Yorubas say **máa** and others **maa**.

For example, **máa lò** can mean 'be going, go away somewhere else' (you are only interested in the person starting the action); 'carry on going' (e.g. said to a porter who shews signs of wanting to stop); 'repeat going' (e.g. in **máa lò kí i lójojuímò** 'go to greet him every day' contrasted with **lò kí i lòlá** 'go to greet him tomorrow').

In certain phrases **máa** conveys politeness. When your host has accompanied you, a parting guest, some yards on your way, you say to him **é máa padà níbí** 'be turning round here'. It would be very abrupt to say **é padà níbí** 'turn round here', cp. 'you had better be going now' in English, which is politer than 'you had better go now'. Similarly, if a person has been waiting to speak with you you say to him **máa bò** 'be coming now'. This situation is quite different from the one in which **wá níbí** is used—there the person addressed has no idea of coming to you until you call out to him.

PROHIBITIONS

These are expressed by putting **má** in front of the verb, e.g. **má rà á** 'don't buy it'. When **é** is used this is put in front of **má**, e.g. **é má kà á** 'don't read it'. This **má** is followed by modified high and mid tones, e.g. **má wá lòlá** 'don't come tomorrow', **má sì i** (pronounced **má sì i**, see p. 20) 'don't open it', **má lò** 'don't go'. With some Yoruba speakers one can actually hear on the short syllable **má** a sharp fall from high to low tone. Even if one cannot hear this one assumes it was there originally to account for the modified tones (which are automatic after the low tone at the end of the falling syllable). A low tone after **má** has the usual fall which is heard on a low tone following a high tone, e.g. **má bérù** 'don't be afraid'.

Learners must be very careful to distinguish between **má** and **máa/maa**, e.g. in **má lò** 'don't go' and **máa/maa lò** 'go away'. **má** and **máa** are occasionally used together, e.g. **má maa sé béké mó ó!** 'don't be acting (doing) so any more!'. This combination is not, however, frequent.

The verb following **má** often has a prefix **i-** which corresponds in meaning with English 'yet', e.g. **má ilø** 'don't go yet'. (Some Yorubas would write this **mái lø**.) In addition to the **i-** we sometimes find also a word **tí**, e.g. **má tí ilø** (which may be written **má tìlø**). This addition of **tí** is a dialectal variant which makes no difference to the meaning. It should be noticed that in English we sometimes say 'don't go' when we really mean 'don't go yet'; this cannot be done in Yoruba—it is quite incorrect to say **è má lø** when you really mean **è má ilø**.

Commands and especially prohibitions are often said in an exclamatory way in English, e.g. 'don't go yet!' and similarly in Yoruba we often find **ò** added, e.g. **è má ilø ò!**, **è dúró dè mí ò** 'wait for me!' **má gé e lulè o!** 'don't cut it down!'. Occasionally **má** is used with the exclamatory **má**, e.g. **má mà tún se bẹ́yé mó!** '(for heaven's sake) don't do so any more!'. The form with **ò** is naturally by far the commoner because in using commands and prohibitions we are trying to get a message across but, as the last example shews, situations can occur where the other type of exclamation is heard.

Instead of **má** one sometimes finds in books a form **máše**, with no difference in meaning, e.g. **máše rà á** 'don't buy it'. This is made up of **má** and the verb **se** 'to do', so that **máše rà á** is literally 'don't do buy it'.

VOCABULARY

ròra , to be gentle, gently	gélété , at ease
yárá , to be quick, quickly	iwòsàn , medical treatment
kalè , to be placed on ground	ilé iwòsàn , hospital
élegé , delicate, breakable	nígbàgbogbo , always, all the time
ná , first of all, for a moment	sunkún, sokún , to weep
nibí , (at) here	jó , to be together
ibi , here	kó . . . jó , to gather together
ibi , place	iná , light, fire

tan'ná (tán), to put on light	make happy
dá'ná , to make, light a fire	yàrá , room
mú . . . n'inú dùn , to	gbòdò , must

báyl, like this

EXERCISE 10

Translate into English: **è má kú ináwó ò!** **o má káábò ò!** **ògèdè má wón púpò ni ilú yí ò!** **kò má wúwo rárá!** **è ròra gbé e kalè nibí;** **è má mà wó ò!** **ohun élegé l'ò wá ninu rè** (**ní inú rè**); **máa fò ò dáadáa nígbàgbogbo;** **è dúró ná**, **è má tí ilø ò!** **è maa ràn áwọn òbi nyín l'òwó;** **è má sunkún mó;** **kó gbogbo rè jò s'ibi iná;** **má tí itan'ná ò!** **má ipé é wá ò!** **òrò yí má yá mí l'énu púpò o!** **iròhin yí má mí mi n'inú dùn púpò o!** **Táíwò l'ò má gbé e lò!** **má mà jé è ò!** **májéle ni!** **má maa jókò géleté báyl nígbàgbogbo ò!** **gbogbo nyín**, **è fetisilé dáadáa;** **è kò gbòdò dá'ná nibí ò!** **è yárá gbé e lò si ilé iwòsàn;** **má tí ipa'ná nínú yàrá kékí.**

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

11

THE N- FORM OF THE VERB

We commonly find in statements and questions verb forms which have **ń-*** prefixed to the stem of the verb. This has much the same force as the **máa** used in commands; it adds the idea of action in progress or of repeated, habitual action. We must, of course, continue to bear in mind that the time referred to may be either present or past according to the context.

kíl'o níse níslisiyl? what are you doing now?
kíl'o níse nígbánáá? what were you doing then/at that time?

mo nílo kí i lójoojúmō, I go to greet him every day
nígbátí mo wà l'Ekò, **mo nílo kí i lójoojúmō,** when I was at Lagos, I used to go to greet him every day

It is instructive to note that because this form has the two meanings, progressive and habitual, Yorubas who are learning English generally use the English progressive where they should use the habitual, e.g. 'we are having our lunch in the park when it is fine' instead of 'we have our lunch . . .'. We must be careful to avoid in Yoruba the opposite mistake of using the simple stem form of the verb to express the habitual. We say **mo kó létà sí i láñá** 'I wrote a letter to him yesterday' but **mo nkó létà sí i lósójósé** 'I write a letter to him weekly'.

We shall see later (p. 101) that some Yorubas use other forms to express the habitual idea, but the use of this **ń-** prefix is the commonest and simplest way of doing so. When it is felt necessary to stress the fact that the form is being used in the habitual sense the word **maa** is placed

* For the actual sounds represented by this **n-** refer back to what was said about homorganic nasals on p. 7. Before **b** it is written as **m**, e.g. **mo mbò** 'I am coming'.

THE N- FORM OF THE VERB

in front of the verb, e.g. **mo* maa nkà á lójoojúmō** 'I read it every day'. Note that most Yorubas who use this form say **maa**, not **máa**.

When the **ń-** prefix is used with a progressive sense the phrase **l'ówó** 'in hand' is often added after the verb to bring out the immediacy of the action.

nígbátí mo nkókò l'ówó, as I was in the act of sitting down

ó nkà á l'ówó, he is in the middle of reading it
nwón nkò l'ówó, they are in the middle of washing it

With verbs denoting actions which take place in the mouth **l'énú** 'in mouth' is sometimes used instead, e.g. **kíl'o nké l'énú?** 'what are you eating?'.

The **ń-** form of verbs whose simple form denotes a quality is used with various additions to convey the meaning that the quality is coming into being or is being intensified.

- (a) **ó nkóbi sí i,** it is getting bigger
ó nké sí i, it is getting harder

This **sí i**, which we can translate literally 'to it', occurs also in such phrases as **fún mi ní méjì sí i** 'give me two more', **lù ú l'éékán sí i** 'hit it once more', **bù diè sí i** 'add some to it/add some more'. The 'to it' in these expressions means 'to the state/number already existing'.

- (b) **ó nkóná bò,** it (e.g. water) is getting hot
ó nkutú lò, it (e.g. water) is getting cold
ó nké bò, it (e.g. tyre) is getting hard
ó nkú lò, he is dying
ó nkí bò, he is waking up/coming to

The verb **bò** 'come, approach' is added when the progression is thought of as towards a desired state while **lò** 'go' is added in the opposite situation, cp. in English, 'it is going cold'. The use of these words is not, however, essential as one may hear such expressions as **oúnjé yí nkutú!** 'this food is going cold!'.

* Many Yorubas pronounce the pronouns **mo**, **o**, **a**, **é**, on a *low* tone before this prefix.

A point of pronunciation not shewn in the spelling must be mentioned here. Some Yorubas would pronounce ó átutù lò as ó fítutùú lò, ó fíle bò as ó fíleé bò and ó ákú lò as ó fíkúú lò, i.e. a high tone extension precedes the second verb in each case. Not all Yorubas do this, however; some pronounce the sentences as they are written. We can regard this high tone extension as, in effect, a repetition of the high tone í prefix of the main verb. It is a fairly general dialectal variation that some Yorubas repeat prefixes in a sequence of verbs while others do not. In this case some Yorubas actually repeat the n and would say, e.g. ó átutù álò, but this is not common.

The í- form is sometimes used, possibly through the influence of English, to refer to an event in the future, e.g. mo álò s'Ékò lófá 'I am going to Lagos tomorrow'.

In translating it is important to remember that there are some ideas which are treated as actions in English but as states in Yoruba, as was briefly mentioned on p. 19. Common examples of this are:

ó jókò, he sat down/is-was sitting down
 ó dáró, he stopped/is-was waiting
 ó dùbùlè, he lay down/is-was lying down
 ó wò asò dídú, he put on dark clothes/is-was wearing dark clothes
 ó dé filà, he put on a cap/is-was wearing a cap
 ó di tái, he put on a tie/is-was wearing a tie
 ó wé gélè, she put on a head-tie/is-was wearing a head-tie
 ó ró asò pupa, she put on a bright cloth/is-was etc.
 (Yoruba style)
 ó fi digi s'ójú, he put on spectacles/is-was wearing spectacles

Note how in the above examples Yoruba uses a specific verb with the various articles of clothing. One 'covers' a cap, 'ties' a tie, 'twists' a head-tie, 'drapes' a cloth in the Yoruba style, 'puts glass to eye' and 'gets into' made-up clothes like gowns and coats. We can also use wò with

ṣòkótò 'trousers', but often we find instead bò 'insert into narrow opening'.

The n- prefix is used with verbs of this type in two different ways.

(a) used by itself it gives habitual meaning, e.g. mo ñfi digi s'ójú nígbàgbogbo 'I always wear spectacles'. This meaning can be made more obvious by adding maa, e.g. mo maa ñfi tái ní sòdòsi 'I wear a tie in church'.

(b) with l'ówó added after the verb it denotes the process leading up to the state shewn by the simple form, e.g. mó ñwé gélè l'ówó 'I am/was in the act of putting on my head-tie', ó ñjókò l'ówó 'he is in the act of sitting down'.

Another point to note is that where in English we add a descriptive participle in '-ing', e.g. 'they ran away crying', Yoruba uses a complete verb phrase—nwón sálò nwón ñsunkún 'they ran away they were crying'. Other examples are mo jókò mo físimi 'I was sitting down resting' and a dúró a ñronú 'we stood thinking'. If the subject of the first verb is third person singular some Yorubas do not put a subject ó before n-, e.g. ó jókò ó físimi or ó jókò ñsimi 'he sat resting'.

NEGATIVE FORMS

The negative kò which we have used with the simple form can be used also with the n- form, but only in a negative habitual sense.

kò álò s'Ékò l'ósòsòsè, he does not go to Lagos every week

ng kò ñjé é nígbánáà, I used not to eat it at that time
 nwón kò ñfún mi l'ówó, they do not give me money

We shall see later (p. 101) that some Yorubas use a slightly different form for the negative habitual—kì l- instead of kò n-, e.g. kì ilò s'Ékò l'ósòsòsè. As the tone patterns are the same the difference to a Yoruba ear is very slight. Note that the addition of maa before n- after kò is very rare.

If we translate an English negative progressive into

Yoruba we may be surprised to find that we have to use the same form as when we translate an English simple past tense.

ng kò ṣışé lóní, I am not working today
 ng kò ṣışé lánă, I was not working/did not work yesterday
 ng kò ṣışé kánkan l'ósè t'ó kojá, I did not do any work last week

It is thus the context which decides which tense we must use in English to translate this form. With *lóní* 'today' we must obviously use the present progressive. With *lánă* 'yesterday' we may in English use either the past progressive or the simple past, which is a slight stylistic difference which we cannot reproduce in Yoruba. If the Yoruba verb is followed by *l'ówó*, e.g. *ng kò ṣışé l'ówó*, we shall have to use the present or past progressive—'I am/was not actually working'—and so on.

The same various possibilities occur with verbs which denote states or qualities, e.g. *kò tutù* may mean 'it is/was not cold', 'it is/was not getting cold' or even 'it did not get cold'. Similarly *kò gbóná sí i* may mean 'it is/was not getting hotter', 'it has/had not got hotter' or 'it did not get hotter'. But the addition of *bò* or *lo* would restrict the translation to the progressive, e.g. *kò gbóná bò rará* means 'it is/was not getting hot at all'.

VOCABULARY

àbètélè, bribe	èlú, indigo plant
ògá, master, head	aró, indigo dye
olópá, policeman	lásán, bare, useless
wá, to seek, want, prepare (food)	sún, to sleep
òkèrè, distant point	kiri, to go about
wò, to look at, watch	sáré, to run
retí, to expect, wait for	pépépé, trifling
èwá, beans	apeja, fisherman
iná, fire, flame	àtúpá, lamp
òsán, daytime, afternoon	nígbáwo, when?

EXERCISE 11

Translate into English: owó àbètélè ni ògá àwọn olópá níwá; mo dúró si òkèrè mo níwó ògá mi; ó jókó ó níretí òré rè; èmi ni mo níwá oúnje fún wọn; ìṣé wó l'o níṣe nibí? nígbáwo l'e maa filo s'ilé? oúnje wo l'e maa níje l'ósán? iná àtúpa yí nkú lo; lnáwó mi níga sí i lójoojúmój; èlú ni nwón fi níṣe aró; ó nítà qjà pépépé; àwọn omódé níṣáré kiri ojú òná; omi orí iná nígbóná bò dádadáa; kò nífún wọn l'èwá l'òwúrò; ori ilé lásán ni nwón nísün l'óko; o nkówe ni àbi o nkáwé ni? obinrin Ègbá kán l'ó nítà á; ìṣé apeja ni mo níṣe níṣisiyi; mo nkà létà yí l'ówó; nwón maa níwó aşo funfun nígbágbo.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

12

VERBS WITH LENGTHENED VOWELS REPORTED SPEECH

There are some verbs in common use which are pronounced with a long vowel when they are followed by a second verb in the sort of situation where the corresponding English verb is followed by an infinitive, e.g. *mo fé(é) rà á* 'I want to buy it'. This lengthening is not usually shewn in the ordinary spelling, but it will appear in the early part of this book as above.

1. *mo fé(é) máá lò*, I want to be going (now)
nwón fé(é) kí wa, they want to greet us
but *kíl'o fé?* what do you want?
2. *wá(á) jéun*, come to eat (= and eat)
but *wá níbí*, come here

wá is often used in Yoruba, like 'come' in English, to convey the idea that an event is the culmination of things that have gone before. In this use the lengthening also takes place, e.g. *mo wá(á) mó pé...* 'I have come to know that . . . , I now realise that . . . '.

3. *mo nílò(ó) sùn*, I am on my way to lie down
ó lò(ó) gbà owó rè, he went to get his money
but *níbó l'o nílò?* where are you going?

The extension of *lò* may be either on a mid tone (as written) or on a high tone.

4. *kò tó(ó) sé é*, he is not fit to do it
çmu yí tó(ó) mu, this palm-wine is ready to drink
but *kò dára tó tèmi*, it is not as good as mine
tó means 'to be enough, to reach the standard of, to be fit'.

VERBS WITH LENGTHENED VOWELS

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5. *kò ní(i) lò*, he will not go (lit. he has not to go)
but *kò ní owó* (*l'ówó*), he hasn't got any money

For this use of *ní(i)* in the negative of the future see p. 94.

6. *kò yé(é) kígbe*, he did not stop shouting (cease to shout)

7. *ó bérésí(i) jé é*, he began to eat it

The extra length given to the vowel in these cases is best regarded as really a prefix of the following verb, which we can think of as an infinitive form like English 'to go', etc. It is sometimes actually written in a conventional way as a prefixed *i-*, e.g. *wá ijéun*. Note that the following verb may be either the simple form or be preceded by *máá*.

We may mention here two verbs which do *not* take this lengthening. These are *lè* 'can', e.g. *mo lè sé é* 'I can do it', and *jé* 'to agree to, be ready to, think of', e.g. *ng kò jé sé béké* 'I would not think of acting so'.

REPORTED SPEECH

1. The verb *ní* is used to report something that has just been said and is usually best translated by the English 'says', e.g. *ó l'ó dáá* 'he says it's all right'. It can be used to quote the actual words spoken, in which case it is followed by a slight pause and there is no elision; otherwise, as in the example given, it elides in the same manner as the word *sé* (p. 37).

A feature of reported speech in Yoruba is that the emphatic pronoun *òún* is used to render the 'I, me, my, mine' of direct speech and similarly the emphatic *àwón* is used to render 'we, us, our, ours'. Thus while in English the sentence 'he says he's going home' is ambiguous because it can mean that a person is talking either about his own intentions or about somebody else's intentions, in Yoruba the two situations are clearly distinguished. *ó l'óún nílò s'ilé* shews that a person is talking about his

own intentions while *ó l'ó nílò s'ilé* shews that he is talking about somebody else. The following sentences illustrate this use in detail.

mo nílò s'Ékō lítà, I am going to Lagos tomorrow
ó l'óun nílò s'Ékō lítà, he says he is going etc.
ó fún mi l'owó, he gave me money
ó l'ó fún òun l'owó, she says he gave her money
méjò mi'bajé, my lorry is out of order
ó ní móto òun'bajé, he says his lorry etc.
témi l'ó dára jù, mine is the nicest
ó ní t'òun l'ó dára jù, he says his is the nicest
a kò (a à) rí i, we did not see him
nwón l'awón kò rí i, they say they did not see him
kò fún wa ní nkánkan, he did not give us anything
nwón ní kò fún awón ní nkánkan, they say he did not etc.
ilé wa n'iyí, here is our house
nwón n'ilé áwón n'iyí, they say here is their house
tiwa kò dára tó èyí, ours is not as good as this
nwón ní t'awón kò dára tó èyí, they say theirs etc.

2. In asking questions with *kíni* and *táni* the verb *wí* is used, e.g. *kíl'ó wí?* 'what does/did he say?'; *tal'ó wí békè?* *táni wí békè?* 'who said so?' *wí* is the word used for reporting anything which is not immediate. It must be followed by *pé*, which is itself a verb meaning 'to say' used independently by some Yorubas.

In general Yoruba it has become reduced to being an introductory word in reported speech like English 'that', e.g. *mo mò pé ó lè kà á* 'I know that he can read it'. With *wí* it has come to be written as one word—*wípé*—and this in turn is tending to be used merely as an introductory word, e.g. *mo mò wípé* is a common variant for *mo mò pé*. It should be noted that this introductory word *pé* cannot be omitted in Yoruba as we omit 'that' in colloquial English, e.g. *mo mò pé ó dáa* 'I know it's good'; it does however frequently elide, e.g. *mo mò p'ó dáa*. It follows in elision the same pattern as *ní* above.

The examples already given shew that *pé*, which

VERBS WITH LENGTHENED VOWELS

literally means 'to say', is used to report thoughts and ideas. Some common expressions in which *pé* (or *wípé*) occurs are:

ó wípé òun'lè şe é, he said he could do it
mo rò pé ó tóbì jù, I think it is too big
mo ri i pé kò wúlò mó, I see (it) that it is no longer useful
mó wòye pé ó pé jù, I realised that it was too late
nwón sò fún mi pé kò pé rárá, they told (to) me that it was not late at all
kò dájú pé òun l'ó şe é, it is not certain that it was he did it
ó là á yé mi pé ódotó ni, he explained (it) to me that it was the truth
mo rántí pé iwò l'o fún mi, I remember that it was you gave (it) to me

The verb *sò* 'to speak, tell' occurring in the examples above is frequently combined with the word *òrò* 'words' in the compound verb *sòrò* 'to speak'.

ó sòrò sí mi, he spoke to me
nwón bá mi sòrò, they spoke with me
kò lè sòrò, he cannot speak
òrò tí mo sò, the words which I said/spoke
When *wí* is preceded by *bá* it may have one of two meanings, 'to rebuke' or 'to refer to'.
bábá mi'bá mi wí púpò, my father told me off properly
táni nwón mbá wí? who are they referring to?

VOCABULARY

olè, thief	dùn, to pain
rántí, to remember	dùn . . . nínú, to cause
rán . . . l'etí, to remind	sorrow to
òjò, rain	gbà, to receive, take, get
rò, to fall (rain)	èrò, machine
kò, to write	omi èrò, piped water
dàgbà, to grow up	orúkò, name
wòran, to watch	onijò, dancer
pé, to be late, long	

EXERCISE 12

Translate into English: ó l'óún'fē(é) māá lō; nwón l'áwón'fē(é)wá(á) kí wa lólá; mo wá(á) mō pé olé ni; ól'óún kò jé se béké rárá; àwọn qmódé kò yé(é) sunkún ní gbogbo qjó náá; ng kò wóye pé èmi ni nwón mbá wí; mo mō dáadáá pé nwón jí owó náá gbé ni; a kò lè mō dájú pé òjò kò ní(i) rò lólá; nwón wípé àwón'bá a l'ónà oko; nwón kò ní(i) pé(é) dé llorin; mótò yí kò ní(i) gbà gbogbo wa; ó yà mí l'énu pé kò si omi èrò ní ilú nyín; nwón kó létà sí i pé àwón'fē(é) rí i; tani nwón mbá sörö níbè yen? qmóbínrin yí dágòbá tó(ó) lō s'ilé ɔkɔ; mo rántí pé lyá mi l'ó fún mi; ng kò lè rántí orúkó rè; ó dùn mí ninú pé ng kò rí àyé dúró wòran àwón onijó; ó rán mi l'eti pé kò si owó tó; mo bá wón wí púpó pé nwón kò sísé dáadáá.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

13

DEPENDENT VERB FORMS

We are using the term 'dependent' here to cover forms of the verb which are preceded by the word *kí*. These forms have much in common with the forms used in direct commands and prohibitions because (a) the progressive and habitual sense is expressed by the addition of *máá*, and (b) the negative word used is *má*. A very common use of these forms is actually in reported commands and prohibitions, and also after verbs expressing obligation, permission and wish, which have something of the same general idea.

ó ní kí n rà á, he says I am to buy it (or) he told me to buy it
 nwón ní kí m máá lō, they told me to go away
 mo ní kí o má kà á, I told you not to read it
 ó yé kí a ló kí i, it is proper that we go to greet him (or)
 we ought to go to greet him
 kò yé kí o wí béké, you ought not to say so
 nwón fē kí e máá lō, they want you to go away
 nwón kò jé kí n rí i, they did not let me see it

It has become a convention now to write *jé* and *kí* as one word *jéki*.

The unemphatic subject pronouns used after *kí* differ in two respects from those used with the independent forms so far described: (a) *mo* is replaced by *ng*, *n*, *m*, the actual pronunciation depending on the quality of the consonant which follows (regardless of how it may happen to be written); (b) *nwón* may be heard on either high or mid tone and, in line with this variation, nouns and emphatic pronouns may or may not have the final high tone which we have seen (p. 34) would be obligatory if there were no introductory *kí*. Many Yorubas

who do not require a high tone in this position pronounce a syllable ó after **nwọn**, emphatic pronoun or noun, as the case may be, e.g. ó ní kí **nwọn** ó mágá ló 'he told them to go away'. This ó may be considered a reduction of k'ó from kí ó. In written Yoruba which follows the tradition of the Bible translation we find that when kí is followed by a noun, emphatic pronoun or **nwọn** a second kí is added along with ó 'he/she it'.

ó ní kí qdékí ó pa á, he told the hunter to kill him
ó ní **nwọn** kí ó fún qmódé náà l'ówó, he told them to give the child money

In some styles of colloquial Yoruba even the kí at the beginning of the clause is dropped.

nwòn ní m mágá ló, they told me to go away
nwòn ní 'o mágá ló, they told you etc.
nwòn ní 'ó mágá ló, they told him etc.
nwòn ní 'á mágá ló, they told us etc.
nwòn ní 'é mágá ló, they told you etc.
nwòn ní **nwòn** 'ó mágá ló, they told them etc.

Note that while kí o and kí é are reduced to k'ó (koo), k'o, 'o* and k'ē (kéé), k'ē, 'é respectively, kí a is reduced to k'á, 'á. kí ó is, of course, naturally reduced to k'ó, 'ó. Reduced forms with the k dropped are kept distinct from statement forms by the absence of elision, e.g. **nwòn** l'ó rà á 'they say he bought it'; **nwòn** ní 'ó rà á 'they told him to buy it'.

Other common uses of these forms are:

1. kí followed by the verb tó 'to reach, attain to' corresponds to English 'before' at the beginning of a clause.

mo sán á dáadáa kí n tó jé é, I washed (rinsed) it well before I ate it

* Note that an apostrophe is used here to mark the elision, but this might not be marked at all in ordinary Yoruba spelling.
† Many Yorubas lengthen the vowel of tó in this construction, see p. 66.

fó ó dáadáa kí o tó fi pamó, wash it well before you put (it) away
ó gbà á l'ówó mi kí n tó lè kà á, he took it from me (my hand) before I could finish reading it (read it finish)
ó kú kí qmō rè tó délé, he died before his son reached home

As in English, the 'before' clause may come first.

kí **nwòn** tó lè gbé e ló sí ilé-lwòsàn, ó ti kú, before they could take him off to hospital he was already dead
(For the ti used before kú here see p. 76.)

2. kí followed by baà expresses purpose.
sòrò sóké dáadáa kí m baà lè gbó, speak up well so that I may hear

nwòn tí i mólé kí ó má baà lè sáló, they locked him up so that he might not be able to run away
má fún aago yí l'ókùn púpójù kí ó má baà bájé, don't over-wind this watch, so that it does not spoil/go out of order

3. In a double command or prohibition, direct or reported, the second verb takes kí.

jókó kí o simi, sit down and rest
é wólé wá kí é bá wa shiré dié, come in and chat with us a bit
é má jökó kí é mágá sòrò lásán tití, don't sit down and be talking idly on and on
nwòn ní kí é wólé wá kí é jökó, They say you are to come in and sit down

A very similar use of dependent kí clauses is seen in sentences of the following type:

a kò níwò asò àálá kí a jökó ní lsò epo, we do not put on fine white clothes and sit down at the palm-oil stall
a kò lè sisé tití kí a má simi rárá, we cannot work on and on and not rest at all

tani'lè l'owó l'owó kí ebi'pa á? who can have money
(in hand) and go hungry (that hunger strike him)?

4. kí clauses are often used with question words,
especially sé.

sé kí n sí i? en, sí i, shall I open it? yes, open it
sé k'á gbé e wá? shall we bring it in?
kí m máa kà á ñsó bí? am I to go on reading it?

Questions of this sort may be expanded by the use of
verbs such as fé 'to want', yé 'be proper', ní 'to say'.

sé o fé kí n sí i? do you want me to open it?
sé ó yé k'á gbé e wá, ought we to bring it in?
sé ó ní kí m máa kà á ñsó? did he say I was to go on
reading it?

Similar expansions are possible with sentences which
express a prayer or wish, e.g. kí Olórún (ó) só wa ó!
'may God watch over us!', which could be expanded as
a gbádúrú pé kí Olórún (ó) só wa 'we pray that God may
watch over us'.

VOCABULARY

òwò, honour	fi . . . pamó, put aside, away
b'òwò (bù òwò), to honour	dè, to await (as second verb)
ñsó, (shews continuance of action)	padà, to return
pátápátá, completely	ìmòrán, advice
kánnáá, same	lésékesé, immediately
ibítí, where (place-that)	pásé (pa aşé), to give order
télé, to follow	árùn, disease
yø . . . l'énú, to trouble, worry	tánkálé, to spread about
kiákíá, quickly	fi . . . ránshé, to send (thing)
wáyá, wire, telegram	rán . . . n'isé, to send (person)
tè wáyá, to send a wire	fi . . . hàn, to shew, reveal
hàn, be obvious	
pamó, to keep safe	

EXERCISE 13

Translate into English: ó ní k'ó fún òun l'owó; nwón
ní k'ë má tì ilò ó; a fè k'ë rán wá l'owó dík'ë tó lò s'ilé; ó
yé k'á máa b'òwò fún áwọn òbi wa nígbágbagbo; ó ní kí
áwọn obinrin ó máa lò ñsó; kí n tó lè bá a, ó tì sáló
pátápátá; ibi kánnáá ni k'ó máa fi kókóró yí sí kí m báa
lè máa mó ibító wá; eran ni k'ó máa sè fún mi lálé; òun
ni k'ó máa télé nígbágbagbo; kí n jù ú nù ní* àbí kí n fi
pamó ni? k'á dúrò dè é ni àbí k'á padà lò sì ibi isé wa?
imòrán mi ni pé k'ó san ówó náá lésékesé; ó pásé kí nwón
má jékí árùn náá tánkálé; nwón se béké kí árùn náá má
báa yø áwọn ará ilé wón l'énú; ó tè wáyá pé kí nwón si
pónún méjì ránshé kiákíá; nwón sé kí n fi gbogbo rè hàn
áwọn; sé k'á dà á nù?

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the
sentences into Yoruba.

*For the use of ní at the end of a clause see p. 157

TI FORMS OF THE VERB

When *ti* occurs in front of the simple verb stem it can generally be translated by 'already' or 'now', though these words might not necessarily be used in the most natural English rendering of the sentence in which it is present. For example, on enquiring after somebody at the office one might be told *ó ti lò s'ilé* 'he has (already) gone home', and on enquiring after somebody ill in hospital one might be told *ó ti kú* 'he is (now) dead'. The addition of *ti* represents the state referred to as having come into being some time, however brief, before the actual time of reference, which as usual may be either in the present or the past, so that, e.g. *ó ti kú* may be also translated 'he was then/already dead'. To appreciate the difference between the simple form and the *ti* form requires some thought because in this case Yoruba makes a distinction which we do not always make in English. When we do, we usually employ variations of stress and intonation. The following examples will help to bring out the difference.

(a) *ñjé o ri òré rẹ lómí* and *ñjé o ti rí òré rẹ lómí* may both be translated 'have you seen your friend today?', but the first question shews that the questioner has an open mind as to whether or not you will be seeing your friend in the course of the day, while the second shews that he assumes you will be seeing him some time. The first question may also be translated 'did you see your friend today?' and is not likely to be asked until towards the end of the day. It expects the answers *mo ri i* 'I've seen him, I saw him' or *ng kò ri i* 'I haven't seen him, I didn't see him', while the other expects *mo ti rí i* 'I have seen him' or *ng kò irí i* 'I haven't yet seen him'.

(b) If someone is filling up your glass you say *ó tó* 'it is

TI FORMS OF THE VERB

enough' when the liquid reaches the required level, but you say *ó ti tó* if the pourer shews any sign of adding more. You also say *ó ti tó* to refuse more food or drink when you have had enough.

(c) If you called at a friend's house you might be told *ó lò s'Ékō* 'he's gone to Lagos' if the speaker assumed that you did not know of your friend's intentions, but *ó ti lò s'Ékō* if he assumed that you did.

(d) If you went to catch a train and were actually on the platform when the train came in, you could say *ókó dé* 'the train has come'. If however you were still outside the station when it steamed in you would be more likely to say *ókó ti dé*.

With verbs denoting qualities or states *ti* shews that a process of becoming is now complete or makes a contrast with a preceding situation.

ó ti le dádáa nísisiyí, it is now nicely hard
ó ti dágba tán, he is now quite grown up

ó ti tóbí jù, it is now too big

ó dòti téléri, súgbón ó ti mó dádáa nísisiyí, it was dirty before, but it is now nice and clean

ó dúdú téléri, súgbón ó ti funfum nísisiyí, it was dark in colour before, but it is now white

When *ti* and *ri* are used together the effect is to emphasise the previous existence of a state no longer in being. For example, in answer to the question *níbó l'o ñgbé?* 'where are you living?', one might say *mo gbé Ibàdàn rí, súgbón Abéokúta ni mo ñgbé nísisiyí* 'I used to live at Ibadan, but I am now living at Abeokuta', but in answer to *sé Ibàdàn l'o ñgbé?* 'is it at Ibadan you are living?' one might say *mo ti gbé Ibàdàn rí, súgbón Abéokúta ni mo ñgbé nísisiyí* 'I have lived/used to live at Ibadan, but etc.'. Another example is *sé o fé(é) kà iwé yí? mo ti fé(é) kà á rí, súgbón ng kò fé mó* 'do you want to read this book? I did want to read it, but I don't want (to) any more'. The use of *ri* is not absolutely essential to convey this meaning, e.g. it could be omitted in the last example.

In certain phrases where the verb is followed by *jù* 'to

surpass, be too much' *ti* has the effect of producing emphasis without reference to time, e.g. ó *ti* pòjù 'it is too much', ó *ti* dára jù 'it is too nice' are polite remarks which are made on receipt of a gift; ó *ti* pòjù can also be used as a comment on an unpleasant experience. ó *pòjù* is used where no special emphasis is thought necessary, e.g. in commenting on the price first asked for an article offered for sale.

ti WITH ñ- PREFIX FORMS

There are two uses:

(a) Used with *ri* it shews that a habit existing in the past has now ceased.

mo *ti* (maa) ñíkà ìwé lròhin yì *ri*, I used to read this newspaper once
 mo *ti* (maa) ñímu sìgá *ri*, sùgbón ng kò mu ú mó, I used to smoke cigarettes once, but I do not smoke (it) any more

(b) Used with *látí* 'from' it shews that an action or habit which began some time previously to the time of reference is still going on.

mo *ti* níṣisé lát'aáró, I have/had been working since morning
 mo *ti* (maa) ñíkà á látí ọdún méta sèhin, I have been reading it since three years ago
 nwón ti ñgbé Ibádàn lát'ésín, they have been living at Ibadan since last year

ti FORMS PRECEDED BY *kí*

These are commonly used with *yé* to shew that an obligation existed in the past.

ó *yé* k'á *ti* rà á nígbánáà, we ought to have bought it

at the time
 ó *yé* kí n *ti* se é tán kí n tó lò s'ilé, I ought to have finished it before going home

Contrast with the second example above ó *yé* kí n *se* é tán kí n tó lò s'ilé 'I ought to finish it etc'.

NEGATIVE FORMS

The commonest negative form corresponding to *ti* with the simple form has *kò* followed by the prefix *i-* which we have already come across in prohibitions, e.g. má ilø 'don't go yet'. Here too the prefix may be preceded by the word *ti*, e.g. as in má *ti* ilø. This *ti* itself in the speech of some Yorubas may take the prefix *i-*, e.g. kò *iti* ilø 'he has not yet gone'; this is another case of the repetition of a verb prefix mentioned on p. 62. As with má, variations of spelling are not uncommon, e.g. kò i lø for kò ilø, kò *ti* dé for kò *ti* idé 'he hasn't yet arrived'.

kò ile tó, it is not yet hard enough
 a kò *ti* irí i, we have not yet found it
 nwón kò *iti* isan ówó náà fún mi, they have not yet paid me the money
 ng kò *ti* idé Ibádàn *ri*, I have never yet been to Ibadan

Besides its use in sentences which contain a negative word *ti* may be used in questions, often rhetorical, which expect or imply a negative answer.

nwón *ti* ifún wa ní nkánkan *ri*? have they ever yet given us anything?
 ó *ti* ilè kò orukó ara rè? can he even yet write his own name?

It sometimes also occurs in relative clauses with the negative word in the main clause.

kò si èni t'ó (*ti* ó) *ti* irí i, there isn't anyone who has yet seen him
 (for the construction of relative clauses see p. 87.)

kò occurs occasionally with *ti* in sentences where 'previously, already' would be appropriate in English.

kò *ti* fé(é) pè é wá, he had not previously/at first wanted to call him

èniti kò bá ti sanwó kò lè wólé, anybody who has not already paid cannot enter
(for **bá** see p. 97.)

kò followed by **ti** and the **ń-** prefix form with **rí** denies the previous existence of a habit which may subsequently have developed.

kò ti nípuró rí, he used not to tell lies
ng kò ti nímu sigá rí, I used not to smoke cigarettes
nwọn kò ti níwó'só òyinbó rí, they used not to wear European clothes

If we want to translate an English sentence like 'I have not been working since morning' the negative is placed outside the phrase, e.g. **lát'aárò kó ni mo ti níṣíṣé** 'it is not since morning that I have been working' or **kí ìṣé pé mo ti níṣíṣé lát'aárò** 'it is not (the case) that I have been working since morning.'

VOCABULARY

láti, from, since	ìwà, behaviour
ojo, day	búburú, bad
Sátidé, Saturday	wò . . . l'ewù, to be on like a garment
nkán, something	kó . . . s'órí, to learn by heart
bí, like, as	nítorípé, because
àṣe, authority, command	ákókò, time, period
iwé àṣe, licence	òtútù, cold, coldness
yè . . . wò, to examine	ètò, arrangement
òwò, trade	sílè, beforehand
kòkó, cocoa	rìn, to walk
kòkó rírà, cocoa-buying	jínnà, to be far
pádé, to meet	òdómọblínrin, girl
enikan, somebody	íjósí, the other day
òpópó, road, street	sókalè, to dismount, get off
ibé, there, that place	bérésí(i), to begin
gbágbe, to forget	iró, lie, error, vain thought
ká, to pluck, gather	
bó si, to turn out, come to be	

EXERCISE 14

Translate into English: a ti ñe gbogbo ìṣé t'ó ní k'a ñe; mo ti rí eniti mo níwá; ó ti maa níwé gélè rí; ng kò ltí irí i láti ojo Sátidé t'ó kójá; a kò ltí irí i láti nkán bí òṣé méjí séhlin; ng kò wí fún u pé mo ti gbà lwe àṣe rí; mo ti yé gbogbo rē wò pátápáta; òwò kòkó rírà ni òkó' ti níṣe rí; iwà buburú ti wò òmódé yí l'ewù púpò; a ti kó gbogbo rē s'órí dádadáa; mo ti rà aṣo t'ó nípón nítorípé ákókò òtútù ni; mo ti ñe ètò òwó sílè fúnlyáwó mi; a kò ltí irí jínnà púpò kí ó tó pádé òré rē òdómọblínrin kán; enikan'só orúkó òpópó ibé fún mi ní íjósí, sùgbón mo ti gbágbe orúkó náá; gbogbo àwọn èrò òkó' ti sókalè; nwọn kò ltí lberésí(i) ká kòkó wọn; iró pátápáta ni ohun tí mo ti nírò'bó sí.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

15

SOME COMMON VERBS MORE ABOUT EMPHASIS

Various commonly occurring verbs often have to be translated by such prepositions as 'to', 'for', 'with', 'from' in English. Some of these have already cropped up in examples; the three commonest are described in more detail here.

1. fi

(a) As a main verb it means 'to put, place', e.g. **fi** ... *silé* 'to put down, leave', **fi** ... *lélé* 'to put on the ground', **fi** ... *pamó* 'to put safe, put away'. Note that **fi** in this sense is used of light, smallish objects, while **gbé** is used of larger, heavier objects and **kó** of several objects thought of collectively. Another point is that **gbé** ... *kalé*, not **gbé** ... *lélé*, is generally used of putting a heavy object down on the ground, cp. **gbé** ... *kaná* (*ká iná*) 'to put (pot) on the fire'. **ká**, which seems to imply a clumsier, less careful setting down than **lé**, occurs also in **sò** ... *kalé* 'to put down a load', **sòkalé** 'to descend, dismount, get off'.

fi has the peculiarity that an unemphatic 'him/her/it' is not usually expressed after it, e.g. for 'put it down, leave it' one says **fi silé** (or **fi lélé**, see p. 143).

(b) It is often used in an instrumental sense, in which case the translations may vary considerably.

abé ni mo fi gé e, it was a razor I put cut it = I cut it with a razor

kíl'o maa fi owó yí rà, what will you put this money buy? = what will you buy with this money?

ó fi mí rérin, he laughed at me

ó fi ẹran náá je, he ate up the meat

SOME COMMON VERBS

ó fi àkárà je ẹfó, he ate vegetables with bean-cake (the vegetables being the main dish)
oṣù mélò l'o fi kó işé náá, how many months did you spend learning the work?
ni gbogbo igbà tì mo fi wà ní Lóngòn, kò wá(á) ki mi, during all the time I spent (being) in London, he did not come to greet me

Notice how in the above examples the second (main) verb is added in the same simple form as **fi**, while in English we use a form in '-ing', e.g. 'spend learning', or an infinitive, e.g. 'it was a razor I used to cut it'. Where action in progress or habit is expressed, the commonest practice is to put **fi** in front of **n-** or **máa n-** if it has no following object, e.g. **kíl'o fi máa nígé e** 'what do you cut it with?' and vice-versa, e.g. **kíl'o máa nífi owó rà** 'what do you buy with your money?'. Some Yorubas, however, have this order even in the first example, i.e. **kíl'o maa nífi gé e**. The same variations hold good for **maa** expressing intention, but other particles (negative, future) always precede **fi**.

Other examples of the use of **fi** are given on pp. 163f, 174f.

2. fún

(a) We have seen that as a main verb it has the meaning 'to give, hand over to', the English second object being introduced by the preposition **ní**, and that, as **ní** cannot be followed by an unemphatic pronoun, 'give me it' is simply **fún mi**. With pronouns other than the 3rd pers. sing. an alternative construction with **fi** is used, e.g. **ó fi mí fún u** 'he took me gave him' = 'he gave me to him'. This construction is also often used with nouns, especially if they are qualified in any way, e.g. **ó fi owó náá fún mi** 'he gave me the money'.

(b) As a second verb (cp. **fi** ... **fún** above) it is generally translated by a preposition.

nwón tà á fún mi, they sold it to him

rà á fún mi, buy it for me

nwón sá fún u, they ran away from him

mo yéra fún u, I kept away from him/avoided him
 ó kún fún owó, it is full of money
 owó wà fún mi, there is money (available) for me

Bilingual Yorubas tend to use *fún* rather indiscriminately to translate 'for', e.g. *ó gbé ibè fún ọdún métá* 'he lived there for three years' instead of *l'ọdún métá*. Other examples of this tendency are *kò lè sòrò fún ayò* 'he could not speak for joy' and *kíl'o wá fún* 'what have you come for?'.

3. bá

(a) Used by itself it has the meaning 'to meet, come upon, find (a person)'.

mo bá a n'ilé rè, I found him at his house
 mo bá a l'ónà oko, I came up on him on the farm-road
 qfa kò bá mi, the arrow did not hit me

(b) When followed by another verb it has the vague meaning of 'to be in association with' and is often translated by a preposition.

mo bá a sòrò, I spoke with him
 bá mi kí i dádáá, greet him for me well = give him my kind regards
 bá mi lò s'ójà, go for me to the market
 nwón bá mi sè é, they helped me do it
 lyá wọn rímbá wọn lò, their mother is going with them
 wá(á) bá mi rà, come and buy from me (said by market stall-holder)

Notice that in describing action in progress or habitual action *n-* and *maa n-* are prefixed to *bá*, e.g. *mo maa rímbá a lò* 'I always go with him'.

(c) We often find in narratives sentences beginning with *ni* (*l'*) followed by *bá* before the main verb, e.g. *ni ó bá lò s'ilé* 'so with that (the circumstances earlier described) he went off home'. This use is really very like that described in (b), except that here the association is with circumstances, not with people.

Other uses of *bá* are mentioned in later chapters.

MORE ABOUT EMPHASIS

We have seen that the *ni* which introduces a second object is dropped when that object is brought to the front for emphasis, e.g. *nwón fún mi l'owó* but *owó ni nwón fún mi*. The situation is rather different when an adverbial qualifying phrase made up of *ni* plus a noun is brought to the front in this way.

(a) In expressions referring to points of time some Yorubas drop the *ni* while others retain it, e.g. *mo rí i lánă* 'I saw him yesterday', *àná/lánă ni mo rí i* 'it was yesterday I saw him'. But if the reference is to duration of time *ni* is replaced by *fi* in front of the main verb, e.g. *mo simi ni wákáti kán* 'I rested for an hour', *wákáti kán ni mo fi simi* 'it was for an hour I rested'.

(b) If the noun refers to place *ni* is dropped and a verb *ti* 'to come from' or *gbé* 'to be at' is introduced in front of the main verb, e.g. *mo bá a l'ónà oko* 'I came on him on the farm-road', *ònà oko ni mo ti bá a* 'it was on the farm-road etc.' and *nwón wà l'Ékò nísisiyí* 'they are at Lagos now', *Èkò ni nwón gbé wà nísisiyí* 'it is at Lagos they are now'. The distinction between the two verbs is that *ti* is generally used where the main verb denotes instantaneous action while *gbé* is used where there is an idea of duration, but some Yorubas actually use both together, e.g. *Idànre ni mo gbé ti rà á* 'it was at Idanre I bought it'.

(c) When the noun refers to price *ni* is just omitted, e.g. *mo rà á ní sìlè métá* 'I bought it for three shillings', *sìlè métá ni mo rà á* 'it was for three shillings etc.'. Compare also *eélò ni nwón nítà á* 'for how much are they selling it?'.

(d) When the noun denotes an instrument (as it does in a few expressions) *ni* is dropped and *fi* is introduced in front of the main verb, e.g. *ó lù mí ní kùmò* 'he hit me with a stick', *kùmò l'ó fi lù mí* 'it was a stick he hit me with'.

(e) *sí* is substituted for *ni* in *a mó q l'óba* 'we recognise him as king', *qba l'a mó q sí* 'we recognise him as king'.

Comparing the various examples above we see that there are two rather different constructions. In trans-

forming an unemphatic into an emphatic sentence *ní* is either (i) just omitted or occasionally retained, or (ii) has its place taken by various different words, i.e. *ti*, *gbé*, *fi*, *sí*.

