

Adébáyò Fálétí's Films as a Veritable Source of Metalanguage

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Abstract

In classical sociolinguistic literature, 'metalanguage' refers to the language used to describe, analyse, define or interpret concepts in one language or another as comprehensively as possible. The concept has enjoyed tremendous scholarly attention, especially deliberately planned ones. However, spontaneous, unplanned metalanguage has not received much attention in sociolinguistics. This paper, therefore, examined metalanguage as manifested in a Yorùbá film titled *Şawo-şẹgbẹ̀rì* in order to identify the different devices used in creating new lexical items. The socio-linguistic theory of language planning was adopted as the theoretical framework. Data were extracted from the film titled *Şawo-şẹgbẹ̀rì* ('the charlatan') written by Adébáyò Fálétí, a reknown Yorùbá artist. Seventy-one (76) vocabulary items were purposively selected for analysis. Two domains in the film were considered. These are the hospital domain and the courtroom. In the hospital scene, lexical items like Ògún Òru /Wárápá (Epilepsy of the night/Epilepsy of the day), Jàkùtẹ̀ (Elephantiasis), Ibàa Jẹfun-jẹdò (Typhoid), Ìpàkẹ̀ (hernia), Arẹmọ̀ (pain reliever), Aporó (Anaesthetics), Akunnilórun (Sedatives), etc. featured prominently. In the courtroom, expressions such as ó tó (order), Olóòtótó (exhibit), Agbẹ̀fọ̀ba (King's witness, i.e. Government lawyer), Ìgbéyàwó Fídíhẹ̀ (Interim wedding), Èkò (Objection), Ègbà (Acceptance), Fagilé (Over-rule), Lóyà (Lawyer), Afidáfíítì (Affidavit) and so on featured prominently. Of these seventy-six (76) vocabulary items selected for analysis, only sixteen (16), which constituted 21% were borrowed, while sixty, which constituted 79% were coined through composition, explication, semantic extension, and idiomatisation. Every language is elastic, that is, expandable and any real or imaginary object/concept can be expressed in any language.

Keywords: Metalanguage, Yorùbá films, 'Şawo-Şẹgbẹ̀rì, Language planning, Adébáyò Fálétí

Introduction

Every field of specialization, including the arts, has its own technical terms or jargons by means of which it is understood. The whole range of technical vocabulary in any field, especially, those that are relatively new to any society is referred to as 'metalanguage' (Crystal, 1987). In classical sociolinguistic literature, 'metalanguage', that is, the language used to describe, analyse or define a language is a comprehensive phenomenon which takes its time to build up with or without planning. In Nigeria, metalanguage is the name given to a definite project which was fully sponsored by the former Nigerian Educational Research Council (NERC) and jointly organized by the respective language associations of the three major languages between 1981 and 1983. The thrust of the project was 'finding' Nigerian language equivalents for key concepts in some 8,000 words in language, linguistics, oral and written literature and education (see Bámbóşẹ, 1992 a & b; Awóbùlúyì, 1990 & 1992), NERDC (1991), Owólabí (2004), among others. The preamble above captures the state of language in its natural form – it is restricted and rudimentary. However, when speakers take up the challenge of developing the language by expanding the frontiers of its vocabulary, they become resourceful.

Bámbóşẹ (1992b: 12) posed a challenge to scholars as follows:

There is need for an adequate framework for classifying vocabulary coinage in Yorùbá as a step towards a comprehensive study of corpus planning in the different domains.

Bámbóşẹ's opinion above is apposite. This is because if there is no appropriate framework, the Yorùbá language will remain a restricted language only used in the lower spheres of life without being able to operate in the advanced sectors of life.

In 2004, Owólabí responded to this challenge by identifying the different devices involved in the Quadrilingual Glossary of Legislative Terms, henceforth QGLT in English, Hausa, Igbo and Yorùbá. The QGLT is the second aspect of the metalanguage project in Nigeria. It was commissioned in 1980 by the defunct National Assembly. According to the secretary then, the history of the QGLT could be traced to Section 51, part I of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as well as Section 53 of the Constitution, that is, Decree No. 12 of 1989 which stipulates that:

The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English and in Hausa, Igbo and Yorùbá when adequate arrangements have been made thereof.

