

AN EXPOSITORY ANALYSIS
OF ÒJAAMÈSÈ RELIGIOUS CHANTS
OF THE ÈKÌTÌ-YORÙBÁ.

A THESIS
IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
Ph.D. (YORÙBÁ).

DECEMBER, 1981.

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to:

- the late Mr. J. S. Albert,
Proprietor and Principal,
Edward Blyden Memorial Institute,
Lagos;
- my loving mother,
Madam Juliana Atinúkẹ Johnson;
- my affectionate husband,
Major-General Olufẹmi Olútóyẹ
- and our children:
Olúbùnmi, Olúfẹmi, Olúşẹgun, Olufúnkẹ,
Olúyíńká and Íbítóyẹ.

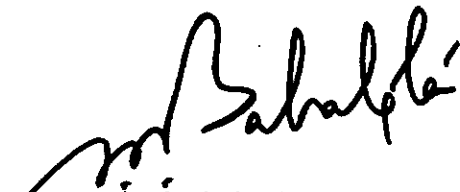
CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify as follows:

That this thesis is an original work
produced by the candidate under my supervision;

and

That in my opinion it is satisfactory
and ready for examination.



Professor Adéboye Babalola.

Date: 21-12-81.....

ABSTRACT

The study of ùjaamèsè chants is an attempt at opening up a new area of Yoruba research, viz. research into the genres of Yorùbá oral poetry of the Èkìtì-Yorùbá on which very little work has been done hitherto, whereas there have been postgraduate studies on Ìjálá, Ràrà, Ifá, and Sàngó-Pípè of the Òyọ-Yorùbá.

The study is in three Parts. Part One which consists of three chapters, gives a comprehensive background to the material. Chapter 1 presents the extent and climate of the area of study, its people, their occupations and the types of oral poetry performed and enjoyed by them. In Chapter 2, the religious background of the chants is described and the deity relevant to the chants, viz. Olúa, is briefly portrayed. There is an account of the worship of Olúa in Òtan-Ayégbajú, Igèdè-Èkìtì, Igbàrà-Odò; and Idó, Igbólé, Ilógbò, Òsì and Òṣì-Èkìtì. At the end of the Chapter, the establishment of a distinct position for Olúa in the hierarchy of Yorùbá deities and divinities, is essayed. Chapter 3 contains a description of the Èkìtì-Yorùbá dialect used in the chants.

In Part Two, also made up of three chapters, the subject matter of ùjaamèsè is copiously discussed. Chapter 4 deals with the religious content of the

chants — the invocation and supplication to Olúá. Chapter 5 treats the oríkì of selected clans, groups and individuals as they occur in the chants; while Chapter 6 is devoted to the didactic sayings in ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀.

The form of ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ is examined in detail in the first two chapters of Part Three. Chapter 7 deals with the inner form of the chants, while Chapter 8 concentrates on the outer form. Finally, Chapter 9 presents the conclusion to the thesis. Representative examples of the texts of the chants as transcribed from tape recordings made in Ìdó, Igbólé, Ilógbò, Ósì and Ùsì-Èkitì respectively are provided in Appendix A. The Yorùbá texts and their English renderings appear on opposite pages.

The Conclusion of the thesis, presented in Chapter 9, is that ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ is a magnificent body of Èkitì-Yorùbá oral poetry with a vigorous tradition and free from any threats of extinction in the foreseeable future.

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I greatly appreciate the support of those numerous chanters and informants who gave me long hours of their precious time during the very many research visits I paid to the area of study. To the Obas, chiefs and Olúa devotees who gave me audience, I am very grateful. Notable among these are Oba Ajímúdà III, the Olúṣì of Òṣì-Èkitì; Oba J. A. Aládésurú II, the Onígèdè of Igèdè-Èkitì; Oba Adéníran Olámòdi II, the Owá of Òtan-Ayégbaṣú. Also Chief Olátóyè Oníepé, the Ológèébà of Ilógbò-Èkitì, Chief Emmanuel Olátínrin, the Aláyè of Òsì, and 'Oyinbo Òrúnmílà', Chief Fílàní Omówayé, the Ológèébà of Òsì-Èkitì.

But for the timely intervention of Chief Olu Oriṣalade, former Councillor for Works in the Bró

Local Government of Ondo State, it would have been impossible for me to collect the material for this work. To him, I am also very grateful.

This inexhaustive list of benefactors includes my own husband, Major General Olúfẹmi Olútóyè (retired), whose support for me in my bid to achieve this ambition stems from his love for me. Both have continually been the fuel to my sporadically waning enthusiasm. His frequent reminders and gentle impetus have led me through the disappointments, discouragements and frustrations that accompanied the whole exercise.

Throughout the years of this work, my mother and my children have been simply wonderful in their cooperation. They have been loving, understanding and accommodating in spite of my inability to give them as much of my time as I ought to have given them. To them I am deeply grateful.

I am also indebted to the following people for typing during their own spare time, and without cost, parts of my final draft of this thesis: my friend, Mrs. O. A. Bórishádé, formerly of the Governor's office, Akúrẹ; my cousin-in-law, Miss Bólá Fámákinwa of the Ministry of Establishment, Akúrẹ; Mrs. Dúpẹ Oyědélé and Mrs. Bólá Fálebità, both of the College of Education, Ikẹrẹ-Ekiti.

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In spite of all the help I have received, I am afraid that this work may not be void of defects, but whatever the defects may be, the blame for them should be squarely placed on my shoulders.

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LEGENDVOWELS:

[i]	—	High tense front vowel.
[ɪ]	—	High lax front vowel.
[e]	—	Mid-high front vowel.
[ɛ]	—	Mid-low tense front vowel.
[u]	—	High tense back vowel.
[ʊ]	—	High lax back vowel.
[o]	—	Mid-high back vowel.
[ɔ]	—	Mid-low back vowel.
[a]	—	Low back vowel.
[~]	—	Nasality.

TONES:

/	—	High tone.
\	—	Low tone.
—	—	Mid tone (unmarked except on the syllabic nasal).

CONSONANTS:

[b]	—	Voiced bilabial stop.
[t]	—	Voiceless alveolar stop.
[d]	—	Voiced alveolar stop.
[k]	—	Voiceless velar stop.
[g]	—	Voiced velar stop.
[kp̣]	—	Voiceless labio-velar stop.
[gḅ]	—	Voiced labio-velar stop.
[w]	—	Voiced labio-velar approximant.
[ɣ]	—	Voiced velar fricative.
[m]	—	Bilabial nasal.
[ŋ]	—	Voiced labio-dental nasal.
[n]	—	Alveolar nasal.
[ŋ]	—	Velar nasal.
[f]	—	Voiceless labio-dental fricative.
[s]	—	Voiceless alveolar fricative.
[ʃ]	—	Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.
[j]	—	Voiceless palatal fricative.
[dẓ]	—	Voiced palato-alveolar affricative.

[h]	—	Voiceless glottal fricative.
[l]	—	Alveolar lateral.
[r]	—	Voiced alveolar flap [ɾ].
[R]	—	Voiced alveolar roll.
[ɾ]	—	Voiced alveolar retroflex.

PART ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE CHANTS

CHAPTER 1

1.0 THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE CHANTS

1.1.0 Geographical location and political position of the communities concerned

The Èkiti-Yorùbá are to be found in eight of the seventeen local government areas of Oṅḍó State, although there is an overflow into Kwara State. Èkiti ('mound, rugged land') fittingly describes 'a whole administrative division'¹ in a zone dissected by both headwaters of the right hand tributaries of the Niger and those of rivers flowing southward'.² In this hilly and rugged area, every settlement or farm carries with its name, the suffix Èkiti; thus we have Ídó-Èkiti, Ilógbò-Èkiti, Ikéré-Èkiti and so on. Èkiti land is bounded in the East by the Akókó area of Oṅḍó State, in the West by Òyó State, in the North by Kwara State and in the South by the Oṅḍó and Akúrẹ́ areas of Oṅḍó State.

The main communities concerned with the chants which form the subject of this thesis are in Ídó, Igbólé, Ilógbò, Òsì and Òṣì³, all in the old Ídó-Òsì

¹ The Term 'division' is no longer used by the Government. The State has been re-divided into Local Government areas.

² G. J. Afọlábí Òjó, Yorùbá Culture, (University of Ifẹ́ and University of London Press Ltd., 1966), p.208.

³ The towns are here named in alphabetical order.

1a

OṢDÓ STATE: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

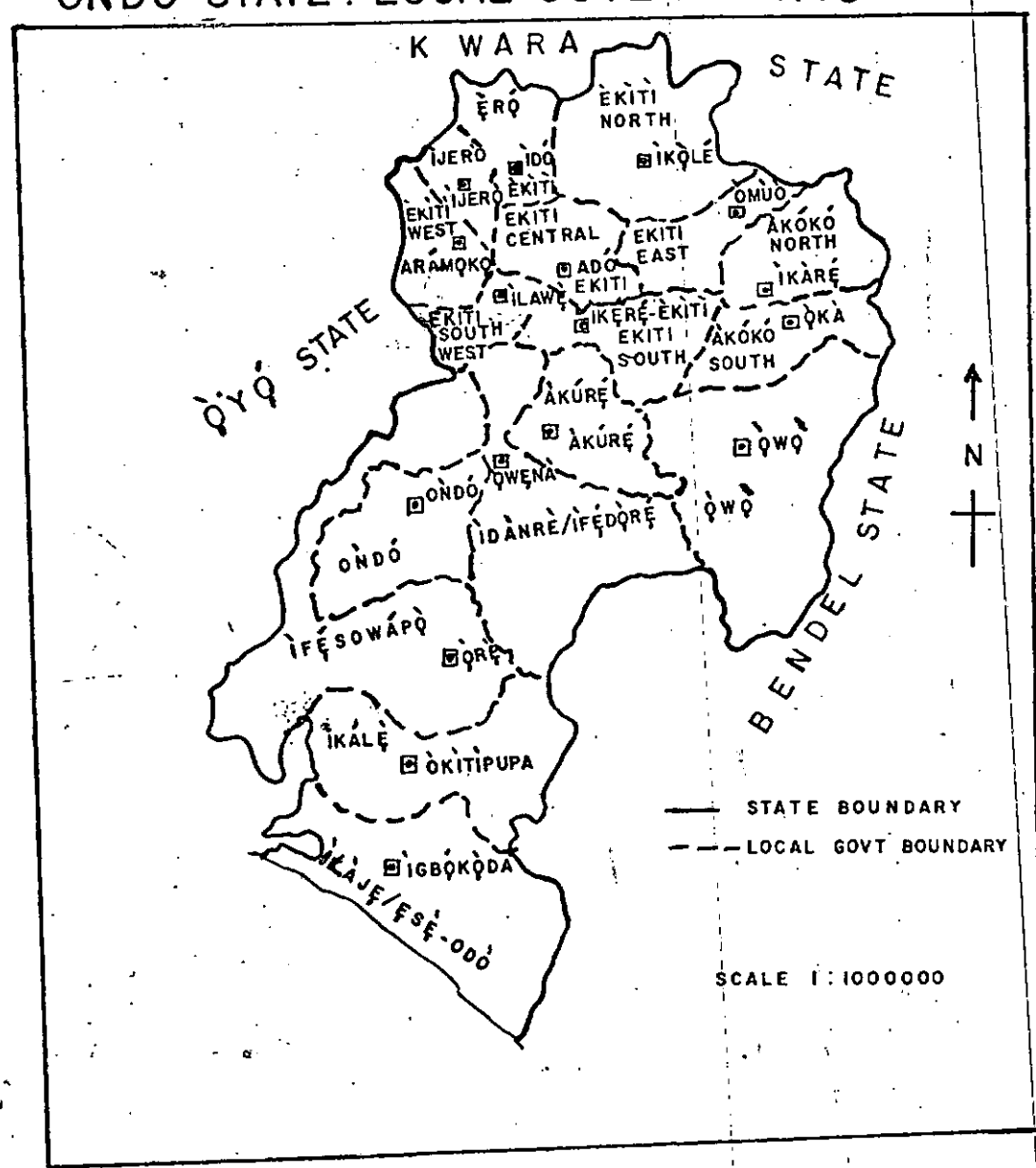


fig. 1

District⁴ Council area, which included Ifàkì, Ifiṣin, Òrà and Òrìn-Èkitì. In 1977, the area was merged with the old Òtùn District Council area, and the following settlements - Ayétòrò, Èwá, Èda, Iyè, Ìjèṣà-Iyè, Ìpòrò (now Ilúddùn) and Ìpéré in the former Ìjerò District Council area, to form the new Èrò Local Government Area. The local government is named after River Èrò which flows through the area, and the headquarters are at Idó-Èkitì, whose traditional ruler is the Olójuḍó, a crowned Òba.

The Èrò Local Government area has a population of 224,05 (1963 Census) while the five towns concerned with the chants share among them a population of 72,618. Abégúndé⁵ put the average population density for the whole of Èkitì at 157 persons per square mile, and that of Idó-Òsì area at 360 persons per square mile.⁶ The area concerned with the chants is therefore one of the most densely populated areas of Èkitì land⁷. In fact, Èrò Local Government with a population of 224,050 is the second largest local government area in Òḥdó State, the

⁴ This term has also become obsolete since the creation of Òḥdó State Local Government Councils in 1977.

⁵ Michael Adefemi A. Abégúndé, 'Population and the Production of Staple Food Crops in Idó-Òsì District of Èkitì Division', (B.A.(Honours) Geography Dissertation for the University of London, 1961).

⁶ cf. Daryll Forde, The Yorùbá Speaking Peoples of South Western Nigeria, (International African Institute, London, 1951), p.55.

⁷ By the 1963 Census, the population of Èkitì was put at 1,440,926, and that of Idó/Òsì at 93,705. By a projection of $\frac{3}{4}$ the population of all Èkitì in 1981 should be 2,453,081, and our area of study, 117,020.

2a

ÈRÓ LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF ONDÓ STATE SHOWING THE AREA OF STUDY

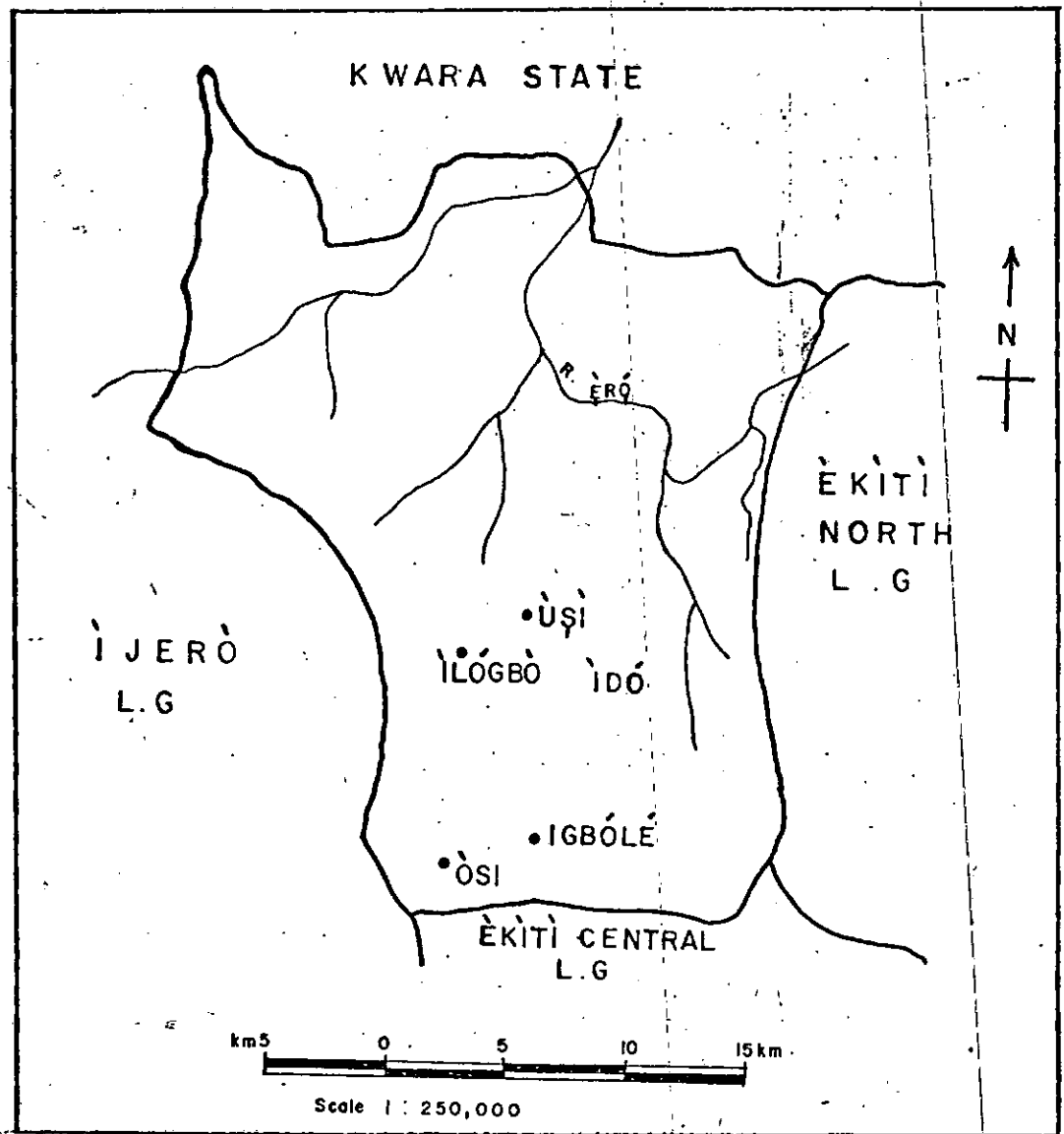


Fig. 2.

first being Adó local government area with a population of 242,080 (1963 Census).

A distinguishing feature of the area under study is that the settlements are located close to one another, the distance by road between any two settlements being less than 8 kilometres. This facilitates the participation of people from one settlement, in the religious and social festivals of the others. Those who cannot afford to travel by public transport, can take their time and walk the distance. It is noteworthy that the people of Idó, Ilógbò and Òsì claim that their ancestors have settled for many centuries in their present locations, which are less than 4 kilometres apart. Thus it is not surprising that they have political as well as deep socio-cultural interrelationships.

1.2.0 Vegetation and Rainfall:

The vegetation in Idó-Òsì area is one of 'an open landscape of medium-sized to low fallow shrubs and small wood lots and not the 'dry forest' which Buchanan attributes to all Èkìtì. In addition a confused pattern of farm strips with various sizes is superimposed on the landscape. These farm strips stand out as clearly demarcated entities when observed from an aerial photograph'.⁸

The first rain of the year is between the middle of March and the beginning of April, and the planting season

⁸ M. A. A. Abégúndé, 1961, op. cit., p.15.

is strictly determined by this. The period just before the rains is dry and marks the hottest time of the year. It is known as Ọgbelẹ - the dry season. The first Ọlúa festival is celebrated at this time and is called Orò Ọgbelẹ - the festival of the dry season. Rainfall is heaviest in June and July, and the yams are harvested shortly after this. No wonder the second Ọlúa festival in the year, held in August is sometimes described as Orò Ijesu - the festival of the eating of the yams.

1.3.0 Occupation:

It is estimated that about 85% of the male adults in the area relevant to this study take active part in the cultivation of food crops. As a result of the scarcity of arable land in the area particularly around Ilógbò, farmers have to walk several kilometres towards Ijerò to work on farms which they can only hire for a season. Male adults who are non-farmers are palm-wine tappers, herbalists, petty salesmen, and a few others are employed either by the community as Caretakers or Postal Agents, or by the local government in a variety of positions.

Most women are fully occupied with keeping the homes, or performing their traditional function of selling crops from their husbands' farms. A few of them now go out to other towns to buy and sell. As a rule, they only sell products from the farms, but some

now add imported goods as well.

The educated youths however live and work in urban centres far away from home, but find time to return home at festive seasons. This is confirmed by the number of youths around during religious or social festivals. Regular transportation to and from their places of abode is ensured by the convergence in Idó-Òsi area, of the two major roads transversing Èkitì. They are the Àkúrẹ̀ to Ilorin, and the Ilẹ̀ṣà to Kabba roads.

1.4.0 Various types of Chants traditionally chanted by the Èkitì-Yorùbá:

The Èkitì-Yorùbá are very rich in oral literature and, awaiting the research student, are still many chants as well as songs for which there are always ready chanters and singers. Some chants have widespread distribution in the eight local government areas, while others are localised. Some are used only for ritualistic or religious purposes, while others are used on social occasions and for private entertainments.

1.4.1 Àṣamò⁹: is the commonest type of chants among the Èkitì-Yorùbá. It is chanted in all parts of

⁹ Omótáyò Olútóyò, "An Introduction to Àṣamò, a type of oral poetry of the Èkitì-Yorùbá", Paper presented at the 12th West African Languages Congress, Ifẹ̀, 1976; and "Ètọ̀ àti Ètò Orin nínú Àṣamò", YORUBA GBODE, No. 5, August, 1980, pp.54-60.

Èkitì although in some parts other names¹⁰ are given to it. Àsamò chants, interspersed with songs, are mainly used at social gatherings but could be used at the conclusion of religious rites on ritual occasions.

Àsamò is sometimes chanted by groups of chanters and sometimes by an individual travelling alone, between one town and another, and more so when the journey is made at night. In the latter case, the chanting is done to suppress fear or to heighten the traveller's spirits. Workers of various types also find Àsamò a ready source of musical stimulus at their work.