VOCABULARY

ara <i>eni</i> , one's self	rù, to carry
tún . . . <i>še</i> , to mend, repair	wònyí, these
he, to pick up (single thing)	ékún, tears, weeping
eníkéni, anybody	olúkúlukù, oníkálukù, each
enu <i>iṣé</i> , at work	túlká, to scatter, separate
kì <i>iṣé</i> , it is/was not	ipàdè, meeting
jágidijágán, hooligan	f'etí bá, to mention to
ké sí, to call out to	f'orí lé, to set out on
ljéjtá, day before yesterday	lé, to be on
agogo <i>qwó</i> , wrist-watch	àṣejù, excess
ééri, dirt	ídálè, being away from
omolanke, hand-cart	home
pónùn, £1	dámóràn (dá imóràn), to advise

EXERCISE 15

Translate into English: àkàrà ni mo fi ríjé é; kíni nwón maa fún mi? llú òyinbó ni mo gbé kó'şé náà; *qwó* ara *eni* l'a fi nítún nkán ara *eni* *še*; ojú ara mi ni mo fi rí i; ibi yí ni mo ti rí i he; Olórun bá mi *še* é, éníkéni kò rí mi; a bá a l'énú *iṣé* rè; ó sò fún mi pé oun ki *iṣé* jágidijágán béké; mo bá ógá mi lò si Ògbómòsó; mo fún u ni pónùn márún fún iyá mi; sìlè mérin ni nwón tà á fún mi; èníà rere ni gbogbo wá'mò ó si; nwón bù emu díè fún u; bá mi ké si Ojo pé k'ó wá kiákíá; ljéjtá ni mo tó rí i; níbo l'o ti rí agogo *qwó* yí rà? àpótí yí kún fún ééri; omolanke ni mo fi níru igi kíri; ó kó gbogbo nkán wònyí fún òré rè; ékún ni olúkúlukù fí túká nínú ipàdè yí; ó yé kí n fi etí rè bá á; a fi orí lé ọnà ljébú; ó yé k'á máá sá fún àṣejù; ọdún méfá ni mo fi wá ní idálè: mo bá a dámóràn pé k'ó má lò.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

16

RELATIVE CLAUSES

1. Relative clauses are introduced by a word *ti* (except as explained in paragraph 6 below) and always follow the noun or pronoun they qualify. As in English, this introductory word serves for both singular and plural, e.g. *okùnrin ti* 'the man who', *awon okùnrin ti* 'the men who'. This *ti* elides with following vowels according to the patterns of *še* and *ní* 'to say'. Relative clauses precede the qualifying words *yí* 'this', *wònyí* 'these', *yé* 'that', *wònyen* 'those' and their variants, also *náà* 'the ... in question', but follow other qualifying words.

isú ti mo rà láná náà, the Yam (in question) which I bought yesterday

abé kékéré ti mo rí he yí, this small knife which I have picked up

erankó méjí t'á (ti a) pa, the two animals which we killed

owó t'óbá'fún mi (ti ọba), the money which the ruler gave me

llú t'ó (ti ó) nígbé, the town in which he is living

awon ènià t'ē (ti e) rí níbè, the people you saw there

2. In the above examples *ti* is the object of the following verb; where it is the subject there are complications.

(a) If the word qualified by the relative clause is a noun, *ti* must be followed by the subject pronoun *ó* 'he/she/it' if the verb form is one with which that pronoun can be used, e.g. *omodé t'ó (ti ó) rí i* 'the child who saw him', *obinrin t'ó maa rà á* 'the woman who will buy it', but *omodé ti yiò* wá* 'the child who will come', *obinrin ti kò rà á* 'the woman who did not buy it'. With *n-* forms some Yorubas put in *ó* while others do not, e.g. *ọdún*

* For the future particle *yiò* see p. 92.

t'ó m̄bò, ọdún tí m̄bò 'the year that is coming, next year'. The singular pronoun ó is normally used even though the preceding noun is accompanied by àwọn, e.g. àwọn aláárù t'ó gbé e wá 'the porters who brought it'. No difference occurs, either, where ó cannot be used, e.g. àwọn ènià tí kò sanwó 'the people who have not paid (money)'. The use of the pronoun nwón 'they' in relative clauses of this type has the effect of emphasising the idea of plurality; it shews that the speaker has in mind a number of individuals rather than a collective group, e.g. as in àwọn aláárù tí nwón gbé e wá contrasted with àwọn aláárù t'ó gbé e wá above. (It should be noted, however, that in written Yoruba the use of nwón is sometimes due to nothing more than a mistaken idea that it is more 'grammatical'.)

(b) If the qualified word is an emphatic pronoun of the first or second persons, the corresponding* unemphatic pronoun is placed after tí.

èmi tí mo fún ẹ ní gbogbo owó yí, I who gave you all
this money
iwo t'ó jí owó mi gbé, you who stole my money
àwa t'ā féràn rē, we who love him
ènyin t'ē è (kò) fē(é) lò mō, you who don't want to go
after all

(c) The third person singular òún does not often occur with the relative tí in direct speech since 'he who', 'the person who', 'the one who' is rendered by èní tí, often written ènití, e.g. ènití'ó rí i 'the person who found it'. It does, however, occur regularly in indirect speech representing èmi 'I', e.g. èmi tí mo rí i pàápàá kò rí nkánkan gba 'I who found it even did not get anything' would become ó ní òún tí òún ' rí i pàápàá etc. 'he said he himself who found it even etc.'

The plural àwọn occurs more frequently with relative clauses than òún because, besides representing àwa 'we' in indirect speech, it also functions as the plural of èní, e.g.

* Occasionally the third person pronoun ó is used.

RELATIVE CLAUSES

the plural of ènití'ó rí i is àwọn t'ó rí i 'those who found it'. (Here again the repetition of the plural pronoun, e.g. àwọn tí nwón rí i emphasises the idea of plurality.)

This usage, it should be noted, is not confined to cases where tí ties up with the subject of the clause; it holds good in all situations, e.g. ènití mo rí nibé 'the person I saw there', àwọn tí mo rí nibé 'those I saw there', and see also the examples below.

3. Yoruba has no special possessive relative word corresponding to English 'whose'; it uses tí followed by the appropriate possessive pronoun, e.g. ọmódé tí filà rē sónú 'the child that its cap is lost, the child whose cap is lost'.

ọkùnrin tí mo wò sí ilé rē, the man at whose house I
lodged
èmi tí bábá mi'tí kú, I whose father was dead
àwa tí oko wa'jinnà, we whose farm is distant
àpótí tí inú rē dòti, the box with the dirty inside
àpò tí kò sí nkánkan nínú rē, the bag with nothing
inside it

Note that with àwọn either the plural wọn or the singular rē may be used, the latter conveying the idea that the several individuals are thought of as forming a collective group, e.g. àwọn tí ilé rē níjóná 'those whose house is on fire'.

4. Other words besides ènití which have tí joined to the antecedent are èyítí 'the one that' (not 'this one that'), ibítí, níbití '(at) the place that, where', igbátí, nígbátí '(at) the time that, when'.

èyítí'ó sanra ni mo fé, I want the fat one (the one that is
fat)
mo bá a níbití'ó dùbúlè sí, I found him where he had
lain down
nígbátí nwón dé inú ilé oúnje, when they came into the
dining-hall

5. A succession of verb clauses in a relative construction must each be introduced by tí.

àpóti t'ó tóbí t'ó sì mó, a box which is big and (also) clean
 báśikùlù t'ó jí gbé t'ó sì wá tā fún ẹlòmíràn, the bicycle which he stole and then sold to someone else
 ẹnítí nwón jí móto rē gbé tí nwón sì wá tā á fún oniṣòwò kan, lit. 'the person that they stole his lorry that they then sold it to a trader', i.e. 'whose lorry was stolen and then sold to a trader'.

For the use of *sì* as a connective with verb clauses see p. 203. Added *tí* clauses are not, however, necessarily linked by *sì*, e.g. nígbátí qba'dide tí ó lò sínú àafin tí ó simi tán 'when the king had arisen and gone into his palace and had finished resting'.

6. In spoken Yoruba *tí* is often omitted, e.g. aṣo mo rà lánă n'iyí 'this is the cloth I bought yesterday', mágba mo ri i (nígbátí) 'when I saw him', mágba'ó ri mi (nígbát'ó) 'when he saw me'. It cannot be omitted where its omission would produce ambiguity, e.g. málúù tí (k)ò ní irù 'a cow which has no tail'. Proverbs are often found in two forms, a literary and a colloquial form, e.g. ẹnít'á fè l'a mó, a à (kò) m'énit'ó fè 'ni 'we know whom we love, we do not know who loves us (lit. a person)' is also quoted as ẹnì a fè l'a mó, a à m'énì'fè 'ni'. Note that in the colloquial form the high tone of *t'ó* is heard on the preceding syllable, but not the high tone of *t'á* (*táa*) where *tí* is the object.

7. It is important to note that relative clauses introduced by *tí* have the same pattern as emphatic sentences containing *ni* such as are described in the preceding chapter. There is the same absence of *ni* before a second object, e.g. ówó tí mo fún u 'the money which I gave him'; the same use of *tí* or *gbé* when the antecedent refers to place or position, e.g. ibítí mo gbé níṣíṣé 'the place where I am working', sọgbù tí mo ti rà á 'the shop where I bought it'; and the same use of *fi* and *sí*, e.g. oṣù méfá tí mo fi kó ọ 'the six months I spent learning it', irú ènìà tí mo mó ọ sí 'the sort of person I know him to be'.

VOCABULARY

igba, 200	ewu, danger
fáàrí, airs, display	fà, to draw on, cause
fi . . . se fáàrí, to put on	isò, stall
airs at	ègbón, elder relative
le koko, to be very hard	agolo, tin
kejí, second, following	t'orí (ti orí), to act for
òfè, gratis, free	ṣòro, to be difficult
jé, to be	simi, simmi, to rest

EXERCISE 16

Translate into English: gbogbo ohun tí e wí ni mo gbó; àpóti tí mo rí nínú ilé wọn n'iyí; eran tí mo sè fún oúnje alé n'lyen; nwón gbé érù aṣo tí ówó rē'tó igba pónùn lo; kò tó ẹnít'ó lè fi mí se fáàrí kán; mo níwò gbogbo àwọn tí nkójá; nwón ńṣòrò sínú kiní kán tí nwón ńpè ní 'microphone'; mo lò bá àwọn ọré mi t'á jo níse ọmọ ilé-lwé; ẹnítí kò tí ikú, a kò mó árún tí yiò pa á; ng kò féràn ọré rē tí ojú rē'lé koko yén; nígbát'ó di ọjó kejí t'á dé Ibádàn, a rí móto t'ó lè gbé wa dé llorin l'òfè; obinrin tí a wí yí tí bí ọmọ métá fún ọkọ rē; àwọn méjí t'ó jé ọkúnrin nínú wọn tí dàgbá dádadáa; éyít'ó burú t'ó sì l'ewu nípá ọrò yí ni pé a kò mó ohun t'ó fá á; lsò ègbón mi obinrin kán tí a tí lè rí ejá inú agolo rà'wà l'ojá; òkúta t'ó fi lù ọmọ náà pa n'iyí; ènyin t'è lówó dádadáa lè rà á; a kò rí oúnje t'ó kù tí a dí sínú érù lyawó mi; ẹnítí a nt'orí rē kú, kò wò ẹnì l'ojú rere; aiyé t'á gbé wà yí ṣòro púpó.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

EXPRESSING THE FUTURE

The situation is complicated by the existence of alternative dialectal forms.

1. In books and in some northern dialects a particle *yiō* is used. This, like the negative *má* used in prohibitions, is followed by modified high and mid tones though no falling tone may be heard on the word to cause automatic modification, e.g. *yiō wá* 'he will come', *yiō ló* 'he will go'. This *yiō*, by the way, is one of a certain number of words* in which an *i* is superfluously written with *y*. The consonant is energetically pronounced and gives an impression of *yi* but the word could actually be spelt more simply *yó*. The unemphatic pronouns used before *yiō* are the same as those used before *kò*, i.e. 'I' is *ng*; there is no pronoun representing 'he/she/it' and *nwón* has mid tone. *yiō* (*yó*), like *kò*, loses its consonant when a subject precedes and the resulting 'ó' is assimilated to a 'we' and 'é' 'you'.

yiō ló lólá, he will go tomorrow
ng ó wá lólá, I shall/will come tomorrow
sé o ó wá lólá? will you come tomorrow?
a á (ó) ló lólá, we shall/will go tomorrow
sé é é (ó) wá lólá? will you come tomorrow?
nwón ó wá lólá, they will come tomorrow
Táiwò ó wá lólá, Taiwo will come tomorrow

2. Widely used in spoken Yoruba but not often written are forms with a particle *á* replacing *yiō*. This *á* has a plain high tone which does not cause any modification. Note that *a* is short when preceded by a noun (as in the last example below), but *long* when the meaning

* The other words are *aiyé* 'world', *èiyé* 'bird', *àiya* 'chest, breast'.

EXPRESSING THE FUTURE

is 'he/she/it will . . .'. *nwón* 'they' has high tone before *á*, but the final syllable of a noun does not appear to be raised to high tone in this position.

áá wá ní iròlé òní, he will come this evening (evening of today)

màá wá l'ówúrò òla, I will come tomorrow morning
sé óá wá lólá? will you come tomorrow?

áá wá n'iròlé òla, we will come tomorrow evening

sé èé wá l'álé òní? will you come this evening?

nwón á wá l'ágó méji, they will come at 2 o'clock
òdè á wá l'ótúnla, the hunter will come the day after tomorrow

3. The addition of *maa* after either of these particles produces a future progressive or habitual. (Only *maa* on level mid tones is heard here because *máa* would in any case be pronounced *maa* after *yiō*—since it is followed by modified tones—while those who use the particle *á* seem always to use the pronunciation *maa*.)

ng ó maa ká á nsó, I will carry on reading it
á maa wá lójoojúmò, she will be coming every day
nwón ó maa gbá pónùn méwá lósòsè, they will be getting £10 a week

It should be noted that Yoruba uses the simple future, not the progressive, to shew a settled arrangement for a point of time in the future, e.g. 'I shall be going to Lagos tomorrow' is rendered by *màá ló/ng ó ló s'Ékò lólá*.

4. The addition of *ti* produces a form which corresponds to the English future perfect (or pluperfect).

á ti ló sílē k'á tó(ó) dé'bè, he will have gone off home before we arrive there

nwón sò fún mi pé yiō ti kúrò ní Lóngón k'ó tó(ó) lè rí létá mi gbà, they told me he would have left London before he could get my letter

This form cannot, however, be used in translating such sentences as 'I shall have been married six months on Sunday'. This becomes *ó di ọsè méfà l'ójó isinmi t'ó*

míbò tí mo ti gbéyàwó 'it becomes six weeks on the day of rest that is coming that I have married'. The same form of expression is also used for such sentences as 'I shall have been working two years by the end of this month', which becomes *ó di ọdún méjì ní iparí oṣù yí tí mo ti níṣé* 'it becomes two years at the end of this month that I have been working'. A future perfect progressive or habitual is, however, used in such sentences as *enít’ó bá útè etí sìlè yíó tì maa gbó oríṣírísí ọrò béké* 'one who keeps his ears open will have been hearing various reports of that sort' (*té . . . sìlè* 'spread out . . . down, completely'; for *bá* see the following chapter).

5. In relative clauses, after the emphasising word *ni* and occasionally elsewhere many Yorubas use the word *máa* to signify intention.

isé tí nwón máa sé le, the work that they are going to do is hard

kil’è máa sé nibè? what are you going to do there?
gbágudá ni mo maa rà, it is cassava I am going to buy
mo rò pé òjò’ maa rò lóní, I think it is going to rain today

máa used in this sense is sometimes used in conjunction with a second *máa* used in the habitual sense.

kíni nwón máa máa sé nibè? what are they going to be doing there?

NEGATIVE FORMS

6. Both *yíó* and *á* can be preceded by negative particles. *kí*, which we can regard as a modified form of *kò*, is used before *yíó* while *kò* is used before *á*. *kí yíó* was used in the translation of the Bible and it is still quite widely used in written Yoruba, but the commonest negative form in spoken Yoruba makes use of the verb *ní* 'to have', e.g. 'I will not go' is rendered by *ng kò ní(i) lò* 'I do not have a going' (for the lengthening of *ní* see p. 67).

ng kò ní(i) rà á, I won't buy it
sé o kò (ṣ’ō ḡ) ní(i) bá wa lò? so you won't go with us?

EXPRESSING THE FUTURE

kò ní(i) tà á fún wa, he won't sell it to us
a kò (a à) ní(i) lè sé e, we shan't be able to do it
ṣé ḡ kò (ṣ’ē ḡ) ní(i) fún mi? so you won't give it to me?
nwọn kò ní(i) je ḡ n’iyà, they won't punish him

Besides the above simple form Yoruba has also (a) a negative future habitual, (b) a negative future perfect.

(a) *a kò ní(i) maa wá nígbàgbogbo*, we shan't be coming all the time

kò ní(i) maa rí wọn lójoojúmò, he will not be seeing them every day

(b) *kò ní(i) tì ilò s’ilé*, he will not yet have gone home
nwọn kò ní(i) tì ità á, they will not yet have sold it

USE OF THE FUTURE IN WISHES AND PRAYERS

7. Wishes and prayers are usually exclamatory sentences containing a verb in either the future form or the dependent form, the standard response being *àmín ò* 'so be it!'. Many such expressions are conventionally used on particular occasions, e.g. *ire á kári* (*ká ori*) *ò* 'may good fortune come to each in turn' (said at a wedding), *èhin wọn ó dàrà ò* 'may their absence turn out well' (said on the death of an old person—it refers to the Yoruba belief that an old person may be re-incarnated in a baby born soon after), *è é tā o* 'may you have sales' (said to a trader), *kí Ọlórun má kò átúnři ò* 'may God not reject a further meeting' (said sometimes at leave taking). For another form of prayer see p. 185.

VOCABULARY

<i>ààbò</i> , half	<i>àáké</i> , axe
<i>sin</i> , to bury	<i>kàn</i> , to touch, affect
<i>òkú</i> , corpse, dead person	<i>gún</i> , to pound, stab
<i>danindaní</i> , important,	<i>iyán</i> , pounded yam
tightly	<i>igbéyàwó</i> , wedding
<i>kedere</i> , clearly	<i>nílátí</i> , to have to
<i>dá . . . padà</i> , to return	<i>saijú</i> , to precede, go loan
	before

iyókù, remainder	esè, leg, foot
ṣiwo (ṣí ɔwó), to stop work	jámbá, accident
alágbaṣò, washerman	áisàn, illness
sá, to dry, air	méjèji, both
lò, to use, spend	t'okot'aya, husband and wife
lò, to grind, iron clothes	ájéji, strange
míràn, míi, other	dá . . . l'ójú, be certain to
kò, to come up against	gbúrò, to have news, hear noise
àgbákò, sudden misfortune	áléjò, guest
síwájú, in front, forwards	ádúgbò, quarter of town
gbádùn, to enjoy, feel well	pèsè, to prepare
títí, on and on	

EXERCISE 17

Translate into English: taní maa sanwó ɔkò? ní agogo mérin áabò iròlé ní nwón yiò sin ókú; a kò ní(i) rí nkán danindaní rà lóní; kíní nwón maa jé l'ówùrò yí? yiò hàn sí o kedere k'ò tó kà lwé náá tán; n'íjó wó l'o maa dá ááké náá padà? eélò ni nwón maa maa fún è l'ósòòsù? èyítí nwón ó maa wí ni pé ɔrò yí kò kán áwón; ilé á ti sú tán k'á tó dé'lé; iṣu tí mo maa fi gún'yan n'lyí; mo maa sò fún bábabá mi pé k'ó rà irú rē fún mi; nwón niláti wá ɔnà tí nwón ó fi maa jeun; áwón lèjòye ni yiò sáajú, áwón iyókù ó si télé wòn; è è ní(i) r'ayé bá a sòrò lóní mó, ó ti pé jù; nwón ò ní(i) tí lìsíwó n'íbi isé won; màá gbé agbádá yí fún alágbaṣò pé k'ó bá mi fò ó dáadáa; yiò sá a dáadáa k'ó tó lò ó; màá dúrò dè mótó míràn (míi); yiò lò tó ɔsè méjí níbè; mo rò pé o ó gtäßùn ibè púpò; taní maa jókò síwájú? yiò mó pé a kò gtäßébé sá; nwón ò ní(i) maa kórin béké lò títi; filà á pé l'óí, bátà á pé l'ésè! è è ní(i) kò àgbákò! è è ní(i) rí áisàn tátí jámbá o! áwón méjèji tí nwón ó di t'okot'aya yí, enití mo mó dáadáa ni wòn; ó lè jé pé ohun tí è ó rí yiò se ájéji l'ójú nyín; ó dá mi l'ójú pé ng ó lè là á yé nyín; mo ti gtúrò pé nwón ó se lgbéyáwó alárinrin l'ádúgbò wa; ó l'óun ó yára pèsè nkán áléjò sílè.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

18

DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE CLAUSES

In a variety of clauses we often find an auxiliary verb **bá** placed between the subject and the main verb of the clause. This word, which we can translate as 'happens/happened to' has the effect, where it occurs, of turning what would otherwise be a definite clause into an indefinite clause. Since the future is necessarily uncertain, this often means altering the time reference from the past to the future, but this is not so in all cases, since there can be uncertainty also about the past or present—one may be uncertain whether something did or did not happen, for example. We shall work out this distinction first of all in relation to relative clauses, of which we have already had a number of 'defini ite' examples.

The difference is clearly seen in the pair of sentences:

máá/ng ó fún enit'ó rí i ní sísí, I will give the person who found it 6d
máá/ng ó fún enit'ó bá rí i ní sísí, I will give anybody who finds it 6d

We can make the second sentence still more indefinite or general by substituting **enikéni** for **eni**, i.e. màá fún enikéni t'ó bá rí i ní sísí 'I will give anybody at all who finds it 6d'. (This form of reduplication with the insertion of **k** and a high tone on the following syllable can be applied to any noun, e.g. ejá 'fish', ejakéja 'any fish'. More details are given on p. 209.) 'Anybody who has found it' will be **enit'ó bá tí rí i** but 'whoever found it', on the other hand, will be **enit'ó wù k'ó rí i** (lit.) 'the person that it pleases that he found it'. The point to note is that such a sentence as 'I will give whoever found it'—can be rephrased as 'I will give the person who found it—

whoever he may be—6d'. A definite, particular person has found it but the speaker is at the moment ignorant of his identity. This phrase can itself be made indefinite by the addition of *bá*, e.g. *máá fún ẹnít'ó bá wù k'ó rí i ní sísí* 'I will give anybody who finds it—whoever he may be—6d'. A variant form is *ẹnít'ó wù t'ó bá rí i*.

Further examples, with various time references, are added here to bring out the distinction.

ẹnít'ó tí kà á, the person who has already read it
ẹnít'ó bá tí kà á, anyone who has already read it
ẹnít'ó ñípariwo, the person who is making a noise
ẹnít'ó wù t'ó ñípariwo, whoever it is is making a noise
ẹnít'ó bá ñípariwo, anybody who is making a noise
ẹnítí kò lè lò, the person who cannot/could not go
ẹnítí kò bá lè lò, anybody who cannot go
ẹnítí maa ṣe é, the person who is going to/intends doing it
ẹnítí bá maa ṣe é, anybody who is going to/intends doing it
ẹnítí yíó dúró tí mí, the person who will stand by me
ẹnítí yíó bá dúró tí mí, anybody who will stand by me
omodékómódé tí kò tí iga'bá tiré dà? where is the child who has not yet received his (share)?
omodékómódé tí kò bá tí iga'bá tiré, k'ó bó s'ibí, any child who has not yet received his share, let him come here
ẹnítí kò bá tí gba tiré níslisyí kò ní(i) jéum lóní ó! anyone who has not already now had his share will not (have anything to) eat today!
ẹnít'ó bá ñíká iwé iròhìn yí lójoojúmō yíó mò pé . . ., anyone who reads this newspaper every day will know that . . .
áwọn òfin titun tí Ijóba'bá ṣe l'ó wà nínú lwé iròhìn yí, any new laws that the Government makes (it is) are in this newspaper/gazette

Time clauses introduced by *nígbátí*, *igbátí* '(at) the time that' are actually relative clauses; these provide many examples of the distinction.

nígbátí mo rí i, *mo kí i dáadáa*, when I saw him, I greeted him cordially (well)
nígbát'ó bá rí i, *bá mi kí i dáadáa*, when you see him, give him my kind regards (for me greet him well)
nígbákígbá t'ó bá rí i, *máá bá mi kí i dáadáa*, whenever you see him, always give him my kind regards
nígbákígbá t'ó (k)ò bá lè wá, k'ó maa sò fún mi, any time you are not able to come, you should always tell me

Notes:

(a) *bá* is placed after the negative particle *kò* and the future particle *yíó/á* but before *tí*, *tí*, *máá*, *ń-*, *í-* and *i-*.

(b) Where the verb form, either in the relative clause or in the main clause, refers to action in progress or to repeated, habitual action, the uncertainty associated with the use of *bá* refers to the numbers involved or the frequency of the action. For 'anybody in 'anybody who is making a noise' or 'anybody who reads this paper every day' we can substitute 'everybody' without radically altering the meaning. On the other hand, 'anyone who finds it' is more or less equivalent to 'if anyone finds it' and 'when you see him' (to the Yoruba, at least) is equivalent to 'if and when you see him'.

VOCABULARY

<i>ijàngbòn</i> , trouble	<i>isinkú</i> , funeral
<i>gbón</i> , to be wise	<i>wádl</i> (<i>wá idí</i>), to make enquiries
<i>iyé</i> , quantity, value	<i>ogbà</i> , yard, garden; fence
<i>wonú</i> , to go in	<i>ogbá olópá</i> , police station
<i>pa</i> , to make (money)	<i>k'ágó</i> (<i>ké ágó</i>), to say
<i>ítumò</i> , meaning	<i>ágò</i> , onilé ó
<i>àgbálágbà</i> , elderly person	<i>íté</i> , throne, bird's nest
<i>òfò</i> , bereavement	<i>pélú</i> , as well, to accompany
<i>omoléhìn</i> , follower, junior	<i>jéwó</i> , to confess
<i>atéhinkú</i> , death out of turn	<i>òfò</i> , incantation, charm
<i>ṣàisàn</i> (<i>ṣe aísàn</i>), to be unwell	<i>ijà</i> , fight, quarrel
<i>nígbát'ó (bá) ṣe</i> , presently	

ijà, fight, quarrel
ojú á rí nkán, to
 experience something
 unpleasant

dà . . . kq, to direct . . .
 towards
d'ojú ijà kq, to challenge

EXERCISE 18

Translate into English: nígbátí ówó bá tán, lјàngbón'dé n'lyen; enit'ó bá rò pé òun'ti gbón tán, kò sé gbà lmòràn; è lè fi iyekiyé t'ó bá wù nyín fún mi; enit'ó wù t'ó bá wọnú yárá yí, k'ð lè e jádè lésékésè; mo maa nífi iyekiyé tí mo bá pa ránṣé sí lyáwó mi; gbogbo nkán tí kò bá yé è tán, k'ð béréré itúmò rè l'ówó mi; nígbát'ó bá di pé àgbálágba níše qfò qmoléhín rè báyí, a maa nkí i pé ó kú àtēhinkú; igbákigbá t'ó bá nṣàisàn, k'ð yára maa ránṣé pè dòkítá wá; nígbát'ó bá se, nwón á se isinkú bàbhá wọn; qmòdé t'ó wù t'ó bá npariwo, maa je è n'lyá dáiadíá; maa se èyítí mo bá lè se; nígbátí nwón bá wádi tán, nwón ó padà lò si ogbá olòpá; enit'ó bá maa wolé niláti k'ágó téle; èyít'ó bá ti bájé ninú wọn k'ð jù ú nù; nígbátí qba' bá dide lórí ité rè, kí ènyin náá dide pélú; enití kò bá jéwó, ojú rè á rí nkán; ó maa npe qfò sí eti enit'ó bá wá dà ojú ijà kq q.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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HABITUAL VERB FORMS

We have seen that the habitual idea is commonly expressed with the **n-** prefix, sometimes with the addition of **máa**. We deal here with some alternative forms which occur in books and are also used by some Yorubas in speech.

1. Instead of the negative **kò n-** some Yorubas use **kí i-**, e.g. **kò níwá(á) ki mi lójoojumó**, **kí iwá(á) kí mi lójoojumó** 'he does not come to greet me every day'. This form is also used after the relative word **tí**, e.g. **eni tí iwá lójoojumó dà** 'where is the person who comes every day?', and also after the emphasising word **ni**, e.g. **òun ni ifún wọn l'óúnje** 'it is she who gives them food'. (Note that **ni i-** is actually pronounced **ní i-**.) This **i-** is normally assimilated in pronunciation to a preceding vowel, though this assimilation may not be shewn in writing. For example, in **aago mélö l'è ilø(q) sùn** 'at what o'clock do you retire to sleep?' **è i-** is pronounced **è é-**; in **báyí l'a ise è** 'it is like this we do it' **a i-** is pronounced **a á-**; in **aso tí iyáwó iwò** 'the clothes which the bride wears' **ò i-** is pronounced **ò ó-**. We can in fact say that what we have here is a prefix which is conventionally written as **i-** but which is actually heard as an extension on high tone of the final vowel of the preceding word.

The main verb is sometimes preceded by **máa**, in which case **t-** is prefixed to this as well, though owing to the assimilation this may not be obvious, e.g. **ohun tí Òjó imáa frà** 'what Ojo always buys' would be pronounced colloquially as **ohun t'Ójó ómáa árà**. The same repetition of the prefix occurs too with other auxiliary verbs which may precede the verb, e.g. **isu kí isì iwón nibè rárá** 'and yams are not scarce there at all', **bí a ití ise è n'lyí** 'this is how we do it' (for **sí** and **tí** see pp. 203 and 178f.)

2. In positive unemphatic sentences we find in books a particle **a**, often strengthened by the addition of **máa**, the combination being written either **a máa** or **amáa**. This particle is like the negative particles **kò**, **kì** and the future particles **yiò**, **á** in not requiring a pronoun in front of it in the third pers. sing., e.g. **a máa fún mi l'ówó lósòsè** 'he gives me money every week'. As this is for many Yorubas a bookish form which they do not use in their own every day speech, it is generally used in an artificial way with the long (emphatic) pronouns even where one would expect the short (unemphatic) forms, e.g. **èmí a máa wè lójoojúmó** 'I have a bath every day'. For some Yorubas, however, it is a colloquial form and these make a distinction between the use of emphatic and unemphatic pronouns in the normal way. The colloquial forms with unemphatic pronouns which are mostly used are given in the sentences:

m'á máa wò agbádá l'ójó isinmi, I wear an agbada gown on Sundays
a máa wò shòkòtò pénpé l'óko, he wears short trousers on the farm
à máa lò(q) kí i lósòsè, we go to greet him weekly
nwón a máa tà á fún àwọn òyìnbo, they sell it to the Europeans

The second person pronoun forms are **ò** and **è**, but these are not common since sentences with these pronouns are generally emphatic, e.g. **sé isu l'è sìgbín s'óko yí** 'is it you plant in this farm?' (for this use of **sí** see p. 141).

It may be thought that there is some danger of ambiguity between this particle **a** and the future particle **á**, but in ordinary speech there is no difficulty since it is only those Yorubas who use the future in **yiò** who use the habitual **a**.

3. A word **sáàbà** 'usually' often occurs in habitual sentences, e.g. **kò n'sáàbà wá l'ójó isinmi/kí isáàbà íwá l'ójó isinmi** 'he does not usually come on Sundays', **a à n'sáàbà fún wọn l'ówó** 'we do not usually give them money'

HABITUAL VERB FORMS

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(**sáàbà i**, of course, will be actually pronounced **sáàbà á-**). When **maa** is used the order is not absolutely fixed, e.g. **mo maa n'sáàbà rí i**, **mo sáàbà maa n'í i** are both used for 'I usually see him'.

4. In general descriptions of behaviour, whether referring to the present or the past, the simple future is used, cp. 'if you touch a wasp it will sting you' in English. It is as if a single typical example is described as representative of the whole group, e.g. **ní igbà láilái, bì ọmokùnrin'rá rí ọmòbinrin t'ó wù ú, yiò/á bá a sòrò; bójá kò ní(i) fún u l'ési lésékésé** 'long ago, if a young man saw a girl, he would talk with her; perhaps she would not give him an answer immediately'. If we substitute **lódé òní** 'at the present day' for **ní igbà láilái**, then the whole description, without any further alteration, applies to the present, i.e. 'if a young man sees a girl etc.'

VOCABULARY

sáàbà , usually	ebi , hunger
bí . . . bá , if	fi . . . sun , to report . . .
bí . . . ti , as, how	to
lyà , suffering, punishment	yo , to come out, bring out
je , to afflict (with iyà)	ejó , case (in court)
ariwo , noise	oluwàrè , person concerned
kówé (kó iwé), to study	òràn , matter, affair
irési , rice	onilé , householder
ṣàlì , to fail to	rè , to go
tójú , to prepare, look after	dá . . . silé , to cause, found
bè . . . l'ówè , to ask for	élépo , oil-seller
òwè , cooperative help	àlà , white cloth
lùlùn (lù ilù), to drum	àlá , dream
pítàn (pa itàn), to tell stories	lá , to dream
gíbín , to plant	apó , quiver
ókàn , heart	ibinú , anger
tán . . . je , to deceive	ohùn , voice
àjò , travel	obi , cola-nut
	àpò , bag, pocket, purse

EXERCISE 19

Translate into English: a kò ñsáàbà maa wò aṣo òyìnbó; a kí ilò ó l'áiyé isisiyi; ng kí ijékí iyà kán je ajá yí rárá; ariwo tí nwón npa kí ijékí èníà lè kówé rárá; qbé ata l'a maa ñsáàbà je nígbànáá; nwón kí isáàbà iṣe irési l'áárò; àgbé kí iṣài tójú oúnje fún àwọn t'ó bá bẹ́ l'òwè; kíl'è maa nṣe láalaalé? à maa lùlù, à maa pítàn, à sì maa jó; kíl'o maa ñgbin s'óko yí? m'a maa gbin àgbádo àti èwá; ọkàn kí itàn mí je; bí éníkan'bá kojá, kò ní(i) yø sí i; bí éníkéni'bá dá ijá silè, nwón á lọ fi ejó olúwaré sun àwọn ọlópá; ebi kí iwónu kí ọràn miràn wò ọ; àjò kí idùn kí onilé má rè ilé; a kí iwò aṣo àlá k'á jókó sí isò elépo; àlá tí ajá bá lá, inú ajá ni ígbé; ilú kí ikéré k'ó má ní ààtàn; lbínú ni iyø qfá l'ápó, ohùn rere ni iyø obì l'ápò.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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THE NUMERALS

The lower Yoruba numerals are easy to understand and simple to operate but as we get into higher numbers we find that they get very complicated, so much so that many Yorubas now cannot use them and turn to English. The system developed during the time that cowry shells were used as currency. These were arranged in piles and strings of varying amounts and by additions and subtractions any required sum could be arrived at. This explains why subtraction plays such an important role in the system. Cowry shells have now disappeared from use as money but various expressions survive which bear witness to their former importance. One form of the numerals actually contains the word *owó* 'money', originally 'cowry money', fused with the basic numeral word; this is the form which is generally used in teaching arithmetic to Yoruba children.

The various forms of the numerals are:

(a) The basic form, used in counting. Apart from *ení* 'one', all the numerals in this form have a *low tone* initial vowel. For practical purposes a learner hardly needs to master this form since he can do the counting in English in his head, but a knowledge of the form helps one to understand how the other forms are built up.

(b) The 'total' form, derived from the basic form (except in the case of 'one', which is a completely different word) by adding *m* and substituting a *high tone* for the initial low tone, e.g. *èjì*, *méjì* 'two'. The word for 'one' has two forms—*òkan* (dialect variant *ikan*) used independently, e.g. *òkan kò dára* 'one is no good', and *kán* used with a preceding noun, e.g. *ejá kán kò tó* 'one fish is not enough'. The other 'total' forms are used indifferently either with nouns (including emphatic

pronouns) or independently, e.g. *sílè métá'tó* '3/- is enough', *métá'tó* 'three are enough'.

(c) The 'cowry' form, in which the word *owó* is fused with the numeral. Apart from *oókán* 'one cowry', in which merely the *w* is dropped, the vowels of *owó* are assimilated to the initial vowel of the numeral while retaining the tone pattern, e.g. *eéjí* 'two cowries'.

(d) The ordinal form, which has a low tone prefix vowel when used independently but which drops this prefix when used with a noun, though the effect of its low tone is retained on the mid tone of the following syllable. As this mid tone itself has been superimposed on the low tone of the basic form (except in the case of 'first') we hear a sequence of modified tones, e.g. in *omó kétá* 'the third child' the modified tone of *ké-* shows the influence of the low tone prefix of the independent form *éketá*, while the further modification on *-tá* shows the influence of the suppressed low tone of the basic form *éta*. It is actually possible, e.g. in *omó mi kétá* 'my third child', to have a sequence of three successively flattened mid tones.

The complete series of numerals up to 10 is:

	<i>Basic</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Cowry</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>
1	eni	òkan, kán	oókán	èkiní, kliní
2	èjí	méjí	eéjí	èkejí, kékí
3	éta	métá	éétá	èketá, kétá
4	érin	mérin	éérin	èkerin, kérin
5	árún	márún	aárún	èkarún, kárún
6	éfá	méfá	éfá	èkfá, kéká
7	éje	méjé	éje	èkejé, kéké
8	éjó	méjó	éjó	èkejó, kékó
9	éṣán	mésán	éṣán	èkesán, késán
10	éwá	méwá	éwá	èkewá, kéká

From here on we shall give only the 'total' forms except in cases where the other forms present some irregularity.

11 mókánlá 11 to 14 are contracted forms
12 méjilá meaning '1 over 10' etc.

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- 13 métálá
- 14 mérinlá
- 15 méédógún
- 16 mérindilóngún
- 17 métadilóngún
- 18 méjídilóngún
- 19 mókandilóngún
- 20 ogún

ogún '20' is a noun like English 'a score' and is placed before any accompanying noun, e.g. *ogún ènià* '20 people, a score of people'. The ordinal is expressed by a relative clause, e.g. *èyi t'o se ogún* 'the one that makes 20, the twentieth', or *ogún* may be placed after the noun, e.g. *ènià ogún* 'the twentieth person'. The 'cowry' form is okòd.

- 21 mókánlélóngún
- 22 méjilélóngún
- 23 métálélóngún
- 24 mérinlélóngún
- 25 méédógbón
- 26 mérindilóngbón
- 27 métadilóngbón
- 28 méjídilóngbón
- 29 mókandilóngbón
- 30 ogbón

From 40 up to 180 the even tens are formed by multiplying 20 by 2, 3, 4 etc. The odd tens are formed by contracted subtractions of 10 from the next higher even ten. The intermediate numbers are formed as before by adding up to 4 and then subtracting 5, 4 etc.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|-----|---------|
| 40 | ogójí | 120 | ogófá |
| 50 | àádótá | 130 | àádójé |
| 60 | ogótá | 140 | ogójé |
| 70 | àádórín | 150 | àádójó |
| 80 | ogórín | 160 | ogójó |
| 90 | àádórún | 170 | àádósán |
| 100 | ogórún | 180 | ogósán |

15 is a contracted form meaning '5 short of 20' and 16 to 19 are longer forms meaning '4 short of 20' etc., dí being a variant of dín 'to reduce, be short of'.

110 àádófà
56 mérindilögötà

153 mètäléláádójò

After 30 there are no special 'cowry' forms. 200 is a new basic word, *igba*, which enters into the system at 190 —*igba'din méwà* '200 short by 10'. 300 and 400 are basic words, but after that the even hundreds up to 2000 are multiplications of 200 and the odd hundreds are formed by subtraction.

300	òdùmún	1200	egbèfà
400	irinwò	1300	éédégbèjè
500	éédégbèta	1400	egbèje
600	egbèta	1500	éédégbèjo
700	éédégbèrin	1600	egbèjo
800	egberin	1700	éédégbèsán
900	éédégbèrún	1800	egbèsán
1000	egberún	1900	éédégbèwá
1100	éédégbèfà	2000	egbáá (egbèwá)

When the cowry currency was given up, a sack of 20,000 cowries was taken as equivalent to 5/0d, which makes 2000 cowries worth 6d. *egbáá* was, until recently at any rate, still used by some Yorubas instead of the loan-word *sísi* and *òké kán* 'one sack' was used for 5/0d, and so on.

egbáá is now in its turn made a unit of multiplication to take us up to 20,000, with the odd thousands formed by subtraction.

3,000	éédégbàaji	12,000	egbàafà
4,000	egbàaji	13,000	éédégbàajé
5,000	éédégbàatá	14,000	egbàajé
6,000	egbàatá	15,000	éédégbàajò
7,000	éédégbàarin	16,000	egbàajò
8,000	egbàarin	17,000	éédégbàasán
9,000	éédégbàarún	18,000	egbàasán
10,000	egbàarún	19,000	éédégbàawá
11,000	éédégbàafà	20,000	egbàawá or <i>òké kán</i>

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In the higher numbers there is no fixed order and often there are two alternative ways of expressing a number according to whether one adds from below or subtracts from above. The system is extremely cumbersome and is now for practical purposes obsolete. Further details may be found in 'A Dictionary of Modern Yoruba', by R. C. Abraham.*

Corresponding to the numerals there is a series *élō*, *mélō* 'how many?', *eélō* (the 'cowry' form) 'how much (money)?', *ékelō*, *kélō* 'which in order?'. Of these the most commonly occurring are *mélō* and *eélō*; *élō* is occasionally heard instead of the latter.

isú mélō l'o maa rà? how many yams are you going to buy?

ènià mélō l'o wá sí ipàdé náá? how many people came to the meeting?

eélō ni? how much is it?

eélō ni gbogbo rè? how much is it all?

eélō l'o maa fún mi? how much will you give me?

To translate 'how much worth?' we add the 'possessive' prefix *óní* (see p. 183), which combined with *eélō* produces *eléélō* 'having how much (value)?'. This can be used independently or qualifying a noun.

eléélō l'o fé? how much worth do you want?

èran eléélō l'o maa rà l'ójà lóní? how much worth of meat are you going to buy in the market today?

Answers to *eélō ni?* might be *kóbò méji* '2d', *tórò* '3d', *kóbò mérin* '4d', *sísi* '6d', *nái* '9d', *shílè kan* '1/0d', *shílè kan àábò* '1/6d' ('one shilling a half')—no word 'and' is used with *àábò*; but, on the other hand, *shílè kan áti kóbò kan*, *shílè kan áti tórò*, *shílè kan áti nái*, *pónùn méji àábò* '£2-10-0', *pónùn mérin áti shílè mérin* '£4-4-0'. Answers to questions containing *eléélō*, on the other hand, would be of the form *óní-kóbò méji*, *óní-shílè kan* and so on. (*óní* is in such cases actually written as a separate word.)

It should be noted that some Yorubas do not use the

* See Postscript, p. 220.

onf prefix in this way and add the price directly to the preceding noun, e.g. *èran shìlè mètā* '3/0d worth of meat'. If the noun is not expressed, the possessive *ti* is used, e.g. *ti shìlè mārún* '5/0d's worth'.

Distribution is expressed by doubling the numeral or word denoting value. The doubled form of *òkan*, *kán* is *òkòkan*, *kòkan*.

fún wọn ní méjì méjì, give them two each
 fún wọn ní shìlè kòkan, give them a shilling each
 nwón tò ní mètā mètā, they formed up in threes
 pónùn mérin mérin ni, they are £4 each
 mélō mélō ni kí n fún wọn? how many each should I
 give them?
 eéélō ni kí n fún wọn?, how much each should I give them?

Notice the difference between *eéélō?* 'how much each?' and *eéélō?* 'how much worth?'; *eéélō* is a contracted doubled form representing *célō* *eélō*. Another word with a contracted double form is *epinni* '½d', which forms *epéepinni*, as in *epéepinni ni* 'they are a ha'penny each'. Words like *tóró*, on the other hand, are doubled completely, e.g. *tóró* *tóró* *ni* 'they are 3d each'.

Another reduplicated series goes *méjéjì* 'both', *méfètä* 'all three', *mérèrìn* 'all four', *máráárún* 'all five' and so on.

fún mi ní méjéjì, give me both
 òkùnrin l'awón méfètä, all three were boys (males)

With 15 and 25 we must use *gbogbo* 'all' and also with any numeral which does not begin with *m-*, e.g. *gbogbo* *méédögún* l'ó lò 'all fifteen went', *gbogbo(o)* wa ogún l'a lò 'all twenty of us went'.

Corresponding to English 'once', 'twice', 'three times', etc. we have *èèkan*, *èèmèjì*, *èèmètā* and so on. The *èè-* in these words is contracted from *èrin-*, which is sometimes written. They frequently occur as adverbial extensions with *ní*, written as one word, e.g. *lèèkan*, *lèèmèjì*. The *èè* element is also combined with the ordinal series, e.g.

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èèkini 'the first time', èèkeji 'the second time' and so on. Occasionally we find such forms preceded by *igba* 'time, occasion', e.g. *ní igba èèkini ti mo ri i* 'on the occasion of the first time that I saw him'.

Fractions are of the form *idáji* 'a half', *idátà* 'a third', *idárin* 'a fourth' and so on or, alternatively, *ídá mètā*, *ídá mérin* and so on—there being no fuller form for 'a half'. Note that there are two words for 'a half'—*àabò* and *idáji*. *àabò*, as we have already seen, is used after whole numerals and is added on without any connecting word, e.g. *shìlè méjì àabò* '7/6d', *aago mèfà àabò* 'half past six' (for clock time see p. 114). It is also used in the expression *àabò èkó* 'half, incomplete education' and in the proverb which begins *àabò òrò l'a nísó fún omoluwábi ...* 'it is half a word we say to a gentleman ...'. Examples of the use of *idáji* are *fún mi ní idáji rè* 'give me half of it', *ó kún dà idáji* 'it is half full' (lit. 'reach half').

In multiplication and division the word *ònà* 'way' is used, e.g. *egbérún l'ònà egbérún jé miliònù* 'a thousand times a thousand is a million', *pín owó yí s'ònà mérin dògbadògba* 'divide this money into four equally', *eélō ni ònà kòkan?* 'how much is each part, section?'.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

rò ... mó, to add	eyin, egg
(numbers) to	mòwé, to be literate
yø ... kúrò nínú, to	èsusú, èésú, thrift club
subtract from	dá èésú, pay in to thrift
báñkì, bank	club
òpá, stick, baton, yard	péré, (emphasises fewness)
length	ṣoṣo, (emphasises singleness)
mállì, mèjì, mile	sí i, to it, more
lgàn, piece	ténumò, to emphasise
pín, to divide, distribute	gbé sí, to perish in
dògbadògba, equally	ogun, war
àárín, middle, amongst	ṣugà, sugar
ṣéñjì, change (money)	nikan, alone
kóréñsi, paper money	

EXERCISE 20

YORUBA

Translate into English: rò èésán mó eérin, ó di eélö? ó di ètálá; yo eéjé kúrò nínú eéjilá, ó kú eélö? ó kú aárùn; mo ní ogófá pónùn ní bánlí, mo gbà pónùn måründilögörin, eélö l'ó kú? ó kú pónùn måründilädötá; ópá mélö l'ó nṣe mälli (mégéli) kan? éédégbésán ópá ó lé l'ogótá; ópá mélö l'ó wá nínú lgàn aṣo yí? mo pín shílè mèdògún dògbadògba láärín qmódé métá—eélö ní qmódé kòdòkan'íi gbà? bí mo bá rà adié méjilá ní pónùn méjé àti shílè kan, eélö ni adié kòdòkan? shílè mókànlá áti nái; shéñjí eélö ni ng ó gbà nínú kóréníi onípónùn mårùn bí mo bá rà eyin adié ní shílè méjídilögún? o ó gbà pónùn mérin áti shílè méjí; áwa métééta l'a ló(o) pàdé rè l'Ékò; àwọn méjéèji'mówé dáaddáa; ènyin mélö l'e dá èésú yí? áwa méwá ni; mälli mélö ni láti Ékó sí Ibadàn? ó jù ogórùn mälli ló dié; èéméjí péré ni mo dé ibé; fún u ní méjí sí i; mo tenumó o léékan sí i pé o kò gbodò ló; idá mérin àwòn ará llú yí l'ó gbé s'ògun yí; eéjilá l'ónà mårùn jé ogótá; mo fún àwòn qmódé méwá yí ní shílè méjí àabò méjí àabò; shílè kan péré ni mo ná; qmò kànshoшo l'ó bí; mo rà ṣugá oní-shílè méjí áti àkà à öyinbó oní-shílè métá; iyànà kelö l'ápá òtún ni kí ng gbà? igi kétá kétá ni k'ò gé lulè; èmi nikanshoшo ni mo nígbé yárá yí.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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SEASONS, TIMES, MEASURES

1. There are no old names for the months in common use though some may be found as antiquarian curiosities in books. In newspapers January is referred to as *Oṣù kliní ọdún* 'first month of the year' and so on. Yorubas tend to think more in terms of seasons rather than months. There are two main seasons, *èèrùn* 'dry season' from about the middle of October to the middle of April and *àkókò ọjò* 'period of rain' during the other half of the year. Another name for the 'dry season' is *ògbèlè*. In the middle of the 'period of rain' there is a dry but cloudy season called *òwòré*.