The actual production of the work was shouldered by the associations of the three major languages, namely, The Hausa Language Association (HSA), The Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) and the Yorùbá Studies Association

of Nigeria (YSAN). These Associations had developed the first part of the metalanguage project for their respective languages as mentioned above. The QGLT itself consists of legislative terms as well as related useful vocabularies. It has 18,000 English entries which have their equivalents in the three major Nigerian languages. The vocabulary items in the volume have contributed tremendously, not only in simplifying communication among the users, they have also alleviated the burden of using a foreign language when Yorùbá equivalents could be coined. They have equally enriched our national heritage. The QGLT remains the most relevant and highly comprehensive assemblage of terms for the purpose of discussing various issues (politics, education, revenue collection and allocation, industrial, commercial or agricultural development, sports, information, etc.) that fall within the domain of legislation.

The creation of technical terms in indigenous languages has to be guided by certain principles. These principles were captured in the foreword (P. v.) to the QGLT thus:

The various contributors have used several techniques in producing this work. These techniques include coinage, semantically or otherwise motivated: affixes; composition, in accordance with the morphology of each of the three languages; description of the reference as it can be visualised or imagined by the speakers of these languages; translations; extension of the meanings; borrowing of the reference; adaptation of the reference to fit into the phonology and morphology of the languages.

Owólabí (2004) classifies the techniques as summarised above into five: composition, explication, semantic extension, idiomaticisation and loanwords. We shall discuss these devices shortly. The QGLT as well as its predecessor referred to above are instances of planned metalanguage sponsored by the government. However, as hinted above, metalanguage could evolve without deliberate planning. Two observed domains are news reporting and films. This particular paper focuses on the latter – films.

Statement of Problem

When languages are abandoned by the speakers and there is a shift to a more ‘prestigious’ (so-called) one; the reason often given by the elites is usually the problem of metalanguage, especially for new words. However, this excuse is not acceptable because language is very elastic and expandable. The so-called developed languages have also passed through their own stages of development and they are still developing. The solution to this problem is for linguists and other stakeholders in the society to rise up to the challenge and develop their language so that such language will be useful in the advanced domains – education, science, technology, judiciary, governance, and so on. Yorùbá writers, such as Adébáyò Fálétí, Akínwùmí Ìshòlá and others have been demonstrating this in their works. This particular paper is based on Adébáyò Fálétí’s film – ‘Sawo-Sègbèrì’ (the charlatan), in which the playwright demonstrated that it is possible to use the Yorùbá language in the medical parlance and the judicial sector without solely relying on the English language, which itself has borrowed extensively from Latin and other languages. This is the

focus of this paper. The film was carefully watched by the researcher and the vocabulary items transcribed as reflected on the screen in the subtitle. The spoken words and the subtitles in English constitute the data-base for the study.

Theoretical Framework

Two theories of language policy and planning were propounded between the 1960s and 1970s. These are the Instrumental Theory and the Socio-Linguistic Theory. Tauli (1968) cited in Adénír an (2005) is probably the best-known advocate of the Instrumental Theory. This theory sees language fundamentally as a tool. Just as work is easier for mechanics when mechanical tools are standardized; communication would be easier if languages were standardised. The only criteria to be used in the standardization of mechanical tools are concerned with making them more suitable to the task for which they are meant. The same principle applies to language standardization. Some languages are better than others in their balance of beauty, clarity, elasticity and economy. Such languages ought to be chosen over the less adequate languages where possible. When this is not possible, language planning should be used to improve the quality of the inadequate languages. The instrumental approach characteristically considers some languages inherently better than others. This idea of deliberately promoting some languages at the expense of others, according to Olúwadorò (2017) is tantamount to linguistic imperialism

The Socio-Linguistic Theory, on the other hand sees every language as a resource that can be used to proffer solutions to social problems. In a reaction to the instrumentalist’s view, scholars like Ferguson (1968), Jernudd & Das Gupter (1971), Rubin & Jernudd (1971) came up with the Socio-Linguistic Theory. Scholars of this school of thought do not attempt to improve the aesthetic and functional qualities of language as instrumental tools; neither do they believe that some languages are better than others. Instead, they believe that attempts should be made to determine which of the available linguistic alternatives is more likely to improve a problematic situation; then regular steps must be taken to ensure that the best alternative succeeds. They are very sceptical about the instrumentalist idea that it is possible to determine what is most efficient in language in the absolute sense and plan for that. Two principles underlie the socio-linguistic theory of language planning. These are:

- (a) all known languages are symbolic and of equal native value.
- (b) language planning should deal not only with the technical aspects of language but also with its social aspects. The first principle holds that though some languages lack the metalanguage to talk about certain aspects of modern life in industrialised societies; that does not make them primitive. Also, vocabularies happen to be easily expandable. Since this theory does not promote any language above the other, we believe it is more suitable for the present study than the instrumentalist framework, so we adopt it as it encourages the so-called under-developed language to

expand and used in the advanced sectors of life referred to as secondary domains.

Şawo-şegbèri (The Charlatan): A Synopsis

This is a captivating story of a young man named Sùnmòlà (possibly, a Yorùbá derivative of the Arabic name : ‘Ishmael’, what Olúwadorò (2014) refers to as ‘nativisation of Arabic names’); Sùnmòlà was a competent medical doctor who was very popular in Bòmòdèókú. Through his expertise, over ten thousand lives had been saved, two thousand delicate surgeries had been successfully conducted without any casualty. The case of the Inspector of Police, Mr Adégbóyè’s son who had a life threatening hernia, was just one of the numerous cases that Sùnmòlà had dealt with through surgery. Things were rosy for Sùnmòlà to the point that the Medical Students Association in the University of Aládà-án gave him a public recognition by presenting a beautiful plaque to him in a well-attended public ceremony. Apart from this, he had to close down his private clinic when he was given a more profitable appointment by the government.

A big problem arose for this young man when he fell in love with a beautiful young nurse called Ìbí dún. It was then that the matron of the hospital – Benedicta Ojuolape Abiola, who was the self-acclaimed wife of Sùnmòlà – became very aggressive. She insulted, assaulted and disgraced Sùnmòlà publicly several times. She slapped him violently once. When this did not work, she implicated Ìbí dún and instigated her suspension from the hospital by conniving with Ládití, (Abíólá’s younger brother), to steal drugs in the hospital.

Having dealt with Ìbí dún, she reported Sùnmòlà to the Inspector of Police in Aládà-án, accusing him of practising medicine without a medical certificate (iwé èrí) and a practicing license (iwé àşé láti şişé işegùn). These two-count charges were the bone of contention in the court. As for the relationship between Nurse Abíólá and Sùnmòlà, it was during the court proceedings that the truth came out. Sùnmòlà had studied Medicine in Czechoslovakia. He found his way to London, where he was neither able to secure a job nor a residential permit. He was not given a job because, according to the appropriate authority there, he did not study medicine in the United Kingdom, so his certificate was not recognized. Meanwhile, Nurse Abíólá had already secured a job and a residential permit in London. So, Sùnmòlà quickly agreed to enter into what was variously referred to as ‘fake’, ‘interim’ or ‘fabricated’ marriage (igbéyàwó fidíh ètè tábí máj èngbásán-án) with her as a solution to his problem. In short, the two were involved in ‘cohabitation’.

However, things did not work out well between the two due to Abíólá’s promiscuity. She kept Sùnmòlà as a ceremonial husband while she was involved in serial sexual escapades with several men. Sùnmòlà’s attempt to resist this led to a violent combat between the two. Abíólá ejected Sùnmòlà from her apartment after burning his personal belongings, including his medical certificate. After this ugly incident, the two eventually found their ways to Nigeria, albeit separately. When Sùnmòlà eventually came to Nigeria, he established a private hospital where he quickly became very popular through several medical exploits, especially by

successfully carrying out delicate surgeries. Having established a reputation for himself, the Medical Director of Bòmòdèókú Government Hospital, Dr Ládípò, was encouraged by the government to woo Sùnmòlà, since many of the medical doctors working in the hospital had migrated abroad, seeking greener pastures. The summary was that Sùnmòlà closed down his private clinic after three years of effective medical practice. He became the Chief Consultant in Bòmòdèókú, where he flourished greatly. Meanwhile, before that time, Abíólá had become the Chief Matron of that hospital. She wanted her soured relationship with Sùnmòlà to be rectified and revitalised, but Sùnmòlà was not ready for this, so Abíólá resorted to blackmail.