1.4.2 Alámò: is another type of chants; though it is almost completely forgotten now in many parts of Èkitì. It was well-known in the days when the 'òwè' (communal labour) custom was prevalent and made it mandatory for a man not only to work on his farm, but also to help his father/fathers-in-law on theirs, in the company of his friends. So, Alámò was used specifically on nearby or distant farms by male relations or male age-groups working on a farm. As they worked, Alámò chants were used either as a means of communicating with individual workers on various parts of the farm, or as running commentaries on the speed of

¹⁰ In Igèdè-Èkitì, Àsamò is referred to as 'ore' (chants), or 'mímóre' (chanting), and in Gbónyìn area, the people tend to use Alámò and Àsamò synonymously.

the workers. The themes of Alámò are therefore more varied than those of Aṣamò. Now that 'àríró' and 'èbẹṣṣẹ'¹¹ are things of the past, only men and women aged at least forty-five years or so, could be expected to have a working knowledge of Alámò chants. Young men and women hardly have any idea of what Alámò sounds like. It is important to stress here a certain practice in some parts of Èkìtì where Aṣamò and Alámò have a common name, Alámò. In such parts, the people make a distinction for the one under discussion by calling it 'Alámò-oko', thus referring to its place of use - the farm.

1.4.3 Òdùdù: Also known as Eré Ejió, it is connected with the Ejió (Orò) Cult. Since membership of the cult is restricted to male adults, only men chant Òdùdù. The chants are used specifically at festival times and on very special social occasions, such as the funeral rites of a cult member.

1.4.4 Agbẹ Aláalúyí: This is performed by the Íjerò people. It is connected with the festival of a spirit known by the same name. The spirit is usually represented at festivals by a masquerade having on

¹¹ àríró (àáró); and èbẹṣṣẹ (òwẹ) are both cooperative activities of the Yorùbá. For further details, see G. J. Afolábí Òjò, Yorùbá Culture, (1966), op. cit., pp.60-61; and C. D. Forde, The Yorùbá Speaking Peoples of South Western Nigeria, (1951), op. cit., p.16.

his head a mask nearly-conical in shape, and perforated at the positions for the eyes, nostrils and mouth. His costume is made of several palm fronds and assorted clothing materials. According to the present writer's informant, this spirit, Agbè Aláalúyí, is believed to be in attendance during the Ògún festival, and so the chants are chanted then.

1.4.5 Olúgbè chants are chanted only by women in Ijerò Local Government area. The chants are chanted during the ceremonies preparatory to the Ògún festival day proper. The Ògún festival in Ijerò is one of the crowd-pulling festivals in Èkítì.

1.4.6 Ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ chants on which this study is focussed are connected with the Olúa festival in the Èrọ̀ Local Government area. The chants are chanted strictly around festival periods, for there is a convention that they must not be chanted merely for entertainment out of season. Ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ chants are identifiable by both the content and the mode of performance. The chanter presents his/her material in a peculiarly high-pitched voice, and the content has, as its core theme, the adoration of Olúa.

1.4.7 Various oríkì¹² of local deities, of clans,

¹² Oríkì is used here to refer to the type of poetic language used in giving a total description of a person, or deity. It covers a wider scope than attributes which may be subjectively given. See also Babalola, S. A., The Content and Form of Ìjálá, O.U.P., 1966, p.19.

of Ọbas and of hills form a large corpus of chants readily available from local chanters, Ọba's wives and worshippers of various deities in all parts of Èkitì. More research is required here to collect these chants on tape so that the wealth of wisdom in them may not be lost to succeeding generations of Yorùbá speaking people.

1.4.8 Songs: In Yorubaland, as there are festivals, so there are chants and songs which are featured during the festivals. Where chants are not in vogue, songs are. These enhance audience participation even on ritualistic occasions. Eré Awo, for example, is widespread in Èkitì, Orin Eléégè is popular in Ijerò, Orin Eégún Adó is characteristic of Ado-Èkitì, Orin Olóókè Odè is peculiar to Ódè-Èkitì, Orin Ọkọyà to Ikọlé and Orin Irómo to Igèdè, and so could many more be mentioned with reference to other parts of Èkitì.

When chants are rendered on social occasions they enliven the ceremonies and contribute to the cheer of celebrant and guests, there and then. When they accompany religious ceremonies, the main aims are, to praise the deity and welcome him to the year's festival; to express the particular wishes of the devotees; to relieve the characteristic solemnity of the ritual ceremonies and to encourage audience participation, thus providing a social dimension to

the ceremonies, for the uninitiated. Celebrations without chants and songs in Èkitì are considered by the indigenes to be dull and uninteresting. If ritualistic, such celebrations are usually dreaded and with a consequent paucity of spectators attending them.

1.5.0 Etymology of the term 'ÙJAAMÈSÈ', and its connotations:

Ùjaamèsè, the name by which the chants used in praise of Olúa are known in Idó-Òsi area of Èróró Local Government, requires some etymological clarification. More so because the Olúa cult members acknowledge different connotations for the same name.

Looking at the word ùjaamèsè, an expert on Yorùbá language, might on the surface break it into two morphemes 'ùja' meaning 'chanting', + imèsè, meaning probably something to do with sins; or 'ùjà' + 'imèsè', 'ùjà' meaning 'fight' and 'imèsè' meaning 'knowing about sins'. He might even break the word into more morphemes thus, 'ù + ja + i + mo + èsè' meaning 'the art of' + fighting + the art of + knowing + sins' such that the whole word might be interpreted to mean 'a contest on the knowledge of sins'. While the present writer was examining the term with elders of the Cult of Olúa, they tended to choose the second analysis with some amendment. Their explanation was that 'ùjà' meaning 'fight' and

'imèsè' meaning 'of unknown origin' combine to form tjàamèsè (note the low tone on the first two syllables). They said this was because when any two devotees of Olúa chanted tjàamèsè, they were likely to settle whatever quarrels might have occurred between them. A young devotee in support of this analysis draws an analogy between the settling of such quarrels, and the settling of quarrels between two men in a beer parlour. According to him, the two men in a beer parlour, on getting drunk would unravel to each other the grievances being nursed. In the end, the one apologises to the other, and the quarrel is settled. This sounds too good to be true, and is rather unrealistic. One would expect drunkards first of all either to exchange blows before settling their quarrel, or to settle it when they both become sober again, and not immediately. If this is so, then there is a difference between this situation and that of the 'tjàamèsè' chanters as the devotees do not talk of confrontations during festivals, or quarrels settled in or out of festival periods.

The elders all agreed that the root morpheme in the term 'tjàamèsè' has nothing to do with 'sins'. They explained that the root 'imèsè' means 'àrì' + 'mò' + 'ìsè', that is 'without + knowing + origin' (of unknown origin).

The first analysis is acceptable to other devotees as the appropriate meaning of ùjaamèsè and therefore, the name of the chants. They contend that 'ùja' means 'eré enu' that is 'chants', and 'imèsè' also means 'àrì + mò + isè' (of unknown origin). Therefore 'ùja' + 'imèsè' combine to form 'ùjaamèsè' (note the mid-tone on the second syllable only,) 'the chants (of the deity) of unknown origin'.

A further etymological explanation is still possible with 'ùja' + 'imèsè', because devotees of Olúa including members of the cult are described by other members of the communities as 'Onimèsè' (people concerned with Imèsè); or Omo Imèsè (devotees of Imèsè), and these names are not only acceptable to the devotees but also used by them. Therefore 'ùja + imèsè' could also mean 'the chants used by the Imèsè, 'imèsè' being an abridged form of 'Omo Imèsè'.

The present writer would like to accept as the appropriate name for the chants, ÙJAAMÈSÈ, with the meaning, 'the chants (of the deity) of unknown origin'; or 'the chants of the devotees of the deity of unknown origin'. Ùjaamèsè refers to the chants rather than a fight or some aspects of the chant or the festival.

1.6.0 Ùjaamèsè Artists:

1.6.1 Qualifications: There is no sex or minimum age stipulation for those wishing to qualify as chanters of

ùjaamèsè. As soon as a person is old enough to understand and use the poetic language of the chants, and for as long as a man or woman may live, he or she may chant ùjaamèsè. Members of the cult are not agreed on which particular persons may chant ùjaamèsè, whether (i) male and female devotees only, or (ii) anyone. Attendances at festivals have shown however that chanters are devotees of Olúa, male and female. On no occasion did we find anyone below the age of puberty chanting ùjaamèsè during a festival. This is probably because, since the festivals are solemn occasions and Olúa is both respected and feared by all, children among the spectators at the festivals do not exceed their bounds. They join in the singing and dancing which feature in the spectators' precincts when Olúa is inside the ugbómọlẹ¹³.

1.6.2 Mode of Performance:

An tjaamèsè chanter usually chants alone, for as long as he can, and only when he makes a long pause does any chanter present take over. However, no matter how many chanters are gathered in one place, each of them is allowed time to perform. But, if a particular chanter is suspected to be intent on vividly monopolizing the show, one of the others

¹³ ugbómọlẹ = igbó imọlẹ, the walled grove where only the initiate may enter, and where all the rituals take place.

would interrupt him by chanting an utterance such as:

"Şe ibí la rì e jòkó sí dọla o,

'Modé 'Mẹşẹ ẹẹ ?"

(Is this where we shall sit till day break,
Young devotees ?)

This is recognised as a signal for the offending chanter to give someone else a chance to perform.

Since there are no songs which accompany ùjaamẹşẹ chanting, audience participation is only limited to acclamations by devotees and members of various clans, as references are made either to Ọlúa or to particular clans. These acclamations take the form of clapping or shouts of 'Káre' (Bravo) or 'Orí àba mi á gbè ọ' (my father's orí¹⁴ will bless you)."

At festival times, individual chanters are heard chanting along the road to the ugbómọlẹ as they are seen walking by double quick march to the grove. There is a very large open space for spectators in front of the ugbómọlẹ; here more chanting by women continues as Ọlúa dances. Male chanters chant walking in and out of the ugbómọlẹ.

¹⁴ 'orí' 'is believed to be the symbol of free choice' which everyone received from heaven. A man's destiny is believed to depend on whether he chose a good or a bad orí. (See Wande Abimbola, Ifá, An Exposition of Ifá Literary Corpus, (O.U.P., Ibadan, 1976), p.113.

Performances given along the roads in town are to the devotee a public demonstration of faith, and virtuosity is acclaimed by passers-by, either by calling a chanter by his special name 'Káre Agbéré-ulé' (Bravo, Agbéré-ulé); or 'Kóorò o Ùrù-ẹ̀kùn' (Happy festival, Ùrù-ẹ̀kùn)¹⁵, or by following him on his route.

At this juncture it is pertinent to explain the criteria used by fellow chanters and devotees in particular, and non-initiate listeners in general, over the years, in appraising chanters' performances, when two or more chanters are chanting successively on the same spot.

1.6.3 Traditional Criteria for the appraisal of Òjaamẹ̀ṣẹ̀ Performances:

A chanter performing alone, could be declared 'eloquent', the local term being 'ẹ̀ í sọ̀rọ̀n' [he speaks (chants) well]; or boring, the traditional expression being 'àyùnjà sáá ní i ẹ̀; ẹ̀ mọ̀rọ̀n síso', [he merely rambles, he does not know how to speak (chant)]. Performances are however best appraised where there are two or more chanters performing successively. The following criteria are used by seasoned listeners and elder devotees in selecting

¹⁵ Agbéré-ulé and Ùrù-ẹ̀kùn are well-known chanters in Òsì and Ilógbò respectively.

(not for any award), the best chanter in a group:-

- (a) ability to coin and use many oriki of Olúa;
- (b) ability to chant ten or more utterances before a long pause;
- (c) ability to perform for a long time, say thirty minutes, non-stop; and
- (d) ability to make original compositions relating to the history of the village or cult, or to a recent event in the people's experience.

a₁ For a chanter to be declared 'the best' in a group, he or she should not only be able to recite those oriki of Olúa well-known by all, but he must also be able to coin appropriate additional ones based on the appearance and the theatrical performances of Olúa, as well as the people's beliefs about him. These coined oriki get integrated into the chants and so the present writer feels that it is difficult at any one time, for a listener to know whether or not an oriki which is new to him is in fact, new.

b₁ Ability to chant ten or more utterances before taking a long pause earns prolonged applause from the audience. The present writer witnessed an occasion when a chanter chanted to the point of almost losing.

his breath, before he took a deep breath. On another occasion, a female chanter attempting to chant many utterances, faltered and rather than take a deep breath at that point, chanted utterances of warning to her tongue and voice. The utterances run thus:

"Oùn mò pòdì sí mi lẹrun,

Adiyẹ mò pòdì jẹkà.

Ìbèrèbèrèbère ẹrun adiyẹ mè í sé'gbado."

(O my voice ! Do not falter !

A hen does not err while eating corn.

A hen's beak as it picks fast, never
misses the corn.)

After those utterances she chanted for more than five minutes.

c₁ A chanter also gets a loud applause from the audience if he or she can go on for at least half-an-hour without repeating several of his utterances unnecessarily. He is further applauded if on being given a second turn at performance he presents another piece of ùjaamẹṣẹ recognisably distinct from the text of his previous chanting turn.

d₁ If a chanter is capable of composing utterances of ùjaamẹṣẹ either telling the history of a clan or reminding the audience or Olúa's devotees of a recent event, or sounding a note of warning on some misbehaviour he has noticed, he is greatly applauded,

not only for the correctness of his facts, but also for his ability to weave the story or warning into his utterances of well-known ùjaamèşè, without ruining the rhythm of the chants.

One should add here that apart from these criteria for appraising very good artists, individual members of various clans also applaud the chanter if he is able to chant several praises of the listener's clan in consecutive utterances.

The ùjaamèşè chanter is thus fully aware that he is not only obliged to praise Olúa but also expected to impress the audience. Therefore it is only natural that if he is applauded, that gingers him up to give better performances as far as he is able to go. However, from observations during the period of collecting materials for this study, in spite of this awareness, there are certain limitations which affect the performances of certain chanters.

1.6.4 Limitations to Chanters' performances:

These limitations are:

- (i) Voice quality,
- (ii) Time of Performance and
- (iii) Place of Performance.

1.6.4.1 Voice Quality: When Olúa is believed to have arrived on earth for the festival, the chanter begins

to chant ùjaamèşè hailing and welcoming the deity to the festival. Therefore ùjaamèşè is normally chanted on a high-pitched voice level; and so one who has a base voice is initially handicapped. This is one major difference between male and female performances. Women with soprano voices chant in a way more pleasing to the ear than others. Men and women who cannot project their voices to the required level for the utterances of ùjaamèşè, begin at their highest possible voice level, and after about ten to fifteen utterances, drop their voices. Although this does not affect the utterances in the chants, it does reduce the quality of performance, from the point of view of presentation.

1.6.4.2 Time of Performance: The ùjaamèşè chanter is at his best on the first night of a festival. In the evening, as soon as Olúa is declared present, all chanters begin to chant with the enthusiasm of one whose protector and benefactor has just arrived; and with the excitement of someone who has not had an opportunity of chanting for months. They chant the welcome address to the deity on the way to the ugbómólè. Each chanter is seen chanting away on his route, and as he gets close to the ugbómólè he reduces the speed of his double quick march until he comes to a halt, but continues to chant. As if effortlessly, he chants his utterances one after the other, very impressively. But on the second day of a festival,

the performance of an artist applauded on the first day might turn out to be unimpressive. This is because he would have chanted all night, and so by morning, he might be so tired that he would not be able to execute the usually long stretches of chant utterances which constitute the hallmark of a good chanter.

1.6.4.3 Place of Performance: When a chanter performs outside the ugbómọlẹ area, he is appreciated by a large crowd. The more inspired he is, the better his performance. As a devotee, the fact that he is also praising the god of his fathers gives him extra inspiration. At performance away from the ugbómọlẹ area however, the artist is relaxed and he is less inspired. He is almost invariably so restless because he is missing the activities at the ugbómọlẹ that he chants stammeringly or repeats himself ad nauseam.

1.7.0 An Ûjaamẹṣẹ Artist's Training:

Olúá devotees believe that the ùjaamẹṣẹ chanter is not trained, that in fact he does not require training. They claim that the chanter is born not made; he is inspired to chant and therefore anyone could be so inspired. Various visits at festivals have shown, however, that with practice one could informally be self-trained to the point that one is

able to chant some of the common utterances of the chants. Then, and as time goes on, the self-taught trainee can become a good ùjaamèsè chanter. Evidences therefore suggest that to become an ùjaamèsè chanter, a learner would need to pass through the following stages, even if secretly:-

- (a) Listening to well-known chanters;
- (b) Mimicking a good chanter silently;
- (c) Chanting to himself privately;
- and (d) Making a *début* at one of the festivals.

This informal training is further facilitated by the predominance of Olúa's praises, as well as clan praises in the chants. So, even if an ùjaamèsè chanter who is a beginner cannot, at first, include clan praises in his chants, he can gain applause with as many praises of Olúa as he can remember, supplemented by a few utterances of the praises of his own clan, correctly woven in. This feature of informal training leads one to conclude that every ùjaamèsè chanter remains a learner throughout his life. He continues to collect new utterances and coined oriki of Olúa and clan praises from other chanters, adding them to his own repertoire. His training is evidently a life-long process.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE CHANTS

Ọjaamẹṣe has been defined as chants used specifically during the Ọlúa festivals in some parts of the Ẹrọ Local Government area of Ọ̀nḍó State. It is therefore pertinent to expatiate on the being QLÚA, discussing his significance to the people in the societies concerned and thus, give an insight into the religious background of the chants. It is also necessary as a preliminary step, to examine the various meanings and uses of the name 'QLÚA'.

2.1.0 The various uses of the term 'QLÚA'

The word 'Qlúa'¹ is the Ekiti variant of the Standard Yorùbá (henceforth SY) word 'Olúwa'. Among the Yorùbá, the word 'Olúwa' is used in a number of different senses:

- (a) It is used in reference to the Supreme Deity, Ọlórún. This is evidenced by its

¹ The name Qlúa [ɔ̃lúā] exhibits three of the characteristics of Èkítì-Yorùbá dialect:- (i) the nine oral vowel system as opposed to the seven of SY, the two extra ones in the Èkítì vowel system being [ɪ], and [ʊ]; (ii) the absence of [w] in some words, and (iii) the vowel harmony system which rejects the use of SY [u] in the next syllable after [ɔ̃].

occurrence in many benedictory
greetings in Yorùbá:

"Olúwa k'ó dá ọmọ náà sí"

(may the Lord grant the baby/child long
life);

'Olúwa k'ó sè'yàwó lábiyám'

(may the Lord bless the bride with
children.)

- (b) An Ọyọ Yorùbá woman in traditional society refers to her husband as well as all respected members of his family², as 'Olúwaà mi'³ (my Lord), whilst an Èkitì-Yorùbá woman uses the same expression though in the Èkitì dialect of Yorùbá:

'Olúà mi' < 'Olúwà mi' (my Lord).

² These range from her parents-in-law and other relations older than her husband, to all children born before her marriage into the family.

³ Although R. C. Abraham accepts this in his Dictionary of Modern Yorùbá, (1958: 473), he suggests that the origin of 'Olúwa' is 'Olúu wa' (our Lord). If he is right, then 'Olúwaà mi' is 'my our Lord', but this use of double Genitival Qualifier for one noun is not a feature of the Yorùbá language.

- (c) The expression 'Olúwaà mi' is also used by an iwòfà,⁴ in reference to his creditor known as 'Olówó'.
- (d) In ùjaamèsè, the term Olúa is the short form of Olúayé derived from 'Olúa + ayé'. Olúayé therefore means 'Lord of the Earth'. He is however not to be confused with Ọbalúwayé, better known as Sọnpọnná, a deity traditionally considered to be cruel. He is supposed to be responsible for infecting people with small-pox when not appeased.⁵ No wonder the worship of this god was forbidden by the British Government.

A distinction need also be made between the use of the term 'Olúa' or 'Olúwa' and the term 'Olúwaarẹ'. This latter term is used in Yoruba in reference to an imaginary person or someone yet

⁴ A person serving another in lieu of interests on money borrowed by himself or others.

⁵ D. Bólárínwá Epégà, The Basis of Yorùbá Religion, Abeokuta, (n.d.), p.35;

G. J. Afólábí Òjó, Yorùbá Culture, (University of London Press, 1966), p.177;

J. O. Lucas, The Religion of the Yorubas, (C.M.S. Bookshops, Lagos), pp.112-113.

unidentified. Thus one would hear a Yorùbá man or woman say 'Eni tí ó bá yá garawa mi ló, oluwaarẹ́ ó dákun gbé e padà lóníí o', (Would whoever borrowed my pail kindly return it today.) The term is always used in that form, whereas the other term 'Olúwaa mi' could occur in a different term, e.g. 'Olúwa yín' in an utterance like 'Awon olúwa yín ni ó dé yíí o', (Your lords (husband's relations) are here.) 'Olúwaarẹ́' is never made to function as 'Olúwaa won' or 'Olúwaawa'.

In this study, the term Olúa connotes the designation of a deity and its etymology is presented as the short form of a name whose full form is Olúáyé.