2. The Yoruba week consisted originally of four days and there are many recurring markets which are held every fourth, every eighth or every sixteenth day. Yoruba names have been found for the days of the seven-day week. These are used in some newspapers but they are not generally known. These are:

Sunday	<i>Ojò àlkú</i>	Day of immortality
Monday	<i>Ojò ajé</i>	Day of profit
Tuesday	<i>Ojò iségun</i>	Day of victory
Wednesday	<i>Ojò ríru, Ojòóru</i>	Day of confusion
Thursday	<i>Ojòbò or Ojò àséshédáiyé</i>	Day of creation
Friday	<i>Ojò etí</i>	Day of failure
Saturday	<i>Ojò ábámétá</i>	Day of three meetings

More commonly used are names derived from English or Arabic (through Muslim influence). Sunday is *Ojò/ijò ọsé* or *Ojò ọsé onígbàgbó* 'day of Christian weekly festival' or *Ojò isíimi* 'day of rest'. The remaining days may be called *Ojò kéjì ọsé* 'second day of the week' and so on, but *Mónđé, Tóṣdé* (Thursday) and *Sátidé* often

occur. The commonest names of Arabic origin are *Àlámisi* 'Thursday' and *Jímóò* 'Friday', while *Àtíní* 'Monday', *Àtálátá* 'Tuesday' and *Àlárùba* 'Wednesday' also occur.

It should be noted that in counting days forward or backward Yoruba includes the day from which the count is made, so that in translating into English one day has to be subtracted and vice-versa. Counting forward we have *lóní* 'today', *lólá* 'tomorrow', *lótúnla* 'the day after tomorrow', *ní ojó/ijó mérin òní* 'in three days time' and so on. Counting backward we have *lóní*, *láná* 'yesterday', *n'ijéjtá* 'two days ago, the day before yesterday', *n'ijérin* 'three days ago' and so on. Note the series *ijetá*, *ijerin*, *ijarún* etc. which presumably contains the word *ijó* 'day' condensed with the numeral though the *i*- has low tone.

The 'day before Christmas' is expressed by *Kérésimesi* 'Christmas is short (by) tomorrow', 'two days before Christmas' by *Kérésimesi* 'kú ọtúnla' and so on. The 'day after Christmas' is expressed by *ojó kékí K.* 'the second day of Christmas', 'two days after etc.' by *ojó kéké K.* 'the third day etc.'

3. To shew clock time we use the word *agogo*, *aago*, which originally meant 'bell' but has now acquired in addition the meaning 'clock, watch', e.g. *agogo* ọwó 'hand-watch, i.e. wrist-watch'. In asking the time one says *aago méló ni!* 'how many bells is it?'. The answer on the hour would be *aago métá ni* 'it is 3 o'clock' and so on. Before the hour it would be *aago métá kú iséjú méwá* 'it is 10 minutes to 3', lit. '3 o'clock is short 10 minutes', and so on. After the hour it would be *aago mérin' kojá iséjú méjilá* 'it is 12 minutes past 4', lit. '4 o'clock is past 12 minutes', and so on. The word *àábó* is used for 'half past', e.g. *aago márún àábó* 'half past 5', while for a 'quarter' *iséjú mèdògún* '15 minutes' is general, e.g. *aago mèfá'kojá iséjú mèdògún ni* 'it is a quarter past 6'.

Similar expressions are used in such sentences as 'the train will start at 5 o'clock, at 12 minutes past 7, at 20 minutes to 8'—*okò á sí l'aago márún*, *l'aago méjé'kojá*

SEASONS, TIMES, MEASURES

iséjú méjilá, *l'aago méjó'kù ogún iséjú*. A different form of expression, however, using the verb *lù* 'to strike' is used in such sentences as 'let us hurry, it is already 4 o'clock'—*é jék'á yára, aago mérin'ti lù*—and the corresponding questions, e.g. *njé aago mésán ti lù* 'is it 9 o'clock?'. Sentences like 'it is already 10 to 2' and 'it is already 10 past 2' are more complicated. The first could be *iséjú méwá péré l'ó mà kú kí aago méjí lù!* 'only ten minutes remain that 2 o'clock strike!' or one might hear *aago méjí mà ti fé(?) lù!* ó kú *iséjú méwá péré* '2 o'clock already wants to strike! it remains only 10 minutes'. The second would be *aago méjí mà ti lù!* ó *ti fi iséjú méwá kojá báyí* '2 o'clock has already struck! it has already past 10 minutes'. Note that the use of *kú* 'to remain' is not restricted to these situations; one might get an answer *ó kú dié kí aago métá lù* 'it is nearly 3 o'clock' in reply to *aago méló ni*.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

4. Foodstuffs are still generally sold by value, e.g. *èran oní-silè kan* 'a shilling's worth of meat'; in the case of things like flour this will be fixed according to the size of the container. English weights are used in selling produce like cocoa. Note *èsin* 'pound', lit. 'push', i.e. a degree on the bar of the weighing machines used at rail and other depots. For 'stone' and 'quarter' the borrowed words *sítónù* and *kótà* are used, but for 'hundredweight' there is *òkúta* 'stone, rock'. This can be confusing!

5. English measures of length are used; 'inch' is *íñsl*, 'foot' is *ṣe báta* 'foot of shoe', 'yard' is *òpá* 'walking-stick, baton' and 'mile' is *mèlì*, *málli*, though in books we sometimes find *ibúsò* 'stopping point'.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

àgbè, farmer
òlidé, holiday

mósálási, mosque
parí, to complete, finish

kírún, to recite Moslem
prayers
fè, to be broad
Iléyá, Greater Bairam
festival

YORUBA
ara mi'dá, I am well
l'pháñ (of time) next but
one

EXERCISE 21

Translate into English: aago mårün ààbò l'a maa níswó n'ibi isé wa; aago mélö ni kí ng wá(á) jí nyín lólá? ó di ijó mérin òní kí n tó lè dá ááké náà padà; àgbè kò níri àyé jókò geleté s'ilé l'ákókò ojò; mo rò pé a ó gbà olidé ní odún Iléyá kú òtúnlà; ijó tí mo maa ló sí llú òyinbó kú ijó méfà ni bábá mí'kú; mo fé kí férèsé kókókan ó ga ní èse bátá mérin k'ó si fé ní èsé bata méjì; iséjú mélö l'ó kú níslisyí kí aago métá lù? nígbáti mo rí i n'ijárún, ara rē kó dà rárá; áwọn ìmále' maa níló(g) kírún ní móshálási ní ojó Jimòò; nwón kó qmø náà jádè ní ijó lségun, tí isé ijó kérindilégbón osù t'ó kojá; mo rò pé ojò ó bérè l'osù ti mbò l'óhún; òkúta kòkó mélö ni nwón rà l'òwó ré l'éshin? ó ti pari gbogbo isé ré kí aago mårün to lù; ijó mélö ni odún Kérésimesífi kojá lóní? yiò tó ijó mérin k'ó lè padà.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Where in English we use in direct questions such words as 'who? what? which? etc.', we generally use the same words in the corresponding indirect questions, e.g. 'who did it? I want to know who did it; which did he buy? I do not know which he bought'. In Yoruba, however, there is usually a change; the question word is dropped and the relative word *tí* is substituted, along with appropriate other changes, e.g. *nígbáwo* (*ní igbà wo*) *l'o dé?* 'at-what-time (when) did you arrive?', *ng kò mò igbá'tó dé* 'I do not know the time-that he arrived'. (You will remember that in certain cases *tí* is written as one word with its antecedent, p. 89.) We give a list of some direct question words and their corresponding relative forms. Note that all the direct question words are followed by *ni*, i.e. they are emphatic.

kíni, what?	ohun/nkán <i>tí</i> , the thing that
kí'l'ó fé? what does he want?	
bi í léléè ohun t'ó fé, ask him what he wants	
tani, who?	énití, the person that
tal'è bá níbè? who did you come across there?	
mo fé(é) mò énit'è bá níbè, I want to know who you	
came across there	
éwo, which one?	éyítí, the one that
éwo l'o maa rà? which one are you going to buy?	
kò fé(é) sò éyít'ò maa rà fún mi, he won't tell me which	
one he is going to buy	
wò, which? what?	<i>tí</i> , that
ilé wó l'o nígbé? which house do you live in?	
a kò mò ilé t'ó nígbé, we do not know which house he	
lives in	
wò is the dependent form of éwo (see p. 30).	

mélō, how many? iye . . . tí, the number that
 ènià mélō l'o nígbé Ibàdàn? how many people live at
 Ibadan?
 njé e mó iye ènià t'ó nígbé Ibàdàn? do you know how
 many people live at Ibadan?
 eélō, how much money? iye ówó tí, the amount of
 money that
 eélō l'o ná?, how much did you spend?
 tani'mó iye ówó t'ó ná, who knows how much money
 he spent?
 níbo, ibo, where? ibítí, the place that
 níbo l'ó gblé wá? where is it?
 apá ibo l'ó gbá ló? in which direction did he go?
 mo fé mó ibit'ó gblé wá, I want to know where it is
 njé o lè sò apá ibit'ó gbá ló fún mi? can you tell me which
 direction he went?

In line with the last example inú ápótí wó? 'inside which box?' becomes inú ápótí tí, ilé tani? 'whose house?' becomes ilé ẹnítí and so on.

The question words 'how?' and 'why?' present some complications and are left to be dealt with later.

Direct questions of the type s'ó rí i 'did you see him?' are made indirect in a way very similar to English, the word bi 'if' being used to introduce the clause.

s'ó fé(é) rà á, do you want to buy it?
 bi í lélére b'ó bá fé(é) rà á, ask him if he wants to buy it

The indirect question, as in the above example, is generally 'indefinite', i.e. it contains bá between the subject and the verb, unless some part of the sentence is emphasised with ni. In this case the form of the indirect question may depend to some extent on the form of the direct.

ṣé iwo l'o fó q? was it you broke it?
 bi í lélére b'óun l'o fó q, ask him if it was he broke it
 ṣé isu l'o fé?, is it yams you want?
 bi í lélére b'íṣu l'o fé, ask him if it is yams he wants
 njé isu ni? is it yam, I wonder?
 békéré b'íṣu bá ni, ask if it is yam

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUESTIONS

The last example shews that the 'indefinite' bá used with ni corresponds with the tentative direct question expressed by the use of njé, while the more confident questions asked with sé are reflected in the absence of bá in the first examples.

In double questions bá is not used.

ögédé l'o maa rà ábí ọpé-oyinbó ni? is it bananas you
 are going to buy or pine-apples?
 békéré bí ögédé l'o maa rà bí ọpé-oyinbó ni, ask if it is
 bananas he is going to buy etc.

Notice the slight variation at the beginning of the second clause, where ábí is replaced by bí. The repetition of bí at the beginning of each clause in the indirect question is more usual, but ábí sometimes occurs.

Perhaps because so many Yorubas are becoming bilingual, there is a tendency nowadays towards using constructions which seem to be reflections of the English usage, i.e. the use of the direct question words, introduced by pé 'saying', instead of the relative tí, e.g. ó bi mí lélére pé kíni mo fé instead of ó bi mí lélére ohun tí mo fé for 'he asked me what I wanted'. In some cases this 'quotation' method is actually more economical than the alternative. For example, a direct question of the type sé kí m mí u wá 'shall I bring it in?' would naturally be rendered ó békéré bí mo bá fé kí òun mí u wá 'he asked if I wanted him to bring it in' in the indirect form, but it could also be rendered ó békéré pé sé kí òun mí u wá 'he asked if he was to bring it in'.

The verb bi . . . lélére is lit. 'ask . . . in a question (ní èrè)'. In békéré the bi is compounded with èrè, so that it means lit. 'ask question'. This can be followed by l'ówó 'at the hand of', e.g. ó békéré l'ówó mí bí mo bá mó fí rí 'he asked at my hand if I was acquainted with him (knew him before)', which is equivalent to ó bi mí lélére bí etc. But ó békéré nkán l'ówó mí can mean 'he asked for something from me' as well as 'he enquired about something from me'. ó bi mí lélére nkán, however, can have only the latter meaning.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

bóyá, perhaps	iléké, bead
yí . . . ká, to go round	ilé aiyé, the world
ákíyésí, attention, notice	oore, good turn
só, to throw	yán, to choose

EXERCISE 22

Translate into English: mo béréré l'ówó rē pé bójá ó lè
 mū mi yí ilú náà ká; ó tún béréré bí iyá yí tún ní omó
 mímán l'áiyé; kò lè rántí ibít'ó fi iléké pamó sí; ng kò mó
 nkán tí mo maa fún wón je; ó bí mí léérè bí oúnjé t
 òún'bù'tó tábí kò tó; mo béréré iye ówó tí yió tā ökan
 nínú wón fún mi; nwón sō itán nkán tí ojú áwón'ti r
 s'éhín fún ara wón; njé e ti pinnu ákókó t'ē maa lo?
 tani'mó iye odún tí òún'maa gbé l'óri ilé aiyé? ó níronú
 ohun t'ó dé bá òún; njé o mó iye aago tí nwón maa
 nísiwó ní ibi-isé yí? ó béréré irú oore tí òún'lé se fún mi;
 kò mó èyít'ó yé kí òún yán; ng kò mó bí ibi-isé ní nwón
 nlo bí ilé ni; kò lè rántí ödö eniti ábúró rē nígbé; ó yé
 k'ö se ákiyésí irú aşo tí nwón wò; ó bá iwé rē níbití nwón
 gbé sō ó sí.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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ADJECTIVES

We have seen that the basic forms of common descriptive words are verbs, e.g. kéré 'be small', ga 'be lefty'. From these verbs are regularly derived words which function like English adjectives. This is done by prefixing a high tone syllable which has the vowel i and the same consonant as the first syllable of the verb, e.g. ipò giga 'lofty position', óti lile 'strong liquor' (le 'be hard, strong'), oúnjé dídùn 'tasty food', qrà titó 'straight road', omí kíkorò 'bitter water', qbé mímú 'sharp knife.'

Some common adjectival forms are more or less irregular:

dárá, 'be fine, good, nice'	dáradára (the regular dídára also occurs)
kéré, 'be small'	kékeré
tóbí 'be big'	nlá (títóbi also occurs)
kúrú, 'be short'	kúkúrú
burú, 'be bad, nasty, wicked'	búburú and also burukú
pò, 'be much, many'	púpò (pípò also occurs)
tutù, 'be cold, damp'	tútù (perhaps from titutù)

In a few cases the adjectival form is the same as the verb:

dúdú, 'be dark, black'	and also 'dark, black'
pupa, 'be red'	and 'red'
funfun, 'be white'	and 'white'
titun, tuntun, 'be new'	and 'new'

2. Besides these common words there is a large number of adjectives which are not derived from verbs. When we want to use one of these words in a statement we generally add the verb ri, which is one of the verbs correspond-

ing to English 'to be' (see p. 154), e.g. *áwo roboto* 'a round dish', *ó rí roboto* 'it is round', *yárá wúruwúru* 'an untidy room', *ó rí wúruwúru* 'it is untidy'. These words are all 'phonaesthetic', i.e. they convey to the Yoruba ear some idea of their meaning by their sound, just as in English such words as 'slither', 'zigzag' do. More will be said about these words later.

Some phonaesthetic words may be used with *ṣe* instead of *rí*, e.g. *ó rí šákišáki*, *ó ṣe šákišáki* 'it is rough, shaggy'. The non-phonaesthetic word *pátáki* 'important'* also takes *ṣe*. The common word *díè* 'few, some', on the other hand, cannot be used in this sort of statement at all. The Yoruba for 'they are few' is *nwọn kò pò rárá* 'they are not many at all'.

3. Descriptive verbs made up of *ní* 'to have' plus a noun, e.g. *lágábára* 'be powerful, strong' have no adjectival forms of the sort described. One uses instead either a relative clause, e.g. *ókùnrin t'ó lágábára* 'a man who is powerful' or a noun form meaning 'one who has ...', e.g. *alágábára* 'one who has power'. These forms are explained in detail later on page 183, while the possible variations in word order—*ókùnrin alágábára* or *alágábára ókùnrin*—are referred to below.

In the case of *léwà* 'have beauty, be beautiful' the noun form in use is a completely different word—*aréwà*—so that one says either, e.g. *obinrin t'ó léwà* or *aréwà obinrin/obinrin aréwà* for 'a beautiful woman'.

It should be noted that, even where an adjectival form is in use, Yoruba often prefers to use a relative clause, which adds a certain amount of emphasis to the qualifying word, e.g. *mo rà aṣo kán t'ó dárá* instead of *mo rà aṣo dádáá kán*. This construction is obligatory if the 'adjective' is qualified in certain ways, e.g. one can only say *mo rà aṣo kán t'ó dárá púpó*. It is also usual with a sequence of such words, e.g. for 'I saw two big black snakes' one says *mo rí ejò méjì t'ó dudú t'ó sì tóbí* 'I saw

* This word is used as a verb in the sense of 'to consider important', e.g. *ó pátáki ara r̄* 'he considered himself important'.

ADJECTIVES

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two snakes which were black and also big' rather than *mo rí ejò dudú álá méjì*.

4. Words which function as adjectives can also function as nouns, e.g. *kékeré* can mean 'a small one' or 'small ones', as in *kékeré ní mo fè* 'it is a small one/small ones I want'. Any other adjectival form could be substituted for *kékeré* in this and similar sentences. Many can also be constructed with the preposition *ní*, e.g. *fún mi ní dudú* 'give me a black one/black ones'. Some are used with *ní* in special phrases, e.g. *ní kíkún* 'in full', *ní kúkúrú* 'in short', while *ní kékéré* means 'in (time of) youth'.

If we want to say '*the* small one' etc. we use *éyí* followed either by a relative clause or the adjectival form, e.g. *éyít'ó kéré* or *éyí kékéré*, with no difference of meaning. The plural forms of these alternatives are *áwọn t'ó kéré* and *áwọn kékéré* etc. '*This* small one' etc. is either *éyít'ó kéré yí* or *éyí kékéré yí*, the corresponding plurals being *áwọn t'ó kéré yí/wónyí* and *áwọn kékéré yí/wónyí*. (For the use of the plural form *wónyí* see p. 195).

5. It is not unusual to have nouns functioning as adjectives, e.g. *obinrin öyinbó* 'European (white) woman', *ókùnrin alágábára* 'powerful man', *igbímò aṣòfin* 'legislative council' (*aṣòfin* 'law-maker'). The normal order, as in the above examples, is for the qualifying noun to be placed second, but in certain combinations this can be emphasised by being placed first, e.g. *alágábára ókùnrin* 'powerful man', *óṣisé ènìà* 'hard-working person'. This possibility of inverting the order of words distinguishes this sort of noun sequence from the type exemplified by *ápóti aṣo* 'box for clothes' (see p. 44), in which there can be no variation. Inversion for emphasis is sometimes found even with adjectival forms, e.g. in the Yoruba proverb *a kí irí kékéré àna* 'one does not see a young (lit. small) relative by marriage', i.e. all such relatives, however young, must be treated with the greatest respect.

Nouns, like adjectives, are preceded by *éyí* in contexts where a contrast is stated or implied, e.g. *éyí iyáwó* 'the younger wife' (in contrast with the senior wife) or *éyí*

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oyinbó 'the European' (in contrast with one or more Africans who were with him).

In a certain number of common words *okùnrin* and *obìnrin* have lost their initial vowels and have been reduced to the status of suffixes, e.g. *omokùnrin* 'son', *omòblinrin* 'daughter', *erukùnrin* and *erubùnrin* 'male/female slave', *arákùnrin* and *arábinrin* 'male/female relative', *obabinrin* 'female ruler, queen'. In more unusual combinations and where some emphasis is intended the full forms are used, e.g. *dókítà obinrin* 'female doctor', *omq mi okùnrin* 'my son' (i.e. as distinct from my daughter).

6. Yoruba has nothing corresponding to the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives with which we are familiar in European languages, e.g. English 'big, bigger, biggest'. To translate 'he is bigger than I' we say *ó tóbí jù mí lq*, which is literally 'he is big surpass me go' (*lq* 'go', which brings out the idea of surpassing, going beyond, is sometimes omitted). The verb *jù* can, in fact, be used by itself in contexts where the meaning is clear, e.g. *ó jù mí lq* 'he is older/more important/ stronger than I'. *jù* and *lq* are written as one word when they come together, e.g. *éyít'ó dara jùlq nínú wọn ni mo fē* 'I want the best one of (among) them'. Notice that 'the best one' is translated by a relative clause in Yoruba; it is not possible to add *jù*, *jùlq* to adjectival forms. Such a phrase as *éyít'ó kérí jù èyi lq* may be translated, according to context, as either 'the one that is smaller than this' or just 'one that is smaller than this', but for this latter we may also have *éyít'ó bá kérí jù èyi lq*, which we might translate 'the one that happens to be smaller than this'.

Where no comparison is intended *jù* corresponds to 'too', e.g. *ó kérí jù* 'it is too small' or, more emphatic, *ó kérí púpō jù* (*púpōjù*). Contrast with that *òn l'ó kérí jù/jùlq* 'he/that one is the smaller/smallest' (there being no distinction whether two or more than two are being compared). To translate 'that is the one that is too small' one says *òn l'ó kérí púpōjù*.

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In a certain number of titles translated from English, e.g. *aláánú jùlq* 'most merciful', *olólá jùlq* 'most honourable', we find *jùlq* added to what are actually nouns—'one who has mercy, honour'. This is a quite un-Yoruba construction. We might add that in some old-fashioned Yoruba grammars *jù* was equated with the English comparative '-er' and *jùlq* with the superlative '-est' but this was very arbitrary and not in accordance with the facts of the language.

7. Adjectives which function as nouns, e.g. *Kékéré* used as a nickname 'Little', have the same effect on preceding words as nouns beginning with a consonant (see pp. 32, 45). For example, when such a word is the object of a preceding 'low-tone' verb, this verb is actually heard on a mid-tone, e.g. *ó wù Kékéré púpō* 'it pleased K. very much', while a preceding noun in genitive (possessive) relationship has its final syllable extended on a mid-tone, e.g. *omq(q) Kékéré* 'K's child', *filà(a) Kekere* 'K's cap'. Where *kékéré* functions as an adjective we have on the other hand *omq kékéré* 'little child', *filà kékéré* 'little cap' without the extensions.

8. There are certain rules about the order of qualifying words. Possessive pronouns come next to the head noun unless some other word is very closely bound to it, e.g. one says *iyá mi àgbà* 'my senior mother' = 'my grandmother', but *owó òtún mi* 'my right hand'. Adjectives denoting colour and size are not so fixed in their order as in English. After these come numerals and finally demonstratives, e.g. *agbádá funfun titóbí kán* 'a big white gown', *àwọn omq kékéré méjì yi* 'these two little children'.

9. *gbogbo* 'all, every' can function either as a noun or as an adjective, usually with some difference of emphasis, e.g. *gbogbo(o) wa l'a fē(é) lq* 'all of us want to go, we all want to go', *awa gbogbo rí i* 'we all saw it'; *mo nílq(q) kí i nígbágogbo* 'I go to great him always/all the time', *ni gbogbo igbáti mo lq(q) kí i ...* 'on every occasion that I went to greet him ...' or 'on all the occasions etc.'; *fún mi ní gbogbo rè* 'give me all of it'.

It should be noted that words like **kékeré** functioning as nouns can also be constructed with possessives in this way, e.g. **kékeré rẹ́ wà, nílá rẹ́ sì wà pèlú** 'there are small ones (of it) and there are also big ones (of it)'.

VOCABULARY

eléédé, pig	já sí, to come out to
póju, to be most common	ogbón, wisdom, device, trick
goboyi much (of money)	láti, to, in order to
póókú, little (of money)	ibilé, native, not foreign
óde aiyé, the world at large	awó, skin
èmí, life, spirit	tééré, thin
òkíkí, fame, reputation	bó, to cover
ikú, death	ikùn, belly, mind
yá, to be ready	aséni, secret enemy
èsin, humiliation	kólókòló, winding, twisted
tò . . . wá, to come to	èhin odi, outside town
nílá, important, big	odi, town wall
léhín, after, behind	kàn, to knock
já, to find out	pupa, to be fair-skinned (African)

EXERCISE 23

Translate into English: éran eléédé àti ejá tútú l'ó pòjù níñú oúnje rẹ́; owó goboyi ni nwón san fún mi; mo tā gbogbo èrù mi ní owó póókú; ohun mérin ni gbogbo ènlá níwá l'ódè aiyé—èmí gigún, owó, omó àti òkíkí; oúnje didùn l'ó maa nífún mi je; gbogbo áwa qmò Yorùbá l'a mó pé ikú yá jù èsin lò; mo sì ilékùn, mo rí àlejò nílá kán t'ó tò mi wá; kò yé kí owó ori móto yí jù igba pónùn lò; léhín ojó pipé mo já ogbón kán; aṣo t'ó dúdú jù èyí lò dié ni mo níwá; orisírisí ònà l'awon Yorùbá maa nígbà láti kí ara wọn; èyí ènlá dúdú níñú wọn wò aṣo ibilé; awó tééré bo'nú, kò jék'á rí ikùn aséni; ònà kólókòló l'a gbà já s'èhin odi; èyí nílá l'ó wù mí jù; nígbáti mo kán ilékùn, arewà obinrin kán l'ó jádè sì mi láti inú yàrá;

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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EMOTIONS, SENSATIONS, AILMENTS

The Yoruba way of expressing emotions, sensations and ailments differs from English in that the person involved is usually the grammatical object, not the subject of the verb of the sentence, e.g. the Yoruba for 'I feel cold' is òtútú'mí mi lit. 'cold has caught me'. Another point is that the verbs used are very specialised in their meaning, e.g. in inú bí mi 'I feel/felt angry' it is impossible to assign a meaning to bí apart from its use here with inú 'inside'. One could give it some such meaning as 'stir up', but with the restriction that it is used in this sense only with inú. A third point is that in some cases a reverse order is possible, e.g. besides inú bí mi there is also mo bínú. The difference in meaning is that where the person is the grammatical object the emotion is thought of as coming on him of its own volition, as it were, while where the person is the subject he is thought of a summoning up the emotion, which is entirely under his control. For this reason forms with the person as subject are usual in prohibitions, e.g. má bínú 'don't be angry', though one might sometimes prefer to say má jéki inú bí o 'don't let yourself get angry'. Another example is má bérù 'don't be afraid' in contrast with èrù'bá mí 'I felt afraid'. The difference is well brought out in ó bérù Olórùn 'he fears God', where a deliberate choice is implied, and èrù Olórùn'bá á 'the fear of God is on him, he is afraid of God'.

A number of common expressions are listed here to shew the variations which occur.

èrù'bá mí, I feel/felt afraid

èrù rẹ́'bá mí, I am/was afraid of him (fear of him fell on me)

èrù níbá mí, I am becoming afraid/I am always afraid

è má bērù è (rè), don't be afraid of him
 ọrò yí bá mí l'érù, these words made me feel afraid
 ó dérùbà mí (dá), he frightened me (deliberately) (dá
 'cause')
 inú bí mi sí i, I got angry with him
 inú níbi i púpò, he always gets very angry
 ọrò yí bí mi nínú, these words/this matter made me
 angry
 ojú tì mí, I felt bashful/ashamed (face shut me!)
 má tijú, don't be shy
 ó gba mí l'ójú tì, it made me feel ashamed
 ó dójuti mí (dá), he put me to shame/caused me to be
 shamed
 inú mi'dùn, I am happy/glad (my inside is sweet)
 inú dídùn, happiness
 ó mú mi nínú dùn, he made me feel happy

Note that there is another dùn 'to pain', which occurs in the phrase ó dùn mí nínú/l'ókàn, it pains me inside/in the heart' = 'I am sorry'.

inú mi'bajé, I am upset (my inside is spoilt)
 ara mi'bajé, I am overcome with grief or disappointment (my body is spoilt)
 má banújé, don't be upset
 ó bá mí nínú jé, it made me feel upset
 ara'fu mí si i, I felt suspicious of him
 mo fura, I suspected
 nwón rérin (rín èrin), they laughed (laughed a laugh)
 kíl'ó pa wón l'érin, what made them laugh?
 èrin pa wón sí ọrò náà, they were overcome with
 laughter at these words
 ebi nípa mí, I am feeling hungry
 ó d'ebí pa mí (dá), he starved me
 işé yí sú mi, I am tired of this work
 ọrò yí t'ojú sú mi (ti), this business completely puzzles
 me
 ó sú mi, I am fed up
 ó rẹ mí, I am tired
 işé yí rẹ mí, I have got tired at this work

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àárè' mú mi, I feel tired
 ọrò t'ó sò'yà mí l'énù, what he said surprised me
 (opened me in mouth)
 énu'yà mí, I was surprised
 mo rí ohun iyanu lóní, I saw a wonderful thing today
 iyálénú l'ó jé fún mi pé ng kò rí i, it was a surprise to
 me that I did not see him
 ojú rẹ'bajé, his face took on a scowl (his face was
 spoilt)
 ó b'ojú jé, he scowled
 ojú níro mí, I feel down in the mouth (face is paining
 me)
 ó fajúro, he pulled a long face (fà 'pull')

Note the difference in these examples between dá and mú, both of which can be rendered in English by 'cause'. dá is used with names of parts of the body, emotions etc., e.g. d'ójuti, dérùbà, while mú is used with the person who is affected, e.g. ó mú mi nínú dùn 'it caused me inside to be sweet'. Other examples of this construction are: ó mú mi l'ókàn le 'he caused me in heart to be strong, i.e. he reassured me', ó mú mi l'ára dá 'he caused me in body to be well, i.e. he cured me'. This second example has the counterpart ara mi'dá 'I am well'. But it must be remembered that there are many phrases in which dá is used in a different sense, in which case it may take as its object the person affected, e.g. agara'dá mi 'I am exasperated', ó dá mi l'ágara 'he made me feel exasperated'.

Further examples of Yoruba usage are:

kíl'ó/kíní níṣe ó/é? what is the matter with you? (is
 affecting you)
 ikó níṣe mí, I have a cough
 orí nífó mi, I have a headache (head is breaking me)
 (but orí rẹ fó, he is a fool)
 ó fó mi ní kùmò l'óri, he broke my head with a club
 inú nírun mí, I have a stomach-ache (inside is crushing
 me)
 inú níló mi, I have the gripes (inside is twisting me)
 ibà níṣe mí, I have fever

òùngbè ñgbé mi, I am thirsty (thirst is drying me)
 òtútú'nmú mi, I am cold
 ooru'mú mi, I am hot
 oorun ñkùn mí, I feel sleepy (oorun 'sleep')
 èkún ñgbón mí, I want to cry (tears are shaking me)
 itò ñgbón mí, I want to go round the corner (itò
 'urine')
 igbónsè ñgbón mí, I want to go to the lavatory (igbónsè
 'excreta')
 ó té mi l'órùn, I am satisfied (órùn 'neck' té '?')
 ó rí mi l'ára, it nauseates me
 iríra, hatred
 ó ni mí l'ára, it irks me
 inira, discomfort
 ó yó mí l'énú, it worries me (makes my mouth come out)
 má sé iyqnu, don't put yourself out

Yoruba has a certain number of basic nouns for feelings, emotions etc., e.g. èrù 'fear', sùúrù 'patience', ñgbón 'wisdom', ebi 'hunger', làákàyè 'common sense', but the majority are formed by adding the prefix i- to the verb stem (this being a general way of forming abstract nouns from verbs, see p. 184), e.g. itijú 'shame', ibínú 'anger', ibanújé 'sorrow', ifura 'suspicion'. But note inú dídùn besides idùnnú 'happiness', and also ara líle besides ilera 'good health', corresponding to ara mí'lé 'my body is hard, strong, i.e. I am well'. ibérù exists side by side with èrù, but with a rather different meaning, e.g. èrù Olórùn 'fear inspired by God', ibérù Olórùn 'having a feeling of fear/awe for God'.

There are no adjectives corresponding to 'angry', 'hungry', etc. Where the verb ní 'to have' is used with the name of a quality we can form a noun with the prefix oni- 'owner of' (see p. 183) and use this as a qualifier, e.g. onisúúrù 'patient person', onilàákàyè 'intelligent person', ñlógbón 'wise person'. Otherwise we must use a relative clause, e.g. enítí inú bí 'person who is angry', enítí ebi nípa 'person who is hungry', ñmódé tí èrù mbá 'child who is frightened'.

ADJECTIVES

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

erin, elephant	òrò, wealth
ipò, position	ápárá, joke, fun
olá, honour	dápárá, to joke, poke fun at
farabalè, to be calm	èfóri, headache
ñmolúwàbí, gentleman	kóríra (kó iríra), to hate
délé, to arrive home	ikà, cruelty, cruel person

EXERCISE 24

Translate into English: kò sí ohun t'ò lè sé k'ò té è l'órùn; nígbátí mo rí erin náá l'ókèèrè, èrù'bá mí púpò; ó yá mí l'énú pé àwón tí nwón wá ní ipò olá lè maa gbà owó l'òwó àwón tí kò l'òwó tó tiwòn; èrù olópá kò bá mí rárá; ojú gbà mí tì fún q; ó ní èrin pa òún nígbátí òún'gbó òrò yí; a kò gbodò bá àwón òbí wa nínú jé; enítí ebi nípa kò lè farabalè gbà imòràñ; kò yé kí ñmolúwàbí barajé béké; òrò t'ò sò yí bí mí nínú púpò; sùúrù ni baba lwà, ibínú kò dá nkán; mo nílo sùn, nítorípé ó pé tí oorun tì ñkùn mí; enítí'ó bá ní làákàyè kò ní(i) bérù èmí bùburú kánkan; kò sí ojú isé t'ó ní mí; kò si enítí inú rè kò dùn nígbátí'á gbó pé è délé l'áláfsiá; ara líle l'odgún òrò; ápárá tí mo dá pa òré mi l'érin; má bérù ohunkóhun tì nwón bá lè sé; oogún èfóri wá l'ápò mi; ibanújé nílá l'ó jé fún u nígbátí lyá rè'kú; mo kóríra iwá ikà; ng kò mó ohun t'ó níse mí.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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MORE ABOUT VERBS

It has already been remarked that the meanings of monosyllabic verbs are very dependent on that of accompanying words. We have something of this in English in the case of (for example) 'do', e.g. 'do up, do away with, do down etc.' but it occurs on a much bigger scale in Yoruba.

1. To illustrate this point we will give first of all some of the various meanings of the verb **pa**, to which we may assign a vague meaning of 'to act in a sudden or energetic manner'. The list given is by no means exhaustive.

- (a) mo p'ejò ñlá kán láná, I killed a big snake yesterday
nwón pa púpó nínú àwọn ènìà ilú yí, they killed
many of the people of this town
- (b) ebi ñpa mí púpó, I am very hungry (hunger is
affecting me)
òjò'pa mí púpó lóní, I got soaked with rain today
(rain beat on me)
- (c) mo pitán, I told a story (*ítàn*)
mo páló, I asked a riddle (*áló*)
mo pòwe, I quoted a proverb (*òwe*)
mo puró, I told a lie (*iró*—irregular elision)
mo pariwo, I made a noise (*ariwo*)
- (d) mo pa ilù, I stopped drumming
kéké pa, silence fell
- (e) mo pa obi, I split the cola-nut
mo pa èkúrò, I cracked the palm-kernel
- (f) mo pa sìlè métá, I made 3/0d
- (g) mo pa wón pò, I amalgamated them (pò 'be in a
mass/group')
mo pa ilékùn dé, I closed the door (dé 'cover up')

2. The last two examples shew how two verbs may be

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used in sequence to convey an idea which is expressed by one verb in English. (We have already had some examples of this, e.g. mū...wá 'take hold of...come' for 'bring'.) In the case of **pa**...dé, **pa** seems to express the idea of putting the door in motion while **dé** expresses the result—the covering up of the gap. **pa**...dé can only be used of a door or something with an attached lid, e.g. a box or suitcase; **dé** by itself is used for something which has a detached lid. On the other hand, an added verb often needs separate translation in English, either by a second verb joined on with 'and', e.g. nwón pa á jé 'they killed and ate it', or by some more complicated rearrangement of order, e.g. nigbáti nwón pa á tán... 'when they had finished killing it...', or by an adverb, e.g. nwón gbé e kalé 'they put it down (settle on ground)'. Some examples of these various possibilities are given here.

(a) The second verb expresses the result of the action of the first or denotes a subsequent action—ideas which cannot always be clearly distinguished.

ó fà á ya, he tore it up (fà 'pull' ya 'tear')
ó so wón pò, he tied them together (so 'tie')
ó pa wón run, he destroyed them (run 'be destroyed')
ó pa á ré, he erased it (ré 'cut')?
ó wò ó sán, he cured him (wò 'look at' sán 'be well')
ó tán mí jé, he deceived me (tán 'trick' jé 'consume')
mo rí létá kan gbà, I got a letter (rí 'see' gbà 'take')
má lè e lò, don't drive him away (lé 'drive' lò 'go')
ebí'pa á kú, he starved to death

(b) The two verbs may together express an idea which cannot easily be cut up into two parts.

omi'ti bà á jé, water had spoilt it (bà and jé cannot be assigned any separate meanings)
aṣo yí bá mi mu, these clothes suit me ('with me agree', but mu does not mean 'agree' except in this phrase)
ó para dà (**pa** ara), he changed his appearance (dà cannot be assigned a separate meaning here)

(c) The added verb may express the degree to which the action was carried out.

mo kà á tán, I finished reading it, I read it all
 mo sè é tì, I failed to do it
 mo tì sè é tó, I have now stewed it enough
 o tì sè é jù, you have stewed it too much
 ó gé e kù, he cut it so that there was some remainder

Such qualifying verbs may be added at the end of any sequence of verbs or of a verb phrase.

kò bá mi mu tó, it does not suit me well enough
 nígbát'ó pa wón run tán ... when he completely destroyed them ...
 ó wò mí sán tì, he failed to cure me

(d) The first verb may express the manner in which the action denoted by the second verb is carried out. For example, jí has the meaning 'to act on a thing stealthily', so that ó jí i gbé means 'he stole it' while ó jí i wò means 'he had a stealthy look at it', ó jí i he means 'he stealthily picked it up' and so on. (jí without any following verb is sometimes used in the sense of 'to steal'.) Another example is tún with the meaning of 're-', e.g. tún u sè 're-make it, repair it', tún u sò 're-phrase it', tún u kà 're-count it'. Note, however, that when tún has the meaning of simple repetition the object is usually placed after the second verb, e.g. tún sè é 'do it again'.

(e) tún obviously cannot be used without a following verb. Other verbs with this limitation are ti 'come from' and bá when used with the meaning 'be in association with', as in kíl'o mó t'íbàdàn bò? 'what have you brought back from Ibadan (bring from I. return)?', bá mi kí i dáadáa 'greet him for me cordially'.

3. We have seen (p. 22) that where in English the object of a verb is qualified by a possessive pronoun, Yoruba often prefers to make the person the direct object, adding the thing possessed as an extension with ní. Any following verbs are placed after the extension. Some further examples are given here.

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ó fá mi l'órí, he shaved my head
 ó gbà mí l'áya, he took away my wife
 ó dà mí l'ómí nù, she poured away my water (dà 'pour'
 nù 'be lost')
 omí'ta sí mi l'ásø, water splashed on my clothes (to
 me on clothes)
 ó fún u sí mi l'énu, he squeezed it (juice) into my
 mouth
 nwón fún u l'órun pa, they throttled him (squeezed him
 in neck kill)

4. If the first verb in a sequence is not followed by an object it is usually written as one word with the following verb, e.g. ó bájé 'it is spoilt' (but ó bá á jé 'he spoiled it'), ó sálø 'he ran away', ó kó wón dànù 'he threw them away (gather pour be-lost)'. The verbs described in 2(c), however, are usually written separately, e.g. ó ti kú tán 'it is already dead', ó kún jù 'it is too full', ó lo tì 'he failed to go'. But even these verbs are written as one word with preceding verb stems in nouns which are formed from them by adding a prefix, e.g. áṣejù 'acting to excess', ájetì 'failing to eat up completely'. It is, in fact, a feature of nouns built up from verb groups that all the separate elements are brought together into one word, ó bá mí l'órí jé 'he spoiled my luck' but abanlójé (a-bá-éni-l'órí-jé) 'one who spoils people's luck', ó fi mí l'ókàn balé 'he reassured me' but ifokánbalé 're-assurance'. Other examples are ikómójádé 'ceremony of bringing out children', iréñijé (ré ... je) 'deceit', áfésóná 'betrothed (wooed on the way)'.

5. We have had some examples of verbs with reciprocal meaning, e.g. kó 'to teach, learn', yá 'to lend, borrow'. Further examples of this type are seen in:

mo rán a l'étí, I reminded him	mo rántí, I remember
mo je é n'íyà, I punished him	mo jiyà, I suffered punishment
ó fó mi l'ójú, he blinded me	ó fójú, he is blind

ó sì mí l'ónà, he misled ó ṣinà, he missed his way
me

6. In a few cases it is the second verb only in the sequence which has an object, e.g. mo télé e 'I followed him', mo kòlù ú 'I collided with him', nwón kó tí mí 'they gathered together to attack me'. Such sequences, when they are written as one word, must be carefully distinguished from the much larger class of verbs described in the next section.

7. A number of 'verbs' of two or more syllables are actually compounds of a verb plus a noun, e.g. sòrò 'to speak, talk about' (sò 'say' òrò 'words'), dárúkò 'to mention' (dá 'make' orúkò 'name'). The composition of these verbs is clearly brought out by the fact that they are always followed by possessives, e.g. mo ñsòrò rè 'I am talking about it', nwón dárúkò rè 'they mentioned you'. The final vowel of the verb will be lengthened in every case before its object where the final vowel of a noun is lengthened before a possessive, e.g. ó dárúkò(q) wa 'he mentioned us', mo dárúkò(q) Táiwò 'I mentioned T'. Examples of such verbs are rántí 'to remember', retí 'to expect', tójú 'to look after', bérù 'to fear'.

It must be added that there are a few verbs in this class which cannot be analysed out as compounds of verb plus noun in terms of present-day Yoruba, e.g. gbágbe 'to forget', pélú 'to accompany'. In addition, all verbs of foreign origin are put in this class, e.g. háyà 'to hire', sáatá 'to disparage' (probably from Hausa).

When verbs of this type occur in relative clauses in which the introductory word tí is the object of the verb, a few of them are followed by a possessive pronoun (cp. p. 89) but the majority are not.

ókùnrin tí mo sòrò rè lèkàn, the man I talked about
just now

òré mi tí mo ñretí rè, my friend whom I am expecting
ñmòdè t'ò tááfí rè sèhín ñsunkún, the child whom you
pushed back is crying
but

MORE ABOUT VERBS

ówo tí mo ñtójú dà?* where is the money I am looking
after?
obinrin tí mo pàdé l'ójú ɔnà, the woman I met on the
road
àpò mi tí mo gbágbe s'ilé, my bag which I left (forgot)
at home
ohun tí mo rántí n'lyen, that is what I remember
ókùnrin tí mo ṣáájú dé ibi isé, the man I was in front of
going to work
idánwò tí mo páási l'éshin, the examination I passed last
year
ilé tí mo háyà fún u, the house I rented for him

The same rules hold when the object is brought to the front and made emphatic with a following ni.

òré mi ni mo ñretí rè, it is my friend I am expecting
ilé pètécsì ni mo háyà fún u, it was a storied house I
rented for him

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

ašiwèrè, madman	yè . . . wò, to examine
igbooro, built-up area	(physically)
èslí, reply	tòqò, to ask for
pa . . . je, to kill and eat;	èrò, thought
to preclude, miss	sò sí . . . l'ókàn, to occur
kún, to apply (paint, powder)	to the mind
ta, to shoot, splash	imótótó, cleanliness
èké, deceit, liar	panumó (pa ẹnu), to keep quiet
ɔrún, neck	pa . . . l'énú mó, to shut up
mó, onto, against	sápamó, to run and hide
dá . . . dá, to leave to do alone	kábà, dress
yá, to turn aside	idán, majic
láiláí, ever, long ago	èwù, coat, gown
	níkéhín, finally

* For more about dà 'where is?' see p. 155.

EXERCISE 25

Translate into English: asiwèrè ènià ni òjò igbooro ilú ñpa; òrò t'ó so yí pa èslí je; ó yá mí l'énú pé o pa àkókó oúnje je báyi; òdà tí nwón fi ñkùn ojú òná'ta sí mi l'ára; iwa èké ti di èwù sí i l'órun; nwón kò lè já áló tí mo pa; nwón wípé mo wá puró tán àwọn olópă je; jék'á pa gbogbo owó t'á pa lóní pò mó éyít'á pa láná; òwe tí nwón pa mó mí'mú mi bínnú púpó; ó dákóto ní fún'ra rē; sé ilé t'ó tóbí yén ni lwó nikán ndá gbé? má dákóto dákóto a ó! ó ti fá létà náà ya dànù kí n tó lè r'ayé kà á; léhin tí mo jeun tán, mo tún níwá işé kiri; mo tún mókó mi kún l'ódà; ó fá pónùn métá yo nínú ápò rē; ó fi ibítí mo ti shínà hàn mí; nígbátí mo nti Ékó bò n'ijétá, mo yá kí ègbón mi; oore t'ó se fún mi, ng kò jé gbàgbé rē lállái; mo rò pé mo lè háyá rē ní pónùn mérin l'ósè; èmi pèlú(u) wón l'a ló(q) yé é wò; màà dárúkó rē sí ògá ibí işé mi; yé k'á pa òfin imótótó mó; e panumó ó! mo yára pa á mu rárá; kò sí idán tí ng kò lè pa.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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POSITION AND DIRECTION

Yoruba has a whole series of pairs of words like sínú 'into', nínú 'in'; sórí 'onto', lórí 'on', which are made up of sí and ní combined with names of parts of the body, indications of position and so on. With some of these sí and ní have come to be written as one word, while with others either an inverted comma is used to shew that two words have come together through elision or they may even be written separately in their unelided forms. In such pairs sí generally corresponds with 'to, towards' while ní corresponds with 'in, at'. We have:

inínu	sínú	inú	inside
lórí	sóri	orí	top, head
l'ábé	s'ábé	abé	underneath
l'ára	s'ára	ara	body, main part
léhin	séhin	èhin	back, rear
n'ídí	s'ídí	ídí	base, bottom
l'énú	s'énú	enu	mouth
l'ójú	s'ójú	ojú	eye, face
l'ówó	s'ówó	owó	hand
l'ápá	s'ápá	apá	arm, direction
níhín	síhín	ihín	here
níbí	síbí	ibí	here
níbè	síbè	ibè	there
l'óhún	s'óhún	òhún	yonder
nílé	sílé	ilé	ground, down
lókè	sókè	òkè	mountain, up
lódé	sódé	òde	outside
nílé	sílé	ilé	house, home
l'ódò	s'ódò	òdò	presence of person

1. We have seen that when a noun beginning with a consonant is put to qualify another noun, this noun has

its final vowel lengthened, e.g. **inú(u) kóbódù** 'the inside of the cupboard'. Since all the above words contain a noun as their second element, we must remember to add this lengthening in such sentences as **ó wà nínú(u) kóbódù** 'it is in the cupboard'. For the same reason such a sentence as 'it is inside it' is translated by **ó wà nínú(u) rè**, i.e. with the possessive of the pronoun.