Data Presentation

Two major domains were initiated in this particular film which gave rise to unplanned ‘metalanguage’. These are the hospital scene and the court scene. In these scenes, actors made use of Yorùbá medical jargons which exemplify the five devices of metalanguage mentioned above. Let us examine some of these vocabulary items briefly.

The Hospital Scene

The popular hospital called Bòmòdèókú is the center of attraction here. Staff of the hospital are the interlocutors – participants in conversation. As expected, registers associated with the medical profession were copiously used. These could be classified into three – (a) Registers associated with the staff; (b) Registers associated with medicine (drugs) and (c) Registers associated with diseases and their treatments.

1. Registers Associated with Staff (workers in the hospital scene that were mentioned)

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------|---|--|
| (i) | Oníşegùn | – | Physician |
| | (Medical Doctor) | | |
| (ii) | Oníşegùn Àgbà | – | Chief Physician (Chief Medical Director) |
| (iii) | Agbèşó Àgbà | – | Matron |
| (iv) | Agbèşó | – | Nurse |
| (v) | Dòkítà | – | Doctor |
| (vi) | Elégbògi | – | Pharmacist |
| (vii) | Alágbo | – | Pharmacist |
| (viii) | Nòşì àgbà | – | Matron |
| (ix) | Akoogùn | – | Medicine prescriber (i.e. doctor) |
| (x) | Baaşegùn | – | Chief Medical Director |
- These items came out as each staff was referred to, not by their personal names but by their official designations.

2. Registers Associated with Diseases

When Sùnmòlà was asked to mention some of the diseases he had cured, he mentioned the following: Wárápá is different from ògùn òru.

The word toxic above cannot be translated as oògùn olóró because it is not poison per se, it is just the side effect common with all drugs.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-------|
| (i) | Ibà | – | Fever |
|-----|-----|---|-------|

- (ii) Èfọrí – Headache
- (iii) Tuulu – Migraine
- (iv) Ìpákè – Hernia
- (v) Ògún Òru – Nuriturnal epilepsy
- (vi) Wárápá – Ordinary epilepsy
- (vii) Iba Jẹfun-jẹdò – Typhoid
- (viii) Lákùrègbé – Arthritis
- (ix) Àtòsí – Gonorrhoea
- (x) Àtògbẹ – Diabetes
- (xi) Jákùtè – Elephantiasis

C. Words Associated with Medication (Drugs)

When the matron was mentioning the names of the drugs in the clinic, she mentioned the following:

- (i) Àrẹmọ – Sedative
- (ii) Aporó – Antidote/Anaesthesia
- (iii) Atẹjẹşe – Blood tonic
- (iv) Abíwẹre – Pitocin
- (v) Gbólóbónişe – Multipurpose/Multivitamins/Antibiotics
- (vi) Májèlé – Poison

Composition/Compounding

According to Owólabí (2004), this device involves combining two or more Yorúbá items (e.g. morphemes, words, phrases, etc.), for the purpose of expressing various foreign concepts or describing various foreign objects/concepts based on the qualities or features such objects/concepts manifest

- (vii) Oro òògùn – Toxic
- d. **Miscellaneous**
Other vocabulary items that were used are associated with the health service activities. These are:
- i. Ìwòsàn – Healing/Cure
- ii. Işẹ abẹ – Surgery
- iii. Oyún şişẹ – Abortion
- iv. Gbólóbèbí – Midwifery
- v. Kíkunnílórun – To sedate
- vi. Pípa oró – Anaesthesia
- vii. Şişe işe abẹ – Surgery
- viii. Ègbẹjí – Hypocraditus
- ix. Àyèwò – Medical Examination
- x. Baàşègùn – Chief Medical Officer

The above vocabulary items are associated with the medical profession. All the devices identified by Owólabí (2004) are exemplified in the data. Let us discuss some of them.