2.2.0 Who or What is Olúa ?

In the discussion of African and/or Yorùbá religion, several scholars have referred to the divine beings in relation to the High God/Supreme Deity/Deity. Noel King defines 'Òrìṣà' as 'a divine being of the Yorùbá pantheon'⁶. 'Divine being' is a very wide expression accommodating all beings. Perhaps the only exception one could make is the 'human' being who is never referred to as 'divine'. Deified heroes, spirits, celestial, terrestrial and infernal entities all qualify for inclusion in this class of beings.

⁶ Noel Q. King, Religions of Africa, (Harper & Row, 1970), p.95.

In his discussion, Mbiti refers to the belief of African societies that there are major spirits described as 'divinities or deities' 'in charge of the stronger forces of the sky'. About such divinities and deities there are legends and myths with regard to their origin, their activities and relationships with human beings⁷. This description tends to separate the spirits of the earth and those below it, from those ruling over or associated with the weather, the sun and the sky; the former being regarded as minor and the latter as major spirits. The description also implies that all divinities or deities are 'spirits' and are thought to be created by God.

Idowu reserves the term Deity for God Almighty (Olódùmarè), while he uses divinities for all other divine beings (Òrìṣà)⁸. Olabintan in his attempt to examine the order of the Yoruba spiritual categories from the standpoint of their cosmological locations, and thereby present a hierarchical order for them, uses the term divinities for the created beings of all locations - celestial, aethereal, water, terrestrial and infernal⁹.

⁷ John S. Mbiti, An Introduction to African Religion, (Heinemann, 1975), p.66.

⁸ E. Bolaji Idowu, Olódùmarè, God in Yorùbá Belief, (Longman, 1962), pp.9, 10, 18 etc.

⁹ Afolabi Olabintan, 'Spiritual Hierarchy in Yorùbá Traditional Religion', Journal of Religious Thought, Vol. xxxi, (1974), No.1, p.48.

Lucas, in his own study uses deity or god for Ògún, Sàngó, Òrìṣà Oko and Ifá; and describes Orò as one of the spirit - gods. So, while some writers use divinities to refer to 'all divine beings', others use the term to refer only to some of them, and yet others use 'Òrìṣà' or 'Imalẹ̀' for the totality of worshipped beings other than Olórun/the Deity/the Supreme Deity/the High God.

In àjaamẹṣẹ chants of the Ídó-Òsì Èkiti Yorùbá, Olúa is referred to as Òrìṣà, umọlẹ̀ and urúmọlẹ̀/urúnmọlẹ̀ in utterances such as the following:-

"Kọ ọ bá ti rúmọlẹ̀ kọ sẹgbẹ̀ rùbùtù.

I i kó mu kékeré gùn jalẹ̀.

Ọ̀rìṣà ibàbá Olúwátọ̀là ni."

(If you see an 'umọlẹ̀' which is robust.

And which is only slightly above the earth's
surface.

It is the 'Òrìṣà' of Olúwátọ̀là's father.)

Here the chanter uses 'umọlẹ̀' and 'òrìṣà' as synonyms. This view has long been held and is reported by Epéga thus:

"Yorùbá gods are called either 'Imalẹ̀' or 'Orìṣas'. The term 'Imalẹ̀' means the knowledge of the secrets of this world or of heaven¹⁰

¹⁰ D. O. Epéga, The Basis of Yoruba Religion, (n.d.), op. cit., p.23.

The term 'urúmọlẹ', occurs in utterances such as:

- (i) "Uurúmọlẹ ọ mọ jààre o."
(O, 'Urúmọlẹ' I beseech you);
- (ii) "Uurúmọlẹ kọ gègègè,
Ní wí kí mǐ ríyèlẹ un túnmọ lóní."
('Urúmọlẹ' elegantly poised,
Has asked me to rely on him again today.")

The present writer associates herself with the distinction between the worshipped beings of the earth's surface and those under the earth on the one hand, and those of the sky and everywhere above it on the other, but with some modifications. Categorization of Yorùbá spiritual beings should be based on the following criteria:

- (i) the powers of each being,
- (ii) its abode,
- (iii) its plane of operation,
- and (iv) the oríkí of the being.

In this work, those who are believed to live in the heavens, or just below it, and can operate on any plane because of the powers they possess, will be called 'Òrìṣà' or deities. Those whose powers limit them to their planes on earth and below it, will be referred to as 'ẹbọra' (spirits), while the term

irúmolẹ/umolẹ/imalẹ (divinity) will apply to all worshipped beings of all planes.

Olúa, the spiritual being at whose festival the chants of this study are rendered, will henceforth be referred to as a type of deity. In this work therefore, Olúa will be placed in the category of òrìṣà and referred to as a type of deity. This is in consideration of the devotees' belief in his powers, his place of abode and his plane of operation. References to him as 'umolẹ' and other related expressions such as 'ugbómolẹ' (the grove, the garden of secrecy) or 'agbálẹ umolẹ' (sweepers for the divinity) are therefore appropriate.

The analysis to follow will use the names and oríki¹¹ of the deity Olúa as a further basis for categorizing him.

2.2.1 Various names and oríki of the relevant deity, Olúa

2.2.1.1 His names:

The name OLÚA as discussed in 2.1.0 is the short form of OLÚAYÉ which occurs in many utterances within ùjaamẹṣẹ chants.

Another name for the same deity is ÀTOGÙN-MÒJÒ.

¹¹ Oríki - see Chapter 1, footnote 12.

This is used almost as often as OLÚA, it is perfectly agreeable to the rhythm of the chants and is therefore also heard in various performances of ùjaamèsè. Unfortunately, none of our informants offered any explanation on the meaning of this name. The present writer's limited inference is that probably the MOJÒ suffix (interpreted to mean 'mọ ọjò' (know the rains) is related to the rainy season during which one of the deity's festivals, namely 'Orò Ọjò'/Orò Egbojò, (The festival of the Rainy Season/The Festival of the New Yams), is celebrated. Since there is no word like 'ogùn' or 'togùn' in the variant of Èkìtì-Yorùbá spoken in Èrọ Local Government area of Ondo State, Àtogùn, the first part of the name defies analysis.

2.2.1.2 His oríkì:

There are several oríkì probably compiled over the years, for this deity. These oríkì confirm the devotees' beliefs about him and give a full picture of his place in their lives. The oríkì are spread all over the chants, and form the major content of ùjaamèsè. It is no wonder that the ability to coin a new and appropriate oríkì for the deity is one of the traditional criteria for appraising an ùjaamèsè chanter's performance.

Some of the oriki given to this deity tend to place him on the same pedestal as Olódùmarè¹², the Supreme Deity. Olórun (the owner of the morning) for example could be compared with 'Olójó Òní' (owner of this day), used in Yorùbá prayers as a form of address to Olódùmarè. Since the first part of the day is 'òwúrò' (the morning), the Yorùbá attach great importance to it. It is in fact equated with the whole day in some of their sayings, for example, 'òwúrò lójó' (the morning is the day). Therefore, an expression which asserts that each day belongs to God, is synonymous to a cognomen which declares that each morning is the Almighty's. So when the ùjaamèsè chanter uses 'Olórun sẹ̀ínúú mi', (the owner of the morning, have mercy on me), he places Olúa on the same pedestal as Olódùmarè's.

Earlier writers claim that Olódùmarè is regarded by the Yorùbá as being too holy and exalted for human beings to approach Him directly with sacrifices. He is called Olórun (Lord of the Heavens). In ùjaamèsè, the chanters address Olúa as OLÚ ORÓKÈ¹³ (the Lord above), because they believe that he lives above, and

¹² For the names and the attributes of Olódùmarè, see E. Bolaji Idowu, (1962), op. cit., pp.30-37 and pp.38-47.

¹³ There is a spirit of the hills known by this oriki in Igbàrà Odò. He is invoked from the top of a very high hill by a necromancer. For Olúa, the òkè in Olú orókè is metaphorical, and not an actual hill. Olúa is not worshipped or invoked from a hill in Ekitì, not even in Igbàrà Odò.

a good number of utterances from the chants point to his place of abode.¹⁴

Olódùmarè is one of the many oríkì given to Olúa. Awámáridí and Arínúríta are obvious ones which give him attributes similar to those given to Olórun. These and many more are listed below:-

- (i) Òribèrù - One whose appearance is awesome.
- (ii) Awámáridí - The incomprehensible.
- (iii) Arínúríta - The omniscient; one who sees all things both open and hidden.
- (iv) Òbosibijingbinrin-òṣò - The omnipresent; one who is found in the most secluded places.¹⁵
- (v) Molè Ọjùrò - The deity capable of changing (fortunes/destiny).
- (vi) Ikùlùkùlù-í-jó-tòrútòrú - The thorny insect which takes intricate dance steps.
- (vii) Irá-ilẹ-Jùbùrú - Native of Jùbùrú.¹⁶

¹⁴ See 4.1.2, pp.135-137 of this work.

¹⁵ This is in reference to devotees' beliefs, that though unseen in his true form, Olúa inhabits every bit of space.

¹⁶ An imaginary place where nothing is impossible, no problem unsolvable.

- (viii) Òpòyì-lípatún-ẹ̀bírẹ̀ - One who whirls round, lingering on like the scent of the ẹ̀bírẹ̀¹⁷.
- (ix) Ológòṣẹ̀-amọ̀ra-fínnífínní - The Dainty Sparrow.
- (x) Ọmọ¹⁸-òpẹ̀-ṣe-rẹ̀gírẹ̀gí-dàgbà - The deity who like the stunted palm-tree retains its plumpness even in old age.
- (xi) Ọjò-bara-ùròkò-ta-pàràpàrà - The rain that strikes noisily on the ìròkò tree.
- (xii) Ọjòkólẹ̀-gún-rọ̀nmọ̀njọ̀n - One who is royally seated in great splendour.
- (xiii) Ọmọ-akọ-osù-í-rọ̀n- } The deity who resembles
gọ̀nrọ̀ngọ̀nrọ̀n-lọ̀run } the full moon, shining
 } radiantly in the sky.
- (xiv) Ọmọ-umọ̀lẹ̀-ayọ̀dọ̀yọ̀-ọ̀ọ̀ - The deity clad in palm-fronds.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ẹ̀bírẹ̀ = ebòlò: a pot-herb with bluish-purple flower heads. It carries with it a special scent which is retained even after cooking. A Yorùbá proverb about it goes thus, 'kò sí ohun tí a lẹ̀ fi sọ ebòlò (ẹ̀bírẹ̀) kó má rùn', (No cooking condiments can remove the scent of ebòlò).

¹⁸ 'Ọmọ' is here used like 'ọ̀nì' (someone). It is not used to mean 'child' or descendant. See also 8.2.3.2, pp.311-312.

¹⁹ The twin - representations of the deity, Olúa are always clad in fresh palm-fronds which the chanter associates with ọ̀ọ̀ (ọ̀wọ̀ = broom), made also from the palm-tree.

- (xv) Ọmọ-umọlẹ-agbèsísú-mó-wi - The deity who collects èsúsú²⁰ without giving it back to contributors.
- (xvi) Ọmọ-ọlọ̀nọ-elèèjì-mọ-rin - The deity whose pathway is reserved for him alone.
- (xvii) Ọmọ-akédi-yigbèrè-oko - The deity who shouts round the farms.
- (xviii) Ọmọ-akédi-ko ògbèèrè-yí-ògbẹ - The deity whose shouts frighten the uninitiated into the bush.
- (xix) Ọni-òdìdì-adimọ-terùterù - The deity who accepts a devotee with all his luggage.²¹
- (xx) Ọmọ-ameiọ-pàlèlè-ònọ - The deity who sets a taboo across his path's starting point, with thorny palm-branches.²²

²⁰ Èsúsú = èsúsú/èésú:- a club fund to which the members contribute an equal amount of money weekly or monthly, and these members individually draw the periodic total in rotation. It is here used metaphorically for the unrefundable sacrificial or thanksgiving gifts presented to the deity at each festival.

²¹ erù = 'Luggage' is here used metaphorically, for the joys and sorrows of an individual devotee.

²² The thorny palm-branches (eiọ) are used as warning to the uninitiated not to trespass. The implication of the thorns is that anyone who wilfully trespasses, will be penalised.

These and many other oríkì occur in the chants during the Olúa festivals. A closer look at these oríkì shows that they describe the devotees' beliefs in the deity as well as his appearance and behaviour at festivals.

'Òjòkólẹ̀-gún-ròmọ̀njọ̀n' describes the vastness and splendour of his throne, and is comparable to the vastness and splendour of Olódùmarè's throne implied in the epithets 'Òjókòó-bìrì-kálẹ̀', or 'Atẹ̀-rẹ̀rẹ̀-káyẹ̀'.

'Mọ̀lẹ̀ Ọ̀jùrọ̀' (the deity capable of changing fortunes), another of Olúa's oríkì points to the devotees' dependence on his capability to change from bad to good, the destiny of those who are loyal to him. For the same reason, a common Yorùbá practice is to describe Olódùmarè as Òkítí-bìrì-Ajì-pọ̀jọ̀kú-dà,²³ (He who can change one's predestined date of death).

'Òbosíbi-jìngbínrín-òṇò' (deity unseen who inhabits every bit of space) suggests that he possesses omnipresence, an oríkì which is also ascribed to the Supreme Deity.

'Ológosé-amọ̀ra-fínnífínní' (The Dainty Sparrow) refers to the cleanliness of the palm-fronds with which the symbol of Olúa is clothed at festival times, and symbolises his purity. The daintiness is here compared

²³ This epithet is also used by Ifá worshippers to describe the extent of the powers of this deity (Ifá).

to that of the house-sparrow because of its small size, since Olúa is symbolised by palm-wearing creatures smaller than any normal adult.

'Omọ-òpẹ̀-ṣe-rẹ̀gírẹ̀gí-dàgbà' (one who like the stunted palm-tree retains its plumpness even in old age) points also to the diminutive size of Olúa symbols at festivals. These oríkí therefore indicate his appearances at festivals.

Examples of oríkí which describe his behaviour during festival periods are, 'omọ-akéḍi-kóògbèèrè-yí-ògbẹ̀' (the deity whose shouts frighten the uninitiated into the bush); and 'ìkùlùkùlù-í-jó-tòrùtòrù' (the thorny insect which takes intricate dance steps). The former refers to the frightening shrillness of his voice, particularly at the time he 'arrives' at the festival. At this time, even the initiated are dumb-founded with fear. The latter oríkí is an appropriate reference to the intricacy of his dance steps, which are here compared with that of the thorny insect²⁴ whose numerous legs tend to form intricate patterns as it moves.

Several of the oríkí based on the beliefs of the people about this deity, point to the question, 'is Olúa synonymous with Olódùmarè?' The devotees' answer

²⁴ ìkùlùkùlù - ògúnmùsósó, a kind of thorny insect more commonly seen during the rainy season.

to this question is in the affirmative. They say that Olúa and Olódùmarè are one and the same being. This claim will be examined later in this study.²⁵

More of this deity's oríki which point to the devotees' beliefs about him, his appearance and his behaviour at festivals will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 Section 1 (4.1) of this study.

At this point, it is worthy of mention that deities known as Olúa are also worshipped in parts of Yorùbáland other than Èrò Local Government Area of Oṅdó State. From present evidence, Olúa devotees are to be found in Igèdè-Èkitì²⁶ in Èkitì Central Local Government Area, Igbarà-Odò²⁷ in Èkitì South Local Government area of Oṅdó State; and in Òtan Ayégbajú²⁸,

²⁵ See 2.5.0, pp.78-87 of this work.

²⁶ The Aòrò Olúa, Chief Igbalájobí, an octogenarian, who until his death in 1980 used to go to the ugbómolè everyday, supplied most of the information on Olúa and his devotees and worship in Igèdè-Èkitì. Another title that he held was the Olúlogbò of Ìlogbò quarters in Igèdè.

²⁷ Informants here included the 'medium' between Olúa and the people, Madam Florence Oni known as 'Omò Olúa'; Professor J. O. Adéjùwón, of the Department of Geography, University of Ifè, a one-time full participant at the festivals, his grand father then Aòrò; and several other devotees, both male and female.

²⁸ Qba Adéniran Olámòdi II, the Ọwá of Òtan Ayégbajú, supported by 'Aya Olúa' a medium, and other devotees, supplied the information required as well as some chants and songs.

a town about 18 kilometres south-east of Ìkirun in Òyó State. The discussion which follows therefore focuses attention on the various beliefs in Olúa in the different areas, with regard to his origin, his abode and his powers, with a view to determining whether these people worship the same deity, or different deities having a common name.

2.3.0 Olúa in other parts of Yorùbáland

2.3.1 Olúa in Ìgèdè-Èkitì:

The worship of Olúa is said to have begun in Ìgèdè not later than around 1830. The Ààrò Olúa in Ìgèdè (until 1980) believes that Olúa is not a deified hero; he never lived on earth. This is in spite of the fact that until recently, Olúa's arrival at annual festivals was signalled by a person possessed. The deity then spoke through the possessed person, (henceforth called medium), and messages were sent to the devotees through this medium (almost always female). Today, no one is possessed by him in Ìgèdè. As far as one can surmise, this is likely to be the result of the influence of Christianity in the town; for at the turn of the century, and precisely in 1901, Christianity was introduced to Ìgèdè. In 1902, the first church, the Baptist Church, Ìgèdè was founded, and the first

38a.

MAP OF ÈKÌTÌ LAND SHOWING AREAS OF ỌLÚÁ WORSHIPPERS

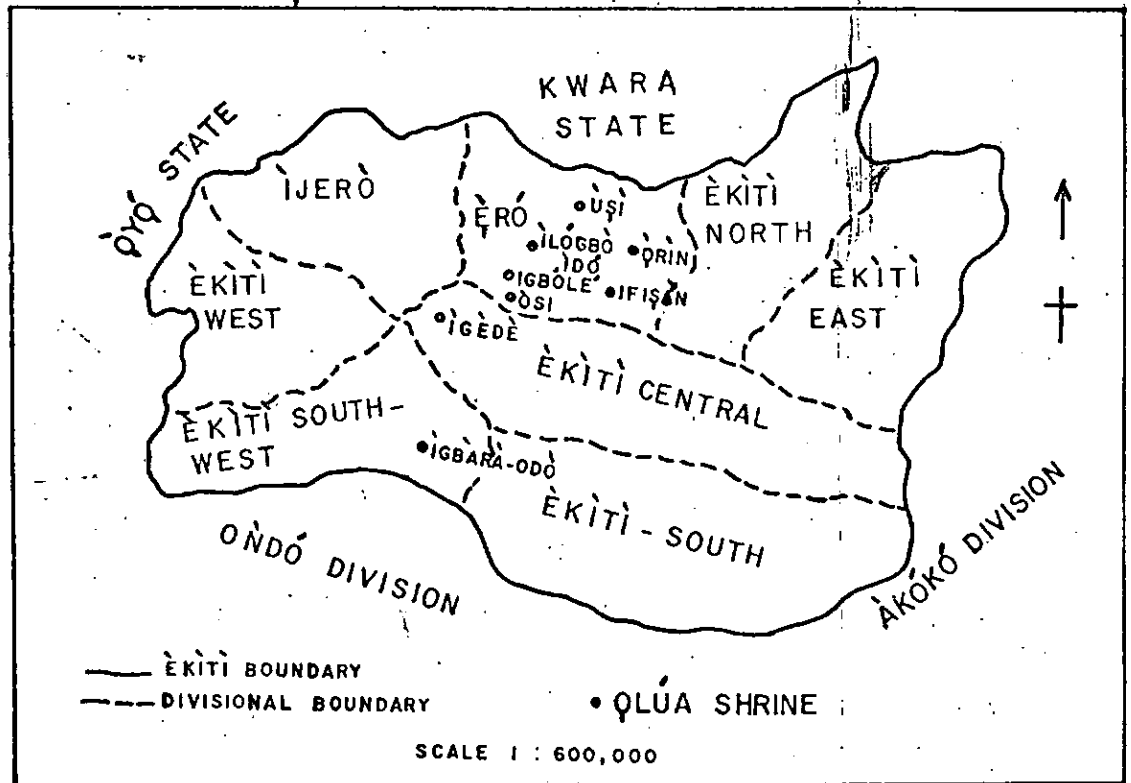


fig. 3.

priest was the Revd. Charles Ajíro Jémiriye.²⁹ Since then other denominations such as the Methodist, and the Roman Catholic have also moved in.

Although there is an annual festival which lasts seven days, the act of worship of Olúa in Igèdè has been reduced to a ritual of sheer necromancy. The necromancer receives requests at the ugbómọlẹ (grove) known in Igèdè as QWÁ QLÚA,³⁰ (Olúa's arrival point), because the deity is believed to visit this temple any time he is called upon to do so. Requests received by the necromancer range from supplication for fertility or invocation of a dead relation for the purpose of solving a problem on earth to asking one's 'Orí'/èkeji³¹ for help when all seems lost here on earth. The consultations take place daily.

2.3.1.1 Consultations at Qwá Olúa:

Beginning from about seven o'clock in the morning, visitors come to the Àdrò Olúa asking him to come to the Qwá Olúa with them to invoke Olúa to solve their problems. Visitors are not necessarily devotees of the deity. When the Àdrò arrives at Qwá Olúa, he opens the wooden door that covers the opening in fig. 5 page 39b, walks through the open space

²⁹ Mr. J. O. Adetunberu of the College of Education, Ikéré helped to collect these information from the Baptist Records in Igèdè.

³⁰ See Figs. 4 & 5 on pp. 39a and 39b.

³¹ See Chapter 1, footnote 14.