2. English 'on' may be translated in two different ways, e.g. **fi sórí(i) tábílì** 'put (it) on the table (i.e. on top of the table)', **fi kó s'ára ògíri** 'put (it) to hang on the wall (i.e. on the body of the wall)'. Similarly 'from' will have to be translated differently according to circumstances, e.g. **mo ghà iwé mi l'ówó rè** 'I got my book from him' (lit. 'at his hand'), **ó k'árún l'ára iyàwó rè** 'he contracted (kó 'gather') an infection from his wife' (lit. 'at the body of'). Yoruba is always much more detailed and specific than English in reference to any sort of space relationship.

3. Yoruba distinguishes between 'to' in talking or sending a message to a person and 'to' in going to a person. In the first case **sí** is followed directly by the noun or pronoun denoting the person concerned, e.g. **sòrò sí mi** 'speak to me', **ó ránṣé sí mi** 'he sent a message to me', **ó kó létà sí mi** 'he wrote a letter to me'. In the second case we must use the noun **òdò** 'presence of a person, place where a person is', e.g. **lò s'òdò(q) Dókità** 'go to the Doctor'. Similarly, **ó wà l'òdò óré mi** 'he is with my friend' (i.e. at the place where my friend happens to be at the moment). With **òdò** we may contrast **owó** 'hand', e.g. **ó wà l'owó iyàwó mi** 'it is in my wife's possession'. **òdò** is used with **ébá** 'vicinity', e.g. **ó dúró s'ébá òdò mi** 'he stood near me' (i.e. in the vicinity of where I was); but we say **ó dúró s'égbè mi** 'he stood at my side' without **òdò** because **égbè** is a part of the body. Another common expression is **omò òdò** 'personal servant, one who is always on hand to run messages'.

We may remind ourselves here that the translation of 'with' will vary widely according to the context. For the instrumental sense Yoruba uses the verb **fi** 'put, apply',

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e.g. **òbè yí ni mo fi gé e** 'it was with this knife I cut it', **kíl'o maa fi owó yí ra?** 'what are you going to buy with this money? In the sense of 'accompanying' the verb **bá** is used, e.g. **tani yió bá nýin lò?** 'who will go with you?', while if the sense is 'in addition to' the verb **pélù** is used, e.g. **tani yió lò pélù rè?** 'who will go with you?' (i.e. in addition to you).

4. Forms with **ní** are regularly used after verbs which denote movement away from a position.

ó kúrò ní Ibàdàn láñá, he left Ibadan yesterday
é kúrò níbè! get away from there!
ó dide nílè, he got up from the ground
ó jádè nínú ilé, he came out from the house
ó mú u nínú ápótí, he took it out of the box

These forms are also used with the verb **bó** 'approach', with which **sí** might be expected, e.g. **ó mbò l'òdò mi** 'he is coming towards me', **máa bò lókè** 'come up here' (said to someone down below who is waiting to talk to you), and also with **wá** in **wá níbí** 'come here'. In **níbo** 'where?' (**ní ibi wó** 'at what place?') the form with **ní** has become generalised in most contexts, though **ibo** survives in some phrases, e.g. **lát'ibo s'ibo?** 'from where to where (are you going)?', **ará ilú ibo ni é?** (**ilú** 'bo') 'person of town of where are you?' = 'what is your home town?'.

In contrast with the preceding paragraph we find that **sí** is used after a number of verbs with which, from the English translation, one would expect **ní**.

ilú òyinbó l'ó kú sí, he died in England
Abéòkúta ni mo gbónjú sí, it was at Abéokuta that I grew up
níbo ni nwón bí è sí? where were you born?
mo ní ilé míràn sí Ibàdàn, I have another house at Ibadan
dúró s'égbè mi, stand at my side

But it is not unusual to find **dúró** and **jókó** constructed with **ni**.

The word *sibè* (lit. 'to there') has acquired the meaning of 'still, however', so that to translate 'stand over there' one has to say *dúró sibè yen* 'stand to that place there', while *dúró sibè* has the meaning 'stay where you are, continue standing'. *sibè* is often doubled for emphasis, e.g. *ng kò ní(i) gbà á gbó sibèsibè* 'I still won't believe him'.

5. In English we say 'it is nice here, it is hot in Lagos' and so on, but in Yoruba we have *ibí dára púpó* 'here is very nice', *Íbàdàn'móoru púpó* 'Ibadan is very hot', i.e. Yoruba does not use any word corresponding to the indefinite English 'it'. A good example of this is *ibè wù mí púpó* 'there pleased me very much' for 'I liked it very much there'. Further, where we might say 'the water is not good there' Yoruba says *omi ibè kò dára* 'the water of there is not good'. We cannot say *omi níbè* 'the water at that place'. Nouns denoting position are constructed exactly like other nouns. We say *oko ḥún* 'the farm of yonder' or, with more emphasis, *oko(o) t'ḥún*; *t'ḥún* (with the thing referred to understood) 'the one yonder'; *àwọn ará ibè* 'the people of there'; *owó qwó mi* 'the money of my hand' (i.e. in my possession); *t'qwó mi* (thing understood) 'what I have in hand', *filà ori mi* 'the cap of my head' (i.e. on my head), *àwòrán ara ògiri* 'picture of the body of the wall' (i.e. the picture on the wall).

Note that there are two words for 'here'—*ibí*, which pairs with *ibè* 'there', and *ihín*, which pairs with *ḥún* 'yonder'. Some Yorubas use one and some the other.

6. We have seen that the verbs *ti* 'come from' and *gbé* 'occupy, live at' are used in a special way as auxiliary verbs in sentences where a word denoting position is in the emphatic position (followed by *ni*) at the head and also in relative clauses, e.g. *níbo l'ø gbé níṣé?* 'where are you (at) working?', *níbo l'o ti rà á?* 'where did you (from) buy it?', *ibè ni mo ti rí i* 'it was there I (from) found it', *Ilòrin ni mo gbé níkóṣé* 'it is at Ilòrin that I am an apprentice (am learning-work)'. *níbo l'o gbé wà?*

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'where is it?' (lit. 'where does it occupy exist?').* *gbé* tends to be used where there is an idea of duration, i.e. with *wà* and the *ń-* prefix forms, while *ti* is used of momentary action, but this distinction is not invariably observed; some Yorubas actually use both words together, e.g. *níbo l'o gbé ti rà á?* 'where did you buy it?'. Note that the *ń-* is added to the main verb, not to *gbé*; this is in contrast with its use as a main verb, e.g. *níbo l'o ńgbé?* 'where do you live?'. In examples noted in which a future tense is used, *ti* follows *yíó* but usually precedes *maa*, e.g. *níbo l'o ó ti sòkalè?*, *níbo l'o ti maa sòkalè?* 'where will you get off (bus or train)?'.

7. A disconcerting point to note about *sí* is that in certain common expressions many Yorubas in speech elide both its consonant and its vowel, so that nothing is left of the word but its high tone. For example, *sòrò sókè (sí òkè)* 'speak up' may be heard as *sòrò 'òkè* and *mo ńlò sìlè* 'I am going home' as *mo ńlòglé*. In the second example the initial vowel of *'ilé* has been assimilated to the preceding *o*. This sort of assimilation happens regularly with *'ilè=silè*, e.g. *ó bóra sìlè (bó ara)* 'he undressed himself' is heard as *ó bóraálè*.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

<i>férésé</i> , window	<i>ikorítá</i> , road junction
<i>enu ńnà</i> , door-way	<i>ńtún</i> , right (hand)
<i>ṣègbé</i> , to perish	<i>tò</i> , to arrange
<i>igbó</i> , forest, 'bush'	<i>ága</i> , chair
<i>fi . . . ra iná</i> , to put to warm	<i>kó</i> , to hang up
<i>ংgòdò</i> , swampy place	<i>ètò</i> , arrangement
<i>bó</i> , to slip from	<i>ókánkán</i> , opposite, exact spot
<i>òsi</i> , left (hand)	

EXERCISE 26

Translate into English: *ó lo jòkò s'íbi férésé; ńdò tal'o ńgbé? ńdò ègbón lyá mi ni; e gbé e sókè n'íbi enu ńnà;*

* The use of *gbé* with *wà* is not universal, e.g. *níbo l'o wà?* often occurs besides *níbo l'o gbé wà?*

ó dúró s'énú ɸnà, kò fē wólé; nígbát'ó şe, a dé ibi ihò kan; má jéki n şegbé sinú igbó yi; mo kojú s'ápá ɸdō rē; mo bó ेwù ɔrùn mi, mo fi ra iná; ó kojá l'ódō mi ó sì lo sí ibi ɸgòdò kan; kò sí enit'ó lè bó l'ówó ikú; ibit'ā ti ńsòrò yi, a sòrò kàn lyá mi; apá ɔsi ɸkò ni k'ð jòkò sí; nígbát'ó bá dé ikorítá métá, ɸnà apá ɸtún ni k'ð gbà; nwón ti tò ága mérin siwájú Oba gaan, nwón kó oju wọn s'ódò rē; gbágudá l'a máa nje jù l'ápá ɸdō wa níñin; ó gbé ɸpò kó apá (k'ápá); inú obinrin yi kò dùn sí ètò yi; ó gbé ɸpótí náá s'ábé ibùsùn; apá isálè inú kóbódù ni k'ð fi pamó sí; mo rántí ɸpòlópò ohun tí oju mítí rí s'éhin; nígbát'ó dé ɸkánkán ɸdō mi, ó bérésí(i) kígbé; kó gbogbo ñkan wónyi s'ápá ɸhún.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

We saw in a previous chapter that there is really no clear distinction of form between adjectives and nouns, so it will not be surprising to find that Yoruba has no special class of words, like English words ending in '-ly', which we can obviously label 'adverbs'. What we are dealing with in this chapter are words and expressions which can be used to define or qualify verbs or adjectives. Such words and expressions, apart from the special class discussed below in para. 5, follow the verb or adjective except, of course, when they are emphatic, in which case they are placed at the head of the sentence with a following **ni**.

1. Some common words which function as adverbs and also as adjectives and/or nouns are: **dáadáá** 'well', **burukú** 'nastily', **púpò** 'much', **dié** 'a little', **gbogbo** 'altogether', **yí** 'this', **yèn** 'that' (Yoruba often uses 'this' where English uses 'here, now' and 'that' where English uses 'there, then').

mo mò ó dáadáá, I know him well
 ó wò mí burukú, he looked at me nastily
 ó féràn mi púpò, he likes me a great deal
 ó dára dié, it is fairly good
 kíl'è fē gbogbo?, what do you want altogether?
 Ibádán l'a dé yí o, it is Ibadan we have come to now/
 this is I, we have come to
 kil'o wi yèn? what did you say then/what was that you
 said?

2. There are a few words in common use which function only as adverbs. These are: **rárá** 'at all', **mò** 'any more, again', **rí** 'previously, formerly', **rí** (at the end of a question) 'I wonder', **ná** 'for the moment, first of all', **ṣá**

'merely, at any rate', sé 'I tell you'. (We exclude from consideration here the words bí and ndan (dialectal variants) which shew that a sentence is a question.)

kò wù mí rárá, it does not attract me at all
 kò fè(é) lò mó, she does not want to go any more
 o rí erin l'áàyé rí bí? have you ever seen an elephant
 alive?
 kíl'ó fún u rí? what did he give him, I wonder?
 dúró ná, wait a moment
 mo ti kà á ná, I have already read it
 ng kò fè(é) rà á sá, I just do not want to buy it
 mo rí i sé, I did see it, I tell you

3. There is a very large number of phonaesthetic words which are used to emphasise or define more closely the meanings of verbs and adjectives. For example, ó mó 'it is clean', ó mó tónítóní 'it is spotlessly clean'; ó pupa 'it is red', ó pupa fòò 'it is crimson'; ó funfun 'it is white', ó funfun láuláu 'it is snow-white', aṣo funfun láuláu 'snow-white clothes'; ó nírin dùgbèdùgbé 'he is walking heavily', ó dide fúú 'he rose in a trice'. In the case of rí 'look, be in appearance' the verb is in itself incomplete and requires the phonaesthetic word to give it a body, e.g. ó rí roboto 'it is round', ó rí málómáló 'it is soft and downy'. Note that the function of the words used with rí is exactly the same as that of the words used to qualify the other verbs; from the Yoruba point of view we cannot say that these are 'adjectives' while those are 'adverbs'.

Many of the words which function thus as adverbs also function as adjectives, e.g. ó han gooro 'it sounded shrilly', ohùn gooro 'shrill/high-pitched voice'; ó rí wúruwúru 'it is untidy', yárá wúruwúru 'untidy room'.

4. Many adverbial expressions are formed with the preposition ní 'at, on, in' plus a noun; some of the commonest of these have come to be written as one word, e.g. lóní 'today' (ní òní), lólá 'tomorrow' (ní òlá), láná 'yesterday' (ní àná), nilé 'at home' (ní ilé), lódé 'outside' (ní óde).

ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

wá(á) kí mi l'ótūnla, come and visit me the day after tomorrow
 mo ní k'ó wá(á) pàdé mi l'aago méjì, I told him to come to meet me at 2 o'clock
 nwón san owó náá fún mi láná, they paid me the money yesterday
 mo rí i l'ójúde qba, I saw him in the chief's courtyard

The use of ní in expressions of place and time, like the above, can be readily understood because the English usage is similar, but some other uses touched on in previous pages are not so obvious.

(a) We have seen that ní is used with what in English is a second object, e.g. nwón fún wa l'ówo 'they gave us money', ó kó mi ní Yorùbá 'he taught me Yoruba'.

(b) In some cases it has an instrumental sense, e.g. ó ná mí ní pásán 'he beat me with a whip', mo rà á ní sìlè méjì 'I bought it for 2/0d'.

(c) Often the meaning of the verb is not clear until the extension is added, e.g. ó rán mi l'étí 'he reminded me', ó rán mi n'iṣé 'he sent me on a message'; ràn mí l'ówó 'help me' (in a general sense), ràn mi l'érù 'help me with my load'; ó dá mi 'he threw me' (in wrestling), ó dá mi l'ójú 'it is certain to me'.

(d) It has a meaning something like 'as' in:

mo kí nyín bgobgo l'ókùnrin l'óbìnrin l'ómodé l'ágba
 I greet all of you—men, women, children, grown-ups
 ó dára l'óbìnrin, she was beautiful as a woman = she
 was a beautiful woman

5. We have seen that a great many ideas which we express by means of adverbs in English are expressed by the use of a second verb in Yoruba, e.g. kò dárá tó 'it is not good enough', ó sálo (sá lò) 'he ran away'. Some of the verbs used in this way may in other contexts occur independently, e.g. ó tó 'it is enough', ó lò 'he went', while others have no independent use, e.g. a jò lò 'we together went', ó kó wọn jò 'he gathered them together'. A group of words which occur only in front of the main verb may be regarded as a type of auxiliary verb; a

feature of the use of these is that while they are placed after the future tense particles *yíó/á* they are placed in front of *ti*, *ń-*, *máá* (though exceptions to this rule occasionally occur).

- sí*, 'still'
ó *sí wá níbè*, it is still there
- mo sí nkà á l'qwó ni*, I am still reading it
- kókó/kóqó*, 'first'
èmi ni kí n kókó dán a wò, I should be the first to try it
kókó ló si pósófisi, léhinnáá . . . , first go to the Post-office, then . . .
- téte*, 'early'
kí itéte dé, he does not come early
- ó maa ntéte ló(q) sun*, she goes to bed early
- sá*, 'at least, at any rate'. This word, like *yíó* and *má*, has basically a tone falling from high to low, so that following high and mid tones have the variant usual after a low tone.
- o sá mò pé kò sí ówó mó*, you know, of course, there is no more money
- sá pá á dé*, just close it (i.e. don't lock it)
- sá maa nṣó*, just carry on
- séṣé*, 'just now, just then'
mo séṣé dé ní, I have only just arrived
ó séṣé ndídé bò, he is just now beginning to rise in the world
- kúkú*, 'really, in fact'
kò kúkú rí béké gaan, it is not really quite like that
kúkú gbà gbogbo rè, take all of it, while you are about it
- ng ó kúkú fi silè, I'll just leave it, and that's all about it
- jumo*, 'together'
jék'á jumo se é pò, let's do it together in a group
- a jumo nṣ'oré, we are friends together
- féřé*, 'almost'
mo féřé kú, I almost died
- a féřé má lè ri ἑnikéni níbí t'ó gbó Gé̄sí, we can hardly

ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

- find anyone here who understands English (= there is hardly anyone etc.)
- ó féřé mí tí ilò tí mo fi wólé, he had hardly gone when I came in
- wulé, 'for no particular reason'
- ó wulé nà mí ni, he just beat me for nothing
- dédé, 'suddenly, by chance'
- ó dédé shubú lulé, he suddenly fell to the ground
- túbò, 'further, more'
- òrò yí túbò mú mi nínú dùn, this speech made me even happier
- isé yí túbò nle sí i, this work is getting harder and harder
- tilé, 'in fact'
- ng kò tilé mò ibit'ó wà rárá, I don't in fact know where he is at all
- kàn, 'merely, just'
- mo kàn f'enu bá á ní shóki, I just mentioned it briefly
- ha, 'then' (in questions)
- kíl'o ha fé? what do you want, then?
- kí ha n'iyí? what is this then?
- èmi ha ní mo jí i? was it, I, then, stole it?
- Note that ha may either precede or follow ni.
- mòdómò, 'deliberately'
- ó mòdómò se é ni, he did it deliberately
- ó mòdómò níje mí n'iyá ni, he is deliberately making me suffer

It is impossible to give satisfactory short translations of such words as *sá*, *kúkú*, *séṣé* and *tilé* (which, by the way, may be heard pronounced as *téte*). The precise nuance given by their use varies a good deal and is often conveyed by intonation in English. They need to be learnt in phrases associated with certain contexts, not as isolated words.

Other verbs are sometimes used in a similar way to these 'auxiliaries', e.g. *rora* (*ró ara*) 'to be gentle' and *yára* (*yá ara*) 'to be quick', as in *rora máá wá á* 'always

drive it quietly' and **mo yára nílọ rà á** 'I am going quickly to buy it'. Examples of their independent use are **rọra ḥ!** 'take it easy!' and **ó yára** 'he is active'.

The words **mà** (used in exclamations) and **sì** 'and' also belong to this class of 'auxiliaries' but for convenience these are dealt with elsewhere, pp. 55 and 203.

6. A common type of adverbial expression is introduced by **bí** 'like, as', e.g. **ó dùn bí oyin** 'it is sweet like honey'. This word behaves as a noun in that its vowel is lengthened on a mid tone if the following word begins with a consonant, e.g. **kò tóbi bí(i) témí** 'it is not big like mine'. A related form **bá-** occurs in **báyí** 'like this', **báun** 'like that' (Northern dialects), **bákánnáá** 'in the same way, alike', **bámíràñ** 'in a different way'. Another variant is seen in **béè** 'so, like that'. These forms function also as adjectives and nouns, e.g. **ilé bí(i) tiré** 'a house like yours', **òrò mi kò jù béké lọ** 'my words (= what I have to say) is no more than that (so)'.

More will be said about adverbial expressions in Chapter 37, which deals with reduplicated forms.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

dà . . . lé . . . lórí , to pour on	gbà . . . n'ímòràn , to advise
yàà , copiously	nítòótó (ní t'òótó) , in truth
kò , to turn, direct	bámúbámú , very much
etí dídi , deaf ear	kínníkínní , carefully
etí mi'dí , I am deaf	sílíkì , silk
nípa , about	pinín , glossy
gidigidi , very much	kò móñà (màñà) , to dazzle
jájá , at last	worù , in floods
biribiri , very dark	tààrà , straight
fónfón , soundly	níláári , to have value, worth
gbékélé (gbé èké lé) , to trust	

EXERCISE 27

Translate into English: **ó dà omi lé mi l'órí yàà; ó kókó nkó etí dídi sí wọn; kò kúkú sò nkánkan nípa rè fún mi;**

mo gbádùn ibè gidigidi; **kò tilè ràn mí l'ówò rárá; ó féré jé pé gbogbo wa l'a fé lọ wò ó; nígbátí mo jájá dé'bé, nwón ti tā á; ilé'ti sú biribiri; mo té ení, mo sun lọ fónfón; má jékí gbogbo òrò tétè maa jádè l'énú rē; ohun tí mo kán fé fáyò nínú òrò yí ni pé òré rē yí kò tó(ó) gbékélé; àwọn ni yiò tétè kó(ó) yéra fún ọ; mo sèsé rà á ti ilú òyinbó bò ni; tani'ha lè gbà wá n'imòràn? mo ti san gbogbo rē sé; asò bí(i) tiré yí ni mo maa wò; kò kúkú fé(é) fún wa ní nkánkan; ó sá lè mú mi dí ódò ogá rē; ótító pátápátá gbaà ni; nítòótó, owó sì wà l'ówò mi dádáda; apótí ná'a kún bámúbámú fún owó; mo yé móto náà wò kínníkínní; sílíkì funfun pinín l'ó fi dá agbádá yí; gbogbo rē l'ó nkó móñà; mo rí i pé ó nísun kún worù; ókó lyáwó kò gbodò bá lyáwó rē lò sílé tāàrà báun; mo rò pé àwọn ènià míráñ'sí túbò ndé ni; a kò sèsé lè maa sò pé irú ènià báyí kò níláári; é jék'á wá ogbón tí a ó lò tí èyí kò fi ní(i) rí béké.**

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

VERBS 'TO BE' IN YORUBA

We have seen that with common descriptive words like *kéré* 'is/was small' there is no separate Yoruba word corresponding to the English verb 'to be', but that there is a word *ni* which corresponds to 'it is/was' in certain emphatic situations. There are, in fact, several verbs in Yoruba each of which in its own proper context corresponds to the one English verb 'to be' and it is important that we should be able to sort these out.

1. *jé* and *ṣe*, which are constructed with nouns (including occasionally adjectival forms used as nouns), tend to some extent to overlap; it is, however, possible to make a broad distinction that *jé* is used when we are thinking of natural, in-born, permanent characteristics while *ṣe* is used of what is accidental, acquired or temporary; this meaning of *ṣe* is always clearly present when the *n-* prefix is used.

Ọkan'jé ọkùnrin, Ọkan'sí jé obìnrin, one is a boy (male) and one is a girl (female)
òyìnbó l'ó jé, it is a European he is/ he is a *European*
nígbáti mo wò ó dáadáa, aya mi l'ó jé, when I looked at her closely (well), she was my *wife*
mo ṣe káffintà rí, I was once a carpenter/I have been a carpenter
akòwé ni mo ñíṣe nísisiyí, I am now a *clerk*
Àdùké l'ó ñíṣe aya mi nigbánáà, it was Aduké who was my wife at the time

In the above examples it is not possible to substitute *ṣe* for *jé* or vice versa. We do, however, get such sentences as *Ọkan'jé akòwé, Ọkan'sí jé àgbè* 'one was a clerk and one was a farmer' where the occupations, without any time reference, are treated as permanent states. If we

VERBS 'TO BE' IN YORUBA

substitute *ñíṣe* here it will create the impression that these occupations were only temporary and in a sense accidental. Even with time references, be it noted, *jé* is used when we are talking of moral qualities or of status in society, e.g. *ó jé ọmọ rere rí* 'he once was a good boy', *oloyè ni mo jé nigbánáà* 'I was a title-holder at the time'.

In some cases there is a sharp differentiation in meaning according to whether we use *jé* or *ṣe*.

ó jé èníà, he is a human being (i.e. not a ghost, animal etc.)

ó ṣe èníà, he is kind, humane (i.e. he acts as a human being)

ó jé ọkùnrin, he (i.e. a child) is male, boy

ó ṣe ọkùnrin, he is manly, brave (i.e. he acts as a male)

The use of the simple (perfective) form *ṣe* referring to present time is restricted to a few phrases like the above; otherwise *ñíṣe* is used, but in the examples above its use could alter the meaning—*ó ñíṣe ọkùnrin* (if not the habitual of the example quoted) could be a slightly derogatory remark made by a woman equivalent to 'he is acting as men always do'.

The meaning of *jé* is such that forms other than the simple stem do not often occur; examples are *máa jé ọmọ rere* 'always be a good child', *ó máa ñsábà jé ọmọ rere* 'he is usually a good boy' and *yíó jé ọmọ rere* 'it will be a good child'—which could be a blessing in connection with a child yet unborn. In the negative *kí ìṣe/kò ñíṣe*, the negative habitual of *ṣe*, corresponds to both *jé* and *ñíṣe*, while the negative of *ṣe* is naturally *kò ṣe*.

kí ìṣe èníà, it is not a human being

kò ṣe èníà, he is not kind

kò ñíṣe akòwé, he is not a clerk

kò ñíṣe òyìnbó, he is not a European

kò jé does however occur in certain phrases, e.g. *kò jé béké rárá lit.* 'it is not so at all' but actually meaning 'it is first-rate', and *bí kò bá jé pé* 'if it is not the case that' (corresponding to *b'ó bá jé pé* 'if it is the case that' (for *bí . . . bá* 'if' see p. 168).

2. *wà* and *míbè* are basically dialectal variants both meaning 'to exist, be in a situation or state'; *wà* is in more general use in S.Y. but *míbè* is occasionally used for the sake of variety.

Olójún'wà/míbè, God exists, there is a God
owó *wà*, there is money available
ó *wà* *nínú* *ápótí*, it is in the box
ó *wà* *l'óhún*, she is yonder
nwón *wà* *ní* *ídúró*, they are in a standing position
ó *wà*, he exists, i.e. is quite well (in reply to an enquiry about a person)
ó *ti* *wà* *nínú* *ápótí* *yí* *téle* *ré*, it has previously been in this box
yíó *wà* *títí* *láí*, it will exist for ever
omí'máa *níwà* *níbí* *nígbágbo*, there is always water here

The only negative form occurring is the negative habitual of *wà*, e.g. in the proverb *àgbà kí íwà l'ójá kí orí qmø titun* 'elders are not found in the market for the head of a new baby to hang sideways', i.e. it is the job of responsible people to draw attention to anything that is wrong. In all other cases a verb *sí* is used; as in the corresponding English, a definite noun precedes the negative while an indefinite noun follows the verb, e.g. *iwé mi* (*k*)ò *sí* *níbè* 'my book is not there', *kò* *sí* *iwé mi* *níbè* 'there is no book of mine there'.

kò s'ówó *tó*, there isn't enough money
kò *sí*, there is none
nwón (*k*)ò *sí* *nílé*, they are not at home
kò *sí* *nínú* *ápótí* *yí*, it is not in this box/there isn't any in this box
kò *is'ómí* *tó*, there isn't yet enough water
Óíó (*k*)ò *ní*(*i*) *sí* *níbè*, Ojo will not be there

3. *ré* is used with phonaesthetic adjectives* describing the physical characteristics of people or things, also in questions asking for descriptions, e.g. 'what's it like?'

* We saw on p. 122 that *ṣe*, too, is used with some of these adjectives.

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and with various words built up from *bí* 'like', i.e. *báyí* 'like this', *béè* 'like that', *bákannáà* '(like) the same'.

ó *ré* *péreṣé*, it is flat
ó *ré* *wúruwírú*, it is untidy
ó *ré* *mílómíló*, it is soft and downy
báwo *l'ó* *ti* *ré*? what is it like? (lit. how is it like?)
kíl'ó *ti* *ré*? what is it like? (more colloquial)
kò *ré* *béè*, it is not like that
nwón (*k*)ò *ré* *bákannáà*, they have not the same appearance
nwón *máa* *nírí* *roboto*, they are generally round
kíni *yo* *ti* *ré* *lólá*? what will it be like tomorrow?

4. *yà* always has a personal subject and is usually followed by a noun denoting a type of person of whom Yoruba society disapproves; it is often written as one word with this following noun.

ó *yadi* (*odi*), he is dumb/became dumb
ó *yágàn* (*ágàn*), she is barren
ó *ya* *qmø* *búburú*, he is/turned out a bad boy
nwón *ya* *qlé*, they were lazy

5. *dà*? 'where is?' is preceded either by a noun or an emphatic pronoun. The word is used when the request is more or less equivalent to a command for the person or thing to be produced, e.g. *íwø* *dà*? 'where are you?' means 'come here, I want to talk to you'. *ònù* *dà*? 'where is it?' contrasts with *níbo* *l'ó* *wà*?, which is merely a request for information about the object's whereabouts.

6. *di* and *dà* are brought in here though they are often equivalent to English 'to become' rather than to 'to be'. *di* is the form generally used in normal sentence order, i.e. with a noun (including adjective forms functioning as nouns) following, while *dà* is used when the noun is placed at the front of the sentence for emphasis.

ó *d'òla*, till tomorrow, then (lit. it has become tomorrow)
ó *di* *Sátidé*, till Saturday, then
ijó *mélo* *l'ó* *dà*? till how many days, then?

ó di èjemérin tí mo ti wá, it is now four times that I have come
 mo sò ó di mímò, I caused it to become known
 ó ti di mímò fún wa, it has already become known to us
 yiò di olówó láipé, he will become a rich man soon

7. **ni** and **kó** are complementary since **kó** is the negative of **ni**. This word **ni**, as we have already seen (p. 24), has the general effect of emphasising what precedes it, but there are variations of nuance.

(a) The effect of the word may be to exclude alternative possibilities.

tani'rí i? èmi ni, who found it? it was me
 tal'è rí níbè? Táiwò ni, who did you see there? Taiwo
 sé lóní l'è dé? lóní ni, was it today you arrived? (yes)
 it was today

kó is used to stress the fact that the alternative possibility is, in fact, correct.

hé iwò l'o fó q? èmi kó, Táiwò ni, was it *you* broke it?
 it wasn't *me*, it was *Taiwo*
 isé kékéré kó, it is no small job

If **kó** is followed by a verb phrase it must itself be followed by **ni**.

èmi kó ni mo gbé e lò, òun ni, it wasn't *me* who took it away, it was *him*
 lóní kó ni mo kókó rí i, it wasn't *today* I first saw him

The difference between **kí isé/kò níse** and **kó**, both of which may be translated by 'it isn't/it wasn't', is made by intonation in English. For example, **èjé kó** 'it isn't blood' suggests an alternative **òdà ni** 'it is paint', while **kí isé** **èjé** 'it isn't blood' might follow on **ó dàbí èjé** 'it is like blood' (**dàbí** is formed from **dà** in 6. above and **bí** 'like, as').

(b) **ni** is often used to call attention to a word where there is no suggestion of an alternative possibility, e.g. on hearing a noise in the garden one might call out to enquire what was the matter and be given the answer **ejò**

l'ó sán ɔmòdé kán 'a snake (it is) has bitten a child'. Said in this way the sentence really contains two pieces of information 'there's a snake—it has bitten a child'. Contrast with this ejò sán ɔmòdé kán láná 'a snake bit a child yesterday', where there is no heightening of the effect.

igbà yí ni baba ɔré rè'kú, now at this time his friend's father died
 ówó mi ni mo bëèrè tí ó fi bìrèsi(i) bú mi, (If p. 174)
 my money it is I asked for that he thereupon began to abuse me—I just asked for my money and etc.
 báyí ni ɔba yí se fúá òlìll ojìl mifà, so thus it is this king acted for a whole six months

(c) Where **ni** is used at the end of a verb phrase it calls attention to the verb. In answer to the question **kí'l'ó níse** 'what are you doing?' one might get **mo nífagó ni** 'I am washing (clothes)', in which case the **ni** suggests the continuation 'is what I am doing'. The same sentence (as in English) might also come in response to a suggestion about going out shopping—'I am sorry, I am busy. I am washing', in which case the implied continuation is 'that is the reason I cannot come out now'. These two cases tie up closely with (a) and (b) above; in the first case 'washing' is picked out and all other possible alternatives eliminated while in the second the attention is mainly directed to the fact that one is busy, the actual activity involved being rather incidental.

The difference made by the addition of **ni** is clearly brought out in the following example. If a patient at a dispensary is handed some medicine he may say **sé kí m mu ú?** 'am I to drink it?', to which one might answer **én, mu ú** 'yes, drink it' or **én-én, má imu ú** 'no, don't drink it yet'. If, however, he is doubtful whether it is a medicine or a lotion he may say **sé kí m mu ú ni?** 'am I to drink it?', to which the answer may be **én, mu ú ni** 'yes, drink it' or **én-én, níse ni k'ò fi para** 'no, to do (what you must do) is that you rub your body with it (take rub body)'. In line with this distinction we find **ni** used with alternative

questions, e.g. **kí n sè é ni àbí kí n dín i ni?** 'am I to *stew* it or am I to *fry* it?'

ńṣe ni (or just ṣe ni) as used above is one way of adding extra emphasis to a verb. Its translation will vary to some extent according to the time reference of the verb, e.g. ńṣe l'ó fún mi l'ówó 'he actually gave me money' (past) but ńṣe ni k'õ fún u l'ówó 'what you should do is give him money' (future). An alternative way is to use a reduplicated form of the verb (see p. 189) with ni, e.g. nínà ni ng ó nà á 'I will give him a good beating', lit. 'beating it is I will beat him'.

(d) ni often occurs at the end of a subordinate clause placed before the main clause.

bí ó ti ípè orúkó wònyí ni ó ńṣe ibéèrè ọpòlópò nkán, as he was calling out these names (it is) he was making enquiries about many things

àfi bí a bá ípuró ni a ó wípé owó kò se pàtákì, it is only if we are lying we shall say that money is not important

(e) In certain types of sentence ni seems to be no more than a link word.

èmi n'iýí, here I am/this is me
óun n'iýen, there he is/that's him
éyítí mo sò fún u ni pé . . . , what I said to him was that . . .
ídí rè tí mo fi wá ni pé . . . , the reason that I have come is that . . .

(f) ni is followed by the object forms of the unemphatic personal pronouns, except that in the third pers. sing. no pronoun is used.

akòwé ni mí	I am a <i>clerk</i>	akòwé ni wá
akòwé ni ́q/é	etc.	akòwé ni nyín
akòwé ni		akòwé ni wón

Using the emphatic pronouns the sentences would be akòwé l'èmi or akòwé l'èmi ńṣe/íṣe 'I am a *clerk*' etc.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

igbádùn, enjoyment	àburò, younger 'brother'
ipónjú, distress	aláisí, being deceased
ákálà, hornbill	(non-existent)
atáta, genuine, real	gorí (gún ori), to ascend
ágàn, barren woman	jíbatájibata, soaking
arúgbó, old person	

EXERCISE 28

Translate into English: èyí kò rí béké mó nísisiyi; ariwo'pójù ní ilé wa, kò si igbáti álejò kí idé; nígbát'ó wá mó pé álejò ni mí, áti pàápáá pé álejò ilé òún ni mo ńṣe, kò fí áṣírí náá pamó fún mi mó; ó jéwó fún mi pé kí íṣe pé oògùn l'ó mú òún, súgbón igbádùn'wá fún òún l'ódò wón ni; ó jé oba t'ó s'èníá púpó; eiyé ákálà'jé eiyé t'ó l'éwu púpó; o kò gbódò yá ajá tí kí igbó férè ोde; ọgédé kí igbé odò yágán (yá ágán); iyá mi'tí darúgbó (di arúgbó) nísisiyi; e jówó, e se iyá fún mi; ọjò pa wá, aṣo wa rí jíbatájibata; ọré atáta ni olópá se fún gbogbo ará ilú; nígbát'ó nígbé ilé wa, ó jé enít'ó farabálé púpó; omó kékéré l'ó wá nígbát'ó gorí oyé; omó t'ó se aláisí yi, òún nikán ni iyá iyáwó mi'bí l'ókùnrin; ó niláti jé pé ara ábúrò re kò dá; nwón niláti jé omó olódún méédógin, ó kéré tán; ó tí pé tí nwón ti wá, nwón ó sí maa wá tití láíláí ni; kò sí ọkan nínú wón tí kí íṣe pé orí ilé aiyé yi l'a ti bá a; bí àláfiá'bá ti wá, tí owó si mbe, ipónjú èníá'tí tán n'ilýen.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

TIME (CONTINUED)

1. In asking general questions about time, i.e. not clock times, the commonest word in use is, as we have seen, *nígbáwo* 'when?', lit. 'at what time? (ní ígba wo)'. Some Yorubas use a form without *ni*, i.e. *ígbawo*. This has come to be written as one word because it corresponds to the single English word 'when?'. Less common expressions, i.e. *l'ákókò wo* 'at what period?', *n'íjó/l'ójó wó* 'on what day?', *l'ósù wo* 'in what month?', *l'ódún wó* 'in what year' are usually written as separate words. (In these expressions, too, the *ni* may be omitted.)

nígbáwo l'o dé? when did you arrive?
l'ákókò wo l'e nísié níbè? at what period were you working there?
n'íjó wó l'o maa dá a padà? on what day will you return it?
l'ósù wo ni nwón níbérè ilé-iwé? in what month do they begin school?
l'ódún wó l'o fi ilé-iwé sílè? in what year did you leave school?

To translate 'since when? etc.' we must put *ti* before the verb and we may also substitute *látí* 'from, since' for *ní* 'at, in'; not all Yorubas do this.

lát'ígbáwo l'o ti dé? since when have you arrived?
 since when have you been here?
nígbáwo l'o ti nísié níbí? since when have you been working here?
lát'íjó wó l'o ti rí i? since what day have you seen him?
 what day did you last see him?
lát'ídún wó l'e ti nígbé ibí? since what year have you been living here?

TIME (CONTINUED)

Possible answers to the first set of questions are *l'álé àná ni* 'it was yesterday evening' or *mo dé l'álé àná* 'I arrived yesterday evening'; *l'ákókò ójò ni* 'it was during the rainy period'; *máá dá a padà l'ótúnla* 'I will return it the day after tomorrow'; *l'ósù kíni ódún ni* 'it is in the first month of the year'; *l'ódún kétá sèhín ni* 'it was two years ago'.

The second set of questions requires *látí* in the answers, e.g. *lát'aárò ni* 'since morning'; *lát'íjéjtá ni* 'since two days ago'; *lát'ésin ni* 'since last year'. Note that a question of the type *lát'íjó wó l'o ti rí i?* can be made more explicit by adding the word *mọ* 'stop' at the end of it; *lát'íjó wó l'o ti rí i mọ?* means 'when did you stop seeing him/when did you last see him?'.

The verb *mọ* means more accurately 'to stop at a point/limit' and can be used of both space and time, e.g. *ènu báyí ni k'ò ro ó mọ* 'hoe it as far as this (and no further)', lit. 'limit (ènu 'mouth' has also this meaning) like this it is you are to hoe it stop'; *se b'ò ti mọ* 'know your limitations', lit. 'act as (bí . . . ti) you are limited'; *ojo isinmi ni mo maa sisé mọ* 'I will work up to Sunday', lit. 'Sunday it is I will work stop at'. *Ojo isinmi ni mo ti rí i mọ* is translated by 'Sunday was the last day I saw him' or 'I have not seen him since Sunday', which is somewhat more emphatic than *ng kò ití irí i lát'ojó isinmi* lit. 'I have not yet seen him since Sunday'. 'Last' is more generally to be translated by *kéhin* (*kó èhin*) 'bring up the rear', e.g. *òun l'o kéhin dé* 'he was the last to arrive', *nígbáti mo rí i kéhin . . .* 'when I last saw him, on the last occasion I saw him', *ojo isinmi yén ni mo rí i kéhin* 'it was that Sunday I saw him for the last time'. It contrasts with *kókó* 'first', e.g. *òun l'o kókó dé* 'he was the first to arrive', *kókó lọ sí posófisi, léhinnáa . . .* 'first go to the post-office, then . . .'.

2. We have seen that either *nígbáti* or *igbáti* may stand at the beginning of a clause like 'when I saw him, I ran away' (*ní*)*igbáti mo ri i, mo sálo*—but only *igbáti* can be away, the object of verbs like *mọ* 'know', *só* 'say', *bèrè* 'ask'.

e.g. ó bèrè igbàtí mo maa ló 'he asked when I intended going'. A further difference between the two situations is that when the main verb is preceded by *ti* we can still use only *igbàtí* etc. as the object of a verb, but in the other situation we may have *lát'igbàtí* etc. instead of (*ní*)*igbàtí*.

lát'igbàtí *ti ló sí ilú òyinbó, ng kò ití igbúró rē mó*, since he has gone to England, I have not had news of him
nígbàtí *ti rí ówó náà gbà, ɔrò'bùṣe*, now that we have received the money, the palaver is over
nwón fè(é) mó igbàtí *ti rí i mó*, they want to know when you last saw/stopped seeing him
 ó bèrè igbàtí ábúrò mi'tí kúrò ní Ibàdàn, he asked since when my younger 'brother' had left Ibadan

The direct form of the last example would be *lát'igbàwo ni ábúrò rē ti kúrò ní Ibàdàn?*

If a *lát'igbàtí* . . . *ti*, *nígbàtí* . . . *ti* clause is followed by *ni*, that has the effect of making it more emphatic; the effect of this is best shewn by translating it 'as soon as', if the situation is in the past.

nígbàtí mo ti kúrò ní London ni mo ti bérèsí(i) sàisàn, as soon as I left London (it is) I began to be unwell

If, however, the situation is in the present, the translation would be 'now that I have left London (it is) I have begun to feel unwell'. But if the clause is 'indefinite', i.e. it contains *bá*, and so refers to the future, the translation 'as soon as' is best even when there is no following *ni*.

nígbàtí mo bá ti rí i, ng ó fún u l'ówó náà, as soon as I see him, I will give him the money

In such clauses *nígbà/igbà* is actually usually omitted, leaving just *ti* (see also p. 168).

t'ó bá ti dé, sò fún u pé mo fè(é) bá a sòrò, as soon as he arrives, tell him I want to talk with him
ti nwón bá ti san owó rē nwón le gbé e ló, as soon as they have paid the money for it they can take it away

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3. All that has been said about *igbàtí* and its variants can be applied to other combinations of time words with *ti*, i.e. such phrases as *ijó/ójó ti* 'the day that', *léhin ti*, *léhin igbàtí* 'after that', *gbàrà ti* 'immediately that', etc.

4. In certain time expressions the verb *fi* is used; its various meanings are made clear in the examples.

- (a) *kò pé púpò ti ilé'fi šú*, It was not very long before darkness fell (and darkness then fell)
kò pé ti mo dé ti mo fi gorí oyè, it was not long after I arrived that I entered on chiefly office
mo férē má ití isòrò tán ti nwón fi jádè, I had hardly finished speaking when they (then) came out
kò ití ilò jinnà t'ó fi rí ɔré rē, he had not gone very far when he (then) saw his friend

In all these sentences there is a negative in the opening clause; *mo férē má ití isòrò tán* is lit. 'I almost had not yet spoken finish'.

- (b) *gbogbo igbàtí a fi wà ní London*, *kò jékí işé bájé*, during all the time we were in London he did not let the work spoil
nígbàtí mo fi níghé ilé yi l'ó maa níwá kí mi, during the time I was living in this house (it is) he used to come to see me

In these sentences the verb in the *nígbàtí* clause is either in the simple form or continuous (*ní*-prefix) form. Contrast the next examples, where the verb is in the future form.

- (c) *nígbàtí Òjó fi maa dé, ilé'ti níshú ló*, by the time Ojo arrived, it was already getting dark
nígbàtí a fi maa jádè nímú ilé náá, ɔré mi'tí ló s'ilé, by the time we came out of that house, my friend had gone home
nígbàtí nwón yiò fi dájó, nwón dá a l'ébi ikú, when at last they gave a verdict, they condemned him to death
when they came to give a verdict, they condemned him to death

The 'when at last' translation might also be used in the first two examples, but this idea is made more explicit by using the word *jájá* in front of the verb, e.g. *nígbáti* *Ojó jájá dé* . . . 'when Ojo at long last arrived'; the word has the connotation of struggling with difficulties.

- (d) *l'ákōkò tí iwé yí ó bá fi tè ó l'ówó, o ó ti kúrò*
l'Ékò, by the time this letter reaches you, you will have left Lagos
igbáti oúnje'bá fi maa tán, a ó ti délé, by the time the food comes to an end we shall have arrived home

In both (c) and (d) the future form is used in the time clause, but the future meaning in (d) is produced by the addition of *bá*, making the clause 'indefinite'; there is also, of course, a difference of tenses in the main clause. It should be noted that in (c) type clauses the *fi* is sometimes omitted, e.g. *igbát'ó maa tó ọṣe méjì, ó ti di bí àtijó* 'by the time two weeks had passed, he had become as before'. The use of the future in narratives about the past brings in a certain liveliness, cp. *wíwò t'ó wò iwájú, kil'ó maa rí?* 'when he looked in front, what did he see?'. A simple (perfective) form where a future might be expected has the same effect, e.g. *b'ó bá tún se béké, o gbé* 'if you do so again, you are done for'. Here the Yoruba and English usages correspond closely.

- (e) *mo jókò dè é tití ó fi padà dé*, I sat down and waited for him until he came back
jókò dè mí níbí tití mo fi maa padà dé, sit down and wait for me here until I (shall) come back
yio fi síté tití yíó fi jinná, he will leave (it) until it is healed

In these sentences we have after *tití* either the simple form (referring to the past) or the future of that form (referring to the future). If the continuous—*ń-* prefix—form is used after *tití* the meaning is rather different, e.g. *ńkùnrin yí kò sòrò tití nwón fi níṣe béké* 'this man did not speak during all the time that they were acting so'. The same use is also found with the verb *wá* 'to be', which has

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as part of its meaning the idea of continuation, e.g. *títí nwón fi wá nínú ipónjú yí, kò fi ńkò rè síté rará* 'all the time they were in this distress she did not leave her husband at all'. An *ú-* prefix form used in the main clause of the sentence, however, does not produce this meaning, e.g. *mo maa ńdáké tití yíó fi parí ńrò rè* 'I always keep silent until he finishes his speech (what he has to say)', *mo níná á tití ó fi maa jéwó* 'I am beating him until he confesses'.

tití used by itself as an adverb means 'on and on', e.g. *ó sòrò tití* 'he kept on talking'. Its meaning can be intensified by repetition, e.g. *ó sòrò tití tití tití* 'he kept on and on talking'. When followed by a noun it may mean either 'during the period of' or 'at the end of a period of', e.g. *o kò ní(í) tòṣì tití ńjó aiyé rè* 'you will not be in want during (all) the days of your life', *yíó padà tití osù méfá* 'he will return in six months time'.

5. We have seen (p. 72) that *kí . . . tó* followed by a second verb corresponds to 'before'. This verb will refer to the past, habitual present or the future according to the time in the main clause.

mo maa níjeun dádadáa kí n tó ló(q) sun, I always have a good meal before I go off to bed
yíó ti ló s'ilé k'á tó dé'béké, he will have gone off home before we get there
ó jù ú nù kí n tó lè ká á, he threw it away before I could read it

We must remember, of course, that the first example here could also refer to a past situation, i.e. it might be translated 'I always used to have a good meal etc.' and that the second could occur in reported speech, e.g. 'I thought that he would have gone off etc.'