Data Analysis (The Hospital Scene)

| English Term | Yorúbá Term | Meaning of Yorúbá |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Medical Doctor | 1. Onişègùn | Lit. One that practises herbal medicine |
| 2. Chief Medical Practitioner | 2. Onişègùn Àgbà | Lit. Head/Chief Doctor |
| 3. Pharmacist | 3. Elégbòogi | Lit. He that owns roots |
| 4. Typhoid | 4. Ibà jẹdòjẹdò/Iba jẹfun-jẹdò | Lit. Fever that eats liver |
| 5. Surgery | 5. Işẹ abẹ | Lit. Profession that uses knife/blade to cut. |
| 6. Pharmacist | 6. Apoògùn/Alágbo | Lit. He that mixes medicine |
| 7. Abortion | 7. Oyún şişẹ | Lit. Pregnancy termination |
| 8. Plaque of Honour | 8. Apata imoyi | Lit. Plaque of Honour/ appreciation |
| 9. Pitocin | 9. Abíwẹre | Lit. Gives birth easily. |
| 10. Doctor | 10. Akoògùn | Lit. The doctor that prescribes medicine. |

A look at the words above reveals that two or more items are combined together to express a single term . For example: onişègùn, derived from ‘oní’ (literally owner of) and işègùn (medicine) is derived through compounding or composition in which two individual words are joined together. Oyún şişẹ (abortion) is derived from oyún (pregnancy) and ‘şişẹ’ (termination). This is how composition works . More than two items can be joined together for the same purpose as in ibà jẹfun -jẹdò (typhoid) which is made up of ibà (fever) ‘jẹ ifun’ (literally ‘eat intestine’), ‘jẹ èdò (literally ‘eat liver’), etc.

Explication

This device involves providing explicit information about foreign concepts in Yorúbá (Owólabí, 2004). It could be in form of a phrase, clause or even a short sentence

| English Term | Yorúbá Term | Meaning of Yorúbá |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 11. | Performing surgery | 1. | Şiṣe iṣe abẹ | Lit. Doing surgery |
| 12. | Abortion | 2. | Şiṣe oyún | Lit. Doing abortion |
| 13. | Sedating | 3. | Kíkunnílórún | Lit. making one to sleep |
| 14. | Medical examination | 4. | Şiṣe àyẹwò ara | Lit. Doing examination of the body |
| 15. | Medical prescription | 5. | Kíkọ oògùn fúnni | Lit. Prescribing drugs for someone |
| 16. | Overule congestion | 6. | Fifa igi le | Lit. Cancel |
| 17. | Accept (objection) | 7. | Gba ẹkọ wọlé | Lit. Accept objection |

This device is resorted to when it is difficult to get a one-word equivalent of the source word. What is done is to attempt to explain the term/concept briefly.

Semantic Extension

This involves extending the meaning of a given word in Yorùbá for the purpose of expressing or describing foreign objects . That is, an existing Yorùbá term is selected and its meaning/application is expanded. Let us look at the following:

| | English Term | Yorùbá Term | Original Meaning | Extended Meaning as Yorùbá Term |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 18. | Medical Doctor | Oniṣẹgùn | Herbalist | Medical Doctor |
| 19. | Medicine | Ìṣẹgùn | Herbal practice | Medical practice |
| 20. | Chief Medical Director | Baàṣẹgùn | Chief Herbal practitioner | Experienced medical practitioner who mentors others |
| 21. | Pharmacy | Egbòogi/Oògùn | Herbs | Drugs |
| 22. | Pharmacist | Oloògùn/Elégbòogi/Alágbọ/Apoògùn | He that possesses charms | One who is knowledgeable in medicine composition and administration. |
| 23. | Surgical Blade/Knife | Abẹ | Ordinary blade/knife | Surgical knife/blades |
| 24. | Antidote | Èpa/Aporó | Herbal antidote | Anaesthetics |
| 25. | General practice | Oniṣẹgùn gbogboogbò | General herbal practice | General medical practice |
| 26. | Chemical | Kémíkà | Poison | Chemical |
| 27. | Toxic | Orí | Pain | Side effect |