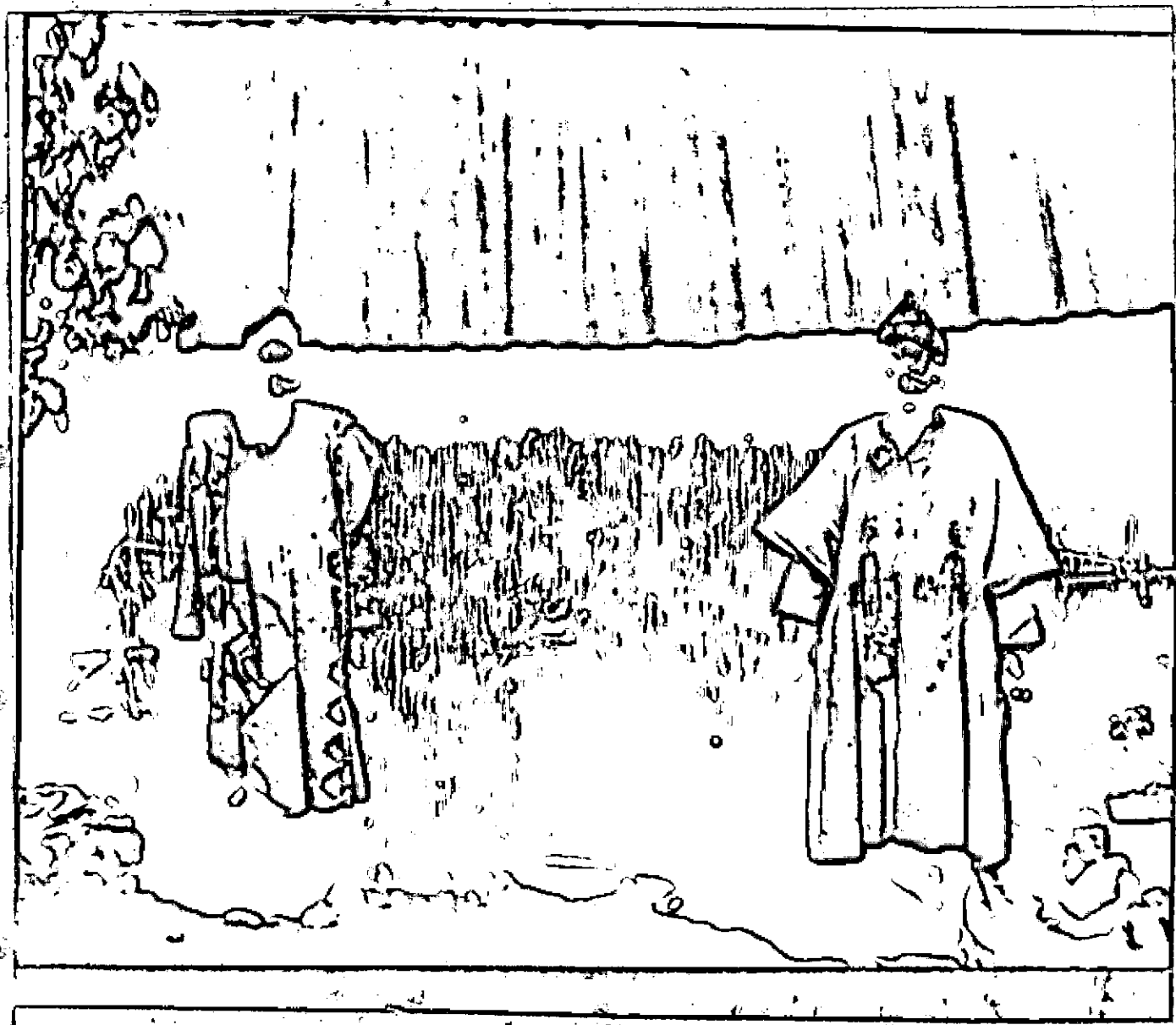


Fig. 4: THE INNER CHAMBER OF THE OWÁ OLÚA IN
ÌGÈDÈ-ÈKÌTÌ.

On the right is the Priest, and
on the left, his assistant.

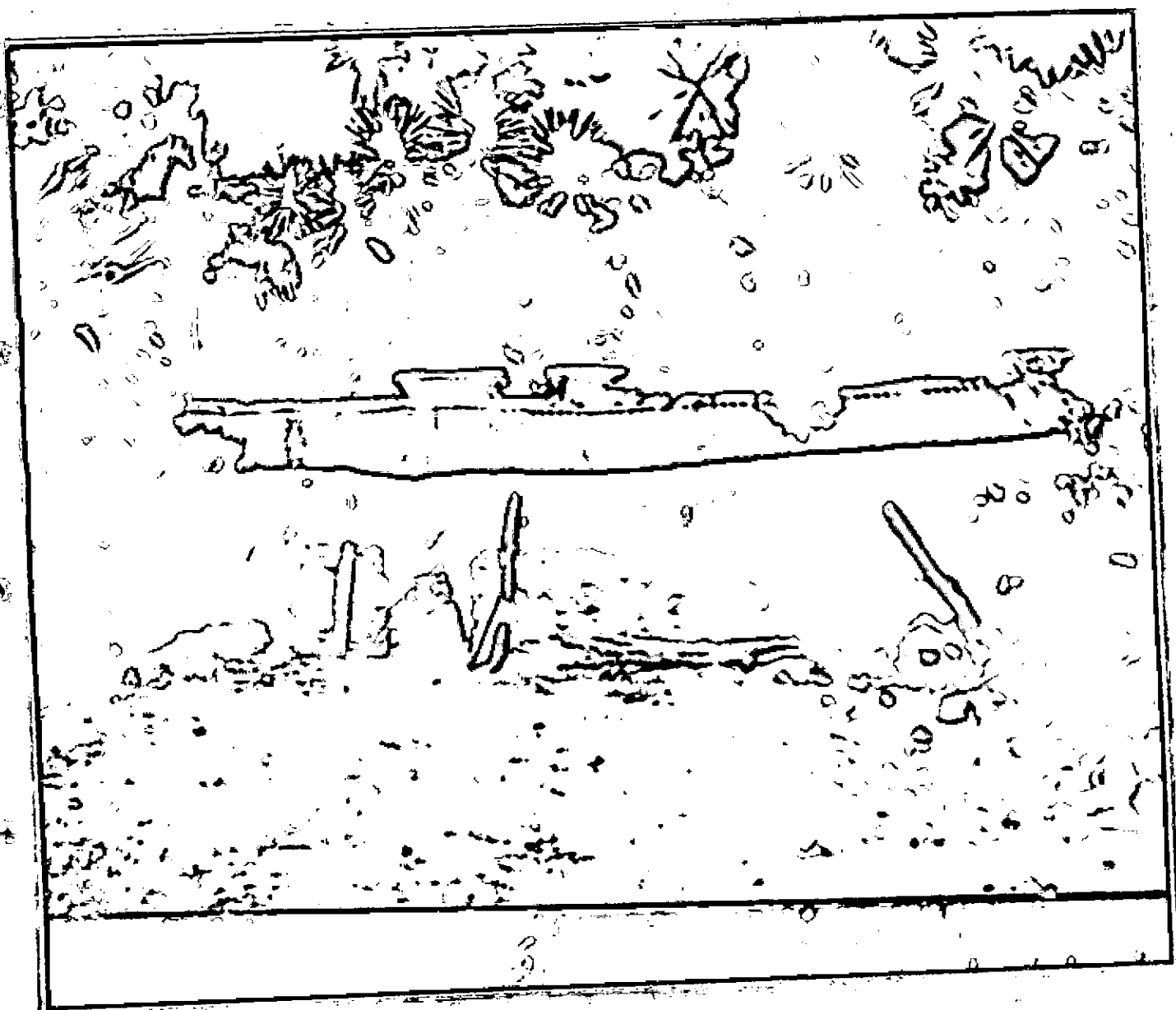


Fig. 5: The Owá Olúa as seen from the outside.

left for enquirers, then goes on his knees and crawls into the inner room of the Owá Olúa, behind the palm-fronds in fig. 4, page 39a. From there, he communicates with the living and the dead, with spirits and human beings.

The consultation fee was eeje (seven cowries) in the olden days, but nowadays it is seventy kobo plus four kola-nuts. When the client has presented the consultation fee and the kola-nuts to the necromancer's assistant, the latter passes them to the Aòrò in the inner chamber. The client then kneels down, facing the low entrance of the Owá Olúa proper. From here, he or she requests the necromancer to call either his or her 'orí', deceased father, mother or brother, giving his or her own name as well as that of the relation called. In turn, the necromancer requests Olúa on behalf of the client to call the personage required. The client is then requested to sit on a bench until Olúa is heard to arrive. After about five to seven minutes, a shrill voice is heard (supposed to be that of Olúa) announcing that the personage sent for has been brought. The voice heard sounds very much like a human's, but gives the impression of a tape-recorded speech passing through several transmitters and distorted by atmospheric conditions. It is faint and very distant, so distant that it is only a very sensitive tape-recorder that can record it.

When the invited personage has been introduced, the caller has to state the purpose of the urgent call. The content of the conversation which follows between the living and the dead, sounds so realistic from both ends that all around are touched by it. On one occasion, the client was moved to tears, as his late brother expressed regret at having gone to the war in which he died. In the words of the echoing necromancer, the deceased said: "I kún un báá mọn wóogun ni nun ún á gbé sí, ún ún mọn bá ti kòò lúlèè. I i se nọọn nun un wí kún un fà á ké e tóra", (He said if he had known that he would perish in that war, he would not have left home. He said he was only trying to make ends meet).

Another client appealed to her daughter's orí to help cure her cough and lost voice, which had virtually made the child dumb since the illness began.

On each occasion, the invited personage demanded a gift from the caller before taking leave of her. The late brother who was requested to ensure that his (the deceased) son maintained good health and made academic progress at school, demanded three naira thirty kọbọ and six kola-nuts, for the boy's egbé³²

³² 'Egbé' - the members of the fraternity to which the living child belonged before birth. They are believed to be in the spirit world. See J. Olumide Lucas, The Religion of the Yorubas, 1948, op. cit., p.149.

so that they might stop torturing him. A man who called his late mother was also asked to give three naira thirty kòbò and two kola-nuts to the woman, but no reason was given for this..

The impression given here is that the dead need to spend money even in heaven. This is not contrary to Yorùbá belief however seeing that slaves and assistants used to be buried with an Ọba, in yester years, in the hope that thereby he could continue his luxurious life in the other world. On the three naira thirty kòbò collected in the two cases cited, and the six kola-nuts in the first, the emphasis is on the figure three. This is probably because in Numerology, the figure three is believed to possess authority in whatever pertains to 'the nature and knowledge of the heavenly bodies, connects and leads them into effects'.³³ This claim must also be relevant to Yorùbá numerology, seeing that Yorùbá invocations of deities or chanting of incantations are usually said thrice or in multiples of three. The figure three is therefore important here since the caller and the necromancer are aided by entities from the great beyond, to whom they should show gratitude.

In addition to whatever the invited personage demands, the necromancer mentions to the caller, what

³³ W. Wynn Westcott, Numbers. Their occult Power and Mystic Virtues, (Theosophical Publishing House Limited, London, 1890), p.41.

Olúa demands of him for running the errand. There is no fixed charge for this; it is variable. The inference seems to be that the necromancer reckons this charge according to the appearance of the client.

The Àòrò explained that things demanded by the invited personages were taken away by them, but money paid to Olúa was spent on offering sacrifices in thanksgiving to Olúa, and fowls or animals presented, if edible, were eaten by the Àòrò and his assistants and family, after they had been killed and their blood spilt for Olúa.

From present evidence, the difference between a dead mother's voice and that of a child's orí is not clearly perceivable, a situation which leads one to suspect the development of ventriloquism in these parts.

2.3.1.2 Olúa Festival in Igèdè-Èkitì:

This festival, alternatively known as IJESU ODÚN (New yam festival), is celebrated in the third or fourth week of August every year, and lasts seven days. The Àòrò Olúa is forbidden to see the new yam before the beginning of this festival. Any woman carrying new yams past the house of the Olúlogbò (the Àòrò) must have them properly covered.

The 1st day of festival is the day of sacrifice, when a dog is offered in thanksgiving to Olúa. Although the Olúlogbò claims that Ògún and Olúa are two distinct deities, the Olúa festival coincides with the Ògún llogbò festival. This is probably because the yam festival is a festival of farmers whose deity is Ògún, and as the Àòrò Olúa claims, Ògún is believed to derive his powers from Olúa.

The 2nd day is another day of sacrifice and the sacrificial animal this time is a cow. Although the Olúlogbò's family would have eaten the new yam on the first day of festival, he himself does not taste it until this day. All the other six leaders³⁴ among the Olúa devotees who have special seats³⁵ in the Ọwá Olúa, also have to wait until he has tasted the yam, before they do likewise. This is why from the first day to the second, devotees cheer the leaders for their patient wait, by singing songs in their praise:-

³⁴ These, in order of precedence relative to the Àòrò Olúa, are: (i) Abá Omòjò (ii) Abálóyè (iii) Abáròc, (iv) Ọísà I (v) Edemorun and (vii) Ọísà II.

³⁵ These are large stones arranged on the right hand side as one enters the courtyard leading to the ugbómplè proper, the Àòrò's seat is higher than the others and is placed nearest to the temple entrance, and to the left of the Àòrò in fig. 4, p.39a.

Lílé: Abá Mọjọ o kú ùróde.

Ègbè: Èye o, òwèè ko.

Lílé: Abálóyè o kú ùróde.

Ègbè: Èéye o, òwèè ko.

Lílé: Abá Àró o kú ùróde.

Ègbè: Èéye o, òwèè ko.

(Solo: Chief Ọmọjọ, thanks for waiting.

Chorus: Èye o. òwèè ko.³⁶

Solo: Chief Alóyè, thanks for waiting.

Chorus: Èéye o. òwèè ko.

Solo: Chief Àró, thanks for waiting.

Chorus: Èéye o. òwèè ko.)

Singing here is done to the melody of dance music produced from cow horns. It continues until all the six leaders have been greeted in turns.

On the 3rd day, all the Egúngún in the Ilogbò area of Igèdè dance round the town, to play their part in the celebrations. From this day to the sixth (inclusive), merry-making continues in all homes in Okèlogbò, together with the Egúngún dances.

The 7th day known as IREJE is another day of sacrifice at the Owá Olúa. This sacrifice marks the official end of the festival, although merry-making may continue indefinitely in many homes, at least till the thirteenth day.

³⁶ "Èye o. òwèè ko" - has no meaning in particular. It is used for padding, to match the tune.

It is noteworthy that during these thirteen days, consultations at the Owá Olúa are suspended as a mark of respect to the deity being honoured that season. During this period, clients who come from other parts of the country are advised to wait till the end of the festival, or repeat their visit later.

Female participation during the festival is in the form of torch dancing known as IJO INO IPARUBU which literally means (the dance of the special torch, 'iparubu'). Female descendants of Ilogbo come from their marital homes to join those who are married into Ilogbo quarters and they all carry in both hands special home-made torches produced from etutu ope (lewù, the hair on the stem of a palm-tree), and palm-oil. Agba drums are beaten and Ilogbo women and interested children dance in the 'Aorò's compound, singing songs such as the following:

- (i) Lílé: A á yéye líbeé o.
 Ègbè: A a yeyè Origbo³⁷.
 Lílé: A a yéye líbeé o.
 Ègbè: A a yeyè Origbo.
 Lílé: Origbo mọ màgbà lúyí o.
 Ègbè: A a yeyè e Origbo o.

(Solo: There are many of us here.

Chorus: There are very many of us here, Origbo.

³⁷ The meaning of 'Origbo' is not known. It is probably just used for padding of the tune.

Solo: There are many of us here.

Chorus: There are very many of us here, Origbo.

Solo: Origbo adorns the elders.

Chorus: There are many of us here, Origbo.)

(ii) Lílé: Igérééye

In mọ yà a gbe e.

Aiún mà a ùnrìṣà.

Aiún mà á un mí o o.

Ègbè: Igérééye.

In mọ yà a gbe e.

Aiún mà a ùnrìṣà

Aiún mà a un mí o o.

(Solo: Igérééye³⁸.

Please come and uplift him.

No ill-luck befalls the Òrìṣà,

No ill-luck shall befall me.

Chorus: Igérééye.

Please come and uplift him.

No ill-luck befalls the Òrìṣà,

No ill-luck shall befall me).

Each of the above songs is repeated as often as the crowd wishes until someone announces another song.

³⁸ Igérééye also seems to be used for padding of the tune; singers could not explain its meaning.

Singing, dancing and eating may continue until the "itàlòwà" (the thirteenth day) of the festival. Igèdè descendants from other parts of the country may come home and join in the festival, at their convenience within that period, and may extend it with their own private celebrations.

2.3.2 Olúa in Igbàrà-Odò:

In Igbàrà-Odò, as in Igèdè, Olúa is not taken for a deified hero, but is considered a male deity believed to be of help to his people at war. An informant, Professor Adejuwon of the University of Ifè, recalled a story told after the second world war in which soldiers of Igbàrà-Odò origin felt the presence of strange supporters at war. The people believed that this was due to the influence of Olúa. His devotees also believe that he is capable of giving children to the barren, and of supplying water in the form of rain in time of drought. They also believe that sacrifices offered to him can avert ills. The Igbàrà-Odò devotee relies on Olúa as a kind deity, a father, a protector and provider.

Olúa is worshipped by all in Igbàrà-Odò although a particular household, Ilé Obalórò takes precedence over all other devotees. They keep the paraphernalia of worship, take care of the ugbómólò and provide a candidate for the priesthood at the death of a holder of the post.

Olúa is considered a very important deity, if not the most important in Igbàrà-Odò, and he is believed to protect the town from external aggression. This is why he is referred to as 'Òkè kunkun èyin Ùgbàrà' (the dependable hill behind Igbàrà).

2.3.2.1 The Worship of Olúa
in Igbàrà-Odò:

Worship rites are performed every eight days. These are referred to as 'Àjọ isiisọ̀n' (meetings held every ninth³⁹ day). At each worship rite held two days after a market day, and in the temple in town,⁴⁰ each lineage member of Ilé Ọ̀balọ̀rọ̀ provides a few pieces of boiled maize cobs, some kola-nuts and palm-wine. These are first presented as offerings to the deity and then given to all to be eaten.

During the worship rites, as offerings are presented to the deity, the blood of a cock is poured on the àgbá drums,⁴¹ beaten at such meetings. As the drums sound, women dance and sing. Some of the songs rendered on such occasions and also during the annual festivals include:

³⁹ Meetings actually hold at intervals of eight days, but because counting is inclusive for the Yorùbá, the counting day is taken as the ninth.

⁴⁰ See photograph of the temple on p. 49a. There is another temple in the forest, to which only men may go. It is said to have a pool in it known as OMI ATAN, which is full of snakes.

⁴¹ See photograph on p. 49b.



Fig. 6: THE INNER CHAMBER OF THE TEMPLE AT
 ÌGBÀRÀ-ODÒ (ONLY THE PRIEST MAY GO
 BEHIND THE PALM-FRONDS AND THE WHITE
 CURTAIN ON THE RIGHT).



Fig. 7: AGBÁ DRUMS IN ILE OLÚA - THE TEMPLE IN
IGBÀRÀ-ODÒ.

Lílé: Ọlúáyé dé é o,
 Éérú Ịdógbè e e.

Ègbè: Ọlúáyé dé é e ò,
 Éérú Ịdógbè e e.

Lílé: Ọlúáyé dé é o,
 Éérú Ịdógbè e e.

Ègbè: Ọlúáyé dé é o,
 Éérú Ịdógbè e e.

Lílé: Ọlúáyé ịà á bèrù,
 Ọlúáyé ịf bèrù ọni o,

Ègbè: Éérú o kòò eru jẹẹ.

Lílé: Ọlúáyé mo bèrù

Ègbè: Éérú o kòò eru jẹẹ.

(Solo: Ọlúáyé has arrived,
 A dread to Ịdógbè.)

Chorus: Ọlúáyé has arrived,
 A dread to Ịdógbè.

Solo: Ọlúáyé has arrived,
 A dread to Ịdógbè.

Chorus: Ọlúáyé has arrived,
 A dread to Ịdógbè.

Solo: Ọlúáyé is to be feared.
 Ọlúáyé fears no one.

Chorus: Dread ! o veritable dread !

Solo: It's Ọlúáyé I fear.

Chorus: Dread / o veritable dread !)

The soloist may continue indefinitely changing the content of her utterance, until someone else introduces another song, first by hailing the deity thus: 'Èyè ò, Abá ò' (O Mother, O Father), the response to which is 'Èyè ò' (O Mother). Having hailed the deity thus, three times, someone else may introduce a new song, e.g:

"Èmimi taalè sọọọ.

Ôní mè iré ooo.

Mô b'Olúa sòyin í ròde.

(Emimi,⁴² you who can sprout from the ground !

Today is a day of fun.

I am going out on a merry-making round with
(Olúa).

The above text will be repeated by the solo and chorus as many times as they wish until another song is introduced, this one for instance:

"Uku kó si mi mọ gbọ o,

Mẹ i sọ dún ọmọ mi.

Àrùn ké si mi mọ́ dahùn-un.

Mè í sọdún ọmọ mi.

Mo ti b'Ōluayé ròde.

Oní lẹlẹ dún ọmọ mi i in.

(Death calls me but I do not hear.