6. Clauses introduced by *bí . . . ti* with the emphasising *ní* before the main clause are used when the action of the two clauses is simultaneous.

bí mo ti dé'béké ni mo rí i pé ilé mi ńjóná, as I got there I saw (it) that my house was on fire

b'ō bá ti dé'bè l'o ó rí sôqùsì l'ápá òtún, as you get there
 you will see a church on the right
 bí mo ti nípadà ti ibi-işé dé ilé ni mo gbà wáyà kan, as I
 was returning home from work I got a 'wire'
 bí a ti nírin kiri l'a nípàdè àwọn tí a mò, as we were walk-
 ing about we were meeting people we knew

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

sú, to get dark	iró, sound
egbòogi, medicine	géadé, strong man
opé, thanks	dé, to hunt, set trap
tí, to be near	igbé, forest
sò, to break out; to say	hun, to weave
ítosí, near	agbòn, basket
aájò, attention, treatment	kò iná, to build up fire
írin-àjò, journey	hó yèè, to shout loudly
ro, to till	mélökán, several

EXERCISE 29

Translate into English: igbàtí àbúrò mi'fi maa dé, ilé'tí
 níshú lò; láti igbàwo l'o ti yé(é) mu egbògi tí Dókítá'ní
 k'ò maa mu lójoojúmò? nígbàwo l'e pinnu áti má wá si
 ilé-lwé alé mó? bí mo ti níparí òrò opé tí mo sò sí i, gboğbo
 àwọn ènià'dide dúró; bí ó ti se èyí ariwo'tún sò; èmi ni
 mo maa níparí ijá laárín wọn ní iròlé tí a bá ti inú oko
 dé; nígbàtí ɔkùnrin náà'maa dé itòsí òdò mi, ó di ègbón
 mi; ng ó maa se aájò rẹ tití ng ó fi aiyé silé ni; kò pé tí
 a fi dé llú tí a nílo; ó ti lò si írin-àjò láti ojó métá séhin,
 k'ò tó délé tó ojó mårün sí i; kí ó tó kú, a bérè l'òwó
 rẹ ohun t'ó dé bá a; nígbàtí ó maa fi tó ɔdún kán, ɔba
 t'ó féràn mi yí kú; ng kò ití iro oko náà tán tí òjò'fi sú
 t'ó bérèsí rò; nígbàtí nwón bá ti gbó iró ibon, àwọn
 géndé tí ó níde igbé á hó yèè; ó tó aago méfà kí nwón tó
 parí igbé dídé náà; bí ó ti jókó tí iná yí tí ó nkò ó, ó níun
 agbòn kan tí ó ti bérè ní ijó mélökán séhin.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

It will be convenient to divide conditional sentences into
 1. Real, as in English 'if I see him, I will tell him', and
 2. Unreal, as in 'if I were to do that, I should be very
 foolish'.

1. Real conditions in Yoruba need to be subdivided into (a) definite, i.e. without bá in the 'if' clause, and (b) indefinite, i.e. with bá in the 'if' clause.

(a) Definite clauses, which are introduced with the word bí, are not nearly as common as indefinite clauses. They occur in two situations—where the two alternatives in a situation are stated and where the conditional situation is like that we get, for example, in geometrical proofs, e.g. 'if AB equals CD, then EF equals GH'.

bí mo fé, bí mo kò, mo nílátí lò, whether I want to or
 whether I refuse, I must go

bí mo rí i, bí ng kò rí i, kò se nkánkan, whether I saw
 him or not, it makes no difference

b'ó kú, b'ó yè, kò kán mí, whether he dies or survives,
 it does not concern me

b'ómódé kò kú, agba ni idà (Yoruba proverb), if a
 child does not die, then he grows up

In the proverb it would create a very unfortunate impression if the conditional clause were made indefinite by the addition of bá, i.e. b'ómódé kò bá kú 'if a child does not happen to die', because this obviously suggests that children may be expected to die more often than not. But an indefinite clause will occur in a proverb where it is appropriate, e.g. bí ikú bá ti ilékùn, ebi ni işí i 'if death closes (happens to close) a door, it is hunger which opens it', the point being that hunger will drive people to face anything.

(b) Indefinite clauses may be introduced either by **bí** or, in an 'if and when' sense, by **tí**. This **tí** seems to be a reduction of **nígbáti**; as we have seen, Yoruba hardly distinguishes between time and condition clauses in an 'indefinite' situation.

- bí/tí mo bá rí e lólá, màá fún e l'ówó náà**, if I see you tomorrow, I will give you the money
- bí/tí nwọn kò bá yára, nwọn kò ní(i) lè rí i k'ó tó(ó) lò sí idálè**, if they do not hurry, they will not be able to see him before he goes out of town
- bí/tí e bá níṣé l'ówó ni, kò se nkánkan**, if you are actually working, it does not matter
- bí/tí nwón bá wá níbè, kò burú**, if they are there, it is all right
- bí mo bá wí béké, ng kò wí(i) re (wí rere)**, if I spoke like that, I did not speak well
- (ní iga láílái) bí ɔrò wọn'bá wò, yiò sò fún àwọn ará ilé rè**, (formerly) if their talk turned out well, he would speak to his family
- bí/tí kò bá tí idé, má dúró dè é mó**, if he has not yet arrived, don't wait for him any more

Very frequently when the condition refers to the present or the past, the conditional clause is extended by the phrase **b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé** 'if it be that'. This phrase is, in fact, obligatory in all cases where some word in the clause is emphasised by being brought to the front with **ni**.

- b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé e níṣé l'ówó ni, kò se nkánkan**, if it be that you are actually working, it does not matter
- b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé o kò rí i, ng kò ní(i) fún e ní nkánkan**, if you did not see him, I will not give you anything
- b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé iró l'o pa, màá jé ó níyà**, if you have told a lie, I will punish you
- b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé lóní l'ó tó(ó) dé, kò ní(i) lè wá(á) kí mi lólá**, if it is (only) today he managed to arrive, he will not be able to come to see me tomorrow
- b'ó/t'ó bá jé pé ẹran l'o maa rà, ó dáa**, if it is meat you are going to buy, very well

The use of this compound clause removes the element

of ambiguity present in such clauses as **bí mo bá wí béké**, which may be used to refer either to the past or the future according to the tense used in the main clause.

2. Unreal conditions are normally characterised by the use of **bá** in both the 'if' and the main clauses. Besides this, there are generally in the main clause and often in the 'if' clause special low tone forms of the unemphatic pronouns. When these forms are used in the 'if' clause, then **bí** is not used to introduce the clause, and this clause, when it precedes the main clause (as it usually does), is often made emphatic with a final **ni**.

- má bá tètè dé ni, má bá bá a nínú ilé**, had I come early, I would have found him in the house
- ò bá tètè dè ni, ò bá r'ayé bá a sòrò**, had you come early, you would have had a chance to talk with him
- ibá tètè dé ni, ibá wá(á) kí mi**, had he come early, he would have come to greet me
- à bá tètè dé ni, à bá lò(q) wòran àwọn onijó**, had we come early, we would have gone to see the dancers
- è bá tètè dé ni, è bá rí nkán rà**, had you come early, you would have found something to buy
- nwọn ibá tètè dé ni, nwọn ibá r'ayé sinmi**, had they come early, they would have had a chance to rest

Note the special form **i**, written as one word with **bá**, for the 3rd pers. sing. 'he/she/it'. The other pronouns (except **nwọn**), pronounced on a low tone, are substituted for this **i**, but **nwọn**, on a mid tone, is added to it. It is not unusual to find all the pronouns except **nwọn** written as one word with the **bá**, e.g. **mábá** 'had I', **ábá** 'had we'.

The translations given above may suggest that unreal conditional sentences always refer to the past, but this is not so; in line with all other Yoruba verb forms, which may refer indifferently to either past or present, this form too may refer to the present, e.g. **asò yí mà dárá ò!** **má bá l'ówó tó ni**, **má bá rà á** 'this cloth is very fine! if I had enough money, I would buy it'. Other examples referring to the present are given below.

ti forms of the verb may occur in either clause.

à m bá ti rí lètā rè gbà kí n tó(ó) lò sódè, à m bá dúró dè é,
if I had received his letter before I went out, I would
have waited for him
ò bá farabalè gbó ohun tí Dókítá'wí ni, à bá ti sán
nísisiyi, if you had quietly listened to what the doctor
said, you would have been well by now

3. Negative clauses in real conditional sentences present no problem because the ordinary forms of the negative particles are used. But in unreal sentences there are complications—in the 'if' clause ibá etc. are followed by má, while in the main clause the particle kí is placed before ibá, with noun and pronoun subjects preceding it.

à m bá má mò, à m bá rà á, if I had not known, I would
have bought it
à bá má rí i, à bá ti lò sile, if we had not seen him, we
would by now have gone home
ibá má si ti Dókítá, ng kí ibá ti isàn, if it were not for the
Doctor, I would not yet have got well
nwón ibá má tí ilò, a kí ibá r'ayé bá nyín sòrò, if they
had not yet gone, we would not have had a chance
to talk with you

Note that the written kí ibá is often pronounced as kí bá and that the negative 'if' clauses are not made emphatic by the addition of ni.

A complication in unreal conditional sentences is provided by the fact that some Yorubas use what are at first sight negative forms without a negative meaning, i.e. they use kí bá for the more general ibá and so on. This usage is rare in written Yoruba but it is not clear how widespread it is in speech.

4. Extended 'if' clauses of the type described in I. are used also in unreal conditions, especially where action in progress is referred to and in negative clauses. In such clauses the negative is kò.

ibájépé/ibáshépé o nísiṣé l'ówó ni, ng kí ibá dí o l'ówó, if it
were that you were actually working, I would not
hinder you

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

ibájépé o kò wá, à m bá gbágbe rè, if you had not come,
I would have forgotten it

It is a convention to write ibájépé/ibáshépé as single words; they contain the verbs jé and sé, which here are synonymous (see p. 152), plus pé, which introduces a clause in indirect speech.

5. Very frequently the 'if' clause in unreal conditions has the same form as in real conditions, the hypothetic nature of the situation not becoming apparent until the beginning of the main clause.

bí kò bá jé pé mo fura ohun t'ó fé(é) sé, ibá jí básikùlù mi
gbé, if it were not that I suspected what he wanted
to do, he would have stolen my bicycle
b'ó bá jé pé mo mò ó ni, à m bá sò fun é, if I knew it, I
would tell you

It may even be that the main clause itself has no obvious sign of 'unreality', e.g. b'ó bá jé pé mo mò ni, ng kò ní(i) tí ilò sódè 'if I had known, I would not (yet) have gone out' (instead of ng kí ibá tí ilò sódè). It is the sequence of tenses here which provides the clue—a 'real' translation 'if it be that I know, I will not (yet) have gone out' is obviously nonsensical.

6. Unreal conditional forms are sometimes used with a sense of politeness or diffidence, cp. English 'what would you like?'

bí ojú kò bá kán é ni, à m bá là ḥoràn náà yé é, if you are
not in a hurry, I would (like to) explain the matter
to you

bí kò bá ní(i) dí nyín l'ówó ni, nwón ibá simi diè, if it
will not hinder you, they would (like to) rest a little

They also often occur in relative clauses and in exclamations with a suppressed 'if' clause.

ng kò mò ohun tí à m bá sé, I did not know what I should
do
enití ibá ràn mí l'ówó kò sí níbí, the person who might
have helped me is not here
kíni ibá ti dùn tó! how nice it would be!

7. There is no fixed position for the 'if' clause, though it probably precedes the main clause more generally than is the case in English. A point to note is that when the 'if' clause follows the main clause it cannot be followed by the emphasising **ni**.

8. Obviously related to **ibá**, there is also a form **ibáà** etc. with the meaning 'even if' in such sentences as **è báà yínhon lù mí, kò lè pa mí l'ára** 'even if you shot a gun at me, it would not hurt me'. When it is repeated it has a rather different meaning, e.g. **ibáà jé òyinbó, ibáà jé èníà dídú, ó nílátí wá** 'whether he be an European or an African, he must come'. The use of **ibáà** 'even if' is restricted to hypothetical situations; otherwise, and more generally, **bí** followed by **tilè** 'in fact' (p. 149) before the main verb corresponds to 'even if, although', e.g. **bí ng kò tilè lè rí i, mo mò pé ó wá níbè** 'even if/although I cannot see it, I know that it is there'. When **tilè** is used in a compound phrase with **jé** or **se** 'to be', the whole phrase is usually written as one word, e.g. **bótilèjépé** (**b'ó tilè jé pé**) **kò lè wá lóní, yiò wá lóglá** 'although (it is that) he cannot come today, he will come tomorrow'.

9. Combinations of **bí** with **bá ti** are best considered as 'indefinite' variants of **bí ... ti** clauses (p. 179 f.). They sometimes have a sort of conditional meaning, e.g. **rà á b'ó bá ti dára** 'buy it as long as/provided that it is good', but other translations are sometimes more appropriate, e.g. the meaning may sometimes be the same as that of **ti ... bá ti** 'as soon as', as in **pè é wá fún mi b'ó/t'ó bá ti dé** 'call him for me as soon as he arrives'.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

òmòwé, educated person	ayò, joy
sà, to apply	èní eléni, another person
tálákà, poor person	mò, to be limited
bó, to escape	túláási, force
dà ... pè, to call by avoidance name	ídikò, station, bus-stop
rojó (rò ejó), to complain	aterúdérú, ancestral slave
	ahun, miser

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

dínwó (dín owó), to	lgàn, piece (of cloth)
reduce price	sàn, to get better
afójú, blind person	dáhùn, to answer
arò, deformed person, cripple	lfòiyà, alarm
òdindì, complete, whole	olóṣà, burglar, bandit
	ejó írò, case pleading

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EXERCISE 30

Translate into English: bí àwọn òmòwé kò bá lè bó níbè, agbára kíni àwọn tálákà'lè sà? mo wí fún u pé bí isé bá wà, k'ó jékí m bá dùn se é l'óko òun; b'ó bá ti rí ení eléni, á dàbí ènít'ó gun ori oyé; t'ó bá jé pé isé yí dùn bée ni, nwọn kí ibá maa kó ènlà pèlú túláási wó ó; bí kò se békè, m bá ní kí òré mi wá(á) pádé mi ní idíkò; bí lyáwó ilé kò bá fé(é) pè àwọn òbí òkó rē l'órúkó, á wá ònà tí yí o maa fi dà wón pè; b'á bá mba a lọ báyí, atérúdérú l'a fé náwó fún dökítà tí yí o wò ó sàñ; bí àléjò'wò tí i, ebi ní yí lè wón lò; òrò tí m bá sò kò wá; b'ó bá jé pé jújí l'o jí owó náà gbé, k'ó wí fún mi; ibájépé òdindì lgàn l'o maa rà, à bá dín'wó rē diè; ibájépé è tètè gbé aláisán náà lò s'òdò dökítà ni, ibá ti sàñ nísisiyi; ibá má sí ti àwọn olópá t'ó yára sáré wá, àwọn olóṣà ibá lù ú pa; bí àkókò oúnje'bá ti nító, nwọn ó lù agogo; b'ó ò lò, yà fún mi; b'ó kú tí kò fi ogún silé fún o, taní o ó bá rojó? bí èní'a'bá wá nínú ayò, t'ó bá nírántí pé igbà mǐràñ, igbà ibanújé, mbé, ayò rē yí o mò n'íwòn; bí òmò aráiyé bá lè féràn ara wón dé inú, aiyé ibá ti dára tó! bí o bá rí afójú, tábí arò, tábí irú àwọn ènlà békè, maa se oore fún wón bí ipá rē'bá ti mò; bí ó bá mò ejó írò, nwòn lè dá a silé; bí nwòn bá ti rí mi, nwòn á wò ara wón l'ójú; bí e bá ti lè d'é'békè, kò sí lfòiyà mò; bí nwòn bá kí nyín, e kò gbođò dáhùn.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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REASON AND RESULT

1. Clauses expressing consequences are introduced by the connective *ti* with *fi* generally preceding the main verb, e.g. *ó nà mí tóbètì ara mi'fi sèjè* 'he beat me so much that I bled' or, more literally, 'he beat me so much and my body thereby made blood'. The use of *fi* in these clauses can be related to its instrumental use (p. 82), the situation or event described in the introductory clause, e.g. 'he beat me so much', being taken as the means which produce the situation or event described in the 'result' clause, e.g. 'I bled'. When *fi* is omitted the connection between the two situations or events is not so explicit.

ilé'ti sú tóbètì ng kò fi lè ríran rará, it has got so dark
that I cannot see at all

kíní ñše é t'ò fi ñwúkò báyì, what is the matter with you
that you are coughing like this?

If any part of the consequence clause is made emphatic with *ni*, the phrase *t'ò fi jé pé* 'and it thereby is that' or, with *fi* omitted, *t'ò jé pé* is used to introduce the clause.

*ilú náa'jinná tóbéjè t'ò fi jé pé agbára káká ni ng ó fi lè
dé'bè lóní*, the town is very far, so that it is with
difficulty I shall be able to reach there today

mótò mi'bájé, t'ò fi jé pé ñsè ni mo fi rin dé'bè, my
motor was out of order, so it was on foot that I
reached there

inú bí i tóbéjè t'ò fi jé pé lésékannáà l'ó lé mi jádè, he
was so angry that he dismissed me on the spot

2. 'Why?' is expressed in Yoruba by the phrase *kíl'ó
se/kíní ñe* 'what happened/caused?', for which there is a
less common dialectal variant *eéṣe* (written as one word).

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A clause following on this phrase is introduced by *ti* in the same way as the 'result' clauses described above, e.g. *kíní ñe t'i kò wá* 'why did he not come?' or, more literally, 'what caused and he did not come?'. If *fi* is added before the verb of the clause it has the effect of making more explicit the questioner's wish for a reasoned answer. A question without *fi* can be, in effect, merely a protest and the speaker will not necessarily wait for an answer.

kíní ñe t'ò kò dà mi l'óhùn? why didn't you answer
me?
kíní ñe t'ò kò fi dà mi l'óhùn? why precisely didn't you
answer me?

The difference in English would, of course, often be brought out merely by intonation.

Other words and expressions which explicitly ask for a reason and are followed by *fi* are *éétiri?*, which is a variant of *kíl'ó ti rí?* 'how is it that?' and *kíní idí rè?* 'what is the (lit. its) reason that?', which also often occurs in the reduced form *idí rè?*, e.g. *idí rè t'ò kò fi lò?* 'what was the reason you did not go?'. The expression *nítorí kíní?* 'on account of what?', however, is followed by *se*, not *fi*. The introductory *nítorí kíní?* is sometimes omitted, leaving the bare *se* to carry the meaning, e.g. *o se se é?* 'why did you do it?'. But *se* may also be a reduction of *kíní/báwó ni . . . ti se?*, e.g. *o se mó pé mo ti rà á?* 'how did you know that I had bought it?' (p. 179).

éétiri tí nwón fi ñpariwo? what has happened that they
are making a noise?

kíní idí rè t'ò fi fè(é) kò ò sile? why do you want to
divorce him?

idí rè t'è fi kò t'è è san ówó náà? what is the reason
that you refuse and are not paying the money?
(refuse to pay the money)

nítorí kíní nwón se ñjó níbè yen? for what reason are
they dancing over there?

o se rà á? why did you buy it?

This use of *se* occurs also in statements with *nítorináà*

'therefore, for that reason' when that word is emphasised with *ni*, e.g. *nitorináà ni mo se gbé e wá* 'it is for that reason that I have brought it', but not when it is unemphatic, e.g. *nitorináà ng kò rà á* 'therefore I did not buy it'.

Another commonly used question has the form *kil'o rí tó?* 'what have you experienced (*ri* 'see') to such a point?' = 'what makes you want to do that?' (which could be expressed more fully by *kil'o rí tó t'ō fi fé(é) se béké?*). Answers to this sort of question are often phrased in the form of *ohun tí mo rí tó tí mo fi fé(é) se béké ni pé ...* 'what I have experienced to such a point that I want to act so is that etc.'

4. Indirect questions either have the direct form preceded by *pé* 'say' or the relative *tí* (with any appropriate changes) instead of the direct question word. In this latter form *fi* or *se* must always be present.

ó bi mí léérè pé kíní se tí ng kò wá, he asked me saying 'why had I not come?'

ó bi mí léérè ohun tí ng kò fi wá, he asked me why I had not come (more literally, the thing that I put (as reason) did not come)

nwón fé(é) mó idí rē tí Qba kò fi lè rí àwọn, they want to know the reason why the ruler cannot see them *idí rē tí mo fi wá n'yí*, this is the reason for my coming/ why I have come

a à mó ohun tí nwón rí tó, we do not know what made them act so

nwón békérè pé nítorí kil'a se kúrò ní Ibàdàn, they asked saying 'why had we left Ibadan?'

kò fé sò itorí ohun tí òun'se se béké, he does not want to give the reason why he acted so

Indirect forms of *nitoríkíni?* questions are not often used.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

sè, to offend
éfúùfù, strong wind
ya, to flood in

dìgbò lulè, to slump to the ground
dákú, to faint

REASON AND RESULT

dáràn (dá ɔ̀ràñ), to commit an offence
ríráñ, to have sight

béké, to cut off
sín, to accompany, escort
igbésé, *gbésé*, debt
mú, to be sharp

EXERCISE 31

Translate into English: éétírí tí nwón fi nípariwo béké?
enikan'í ejò nínú ogbà, nwón fé(é) pa á ni; ónà wo ni mo
gbà fi sè nyín? ohun tí mo t'itorí rē wá kò jù béké lo; éfúùfù
yí lágbára tóbéè t'ó fi jé pé omi nya sínu okò wa; nwón
lù mí tóbéè tí mo fi digbò lule ti mo dákú; a ó wádi ónà
tí a ó maa fi se gbogbo nkán tí yíó fi dára; *kil'o rí tó*
t'ō fi fé(é) fi isé yí silè? ng kò jé jéwó pé mo dáràn ni mo
se kúrò ní llú mi; *owó l'awon obìnrin wonyí níwó tí nwón*
fi nífè mi; ó békérè ibítí mo ti lo áti idí rē tí mo fi pé béké;
nwón békérí(lí) sálo, *tóbéè t'ó fi jé pé ní ówúrò ojó tí mo*
níwí yí, *iyáwó kánṣoso l'ó kú s'ódò mi*; *kini se t'ō ò se*
ohun tí mo ní k'ō se? *láipé ilé ó sú tóbéè tí a kò fi ní(lí)*
lè ríráñ rara; *éké rē pò tóbéè tí ng kò fi lè gba á gbó rará*;
òbè yí mú tóbéè t'ó fi lè béké ówó géndé sónú lékékanṣoso; *ng*
kò mó idí rē tí kò fi sin wá lo; *oja'báké tóbéè tí bába*
mí'bó sínu igbésé.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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MANNER

1. The direct question word for 'how?' in Yoruba is **báwo?** If this is the introduction to a longer sentence, **báwo** is followed by **ni**, with **ti** preceding the main verb, e.g. **báwo ni nwón ti rí?** 'what are they like? (how do they appear?)'. Many Yorubas in this type of question use **kíni** instead of **báwo ni**, e.g. **kíl'ó ti rí?** 'what is it like?'. Note that in this case the presence of **ti** is vitally important for conveying the sense, because without it **kíni** equals 'what?' and the sentence **kíl'ó rí?** can only be translated 'what did he/she see?'. In certain phrases **báwo ni/kíni** are actually omitted, leaving only **ti** to carry the meaning, e.g. **òhún ti rí ó?** 'what is it like there? (how is yonder?)'.

The addition of **tó** 'to reach' or **sí** 'to' is necessary when a question refers to measurements or estimates of quantity or quality.

kíl'ó ti tóbí tó? how big is it? (how is it big reach?)
kíl'ó ti dára sí? how good is it? (how is it good to?)
báwo l'o ti gbádùn ibé sí? how did you enjoy there?

A broad distinction that can be made between **tó** and **sí** is that **tó** is used when referring to physical features to which some sort of quantitative answer can be given, while **sí** is used when the answer will be in general terms. For example, in answer to 'how big is it?' one might say **ó tóbí tó báyí** 'it is as big as this (it is big like this)' with some illustrative gesture, while **mo gbádùn rè púpó** 'I enjoyed it very much' is the sort of answer expected after 'how did you enjoy there?'. Occasionally, however, **tó** is used where one might have expected **sí**.

When **se** is added after **ti** some measure of effort is generally implied.

MANNER

báwo l'o ti se ti i? how did you (manage to) shut it?
kíl'ó ti se rí i rà? how did you manage to get hold of one? (see buy)

Where **se** is used **ti** tends to be omitted, e.g. **kíl'ó se rí i rà?** for the example immediately above. On the other hand, **se** is sometimes added after **ti** rather superfluously.

2. For the indirect 'how' **bí** is substituted for **báwo ni** or **kíni**.

b'ó ti rí n'iyen, that is how it is (how it is is that)
mo fé(é) mó b'ó ti rí gaan, I want to know what it is like exactly
bí mo ti se tì i n'iyen, that is how I managed to shut it
a à mó b'ó ti tóbí tó, we don't know how big it is
a à lè so b'ā ti gbádùn rè tó, we cannot say how much we enjoyed it

Note in the last example the use of **tó** with **gbádùn**, corresponding to 'how much?' in the translation, while in the direct question given earlier **sí** was used, rendered by the vaguer 'how?'.

3. Clauses introduced by **bí ... ti** are actually noun clauses which behave in many ways like a noun qualified by a relative clause. The similarity would be more obvious if, instead of translating the introductory words by 'how/as', we used the rendering 'the way that, the manner that'. We have seen in the examples already given that these clauses can function as either the subject or the object of a verb. An important point to note in this connection is that when such a clause is the object of a low-tone verb, e.g. **mò** 'to know' in the second example in 2. above, the verb is heard on a mid-tone just as when it is followed by an unelided noun object. Other points of similarity are that these clauses can be qualified by **yí** 'this', **yén** (**ún**, **ní**) 'that' or **náà** 'referred to', e.g. **bí é ti níse é yí kò dára** 'this way that you are doing it is no good', and that two such clauses are linked by the same word **àti** which is used to link nouns, e.g. **b'ó ti tó àti b'ó ti ye** 'as is right and (as is) proper'.

b'ó ti rorò tó náá l'ó bá mí l'érù, it is the fact mentioned
of its being so fierce which frightens me
nwón fi bí nwón ti níṣe é hàn mí, they shewed me how
they were doing it (they took the way they were
doing it shew me)

bí iṣé èníà'bá ti wúlò sí ni òun yíó fi níláári tó, it is
according to the usefulness of a person's work that
he will be appreciated (as a person's work happens
to be useful in degree (sí) it is he will thereby (fi)
have worth reach)

b'ó bá ti tóbí sí l'ó fi nímyelórí tó, the bigger it is the
more expensive it is (as it happens to be big in degree
it is it thereby has value reach)

In the last two examples the bí . . . ti clause which is
the object of fi 'to put, take, use' is put in the emphatic
position at the head of the sentence followed by the
emphasising ni.

4. These clauses are also often used adverbially.

(a) The clause may be put in the usual position for
adverbs, i.e. after the main verb of the sentence.

ó níṣorò b'ó ti fé, he talks as he likes

nwón sé mí l'áléjò b'ó ti tó àti b'ó ti yé, they entertained
me as was right and proper

(b) The clause may occur at the beginning of the
sentence, in which case its meaning can vary considerably.
It may refer to time (p. 165) or condition (p. 172) or, if
it ends in tó plus the demonstrative yí or yén (ún, ní),
have a concessive meaning as illustrated here.

bí èrò yí ti kéré tó yí, ó lágbára púpò, though this
machine is so small, it is very powerful

b'ó ti tóbí tó (o)ní, kò lè sé nkánkan, though he is so big
(as that), he cannot do anything

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

han(an)run, to snore
ekúté, mouse

ológbò, cat
qṣé, soap

irépò, harmony, friendship	eré, running
ítójú, caring for, looking	ṣubú, to fall
after	orogún, co-wife
jø . . . l'ójú, to impress	

EXERCISE 32

Translate into English: kíl'é ti gbádùn ilú òyinbó sí? a
gbádùn rè púpò; báwo ni mo ti sé maa sòrò náá fún u?
ó ti pé tó t'ó ti dé'bi? òrò ti bába sò láná sí mí, báwo l'ó
ti rí l'ójú nyín? ó wúwo jù b'ó ti rí télerí lò; mo nígbò
b'ó ti níhānrún níbit'ó sún sí; bí ekúté kò ti lágbára
níwájú ológbò, békénaá ní ng kò lágbára níwájú nyín; bí
nwón ti sé étò náá n'lyí; ng kò lè sò bí inú mí'tí dùn tó
láti mó nyín lóní; ng kò l'érò míràn l'ókàñ jù bí ng ó ti
sé san oore náá padà fún u; ó sé mí bí qṣé'tí níṣe ojú; b'ó
ti wá yí ni k'è sé gbé e; irépò'wà ní ilú yí jù bí mo ti l'érò
lò; bí ọkùrin náá'tí sé ltójú mí'jò mí l'ójú púpò; gbogbo
b'ó ti níṣe yí ni mo níwò; ng kò tún f'ojú bá á mó di bí mo
ti níṣorò yí; b'ó ti wú kí eré mí pò tó, ng kò le ṣubú rárá;
bí èmi pákápáá ti wá nínú ilé yí, mo mó nkán tí ojú mi
nírí l'ówó áwọn orogún.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

THE FORMATION OF NOUNS (1)

Yoruba forms nouns from verbs in a number of ways. These are:

1. A prefix **a-** is added to many combinations of verb plus object to form nouns denoting persons or things performing the action of the verb, or, where the combinations denote a state, persons who are in that state.

Examples: **akówé** 'clerk' (**kó** 'write' **iwé** 'paper, book'); **apeja** 'fisherman' (**pá** 'kill' **eja** 'fish'); **akékó** 'student' (**kó** 'learn' **ékó** 'learning'); **aségítà** 'firewood seller' (**sé** 'snap off' **igi** 'wood' **tá** 'sell'); **abaniłóríjé** 'person who gets one into trouble' ('one who spoils—**bá** ... **jé**—a person—**eni**—in luck—**orí**'); **asənilórukó** 'person who gets one a (bad) name' (**so** ... **l'órúkó** 'give a name to'); **afójú** 'blind man' (**fó** 'broken' **ojú** 'eye'); **agéti** 'crop-eared man' (**gé** 'cut' **etí** 'ear'). Note that such a word as **agéti** might theoretically be expected to have also the meaning 'person who cuts ears' but such a meaning does not actually exist.

There is a special group of words formed with **a-** which have two parts, the second part being preceded by the negative **má**, e.g. **alápámásiṣé** 'person who has arms—**apá**—but does not work', i.e. 'lazybones'; **arajámásánwó** 'person who buys goods—**oja**—but does not pay'; **atamátásé** 'person who shoots and does not miss'.

Nouns made up of **a-** and a bare verb stem are rare; **asé** 'strainer' (**sé** 'strain') is one example.

2. A small number of nouns have a prefix **ò-/ò-** (varying according to the following vowel) which performs the same function as **a-**; this prefix cannot be used to form new words as **a-** can be used.

Examples: **òjisé** 'messenger' (**jé** 'answer' **isé** 'message');

THE FORMATION OF NOUNS (1)

òsisé 'workman, worker'; **òmùtì** 'drunkard' (**mu** 'drink' **otí** 'spirits'—for the tones see para. 6. below); **òjeun** 'glutton'.

3. A number of nouns denoting living creatures or things performing the action of the verb are complete reduplications of the verb plus noun object.

Examples: **jagunjagun** 'warrior' (**já** 'fight' **ogun** 'war'); **woléwolé** 'sanitary inspector' (**wó** 'look at' **ilé** 'house'); **yohinyohín** 'dentist' (**yó** 'extract' **ehín** 'teeth'); **jédijédi** 'haemorrhoids, piles' (**jé** 'consume' **idi** 'bottom').

In some cases both the form with **a-** and the reduplicated form occur, but with a differentiation in meaning, e.g. **apeja** 'fisherman', **pejapeja** 'a variety of sea-bird which lives on fish'; **akorin** 'chorister', **kɔrɪnkɔrɪn** 'person who is always singing'. The reduplicated form appears to bring up a visual image of constant repetition of the action associated with the person or thing.

4. The prefix **olù-** added to some verbs makes a noun denoting the doer of the action, e.g. **olùkó** 'teacher', **olùgbálá** 'saviour', **olùtójú** 'one who looks after'. **olùfé**, however, means both 'lover' and 'loved one', while **olùpónjú** means 'person in distress'.

5. There is a compound prefix **oni-** containing the verb **ní** 'have, possess' which can be added to any Yoruba noun to give the meaning 'one who has/possesses the object in question'. The prefix actually takes various forms but it is convenient to refer to it under the form which it has when there is no elision, i.e. before a noun beginning with a consonant, e.g. **onímótó** 'motor-owner'. This form also occurs when the noun begins with the vowel **i**, e.g. **onírun** 'hairy person/thing' (**irun** 'hair'), otherwise the **n** appears as **I** and the **o** is assimilated to the initial vowel of the noun, giving, e.g. **alárún** 'person with disease', **élépo** 'person/thing which has palm-oil', **éléran** 'person/thing having meat', **olóko** 'farm-owner', **olóná** 'thing with decoration'. Nouns of this type are used both independently and also as qualifiers of other nouns, e.g. **aso olóná** 'cloth which has decorations on it',

qbè éléràn 'stew with meat in it'. The prefix does not necessarily imply ownership; for example, a girl hawking cloth about is usually acting as an agent but she would be referred to as *alásò*.

A frequent use of nouns of this form is exemplified in such expressions as *omò olómò* 'another person's child' ('the child of a person who has a child') which occurs in the proverb *omò olómò kò jò omò enì* 'other people's children are not like one's own children' 'blood is thicker than water'. Other examples are *ilé onilé* 'other people's houses' and *ohun olóhun* 'other people's property'.

Occasionally the prefix is added to nouns denoting persons to give a more general meaning than the simple form, e.g. *alákòwé* in *ó ní alákòwé l'òum'maa fè* 'she says she is going to marry a clerk' (i.e. not a farmer or factory worker—the reference is more to the proposed husband's status in society than to his actual occupation).

In a certain number of cases this form has an emphatic effect, e.g. *òmí olóní* 'this very day' ('today which has today'); also *eléyí*, *oniyéñ*, *eléyí(i)ní*, which are emphatic forms of *éyí* 'this', *iyéñ* and *éyí(i)ní* 'that'; *onítòhún* 'the other person' (*t'òhún* 'what belongs to yonder').

6. The prefix *i-* added to a simple verb stem or to a compound of verb plus object with or without further extensions forms abstract nouns, e.g. *idúró* 'state of waiting or standing', *ijókó* 'state of sitting', *ináwó* 'expenditure of money', *imò* 'knowledge', *ifòkànbàlè* 'having one's heart at rest' ('put heart settle down'), *ilòsíwájú* 'progress' ('going forward'), *ifé* 'love, desire'.

The verb-noun formed in this way with *i-* has a reduplicated form with an interposed *kú* which always has a pejorative meaning, e.g. *isòkúsò* 'bad language, foolish talking', *inákúná* 'foolish spending, extravagance', *ilòkúlò* 'foolish use, bad use', *irákúrà* 'foolish buying'. Both these reduplicated forms and also the simple forms are frequently used with the prefix *oní-*, e.g. *onísòwò* 'trader' (*ṣe* 'to do', *òwò* 'trade'), *onídúró* 'one who stands as surety', *onínákúná* 'one who indulges in extravagance, profligate'.

THE FORMATION OF NOUNS (1)

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As the examples given suggest, the meaning of these forms is generally active; an exception is provided by *onibàjé* 'spoilt' (of a child). The reduplicated form is often used as an adverbial extension, e.g. *ó lò ó ní ilòkùlò* 'he used it in an improper way'.

A certain number of nouns formed from verbs with this prefix do not fit into the general pattern, e.g. *igbálé* 'broom' (*gbá* 'to sweep' *ilé* 'ground'), *ibòwò* 'glove' (*bò* 'to insert' *owó* 'hand'), *iránṣé* 'servant, messenger', *ijòyé* 'chief' (but *ijòyé* 'the act of appointing a chief'). Also to be noticed is the fact that verb compounds with mid-high tones change this pattern to low-high when this prefix is added, e.g. *tíjú* 'to be ashamed', *itíjú* 'shame'; *ronú* 'to take thought', *irónú* 'pensiveness'. The same change also takes place after the low tone *ò-ò-* prefix described in 2. above, e.g. *mutí* 'to drink spirits', *òmùti* 'drunkard'; *síṣé* 'to work', *òsíṣé* 'workman, workmanlike'.

7. There is a prefix *à-* which is to some extent interchangeable with the *i-* just described, but Yoruba has tended to fix a form with *à-* for some verbs or types of context and *i-* for others. For example, one uses *àlò* 'going' in the farewell prayer *àlò (o)re*, *àbò (o)re ó!* 'a good going and a good returning!', but *ilòkùlò* is said for 'foolish going' and *ilòsíwájú* for 'progress' ('going forward'). In translating into English it is not possible to make any distinction of meaning and it is therefore merely a matter of learning where each form is appropriate.

(a) *à-* is used in wishes and prayers, as in the example already given. Other examples are *àṣé ó!* 'may it come to pass', *àdèpa ó!* 'may one hunt and kill' (a greeting said to a hunter), *àròyè ó!* 'may one forge and live' (a greeting said to a blacksmith).

(b) *à-* is generally used where a second verb is added to qualify the first, e.g. *àṣejù* 'doing to excess', *àṣetán* 'doing to completion', *àṣeti* 'attempting to do and failing', *àṣeghádùn* 'doing with enjoyment'. These forms often occur in adverbial extensions, e.g. *ó ṣe é l'áséjù* 'he did it

with a doing to excess', ó pa á l'ápátán 'he killed him with a killing to completion'. They may also occur as the subject or object of a verb, e.g. àṣejù kò dára 'excess is not good', ó pàpójù (pò àpójù) 'it is too much', or be used with the oní- prefix, e.g. aláséjù 'person who does things to excess'.

(c) Many à- forms have a passive meaning, especially when used to qualify another noun, e.g. itàn áròsó 'fable, fiction' ('story which is imagined and related'), asò álòkù 'second-hand clothes' ('clothes used with use remaining'). Other examples are ámúwá Olórún 'thing brought on one by God' (mú . . . wá 'to bring'); alábukún 'person who is blessed (possessor of thing added in addition)', which we can compare with ibukún 'act of blessing' and olùbukún 'one who gives a blessing'; aláfehinti 'one who has someone on whom he can lean back', i.e. a backer (fi éhin tì 'to put back lean').

The translation of many of these forms will vary according to the context, e.g. besides asò álòkù we may have ó lò ó l'álòkù 'he used it but left it still usable'.

(d) à- is used when the first verb is followed by a second verb preceded by a low tone negative element. This is sometimes conventionally written ì but is actually pronounced as an extension of the preceding vowel on a low tone, e.g. aféirí or àfèrì 'something looked for or wanted (fé) but which cannot be seen', as in ó di aféirí 'he vanished into thin air'. Such forms can be used to refer to an abstract quality or to a concrete person or thing, e.g. àwìigbó 'disobedience' or 'disobedient person—one to whom one speaks (wí) but he does not listen (gbó)'. In a variant of this form the first verb is repeated after the negative with a qualifying verb added, e.g. àmògòmòtán 'thing known but not known completely' or the verb-noun describing this quality.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

molémolé, builder (in mud)
asógbó, forest guard

òpùrò, liar
kólékólé, burglar

osùn, camwood	olóríburukú, ill-fated
kádárá, destiny	person
afésónà, betrothed	írònú, anxious thought
òshisé, worker	òdárán, offender
áfojúbà, personal	dá . . . l'óró, to treat cruelly
experience	'ni (=ení), person, one

EXERCISE 33

Translate into English: àwọn molémolé kò fé kí òjò rò; asógbó ni nwón ípè àwọn ósiṣé ijoba t'ó níṣé nínú igbó; ng kò lè gba á gbó rárá, ópùrò éníà ni; a jé şóra púpò, nítorípé kólékólé pò ní ilú yí ó! gbogbo àwọn iyawó ré sá bá ení eléni lo; nwón máá ípè ókó iyawó ní eléshé osùn; irónú kò jékí ókàn mi balé; ng kò fé kí olóríburukú yén rà nkánkan l'ówó mi; iròhin kò tó áfojúbà; nígbá'ó se, a já sí tití olódà; asò álòkù l'ó níwá kákiri; alágbará má mérò (mó érò), baba òlé; elété kò pa á l'ójú ení; agbójú-lé-ogún fi ara rè fún òṣí ta pa; abínú ení kò lè pa kádárá dà; aláséjù kò ní(i) pé té; onígbágbo l'áwa méjééjì; iyawó mi afésónà'wá kí mi n'íjéta; adajó jù òdárán náà s'íwón qdún métà; adáni-l'óró f'agbára kó ni.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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THE FORMATION OF NOUNS (2)

We go on in this chapter to describe further noun forms derived from verbs.

1. The word *àti* (*láti*) placed before a verb makes a noun which corresponds to the English infinitive or verb noun, e.g. *àti rí owó ɔkò l'ó şoro* 'to find/finding the money for the boat/conveyance (it is) is difficult'. It is common after nouns and verb combinations composed of verb plus noun, e.g. *ákókò àti lọ* 'time to go', *ònà àti rí i* 'a way to find it', *ó pinnu* (*pin énu*) *àti pa á* 'he decided to kill him', *ó gbiyànjú* (*gbà iyànjú*) *àti kó ɔ* 'he made an effort to learn it'. It is also frequently used in adverbial extensions to express purpose, with the preceding *ní* written as one word with *àti*, i.e. *láti* is written for *l'áti*, e.g. *ó se é láti d'èrùbà mí* 'he did it to frighten me'. From the adverbial extensions the *láti* form is tending to spread into the other constructions, so that *ákókò láti lọ*, *ó pinnu láti pa á* are also common. As many Yorubas use English a great deal and this form corresponds so closely with the English infinitive it is not surprising to find that it is being used to an increasing degree in other constructions as well, particularly in written Yoruba, e.g. *ó kó láti lọ* 'he refused to go' for *ó kó kò lọ* 'he refused he did not go'; *ó fé(é) láti rà á* 'he wants to buy it' for *ó fé(é) rà á*; *ó níláti lọ* 'he has (ní) to go' (the phrase is apparently borrowed from English).

àti appears to contain the prefix *à-* described in Chapter 33 along with an unexplained element *ti*, but its use differs from that of the simple prefix in that it can be followed by *máa*, giving a habitual meaning to the form, e.g. *àti máaa şiré nígbàgbogbo'sú mi* 'to be playing about all the time is irksome/has become irksome to me'.

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The word *àti* (*láti*) described here must not be confused with another *àti* (*láti*) 'from' which is formed by adding the prefix *à-* to the verb *ti* 'come from'. This is usually found in adverbial extensions, so that the form *láti* is commoner than *àti* and is actually (just like the other *láti*) tending to replace the basic form in other contexts as well, e.g. besides *àti Ékó dé Ibàdán jinna dié* 'from Lagos to (reach) Ibadan is quite far' we have also *láti Ékó* etc. Perhaps through imitation of English, constructions with *láti* are tending to replace the simple *ti*, e.g. instead of *mo t'Ékó dé lánă* 'I from Lagos arrived yesterday' *mo dé lát'Ékó lánă* 'I arrived from Lagos yesterday' is now often heard. (For more about this verb *ti* 'to come from' see p. 142.)

The other word *àti* 'and', used to join nouns and noun clauses (see p. 201), has no complementary *láti* form.

2. We saw on p. 121 that many adjectives are derived from verbs by prefixing a high-tone syllable which has the vowel *i* and the same consonant as the first syllable of the verb. Words of this type can actually be formed from practically any verb; they function both as adjectives and nouns or sometimes only as nouns.

(a) When followed by the relative word *ti* or the emphasising word *ni* this form is used to emphasise the verb, e.g. *jijádè t'ó jádè l'ó rí mi* 'the coming out that he came out it is he saw me' = 'as soon as he came out he saw me', *pípa ni nwón pa á* 'killing it is they killed him' = 'they actually killed him'. If a verb is used with both an active and a passive meaning, this form can be used to emphasise it in either sense, e.g. *fifó l'ó fó ɔ* 'he broke it' and *fifó l'ó fó* 'it is broken'.

(b) If a verb has only active meaning, this form, if used as an adjective, generally has the meaning 'to be . . .', e.g. *mímú* 'to be drunk, drinkable', as in *omi mímú* 'drinking water', and *títà* 'to be sold', as *íṣu tità* 'yams for sale'. These forms can also function independently as nouns with this meaning, e.g. *aso yí pón*, *ó di fifó* 'this cloth is dirty, it needs washing', lit. 'it has become a thing for

washing'. If, however, the verb has both active and passive meaning, this form both as adjective and noun generally reflects the passive meaning, e.g. *àwo fifò* 'broken dish' and *ó di fifò* 'it has become a broken thing, it is now broken'.

(c) When a transitive verb is accompanied by its object, this is often placed in front of the verb in this form, e.g. *qtí mímu* 'spirit-drinking', *oko ríro* 'farm-tilling'. This is not so, however, with verbs which form a close compound with a noun, e.g. *jádè* (*já òde*) 'to get out'. The difference between close compounds and other combinations of verb plus noun is clearly seen in the emphatic context described in (a) above, where one says, e.g. *jíjádè* *ti mo* *jádè* but *mímu* *ti mo mu* *qtí yí*. *jádè* is thought of as representing one idea and the parts cannot easily be separated and reversed—one says *qtí mímu* but not *òde jíjá*. A point to note is that many verbs which we think of as intransitive in English may be transitive in Yoruba in the sense of being directly followed by an object noun, e.g. we say that a person is 'strong of body', but Yoruba says he is 'strong body'—*ó lera* (*le ara*). This can be reversed as *ara líle*, meaning 'a strong body' or 'health'. This example shews that there is sometimes the possibility of translating these forms in two different ways in English. Another example is *iwé kíkà*, which can be either 'book-reading', i.e. 'reading', or 'book for reading, reader'. Such cases are not, however, numerous and the contexts in which the forms are used shew in what sense they are to be taken, e.g. the two meanings of *omi mímu*—'water for drinking' and 'water-drinking'—are hardly likely to cause confusion.

(d) Forms which are used as adjectives are also used to denote the corresponding abstract nouns, e.g. *gígùn* 'long, length', *dídùn* 'sweet, sweetness'. Where the adjective is irregular, however, a regular form is used for the abstract noun, e.g. *kékéré* 'small', *kíkéré* 'smallness'; *dáradára* 'good', *dídára* 'goodness'. It is these regular forms which occur in the emphatic sentences described in (a) above, e.g. *kíkéré t'ó kéré ni kò jé kí n rà á* 'it's smallness

it was did not allow me to buy it'. Note, however, that in the case of adjectives which have the same form as the verb, e.g. *dúdú* 'to be black, black', many Yorubas also use the same form for the noun, e.g. *ó ní funfun atí pupa* 'it contains both white and red', *dúdú t'ó dúdú kò wù mí fárá* 'it's blackness does not attract me at all'.

The form is also used for the verb noun of some verbs which have no adjectives connected with them, e.g. *lílo* 'going', as in *ákókò lílo mi* 'the time of my departure', and *ṣíṣí* 'state of being open', as in *ó wà ní ṣíṣí* 'it is in an open state'.