Idiomatisation

This technique involves the use of existing Yorùbá idioms for the purposes of expressing or describing foreign concepts /objects. Look at the following:

| | Term | Yorùbá Term | Meaning of Yorùbá Term |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 28. | Invalid | Olókùnrùn/Abirudn | Anaemic |
| 29. | Genius/Initiate | Awo | Cultist/expert |
| 30. | Quack/Amateur | Ọgbẹri/Ègbẹri | Novice |
| 31. | Established | Fesẹwalẹ | Popular/Reputable |
| 32. | Unnamed baby girl | Aróbó | Suckling (baby girl) |
| 33. | Unnamed baby boy | Ìkókó | Suckling (baby boy) |
| 34. | Circumcision | Ikòlà | Circumcision |
| 35. | Suspension | Rọkú nílẹ | Go on suspension |
| 36. | Paediatrician | Agbọmọlà | Herbalist that takes care of children |
| 37. | Rumours | Àhesọ | Rumours |
| 38. | Sickness | Àrùn (òjòjò) | Sickness |

Note¹: Item 31 ‘Ròkú nilé’ meaning to ‘go on suspension’ is not dialectal. Even if it is dialectal, what is a language? A language, according to Owólabí (2004), “is a collection of dialects”. Terms are derived from all the different dialects of the language. According to Olúwadorò (2008), a language could be likened to a tree which has branches, the branches are the dialects.

Loanwords

This involves the adoption or borrowing of words or linguistic expressions from a foreign language (mostly English) for the purposes of expressing foreign concepts for which either there are no equivalent Yorùbá terms or the available Yorùbá terms are inappropriate. Such words are usually integrated or assimilated into the phonological/morphological structure of the Yorùbá language. Examples in the film are:

| | English Term | Yorùbá Term | Source |
|-----|----------------------|-------------|--------------|
| 34. | Doctor | Dókítà | English |
| 35. | Nurse | Nòṣì | English |
| 36. | Police Inspector | Ripéṣètò | English |
| 37. | Corporal | Kòbùrù | English |
| 38. | Hospital | Osibítù | English |
| 39. | University | Yunifásitì | English |
| 40. | Barka | Bárikà | Arabic |
| 41. | Telephone | Teṣlífóònù | English |
| 42. | Lákùlì (Exclamation) | Lákùlì | Arabic/Hausa |

Let us take the word ‘kòbùrù’ derived from ‘corporal’ for example. In Kòbùrù, two processes are involved. One /p/ in corporal has been changed to /b/. This is voicing. /P/, a voiceless bilabial plosive changes to /b/, a voiced bilabial plosive. The second process is vowel insertion at the word final position. /u/ has been inserted because Yorùbá language does not allow consonants to occur at the word final level. In other words, it is an open syllable language, unlike English language, which is a closed syllable language.

A careful look at the examples above reveals that the loanwords have been assimilated completely to the phonology and morphology of the Yorùbá language. Olúwadorò (2014) refers to such examples as nativised foreign words.

The Court Scene

We shall now proceed to the second scene, that is, the courtroom scene. Here, as expected, there is a preponderance of legal terms translated from English to Yorùbá. Let us examine some of them.

| (a) | English Term | Yorùbá Term | Technique Used |
|-----|----------------------|------------------|--|
| 1. | Judge | Adájó | Composition (ẹni tí ó ń dá ẹjọ) – He that disperses justice. |
| 2. | Lawyer | Amòfin | Composition (ẹni tí ó mọ òfin) – He that knows law. |
| 3. | Suspect | Afurasí/Òdaràn | Composition (ẹni tí ó dá ọràn) – he that committed a crime. |
| 4. | Criminal | Òdaràn | Composition |
| 5. | Exhibit | Olóòtò | Semantic extension |
| 6. | Witness | Ẹlẹrìí | Composition |
| 7. | Government lawyer | Lọ́yà ọba | Loanword/borrowing/composition |
| 8. | Office | Ọ́fisi | Loanword |
| 9. | One thousand pounds | Ẹgbẹ̀rùn-pón-ùn | Composition/Loan |
| 10. | Fine | Fáini | Loanword |
| 11. | Government lawyer | Agbẹ̀fọba | Semantic extension |
| (b) | Objection | Ẹ̀kọ | Idiomatisation |
| 12. | Acceptance | Ẹ̀gbà | Idiomatisation |
| 13. | Objection over-ruled | Fífagilé ẹ̀kọ | Idiomatisation |
| 14. | Objection accepted | Gbígba ẹ̀kọ wọle | Idiomatisation |
| 15. | My Lord | Olúwa à mi | Semantic extension |
| 16. | Employer | Agbanisíṣé | Composition |

¹ **Note:** The difference between wárápá and ògún òru is that the former can occur any time of the day; but the latter only occurs during the night and it is just like the former.

| | | | |
|-----|------------|---------|--------------------|
| 17. | Submission | Àwǵjǎre | Semantic extension |
| 18. | Rise | È díde | Explication |
| 19. | Sit | È jókòó | Explication |
| 20. | Order | Ó tó | Explication |

18, 19 and 20 and are orders given by the court clerk to the people in the court.