42 Emimi - this is an old word, no one seems to know its meaning.

I am celebrating my child's⁴³ festival.

Disease calls, I do not respond.

I am celebrating my child's festival.

I am going out with Olúáyé.

Today is for my child's festival.)

This song may be repeated several times with 'Ukú' (death) 'àrùn' (disease) and ùsé (poverty) or 'àyà' (suffering) and other relevant paradigms inserted in the first and third lines. Similarly, 'Okò' (husband) may replace 'omò' in the second, fourth and sixth lines.

In the examples given, the first song is one that welcomes the deity in spite of the fear that grips the atmosphere. It is remarkable that the fear notwithstanding, the women devotees sum up courage to hail the deity and welcome him. The other two songs describe the atmosphere that follows the welcome, one of joy and fun, and the obvious willingness of the devotees to celebrate the festival with Olúa. The belief that there will be no untoward event during the festival, is apparent in the last song in which the singer ignores the call of evil things because Olúa is celebrating and she, with him.

⁴³ The implication of the line is that the singer is celebrating a benefactor's festival. The deity is believed to give children to the barren; the festival is thus one which is obligatory for a child thus given, and a woman so blessed.

The singing and dancing take place in the open hall of the temple, which is the farthest point any woman is allowed to go. Only the Àòrò may enter the inner room⁴⁴ to offer sacrifices.

2.3.2.2 Ọlúa festivals in Igbàrà-Odò:

Festivals are celebrated twice a year in Igbàrà-Odò. The first festival which takes place in May of each year is known as 'IJOBÌ' (the eating of the kola-nuts); and the second one celebrated normally in August, is called IJESU (eating of the (new) yam.)

Many years ago, the members of the 'Elders' Council, known as the ÀGBÀ ÒLÚ appointed by the Ọlọja (King) of Igbàrà, used to hold their meetings in what was known as the ÀJO ÀÀRÈ (meeting of Title Holders) in Ilé Sàpetu. There, at the end of each meeting, one cotyledon of a kola-nut (awé obì) was laid aside. In this way they counted the number of 'isón' (eight-day intervals) between one festival and the other, and so were able to fix the dates for all occasions in the town. Today however, calendar dates are recorded and followed.

As a rule, the Ijobi festival should begin six days after, the Ujobi Uja. Uja is the name for Ọgún in these parts. Again, this is similar to what happens in

⁴⁴ See photograph on p. 49a and note the white curtain above the steps. Behind it, is the inner room where all rituals take place.

Igèdè where the Ògún festival coincides with Olúa festival. Here, they are barely a week apart. The Ijesu festival also takes place forty days after the ÒGOYE festival, the name by which the special festival of mothers of twin babies is known.

The IJESU festival (the festival of the eating of new yams) begins with the IKÉDÌ, four days after which devotees may eat the new yam. Both the Ijobi and Ijesu festivals last seven days and each one centres round the temple in town, although special rituals attended by a few initiated, take place in the temple in the forest, the ugbómplè.

On the 1st day of festival, special àkàrà⁴⁵ balls are made; they are fried through the night of the first to the second day. Each àkàrà ball is usually about the size of a lawn tennis ball, and on top of each one is placed a little àkàrà ball slightly smaller than the àkàrà below. On the small pieces are marked dots standing for the position of the eyes, nose, and the mouth of a being. The devotees refused to explain to the present writer what these stand for. It is on this first day of the festival that the Olójà Igbàrà (the Ọba) sends an 'Eínlá' (a dwarf cow) to the Aòrò Olúa. This cow, the Aòrò takes to the ugbómplè for presentation as sacrifice to Olúa that night, and then returns to the town the following

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àkàrà - bean cake. It is made from beans ground and fried in either palm-oil (àkàrà elépo), or groundnut oil (àkàrà olóròóró). For all traditional ceremonies, the cake is fried in palm-oil.

morning. It is generally believed that with its two pairs of legs tied up, the cow is thrown into the pool OMI ATAN, at the centre of the ugbómọlẹ̀, three times. On the first and second throws, the cow might try to struggle, but on the third, it usually floats, or disappears into the pool. If it floats, then the carcass is taken home, cleaned and cooked for all devotees. If it disappears in the pool, the Aòrò returns home to inform the Ọba that Ọlúa has accepted the sacrifice: 'Ọlúa tí gbùbọ̀'.

It is believed that Ọlúa departs on the 2nd day of festival. So, dancing begins on this day and continues at different quarters of the town up to the seventh day as follows:

2nd day: Dancing at Ẹ̀rẹ̀kẹ̀ta, the usual meeting place of chiefs.

3rd day: Dancing at the Palace (Aòfin).
All celebrate the Ọ̀gún festival and the Ọlọjà may have the first taste of the New Yam.

4th day: Dancing at Imògún.

5th day: Dancing at Ilókùn.

6th day: Dancing at Omi Awó.

7th day: Dancing at Idí Áágbá.

At the dancing session, Ọlúa is symbolised by someone

clad in palm fronds and wearing a mask.⁴⁶ He is usually accompanied by the Aòrò. One important point relating to the leading devotees of Olúa in Igbàrà-Odò is that these members of Ilé Ọbalórò must abide by special injunctions during the festivals. The most important of these injunctions is that there must be no loud talk in the compound of the Ọbaláòrò during the seven days of the festival; participants can only whisper one to another. This is a sign of respect to the deity and is comparable to the Christian retreat where all meditation must be directed towards pleasing the Supreme Deity, and atoning for one's sins. In Igbàrà-Odò, a female leader takes the responsibility of reminding celebrants of this important injunction from time to time, as the celebrations progress. She may chant the following utterances:

"In mo mò ró o.

'In mọ mọ fọ ọ.

Ibi kọn ọn ọdó pọro sí.

Kọn ọn mọlilọ lẹùn.

Ọlilọ lẹùn.

Abá Adémikéyè a múun titun barun lóní."

(You must not make a sound.

You must not speak.

Where the pounding mortar takes its rest.

⁴⁶ It is reported that the original mask and the regalia of the Ọbaláòrò have been stolen from Igbàrà, and probably sold outside the country. They had not been replaced at the time of this investigation.

And where the voice is ground to silence.

The voice is ground to silence.

Adémikéye's father will taste of a new
thing today.)

It is remarkable that in Ìgbàrà-Òdò the deity Olúa is symbolised at festivals, and at the same time communicates through a medium known as Omọ Olúa.

2.3.3 Olúa in Òtan Ayégbajú:

Òtan Ayégbajú is a town of mixed population made up of both the Òyó and the Ìjẹṣà, each speaking its own variant of the Yorùbá language.

The Olúa worshipped in Òtan is believed to be the deified form of a man who once lived as a hunter, having a lion for his hunting companion. He was said to be versed in the use of herbs. Legend has it that one day, as this man named Olúa was on his way to Èfòn-Aláayè from an unknown place, he decided to take some rest in what was then Òtan, now probably Òtan Ilé near Ilóṣà. The settlers in Òtan convinced him to stay with them as his stay coincided with the time when Òtan was preparing for war against Ilorin. Olúa, trusting in his medicinal powers, volunteered to lead the battle and the well-known warrior in Òtan known as Olúkòtún stepped down for him. In preparing his strategy, Olúa came to a cave⁴⁷ at the top of a hill,

⁴⁷ This cave now marks the sacrificial area or ugbómolè during Olúa festivals.

from it he was said to have ordered the warriors to block the gates to the town and keep guard. The Ilorin people, hoping to take Ọtan unawares, used the foot-path along the hill. Suddenly, they fell into a cave which Olúa is believed to have widened by his magical powers. So, this war and many more were said to have been won by Olúa who was reported to have lived in Elémù area of Ọtan.

After many years in Ọtan, Olúa was said to have left word with his neighbours one morning that he was going to the cave (into which Ilorin enemies were reported to have fallen). When he did not return till the following day, a search party was sent to the cave. On arrival there, the search party observed that the surroundings of the cave had been cleared, they also heard a vibrating sound from within but there was no sign of life. The Ifá oracle was consulted, and the reply was that Olúa had decided to rest in the cave for ever. So, he became deified and since then his festivals have been fixed to coincide with the period of the year during which he disappeared. Heads of sacrificial animals offered to him during festivals are therefore thrown into the cave.

Another story about the Ọtan cave, though unrelated to the deified hero Olúa, claims that the cave is a natural feature of the town used in war times as a place of refuge. The people of Ọtan (Ilé)^{once} took cover in the cave when the Ilorin were planning war against

them, so when the Ilorin unexpectedly got into the town, they found no one and therefore assumed that the people had fled.

2.3.3.1 Olúa festival in Otan-Ayégbajú:

As in Igèdè-Ekiti and Igbàrà-Odò, the festival in Otan-Ayégbajú lasts seven days and the Owa of Otan is the Chief celebrant. It could be said that the whole town participates in the festivities, since they all give their support to anything in which the Oba plays a part.

The festival season which falls about May every year is fixed in relation to the festivals of other deities worshipped in Otan. The order of the major celebrations is as follows:

- (i) Oya,
- (ii) Sàngó,
- (iii) Ogún,
- (iv) Egúngún and
- (v) Olúa.

Olúa festivals usually commence three months after the Egúngún festival. A closer look at the festivals may lead to our perceiving a crucial aspect of Olúa; he is neither Ogún nor an Egúngún.

On the 1st day of Olúa's festival in Ọtan, festivities begin with the frying of àkàrà balls in all devotees' homes. A procession of devotees moves to the shrine around the cave, as virgins heavily dressed in beads sing to cheer them on their way. Songs which may be sung on the first day include the following:-

Lílé: "Ooní oorò oosùn.
È mò yáá wẹni ọsọ́ọ a yẹ."

Ègbè: "Ọ́lúáyé o.
Aayèyè o.
Òoní oorò oosùn.
È mò yáá wẹni ọsọ́ọ a yẹ."

(Solo: Today is for the festival at which camwood
is used.

Come and see who the make-up adorns.

Chorus: Olúáyé.

Ayèvé.⁴⁸

Today is for the festival at which camwood
is used.

Come and see who the make-up adorns.)

This song is repeated many times by the soloist and the chorus until they get to another exciting spot to which a particular song is relevant. In front of a blacksmith's smithy for example, they would stop and sing:

⁴⁸ This has no meaning in particular. It is used for padding.

(Lílélé àti) "Ọrọ̀ àgbèdẹ̀ o.

Ègbè) Mọ́ọ̀ gbọ̀ gbínrín ní mọ̀ mọ̀ yà á o.

Ọrọ̀ àgbèdẹ̀ o.

Mọ́ọ̀ gbọ̀ gbínrín ní mọ̀ mọ̀ yà.

Mó gbọ̀ gbínrín ní mọ̀ mọ̀ yà.

Mọ̀ gbọ̀ gbínrín ní mọ̀ mọ̀ yà á o.

(Solo and) (The blacksmith's anvil language.

Chorus) On hearing the sound 'gbínrín',⁴⁹ I am
calling at yours.

The blacksmith's anvil language.

On hearing the sound 'gbínrín' I am
calling at yours.

On hearing the sound 'gbínrín' I am
calling at yours.

On hearing the sound 'gbínrín' I am
calling at yours.)

Chants related to the deity, here known as Isàré Olúa are used from the eve of the festival. Points stressed in the chants include the declaration of devotees' enthusiasm to be present at the hill top; the àkàrà balls used as offerings as opposed to pounded yam, the staple food; and the àgbá drum beaten and danced to, all night, by the devotees.

⁴⁹ gbínrín is an onomatopoeic word echoing the sound heard when the anvil is tapped with the hammer. As the Olúa worshipped in Ọtan is a deified war hero and some weapons of war were made at the blacksmith's, the smithy is one of the places that have contributed to the success of the hero, so worshippers have songs for it.

The 1st day is also the day of sacrifice when traditionally a cow chosen from the Oba's herd is used. Today however, the whole town, from household to household contributes towards the cost of the cow. At the shrine, the victim's head is cut off and thrown into the cave and is heard rolling down. The carcass is left on the hill-top until the following morning when the beef is cooked and eaten there. No one must take a piece of the meat home. It is believed that whoever attempts to do so will not enter the town alive with the meat. The inference seems to be that apart from discouraging greed and ensuring that all participate of the beef, this taboo provides for a fellowship period among devotees in the assumed company of the deity.

Many years ago, it was conventional for the Owá to sleep near the cave from the first night to the second day of festival. This happened every three, four or six years according to the dictates of the Ifá oracle, whose guidance was usually sought.

The period from the 2nd day of festival to the 10th was spent in merry-making, featuring the virgins still adorned with beads, dancing and feasting in various compounds in the town. Each family head is responsible for the food that is eaten by these special guests.

It is remarkable that throughout the festival, Olúa is not symbolised or represented by any person or thing.

On the 7th and last day of the festival, ~~more~~ more singing and dancing continue; ~~the festival ends~~

Lílé: Ajàáláyé òlẹ oo.

Óni oorò Ufẹ o.

Lílé àti Àrùwẹ Ọbùn kórò mọ kije.

Egbè:

Óní dọndọn lórò á kije.

Lílé: Nígbo Erédi,

Egbè: E maa jọba òsọ.

Lílé: Nídí apásá.

Egbè: E máa jọba òsọ.

Lílé: Nídí akẹkẹ.

Egbè: E máa jọba òsọ, abbl.

(Solo: Hail Creator of the Earth.

The festival of the Ifẹ is on today.

Solo and Chorus: The dirty woman wished the festival had not ended.

Today unfailingly is the seventh day of festival.

Solo: In Erédi forest.

Chorus: Continue to crown the Ọba.

Solo: At the weaving loom.

Chorus: Continue to crown the Ọba.

While spooling yarn.

Continue to crown the Oba) etc.

Enjoyable to all devotees as it may be, the festival is subjected to a number of injunctions, in fact taboos, some of which are discussed below.

2.3.3.2 Festival Taboos:

Anyone having traditional facial marks must not go near the shrine. It is not surprising therefore that Owá is the chief celebrant because the Owá's lineage, as a rule have no facial marks. Since the Owá is also chief celebrant, this festival also guides the selection of a new Owá. Also, a versatile devotee cannot simply be nominated priest of Olúa, particularly if he has facial marks. Devotees cannot explain why, but the present writer's opinion is that this is the feature which distinguishes devotees from Olúa's enemies.

A pregnant unmarried princess must not go near the shrine as it is believed that if a supposed virgin joins in the procession carrying a baby in her womb, a big snake will disturb the festivities. It reveals the identity of the pretender by curling near her but not hurting her. On such occasions, the festival will also be interrupted by a heavy rain. The following utterances of Isaré Olúa express the dissatisfaction

of other worshippers with the behaviour of the pretender:

Lílé: Agbóyún-regbó-orókè lo mò jojà pa á o.

Ègbè: Agbóyún-regbó-orókè a mò mò yín o.

Lílé: Agbóyún-regbó-orókè a mò mò yín o o.

Ègbè: Agbóyún-regbó-orókè a mò mò yín o o o.

(Solo: A pregnant maid has caused the rain to beat us.

Chorus: You pregnant maid we know you.

Solo: The pregnant maid we know you.

Chorus: The pregnant maid, we know you.)

This taboo about the pregnant maid points to an important aspect of the festivities - the chastity expected of all the girls participating on the occasion. The arrival of the snake also confirms that Olúa cannot be deceived.

Although Olúa is not symbolised during the festival in Òtan, devotees believe that he could appear to anyone he chooses when he has an important message for his people. On such an occasion, he would be seen dressed like an Òba, horse-tail in hand and wearing a beaded crown, strands of which cover his face. Since he is believed to have led them safely through a number of wars, devotees still hold the belief that if war is imminent, he will surely send a hint. They also believe that if the

war must be fought, Okè Olúa will bring out its own warriors while other hills and mountains⁵⁰ around Òtan-Ayégbajú will subscribe to the army.

It is reasonable to deduce from available evidence that apart from being a deified hero, Olúa in Òtan-Ayégbajú is also a hill spirit, also capable of giving children to the barren.

2.4.0 Olúa in Idó-Òsì Èkitì:

The main communities from which the chants for this study have been collected are Idó⁵¹-Èkitì, Igbólé-Èkitì, Ilógbò-Èkitì, Òsì-Èkitì and Òsì-Èkitì, all in the Èrò Local Government area of Òndó State. The people of these communities are the main worshippers of the deity, Olúa, although people from several parts of the country join in the festival for reasons which are discussed in 2.4.4.4. It has also been reported that at one time, the deity used to be worshipped in Irìṣin and Òrìn, towns of nine and six kilometres

50 The hills which are believed to send allies to Olúa are:- (i) Taagbótaarí, (ii) Èṣínkanrín, (iii) Aataa, (iv) Ayèṣṣò, (v) Àkunnunṣò and (vi) Okè Orifópo; all in the neighbourhood of Òtan-Ayégbajú.

51 Another town called Idó in Èkitì area of Òndó State is Idó Ajinṣe, formerly known as Idó Iràpà. A town in the Èkitì West Local Government area of Òndó State, Idó Ajinṣe is 56 kms. to Idó Fábòrò/Idó Èkitì.

respectively to Idó, the seat of the Local Government. A deity known by the same name is also reported to be worshipped in Itápá in Èkiti North Local Government, and invoked in Èyio, a town twelve kilometres to Igèdè.

The worship of Olúa in the Idó-Ósi area is reported to be much older than any single devotee in the communities. It has been worshipped for a period of at least 150 years. At one time, the report adds, the worship of Olúa was suspended in the area of study, because the leaders died and the young ones were not willing to accept the priesthood and membership of the cult. The worship was resumed sometime in the 1950's. The lull could have been related to the increase in the number of young ones who went to Secondary Schools and Colleges outside the area, got converted into other religions and therefore found the worship of Olúa clashing with their new faith. In addition, anyone who accepted a position of authority within the cult had to stay in the hometown. This was not satisfactory to the youths who would not be able to find gainful employment relevant to their qualifications, locally.

To the devotees of Olúa in these parts, he is not a deified hero; no one even refers to Olúa as resembling a human being. They say "È gbělé ayé rí" (he has never lived on earth). They also believe that he does not manifest himself in any natural

phenomenon; adherents know of his manifestations through the testimonies of individuals, a lot of which are heard at the oracular dialogues⁵² during the festivals.

Here, there are no legends or myths about the origin of Olúa, in fact he is believed to have no origin, but at festival times, they say he comes from heaven, "Orun ní ti í á".

Among other things, the devotees of Olúa believe that he can give children to the barren, money to the poor, health to the sick; he is able to protect and guard his devotees and is all in all to them. The beliefs of the devotees are fully expressed in the chants and so, form a major part of the contents of ùjaamèsè and will therefore be discussed in detail in Part Two of this study.

2.4.1 The Olúa Cult, i.e. IMÈSÈ:

In spite of many visits and interviews, questions were carefully side-tracked and informants bluntly refused to give answers which could give the researcher information on the Imèsè, and the specific functions of the leaders and the floor members. The discussion that follows is therefore based on reference to the chants and informants' answers to questions on them.

⁵² See 2.4.4.4, pp.76-78, of this work.

In each of the Èrọ Communities, certain households take the leading role in the festivals. From these households, seven priests are appointed for life. Two of each group of seven lead the groups, and leaders of the cult are chosen from these. From the chants collected during a general meeting of leaders, it became clear that the following men are leaders of the cult:-

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) Abáláakè (Igbólé) | - | Chief Aláakè. |
| (2) Abáníðòfişin (Igbólé) | - | Chief Oníðòfişin. |
| (3) Abáláayè (Òsì) | - | Chief Aláayè. |
| (4) Abálíba (Igbólé) | - | Chief Olíba. |
| (5) Abálíwè (Òsì) | - | Chief Olíwè. |
| (6) Abálááté (Idó) | - | Chief Alááté. |
| (7) Abaròó (Ùşì) | - | Chief Aró. |
| (8) Abálògébà ⁵³ | - | Chief Ològébà. |

From present evidence, one cannot be sure that the above list represents the hierarchy of the cult leaders, but during the chanting, the chanters were prompted as they greeted each leader in turns.

⁵³ The post of the Ològébà is one that is common to all the Communities. He is the acclaimed leader of the youths of Imèşè, that is the young initiates. See a photograph of the Abálógébà for Ilógbò-Èkitì on p.69a.



Fig. 8: THE OLÓGÈÉBÀ FOR ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ
DEVOTEES OF OLÚÁ, IN HIS FULL
REGALIA.

The Imẹṣẹ Cult could be said to be a secret cult because its deliberations are held only before the initiated. It is a cult of male devotees, because even though there are female leaders among the devotees in general, they are left out of some major discussions and are never allowed to enter the ugbómọlẹ. Although the cult is open to male members of the participating households, membership is not automatic.

2.4.2 The Devotees of Olúa:

In Idó, Igbólé, Ilógbò, Òsì and Òṣì-Èkítì, it is assumed that Olúa is worshipped by all members of each community. From the evidence at hand however, there are households in each community which do not participate in the worship of Olúa at all. In Ilógbò for example, descendants of Ilé Èlẹwà, Ebí ìòrò, and Ilé Ògún do not worship Olúa. They belong to another cult, the EJIO (orò) cult. In Òṣì where some households even belong to both Cults, there are other households or members of the same household who belong to one or other of the two cults. While Ilé Òrọkọyọ worship both Olúa and Ejio, Ilé Amójòjoyè and Ilé Fákúádé with the same clan head do not worship Olúa.