3. A reduced form of the prefix described in 2. is probably the origin of the long vowel which crops up in phrases like *ó sòro(ó) se* 'it is hard to do', *ó dún(ún) gbó* 'it is sweet to hear' as compared with the short vowels of *sòro*, *dùn*. Note that the extension has a high tone. We may assume that an earlier form was e.g. *ó sòro* *ṣíṣé* and that the initial consonant of *ṣíṣé* was dropped and the vowel *i* then assimilated to the preceding vowel, retaining of course its high tone. This high tone extension also occurs, as we saw in Chapter 12, in such phrases as *ó fé(é) rà á* 'he wants to buy it', *ó bérésí(i) je é* 'he began to eat it', *kò ní(i) lò* 'he will not go' ('he has not to go'), *kò tó(ó) kà á* 'he is not up to reading it'. In all these cases it is simplest to explain the lengthened vowel as containing what is actually a prefix to the following verb, making a form which corresponds to the English infinitive 'to buy, to eat' etc. Sometimes we get a reversal of order of verb and object, e.g. instead of *ó bérésí(i) sòrò* (*sò órò*) 'he began to speak' we may get *ó bérésí órò(ó) sò* or the fuller form ... *órò sísò* or even ... *órò ni sisò*. It is unfortunate that in the ordinary Yoruba spelling there is often no indication of these long vowels, e.g. *ó sòro(ó) se* may be simply written *ó sòro se*. Sometimes, however, the extra length is shewn by writing a conventional *i-*, e.g. *ó sòro iše*. In *kò sē se* 'it cannot be done' (lit. 'it does not do to do') the length is usually shewn as indicated. This use of *se* is common with and without the negative, e.g. *ó*

ṣe(é) sì 'it can be opened', **kò ṣe(é) f'ènu sò** 'it cannot be described (put mouth say)'. A point to note about its use is that where one might expect it to be followed by the instrumental **fi** (p. 82) this is frequently omitted, e.g. **òbè kò ṣe(é) fári** 'a knife cannot be used to shave the head', where one might have expected **kò ṣe(é) fi fári**.

It is not unusual in written Yoruba to find **látí** used instead of the lengthened vowel, particularly if a qualifying word is added, e.g. **ó sòro púpò látí** **ṣe** instead of **ó sòro(ó) ṣe púpò**.

4. A prefix **àì-** in front of a verb makes a form which we can regard as the negative complement of the **àtì** verb noun, since this prefix, too, can be followed by **máa**; it is often written as a separate word. Examples: **àídára** 'not being good', **àì rí nkán rà** 'failure to find anything to buy', **àllówótó** 'not having enough money', **àì kà èníà sì** **rè** 'his lack of respect for people', **àifetísílè mi** 'my failure to pay attention'. These forms often occur in adverbial extensions with **ní àì** written **lái** as a separate word corresponding to English 'without', e.g. **ó wólé lái sanwó** 'he went in without paying', **ó jádé lái fún mi l'ésì** 'he went out without giving me an answer'. With **pé** 'to be long, late', however, it is generally written as one word, e.g. **áá wá láipé** 'he will come soon', **mo rí i láipé yí** 'I saw him recently'.

Combined with another negative this form is used to express a strong affirmative, **àì-** being fused with the verb **ṣe** 'to do' to form a separate word, e.g. **kò lè sàì wá** 'he cannot fail to come', **kò ní(i) sàì padà** 'he will surely return', **másàì (má sàì) maa wá(á) kí mi l'Ékò** 'be sure to keep on coming to greet me at Lagos'. As in the last example, **má** tends to be written as one word with **sàì**; some Yorubas use a longer form **másálái**, **má sálái** here. It should be mentioned that **gbòdò** 'must' is followed by **má**, e.g. **ng kò gbòdò má lò** 'I must not fail to go'; compare the use of **má** with **féré** 'almost' (p. 148). **lè** 'to be able' can be followed by either **sàì** or **má**, e.g. **ó lè sàì rà á**, **ó lè má rà á** 'he may fail to buy it'.

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Nouns formed with **àì-** are often used with the **óní**-prefix, e.g. **aláisàn** 'sick person' from **àisàn** 'not being well', **aláiláanú** 'pitiless person' from **àlláanú** 'not having pity' (**áánú**), **aláiriséṣe** 'one who cannot find work' (**ri** **ṣe** **se**).

Other uses of this form are seen in such sentences as **ó lè sàì wá lóní k'ó wá lólá** 'he may fail to come today but come tomorrow, perhaps he will not come today but come tomorrow instead' and **ó dé t'àiédé l'ó bérésí(i) bú mi** 'he had hardly arrived when he began to abuse me', **ó wé t'àiwé ni mo wólé dé** 'he had hardly finished washing when I came in'. The **t'ài** form here is added as an adverbial qualifier, not as object of the preceding verb; if it were the object the low tone verb **wé** would be heard on a mid tone (p. 32). The **t'** in such expressions is obscure; it could be taken as an independent use of the possessive **ti** (p. 45). Some Yorubas omit it.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

akòlòlò (ké òlòlò)	alánlítijú , shameless
stammerer	person
mì , to swallow	àna , relative-in-law
tú , to undo, reveal	dípò , instead of
àsírí , secret	fò sánlè , to collapse (of a
abéré , needle	person)
jampata , to worry one's	gbérò , to plan
head	dá ọwó lé , to undertake
àtélewó , palm of hand	

EXERCISE 34

Translate into English: **ó wá ḥnà àti lò(ó) pàdé ḥré rè;**
obinrin kò ṣe(é) f'inú hàn; **ó ṣe(é) fi bò'pò (bò'apò);** **kikéré**
tí abéré kéré, **kí ịse mímí adié;** **rírò ni t'èníà, ịsé ni**
t'Olórùn; **pípé ni yiò pë,** **akòlòlò yio pë bábá;** **síṣá l'ó**
fímú èníà sá fún oore ịsé; **ojú tí mí láti tú àsírí yí fún u;**
kò lè sàì yà nyín l'énú láti rí mi báyí; **àti jókò dí ijàngbòn,**
àti díde di lyonu; **kíni ojú rë'ṣàì rí tán l'óru ọjó náá?** **kò**

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jampata àti fé iyàwó mìràñ mó; àtélèwó kò şe(é) fi rù
 iná; ó náwó gidigidi lórí nkán jíjé àti nkán mímu; ó pinnu
 àti farapamó wò nkán tí yiò sélè; ó lè şài fún wa l'óúnje
 k'ó fún wa l'ówó dípò rè; iṣé tí a nígbérò àti dá ṣowó lé
 yí wúlò lópólópò; aígbé'lé jù béké lò kò jék'ó tètè l'óbínrin;
 aláinitíjú ni ígbá ilé ána rè kú sí; awò yí şe(é) şe bátá
 (= ... şe(é) fi şe bátá); èwà sísé ni mo féràn jù; kò mó
 ọbè(é) sè, kò mó iyán(án) gún; ó jádè t'ài jádè l'ó fò
 sánlè kú.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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MORE ABOUT YI, YÉN, AWON, KAN, NAA AND PRONOUNS

In this chapter we bring together and give more details about various commonly occurring words.

1. We have seen (p. 41) that in Yoruba we can make a distinction between a number of persons or things thought of collectively, e.g. *mo fò àwo* 'I washed the dishes', or as a group of individuals, e.g. *mo rí àwon ijòyè* 'I saw the chiefs'. This distinction may be made also when we add 'these' or 'those', e.g. *fò àwo yí* 'wash this dish', *fò àwo wònyí* 'wash these dishes'; *ijòyè yí fè bá nyín sòrò* 'this chief wants to talk with you', *àwon ijòyè yí fè bá nyín sòrò* 'these chiefs etc.'. In written Yoruba also, possibly through the influence of English, we often have *àwon ... wònyí* instead of *àwon ... yí*, which seems to be out of line with the general Yoruba tendency to be economical with indications of plurality. It should be noted, however, that the plural form is obligatory if the noun is followed by a qualifying clause of any length, e.g. *àwon t'ò fè(é) bá wa sòrò wònyí* 'these people who want to talk with us'. The corresponding forms for 'those' are *wònyen* and *àwon ... yén/wònyen*.

The independent plural form of these words are *íwònyí/awònyí*, *íwònyen/awònyen* in the more collective sense (*i-* and *à-* being dialectal variants) and *àwon wònyí*, *àwon wònyen* in the more individual sense. The difference between *kín' iwònyí* and *kíl' àwon wònyí* 'what are these?' is best brought out by differences of intonation in English; the second alternative answers to an increase of stress on 'these'.

2. The plural indicator *àwon* may be put in front of *tani* 'who?', e.g. 'who did you see there?' may be

translated *tal'o rí níbè?* or *àwọn tal'o rí níbè?* according to the questioner's knowledge of the circumstances. But if plurality is shewn in what follows this does not happen, e.g. 'who are those people?' is *tàl'àwọn wònyen?* Notice the difference between this expression and *àwọn tan'lyen?* 'who is that?', which might be said if one heard a noise outside the room indicating the arrival of more than one person. If one thought that only a single person had arrived one would, of course, say *tan'lyen?*

When *àwọn* is placed in front of a proper name it denotes the group to which the person concerned is thought of, in that particular context, as belonging, e.g. *àwọn Táiwò* may on one occasion denote Taiwo's family and on another occasion a school class or any other group with which he may happen to be associated. It is not in any way equivalent to the English family plural, e.g. 'the Smiths'.

3. When *kán* occurs after *àwọn* or numerals it has the meaning 'a set/group of', e.g. *ní igbà kan àwọn ọmọ métà kán'wà* 'once upon a time there were three sons', i.e. a particular set of three sons on whom our attention is to be fixed. *àwọn kán* means 'a certain group of people', e.g. *tàn'iwonyi? àwọn kán tí nwón* (or *t'ó*) *íwá işé ni* 'who are these people? some people who are looking for work'. Contrast with this *àwọn t'ó íwá işé ni* 'the people who are looking for work'. The singular of *àwọn kán* is *ẹníkan* (always written as one word). Compare with this *nkán* (or *nìkan*) 'something, a thing', derived from *ohun kán*. The *kán* is doubled in *ẹníkankan* 'anybody', *nkánkakan* 'anything', as in *ng ò rí ẹníkankan níbè* 'I did not see anybody there', *ng ò rà nkánkakan* 'I did not buy anything'

Note that in the above usage *kán* precedes a relative clause. It will follow such a clause only if this is short and, in fact, equivalent to an adjective (which is true also of other numerals). Contrast *mo rí ilé t'ó kéré kán* 'I saw a small house' with *mo rí ilé kán t'ó kéré púpò* 'I saw a house which was very small'; *t'ó kéré* in the first sentence

is equivalent to *kékéré*. *yí*, *yén* and *náà*, on the other hand, normally follow a relative clause, e.g. *obinrin t'ā nsòrò rè yí* 'this woman that we are talking about', *èyít'ó sanra yén* 'that fat one', *owó tí nwón fún mi náà* 'the money in question which they gave me'. When these words precede the relative clause, they are followed by a slight pause just as in the corresponding English sentence; the relative word *tí*, too, requires some supporting words. For example, 'my friend (mentioned), who had already arrived' is rendered by *òré mi náà, t'ó jé pé ó ti tètè dé* 'my friend, which it is that he had arrived early' or *òré mi náà, ènit'ó ti tètè dé* 'my friend, the person who had arrived early' (the second rendering being rather bookish). Similarly, for 'this bag of mine, which was very heavy' one says *àpò mi yí, t'ó jé pé ó wúwo púpò* or (bookish) *àpò mi yí, èyít'ó wúwo púpò*.

4. Besides its common meaning of 'the ... mentioned, hinted at, inferred', *náà* not infrequently means 'too' or, in negative sentences, 'either', e.g. *èmí náà fé lò* 'I too want to go', *Táiwò náà kò lè kà á* 'Taiwo could not read it, either'. It is also occasionally used adverbially at the end of short phrases with a meaning something like 'as has already been stated or implied', e.g. *ó dára náà* 'it's all right even so' (in spite of various circumstances which might have caused me to alter my mind), *ó lò náà ni sùgbón ...* 'he did indeed go, but ...'. For this adverbial use of *náà*, compare the similar use of *yí* and *yén* mentioned on p. 145.

náà can be used with *yí* and *yén*, which it always follows, e.g. *aso tí mo rà láná yí náà* 'this (before mentioned) cloth which I bought yesterday', *òró t'ā sò fún nyín yén náà* 'that matter which we mentioned to you'.

In some cases *náà* is written as one word with the preceding element. These are: *nítorináà* 'for that reason, therefore', *òkannáà* (*ikannáà*) 'the same thing' (*òkan* 'one'), *kánnáà* 'the same' (dependent form), *bákánnáà* 'in the same way, alike' (compare *báyí* 'in this way'), *béñáà* 'so, as you say'.

5. The forms **eléyi** and, less frequently, **oniyén** containing the **oní**-prefix described on p. 183 are used for emphasis, e.g. **eléyi ni mo fé** 'it is this one I want' is more emphatic than **éyí ni mo fé**. They are sometimes used with nouns, e.g. **igbà eléyi** 'this occasion' as compared with **igbà yí**. If **eléyi** is used to refer to a person it usually has a contemptuous meaning, e.g. **kíni eléyi lè sè?** 'what can this person do?'. Another way of making **éyí** emphatic is to add **yí**, e.g. **éyí yí ni mo fé** 'it is this very one I want'.

6. In translating 'that' we have to take account of dialectal variants. Besides **iyen**, **yén** there occur also **éyún** (**éyúum** from **éyí un**), **ún**, e.g. **ápótí ún** 'that box', **éyún kò kàn mí** 'that does not affect/concern me'. **ún** is seen in **báún** 'like that', parallel with **báyí** 'like this', for **béyé yen**. Another variant is **ní** (dependent form), which requires the lengthening on a mid tone—not always written—of the preceding vowel, e.g. **filà(a) ní** 'that cap', **owó(o) ní** 'that money', **omó(q) ní** 'that child'. The independent form is **éyiini**, e.g. **éyiini kò tó** 'that is not enough'. Plural forms **awónun**, **wónun** and **awón(on)ní**, **wón(on)ní** also occur.

7. Common uses of the emphatic pronouns which should be noted are:

(a) We have seen that **awón** 'they' can precede **tani** 'who?'; so too, in fact, can the other emphatic pronouns, e.g. **énnyin tal'ē fé(é) bá mi sòrò?** 'who are you people that want to talk with me?', **oun tal'ó wí béké?** 'who is he that says so?'. **énnyin tani?** by itself is a more emphatic variant for **tani nyin?** and so also with the other pronouns.

(b) The plural emphatic pronouns are often used with numerals, including the question word **mélō?** 'how many?', e.g. **énnyin mélō ní?** 'how many are you?', **áwa méfá ní** 'we are six, there are six of us'. **áwa métá ni bábabá wa'bí** 'there were three of us children of our father'. Both singular and plural pronouns can be used with **nikan** 'only', and also the emphasized form **nikanṣoṣo** 'alone', e.g. **émi nikánṣoṣo** 'I alone', **áwa nikánṣoṣo** 'we alone'.

(c) Emphasis, sometimes indicating contempt, is conveyed by the addition of **yí** or **wónyí**, e.g. **émi yí l'o rébáyí?** 'is it actually me you are abusing like this?', **kíl'énnyin wónyí lè sè?** 'what can people like you do?'. Contempt is often indicated by adding a noun (or adjective functioning as a noun) qualified by **yí**, e.g. **iwó kíni yí** 'a thing like you', **iwó omódé yí** 'a child like you', **iwó láṣánláṣán yí** 'a good-for-nothing like you'. **iwó omódé yí** is not necessarily contemptuous as it can also be used in calling out to a child whose name one does not know. Remember that the use of the 2nd. pers. sing. is familiar and, if used out of place, downright rude. The pronoun cannot be used by itself in calling out to a person in Yoruba; where in English one might call out 'Hi, you!' one would in Yoruba say **iwó Lágbájá ó!** 'you, So-and-so'.

8. In abusive expressions in English we use 'you' in addressing a person and 'the' in referring to him, but Yoruba uses the possessive pronouns, e.g. **kíl'álákórí rē fé** 'what does the scamp want?'. Note also the difference in construction between **kíl'ókú ighé rē'fé** and its English equivalent 'what do you want, you good-for-nothing?'.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

àwùjo , assembly, meeting	wàyí , as things are
Eléđá , Creator	òmùgô , fool
òlajú , civilised person	ribíribí , important,
éyá , people, tribe	substantial
oríṣi , sort, variety	t'oré (ta ḥoré) , make a gift
pésè (pé ḥesè) , to be fully present	

EXERCISE 35

Translate into English: **ó kí wa, àwa náà'sí ki i; ilé ti bábabá rē'kó s'éhín ilú náà ni nwón lo;** **awón tani mo ri tí nwón dúrò pò yén?** **awón kán tí nwón íwá isé ni;** **láiþé yí mo wá ni àwùjo awón òlajú ènlà kan;** **Eléđá wa**

I'o fi ifé nkán wònyí sí wa l'ókàn; gbogbo oríṣí oúnjé mérèyin yí l'ó ye k'ó maa pésé nínú oúnjé wa; mo rò pé ènyin náá'tí rí i wàyí pé àwa t'ā jé oníṣèègún kò rí bákánnáá; àwa yí, babaláwo t'ó ti inú babaláwo wá ni àwa; olóríburúkú nyín nílọ pàdé iyáwó tuntun, iyáwó tuntun'tí lọ ó; ọba ilú tí nwón dé etí rē yén'lọ s'óko ọde; àwọn t'ē rí wọn(ón)ni, ọmọ mi ni gbogbo wọn; eléyi gbin èso ibi, ó ká ibi; tal'ènyin wònyí? ọmọ ògá ilé-lwé ni wá; Olórunkánnáá t'ó dá àwọn èyà ènià tí a dárúkó wònyí l'ó dá àwa náá; àt'oun àt'àwọn méwá iyókú tí a kò mó, gbogbo wọn l'ó sá lọ pátápátá; kil'òmùgò rē'maa şe níbí? àwọn olówó ríbíribí t'ā wí yí lè fi ègbèrún pónùn t'òré láí ká á sí nkánkan.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

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CONNECTIVES

1. The word **àti** is used to connect nouns, emphatic pronouns or noun clauses. A repetition of **àti**, making a phrase which is often emphatic, gives the meaning 'both ... and'.

èmi àti Kéhìndé lọ(q) kí i, I and Kéhinde went to greet him
àti èmi **àti** Kéhìndé l'a jo lọ(q) kí i, both I and Kéhinde together (it is) went to greet him
nwón şe wá l'áléjò b'ó ti tó **àti** b'ó ti yé, they entertained us as is right and (as is) proper
nwón fé mó b'ó ti ga **àti** b'ó ti gun tó, they want to know how tall and how long it is

Note that in Yoruba 'I' is placed first, e.g. èmi àt'iwo 'I and you', èmi àt'òjo 'I and Ojo'. Notice also that in the last example above tó occurs at the end of the second clause only; if we added it at the end of the first clause as well, the effect would be very much like that of 'they want to know how tall it is and how long it is', where each clause is given in its isolated form.

Where a sequence of nouns occurs, Yoruba is like English in normally using **àti** only before the final noun, e.g. mo rà epo, eran, ata **àti** àlùbósà 'I bought palm-oil, meat, pepper and onions'. This is possibly a case of imitation of English usage. Another case of this seems to be the use of **àtipé** as a general connective between sentences, corresponding to 'and furthermore ...', though **àti** pé is quite natural when connecting two clauses of reported speech, e.g. ó wípé òun kò lè wá àti pé òun'fél(é) bá mi sòrò 'he said that he could not come and that he wanted to talk with me'.

2. A special usage is found with the singular pronouns

in which no connective is used, as in the phrase *èmi iré* 'I and you' (*iré* being a Southern Yoruba variant of *iwo*), and *Táíwò òun Ójó wá kí mi* 'Taiwo and Ojo came to greet me', in which the pronoun *òun* is substituted for the preceding noun with the second noun following immediately. A literal translation would be 'Taiwo he Ojo'.

3. A doubled *ti* (probably connected with *àti*) occurs in two forms:

(a) with a repetition of the same noun, e.g. *tagbára-tagbára* 'violently, forcibly', *tibinútibinú* 'angrily', *tomotomó* 'children and all'. As the translations suggest, these forms are generally, but not invariably, used adverbially.

ó wò mí tàánútáánú, she looked at me with pity
ó pa wón run tomotomó, he destroyed them children
 and all

ó jé é tewétewé, he ate it leaves and all

(b) with two nouns of related meaning, e.g. *tègbóntábúró* 'both elder and younger brother', *tókötaya* 'husband and wife', *tósántoru* 'night and day', *tajáteran* '(dog and animal) any Tom, Dick or Harry'. These forms may be used as subject, object or adverbial extension.

tègbóntábúró l'ó dé, both elder and younger brother came
nwón jé tókötaya, they are husband and wife
a sísé tósántoru, we worked night and day

4. *tí* is used to connect subordinate clauses which are not noun clauses, including clauses following upon the emphasising word *ni*. Often the second clause contains also the connective *sí*, for which see below.

èmi ni mo rí i tí mo sí pa á, it was I who saw it and (also) killed it
epo ni mo nírà tí mo tún nítà, it is palm-oil that I buy and in turn sell
bí mo bá rí i tí mo sí r'áyè bá a sòrò, if I see him and have a chance to talk with him
bí nwón ti dé'bè tí nwón sí wòye pé . . ., as they arrived there and realised that . . .

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àgbàdò tútù t'ó ti sè t'ó si gbóná yaya, fresh corn which she had cooked and which was piping hot

Note that where the first clause is indefinite, i.e. contains *bá*, this is not normally repeated in the following clause, the 'indefiniteness' of the situation having now been established.

Where the first clause is introduced with *kí* any following clause in the same sequence will be introduced with a repetition of this word.

jékí n lò kí n padà, let me go and come back
ó yé k'á dúpé l'ówó áwọn t'ó jékí nkán rorùn kí ó si dára báyi, we ought to give thanks to those who have caused things to be easy and good like this

5. *sí* is an auxiliary verb used to connect sentences and clauses which are not noun clauses. It has the meaning of 'moreover, also' rather than merely 'and'; in fact, in many cases where 'and' would be used in the translation no connective is used in Yoruba. This auxiliary follows *bá* but precedes *ti*, *se*, *fi*; it follows the future particles *yiò/á* and frequently takes the habitual prefix *f-*, while it precedes the other tense signs.

Some examples of its use are to be found in the preceding section; further examples are added here.

kò dudu púpò, *kò si pupa púpò*, she was not very dark and she was not very light

ó mú mi l'ára dá, *èmi kí yiò si gbàgbé*, he caused me to get better, and I shall not forget

ó dà lé mi l'óri ó si bá agbádá ògá mi jé báshabàsa, it spilled over me and also spoilt my master's gown all over

bí asò' bá sì ti bérésí(i) şá, *yiò pa á ti*, and when a gown began to lose colour, he would put it aside

nígbátí mo sì ri i pé gbogbo wón'lò siwájú, *mo bá esé mi sòrò*, and when I saw that they had all gone ahead,

I took to my heels

kí ísi íše béké mó, and he does not act so any more

nígbátí mo bá sì nkà á . . ., and whenever I read it . . .

6. *àbí*, *tàbí* 'or' are to some extent interchangeable, but *tàbí* occurs more generally between nouns and pronouns while *àbí* often joins clauses. *àbí* (*tàbí*) is also used, as we have seen, to introduce a question in situations where English, too, uses 'or'.

lọ(q) bá mi rà ògèdè tàbí òpè-òyìnbó wá kiákíá, go and quickly buy for me bananas or pine-apples (come) *kí n sè é ni àbí kí n dín i ni?* am I to stew it or fry it? *àb'ò ò fé(é) lọ mó?* or don't you want to go any more?

A reduplicated form *tàbítàbí* is used as a noun in the phrase *tàbítàbí kò sí* 'there is no perhaps, i.e. doubt'.

7. *nítòrí* is used as a connective either by itself or in the longer forms *nítòrípé*, *nítòrití* with the meaning 'because'. We have already mentioned *nítòrináà* 'therefore, because of that'. *nítòrí* (*itorí*) is also used with nouns and pronouns in adverbial phrases, e.g. *nítòrí ḥràn yí ní mo* *ṣe lò sílē* 'it was because of this matter that I went home', *ḥràn tí mo t'itorí rè lọ s'Ékò n'iyeñ* 'that is the matter about which I went to Lagos'. The *t'itorí* of the last example is really a doubled form, because *itorí* itself is a verb noun formed from *ti* 'to come from' and *orí* 'head, reason'. The example might be simplified as *ḥràn tí mo t'orí rè* etc., and with the *ń-* prefix we could have *ḥràn tí mo ńt'orí rè lọ* etc. 'the matter about which I am going'. Note that *nítòrí* (*itorí*) is followed by *se* when in the emphatic position but otherwise is constructed with *ti*.

8. *sùgbón* 'but' presents no difficulties as it is used exactly like its English counterpart; some Yorubas use instead the Hausa loan-word *àmō*. The phrase-word *béení* 'so it is' occurs in situations where 'but' might be followed by some qualifying phrase in English. e.g. *ó níṣe aṣojú oníṣòwò*, *béení kò mòwé* 'he is a trader's representative but (surprisingly enough) he is illiterate'. The word needs care in translating because it is sometimes equivalent to no more than 'and furthermore', e.g. *aiyé kò ítí lṣá*, *béení kò ítí íti* 'the (glamour of the) world

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has not yet faded and furthermore it has not yet gone stale (nor has it gone stale').

9. We saw on p. 172 that a repetition of *ibáá* without a connective is equivalent to 'whether ... or ...'. Yoruba is actually rather fond of using balanced phrases without a connective in this way, e.g. *bí mo fé, bí mo kò, dandan ni kí n lò* 'whether I want to or whether I refuse, it is incumbent on me to go'. This same idea can also be expressed by what are at first sight two independent sentences, each ending with the exclamatory *ó*, e.g. *mo fé ó, mo kò o, dandan ni kí n lò*. In this case some Yorubas might add *yálá ... tàbí ...* 'whether ... or ...', e.g. *yálá mo fé ó, tàbí mo kò o*, but these additions are possible instances of the influence of English. Other examples of lack of connectives are *mo rí méjì méta nímu won* 'I saw two or three of them', *nwón kí i mésán méwá* 'they sang his praises nineteen to the dozen' (lit. 'nine ten'), *ó nílò sókè sódò* 'he is going up and down'. Compare also compound nouns such as *arajámásánwó* 'one who buys goods (*ojà*) but does not pay' (see p. 182).

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

<i>oju nkán mi</i> , I am in a	<i>olóyé</i> , intelligent person
<i>hurry</i>	<i>sibésibé</i> , nevertheless
<i>repéte</i> , extensively	<i>òṣò</i> , adornment
<i>kí</i> , to push, ram	<i>lóra</i> , to be slow
<i>tò</i> , to follow (road)	<i>fè i (fò èsi)</i> , to reply
<i>dániṣíkí</i> , short gown	<i>ònì</i> , crocodile
<i>pọn</i> , to draw water	<i>oniyebíye</i> , valuable

EXERCISE 36

Translate into English: *a là á yé e pé a kò ní(i) lè dúró, nítòrípé oju nkán wa, sùgbón sibésibé ó se wá l'áléjò repéte; mo rántí Ádùké, omísi bò l'ójú mi; bí a ti dé téṣán, tí a gba iwé tán ni qkó'yó; darúkó méjì nínu won k'ò sì sò ilú tí nwón wà; ó gbé e mi t'eegeun-t'eegeun; t'omodé-t'ágba l'ó féràn rè; qba'ní ouñ'fi tayótayò fi qmò*

náà fún mi; ó pé tí mo ti rí i mò, n kò sì mò pé ó tí di olópà; kò pé púpò tí ilé'fi sú; ó wí fún mi kí m maa lò s'ilé, sùgbón n kò lò; báyi ní mo se té mo jádè láárín ilú tí mo kí ori bò inú igbó; érò ɔkàn mí'tí padà nítorí gbogbo ɔrò t'ó sò wón(qn)ni, kò fi wón puró mó mi rará; kí n jù ú nù ni àbí kí n fi pamó ni? mo maa níwò agbádá tàbí dànsíkí; àwọn baba áti iyá nyín ti tò ònà tí è nítò yí ri; iyán gigún ní ò, ata lìlò ní ò, omi pípón ní ò, ɔmò yí nikan l'ó níṣe gbogbo rè; inákún kò dára, béké si ni ahun shíse kò dára rará; ɔrò l'ó níjékí a mò èníà ní olóyé tàbí òmùgò; nígbáti ó fó éso yí, owó, aşo, iléké áti ohun ọsó oniyebiye yó sí i; áti èmi áti iyáwó, kò sí éyíkéyi nínú wa t'ó jé sòrò; mo lóra púpò kí n tó fési, nítorípé ɔrò'sòro ịsò púpò; mo bi í lélérè pé ábí mo tó(ó) sè é ni; áti ejá áti ọnì, eran jíjé l'awon méjéèji.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

REPETITION AND REDUPLICATION

We have already had several examples of the uses of repetition and reduplication; it will be convenient at this point to bring them together and explain some of them in more detail.

1. Repetition is often used to intensify the meaning of words, e.g. *mo je je je* 'I ate and ate and ate'. Note that, in contrast with the English translation, there are no connecting words. Another example of this sort is *mo se é se é se é* 'I tried and tried to do it but failed (tì)'. With nouns, adjectives and adverbs a single repetition is normal, *púpòpúpò* 'very much', *diédié* 'very little', *wéréméré*, *kiákíá* 'very quickly'. In the case of some phonaesthetic words only the doubled forms are in general use, e.g. *gídágídá* 'tightly' (with *dí* 'to tie'), *tónítóní* 'spotlessly' (with *mó* 'to be clean').

With some words a change of tone occurs, e.g. *ńlá* 'big', *ńláńlá* 'very big'; *lásán* 'useless', *lásánláśán* 'quite useless'. A regular change is that of a low-tone phon-aesthetic word to mid-tone on repetition, e.g. *ara rē'ri* *mínlíjò-miníljò* 'its body is smooth', *orí rē'ri* *fíñkàn-fíñkàn* 'his head is huge'.

2. We have seen (p. 110) that repetition is used with numerals to give a distributive or plural sense, e.g. *nwón tò ní métá métá* 'they were lined up in threes', *fún wón ní méjí méjí* 'give them two each'. It is also used so with some adjectives and nouns, e.g. *férèsé ńlá* 'a big window', *férèsé ńláńlá* 'big windows' (note the difference here between repetition on the same tone and repetition on a different tone); *gígún gígún ní mo fé* 'it is long ones I want'; *fún mi ní shíle shíle* 'give me shillings'; *gbogbo àwón sárákí sárákí ní nwón ló(q)* kí i 'all the various officials

went to greet him'. *kékeré* has a plural form *kékéké*, e.g. *àwọn qmọ kékéké kò sí nibẹ* 'the young/small children are not there'. This pattern is found also in some other words which have no corresponding singular form, e.g. *pópópó* 'in small pieces' as in *ó gé e pópópó* 'he cut it up small', and *pépèpè* 'trivial' as in *isé pépèpè* 'trivial tasks'.

Another repetitive form with a similar distributive meaning has its two parts fused together, e.g. *qdqdún* 'each/every year' from *qdún*; *osòòsù* 'each/every month' from *osù*; *irúurú* 'various sorts' from *irú*, occurring in *onírúurú* 'of various sorts'. Compare with these *òkòkan* 'each, one by one' from *òkan*.

3. In some words where there is repetition of syllables, with or without a change of tone, the simple form seems to be meaningless, e.g. *kòlòkòlò* 'fox (fennec)', *kànnákanna* 'pied crow', *gèdègédè* 'lees, sediment'. We must mention here, too, a large number of phonaesthetic words with the tone pattern high-mid-low-mid, e.g. *wúruwúru* 'untidy', *fáfafála* 'abundantly'. Many of the words with this pattern have a disparaging meaning, cp. *wúruwúru* above. When these forms are repeated a further variation of tone pattern is heard, e.g. *ó úràn hébhéhè* *hébhéhèbè* 'he is waddling along'.

4. We saw (p. 183) that doubled forms of verb plus object are often used for people or things performing the action, e.g. *fágifágí* 'carpenter' (*fá* 'to shave, make smooth'). Some doubled forms of this type, however, serve to intensify the meaning of the simple form in an adverbial use, e.g. *mo mò dákú* or *mo mò dákúdákú* 'I know for certain', cp. *ó dá mi l'ójú* 'I am certain'. Another commonly occurring example is *kárakára* 'enthusiastically, keenly', cp. *ó ká mi l'árá* 'I am keen about'. Adverbial use is also, as we have seen (p. 202), normal for nouns doubled with a repeated *ti*, e.g. *tókántókán* 'heartily' (*òkàn* 'heart'), *tayótayò* 'joyfully' (*ayò* 'joy').

4. We have seen that nouns may be reduplicated with a *k* followed by a high tone between the two sections.

These forms may have two rather different meanings, as exemplified in the examples:

oúnjékóúnjé l'o níje yí o, this is poor sort of food you
are eating
oúnjékóúnjé t'ò bá jé nílátí gbóná, any food that you
eat must be hot

The meaning to be understood in any particular case will depend on the form of the sentence used, e.g. *má je oúnjékóúnjé* means 'don't eat any old sort of food' rather than 'don't eat any food at all', because the latter meaning is more likely to be expressed as *o kò gbođò jéun rara* 'you must not eat at all'. Apart from this, there are certain limitations on the use of these forms. *enikéni*, from *ení* 'person' (in a very general sense), has only the meaning 'anybody at all', e.g. *eníkéni t'ò bá dé, sò fún u pé mo mbò* 'anybody who arrives, tell him I am coming', but *èníákénià*, from *èníà* 'person, human being', has only the meaning 'a poor sort of person', e.g. *èníákénià ni* 'he is a poor type'. Reduplications of verb nouns in *l-* have only the derogatory meaning, e.g. *isòkúsò* 'foolish talk, bad language', *inàkúnà* 'foolish spending, extravagance'. Note that in these verb forms *u* replaces *i* after the *k*; this is also a free variation in *igbákigbá*, *igbákúgbá* 'any occasion at all', formed from *igbá*, which also happens to have an initial *l-*.

5. Where other consonants, also followed by high tones, are interposed, the doubled forms have some intensification of the meaning, e.g. *iléyilé* 'the very ground', *iyébiye* 'great value', *aíyébáiye* 'ages ago', *òpòlópò* 'great quantity', *àgbálágba* 'elder'.

6. Repetition is used with verbs for two different purposes.

(a) The reduplicated verb noun, followed either by a relative clause or by *ni*, has the effect of intensifying the meaning of the verb.

ríri tí mo rí i, mo pa kuuru mó o, the seeing that I saw
him (as soon as I saw him) I rushed at him

dídúdú t'ó dùdú l'ó wù mí, it is its blackness which
attracts me
pípa ni nwón pa á, they actually killed him
títa l'ó nta mí nígbàgbogbo, it always stings me

(b) the verb noun in à-, with a second qualifying verb added, is placed after the verb, either directly as its object or as an adverbial extension. This has the effect of calling increased attention to the qualification.

nwón je ájeti, they ate but could not eat all
ó pò ápójù/pápójù, it is altogether too much
nwón pa á l'ápákú, they killed it stone dead
ó sé é l'áséti, he failed to do it

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY

wóra (wò ara), deeply (enter body)	gbà fún, to be indulgent to
dùndú, fried yam	pérepére, in shreds
kó egbé, to keep company	fà . . . ya, to tear up
mònámóná, lightning	rò, to urge
jágabajágba, untidy	léraléra, repeatedly
timùtimù, pillow, cushion	tútétulé, breaker-up of household
àwò, colour	ògbólógbò, dyed-in-the- wool
alákóri, good-for-nothing	gbá . . . l'étí, to box the ears of
d'èhin (dà), to act in absence	fi ẹsé kò, to stumble
halé, to threaten, bluster	
aiyéráiyé, everlasting	

EXERCISE 37

Translate into English: ikú òré mi yí dùn mí ní
àdùnwóra; mo rà dùndú tóró tóró fún gbogbo àwọn
òsiṣé pátápátá; máse jékí ómo ré kó egbékégbé; nwón
ńdán bí mònámóná ojú ọrun; ohun gbogbo rí jágbajágba
réderéde; mo rà timùtimù aláwò méfà l'ówó ré; nwón
maa ípè é ní 'olóríburúku', 'alákóri' áti béké béké lò; asò
yí wù mí(i) rà púpópúpó; àwọn àgbààgbà ilú wá kí mi;

ó ní bí òun kò bá sí n'ilé, nwón kò gbodò d'èhiń òun se
ohunkóhun; híhalé t'a níhalé mó ọ, a kàn fi níderubá á
ni ó; ó bó sí gbésé aiyéráiyé; máse gbà igbákúgbà fún
ómo ré; ekún'fà ọkúnrin yí ya pérepére; ó ye k'ò télé e
n'ibikíbi t'ó bá lò; mo rò ó titi, sibésibé kò gbà; nwón
gbá a l'étí léraléra; ódoqdún ni mo maa nígbà ọlidé lò si
ilú mi; ikokukó gbáà ni nwón níko; òré tímótímó ni wón;
kí orí nyín gbà nyín l'ówó túlétulé ómo; ógbólógbò olè
l'okúnrin yén; díidíe tí mo díde, ẹsé ọsí ní mo fi kó.

Now turn to the key at the back and retranslate the sentences into Yoruba.

SOME SPECIAL WORDS

A feature of the vocabulary of Yoruba is the great variety of meanings given to words which are basically names for parts of the body. These are so diverse that they are difficult to classify; some of the more common expressions are given here.

ojú 'face, eye'

This is used in many expressions to mean the actual place where things happen, the main or essential part of a thing, the effective part of a weapon or tool and so on, e.g. ojú ḥnà 'road-way', ojú ojà 'market-place', ojú isé 'main work', ojú ówó 'money spent in buying a thing as distinct from profit gained by selling it', ojú ijó 'place where people are dancing', ojú ijá 'place where there is fighting', ojú adá 'sharp edge of matchet', ojú ibon 'muzzle of gun', ojú alé 'late evening', ojú esé ḥranko 'foot-print of animal', ojú ọmọ 'real child, child who behaves as a child really should'. Sometimes it is used where in English we merely use a preposition, e.g. oorun ákùn mí 'I am feeling sleepy' but mo jí l'ojú oorun 'I woke from sleep', and mo lálá (lá àlá) 'I dreamed' but mo rí i l'ojú àlá 'I saw it in a dream'.

In some expressions it is used by itself with the meaning of 'place', e.g. aiyé kò dúrò l'ojú kán 'the world does not stop in one place' (it keeps on changing), l'ojúkánnáá 'on the spot, immediately', ng kò mò ojú tí mo fi bú s'érin 'I did not when (lit. where) I burst out laughing, I just had to burst out laughing'.

In many other expressions the word is used in a metaphorical sense, as in English 'his face fell' and so on. Examples of these are: ó fi gún mi l'ojú 'he pierced me in the eye with it', which is more or less equivalent to 'he cast it in my teeth'; ojú mi'wálè 'my eye came to the

SOME SPECIAL WORDS

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ground', said after achieving something which one has been very eager to obtain, or on coming to after a drinking bout; ojú mi'mó 'my eye cleared', said on realising too late that things have gone wrong; ojú kún mi 'eye filled me' = 'I became weary, bored'; ó fá ojú mi móra 'he drew my eye to himself' = 'he set himself to make a good impression on me'; ó níṣe ojú aiyé ni 'he is acting in order to impress people' (his real feelings are very different); o ò rí pupa ojú mi 'you will see the redness of my eye' = 'I shall be extremely angry with you'; ojú mi'dí ọwó rē 'my eye is in your hand' = 'you must act for me in my absence', enu 'mouth'

This word, too, is used in certain phrases for the edge of a tool, e.g. ḥbè yí kú l'enu 'this knife is blunt'. Used with ḥnà 'way' it means 'door-way'. A less obvious meaning is 'limit of time or place', e.g. l'enu iséjú méwá yí 'within these ten minutes', enu báyí ni k'ò gé e mò 'as far as this you are to cut it stop' = 'cut it as far as this but no further'.

Examples of its metaphorical use are: enu rētó ilé 'his mouth reaches the ground', meaning that he is an important person whose every word carries great weight; enu rēdùn 'his mouth is sweet', i.e. he has a very persuasive tongue; nkán'se enu(u) re (enu rere) fún u 'things have made a good mouth for him', i.e. things have turned out well for him; nwón gbà si i l'enu 'they accepted to him in the mouth', i.e. they agreed with his proposal, accepted his explanation; mo wò ó l'enu 'I looked at him in the mouth', i.e. I was careful to listen to what he said before answering, for fear of saying the wrong thing; nwón ti enu bò ḥrò 'they pushed their mouth into words', i.e. they started discussing; ó yó mí l'enu 'it made my mouth come out', i.e. it annoyed me.

ara 'body' and inú 'inside, belly'

It will be convenient to take these two words together as they are both used in certain expressions relating to parts of a whole. mo jé dié l'ara rē and mo jé dié n'inú rē

both mean 'I ate some of it', but with some difference of meaning. 'I ate some from the body of it' is used of eating of a part of a larger whole, e.g. part of a piece of meat; 'I ate some from inside it', on the other hand, is used of eating part of something which can be regarded as made up of several parts, such as a cooked food. *nínú* is necessarily used of liquids and plural objects, but sometimes either word may be used though with a slightly different connotation, e.g. if one used *l'ára rẹ* in talking of something like pounded yam (*iyán*) one would be thinking of it as made up into a single large lump. A similar distinction occurs in talking of money, e.g. *mo* *mú diè l'ára owó tí mo ti kó jọ* 'I took some out of the total of the money which I had collected', and is seen also in *ara áwọn t'ó pa á ni wón* 'they are some of (the larger number of) those who killed him' as compared with *nínú(inú) áwọn t'ó pa á sáló* 'some of those who killed him ran away'.

In some other expressions it is possible to contrast *ara* 'body' with *inú* 'mind', e.g. *ó dùn mó mi nínú* 'it is pleasant to me (mentally)', *ó dùn mó mi l'ara* 'it is pleasant to me (physically)', cp. also *ó dùn mó mi l'énu* 'it is pleasant to me in taste'. But in describing sensations Yoruba often uses *ara* where in English one would think rather of a mental state, e.g. *ara'fu mí* 'I felt suspicious', *ara'ta mí* 'I was on tenterhooks'.

Some other common expressions containing these two words are:

(a) *ara ikú nyá a* 'he seems anxious to get killed', cp. *yára* (*yá ara*) 'to be quick, in a hurry'; *ara rẹ'gbóná* 'his body got hot' = 'he got hot under the collar, he was eager to intervene'; *nwón faramó* (*fi ara mó*) *ipinnu yí* 'they agreed (put body to) with this decision'; *ó kú s'ára bí iṣu* 'he died to his body like a yam' = 'he shewed great signs of alarm, his knees trembled with fear'; *mo farabalé* (*fi ara ba ilé*) 'I put body settle on ground' = 'I acted in a relaxed, reasonable manner'; *ara'rò ó* 'body is soft for him' = 'he has no difficulties' or 'he became deflated'.

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(b) *inú rẹ'dí* 'his inside is blocked up' = 'he bears grudges'; *inú rẹ'só* 'he is churlish'; *bá inú sò má bá ènià sò* 'tell the mind, don't tell people' = 'keep your own counsel'.

idi 'base, bottom'

This is often used in the sense of a place connected with various activities, e.g. *idi móto* 'bus-stop, bus-park', *idi-òkò*, *idi-kò* 'station', *idi odò* 'watering place at a river', *idi arò* 'place where dyeing is done', *idi ibon* 'the front line' (used metaphorically in the sense of the most important position).

We may connect with its use in the sense of 'cause, reason' such phrases as *mo náwó púpó n'idi ḥràn yí* 'I spent a lot of money in connection with this affair' and *a rí wáhálá púpó n'idi a nísòwò níbè* 'we had a lot of trouble in connection with the fact that we were trading there'.

èhin 'back'

This sometimes has the meaning 'outside', e.g. *awórán èhin iwé* 'picture on the cover of book'. It is also often used in the sense of 'absence', e.g. *nwón se é lèhin mi* 'they did it in my absence' (often, but not necessarily, like English 'behind my back') or 'the time after a person's death', e.g. *èhin rẹ' ò dára*, which is a prayer after the death of an elderly person.

owó 'hand' and *esè* 'foot'

These are used together in certain expressions, e.g. *nwón gbà á t'owót' esè* 'they received him cordially', *nígbátí owó wo owó, esè'wò esè* 'when hand entered hand, foot entered foot' = 'when they became close partners', *ó rówórósè se é (rò)* 'he did it without difficulty'.

Some uses of *owó* which are not immediately clear are seen in *owó iròlé* 'towards evening', *owó odò* 'the sound of a mortar being pounded' (*odò* 'mortar'), *ó nawó oúnjé* 'he stretched out the hand of food, he offered food', *mo ti mó owó rẹ' nísisiyí* 'I have now got to know his way of acting'.

PERSONAL NAMES AND TITLES

The Yoruba are now gradually giving up their old indigenous system of personal names and are adopting a West European system with surnames and a limited number of forenames occurring in a fixed order. This is so because of the increasing necessity in modern conditions of having people's names registered for all sorts of purposes—the registration of births, marriages and deaths; voting lists; school lists and so on. To understand the present situation it will be best to describe first of all the indigenous system and then explain how it is being modified.

(a) Each large family group has an *orilè* name, representing what was originally the totem of that group. Such names are *Erin* 'Elephant' and *Okíñ* 'Egret'. Children normally take the *orilè* of their father; married women retain the *orilè* of their own family. Each family group has, besides its *orilè* name, a long *òrìkì* 'praise name' recounting the exploits of the family. This is recited or drummed after the *orilè* name on certain special occasions.

(b) Any individual born in certain special circumstances will have an *àmútòrunwá* name, i.e. a name 'brought from the other world' (*mú* ... *wá* 'bring' *ti* 'from' *òrun* 'other world'). The commonest of these names are probably the names given to twins—*Táiwò* 'Test the world' (*tó* ... *wò* 'test' *aiyé* 'world') given to the elder and *Kéhindé* 'Bring up the rear' (*kó* 'gather' *èhin* 'rear, behind' *dé* 'arrive'). According to Yoruba ideas *Kéhindé* is the senior because in a procession the most important person is always at the rear. Other names of this type are *Dáda*, given to a child born with a lot of hair on its head; *Igè*, given to a child born feet first; *Ojó*, given to a boy born

PERSONAL NAMES AND TITLES

with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and *Idowú*, given to a child born after twins.

(c) All individuals will have one or more *àbísò* names, i.e. names 'given at birth' (*bí* 'bear' *sò* 'pronounce'). These names are given by senior members of the parents' families when the child is first 'brought out' (*kó* ... *jádè*). This ceremony, which is called *Ikómójádè*, takes place about a week after the birth of the child. There is a proverb which says *ilé l'a ñwò k'á tó sò qmò l'órúkò* 'we look at the household before we give a child a name' and, in fact, the *àbísò* names reflect the circumstances or feelings of the family or they may contain a reference to the particular cult which is practised in the family. These names, which generally have the form of short sentences, are almost infinite in their variety. A few examples are given here.

Babátundé 'Father has returned' is the name given to a boy whose grandfather died not long before he was born. The Yoruba have an indigenous belief in reincarnation and think that grandparents are reborn in their grandchildren. The corresponding girl's name is *Yétundé* or *Iyábò* 'Mother has arrived'.