Some words relating to ‘marriage’ types were used to describe the kind of wedding that Sùnmólà and Abíólá contracted. Examples are

| (c) | English Term | Yorùbá Term | Technique Used |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| 21. | Interim wedding | Ìgbéyàwó fidíhẹ́ẹ́ | Idiomatisation |
| 22. | Fill-in-gap-wedding | Ìgbéyàwó májèngbasán-án | Explicate |
| 23. | Mock wedding | Ìgbéyàwó arúmojẹ | Idiomatisation |
| 24. | Fake marriage | Ìgbéyàwó ayédèrú | Idiomatisation |
| 25. | Favourite/Fresh (young & fresh) | Èlùbò ìfẹ́ẹ́fẹ́ (ààyò) | Idiomatisation |
| 26. | Stale (old and stale) | Èwú iyán/Iyán ikàsin | Idiomatisation |

25 and 26 above were used by Sùnmólà when he was comparing Ìbidùn with Abíólá in age and beauty.

Summary

Our data above have been divided into two broad groups on the basis of the contexts of usage. The two scenes identified are the hospital and judicial domains. Data gathered from the hospital scene consists of 50 expressions (words and phrases) derived through different techniques. Ten (10) were derived through composition, seven (7) were derived through explication; eleven (11) were derived through semantic extension; ten (10) were derived through idiomatisation; while only twelve (12) out of fifty were derived through borrowing . This means only 24% of the vocabulary items are derived through borrowing , the remaining 66% are Yorùbá expressions . Even alternative Yorùbá words were provided for the borrowed words . Examples, the term ‘Agbèsò’ was used for ‘nurse’ , the phrase ‘ìwé ìbúra’ was used for ‘Affidavit.’

In the court scene, our data comprises 26 vocabulary items, out of which only 4, which constitutes 15% are borrowed. The remaining 22, which constitutes 85% are coined. These twenty-two lexical items have been derived through different techniques. Eight (8) are derived through composition, Three (3) are derived through explication; nine (9) are derived through idiomatisation and three (3) are derived through semantic extension. Out of the four borrowed items here , two appear alone : ófiisì (office) and fàinì (fine). The remaining two are combined with Yorùbá words : lóyà oba (government lawyer) and egbèrùn pón -ùn (one thousand pounds). When we add the total number of expressions that occur in the two domains together , that gives us seventy -six (76) items, of which only sixteen (16) are borrowed . This constitutes 21%, leaving sixty (60) items of Yorùbá . This constitutes 79%, derived through composition, explication, semantic extension, and idiomatisation.

Conclusion

Obviously, the writer of the play on which the film ‘Sawo -şẹgbèrì (the charlatan) is based – Late Elder Adébáyò Fálétí , was passing

an important message across. This message goes to all and sundry – the Yorùbá community , and by implication, all the different communities in Nigeria that have English as their second language and have solely relied on it as the language of important domains of life – governance, administration and the judiciary, to the exclusion of their native languages. The crux of the message is the fact that language is elastic, easily expandable, to express any real or imagined concept. So, there is no excuse for linguistic imperialism; that is, the idea of promoting a foreign language (usually the language of the ex-colonialists) at the expense of our indigenous languages. In fact, scholars are of the opinion that the versatility that the English language enjoys today is as a result of the fact that over 65% of its vocabulary items have been derived from different sources – Greek, Latin, French and others . Even when we look at many of these words , their orthographies and pronunciations betray them easily , whereas, majority of words borrowed into Yorùbá have been cleverly nativized. Borrowing is a legitimate way of expanding the vocabulary of language. However, it should not be the first option. It should only be resorted to when the other four methods – composition, explication, semantic extension and idiomatisation have not yielded satisfactory terms

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