Particular households as in Ìgbàrà-Odò however, are recognised as the major celebrants during festivals; these are shown below:

Community	Household
Idó-Èkiti	(i) Ilé Aláátẹ.
	(ii) Ilé Ọlẹwẹ.
Igbólẹ	(i) Ilé Ọlẹba Ọùn.
	(ii) Ilé Ọlẹba Èrídù.
Ilógbò	(i) Ilé Ìyẹdì.
	(ii) Ilé Àtògùn.
Òsì	(i) Ilé Aláayẹ.
	(ii) Ilé Ọbadù.
Ùsì	(i) Ilé Àró.
	(ii) Ilé Abásàjìyọ̀n.

It is not known however, how these households were originally chosen, but they all contend that their households have been the leading devotees from time immemorial, and no other households from any of the Communities has ever contested the right.

Women born into the households are also devotees of Ọlúa even though they are never initiated and never allowed to enter the ugbómọlẹ. These women are known as Ọjìsẹ Ọlúa (messengers of Ọlúa). Their duties include keeping the surroundings of the ugbómọlẹ clean, and cooking their own share of the food at festivals.

Another set of women, those not born into the households, but are members by marriage, are known as AGBÁLÈ UMOLÈ (sweepers for the divinity). As their name suggests, their main duty is sweeping.

From the first set of women, female leaders are appointed as follows:

Community	Female leader
Idó-Èkìtì	Oyinlórò
Igbólé	Olúgbéédù
Ilógbò	Èyékínlẹ ⁵⁴
Òsì	Èyélóómesú .
Ùsì	Èyékínlẹ.

A large number of other women who consider themselves beneficiaries of Olúa's goodwill all participate in the worship. It is not surprising therefore that women are found in great numbers during the annual festival.

2.4.3 The Worship of Olúa:

This deity is worshipped every eight days, in the

⁵⁴ See photograph of Èyékínlẹ of Ilógbò on p.72a.



Fig. 9: • TWO FEMALE LEADERS AMONG OLÚA DEVOTEES
IN ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ. ON THE RIGHT, IS
EYÉKÍNLE; ON THE LEFT IS EYÉLÁÁRÁ.

temple⁵⁵ in town. So, apart from the garden of secrecy, the ugbómólè⁵⁶, at the outskirts of each town, there is also a place of worship in the town where devotees gather every eight days to offer sacrifices to Olúa, beat the 'àgbá' drums, sing and dance. He is also worshipped at the festivals which are celebrated twice a year.

2.4.4 The Festivals

2.4.4.1 Fixing the date of Festivals:

Festivals are held both in the dry season and in the rainy season. The festival of the dry season which is normally celebrated just before the rains, is rightly known as ORÒ ÒGBELÈ, and the festival of the rainy season usually fixed for the latter part of the season, usually in August, is known as ORÒ ÒJÒ because of the season, or ORÒ ÈGBOJÒ because of the new yams harvested at this time of the year. Ègbojò is the name for the new yam in these parts.

In days gone by, there was a traditional method for fixing the date of festivals. At each of the

⁵⁵ See Fig. 10 on p. 73a.

⁵⁶ See Fig. 11 on p. 73b.

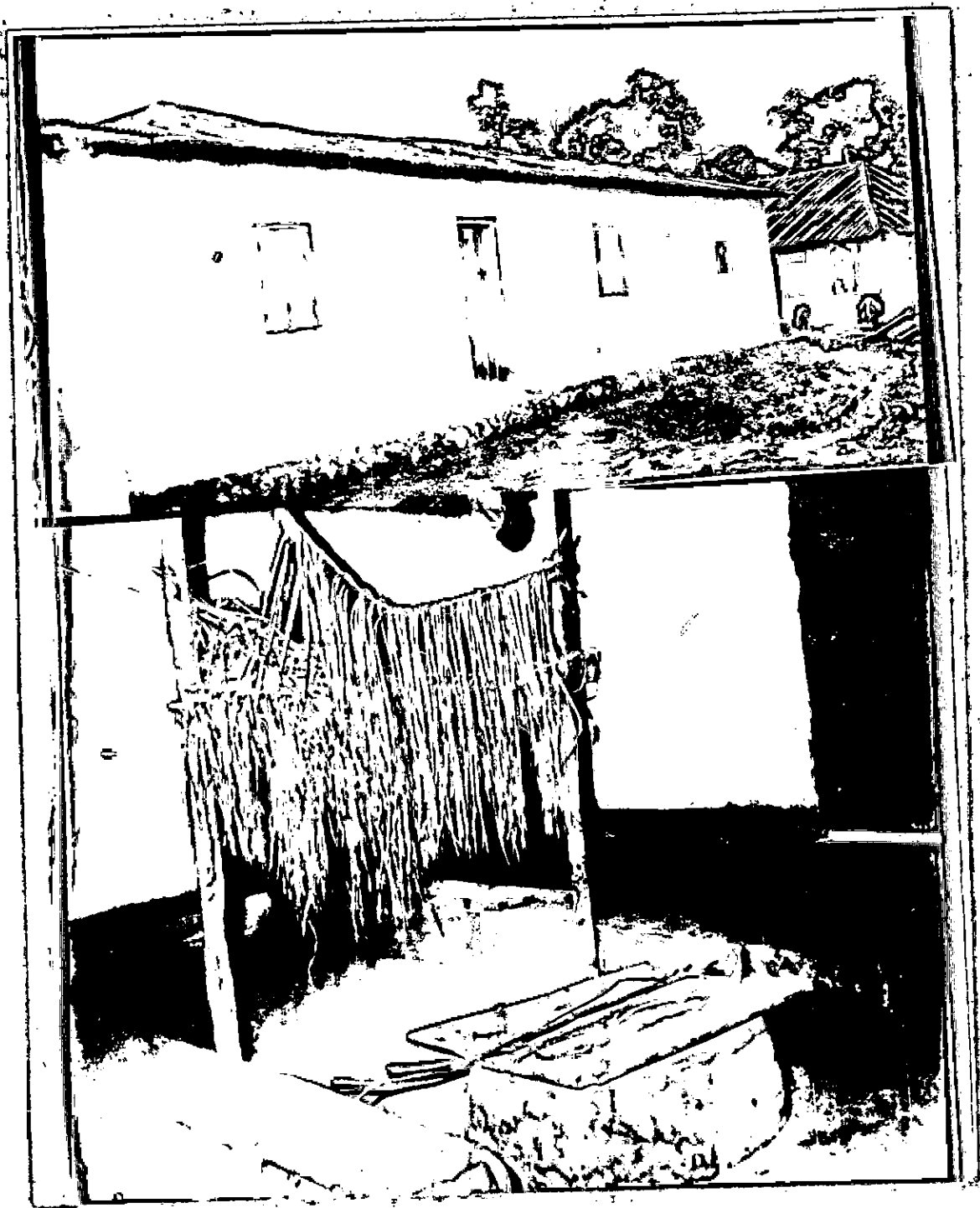


Fig. 10: THE TEMPLE OF OLÚA IN ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ.
THE EXTERIOR (TOP); THE INTERIOR
(BOTTOM).



Fig. 14: THE UGBÓMOLÈ IN ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ.

weekly services, one lobe of the kola-nut used as offering was laid aside. The devotees believe that a few days before the festival, the number of cotyledons thus left aside will be reduced by some mysterious means. If it is reduced by two, then there are two more worship rites (isón méjì) or seventeen days to the festival; but if it is reduced by just one cotyledon, then there are eight more days (isón kan), so the leaders will announce to worshippers that 'Olúa í orò ó dísónní,' (Olúa says his festival is in eight days' time). Consequently, the number of the cotyledons of kola nuts is checked at every worship meeting, and if found correct, no announcement is made; but if the number is reduced, the announcement is promptly made.

These days, however, tentative dates are fixed, considering the number of eight-day worship meetings between one festival and the other. For example, there were twenty-five weeks between the last festival in 1977 and the first one in Igbólé in 1978, that is twenty-two worship meetings (isón méjìlélógun).

2.4.4.2 The Festive Season:

Each festival lasts two days, the first of which is known as the IWÓRÒ and the second, ÀBORÒ. On the 1st day of the festival, devotees rush to their farms early in the morning and return by noon to prepare for the 'arrival' of the deity, which is later in the evening. Reference is made to this fact in the

Ujaamèşè chants thus:

"Ọn i wí kọn ọn mọ yóko lúgboorò.

E nọn ọn i pẹ í jí bọrìsà pèrò."

(There is no rule against going to the farm during festivals.

But one must wake up quickly to confer with the deity.)

As soon as devotees return from their farms about noon, people are seen going to and from the ugbómọlẹ area. The spectators' precinct is swept and one would also expect that initiated youths would sweep the interior. As this is a day of sacrifice, animals are offered to Ọlúa even before he is due to 'arrive'. Sacrificial animals are brought by many, particularly those who have received gifts from him.

2.4.4.3 The Curfew:

At about 9 p.m. in the evening of the 1st day of festival, a curfew is imposed on the area surrounding the ugbómọlẹ. The ugbómọlẹ in Ọsi is inside ^{the} town now, and in Igbólé, it lies at the Idó end of the town; there, no one can pass through the town during the curfew. Young devotees are made to stop all cars coming from both ends of town at this time until the curfew is over. In Ilógbò however, where the ugbómọlẹ is behind Ọkúta Edí which marks one end of the town and has no thorough-fare to other towns, the curfew

is only limited to the area of the ugbómọlẹ. Asked why the curfew is important, one informant remarked that it is a sign of respect for the arriving deity; another relates the curfew to the inexplainable fear that grips the atmosphere when the deity is due to arrive. If there was no curfew, the weak might receive a shock, a situation which would affect the peaceful celebration of the festival. Therefore, both the initiated and the uninitiated are expected to move completely away from the ugbómọlẹ during this period, which lasts approximately one hour.

At about 10 o'clock or so, the deity's shrill voice is heard and the devotees jump for joy as they find their way back to the ugbómọlẹ. This is the time when ùjaamẹsẹ chanting takes the air in full swing. Each chanter, on his way to the ugbómọlẹ hails the deity and welcomes him to the festival.

2.4.4.4 The Oracular dialogues:

Soon after the arrival of the deity, many people from different parts of the country kneel at the spectators' precinct ready to bring their problems to Olúa, thank him for gifts or mercies received, or make their vows.

This part of the festival is known as ÌGBÓNBO (ì-gbón-ẹbọ) (collection of sacrifices), because many animals are brought for sacrifice either for presentation

of supplication, or for thanksgiving or both. The Igbónbò therefore begins about mid-night and continues all night until every one's request has been presented and a response given.

As those for the Igbónbò kneel at the spectators' precinct the Ológěbà usually respectfully called Abálógěbà the leader of the young initiates explains to applicants what Olúa has to say to them. This is because the shrill voice is not intelligible to anyone attending the ceremonies for the first time. Each applicant in turns presents some kola nuts and salt, says his or her name and states his or her problem. This, the Abálógěbà presents to the deity who in turn, passes his response in a voice similar to a distorted human voice passed through several transmitters. The voice is usually shrill and sometimes faint, but a keen listener may understand what is said even before the Ológěbà explains to him, but at other times, particularly if the applicant is nervous, he may not hear even the Ológěbà the first time.

The Ológěbà in Ilógbò claims that anyone could hear and interpret Olúa's voice after listening several times. The truth is that one does not only have to be a keen listener, to hear the distorted utterances, but one also has to be used to listening to them.

At about noon on the 2nd day, the deity announces his departure; but before he leaves the festival arena of any community, he announces the next meeting place. Therefore, although the Orò Ògbelè (festivals of the dry season) take place in Òsì, Idó, Ilógbò, Igbólé and Òṣì in that order, it is not necessarily so at the Orò Òjò (festival of the rainy season). Idó community usually begins the Orò Òjò, followed by Òsì and then by the others in the order announced by the deity.

Olúa's departure from the festival of any one community is characterised by a mixture of loud supplications from spectators who are his believers, a lot of singing and dancing, and stamping of the feet. It is usually a very exciting occasion for devotees.

2.5.0 The Place of Olúa in the Yorùbá Pantheon:

In the succeeding account of the belief of the people in three different areas — Òyó-Yorùbá; Idó-Òsì Èkitì; and Igbàrà-Odò and Igèdè; 'òrìṣà' and 'umolè' will be featured. It should be borne in mind that to the best of our knowledge through the present investigation, the connotation of òrìṣà in the Èkitì-Yorùbá vocabulary is not on all fours with the connotation of òrìṣà in the Òyó-Yorùbá vocabulary.

It is the conviction of the present writer that before the advent of Christianity, the Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá used the word òrìṣà not only in reference to deities and divinities, but to the Supreme Being, Olódùmarè. During discussions with Yorùbá elders and Ifá priests who hail from both the Oṅdó and the Ọ̀yọ́ States, they confirmed that the word Olórun became more widely used for 'God' after the advent of Christianity and Islam in the country. They further explained that òrìṣà was the highest title given to any being by the Yorùbá, so in the use of òrìṣà for the deities and divinities of the Yorùbá pantheon, they considered them lesser òrìṣà, just as they did when they used Olórun for 'God' and considered the deities and divinities 'olórun kéékèèké' (minor gods).

In order to be more specific, one of the informant's gave the example of the Yorùbá saying 'Eni bá gbe'ra rẹ̀ l'òrìṣà òkè n gbè' (One who helps himself is further assisted by the 'deity above') that is, 'Heaven helps those who help themselves', where òrìṣà òkè (deity above) refers to God. Similarly, in the Yorùbá proverb "Òrìṣà jẹ́ ng péjì obinrin kò dénú", (Òrìṣà, let me have a partner (in my husband's home) is not a prayer said wholeheartedly by a woman,) the informants agreed that òrìṣà refers to God to whom

such spontaneous prayers are usually directed.⁵⁷

Today, however, most of the published works on Yorùbá culture and/or religion refer only to the connotation of òrìṣà as 'deity or divinity'. The Supreme Deity is not at all referred to as 'òrìṣà' by any of the authors.

Among the Èkìtì however, the original meaning of òrìṣà is retained. It is also still found in their day to day use of language. In their vocabulary, òrìṣà may mean not only 'deities and divinities' but also God (Ọlọrun). For example, they say about someone who is dead, 'Ọ ti lọ sọdọ ọrìṣà', (he has gone to God.) From the following extract from the texts of this thesis, there is no doubt that the people of Èrọ Local Government area of Oñdó State, use the term òrìṣà to connote Elẹdàá (the Creator):

"Ijọ kọọrìṣà kọ ti dani ní ti sẹdà oni jura."

(When òrìṣà created beings,

He made one higher than the other.)

⁵⁷ Summary of discussions between the present writer and Chief Agboólá (a renowned Ifá priest), and Mr. Láníyan Odúúlójú, (also a babaláwo), both of 56, Qdúnunfá Street, East, Ebute-Meta, Lagos; Chief Aşogá, the leader of the Qbalúwayé Cult in Akúrẹ; and Chief Ajáyí Fásanmí, the Alámo-èkú (a leading Ifá priest) of Ilógbò-Èkìtì et al.

The present writer's opinion is that òrìṣà here refers to God, for the skill to mould human beings often attributed to Ọ̀bàtálá is handed down to him in a deputising capacity, by Olódùmarè and this does not place Ọ̀bàtálá higher than Olódùmarè.⁵⁸

An informant⁵⁹ from our area of study claimed that since Christianity came to be embraced in these parts, and Jesus introduced to the people, the local people's title for Him has always been 'Ọ̀títọ́ ọmọ Ọ̀rìṣà' (Truth, the Son of God).

The other term used in reference to Olúa is umọ̀lẹ̀. This is also relevant in these areas, for it is used in reference to beings whose ways are mysterious to the villagers.

Before a conclusion is drawn here therefore, on who or what the people of Ìdó-Òsì Èkìtì worship, as Olúa, and his place in the Yorùbá pantheon, let us examine the chart below. It summarises the major points so far collected about the deity, Olúa.

⁵⁸ This is substantiated by an Ifá poem from Odù Idín-àtúnwá/Ìdítùrá (Òdí + Òtùrá) recited by Chief Agboṣá of 56, Ọ̀dúnunfá Street East, Ebute-Meta, Lagos. In it, God hands the binding rope of the universe to Ọ̀bàtálá.

⁵⁹ Chief Ọ̀látóyè Ọ̀níẹ̀pẹ̀ of Ilé Iyẹ̀di, Ilógbò-Èkìtì.

OLÚA IN PARTS OF YORUBALAND

	ÌDÓ-ÒSÌ ÈKÌTÌ	ÌGBÀRÀ-ÒDÒ ÈKÌTÌ	ÌGBÈDÈ- ÈKÌTÌ	ÒTAN AYÉGBAJÚ
Who is Olúa ?	Olódumare, the Supreme Deity	All powerful protector of Ìgbàrà	a deity	a deified hero
His origin	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Traveller from an unknown place.
Sex	Male, though symbolised as twin-deity	Male, but addressed as Father and Mother	Male, but addressed as Father and Mother	Male, but addressed as Father and Mother
Place of Abode	Heaven	Heaven	Heaven	Oke Olúa's cave in Òtan
Time of festival	i. March/April ii. August	May; August.	August only	May only
Duration of Festival	Two days	Seven days, though Olúa departs on the 2nd day.	Seven days	Seven days.
Main Sacrificial animals	Ram, Cock, and Goat.	Cow, Cock and Goat.	Dog, Ram, Cock, Goat	Cow and Cock.
Identity at Festivals	Twin symbols clad in palm- fronds.	Through a medium.	Through a medium (until recently)	Through a medium.
Main Drums used	Àgbá	Àgbá	Àgbá	Àgbá
Location of Temple(s)	i. In Town ii. In the nearby forest.	i. In town ii. In the forest.	i. In town, but forest bound.	On top of a hill in a forest.
His powers	Able to give devotees anything.	Able to give anything. Also, protec- tor in war.	Able to give all things.	Protector and defender at war. Gives children too.
Name of Relevant Chants.	ùjaamẹṣẹ	Èré Olúa	Èré Olúa	Ìsàré Olúa

A study of the above chart and other information so far discussed would lead one to conclude that the same deity is worshipped in the four enumerated areas. Variations however abound in the beliefs about the origin of the deity and in the mode of worship.

With regard to Ọtan Ayégbajú where the deity is their war hero, one would suspect that the legend concerning the journey made by Ọlúa from an unknown destination to Ọtan and in fact about his known life on earth have been made up lately, for in none of the other areas where people worship Ọlúa do they believe that he ever lived on earth. If their legend is to be acceptable, and one also accepts the inference that Ọlúa is a hill spirit, then a different deity is worshipped in Ọtan, but with a common name with that worshipped in the other areas.

Although the people of Ọtan, Igèdè and Igbàrà-Odò take Ọlúa for just one other deity (only Ọtan has any legend about him), he is to the others, a deity of unknown origin. The situation in Ịdó, Igbólé, Ịlógbò, Ọsì and Ùsì is a unique one. Believers here place Ọlúa on a pedestal equal to that of the Supreme Deity. They actually claim that he is Ọlúa Ọlódùmarè, (Ọlúwa Ọlódùmarè) (God Almighty). Elder devotees in Ịdó-Ọsì area insist that Ọlódùmarè loves his people much more than Christians think. Therefore he comes down in his symbolised form during festivals to cheer his people,

allay their fears and solve their problems. They do not agree that he is 'too holy and exalted to be approached directly with sacrifices.'⁶⁰ It is in reverence to him that attempts to photograph his symbols are never welcome; they are forbidden.

It is now obvious that Olúa is not synonymous with Ògún. In Igèdè the Ògún festival simply co-incides with Olúa festival; in Igbàrà-Odò, Olúa festival begins six days after the Ijobì ùja, the Ògún festival. In addition the fact that Ògún is venerated about the same time as Olúa in some areas is simply in consonance with the 'timing of the major festivals in relation to agricultural productivity.'⁶¹ This ensures that people have enough to eat and make merry; and since Ògún is the deity believed to be in charge of farming, he gets an important place during the season. And in reply to a question on the relationship between Olúa and Òsun as exemplified in Igbàrà-Odò, one of our informants in Ìdó-Òsì commented that the Olúa of the Ìdó-Òsì area is not known to have any wife, but Òsun is a woman of many husbands. In his own words

⁶⁰ J. O. Lucas, 1948, p.45; cf. E. Bọlaji Idowu, 1962, p.142.

⁶¹ G. J. Afólábí Òjó, Yorùbá Culture, University of London Press Ltd., 1966, p.184.

"Olókò pípò lóòsun, ò-légbèrin-àò-sùlé-mú-kete-rè-sebè ni," (Òsun has many husbands, she is the woman who has 800 pots, all filled with soup.)⁶²

Seeing that camwood and brooms are symbols of Sònpònná and camwood and palm-fronds are used at Olúá festivals; and seeing that the temples of Sònpònná used to be groves outside settlements, and Olúá has an ugbómọlẹ outside settlements in some of the areas in which he is worshipped, one is tempted to suggest that these people might have reinstated Sònpònná, whose worship was banned by the British Government in 1917, refined it and given it a new name. But, on the contrary, that deity known as Sònpònná was never known to have done anyone any good. It has been described by various writers as 'one of the most dreaded of Yorùbá gods'; 'of a very cruel nature and rather quarrelsome habit', and 'one of the demons by which this lower world is infested'.⁶³ Olúá on the other hand is a deity considered a protector, defender and provider by his devotees.