The word *adé* 'crown' often occurs in boy's names in families which have the right to nominate (in their proper turn) the person to be appointed head chief in their town, e.g. *Adétòkunbò* 'Crown has returned from overseas' (*ti* 'from' *òkun* 'sea'). Such a name is given when the boy's father has recently returned from a stay abroad, e.g. a period of study in Europe.

Examples of names referring to cults are *Fásinà* 'The god Ifa has opened a way' (*si* *ònà*), *Ògúnkéyé* 'The god Ogun has gathered honour' (*kó* *èye*), *Sówándé* (*osó wá mi dé*) 'the magician sought me out'.

A whole group of names is connected with the belief that when children keep on dying in their infancy there is a particular sort of mischievous spirit called *àbikú* 'born to die' which keeps on being reincarnated in these children and then hastens back to rejoin its companions in the other world. The names given are designed to

dissuade the spirit from acting in this way. Examples of such names are: **Málómó** 'Don't go any more', **Kósókó** (*kò sí ọkó*) 'there is no hoe (to dig a grave)', **Dúrójaiyé** (*jé aiyé*) 'Stop enjoy the world', **Bánjókó** 'Sit with me'.

Abísó names in common use tend to get abbreviated, e.g. **Adétòkunbò** may be reduced either to **Adí** or **Tòkunbò**. There seems to be no fixed rule as to which part of the full name is used; the main consideration is to avoid confusion by having too many people using the same name.

(d) Among certain sections of the Yoruba, besides the long **òríki** which belong to the family as a whole, children are given short personal **òríki** or 'pet' names. There are certain restrictions on the use of these names, e.g. an individual must not address anyone senior to himself by his **òríki**. Examples of these 'pet' names are the girl's names **Àdùké** 'She whom one competes (*dù*) to cherish (*ké*)', **Àṣàbí** 'She who is chosen to be born', and the boys' names **Akàndé** 'He whose turn it is to come', **Àjání** 'He whom one fights to have'.

Modifications

(a) With the spread of Christianity and Islam various specifically Christian and Muslim names may be given in place of the older **àbísó** names, which at one stage were almost regarded by converts as relics of heathenism though they have recently begun to come back into favour. Examples of Christian names are **Samuel**, **Comfort**, and of Muslim names **Amínù**, **Latifatù**.

(b) The surnames which many Yoruba now use are in most cases one of the names of their fathers or grandfathers. These names are now handed down just as they are in Western Europe. They may be in origin either an **àmútòrunwá** name, e.g. **Táiwò**; an **àbísó** name, e.g. **Akinyélé** 'Hero befits the house'; an **òríki**, e.g. **Àkàndé** or sometimes a title, e.g. **Balógun** 'War-captain'. Yorubas whose forbears returned as freed slaves from Sierra Leone may have English names while some families which returned from Brazil have Portuguese names.

As in most languages, there are certain rules about the

use of names, cp. the situation in English, where Mr. Smith will refer to his wife by her Christian name in one set of circumstances, but will refer to her as 'my wife' in another set and as 'Mrs. Smith' in a third set. Apart from the restriction on the use of 'pet' names mentioned above, the most obvious point (in the indigenous system, at any rate) is that in calling out to an older person a term of relationship is used, e.g. **bàbá Lágbájá** 'father of So-and-so' for a man, **iyá Lágbájá** 'mother of So-and-so' for a woman. Note that **Lágbájá**, **Témédù**, **Lákásègbè** are used in Yoruba in the sort of circumstances where in English we use 'So-and-so' or 'Smith, Brown and Robinson'.

TITLES

The titles of leading chiefs (**òba**) may be either special names, e.g. the **Qóni** of Ifé and the **Awujalé** of Ijebu Ode, or be made up with the **oní-** prefix ('owner of') and the name of a place, e.g. the **Aláké** of Abéokuta—Ake being a part of that town—and the **Aláafin** 'Owner of the palace' of Qyo. Under the principal chiefs there are often many grades of lesser chiefs. The titles of these again may be either special names or be derived from their former functions, e.g. **Balógun** 'war-chief'. The **Balógun** himself may have subordinates, the most senior of whom will be called **Ótún Balógun** 'the Balogun's right' and the next senior **Òsì Balógun** 'the Balogun's left'.

Though the social pattern is now rapidly changing, the Yoruba still lay great store by these traditional ranks and titles.

Olowolaiyemo by F. Jeboda, which gives a vivid picture of life in Lagos and Ibadan, and *Itan Adegbesan* by J. A. Omoyajowo, which is the first attempt at a modern adventure story in the language.

J. F. Odunjo, the author of the *Alawiye* Readers, has written various other books which are worth reading. We may mention particularly *Kuye*, the story of a deaf and dumb boy who eventually regains these faculties.

POSTSCRIPT BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. DICTIONARY

The best available is *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba*, by R. C. Abraham, published by the University of London Press Ltd. This is fully tone-marked and gives many examples to illustrate the meanings of words, but learners may find it difficult to use at first because it sometimes deviates from the normal orthography.

2. READERS

There are two series of Readers published for use by Yoruba children which may be found useful. These are the *Taiwo ati Kehinde* series, published by the Oxford University Press (Nigeria) and the *Alawiye* series published by Longmans of Nigeria. At a somewhat more advanced level there are the *Ojulowo Yoruba* series by E. L. Laṣebikan (O.U.P.) and *Iwe ede Yoruba* by A. Babalola (Longmans).

3. NOVELS AND STORIES

Very popular among the Yoruba are the books written by D. O. Fagunwa and published by Thomas Nelson and Sons. These mostly relate the strange adventures of hunters in their wanderings in the forest and are full of insights into the Yoruba view of life. Another book from the same publishers which is well worth reading is *Aiye d'aiye oyinbo* by I. O. Delano, which is a novel about changes in Yoruba society during the period of British rule and their impact on individuals.

Two interesting books published by Longmans are

CONNECTED PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION

These passages are given more or less as they would appear in an ordinary Yoruba book or newspaper. A few tone marks have been added to help the learner on his way. Unfamiliar words can be looked up in the Vocabulary at the end.

1. A FALSE FRIEND

Okunrin kan wà ni ilu wa ti orukò rè njé Adeyemi. O jé enit'o ni owo ati gbajumo ni ilu wa ati agbegbe rè. Okunrin yi wá ni ore kan ti kò fi tinutinuferan rè. Orukò ore rè yi njé Súlè. Ojo ti pè pupo ti nwọn ti jò nba ore won bò. Adeyemi ti fi gbogbo okàn rè tán Sule, t'o fi je pe aburo ore rè, eyit'o njé Mako, ni Adeyemi fi şe akowé si ile itaja rè t'o wà ni ilu wa. Nigbat'o ya, Adeyemi pinnu ati fe omobinrin kan ni iyawo, sugbon ojo yi kò dùn mó Sule rara o si nwá gbogbo ona lati fi bà Adeyemi jé l'odò omobinrin yi. 'Abani jé mbà ara rè jé'—kákà ki omobinrin naa gbo ojo ibajé wonyi, nse ni ifé rè tun npeleke si i. Nwòn nba ojo yi bò titi ojo igbeyawo Adeyemi fi kù ojo marun. Nigbat'i Sule ri eyi, o bérési ronu ona ti o fi le pa ore rè. O wá wá s'odò Adeyemi peoun ti ba a şe ona òwò kan, nitorinmaa ki o wa tikalara rè si ona oko oun, eyit'o to bi iwòn meéli mérin si ile. O so fun u pe k'o maše ráñ énikení, oun gaan náà ni k'o wá ni deedeé agogo meje aabó alé. Adeyemi si gba bée. Sugbon nigbat'i o de ile, inu bérési run u t'o fi je pe kò ni lè lò s'oko Sule mo. Ni o ba rán akowé rè, ti işe aburo Sule. Omokunrin yi gba ona oko egbon rè lai mó pe egbon oun yi ti yan okunrin onibon kan si ona lati pa Adeyemi. Aburo Sule naa wó aṣo oga rè, o dé fila rè, o si tun wò bata rè pelu. Énikení t'o ba ri i, Adeyemi ni

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yio pe e. Bi o ti de okankan odata okunrin onibon naa ni eleyi ba yinbón si i, lesékannaa ni o si ti ku. Nigbat'i okiki kàn, gbogbo enia ni o sare wá si ibe, ni nwòn ba ri i pe aburo Sule ni. Èrù Olòrun ba Sule ti oun tikalara rè si jewò ni oju gbogbo awon enia pe oun ni oun fi ọwò ara oun şe ara oun. 'Eni d'eérú l'eérú itò'.

2. A JEALOUS CO-WIFE

Iyawo ati iyale kan jò ngbe pò pelu ọkọ won ni ilu kan ti a npe ni Ojanla. Nwòn jò bi omokunrin kókókan fun baale won, nwòn kò si bi ju ọkókókan naa lò. Ọkọ, iyale ati iyawo jò ngbe pò ni irepò. Ko si ijá bẹnì ko si si ariwo. Okó férán iyale ati iyawo rè bakannaa, kò si si enit'o njowu ọmọ si ekeji rè nitoripe omokunrin kókókan ni Olòrun fun won. Bayi ni nwòn şe nba igbesi aiye won lò ti gbogbo nkan si wá ni dobogbadogba fun won. Laipé awon omokunrin mejeeji dagba, a si fi won si ile-ekò. Nwòn a maa jéun pò, nwòn nwosho kannaa, nwòn nsun ni ibusun kannaa; l'oró kan, nwòn dabi Taiwo ati Kéhinde.

Bi nwòn ti nse yi gbadun mó gbogbo enia ninu. Sugbon laipé, eyi ọmọ iyale bérési huwa ipata. Nitorí idí eyi ko fi oju si ekò rè mó. Bi o ba di ipari odun ti nwòn ba şe idanwo, eyi ọmọ iyawo, ti o njé Olu, a gba ipo kini, bẹnì Wòla ọmọ iyale a gbofo (gba ofo). Ko tié mura mó rara, a si maa rin rederede kaakiri igboro. Bayi ni nwòn şe titi nwòn fi de iwe mèfa. Nigbat'i nwòn si şe idanwo Ijòba, Olu yege daadaa sugbon Wòla gbofo. Inu wá bí baba won, o si paşé ki ọmọ iyale lò kò işe dereba, bẹnì Olu lò si ile-ekò giga. Lati igba naa ni ifé ti tan l'ókan iyale si iyawo ati ọmọ rè, ti oran won si ti ndi 'gbónmi si i, omi ò to'.

Kí a ma ba ópó lò si ile olooro, Olu jade iwe mèfa, awon Ijòba si fun u l'aye lati lò kò işe dokita ni ilu oyinbo, nitoripe ori rè pe. Inu iya rè si ndun lati igbati o ti gbo eyi, sugbon inu iyale kò dùn rara. Nigbat'i o ku ọla ti Olu yio lò si ilu oyinbo ni iyale se iresi t'o dun, o fi oògùn buruku si i, o si pinnu lati gbe e fun Olu jé ki o baa lè ku.

B'o ti se e tan ni o toju rē si ile de Olu ti o lō sode. Sugbōn bi ọmọ oun paapaa ti de lati ibi işe l'o ri iréṣi naa ti o si je e. Were l'o ku. Igbe nla ta, nigbati aṣiri sì tu, a ri i pe ounjé ti iyale fē fun ọmọ iyawo je ni ọmọ oun paapaa ti je ti o si ku. Eṣeṇi ibanujé di ti iyale yi titi ojò aiyé rē.

3. A FAMILY MIX-UP

Egbon mi kan je oniṣowó ti o nta iwe ni ilu Ibadan. Şe Ọyó l'a bi mi si ni temi, ati igba ti nwọn si ti bi mi ng kò lō si ilu wa ni Ijébu ju iga meji lō. Eyi ko fun mi ni amfaani ati mọ ọpọlọpọ ninu awọn ẹbi wa. Nwọn ko tilé sọrọ egbon mi oniṣowó yi loju mi ri. Ẹbi wa timotimó ni o si je, sugbōn ng kò mọ o.

Mo ni amfaani ati lō si ile-ekó giga kan ni Ibadan ni bi ọdun marun sehin. Ọdó egbon mi yi ni awọn ti nwọn je aşaaju ninu wa ti maa nra iwe wọn, awa ti a je alejo naa si nba a ra iwe. Nigbati a ti ra gbogbo iwe wa tan, mo şe akiyesi pe mo sì iwe kan ra. Were mo sare gba ile itawe lō, mo si be egbon mi yi lati gba iwe rē pada ki o fun mi ni owo mi. Sugbōn o kò jalé. Mo be e titi, o taku, o nioun kí iga iwe pada l'owó ẹnikéni lehin ọsé kan ti onitohun ba ti mu iwe kuro ninu ile itawe oun. Mo şe alaye fun u pe iwe naa kò wulo fun mi, mo tilé tun be e ki o jekí n fi mu iwe miran. Ohun ti o sò gbéhin ni pe, 'Alaye kò ká ejó'. Inu bi mi, mo si pinnu lati gbésan lónakóna.

Nigbati mo pada de ile-ekó, mo ro ejó rē fun ọpọlọpọ ninu awọn ẹlegbè mi, a si pinnu pe a ko ni ra iwe l'owó rē mọ, a ko si ba a ra ohunkohun mọ. A si si ile itawe ti o dojukó tiré lati maa ra awọn iwe wa. Mo tilé gbe oran naa le'ju ti o fi je pe o mọ pe emi ni mo şe atako oun.

Lehin ọdun meji ti mo de ile-ekó, iya baba wa ku, a si ni lati lo şe ijade oku iya wa ni ilu wa ni Ijébu. Nibiti baba wa ti nse inawo fun awọn alejo rē, iyalénu l'o je fun mi lati ri oga tawetawé yi ti o nba baba wa mú iga bá ti o si nba a mú áwo. Nse ni nwọn jo nwólelewóde. Were mo pe baba wa si yárá lati beere ẹnítí alejo yi işe. O ya mi l'enu pupo nigbati mo gbó pe egbon mi l'o je. Were mo şe

alaye bi a şe jo ni edeaiyede ni Ibadan. Kia, baba wa pe e, o beere l'owó rē, o ni, 'Njé o mọ Fakoya ọmọ Lágبájá?' O fi ika s'enu. o ni, 'Paga, Olorun gba mi!' O daro titi, emi naa si bębę wipe ki o f'oju fo aşıçé mi da. Nigbati a şe de Ibadan, a şe atunṣe nkan ti o ti şełé, mo si ba a wá ọpọlọpọ onibara.

4. THE CUSTOM OF CUTTING FACE-MARKS

Aşa ila kikó je nkan ti awọn Yoruba maa nse pupopopo ni aiyé atijó sugbōn ti ko wopó mọ ni aiyé odo oni. Idi rē ti awọn Yoruba fi maa nkóla l'aiye atijó ni pe ogun wà n'ibikibi. Awọn Fúlání maa nba Yoruba ja ogun, awọn ilu Yoruba si maa nba ara wọn jagun. Idile kan ti ko ba mọ ara wọn daadaa le pa ara wọn si oju ogun. Sugbōn ti nwọn ba kóla ti nwọn si ri ila l'ojú ati ẹnu enia, nwọn ko ni pa enia naa nitoripe ilu kannaa ni nwọn ti wá. Ibadan le ba Ijéṣá jagun. Ti gbogbo awọn t'o njagun kò ba kóla, Ibadan yio pa Ibadan nigbati ko ni mọ pe Ibadan ni; Ijéṣá naa yio pa Ijéṣá nitoripe ko ni mọ pe Ijéṣá ni. Nitorinää ni oriṣiriṣi ilu kókán şe maa nkó ila tiré.

Awọn Ọyó maa nkó gombó si oju ati si ori wọn, awọn Ijéṣá maa nbu ila mèta mèta si oju otun ati si oju osi. Ilá tiwọn maa ngún. Awọn Oñdó maa nbu ila gbóqoro kókán si oju otun ati si oju osi. Awọn Ijébú maa nbu mèta kekeke si oju. Bayi ni awọn Yoruba şe le da ara wọn mọ l'ojú ogun. Nitorinää, nwọn ki imu enít'o ba bu ila iru tiwọn l'érú nitoripe nwọn mọ pe ibi kannaa ni nwọn ti wa. Sugbōn enítí ila tiré ba yato, tabi ti ko bula, nwọn yio mu l'érú tabi ki nwọn pa a s'ojú ogun.

Idile kókán ni ile Yoruba tun maa nni ila tiwön. Nigbati nwọn ba pade lehin odi, nwọn yio mọ ara ile wọn yato si awọn miran. Idi eyi l'o fa ki awọn Yoruba maa kóla lati iga lailai titi di akoko yi. Sugbōn l'asiko yi ilá ti nparé ni ọpọlọpọ awọn ilu ile Yoruba nitoripe ko si ogun mọ, ilaju si ti de si gbogbo ilu. Awọn Ijébu ati Ijéṣá ko kò ọmọ wọn n'ila mọ. Sugbōn awọn Ọyó l'o poju ninu awọn t'o nkóla titi di oni. Idi t'o fa eyi ni pe

ọpolopọ wọn kò ití imowé daadaa. Gbogbo awọn t'o mowé ko kò ọmọ wọn n'ila mọ. Ninu awọn ilu miran ti nwọn tun nkòla ni Ondo. Sugbon akòbi wọn ni nwọn nkò n'ila, awọn ọmọ kekere t'o kù—nwọn ko ni kò wọn n'ila. Aşa ila kikò ti npare diédie laarin awọn Yoruba bayi.

Ila kikò ba oju ọpolopọ enia jẹ. Ila miran maa ndí egbo, omiran maa nso. Eyi je ki oju awọn t'o dara teleburu si i. Opolopọ obinrin ti ko kòla ni ki ife fẹ ọkunrin t'o kòla. Iru eyi maa nba ọkunrin miran ninu jẹ. Laiṣe aniani, aşa yi ko ni pẹ paré ni ilé Yoruba.

5. COMMUNAL WORK

Opolopọ işe l'o wa ti ẹnikan ko le da şe afi bi o ba ri oluranlọwó. Ni igba lailai ni ilé Yoruba awọn baba nla wa da aşa àáró ati ọwè silé lati maa fi ran ara wọn lọwó ninu orişirişi işe wọn. Eyi je oranyan ni akoko igba(a) ni nitoripe nṣe ni nwọn ngbe ninu abule kekeke ti enia inu rē ko pọ ju bi igba lọ t'o si jínnà si ara wọn.

Bi a ti nrān ara eni lọwó yi piñ si ọna meji. Awọn agbalagba atti awọn ọdómokunrin a maa kó ara jò lati ràn ara wọn lọwó ninu işe agbè t'o jẹ işe ti gbogbo ara abule maa nṣe. Awọn ewe ode oni şì maa nṣe aaro ni abuleko gbogbo, bi o tilé şe pe awọn borçkinni agbè ngba onişe lati ilu okeere lati ba wọn şişe ninu oko wọn. Ni igba atijo o jẹ iṣoro pupo fun ẹnikení lati ri onişe bi iru eyi gba. Nitorinaa awọn agbè a maa so ọwó pò fun aaro şisé. Bi agbè mèfa ba şe adehun lati ba ara wọn şisé, nwọn yio béré lati ọdò ẹnikan. Ti nwọn ba şe ti ẹnikan loni, yio kan elomiran lòla titi yio fi kari gbogbo awọn mèfèfa. Eyi mu ki agbè kan le şe işe pupo ninu oko rē ni ojo kan ju eyiti iba şe ni ọsé kan lo.

L'ona keji ẹwé, awọn baba nla wa maa nṣe ọwé. Iyato wa ninu ọwé şisé atti aaro gbigba. Awọn alaaro a maa ba ara wọn şisé ki işe wọn baalé tete joju, nwọn kò si mbò ara wọn. Sugbon ẹnit'o ba pe ọwé nilati wa ounjé ti awọn ti yio ba şisé yio jẹ. Opolopọ l'o maa nfi ọwé da ana. Bi ẹnikan ba fẹ obinrin l'ọwó ẹnikiji, o le fi ọwé

ba a şe işe re; awọn obi ọmọ si maa nfé ki awọn ana wọn wa ba wọn fi ọwé kò ile. Awọn ọrè ati ojulumọ si maa nbé ara wọn l'ọwé lati mọ ile, lati pa igi ti a fi nkóle ati lati şe awọn irufé işe t'o jemọ eyiti ẹnikan ko le da şe. Inawo pupo ni ẹnit'o pe ọwé nṣe nitoripe o nilati se ounjé pupo ki o si pọn ọti ati emu fun awọn t'o wa ba a şisé.

KEY TO EXERCISES

CHAPTER 1 (p. 12)

He has some money; she is very short; it is too full; it is very dear; it is too hard; it is useful; it is clean enough; it is too bitter; he is very strong; it is fairly tall; it is too thick; it is very tough; it is too sour; it is too expensive; it is level enough; it is fairly white; it is certain; it is too red; he is very hairy; it is dark enough; she is very fat; it is too heavy; it is rather sour.

CHAPTER 2 (p. 16)

You are very fat, he is very fat; we can read, we cannot read; I hear (understand), I do not hear; they can run, they cannot run; she can sing, she cannot sing; he is too small, you are too small; you can iron clothes, you cannot iron clothes; you can ask riddles, you cannot ask riddles; I can tell stories, I cannot tell stories; they worked a lot, they did not work a lot; you can write a little, she can write a little; I know, I do not know; I cannot play any more, they cannot play any more.

CHAPTER 3 (p. 23)

She attracts me very much; he taught you Yoruba; they gave us a lot of money; it does not please us at all; they killed him; she divorced him; they took it away; I found them at home; we saw you at the market; they are at home; he found us at the farm; he is in the house; I pronounced it for them; he has not washed it enough; he said it attracted them to some extent; I did not strike you at all; she lent me a spoon; he bought it for me; she did not sell

KEY TO EXERCISES

it to them; they bought it from us; I found it in the box; they say it is enough; he says it is not big enough; they did not lend us any money at all; I brought it for her; it made them feel upset; they stole my key.

CHAPTER 4 (p. 28)

What do they want? What did he give you? who did they find at the farm? who bought it on your behalf? who gave you money? what did they find in the box? it is not water, it is palm-wine; it is not fish I want, it is meat; it was not pepper we bought, it was ocro; it was not palm-wine I poured away, it was water; it was not Aduke who brought it, it was Bisi; it is not a sheep he wants, it is a goat; he says it is not gold, he says it is silver; he says it is not paint, he says it is blood; it was he threw it away; it was not you I called, it was Aina; it was not a goat they sold him, it was a sheep; it was not a metal box I bought, it was a wooden box.

CHAPTER 5 (p. 33)

What do you see (can you see) in this picture? I see a child; I see a palm-tree; I see a man and two women; I see three sheep and four goats; which (one) did they give you? which box did they bring? I found one to buy (managed to buy one) in the market yesterday; I managed to buy a lot of palm-wine for them; that cloth is not thick enough; that picture does not attract me at all; he wore only a single piece of clothing; that does not suit me; who can help us? this work is very hard; what work did you do yesterday? this money is not correct; this child cannot do it; who gave you this money? which song did they sing? we wrote two letters; is it a monkey I see on that tree or a bird? is this silver or gold? who spilled this water?

CHAPTER 6 (p. 38)

Does this business surprise you? this box is not too heavy, I hope? can you come today? it is really strong, I hope?

can you lend me 6d? Ibadan station is very big; Ibadan is quite far from Oshogbo; Oshogbo is not as big as Ibadan; once upon a time there was a certain king, he had three children; three bottles of liquor are too much; bananas are very dear in England; I am going to buy (intending to buy) maize and bananas; this dog is not fierce, is it? is this water hot enough? or is this money not enough? they can read it well, I think? you are going to help me, I hope? fresh maize is very tasty; is it bananas you intend to buy in the market or oranges? did they give (it) to you or not? he says he is going to buy cassava; we (at any rate) can sing it.

CHAPTER 7 (p. 43)

A tree fell and blocked the road to the farm yesterday; we could not climb over it to pass; this is the hunter who killed a leopard yesterday; I saw a fine cloth in the market; the masqueraders wore clothes of many colours; what are these women going to buy? they are going to buy pepper and yam-flour; what sort of animal is this? it is an antelope; Aduke's husband bought a hoe from Ojo; where (which) is the way to Ibadan? this is it; the embroidery on this cloth is very fine; these farm-huts (i.e. their roofs) are constructed of grass; I have managed to buy a flute in a shop today; the flute is long, it has four holes; what else can you see in this picture? I see a big ox and two small sheep; the rulers held an important meeting at Ibadan; can I buy a knife here? how many portions of porridge (pap) did the school-children eat? how many hoes is this woman's husband intending to buy? I see three men in front of the house; what are the men (in question) going to do?

CHAPTER 8 (p. 48)

Where is your testimonial? here it is; that is Tunde's house on the other side of the street; the inside of this clothes-box is very dirty; when will you buy the ticket(s)?

KEY TO EXERCISES

Aduke's clothes are not as nice as mine; I like Bisi's very much; my father's is nice and big; do you like bean-cake made from 'eree' beans? some of the passengers got off at Ondo; we can read the story of his life in this newspaper; I do not like the pictures on this wall at all; are you going to live in the bottom part of the house? my gown (coat) is in the top part of the cupboard; that house on the other side of the street is very lofty; I am going to live in the middle part of the town now; a woman's loom is different from a man's; our father's farm is very far from yours; it was my mother who bought these clothes for me; the second part of this story is very interesting.

CHAPTER 10 (p. 59)

Why, you *have* spent a lot of money (= you are altogether too generous); I am so glad to see you! how terribly dear bananas are in this town! why, it isn't heavy at all! gently put it down here; don't drag it! there are breakable things inside it; always wash it well; wait a moment, don't go yet! always help your parents; don't cry any more; gather it all together by the fire; don't light up yet! don't call him yet! I am *very* surprised about this business! this news made me very happy indeed! it was Taiwo who took it away! don't eat it! it's poison! don't be sitting lazily like this all the time! all of you pay attention properly; you must not light fires here! take her quickly to the hospital; don't put out the light yet in the other room.

CHAPTER 11 (p. 65)

It's a bribe the chief of police wants; I stood at a distance watching my master; he sat down waiting for his friend; it is I who gets food for them; what work are you doing here? what time do you go home? what food do you eat at mid-day? (the light of) this lamp is going out; my expenditure is going up every day; it is indigo-plant they use to make dye; she sells small articles; the children are running about in the road-way; the water on the fire is

getting nice and hot; she does not give them beans in the morning; they sleep on the bare ground at the farm; are you writing or reading? a certain Egba woman sells it; it is fisherman's work I am doing now; I am reading this letter at the moment; they always wear white clothes.

CHAPTER 12 (p. 70)

He says he wants to be going; they say they want to come and pay their respects (greet) us tomorrow; I came to realise that he was a thief; he said he would not think of acting so at all; the children did not stop crying all that day; I did not realise that they were referring to me; I know quite well that they *stole* the money; we cannot know for certain that it will not rain tomorrow; they said they came upon him on the road to the farm; they will not be long in getting to Ilorin; this lorry will not take all of us; I am surprised that there is no piped water in your town; they wrote a letter to him to say they wanted to see him; who are they talking with over there? this girl is old enough to get married; I remember that it was my mother who gave it to me; I cannot remember her name; I am sorry I have no time to stop and watch the dancers; he reminded me that there was not enough money; I told them off severely that they were not working well.

CHAPTER 13 (p. 75)

He says you are to give him money; they say you must not go yet; we want you to help us a little before you go off home; we should at all times shew respect to our parents; he told the women to go on ahead; before I could catch him he had run clean away; you must always put this key in the same place, so that I may always know where it is; you should always cook meat for me in the evening; it is he you should always follow; am I to throw it away or am I to put it by? are we to wait for him or return to our place of work? my advice is that you pay the money immediately; he gave orders that they

KEY TO EXERCISES

should not allow the disease to spread; they acted so in order that the disease should not trouble the people of their household; he sent a wire to say that they should send £2 quickly; they want me to shew it all to them; shall we pour it away?

CHAPTER 14 (p. 81)

We have done all the work that you told us to do; I have found the person I was looking for; she had previously been in the habit of wearing a head-tie; I have not seen him since Saturday; we have not seen him since about two weeks; I did not tell him that I had already previously had a licence; I have examined it all thoroughly; it was the trade of cocoa-buying that the husband had been following formerly; bad behaviour has settled on this child like a garment; we have learnt it all well by heart; I had bought thick clothing because it was the cold season; I have made arrangements about money beforehand for my wife; we had not walked very far before he met a girl-friend of his; somebody told me the name of the street there the other day but I have forgotten the name; all the passengers have got off; they have not yet begun to harvest their cocoa; what I had been thinking about previously turned out to be a complete mistake.

CHAPTER 15 (p. 86)

It is with bean-cake that I eat it; what will they give me? it was in England that I learnt the work; it is with one's own hands that one puts right one's own affairs; I saw it with my own eyes; it was here that I picked it up; fortunately (God did it for me) no-one saw me; we found him busy at his work; he told me that he was not a hooligan of that sort; I went with my master to Ogbomoso; I gave him £5 for my mother; it was for four shillings that they sold it to me; all of us know him to be a good man; they served out some palm-wine to him; call out to Ojo for me to tell him to come quickly; it was only the day before yesterday that I managed to see him; where did you buy

this wrist-watch? this box is full of filth; it was on a cart that I carried wood about; he gave all these things en bloc to his friend; every one came away from this meeting in tears; I ought to mention it to you; we set out for Ijebu; one ought always to avoid excess; I was abroad for six years; I advised him not to go.

CHAPTER 16 (p. 91)

I understand everything that you have said; this is the box that I found in their house; that is the meat I have cooked for the evening meal; they carried off a load of cloth worth £200; he is not (does not amount to) a person who can lord it over me (put on airs at me); I was looking at all who were passing; they are talking into something which they call a microphone; I went to find my friends who were at school together with me; a person who is not yet dead, we do not know the disease that will kill him; I do not like that friend of yours with the hard eyes; on the next day after we arrived at Ibadan, we found a lorry that could take us to Ilorin for nothing; this woman that we have mentioned had borne three children to her husband; the two among them that were boys were quite grown up; what is bad and dangerous about this business is that we do not know what caused it; there is in the market a stall belonging to an elder sister of mine where we can buy tinned fish; this is the stone with which he struck and killed the child; you who have plenty of money can buy it; we could not find the remaining food which we had tied up in my wife's bundle; the person on whose behalf one dies does not look on one favourably; this world we are in is very difficult.

CHAPTER 17 (p. 96)

Who will pay the money for the train/boat (the fare)? it is at 4.30 p.m. they will have the burial; we shall not find anything of importance to buy today; what will they eat this morning? it will be quite clear to you before you finish reading the book; what day will you return the axe? how

KEY TO EXERCISES

much will they be giving you a month? what they will be saying is that this matter does not concern them; it will be quite dark before we reach home; this is the yam with which I shall make pounded yam; I will tell my father to buy one like it for me; they must find a way by which they can eat; the chiefs will be in front and the others will follow them; you will not have a chance to speak with him today any more, it is too late; they will not yet have stopped work at their office/factory; I shall take this gown to the washerman and tell him to wash it well for me; he will dry it well before he irons it; I will wait for another lorry; he will spend up to two weeks there; I think you will enjoy there very much; who will sit in front? he will know we have not forgotten, at least; they will not keep on singing like that all the time; may the cap stay long on the head and the shoes on the feet! (greeting to a chief); may you not meet with disaster! may you not meet with illness or misfortune! both of those who were going to be husband and wife were people I knew well; it may be that what you will see will be strange in your eyes; I am sure I shall be able to explain it to you; I have heard that there will be a grand wedding in our quarter; he said he would quickly arrange entertainment for visitors beforehand.

CHAPTER 18 (p. 100)

When money comes to an end, that means trouble has arrived; anyone who thinks he is completely wise does not want to accept advice; you can give me any amount that pleases you; anybody at all who enters this room, you are to drive him out at once; I always send to my wife any amount that I make; everything that is not quite clear to you, you should ask me its meaning; when it happens that an elderly person suffers the loss of one of his juniors in this way, we greet him saying, 'Greetings for a death out of turn'; whenever you are ill, you should quickly send to call the doctor; presently, they will hold the funeral of their father; any child at all who makes a

noise, I will punish him well; I will do whatever I can; when they have completed the enquiry, they will return to the police-station; anyone who is going to enter must first call out 'Permission, householder'; anyone that has gone bad among them, throw it away; when the king gets up from his throne, you too should get up as well; anyone who does not confess will get into trouble (his eye will see something); he recites a charm in the ear of anyone who challenges him.

CHAPTER 19 (p. 104)

We do not usually wear European clothes; we do not use it these days (world of now); I do not let any suffering befall this dog at all; the noise they make does not let a person study at all; it is pepper stew we usually eat then; they are not in the habit of eating rice in the morning; at what time do you break off work at your office (place of work)? a farmer does not fail to provide food for those he asks for communal help; what do you do in the evenings? we beat drums, we tell stories and we dance; what do you plant in this farm-plot? I plant maize and beans; the heart does not deceive me; if anyone passes, he will not come out to him; if anyone starts a quarrel/fight, they will go and report the person to the police; hunger does enter one's belly for anything else to enter; it; travelling is not so sweet that the man with a home does not return home; we do not put on fine white clothes to go and sit in the oil-seller's stall; the dream which a dog dreams stays inside the dog; a town is never so small as not to have a rubbish-heap; anger brings out arrows from the quiver, a kind voice brings out cola-nuts from the pocket.

CHAPTER 20 (p. 112)

Add 9 to 4, it makes how much? it makes 13; take 7 away from 12, there remains how much? there remains 5; I have £120 in the bank, I take £75, how much remains? there remains £45; how many yards make a mile? 1760

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yards; how many yards are there in this piece of cloth? I divided 15/- equally among three children, how much did each child get? if I buy 12 chickens for £7-1-0, how much is each chicken? 11/9d; how much change will I get from a £5 note if I buy (chicken's) eggs for 18/-? you will get £4-2-0; we all three went to meet her at Lagos; both of them are well educated; how many were you who set up this thrift club? there were ten of us; how many miles is it from Lagos to Ibadan? it is a little over 100 miles; I have only been there twice; give her two more; I emphasise it once again that you must not go; a quarter of the population of this town perished in this war; 5 times 12 is 60; I gave these twelve children 2/6d each; I spent only a shilling; she has only one child; I bought 2/- worth of sugar and 3/- worth of biscuits; which turning (in order) to the right should I take? cut down every third tree; I alone am occupying this room.

CHAPTER 21 (p. 116)

It is at 5.30 that we stop work at our office; at what time should I come to wake you tomorrow? it will be three days from today before I can return the axe; a farmer does not have time to sit idly at home during the rainy season; I think we shall have a holiday (start our holidays) two days before the Greater Bairam festival; five days before I was due to go to England my father died; I want each window to be four foot high and two foot broad; how many minutes is it now to 3 o'clock? when I saw him four days ago he was not well at all; the Muslims go to pray at the mosques on Fridays; they brought out the child on Thursday, the 26th of last month; I think the rains will begin the month after next; how many cwt. of cocoa did they buy from you last year? he had finished all his work before 5 o'clock; how many days past Christmas is it today? it will be up to four days before he returns.

CHAPTER 22 (p. 120)

I asked him (if) perhaps he could take me round the

town; he further asked if this mother had any other children (alive) in the world; he could not remember where he had put the beads for safe-keeping; I do not know what I shall give them to eat; he asked me if the food he had served was enough or not; I asked the price (for) which he would sell one of them to me; they related to each other what they had experienced in the past; have you decided what time you will go? who knows how many years he will live on earth? he was thinking about what had befallen him; do you know what time they break off work at this office? he asked me what sort of good turn he could do for me; he does not know which one he ought to choose; I do not know if they are going to work or going home; he cannot remember with whom his 'younger brother' is living; you ought to take notice of what sort of clothes they are wearing; he came across his book at the spot where they had thrown it.

CHAPTER 23 (p. 126)

Pork and fresh fish were his commonest articles of food; they paid me a great sum of money; I sold all my loads for a small sum; there are four things which everyone looks for in the world—long life, money, children and fame; he gives me tasty food to eat; all of us Yoruba people (Yoruba sons) know that death is preferable to disgrace; I opened the door, I saw an important visitor who had come to me; the price of this lorry should not be more than £200; after many days I hit on a plan; I am looking for cloth which is a bit darker than this; the Yoruba have (take) various ways of greeting each other; the African among them was wearing native clothes; thin skin covers the inside (and) does not let us see the mind (belly) of the secret enemy; we took a winding road to get out of the town; the big one attracts me most; when I knocked at the door, a beautiful woman came out to me from inside the room; dark ones attract him, and so do fair ones.

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CHAPTER 24 (p. 131)

There is nothing you can do to satisfy him; when I saw the elephant in the distance, I felt very afraid; I am surprised that those who are in positions of honour can take money from those who are not as rich as themselves; I am not afraid of the police at all; I am ashamed of you; he said it made him laugh when he heard of this matter; we must not cause sorrow to our parents; a person who is hungry cannot calmly accept advice; a gentleman should not break down in that way; these words of his made me very angry; patience is the master behaviour, anger does not achieve anything; I am going off to bed, because I have been feeling sleepy for some time; a person who has common sense will not be afraid of any evil spirit; I am not ashamed of (doing) any work at all; there was no one who was not glad when we heard you had arrived home safe and sound; good health is the medicine for wealth; the joke I cracked made my friend laugh; don't be afraid of anything they may do; there is medicine for head-ache in my bag; it was a great sorrow to him when his mother died; I hate cruel behaviour; I do not know what is the matter with me.

CHAPTER 25 (p. 138)

It is a mad person who is beaten by the rain in the middle of a town; these words of his precluded any reply; I am surprised that you missed the meal-time like this; the tar with which they are spraying (painting) the road splashed onto me; deceitful behaviour has become a garment on his back (neck); they could not solve the riddle which I posed; they said I had come to tell lies to deceive the police; let us add all the money we have made today to what we made yesterday; the proverb they quoted against me caused me to be very angry; he owns a lorry on his own account; is it that big house that you are occupying all by yourself? don't leave me to do it alone! he had torn up the letter and thrown it away before I had a chance to read it; after I had finished eating, I again

began looking about for work; I re-painted my lorry; he pulled £3 out of his pocket; he shewed me where I had gone astray; when I was returning from Lagos the day before yesterday, I turned aside to greet my 'elder brother'; the good turn you have done me, I cannot ever forget it; I think I can hire/rent it for £4 a week; I went along with them to examine it; I will mention you to the manager where I work; who asked for her (in marriage) from you? eventually an idea flashed into my mind; we should observe the rules of cleanliness; keep quiet! I quickly shut him up; he ran to hide in the house; this dress is too long, it does not suit me at all; there is no magic trick which I cannot perform.

CHAPTER 26 (p. 143)

He went to sit by the window; with whom are you living? with my mother's 'elder brother'; lift it up at the door-way; he stood at the door, he did not want to enter; presently, we came to where there was a hole; do not let me perish in this forest; I faced towards him; I took off the coat that was on my back (neck) and dried it at the fire; he passed by me and went to where there was a pool; there is no one who can escape from death; when (where) we were talking in this way, we talked about my mother; you should sit on the left side of the conveyance; when you come to a fork in the road, take the road to the right; they had arranged four chairs right in front of the king, they put them to face him; it is cassava we eat mostly in these parts of ours here; he had a bag hanging from his shoulder; this woman was not pleased with this arrangement; he put the box under the bed; put it away in the bottom part of the cupboard; I remembered many things which I had experienced in the past; when he came to where I was, he began to cry out; collect all these things (and put them) over there.

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CHAPTER 27 (p. 150)

He poured water over me in a flood; at first he turned a deaf ear to them; he did not in fact tell me anything about it; I enjoyed (being) there very much; indeed he did not help me at all; it is almost all of us who want to go to look at it; when at last I arrived there, they had already sold it; it is already pitch dark; I laid out a mat (and) I went off soundly to sleep; don't let every matter for discussion come straight (quickly) out of your mouth; what I just want to draw out from this discussion is that this friend of yours is not to be trusted; it is they who will be the first to avoid you; I have just come back with it from England (where I bought it); who then can advise us? I have paid it all, I tell you; it is clothes like these of yours that I am going to wear; he just does not want to give me anything; he may at any rate take me to his master; it is the absolute truth; in actual fact, there was still plenty of money in my possession; the box was chock-full of money; I examined the lorry carefully; he had this 'agbada' gown made of glossy white silk; all of it was dazzling; I saw that she was in a flood of tears; the bridegroom must not go straight home with his bride like that; I think some other people are still arriving; we just need not go on to say that people like that are worthless; let us find a plan which we shall use so that this will not turn out to be so.

CHAPTER 28 (p. 159)

This is not so now any more; there is a great deal of noise in our house, there is no time that visitors do not come; when he came to realise that I was a visitor, and particularly that I was a visitor in his house, he did not conceal the secret from me any more; she confessed to me that it wasn't that she had been affected by juju medicine, but that she found enjoyment in their company (there was enjoyment for her . . .); he was a very humane king; the hornbill is a very dangerous bird; you must not become a dog who does not hear the hunter's whistle; the banana

does not live by the river (and) turn out barren; my mother is now old; please be a mother to me; we were beaten by the rain (and) our clothes were soaking; the police are good friends to all the people of the town; when he lived in our house, he was a very steady person; he was (in the state of being) a small child when he ascended the throne; this child who died, he was the only male child my wife's mother had; it must be that your 'younger brother' is not well; they have to be fifteen years old at least; they have been in existence for a long time and they will continue to be in existence for ever; there is not one of them that we did not find already upon earth (that it is not the case that it was upon earth . . .); if there is health, and also money, that a person's distress has come to an end.

CHAPTER 29 (p. 166)

By the time my 'younger brother' arrived, it was already getting dark; since when have you stopped drinking the medicine which the doctor said you were to drink every day? when did you decide not to come to evening school any more? as I was finishing off the words of thanks which I addressed to him, all the people stood up; as he did this, a hubbub again broke out; it is I who puts an end to quarrels among them in the evening as soon as we get back from the farm; when the man came near me, he turned out to be my 'elder brother'; I will continue to look after you until I leave this world; it was not long before we arrived at the town where we were going; he had gone on a journey two days before (and) it would be up to five days more before he would get back home; before he died, we enquired of him what had happened to him; by the time a year had passed, this king who was fond of me was dead; I had not yet finished hoeing the farm when rain-clouds gathered and rain began to fall; as soon as they hear the sound of the guns, the grown-up youths who are surrounding the 'bush' will raise a shout; it was 6 o'clock before they finished this sweep of the

KEY TO EXERCISES

'bush'; as he sat by this fire and was drawing it together, he was weaving a basket which he had begun some days before.

CHAPTER 30 (p. 173)

If educated people cannot escape in this situation, what power can the poor apply? I said to him that if there was work, he should let me do it for him on his farm; as soon as she saw anyone else, she would be like someone who had attained a chief's office; if this work was so pleasant, they would not be collecting people by force to undertake it; otherwise (if it were not so) I would tell my friend to come to meet me at the bus-stop; if the bride in the house does not want to call her husband's parents by their (proper) name, she will look for a way by which she can use an avoidance-name for them; if we go on with it like this, we shall be ancestral slaves for ever; if illness affects a miser, he will put up with it, because he does not want to spend money on a doctor who would cure him; if guests put up at his house, hunger will drive them away; words which I might say did not come (to me); if it is the case that you *stole* the money, you should tell me; if you were going to buy a whole piece (of cloth), we would reduce its price a little; if you had taken the sick man to the doctor in good time, he would be well by now; had it not been for the policemen who quickly ran up, the burglars would have beaten him up and killed him; as the time for a meal approaches, they ring a bell; if you are not going, make way for me; if he dies and does not leave you an inheritance, with whom will you lodge a complaint? if a person is in (a state of) happiness, if he remembers that there is another time, a time of sorrow, his happiness will be in moderation; if the people (children) of the world could love each other sincerely, how fine the world would be; if you see a blind man, or a cripple, or that sort of person, always do good turns to them according to the limitations of your power; if he knows how to argue a case, they may release him; as soon as they see me, they will eye each other; as long as you can get there,

there is nothing more to fear; if they greet you, you must
not answer.

YORUBA

CHAPTER 31 (p. 177)

Why are they making a noise like that? someone has seen a snake in the garden (and) they are trying (want) to kill it; in what way have I offended you? the reason for my coming is no more than that; this wind was so strong that water was coming into our boat; they hit me so much that I collapsed on the ground and fainted; we will enquire about a way to do everything so that it will be alright; what makes you want to give up this work? I could not bring myself to confess that I had committed a crime was why I left my town; it was money that these women had in mind that they married me; he asked me where I had been and why I had been so long; they began to run away, so much so that on the morning of the day I am talking about only one wife remained with me; why didn't you do what I told you to do? it will soon be so dark that we shall not be able to see at all; he is such a liar that I cannot believe him at all; this knife is so sharp that it can cut off a strong man's hand at one go; I do not know why he did not escort us on our way; the market was so depressed (spoiled) that my father landed in debt.

CHAPTER 32 (p. 181)

How did you enjoy England? we enjoyed it very much; how shall I speak about this matter to him? how long have you been here? what father said to me yesterday, what is your opinion of it (how is it in your eyes)? it is heavier than it was before; I could hear how he was snoring where he had fallen asleep; as a mouse has no power before a cat, so I have no power before you; this is how they made the arrangement; I cannot express how pleased I am to get to know you today; I had no other thought in my mind than how I should pay the good turn back to him; he treated me as soap treats the eye; you are to lift it as it is now; there is harmony in this town to a

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greater degree than I thought; the way the man looked after me impressed me very much; I was observing how he was acting in every way; I have not set eyes on him again up to the moment I am speaking now; however fast I run, I can never fall down; in this position that I am in this house, I know what I experience at the hands of my co-wives.

CHAPTER 33 (p. 187)

The builders do not want it to rain; they call the government workers who work in the forests 'forest guards'; I cannot believe him at all, he is an habitual liar; we had better be careful, because there are a lot of burglars in this town! all of his wives ran off with other people; they call the bridegroom 'the one with camwood feet' (coloured with camwood); anxious thought did not allow my heart to be at rest; I do not want that unlucky person to buy anything from me (he may infect me with his bad luck!); the relating of news does not equal seeing with the eyes; presently, we came out onto a tarred road; he goes about looking for second-hand clothes; the strong man without reflection (is) the chief of lazy men; the man with a plot does not hatch it in one's presence; he who relies on an inheritance hands himself over to destitution to strike down; he who is jealous of one cannot change fate; he who goes to extremes is not long in getting disgraced; both of us are Christians; my fiancee came to visit me the day before yesterday; the magistrate (judge) sent the offender to jail for three years; he who uses us cruelly teaches us by force.

CHAPTER 34 (p. 193)

He looked for a way to go and meet his friend; a woman cannot be shewn one's innermost thoughts; it can be put in the pocket; a needle may be small (but) it is not to be swallowed by a chicken; thinking belongs to human beings, acting to God; it may be a long time (but) the stammerer will say 'Father'; it causes people to shun

doing good turns; I was ashamed to reveal this secret to him; it cannot fail to surprise you to see me like this; to sit down became a trouble, to get up became a worry; what did his eyes not witness altogether during the course of that night? he did not worry any more about marrying another wife; the palm of the hand cannot be used to carry fire; he spent a lot of money on things to eat and drink; he decided to conceal himself and watch what would happen; he may not give us food but give us money instead of it; this work that we are planning to take up is very useful; not living at home to any great extent did not allow him to marry early; it is a man without shame who goes to the house of his in-laws to die; this leather can be used for making shoes; I like boiled beans best; she does not know how to cook stew nor how to pound yam; he had hardly gone out when he collapsed and died.