⁶² She is referred to as Sàngó's wife in G. J. A. Ojó 1966, op. cit., p.241.

⁶³ See J. O. Lucas, (1948), p.112; D. O. Epega, op. cit., p.35; and O. Johnson (ed.), The History of the Yorubas, (C.M.S. Bookshops, 1921), p.28.

Therefore, using the criteria suggested by Olabimtan⁶⁴ and the beliefs of the devotees as well as the suggestions for categorization offered in 2.2.0. of this investigation, that the powers of a deity must be an important criterion for categorizing him, the conclusion as far as one can tell at present, is that the cosmological location of Olúa is in heaven, and so he is a celestial deity. Second, that his numerous oríkì place him on the same pedestal as that of Olódùmarè, and third, that his executive functions are limitless. Evidences from the oracular dialogues show that his promises have not been known to fail and his pronouncements are feared and unalterable. Therefore he is worshipped with love and fear so well mixed that it adds excitement to the festivals. Worship is direct not through any intermediaries, and problems are solved almost as soon as they are presented at the ìgbónbò.⁶⁵

Therefore the inference from present evidence is that in the Ìdó-Òsì area of Èkìtì, the Supreme Deity, Olúa Olódùmarè is worshipped directly and regularly.

⁶⁴ Afolabi Olabimtan, 'Spiritual Hierarchy in Yorùbá Traditional Religion', 1974, op. cit., p.48.

⁶⁵ ìgbónbò: See 'The Oracular dialogues', 2.4.4.4, pp.76-78, of this work.

Èkitì devotees of Olúa Olódùmarè offer direct sacrifice to him as Supreme Deity contrary to the views expressed by Lucas.⁶⁶ These sacrifices are offered not only at festival times but at least once every eight days during the regular worship meetings. Also contrary to the views expressed by Idowu, and Afọlabi Òjọ, that the Yorùbá 'do not erect temples for the cult of Olódùmarè ...'⁶⁷ the people of Èkitì build temples for Olúa. So, the death of 'direct ritualistic worship of Olódùmarè' which Idowu laments would appear to be only relevant to Òyọ-Yorùbá area.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ J. Olumide Lucas, Religion of the Yorùbás, 1948, op. cit., p.46.

⁶⁷ Bolaji Idowu. 1962, p.141. See also G. J. Afọlabi Òjọ, 1966, op. cit., p.183.

⁶⁸ E. Bolaji Idowu, 1962, op. cit., p.143.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF THE ÈKÌTÌ-YORÙBÁ USED IN THE CHANTS

The term 'Yorùbá' refers both to the language and its speakers. Speakers of Yorùbá as mother tongue, number about eighteen and a half million in Nigeria alone. Moreover, there are thousands of other native speakers of the language in the Republic of Benin and Togo.¹

What is used today as the 'Standard' form of the language has an official orthography which was revised in 1974, after three Committees (1966, 1969, and 1974) had discussed and considered various proposals for amendments submitted by various experts - scholars specialised in Yorùbá linguistics, teachers of Yorùbá language and literature, authors of Yorùbá books and preachers using Yorùbá.

Adétúgbò rightly suggests that Standard language 'achieves some measure of uniformity as a literary koine.'² A considerable measure of uniformity is

¹ Igwe, John and Yai, Olabiyi, 'The Yorùbá Speaking Peoples of Dahomey and Togo', in YORÙBÁ, Journal of the Yorùbá Studies Association, Vol.1, No.1, 1973, p.9.

² Abiodun Adétúgbò, 'The Yorùbá Language in Western Nigeria: Its major dialect areas', Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1967, p.9.

detectable in literary works written in Standard Yorùbá (henceforth SY). When however the literary work is poetry, oral and localised, the artist uses the dialect of the language, of his home area, and differences do exist between dialects and the so-called 'Standard' form and also between one dialect and another.

It therefore becomes imperative in presenting the oral poetry of any part of Yorubaland, to discuss the form of the language used, and its influence on the poetry. Such a discussion should throw enough light on the major differences between the 'Standard' form and the dialect used in the area. This will ensure that the reader can read through with ease and comprehension, excerpts from the poetry as well as the representative examples in the Appendix.

The area designated CY (Central Yorùbá) in Adétúgbô's classification of Yorùbá dialects³ includes Èkìtì and so, the area under study. The geographical region referred to as Èkìtì is made up of seventeen large towns each traditionally ruled by a crowned Ọba and several small towns or villages headed by cap-wearing 'heads'. Politically, the area is divided into eight local government councils thus:

³ A. Adétúgbô, 1967, ibid, p.2.

Name of Local Government	Name of Headquarters
Èkitì East	Òmùò-Èkitì
Èkitì West	Arámọkọ-Èkitì
Èkitì North	Ìkọlẹ-Èkitì
Èkitì South	Ìkẹrẹ-Èkitì
Èkitì South-West	Ìlawẹ-Èkitì
Èkitì Central	Adó-Èkitì
Ìjerò	Ìjerò-Èkitì
Èrọ	Ìdó-Èkitì

Each town in the area usually carries with its name the suffix 'Èkitì', so one hears of towns such as Ìsẹ-Èkitì, Ìlășà-Èkitì, Ọyẹ-Èkitì, Ùyin-Èkitì and so on.

As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the source of the poetry presented in this work is Èrọ Local Government area, with headquarters at Ìdó-Èkitì; and Ọtùn Èkitì as the farthest end toward the boundary between Kwara State and Oñdó State. When the Èkitì individual speaks the Yorùbá language as his mother tongue, he uses the Èkitì accent of Yorùbá. This accent is so thickly coloured with Èkitì intonation that it is often his identity mark in spoken English as well. To the Èkitì-Yorùbá speaker, however, there is some distinction between the dialect spoken in his

own town and that of any other, near or far from his home. Therefore the variant of Èkitì spoken in Idó (Èrò Local Government Area) is clearly different from that spoken in Işòn (Èkitì North Local Government Area), or Ikóro (Ìjerò Local Government Area). Several factors some phonetic some phonological, patently explain this difference. Therefore while it seems to the ordinary non-Èkitì listener that the Èkitì speak just one dialect of the Yorùbá language, it seems to Èkitì-Yorùbá (henceforth EY) speaker that he speaks either the Òkèrè-Èkitì variant of EY dialect or the Oyè-Èkitì variant of EY.

For the purpose of this work therefore, the present writer identifies several sub-dialects of Èkitì-Yorùbá, and refers to all of them together as one dialect of Yorùbá, that is EY. A sub-dialect therefore takes its name from the town in which it is spoken, for example, Òsì sub-dialect (O.S.D.). This is to say that in Èkitì, there are as many sub-dialects of EY as there are towns and villages.

3.1 A Phonetic Comparison of EY and SY:

3.1.1 Vowels: The synchronic form of SY is only a development of a diachronic form based on Oyò dialect of Yorùbá accepted as the Standard form only as a matter of convention. One hopes that in the not too distant future, a Dictionary of SY will include words and their various meanings and usages in the different

dialect areas - Akókó, Ègbá, Èkitì, Ìjèbú, Ìkálẹ̀, Ilàjẹ̀, Oṅdó, Ọ̀wọ̀, Yàgbà, etc.

In its present form, SY consists of seven oral vowels:

<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ

and an [a] which some phoneticians make central while others describe it as a back vowel, depending on the pronunciation of the informant. There are also four nasal vowels:

<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
ĩ	ũ
ẽ	õ

[ẽ] is an open mid-low nasal vowel which has very limited occurrence in SY, occurring only in [ĩjẽ] (that) and [músẽ] as in [réřĩ músẽ] (smile). It however has a higher frequency of occurrence in other dialects of Yorùbá, as indicated by the following examples:

[ẽfřẽ] - a kind of leaf (Ìkálẹ̀ dialect).

[agbòrɛ́] - antelope (ìkàrɔ́ Àkóké dialect).

[ɛ̃wɛ̃] - you (plural) (Ìjẹ́bú dialect).

In EY it is almost completely absent, except in local variants of EY where speakers use 'En en' for 'In in yoo' (oh yes/that's right).

[ã] is found in SY only as an allophone of [ɔ̃]. Although it is conventional to write [ɔ̃] after labial consonants, and [ã] after others in SY orthography, the distinction between the sounds is only found in the reading of SY educated users of the language, not in their speech. Although Siertsema and Ward agree that 'an' has a variety of pronunciations, one of which is [ɔ̃], Siertsema proposes that 'the spelling 'an' could be used in all cases to represent this phoneme.'⁴ She however does not explain the basis for her choice. This choice will surely present a clash between the orthography which is a matter of convention, and the sound system of the language, which is linguistic and so scientific. The choice of one allophone is however desirable in order to reduce the confusion that is now present in the orthography.

Even though the educated Yorùbá speaker reads 'an' as though it is the nasalized form of [a], and reads 'on'

⁴ Bertha Siertsema, 'Nasalized Sounds in Yorùbá', Lingua 7, 1958, p.362.

as if it is a nasalized form of [ɔ̃], the present writer agrees with Siertsema that on/an in Standard Yorùbá is a phoneme in its own right, not a nasalized 'a' or a nasalized 'o'. The EY realization of the phoneme as observed by the present writer is [ɔ̃]. She has not found [ã] in the pronunciation of speakers of the sub-dialects of EY in her area of study.

While SY has seven oral vowels, EY has nine:-

<u>Front</u>		<u>Back</u>	
i	ɪ	u	ʊ
	e		o
	ɛ		ɔ
a			

EY also has six nasal vowels:-

ĩ	ĩ	ũ	ũ
ẽ		õ	

The vowels are here exemplified (in their phonetic forms) as they occur both in SY and EY:-

SY Vowel	Example	English Equivalent	EY Vowel	Example	English Equivalent
[i]	īgī	tree, wood	[i]	idzokū	creeper
			[ɪ]	īRū	hair
[u]	ījū	yam	[u]	ūsū	yam
			[ʊ]	ūjā	suffering
[e]	ēwé	leaf	[e]	ējī	tooth
[o]	ōrí	head	[o]	ōdzú	eye
[ɛ]	ēsè	foot	[ɛ]	ējē	bird
[ɔ]	ōkó	hoe	[ɔ]	ōsè	foot
[a]	ādé	crown	[a]	ādé	crown
[i]	ōrī	song	[ī]	ērī	song
			[ĩ]	ōtĩ	alcohol
[ũ]	ārū	disease	[ũ]	ērū	sponge
			[ỹ]	ēkíkũ	pineapple
[ẽ]	ījē	that one	[ẽ]	ējē	oh yes
[õ]	ōgbó	wisdom	[õ]	ōgbó	wisdom
[ă]	ità ⁵	story	-	-	-

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This feature i.e. [ă] is not in my own idiolect and only exists in some variants of Ọyọ dialect.

The above table indicates that there are vowel sounds in EY which correspond to those of SY, even if with a difference in distribution. The vowels [i, e, o, ɛ, ɔ and a] may occur initially, medially and in final position in SY word structure; but [u] never occurs in initial position in any word. In EY, all the above vowels, including [u] and [ɪ] and occasionally [ʊ] may occur in word-initial position. EY [u] corresponds to SY [i] and [u]. EY [u] may occur in initial, medial and final positions in words.

Initially it occurs in words such as:-

ūfū	-	yam,
ūwò	-	hole; whistling
ùkókó	-	the whole of

Medially, it is found in the following words among others:

èkùjè	-	a type of pest
ēwúsà	-	giant-rat
ēgúrù	-	ant-hill.

In final position, it occurs in words such as

òkúrù	-	cane rat
òdú	-	a kind of vegetable; name of a stream.
èbíbù	-	slice

EY [ũ] also corresponds to SY [ã], but no nasal vowel occurs in initial position of words in SY. The situation is different in EY, [ũ] may occur in word-initial position in words such as:

Uun - ũũ - something,
unrin - ũrĩ - iron.

It may also occur in final position in disyllabic, and monomorphemic polysyllabic words such as:

ērũ - sponge
ōrókú - knee
òkìkù - darkness.

In addition to these vowels common to both EY and SY, EY also has another close back vowel [u], and a front vowel [ɪ]. [u] occurs more in V₁ position than in any other. There are however a few examples of its occurrence in central position of words, in the chants:
[ɔ̃dzùá] - person whose duty it is to share out things in a group.

[ùs̄ókús̄] - nonsense, dirty talk.

In initial position it is found in the following words among others:

[ùjé] - poverty
[ùjà] - suffering

[ɪ] may be found in word-initial positions, such as:

[ɪjò]	-	salt.
[ɪjò̃]	-	pounded yam.

It hardly occurs in final position in words.

EY also has two extra nasal vowels [ũ] and [ɪ̃]. They both behave like the nasal vowels of SY, occurring only in central and word final positions. [ũ] occurs in the following words:

àgũtò	-	sheep
ɔbũtũ	-	bride;

[ɪ̃] occurs in central and final positions, in

[ènɪ̃nũ]	-	[mercy]
[ònɪ̃jò]	-	person.
[tí]	-	finished.
[ɔáf]	-	afternoon.

It has been observed by earlier writers that there exists a special type of harmony between vowels in SY.⁶ Recently another observation was made by Akinkúgbé. She

⁶ Ayo Bamgbose, 'Vowel Harmony in Yorùbá', *Journal of African Languages*, Vol. 6, Part 3, 1967, pp. 268-273; and Oladélé Awobulayi, 'Vowel and Consonant Harmony in Yorùbá', *Journal of African Languages*, Vol. 6, Part 1, pp. 1-8.

rightly observes that the vowels which occur in Ìrùn sub-dialect fall into two mutually exclusive co-occurrence sets.⁷ This feature of vowel harmony will be discussed in this Chapter,⁸ in relation to Èkìtì-Yorùbá dialect.

3.1.2 Consonants: The chart below shows the types of consonants which occur in SY and EY.

	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	PALATO- ALVEOLAR	GLOTTAL	VELAR	LABIO- VELAR
STOPS	b	t, d				k, g	kp, gb
APPROXIMANTS							w
NASALS	m	n					
FRICATIVES	f	s	j	dz	h		
AFFRICATES				ʃ			
LIQUIDS		l r					

⁷ O. O. Akinkugbe, 'A Comparative Phonology of Yorùbá Dialects, Iṣẹ̀kírì and Igalà', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1978, Vol.1, p.75.

⁸ See 3.2, pp.105-111 of this work.

There are ~~three~~ three types of 'r' in EY — the voiced alveolar flap [ɾ], the roll [r]/[R] and the retroflex, [ɽ]. The first two, [ɾ] and [R] occur as distinct phonemes in Ìdó, Igbólé, Ilógbò, Òsì and Ùṣì [the source of ùjaamèṣṣè] sub-dialects, as they occur in the sub-dialects of many other villages outside the Èrò Local Government area. The third, [ɽ] is not phonemic. It is heard in some speakers' idiolects as a realization in particular environments. It is in free variation with [R]⁹.

Also in the chants under study, the idiolects of some of the chanters from Ilógbò and Òsì exhibit another allophone of [s] apart from the voiceless alveolar fricative. This other allophone the present writer describes as a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative with a little coiling back of the tip of the tongue. It occurs in words such as:

[sóṣṣè] - to the foot.

[àṣìṣṣè] - an attributive name for Òsì-Èkitì.

3.1.2.1 Consonantal¹⁰ Correspondences:

Although the inventory of EY consonants is nearly the same as for SY, certain words in EY do not have the

⁹ cf. R. G. Armstrong, 'The Yorùbá Dialect of Adó-Èkitì', African Notes, Vol.5, No.2, January 1969, p.63.

¹⁰ Vowel correspondences are discussed in the section on Vowel Harmony in 3.2 of this work.

same consonants as semantically similar words in SY. The following examples from the oral texts exhibit a number of correspondences between the consonants of EY and that of SY:-

SY	EY	English Equivalent
ēnū	ērū	mouth
dídú	íríú	a sweet ---
ākpa	aká	arm
ēhí	èjì	back
ābāwò	āmàò	with the colour of ...
ābēdza	āmēdza	with fishes like ---
ihò	ūwò	hole.

One must quickly add here that these correspondences are restricted to particular words in EY, and therefore there is no rule for switching from 'n' to 'r' from SY to EY or 'b' to 'm'; the learner must learn the vocabulary in which these correspondences occur.

In addition to the differences exemplified, the consonants [h] and [w] are also worthy of note in SY, for they are sometimes eliminated from some EY words. For example, SY 'lhòòhò' (nudity) becomes 'lòrìò' in EY,

a form derived from the full form of the word, 'ihòrìhò' by the total elimination of the two 'h's in the word. [w] is also eliminated from certain words in EY. Here are some examples:

SY	EY	English Equivalent
ōwó	ōó	hand
ōwò	ōò	broom
āwō	āō	native priest
àwò	àò	colour
ōwó	ēó	money
èwù	èù	clothing
wó	ó	expensive

While these elimination is found in many words, so also are words found in EY which retain the [w]. The following words are a few of them:

SY	EY	English Equivalent
wà	wà	dig
ōwá	ōwá	title of an Qba
ìsáádžú	òsúwádžú	leading
---	āwèréc	name of a stream
wí	wí	say

The deduction of the present writer is that the [w] of SY has a correspondence of Ø, or 'w' in EY. When [w] is derived from [ɣ], it is realized as Ø in EY, but when it is derived from the labio-velar sound, it is retained as in 'Èwí' (title of the Òba of Adó-Èkiti); 'ìwà' (character) and the examples in the above table.

3.1.2.2 The Syllabic Nasal: In SY, the syllabic nasal is represented by the alveolar nasal [n]. It functions both as a syllable in word structure and as a verbal particle¹¹ or pre-verbal adverb¹² in sentence structure. In EY however, the syllabic nasal has a restricted occurrence compared to SY, for in many instances of its existence in SY, the correspondence in EY is a nasal consonant plus a germinate vowel and this vowel is [u] or [u] depending on its environment. Here are some examples:

SY	EY
ibànté	ibàmùtè - loin-cloth
kòṅkò	kòmũkò - bull-frog
ògòṅgò	ògòmũgò - palm-weevil

¹¹ See Ayọ́ Bamgboṣe, A Grammar of Yorùbá, Longman, 1966, p.67.

¹² See Oládélé Awobuluyi, Essentials of Yorùbá Grammar, O.U.P., 1978, p.68.

In SY however, the syllabic nasal is highly susceptible to the influence of neighbouring sounds; so much so that the nasal consonant and the neighbouring consonant share a common place of articulation. For example, in the word *kòṅkò* (bull-frog), the 'n' is velarized because of the neighbouring velar plosive [k], such that it is pronounced [kòṅkò]. In 'dáńfó' (mini-bus), the 'n' takes the form [ɲ] before the labio-dental fricative [f] and is therefore pronounced [dáńfó]. The syllabic nasal in SY thus has a number of allophonic realizations depending on the neighbouring consonant in its environment.¹³ This situation only arises in EY, on the few occasions when the syllabic nasal is not used in its full form as exemplified earlier. Examples of such situations are found in words such as

alántakùn	—	ālántakũ	—	spider
bèṅbẹ	—	ibèṅbẹ	—	base drum.

Here, both [n] and [t] are articulated at the alveolar, while both [m] and [b] are bilabial.

¹³ See O. Olútoyè, 'The Phonological Structure of Yorùbá Nouns', M.A. Dissertation, The University of Leeds, Leeds, 1974, p.13.

3.2 Vowel Harmony in Èkìtì-Yorùbá:

Armstrong and Akinkugbe¹⁴ agree that there are two mutually exclusive sets of vowel co-occurrence in EY. Akinkugbe sets them out thus:-

<u>Set 1</u>				<u>Set 2</u>			
i	ĩ	ũ	u	ɪ	ɪ̃	ũ	u
e		o		ɛ		õ	o
(a)				a			

[a] is therefore common to both sets, but examples show that 'a' co-occurs more frequently with vowels of set 2 than with vowels of set 1. The present writer confirms Armstrong's observation¹⁵ that as a final vowel 'a' belongs to set 2 but as an initial vowel it belongs to either set. Here are a few examples:

¹⁴ R. G. Armstrong, 1969, op. cit., pp.88 and 90; O. O. Akinkugbe, 1978, op. cit., pp.75-77.

¹⁵ R. G. Armstrong, 1969, ibid., p.89.

Word	Position of vowel	Type of Vowel in harmony
ùjà	final	Set 2
òbà	final	Set 2
òdà	final	Set 2
àjò	initial	Set 2
àrè	initial	Set 1
àdì	initial	Set 1
àmù	initial	Set 1
àlè	initial	Set 2
àrò	initial	Set 2

Although some SY vowels correspond to EY vowels, they behave differently since EY has a complete form of Vowel harmony. A number of the correspondences and the differences in the system of co-occurrence are here discussed.

SY 'i' corresponds to EY 'i', 'u' and 'u', but while SY 'i' may be followed by any of the other SY vowels in a VCV noun structure, EY 'i' can only be followed by vowels of Set 1. In this wise, it behaves like EY 'u', which may occur in initial position, so long as the vowel in V_2 position is chosen from Set 1, as in the following words:

ūki	—	potto
ùró	—	wrapper
ūkù	—	abdomen.

Using Awobuluyi's¹⁶ label for this type of Vowel harmony, viz. 'word-initial', EY 'i' in V₁ position may be followed by itself, e and ï. 'u' in V₁ position, may be followed by i, ï, e, and o. 'u' in V₁ position, may be followed by a, ε, ɔ, ã and ï.