CHAPTER 35 (p. 199)

He greeted us and we greeted him; it was that house which his father had built outside the town that they went to; who are those I see standing in a group there? some people who are looking for work; recently I was in a meeting of certain enlightened people; it was our Creator who put the love of these things in our hearts; all these four sorts of food should be present in our diet; I think that you too have realised now that we who are doctors are not all the same; as for us, we are diviners descended from diviners; you unlucky fools, you are going to meet your new bride, but your new bride has gone! the king of that town near which they had arrived had gone hunting; those that you see, they are all my children; this person planted an evil fruit and he reaped evil; who are you here? we are the children of the headmaster; the same God who created these tribes of men that we have mentioned created us too; both he and the other ten who we did not know, they all ran off and escaped; what are you going to do here, you stupid fool? these

important rich people that we have mentioned can make a present of £1,000 without reckoning it to be anything at all.

CHAPTER 36 (p. 205)

We explained to him that we would not be able to stop because we were in a hurry, yet nevertheless he shewed his hospitality on a big scale; I remembered Aduke, and tears (water) burst from my eyes; as we got to the station and completed getting our tickets the train appeared; mention two of them and the town where they are; he swallowed it bones and all; both young and old love her; the king said that he gave me the girl with great joy; it was some time since I had seen him and I did not know that he had become a policeman; it was not long before darkness fell; he told me to go home, but I did not go; it was in this way (it was thus I acted) that I came to leave the town and headed for the forest; my opinion had changed because all those words which he spoke—he did not say anything false about me in (with) them at all; am I to throw it away or am I to put it by? I wear an 'agbada' or 'dansiki' gown; your fathers and mothers have already followed this path which you are following; whether it was yam pounding, or pepper grinding, or water carrying, this child alone used to do all of it; extravagance is not good, but being miserly, too, is not good at all; it is words which allow us to recognise a person as wise or foolish; when she broke this fruit, money, clothes, beads and costly ornaments appeared to her; both I and my wife, neither of us cared to say anything (there was not either among us cared . . .); I was very slow in answering (before I answered), because words are very hard to say; I asked him if I was important enough to offend him; both fish and crocodile, they are both edible flesh.

CHAPTER 37 (p. 210)

The death of this friend of mine pained me deeply; I bought 3d each worth of fried yam for all the workmen;

don't let your child get into bad company; they shine like the lightning in the sky; everything was topsy-turvy in confusion; I bought six leather cushions from him; they call him 'unlucky fellow', 'good-for-nothing' and so on; I very much want to buy this cloth; the elders of the town came to greet me; he said if he was not at home, they must not in his absence do anything; the threats that we were making against him, we were just frightening him with them; he landed himself in perpetual debt; don't allow your child complete licence; the leopard tore this man to shreds; you should follow him wherever he goes; I tried and tried to persuade him, but nevertheless he did not agree; they boxed his ears repeatedly; every year I take a holiday and go to my own town; they are singing a very poor song; they are close friends; may your luck protect you from a child who breaks up the household; that man is a dyed-in-the-wool thief; when I got up, I stumbled with my left foot.

CONNECTED PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION

1. A FALSE FRIEND

There was a man in our town whose name was Adeyemi (crown befits me). He was a person who had money and reputation in our town and its environs. Now this man had a friend who did not from the bottom of his heart like him. The name of this friend was Sule. It was a long time that they had been carrying on their friendship together. Adeyemi had put all his trust in Sule, so that it was his friend's 'younger brother', whose name was Mako, that Adeyemi appointed clerk in his shop in our town. Presently, Adeyemi decided to marry a certain girl, but this business did not please Sule at all and he was looking for every opportunity to blacken Adeyemi's character in the eyes of this girl. 'The man who tries to ruin other people's characters ruins his own'—instead of this girl listening to these words of detraction, in actual fact her love continued to increase. They were going on with the matter until four days remained to Adeyemi's wedding. When Sule saw this, he began to consider in what way he could kill his friend. So he came to Adeyemi saying that he had on his behalf made an opening (road) for trade, so he should come in person to the road to his farm, which was about four miles from home. He told him not to send anyone, he himself was to come at exactly half past seven in the evening, and Adeyemi agreed to this. But when he got home, his stomach began to pain him, so he would not be able to go to Sule's farm after all. So he thereupon sent his clerk, who was Sule's 'younger brother'. This young man set off on the way to his 'elder brother's' farm without knowing that this elder brother of his had stationed a man with a gun on the way to kill

Adeyemi. Sule's younger brother was wearing his master's clothes, had on his cap, and was wearing his shoes as well. Anyone who saw him would call him Adeyemi. As he came up to the place where the gunman was, the latter shot at him, and he died on the spot. When the news got around, everyone ran there, and they then found it was Sule's younger brother. The fear of God fell upon Sule and he himself confessed in the presence of all the people that it was he with his own hand who had done ill to himself. 'He who pours out ashes, ashes come back on him'.

2. A JEALOUS CO-WIFE

A certain junior and senior wife were living together with their husband in a town which we call Ojanla (Big Market). They each bore a single boy to their husband, and they did not have any more children than this one each. Husband, senior wife and junior wife lived together in harmony. There was no quarreling and also there were no altercations. The husband loved his senior and his junior wife alike, and there was no one who was envious about children towards her partner, because God had given them one boy each. So thus they went on with their lives and everything was in equal shares for them. Soon the two boys grew up and they were put to school. They ate together, they wore the same (sort of) clothes, they slept in the same bed; in short, they were like Taiwo and Kehinde (the names given to twins).

This behaviour of theirs gave pleasure to the hearts of all. But soon, the senior wife's child began to behave like a rascal. Because of this he did not pay attention to his studies any more. When it reached the end of the year and they took an examination, the junior wife's son, who was named Olu, would take the first place, while Wola, the senior wife's child, would get nought. In fact he gave up making any effort, and he used to wander aimlessly about the town. They went on in this way until they reached Standard (Book) VI. When they took the Government examination, Olu passed well but Wola got nought.

Their father now became angry and he ordered that the senior wife's son should go and learn to be a driver, while Olu went to the High School. From that time love towards her junior wife and her son came to an end in the senior wife's heart, and anything involving them became more and more a case of 'scoop out some more water, the water is not enough' (a proverbial phrase used in referring to situations of strife).

To avoid going with a post to a house which is already standing (not to prolong the story), Olu left at Standard X and the Government gave him the opportunity to go to England to learn to be a doctor, because he had brains (his head was all there). His mother was more and more pleased from the moment she heard this, but the senior wife was not pleased at all. When it was the following day that Olu would be going to England, the senior wife cooked some tasty rice, added some evil medicine to it, and decided to give it to Olu to eat so that he might die. When she had finished cooking it, she put it by in the house ready for Olu, who had gone out. But when her own son returned from work he saw the rice and ate it. He very soon died. A great cry went up, and when the secret was revealed we saw that the very food which the senior wife wanted to give the junior wife's son to eat her own son had eaten and then died. So sorrow became the portion of this senior wife for all the days of her life.

3. A FAMILY MIX-UP

An 'elder brother' of mine was a trader who sold books in the town of Ibadan. Of course, as far as I was concerned I was born at Oyo and from the time I was born I had not gone to our home town in Ijebu more than twice. This had not given me the opportunity to get to know many of our family. They had not in fact ever talked in my presence about this elder brother who was a trader. He was a close relative of ours, but I did not know him.

I had the good luck to go to a High School at Ibadan about five years ago. It was from this elder brother of

mine that those who were our seniors used to buy their books, and we who were new boys (strangers) were buying books from him (too). When we had finished buying all our books, I noticed that I had bought a book by mistake. I quickly made my way to the bookshop and I begged this elder brother of mine to take his book back and give me my money. But he refused point blank. I kept on imploring him but he refused: he said he never took a book back from anybody after a week had passed since the person took the book away from his shop. I explained to him that the book was useless to me, in fact I again begged him to let me take another book for it. What he finally said was, 'Explanation does not meet the case'. I got angry and I determined to be revenged somehow or other.

When I returned to school, I complained about him to many of my companions, and we decided that we would not buy books from him any more, and we did not buy anything from him any more. We moved over to the bookshop which faced his to buy our books. I in fact made the business quite obvious, so that he knew it was I who was his opponent.

Two years after I came to this school, our father's mother died, and we had to go to hold the 'bringing out' ceremony in connection with our (grand)mother's funeral in our home town in Ijebu. When (where) my father was giving entertainment to his guests, it was a surprise to me to see this bookseller gentleman helping my father to bring out calabashes and bring out dishes (helping in service). In fact they were going in and out together. I hurriedly called my father into a room to ask who this guest was. I was very surprised when I heard that he was my elder brother. I hurriedly explained how we had had a quarrel together at Ibadan. At once my father called him and asked him, saying, 'Don't you know So-and-so son of So-and-so?' He put his finger to his mouth, saying, 'Good heavens, God save me!' He repeatedly expressed his regret, and I too implored him to overlook my mistake. When we arrived together at Ibadan, we put right what had happened, and I found many customers for him.

4. THE CUSTOM OF CUTTING FACE-MARKS

The custom of cutting face-marks was something which the Yoruba practised to a high degree in olden days but which is no longer common at the present day. The reason why the Yoruba used to cut face-marks in olden days was that there was war everywhere. The Fulani used to wage war with the Yoruba and the Yoruba towns waged war with each other. A family group which did not know each other well could kill each other in battle. But if they had face-marks, and they saw the marks on people's faces and mouths, they would not kill them, because they came from the same town. The Ibadan might be at war with the Ijéṣa. If all those who were fighting had no face-marks, an Ibadan might kill an Ibadan when he did not know that he was an Ibadan. An Ijéṣa too might kill an Ijéṣa because he would not know that he was an Ijéṣa. It was for this reason that the various towns each used to cut their own (various) face-marks.

The Oyo used to cut 'gombo' marks on their faces and heads, while the Ijéṣa put three lines on the right and left of the face. Their lines were long. The Ondo used to mark a single broad line on the right and left of the face. The Ijebu put three small lines on the face. In this way the Yoruba could recognise each other apart in battle. So they used not to capture as a slave anyone who had the same sort of mark as theirs, because they knew that they came from the same place. But a person whose marks were different or who had no marks they would capture as a slave or kill in battle.

Each family group in Yoruba country also used to have its own mark. When they met away from home (outside the town-wall), they would know members of their family apart from others. This is the reason which brings it about that the Yoruba cut face-marks from olden times right up to the present day. But in these days face-marks have begun to disappear in many towns in Yoruba land because there is no longer war, and enlightenment has come to every town. The Ijebu and the Ijéṣa do not cut

marks on their children any longer. But the Qyo predominate among those who cut marks up to the present day. The reason for this is that many of them are not yet well educated. All those who are educated no longer cut marks on their children. Among the other towns which still cut marks is Ondo. But it is their first-born that they mark, the young remaining children—they will not mark them. So the custom of cutting face-marks is gradually dying out among the Yoruba.

Face-marks spoil the faces of many people. Some marks turn into sores, others protrude. This causes the faces of people who were previously good-looking to become ugly. Many women who have no marks do not want to marry a man who has marks. This sort of thing causes some men distress of mind. Without any doubt, this custom will not be long before it disappears from Yoruba country.

5. COMMUNAL WORK

There is a great deal of work which a person cannot do by himself, but only if he finds helpers. Long ago in Yoruba country our forefathers founded the customs of 'aaro' and 'owé' in order to help each other in their various work. This was absolutely necessary in those days, because in fact they lived in small villages whose inhabitants did not exceed two hundred and which were far from each other.

The way that people helped each other is divided into two. The adults and the youths used to collect themselves together to help each other in farm work, which was the work that all the people in the village did. The young men of the present day still do 'aaro' in the farm-villages everywhere, though the substantial farmers hire workers from distant towns to work for them on their farms. Long ago it was very difficult for anyone to find workers of this sort to hire. So the farmers used to join hands to do 'aaro'. If six farmers made an agreement to work with each other, they would start with one (of their number). If they did one man's work today, it would be the turn of another

tomorrow until it went round all six of them. This brought about that a farmer could do a great deal of work on his farm in one day, more than he could do in a week.

In the second place also, our fathers practised 'owé'. There is a difference between doing 'owé' and holding 'aaro'. Partners in 'aaro' work with each other so that their work may quickly be substantial, and they do not feed each other. But a person who summons an 'owé' must get ready food which those who are going to work will eat. A great many people use 'owé' to fulfil marriage obligations. If a person gets a wife in marriage from another, he may by means of an 'owé' do his work for him. The parents of the girl like their in-laws to come and roof a house for them with an 'owé'. Friends and acquaintances ask each other for 'owé' help in order to build a house, to cut wood that is used for roofing and to do the sort of jobs which are in the category of what a single person cannot do by himself. He who summons an 'owé' lays out a lot of money, because he has to cook plenty of food and supply spirits and palm-wine for those who come to work for him.

VOCABULARY

This word-list is designed to help the learner deal with the Exercises; it does not contain all the words occurring in the Lessons. For pronouns and numerals reference should be made to the appropriate chapters. Remember that nouns formed from verbs by the addition of the prefixes **a-**, **à-**, **i-**, if not given separately, can be easily deduced from the corresponding verbs, e.g. **igbádùn** 'enjoyment' from **gbádùn** 'to enjoy'. The same applies to words formed by adding the **oni-** prefix (**alá-**, **elé-** etc.) to nouns, e.g. **aláṣo** 'person with cloth' from **asó** 'cloth'.

abà, farm hut	àgbègbè, surrounding district
abanijé, detractor	àgbè, farmer
àbáṣe, co-operation	agbón, basket
abé, small knife, razor	àgbón, coconut
abé, underneath part	agbón, wasp, hornet
abéré, needle	àgbónrin, antelope
àbétélè, bribe, bribery	ahum, miser
abi, or	àisàn, illness
àbò, return, arrival	aiyé, world
àabò, half	aiyéráiyé, everlasting
abúlé, village	ajá, dog
abúléko, farm village	ajà, ceiling, vault
àbúrò, younger relative,	àajà, whirlwind
younger 'brother'	àjéji, àjòjì, strange, foreign
àdékùn, agreement	ajò, journey
adié, fowl	aajò, attention, care, treatment
àdirò (ààrò), hearth	àkàla, hornbill
àdúgbò, district, quarter	àkàrà, bean-cake
afárá, afá, bridge	àáké, axe
àafin, palace	àkíyési, notice
àfíéri, thing which vanishes	àkókò, time, season
àfésònà, betrothed	akólòlò, stammerer
àfójùbà, personal experience	àkóbí, first-born
afójú, blind person	akówé, clerk
àga, chair	àlà, white cloth
àgán, barren woman	àlà, dream
àgò, permission to enter	àlálà, boundary
agogo, aago, clock, watch, bell	àláfia, well-being
agolo, small tin	alágbáfò, washerman
agútán, sheep	aláinítùjú, shameless person
agbádá, large gown	aláisí, being deceased, non-existent
àgbádo, maize	alákorí, good-for-nothing
àgbákò, disaster	alárabarà, many-coloured
àgbà, adult, senior	alárinrin, fine, resplendent
àgbálágba, elder	aláárù, porter
agbára, force, power	àlàyé, explanation

àlejò, stranger, guest, new boy
alé, evening
álókú, second-hand
ámfáání, opportunity, advantage
ámóómótán, imperfectly known
ána, yesterday
ána, relative-in-law
dá ána, to perform traditional marriage customs
ánífaní, doubt
apá, arm; direction, side
ápárá, joke
apeja, fisherman
ápó, bag, pocket; £100
apó, quiver
ápóti, box
ara, body; self
ará, member of a community
áràbà, silk cotton tree
árán, velvet
ááré, tiredness, illness
áárín, middle, centre
ariwo, noise
ááró, mutual aid on farm
áàrò, **ádirò**, hearth
aró, cripple
áárò, morning
arúgbó, old person
árùn, disease
ásán, afternoon (in greetings)
ásikò, time, period
àṣà, custom

YORUBA

asaájú, predecessor, leader, senior
àsejú, excess
ásení, secret enemy
áshéhindé, expecting return of elder who has died
áshí, secret
áshise, mistake
ásiwèrè, madman
áso, cloth, clothes
ásógbó, forest guard
ata, pepper
áatakò, opposition
átàtà, real, genuine
átèhinkú, untimely death
átélewó, palm of hand
áterúdérú, ancestral slave
áti, and; to (with verb)
átiójó, former, some time ago
átitán, **àtàn**, refuse heap
átúnṣe, repair, amends
átùpá, lamp, lantern
áwa, we, us (emphatic)
áwiigbó, not heeding advice
áwo, dish
áwòrán, picture
áwò, colour
awò, skin, leather
áwọn, they, them (emphatic)
áwùjo, assembly, meeting
áyè, place, opportunity, chance
ááyé, life, alive
ayò, joy
bá, to alight on
éru' bá mí, I felt afraid
fi etí bá, to drop a hint to

VOCABULARY

bá, **fi ojú bá**, to witness, see
bá, to meet, accompany, hit upon; for, with
bá . . . jé, to spoil
bá . . . mu, to suit, agree with
bá . . . nínú jé, to make sad
bá . . . wí, to rebuke; to refer to
bábá, father
baba, father (in general sense), senior, master
bajé, to become spoilt
inú mí' bajé, I felt upset
bámúbámú, chock full
báni, bank (for money)
banújé, to become sad
básikùlù, bicycle
bátà, shoe, boot
báyí, like this
béèré, to ask about or for
bé, to beg, ask, implore
bé . . . l'ówè, to ask for communal help
bé, to cut off
bé, so, like that
bébè (**bé** **ebé**), to implore
békó, it is not so
béení, it is so; even so, yet
béresí(i), to begin
béru, to fear
bi, **bi . . . léérè**, to ask
bi, asks doubtful question (at end of sentence)
bí (*inú bí mi*), I became angry
bí, like, as
bí . . . ti, as, how
bí, **bí . . . bá**, if

bínú, to be angry
biribiri, very dark
bò, to cover
bójúé (**bá**), to scowl
bò, to approach, return, arrive
bò, to enter narrow opening
bò, to slip out, escape; to come, go (rather quickly)
bó, to feed
bó sí, to turn out to be
bó sí i, to be successful, effective
bórikinní, gentleman
bóyá, **bóyá**, perhaps
bù, to take from larger quantity; to cut
bù ólá, **bófá**, to pay honour
bù ówò, **bòwò**, to pay respect
búburú, bad, nasty, wicked
burú, to be bad, nasty, wicked
burukú, bad, nasty, wicked
dá, where is?
dá, to pour
dá . . . lé . . . l'óri, to pour on top of
dá . . . nù, to pour away
dá . . . kó, to direct towards
dá . . . pè, to call by an avoidance name
dá, to cause (ch. 24)
dá, to do alone
dá . . . dá, to leave to do alone
dá (*ara mí'dá*), I am well

dá èésú, to contribute to a thrifit club
 dá . . . l'ójú, to be certain to one
 dá . . . l'óró, to treat cruelly
 dá qwó lé, to undertake
 dá . . . padà, to return a thing
 dá . . . silè, to cause, found, set up
 dágba (di àgbà), to grow up
 dákú, to faint
 dámòràn (imòràn), to advise
 dáná (iná), to make a fire; to cook a lot of food
 dáná (ána), to perform marriage duties to in-laws
 danindanin, important; tightly
 dánísíkí, type of short gown
 dánù, to be spilt
 dára, dáa, to be good, nice to look at
 dáradára, dáadáa, well, fine, all right
 dáràn (óràn), to commit an offence
 dárò (arò), to express sympathy
 dè, to await
 dé, to arrive, happen _____, to cover, put lid on
 d'ébi pa (dá), to starve to death

YORUBA

déédéé, exactly
 délé (ilé), to arrive home
 dè, to hunt, trap, set (trap)
 d'èhin (dà), to act in one's absence
 dérùbà (dá), to terrify, intimidate
 di, to tie
 di/dà, to become
 di, to block up
 dide, to get up
 dídùn, tasty, pleasant
 diè, some, a little
 dígi, glass, mirror
 digbò lülè, to slump to the ground
 dínwó (owó), to reduce price of
 dipò (dí ipò), to replace
 d'ojú ijá kó (dá), to challenge, shew fight to
 dójútì (dá), to put to shame
 dóbà, to be equal
 dókità, doctor
 dòti, to be dirty
 dùbùlè, to lie down
 dùdú, to be black, dark; black, dark
 dùn, to be tasty, pleasant
 inú mi dùn, I am pleased
 dùn, to pain
 dùn . . . nínú, to make one sorry
 dùndú, fried yam
 dùpé (dá opé), to give thanks
 dùró, to stand, wait, stop
 dùró ti, to stand by someone

VOCABULARY

ebi, hunger
 ebi ñpa mí, I am hungry
 èdè, language
 edéaiyédè, misunderstanding, quarrel
 egungun, eegun, bone
 egún, eégún, masquerader
 egbò, sore
 egbogì, medicine
 ejò, snake
 eké, deceit, deceitful person
 ekúté, mouse
 eléte, plotter
 eléyi, this one
 eélò, how much? for how much?
 élubó, yam flour
 èmi, I, me (emphatic)
 èniá, person, people
 èrà, ant
 eré, running; play
 éeri, dirt
 erin, elephant
 èrò, thought, consideration
 èrò, people, passengers
 eérú, ashes
 èsi, reply
 èsúsú, èésú, thrifit club
 èsín, last year
 ète, plan, plot
 etí, ear
 etí mi'di, I am deaf
 etí didi, deaf ear, deafness
 ètò, arrangement
 ewé, leaf
 èwo, which one?
 ewu, danger
 ewúré, goat

èyi, this
 èbá, vicinity
 èbi, fault, guilt
 èbi, family, relative
 èfò, green vegetables
 èfóri, headache
 èfúufù, strong wind
 ègbé, side
 ègbé, society, age group
 ègbón, elder relative
 èhin, back (see ch. 38)
 èhin odi, out of town, abroad
 eiye, bird
 ejá, fish
 ejé, blood
 ejò, court case, fault
 èèkan, once, recently
 èko, pap, gruel
 èkó, education
 èkùn, leopard
 èkún, weeping
 elédá, creator
 elédè, pig
 elegé, fragile, delicate
 elómíràn, another person
 èmí, life, spirit
 èmu, palm-wine
 èn, expression of assent
 èn-èn, expression of dissent
 èni, person
 èni, mat
 ènikan, somebody
 ènikéni, anybody
 ènití, the person who
 ènu, mouth (see ch. 38)
 ènu ònà, doorway
 ènyin, you (pl. emphatic)
 èran, animal; meat

èranko, wild animal
 èri, testimony
 èrin, laughter
 èrin pa mí, I had to laugh
 èro, machine, device
 èrù, load
 èrù, fear
 èrú, slave
 èsè, foot, leg
 èsin, humiliation
 èwà, beauty
 èwà, beans
 èwé, also
 èwú, coat, gown
 èyá, tribe, people
 èyin, egg

 fà, to pull, draw
 fà . . . l'étí, to give a hint
 to
 fà . . . l'ówó, to hold by
 the hand
 fà . . . yo, to draw out
 fà . . . yà, to tear up
 fádáká, silver
 fajúro, to pull a long face
 farabalé, to be calm
 farapamó, to conceal
 oneself
 fáári, display, airs
 férè, flute, whistle
 férésé, window
 fési (fò èsí), to answer
 fè, to be broad
 fé, to want, love, woo,
 marry
 féràn, to like, love
 fi, to put, use, apply; with
 (see ch. 15)

YORUBA

fi . . . ra iná, to put to
 warm
 fi . . . sún, to accuse,
 report
 filà, cap
 fò, to jump, fly
 fò . . . dá, to pass over,
 ignore
 fò sánlè, to collapse (of a
 person)
 fò, to wash (things)
 fò, to break, smash
 fójú, to be blind
 fónfón, soundly
 fún, to give, transfer to; to,
 for (see ch. 15)
 funfun, to be white; white
 fúyé, to be easy, light of
 weight, better (of health)
 fu (ara' fu mí), I felt
 suspicious
 fura, to suspect

 ga, to be lofty, high
 gaan, exactly, actually,
 really
 gélè, head-tie
 géndé, strong man
 geleté, at ease
 gidigidi, extremely
 gorí (gún ori), to ascend
 góólù, gold
 gò, to be stupid
 goboyi, much (of money)
 gónmbó, a style of face mark
 gun, to be long, tall (of
 people)
 , to climb, mount, ride
 gún, to pound, stab, pierce

VOCABULARY

gbà, to take, get, accept;
 to rescue
 gbà fún, to agree with,
 be indulgent to
 gbà . . . gbó, to believe
 gbà . . . n'ímòràñ, to
 advise
 gbá . . . l'étí, to box the ears
 of
 gbádùn, to enjoy; to be
 pleasant; to get well
 gbágudá, cassava
 gbágbe, to forget
 gbághó, to have faith
 gbajúñ, reputation,
 person of repute
 gbálè, to sweep the floor
 gbé, to lift
 , to live in, inhabit
 , to perish
 gbé . . . léjú, to make a
 display of
 gbérò, to intend
 gbéyàwó, to marry
 gbékèlé (gbé), to trust
 gbésan (gbà), to get revenge
 gbin, to plant
 gbó, to be ripe, old
 gbófo (gbà), to get nought
 gbogbo, all
 gbóná, to be hot
 gbó, to hear, understand
 gbódò, must
 gbón, to be wise, prudent
 gbónjú, to come to years of
 discretion
 gbónmi (omi), to scoop out
 water
 gbóqró, long and thin

gbúró, to hear news or a
 sound

 halé, to threaten, bluster
 hàn, to be obvious
 fi . . . hàn, to shew
 haanrun, to snore
 he, to pick up
 hó, to boil, bubble
 hó yèè, to shout loudly
 hun, to weave
 hùwà (hù iwà), to behave

 ibájé, being spoilt,
 scurrility
 ibé, there
 ibi, place
 ibí, here
 ibítí, the place that, where
 ibilé, native (adj.)
 ibinú, anger
 ibòòji, shade
 idálè, away from home
 idán, magic
 idánwò, examination
 idikò, bus-stop, station
 idilé, family group
 idúró, standing
 ifòiyá, alarm
 igán, piece (of cloth)
 igí, wood, tree
 igò, bottle
 igbá, time
 iga, 200
 igbá, calabash
 igbáti, the time that, when
 igbe, shout
 igbe'ta, a shout was
 raised

igbèsè, gbèsè, debt
igbésí aiyé, manner of life
igbékawó, wedding
igbé, forest
igbó, forest
igbooro, built up area
ihò, hole
ijà, fight, quarrel
ijàngbón, trouble
ijápá, tortoise
ijetá, day before yesterday
ijókó, sitting
ijoyé, chief
ijosí, the other day
ikà, cruelty, cruel person
ika, finger
ikan, one
ikorita, road junction
ikú, death
ikùn, belly, mind
ilá, face mark
ilá, ocre
ilajú, civilisation
ilé, house, home, building
Iléyá, Greater Bairam festival
ilé, ground, land
ilé aiyé, the world
ilé mó, day dawned
ilé sú, night fell
iléké, bead
ilú, drum
ilú, territory, country, town
imórán, advice
imótóto, cleanliness
iná, light, fire
ináwó, spending money, entertainment
inú, inside, belly

YORUBA

ipadé, meeting
ipari, end, completion
ipátá, rascal
ipò, position
ipónjú, distress
irépó, friendship, harmony
irésh, rice
irin, iron, metal
irin-àjò, journey
iró, sound
iró, woman's wrapper
iròhin, news
irònú, thought, pensiveness
iró, lie, error, vain thought
irójú, endurance
iròlé, early evening
irù, tail
irú, irufé, sort, variety
irun, hair
isálé, bottom part
isimi, isimmi, rest, relaxation
isinkú, funeral
isò, market stall
isé, work
isé, destitution
isoro, difficulty
isu, yam
itán, story, history
itawé, book-selling
ité, throne, nest
itájá (ojà), selling wares
ítósí, near
itójú, care for, tending
itúmò, meaning
iwà, behaviour
iwé, book, paper
iwòsàn, medical treatment
iwo, you (sg. emphatic)

VOCABULARY

iwón, measure; about
iyá, suffering, punishment
iyá, mother
iyálé, senior wife
iyán, pounded yam
iyawó, bride, wife
iye, quantity, number, value
iyálénú, surprise
iyau, wonder
iyen, that
iyí (èyi), this
iyókù, remainder
iyonu, trouble, worry
já, to fight, quarrel
já, to get to a place
—, to find out, solve, see through
jádè (òde), to get out, emerge
jáfáfá, to be active, keen
jágidi-jágan, hooligan
jagun (ogun), to wage war
jágba-jágba, untidy
jajá, at last
jambá, accident
jampata, to take trouble over
je, to eat, enjoy fruits of
je . . . n'iyá, to afflict with suffering, punish
jé, to allow, venture to
—, to be
jékí, jé kí, to allow that
jemó, to be connected with
jéwó, to confess
ji, to wake, waken
—, to steal, do stealthily
jibátàjibata, soaking
jigi, digi, glass, mirror
jinnà, to be far
jinnà sí, to be far from
jó, to dance
jó, to burn
jóná, to be on fire
jowú, to be jealous
jo, to be together
jo . . . l'ójú, to impress
jojú, to be substantial
—, to surpass, exceed
jù, to throw
jù . . . nù, to throw away (single object)
juwó (qwó), to wave the hand

kà, to be placed on
ká, to fold, encircle
—, to pluck (fruit)
kábá, dress, frock
kàdárà, destiny
k'ágò (ké ágò), to ask permission to enter
kalé (ilé), to be on the ground; to be ready
kàn, to touch, affect; to knock
—, to get abroad
kan, to be sour
kán, one
kán (ojú nkán mi), I am in a hurry
kánjú, to be in a hurry
kánkan, any
kánnáá, the same
kaná (iná), to be on the fire

kári (orí), to go round all of a group
káwé (iwé), to read
ké, to cry out
 ké sí, to call to
kedere, clear, clearly
kejí, second, other
kékéré, small
kéré, to be small
kéké pa, silence fell
ki, to push, ram
 —, not
 kí íše, it is not
ki, to greet
kiákíá, kíá, quickly
kigbe (ké), to shout out
kíni, kíl', what?
kinníkinní, very carefully
kiri, to go about
kírún, to recite Moslem prayers
kò, not
kò, to meet, come up against
 kò iná, to push fire together
kó, to gather, put (collectively)
 kó egbé, to keep company
kókó, lump
kókó, cocoa
kólékólé, burglar
kóríra (íríra), to hate
korò, to be bitter
kò, to reject, refuse
 kò . . . sílè, to divorce
 kò jálè, to refuse point blank

YORUBA

kò, to write; to sing; to direct towards
 kò ilà, to cut face marks
kò (fi ẹsé kò), to stumble
kò mómà, to dazzle
kò, to hang up; to teach, learn; to build; it is not
kóbódù, cupboard
kójá, to pass
kójú sí, to face
kókan, each; one each
kókóró, key
kólé (ilé), to build a house
kólókòlò, winding, twisting
kóréní, paper money
kórín (orín), to sing songs
kówé, to write
kówé, to study
kù, to remain, be over, be short
kú, to die; to be greeted
kùmò, cudgel, club
kùn, to apply paint or powder
kún, to be full
 kún fún, to be full of
kúrò, to leave, come away from
kúrú, to be short
kukúrú, short

lá . . . yé, to explain to
lá, to dream
lágbará, to be strong
lái láí, ever, long ago
lái lá (álá), to have a dream
láná, yesterday

VOCABULARY

láárín, among, in the middle of
lásán, mere, worthless, bare
láti, from, since; to, in order to
lè, to be able
le, to be hard
lé, to be on
 f'orí lé, to set off towards
lélè, on the ground
lérálerá, repeatedly
léhin, after, behind
lésékésé, immediately
létà, letter
léwá, to be beautiful
lò, to use, spend
lódé, outside
lódé òní, in the world of today
lóní, today
lójoojumó, daily
lókè, aloft
lóri, on
lósòsù, monthly
lówó, to be rich, have money
lò, to grind, iron clothes
lò, to go
l'óhún, next but one (in time), yonder
lópłípò, very much
lóra, to be slow
lósòsè, weekly
lóṣo (aṣo), to iron clothes
lù, to beat, strike
 lùlù (lùlù), to beat drums
mállí, méyé, mile
májéié, poison

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málúú, ox
másé, do not (imper.)
míbè, exists
méjí, two
mélo, how many?
mélokán, a few
méfá, six
mérin, four
métá, three
méwá, ten
mí, to swallow
míràn, míi, another
móoru, to be hot (weather)
mò, to know
mò, to build, mould; to be limited
mó, to be clean, bright; any more; onto, against
molémolé, builder
mónamóná, lightning
mósálási, mosque
mówé, to be educated
mú, to drink, smoke
mú, to be sharp; to grasp, cause
 mú . . . wá, to bring
 mú . . . nínu dùn, to cause to be happy

ná, first of all, for a moment
náá, the (referred to)
ni, it is, it was; to possess
'ni, ni, person, one
ní, to have; to say; in, at
nibè, there
níbí, here
nígbágbo, always
nígbánáá, then
nígbátí, when

níhín, here
 níkan, níkanṣoṣo, alone
 niláári, to have value, worth
 niláti, to have to, must
 nilé, at home
 níniú, inside, among, of
 nípa, about, through
 nípon, to be thick, weighty
 nítóripé, nítórití, because
 nísisiyí, nísenyi, now
 nírun, to be hairy
 nítóótó (ní t'óótó), in truth
 njé, indicates doubtful question
 nkán, nkán, something
 nkankán, nkankán, anything
 nkó, what about?
 nílá, big
 nsó, indicates beginning or continuation of action
 nù, to wipe; to be lost

óbí, parent
 obí, cola-nut
 obínrin, female, woman
 òde, outside, down town
 òde aiyé, the world
 òde isisiyí, the present day
 òde óní, the present day
 odi, town wall
 ódindi, ódidi, complete, whole
 ófin, law
 ógiri, wall
 ogun, war
 ogún, 20; inheritance

YORUBA

òogùn, medicine (often magical)
 ògbólógbó, dyed-in-the-wool
 ohun, thing
 ohùn, voice
 òjò, rain
 ojú, eye, face (see ch. 38)
 ojú ònà, road-way
 ojú tì mí, I am ashamed, shy
 ojúlùmò, acquaintance
 òkè, hill, mountain; up
 òkéerè, distant point
 òkikí, fame, reputation
 oko, farm, farm-plot
 òku, dead person
 òkúta, stone; cwt
 olè, thief
 ológbó, cat
 olóríburúkú, ill-starred person
 olóòrò, upright, vertical
 olóyé, intelligent person
 olóyé, titled person
 olukúlukú, omíkálukú, each
 olúrànlówó, helper
 olúwaré, the person in question
 omí, water
 òmìngò, fool
 òní, today
 onibárà, customer
 onibón, gunman
 onijó, dancer
 onilé, householder
 onisé, workman
 onísowò, trader
 oníyebíye, valuable

VOCABULARY

òpó, post
 opó, widow
 òpópó, street, road
 òpuró, liar
 oore, good turn
 ori, head, top; on
 orin, song
 orísi, sort, variety
 orogún, co-wife
 òrombó, orange
 orúkó, name
 òórùn, smell
 oorún, sleep
 oòrùn, sun
 òsi, left (hand)
 osùn, camwood
 òsi, destitution
 òsisé, worker
 osù, month
 òtífó, òótó, truth
 òtòsí (ta), destitute person
 òun, he/she/him/her/it (emphatic)
 otútù, cold
 oúnje, food
 owó, money
 òwò, trade
 òwuró, òórò, morning
 òyinbó, òyibó, European
 obè, stew, soup
 òbè, knife
 òbo, monkey
 òdà, paint, tar
 òdáràn, offender
 òde, hunter
 òdó, young person
 òdómòbínrin, young woman

òdómokùnrin, young man
 òdò, person's presence
 òdún, year, festival
 òfà, arrow
 òfé, gratis, free
 òfó, loss by death
 òfò, incantation
 ògá, master, sir
 ògédé, banana
 ògódò, swamp, marsh
 ogbà, garden, enclosure; fence
 ogbà òlópá, police-station
 ogbón, wisdom, plan, trick
 ojà, market
 ojó, ijó, day
 òkán, heart
 fi òkán tán, to trust
 òkan, one
 òkánkán, òkán, exact spot; distant spot
 òko, husband
 òkó, hoe
 òkò, canoe, conveyance
 òkó, spear
 òkùnrin, male, man
 òla, tomorrow
 òlá, honour
 òlajú, civilised person
 òlé, lazy, lackadaisical person
 òlidé, holiday
 òlódà (òdà), painted, tarred
 òlópá, policeman
 Olórún, God
 òlóṣà, burglars, bandit
 òmø, child; girl

ọmọdé, young child
 ọmolanke, truck, trolley
 ọmoléhin, follower
 ọmoluwábí, refined person
 ọmọwé, educated person
 ọna, road, way
 ọna, adornment,
 decoration
 ọní, crocodile
 ọpá, stick, wand, rod
 ọpé, palm-tree
 ọpeyinbó, pineapple
 ọpé, thanks
 ọpólópó, many, much
 ọràn, matter, affair, case
 ọraniyàn, necessity
 ọrò, words, matter,
 discussion
 ọrò, wealth
 ọrùn, neck
 ọrun, sky, other world
 ọsán, daytime; afternoon
 ọsàn, citrus fruit, orange
 ọsè, week
 ọsé, soap
 ọsó, finery
 ọtí, spirits, strong drink
 ọtún, right (hand)
 ọtúnlá, day after tomorrow
 ọwé, communal help
 ọwó, hand

 pa, to kill (see ch. 25)
 pa igi, to cut wood for
 roofs
 padà, to return
 pádé, to meet
 págá, good heavens!
 pákí, cassava

YORUBA

páló, to ask riddles
 pamó, to keep safe
 fi . . . pamó, to keep safe
 paná (iná), to put out
 light/fire
 páná, corrugated iron, pan
 panumó, to keep quiet
 pa . . . l'énú mó, to shut
 someone up
 pàápàá, even, especially
 paré, to disappear, be
 destroyed
 parí, to complete
 pariwo, to make a noise
 pásé, to give an order
 pátápátá, completely
 pé, to call
 pé, to say; that
 —, to be complete,
 profitable
 peleke, to increase
 péré, only (with numbers)
 pèsé, to prepare, provide
 pésé (esé), to be present
 pé, to be long, late
 pépé, trifling
 pérepé, in shreds
 pin, to divide up, share
 pinin, glossy
 pinnu, to decide
 pipé, long, late
 pitán, to tell stories
 pòwe, to quote proverbs
 pò, to be much, cheap
 —, to be in a group
 pójù, to be too much, to be
 very common
 poqku, small sum
 pón, to brew, to draw water

VOCABULARY

pónún, £1
 pupa, to be red, fair; red,
 fair
 púpó, much

 rà, to buy
 ràn . . . l'ówó, to help
 rán, to send
 rán . . . n'isé, to send on a
 message
 ránsé, to send a message
 fi . . . ránisé, to send a
 thing
 rán, to sew
 rán . . . l'étí, to remind
 rántí, to remember
 rárá, at all
 rè, to go
 réderéde, untidy, unruly
 rere, good, kind, well
 retí, to expect, await
 rè, to tire
 ó rè mí, I am tired
 répété, on a big scale
 rérin, to laugh
 rí, formerly
 —, is, was
 —, to see, find
 ribiribi, important,
 substantial
 rin, to walk, travel
 rírà, buying
 rírá, to have sight, to see
 rò, to think, relate, reckon
 rò . . . mó, to add to (in
 reckoning)
 ro, to till
 ro, to pain

 sà, to apply medicines etc.
 sá, to air, dry in the sun
 sá, to run off, escape
 sá fún, to avoid
 sáàbá, usually
 sáló, to run away
 sán, to be well
 san, to pay
 sanra, to be fat, stout
 sanwó (owó), to pay money
 sápamó, to run and hide
 sáré (eré), to run
 Sátidé, Saturday
 sè, to cook, stew
 séhín, in the past, behind
 sì, and (joining clauses)
 si, to
 sí i, to it, more
 sibé, to that place; yet
 sibésibé, yet, nevertheless
 sibí, to this place, here
 sigá, cigarette

sīhīn, to this place, here
 sīlē, homewards
 sīlē, down; ready
 sīlīkī, silk
 simi, sinmi, to rest
 sin, to accompany, escort
 sin, to bury
 sinú, into
 sīsī, 6d
 sīwájú, forwards
 so, to tie
 —, to stand out (scar)
 sódē, outside
 sókè, up, upwards
 sórī, onto
 sòkalè, to dismount, get down, get off
 sò . . . kalè, to put load down
 sò, to throw
 ariwo' sò, a noise broke out
 sò sí . . . l'ókàn, to come into one's mind
 sò . . . nù, to throw away
 sònù, to be lost
 sò, to say
 sòrò, to speak
 sù, to bore, weary
 sunkún, sòkún, to weep
 sùn, to sleep
 sùn sìlē, to lie down
 sùn lò, to fall off to sleep
 sàl, just, only
 sàl, to fail to
 saájú, to precede
 sàisàn, to be ill
 sè, to do, to be
 o/è sè é, thank you

YORUBA

sè, asks confident question
 sègbé, to perish
 sè, to offend
 sèlè, to happen
 sénjí, change (money)
 sibí, spoon
 siré, séré, to play
 sîsé, to work
 sì, to make a mistake
 sì, to open, to move away from
 sìwó (owó), to stop work
 sòkótò, trousers
 sòro, to be hard, difficult
 sòsò, only one
 sò, to watch, take guard
 sòòbù, shop
 sòra (ara), to be careful
 sú, to get dark
 subú, to fall
 súgà, sugar
 sùgbón, but

tà, to sell
 ta, to shoot, shoot out, sting
 takú, to persist in refusal
 tálákà, poor person
 tàn . . . jé, to deceive
 tán, to end, finish; completely
 tán (f'òkàn tán), to trust
 tani, tal', who?
 tankálè, to spread
 tanná (iná), to light a lamp
 tàrà, straight
 tawétawé, bookseller
 téle, previously, already
 tésán, station

VOCABULARY

tè, to press on
 tè wáyà, to send a wire
 té, to spread out
 —, to be disgraced
 téjú, to be flat
 télé, to follow
 tenumó, to emphasise
 téré, thin, slender
 ti, to push
 —, to fail, not to be so
 —, to be close up against
 ti, property of, matter of
 —, to come from
 —, already, now
 (pr preceding verbs)
 tí, that, which (relative), yet
 tijú, to be shy, ashamed
 tikálára, self
 timótímó, close
 timútímú, cushion, pillow
 tinútímú, sincerely
 tití, continually, until
 tití, street
 tò, to arrange
 tò, to be enough, to reach standard of
 tóbí, to be big
 tò, to follow (road)
 tò . . . wá, to approach
 tójú, to look after, put by
 tokötaya, husband and wife
 t'oré (ta), to make a gift
 tòrò, to ask for
 tòrò, 3d
 tú, to pour out, undo, release
 túká, to scatter
 túláási, force, necessity

wà, to be
 —, to drive vehicle
 —, to dig up
 wá, to come
 —, to look for, want
 —, to prepare food
 wádí, to make enquiries
 wákáti, hour
 wárà, milk
 wáyà, wire
 wáyi, as things are
 wé, to twist round
 wéré, quickly
 wi, to say
 wipé, to say that; that
 wò, to look at
 wò . . . sán, to cure
 wò, which?
 wó, to collapse
 wòran, to look at a spectacle
 wòye, to realise
 wò, to enter, put on
 wò sí, to put up at
 wó, to be crooked
 —, to crawl, to drag
 wólé, to enter
 wóléwòde, to go in and out = to help in the house
 wón, to be dear, scarce
 wónú (wò inú), to go in
 wonyí, these

wònyen, those	yàtò, to be different
wópô, to be common	yé, to be clear to
wôra (wô ara), deeply (enter body)	—, to cease
wôru, in floods	yege, to pass a test, be successful
wù, to attract, please	yé, to be right, proper, fitting
wulò, to be useful	yè . . . wò, to examine (physically)
wúrà, gold	yén, that
yà, to turn aside	yéra, to avoid
—, to become	yí, to be tough
—, to open	yí, this
ó yà mí l'énú, it surprised me	yí . . . ká, to surround, go round
ágò'yà, entrance is open	yìnbon (ibon), to shoot a gun
ya, to flood in	yø, to come out
yá, to lend, borrow	yø . . . kúrò nínú, to subtract from
—, to be quick, ready	yø . . . l'énú, to annoy, worry
yàà, copiously	
yàn, to choose, set, appoint	
yára (yá ara), to be quick; quickly	

22 TEACH YOURSELF MALAY (CH.

Final "a," in the north of the Malay Peninsula, is shorter than the stressed open "a." It is pronounced like the last syllable of "Eva" or of "beaver," e.g.

kita (*we*) rhymes with "Rita".

In the south it is a sound made with more rounded lips, coming somewhere between the "ur" of English "curve," and the "eu" of French "feu."

In a closed syllable "a" is shortened. (But see par. 16c). Before a final "ng", it is almost like the "u" in English "cut," e.g.

lang (*eagle*) is nearer to English "lung" than to "lang".

Before any consonant which closes a stressed final syllable, the "a" tends towards this short "u" sound, e.g.

the second syllable of *pahám* (*understand*) is nearer to "hum" than to "ham" (see par. 15b for stress), the second syllable of *tahán* (*restrain*) is nearer to "hun" than to "han", the second syllable of *tébál* (*thick*) rhymes with "lull" rather than with "pal", and the second syllable of *sékám* (*rice-chaff*) rhymes with "rum", rather than with "ram".

When the closed syllable is not stressed the "a" has not this short "u" sound, e.g.

in *lalat* (*a fly*) the two vowels are almost the same and the stress is usually even.

WARNING: The "a" of a final closed syllable never becomes the indeterminate sound that is heard in the unaccented last syllable of the English words "capstan" and "floral".

PRONUNCIATION

I.) Par. 5. The Malay vowel "e".

(a) The Indeterminate "ě".

The symbol ě represents the indeterminate sound which fills a very slight pause between two consonants. It is like the "e" in "broken" or the "a" in "around", e.g.

bětúl (*correct*) *těbál* (*thick*).

A note on Stress.

Most Malay words are two-syllabled words, and if there is any stress at all it falls on the first of the two syllables, if that syllable ends in a vowel other than "ě", e.g.

pátaḥ (*snapped*) : *lálat* (*a fly*).

In disyllables such as *bětúl* and *těbál*, where the first syllable ends in "ě", the stress, if there is any, falls on the second syllable.

When the first syllable is closed the stress is always even, e.g.

bimbang (*anxious*) ; *rantai* (*chain*).

In a word of more than two syllables, if the penultimate (i.e. last but one) syllable ends in "ě" the stress goes back to the antepenultimate (i.e. last but two), e.g.

jěntěra (*wheel—of a machine*).

Otherwise, the stress on a three-syllabled word is on the penultimate, e.g.

binátang (*animal*); *jěndéla* (*window*); *mahkámah* (*court of justice*).

Stress marks are inserted in this chapter only. Remember that the stress is very light. It is never wrong to pronounce a two-syllabled word with