SY 'e' corresponds to EY 'e' and they behave in the same way. Neither SY 'e' nor EY 'e' may co-occur with 'ε' or 'a' or 'ɔ'.¹⁷

ε/e correspondence between SY and EY is worthy of mention. In many 'ε' initial words in SY, the EY correspondence for 'ε' is 'e'. This change is controlled by the strict vowel harmony of EY. The following examples exhibit the extent of the ε/e correspondence between the two varieties even in the same semantic range:

¹⁶ Oládélé Awóbùlúyí, 1967, op. cit., p.1.

¹⁷ 'a' may co-occur with 'e' only when 'a' is V₁. There is however an example of probably an old word 'èba' (jar for holding grease, oil or ointment), in A Dictionary of the Yorùbá Language, O.U.P., 1950, Part Two, p.67.

SY	EY	English Equivalent
èǝí	èǝí	back
ēní	ení	mat
ērù	ērù	luggage; property
ètù	ètù	(gun) powder
èbí	èbí	fault

In the above examples, all SY 'ɛ' correspond to EY 'e', followed by i, ĭ, and u, all vowels of Set 1. The evidences at hand here lead one to conclude that in VCV words, where EY retains the 'ɛ' in V_1 position, V_2 must be chosen from Set 2, but where V_2 is retained, the corresponding vowel 'e' must be used.

SY 'o' corresponds to EY 'o', and neither co-occurs with 'ɛ' and 'ɔ'. They are also never found in word-initial position when 'a' is V_2 .

SY 'ɔ' corresponds to EY 'ɔ' but while SY 'ɔ' may harmonise with i, ɛ, ɔ, a; and not e, u, o, EY 'ɔ' may only co-occur with vowels of Set 2.

In SY monomorphemic non-onomatopoeic polysyllabic words, Awobuluyi¹⁸ claims that the system of vowel harmony is restricted to the last two syllables of the word, the vowels agreeing either with regard to frontness (non-labiality) or backness (labiality), 'the low central vowel 'a' being neutral. In EY however, all the vowels of such words harmonise with regard to the feature 'Expanded'¹⁹. Therefore in all the syllables of EY monomorphemic non-onomatopoeic polysyllabic words, the vowels are either all [+ Expanded] (Set 1), or [- Expanded] (Set 2).

In EY the feature of vowel harmony extends from the word in isolation to words in syntagmatic relations in sentence structure. Before we discuss this phenomenon, it is pertinent to understand the form of the polymorphic nouns²⁰ in EY. These nouns also fall into two sets, each set occurring with vowels of Set 1 or Set 2:-

Set 1

Singular

Plural

mō/mō

ā }

o

ī }

e

ē }

occurring with
vowels of Set 1.

¹⁸ Oládélé Awóbùlúyì, J.A.L., 1967, op. cit., p.4.

¹⁹ See O. O. Akínkùgbé, (1978), op. cit., Vol. 1, p.79.

²⁰ Oládélé Awóbùlúyì, Essentials of Yorùbá Grammar, 1978, op. cit., pp.22-25.

Set 2SingularPluralmō̄/mō̄^x

ā

ó

ī

é

ē

} occurring with
vowels of Set 2.

In the singular number, the form of the polymorphic noun used is entirely dependent on the vowel of the verb in the sentence. Therefore, all the items that come between the subject and the verb, also fall in line with this harmony. For example, while an SY speaker says 'ó ti tán' [ó tī tó] using vowel sounds which remain the same in any structure, the EY speaker must adjust his tongue for the subject and the verbal modifier. Therefore, since the EY vowel for 'tán' is [ó], he says [ó tī tī], all vowels being of the same set. Here are more examples from the chants here studied:

(i) "Abaà mi Ògúnfóláji.

Q ti ló sódò Èdùmàrè o."

(My father Ògúnfóláji.

He has gone to the Almighty.)

Here, since the verb 'lò' [lō] has a Set 2 vowel, the verb of the subject and that of the modifier also harmonise. In the next example, the vowels of the verb riyè [ríjè] are of Set 1, and so the form of the polymorphic noun is that of Set 1, [mō̄].

(ii) "Uwó mo mò ríyè ọrà mi lé ò 'Togùn Mòjò."

(You it is that I depend upon 'Togùn Mòjò)

Also in the following extract from the oral texts, every utterance exhibits this system of vowel harmony between words in sentence structure:

"èyìn inì ọ mú í ọlé.

èyìn inì lo o kúkú mú í jáde ò.

Mọ yá mọlẹ kó mò mèyèyìn í rìn."

(It is with backwards steps you enter the arena.

It is with backwards steps you make your exit.

I seek refuge from the spirit that walks
backwards.)

In the first line of the extract, the verb carries the [ɔ] of Set 2 in [ò] (enter), therefore the subject is also a Set 2 vowel [ɔ]. In the second utterance, the verb [ǎzáǎǎ] has the neutral vowel [a], and [e], a vowel in Set 1, therefore the subject is chosen from Set 1, and is [ō]. In the final line of the extract, the verb yá [já] is preceded by the subject [mǒ] because [a] co-occurs more frequently with vowels of Set 2 than those of Set 1.

When however the plural forms of the nouns are required, the forms are similar both for vowels of Set 1 and Set 2, except for the second person plural.

3.3 Contraction and Assimilation:

When two vowels are juxtaposed in Yorùbá, one of two things may happen:

- (a) One of them may be elided to produce a contracted form of the two words.
- (b) One vowel may influence the articulation of the other.

The feature in (a) above is known as Contraction; while that in (b) is called Assimilation.

In SY, assimilation usually involves a change of phoneme and particularly so when the initial vowel of the second noun is the high front vowel [i]. The final form of the word thus formed has a duplication of the final vowel of the first word:

òkò + ìlẹ̀ — òkòòlẹ̀ (land transport/car).

òtā + ibẹ̀ — òtāàbẹ̀ (bullet).

Assimilation in EY is the same as for SY so long as the vowel harmony is not disrupted. The vowel [i] is a constant victim of assimilation as it is in SY, as the following examples show:

bí + ùgbì — búùgbì (as)

bí + ǫnǫ — bǫǫnǫ (like one who)

When there is a reduplication of consonants, the first is eliminated in EY. In SY there is contraction, then assimilation:

Full form (S)	EY form	SY form
èsísú	èísú	èésú (thrift collection)
āgōgō	āōgō	āāgō (watch)
ēígú	ēígú	ēēgú (masquerade)

There are however some exceptions to this rule, for in SY there is "ìkòkò, but no liko", and in EY there are words such as [ēRìRà], [ējìjì]. The following examples exhibit these phenomena:

- (i) One consonant deletion;
- (ii) Progressive Assimilation; and
- (iii) a complete change of both phonemes:-

Full form (EY)	EY form	SY form	English Equivalent
/èlfló/	/èflū/	/àálú/	pity
/ēRìRà/	/εRìRà/	/eèrà/	ant
/ōrìrù/	/ōìrù/	/ōòrù/	sun
/ōgìgù/	/ōìgù/	/ōògù/	medicine
/èkíkónó/	/èíkónó/	/èékónó/	finger-nail.

Two factors are significant in the forms of the first two columns above (both used in EY). First the second vowel of each word is [í] or [ɪ], which are rather vulnerable to assimilation. Second, the tones on the full forms remain unchanged in the other two columns.

Contractions of a more complex nature than hitherto discussed in SY are however found in EY. In an example such as [òkútā] (stone) which is contracted to [ūtā] in EY and found in the oral texts:

'òṁṁ ūtá ʃèénũ ūtā gbékēd̄zi lérí.'

(Descendant of those whose rock,

As if in sympathy, carries its partner
on its head),

the first two sounds of a word, one a consonant, the other a vowel are deleted. Conversely the SY form [àbúrò] (junior sister or brother) has an EY form [àbú] in which the last two sounds are deleted. It is not surprising therefore that an example such as 'a + dé - wo - òréré' (a place where one may stand to see a long distance away from him) is recorded as [àdéòrē] in the chants.

With the evidence at hand, the present writer is convinced that at the level of phonology, EY is more relic-preserving than SY, and this observation should be used to advantage in the study of the synchronic form of SY.

3.4 Some differences in the Syntactic Structure of SY and EY

3.4.1 The preverbal modifier [n] of SY takes the form [í] in EY. So, in EY sentence structure, the [í] may precede the verb as in the following example:

"Oorò í r'òde o

Oorò í rebi orò í rè"

(The festival has begun.

The festival is moving on as it should).

It may also follow the verb it modifies as in the examples below:

"Qmọ 'elési kààjòjí pòyí í ká"

(Descendant of one whose 'esi'²¹ medicine,
Even 'strangers walk round for protection.)

"Èmi rọn laàkókó bímọ í sín"

(I am one of those for whom the woodpecker hatches
its young ones.)

3.4.2 The introducer which marks sentences used as relative clause qualifiers in SY is 'tí' but 'kí' in EY. This introducer may or may not be present in EY sentence structure. When it is present, the subject of the qualifying sentence carries the high tone as in:

²¹ èsi - protective medicine buried at the gate of a compound. For more details, see Chapter 5, footnote 27.

"omọ olóṣè kòn òn mèyíntì í là"

(Owner of the baobab tree through which one becomes rich while resting one's back.)

When the introducer is absent, a construction such as this one occurs:

"omọ olórò òn màtokobọ ẹ"

(Owner of the festival celebrated after returning from the farm.)

Here the subject of the qualifying sentence 'òn' carries the mid-tone, the normal tone for the third person plural of the polymorphic noun group.

3.4.3 The negator in EY is mó as against má in SY. The form of this item is in fact mV, where the type of vowel is dependent on the vowel of the verb of the sentence. Here are some examples from the oral texts:

"Oùn mo pòdì sí mi lẹrun.

Adiye mò podì jẹkà.

.... ẹrun adiye mè í sé'gbàdo".

(My voice should not fail me.

A fowl does not fail to eat its corn.

.... a hen's peck never misses the corn.)

In the above example, there is 'mo pòdì' and 'mè í sé'; in each, the vowel of the negator and that of the verb are of the same tongue-height.

Having said so much about the differences and similarities between SY and EY, the present writer hopes that the reader will more easily understand the texts presented in this work. It is also hoped that the reader appreciates the fact that in order to avoid any redundancy in this work, this should not be the forum for discussing ALL the differences in the Ekiti Dialects of Yorùbá, a subject rather complex in nature.

3.5 Special lexical items in the varieties of Ekiti-Yorùbá spoken in the area under study

A few comments on the special vocabulary of the Ekiti dialects particularly of the area under study, is inescapable. This is so because there is a wealth of words and expressions here which in the SY variant of the language require several words of explanation. In these areas, while the EY speaker has words for particular leaves or seeds, he also has special words for the young or fresh plants or the seeds still in the protective container provided for them by nature. For example,

- (i) iróró - the melon seeds still in the calabash container.
- (ii) ègbò - the Akee apple pod, yet to be broken (~~When~~ broken, the fruits are isin.)
- (iii) èbèlẹ̀ - the young leaves of the indigofera tree.

- (iv) ìlolo - the yam tuber, still too tender to be harvested.
- (v) àrùnbò - what is left of wood which has been used in a portable oven.

Furthermore, when the SY speaker refers to the pineapple as the 'European palm' (òpẹ̀ òyìnbó), the EY speaker has a word for it, viz. ẹ̀kíkún²². There is also ample opportunity for an enlarged version of the Yorùbá Dictionary including more than just one word for each item, for the EY speaker refers to ebòlò (the pot-herb with bluish flower-heads)²³ as ẹ̀bírẹ̀, and to olú (mushroom/fungus) as osun/ògògò.

Apart from these, we list below examples of words used in these areas of Èkitì and which, sometimes occur in the texts of ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ chants. We attempt where possible, to give the SY equivalent and also an English translation for each item:-

²² We are also informed that the Ọ̀wọ̀ word for pineapple is gogoyin.

²³ The botanical name is *Gynura Cernua* (See Abraham, R. C., 1958, p.147).

3.5.1 Birds, rats, reptiles, insects:

EY	SY	English
1. àjàò	kò sèku kò sẹyẹ kan ni.	A type of bird known to be a trickster.
2. ekiri	oríṣi ejò kan púnú ní, tí ó lè fi ibi idí rẹ wọ lọ, bí a bá gé orí rẹ.	a bulky medium sized snake, much similar to the earthworm in appearance.
3. ẹsìsà	kòkòrò pupa kan tó ní mu epo.	brown ants, moving together in legions and fond of palm-oil.
4. òkúrù	ọyà	Cane rat
5. ọyíyẹ	eku kan tó dàbí ọkẹrẹ, sùgbón ó kéré jù ń lọ.	a brown rat, of the squirrel family, though smaller in size than the squirrel.
6. Ọyọn	Kònkò	a fattish spotted edible frog.
7. ọyùnkún	eku kan tó tún fẹẹ jọ ọkẹrẹ ní.	another family of the squirrel's, but about the size of a giant-rat.
8. párẹẹ	ẹgá	the weaver bird.
9. sínṣín-in-ríngún/ àròmùrò	-	this is considered to be the smallest bird in the Yorubaland; it is small and graceful.
10. tàmuròkòkò	kòkòrò pupa kan tó máa ní kó àwọn ọmọ rẹ jẹ lákòókò isù titun.	a type of red ants more commonly seen when new yams are being harvested.
11. ògòmùgò	pañtaji	praying mantis.

EY	SY	English
12. ùri	eyo kan tó jo oriri, sùgbón ó tóbí jù oriri lọ diẹ.	a dancing bird, similar in appearance to the pigeon, though smaller.

3.5.2 Trees, plants and shrubs:

13. afà ²⁴	afàrà	a sappy tree with natural steps for climbing it.
14. ẹkíkún	ọpọ̀n-yínbó	pine-apple.
15. ayẹ̀rẹ̀/utà	ità	slim, tall tree, highly inflammable, and so used for making fire.
16. ẹiọ	ẹyí tó kù nínú odi eyin tí a bá tí kó eyin inú rẹ̀ kúrò. Ègún ni ó máa ń jẹ́; tí ó bá gbẹ̀, o se ó dáná.	the thorny part of a bunch of palm-nuts when the nuts have been removed.
17. làré	ìràwé — ewé gbígbe tí ó funraarẹ̀ wọ.	dry leaves naturally shed from a tree.
18. ilẹ̀mú	ọsàn wẹ̀wẹ̀	lime
19. imù	igi kékeré kan tí ó máa ń se sikiṭi ni ibi tó bá hù sí. Ewé rẹ̀ rí sínrín- sínrín bí iyẹ.	thickly growing shrub with feather- like leaves, usually found at river-banks.

²⁴ It is also known as afàrà in the Èkìtì East Local Government Council area, and by the Ègbádò of Ògùn State.

EY	SY	English
20. 1sá	ewé kan tí ó fara jọ igi ẹní. Ọun ni wọn fí n'bo ilé láyé atijọ.	thin grass-like plant used for roofing houses before the age of thatches.
21. òrùkù	igi gíga kan tí kòkòrò ní gbe inú rẹ.	tree, with very wide fingery leaves - contains certain edible insects.
22. ọlísẹmùsẹ	ijòkùn tí aró rẹ mú lòòjọ tí a bá gún un.	creeping plant used as instant dye for clothes.

3.5.3 Drums:

23. apata	oríṣi ilù kan	a type of drum, possibly used at war, years gone by.
24. àrigèdè	oríṣi ilù kan, tí awọn ọdẹ máa ní lù.	a drum used mainly by hunters.
25. àròn	oríṣi ilù kan.	a type of drum.
26. gòngònúń	iyá-ilù.	special palace drum.
27. ipẹ̀si	ilù Ọba.	a special drum, ordinarily found in palaces only.

3.5.4. Miscellaneous:

EY	SY	English
28. abá	àmọ inú ẹran	bile
29. àbà	àkàbà	ladder
30. abọkọáyè	aya ijòyè tí ó n t tẹle e kiri gbogbo ibi tí ó bá n lọ	the favourite wife or <u>olori</u> who accompanies the chief or Oba on all public appearances.
31. àdòrò	sọnmọ/ọrun	sky/heaven
32. agbogbo	afára	bridge
33. akọkọ	ife onígbá tí o hù kọdọrọ láti orí iyá rẹ wá.	a curved calabash- type utensil used for serving palm- wine.
34. alágbèré	ẹni tí ọrìṣà gùn, ẹlẹgùn ọrìṣà.	a person possessed.
35. àmimi	mọnàmóná	lightning
36. ape	ìkòkò tí a mọ tí a dà ẹnu róbótó sí fún adiyẹ láti kó wọ bí alẹ bá lẹ.	a special pot with an opening on the side just wide enough to let in chicks in the evening.
37. aròbó	ọmọ-ọwọ	baby.
38. ọbuntun	iyàwó àṣèsẹgbé	bride
39. arungbọn	ìsọwọ	age-group.
40. ọmọ-údon	wúnńdíá /omidan	maiden

EY	SY	English
41. àşikòlò	àbàrí iṣu àgángán. Ó jọ ikòkòrẹ̀ Ijẹ̀bù, ṣùgbọ̀n wọ̀n ó wa pọ̀n ọ̀n sì'ewé.	a special type of food made from a special type of yam tuber, and wrapped in leaves. It is usual to take some on long journeys.
42. di rérin	so bàntì	of seeds growing together on a branch, like a bunch.
43. èkùyè	Kòkòrò kan tó máa n yọ ọ̀pẹ̀ lẹ̀mu nígbà ògbelẹ̀.	a type of pests found in palm-trees particularly during the dry season.
44. epúpú	ọ̀mọ̀ tí a fi ọ̀mọ̀ lásán mọ̀.	a clay-image of a baby.
45. ibàrà	ìgbàṣọ̀rọ̀/ọ̀ṣọ̀rọ̀	the corner of a roof where rain water drips even long after the rain has stopped.
46. inọ	eso igi tí wọ̀n n fi omi inú rẹ̀ ṣe ọ̀ṣọ̀ pupa sì ara.	a climbing plant, the sap of whose fruits is used for 25 cosmetics.
47. kete	gbogbo	all
48. òyì	atégùn/aféfé	wind/air
49. ọ̀yìn	idànnú	pleasure

²⁵ cf. Cantharides beetle, R. C. Abraham, Modern Yorùbá, 1958, op. cit., p.309.

EY	SY	English
50. plẹrẹbẹ	tẹ rẹrẹ	spread gorgeously.
51. piraba	pòòyí láínídíf, bí ẹnì tí kò mò èyí tí yóò ẹ.	stagger in a circle as if in confusion.
52. riri	ohun tó bani lẹrù, tàbí, ibi tí ó jínà.	frightful; distant.
53. ẹáfín	ọfín	deep pit.
54. tọdà	tọ ojú ẹsẹ èèyàn tàbí ipá nńkan.	follow a trail.
55. tọ rẹgẹ	jó lẹgbẹẹ lẹgbẹẹ	intentionally stagger towards (like a cock making love to a hen).
56. ùkọn	àkún/ilẹkẹ	type of beads made from palm-nut shells.
57. ùrẹ	igi kan tí wọn sáábà máa fi ń gbẹ èkù àdà.	
58. ùsì	òkíkí	fame.
59. ùwere	ohun iní tí o ẹ pàtàkí.	treasure.
60. uwò	ifé	act of whistling.
61. uyọn	ááyan	effort
62. wówó	oríṣi olú kan tí a máa ń rí lára igi; òun ní a gbà pé ó dùn jù.	a type of mushroom found on barks of trees. It is considered the sweetest of all mushrooms.

Expressions such as tọ rẹgẹ (stagger towards (one) intentionally and affectionately), and tọdà (follow someone's trail), as well as dí rẹrin (grow together like a bunch) and piraba (stagger round in confusion) should be infused into the Standard variant of Yorùbá to expand it and make it truly standard. As at now, the SY speaker needs to explain in several words, these EY expressions.

3.6 Loan Words:

Ọjaamẹsẹ is as old as the worship of Ọlúa in Èkitì, but as male and female chanters of these areas move out of their villages and mix with other people, the poetry is influenced by their own experiences. The English language for example, has been with us since the time of our colonial masters, and so the influence of foreign education and therefore the learning of English language has influenced the language of the chants. It is not surprising therefore that certain loan words from English are found in the oral texts. For example, since this country has moved from the Cowry to the Manilla, to the paper notes in our currency, the chanter, when he supplicates for wealth, uses utterances such as:

"Lérè apọpọ bọ tí í lẹ lẹlẹ ọ mọ jẹ mí rí
kọrẹnsì lẹ."

(Owner of the python in the mud, as you
leave tomorrow, ensure that I have enough
money to spend.)

The word kòrénṣì [kórénṣì] is also found in the
ordinary everyday conversation of both the EY and SY
speakers of the language. These and other loan words
from English are made to fit into the syllable structure
of Yorùbá, and the complete vowel harmony of EY.

The word 'circular' [sákúlà] has also come into the
chants since meetings are now summoned by the
educated elite, by the use of circular letters. So,
a chanter in addressing a spectator whose clan she
praises, chants:

"Ùgbò ọ bá í solójò edè,

Kọ ọ sákúlà sí mi o."

(when you are celebrating your melon-
seed festival, send me a circular.)

The idea of paying advances before a job is
commenced, when a man accepts a contract, is a
contemporary idea, which has also found its way
into the chants, even of a semi-literate chanter.
An ùjaamẹṣẹ chanter refers to this idea in the
following utterances:

"Torí kọ bá ti lóni kẹ í wá' mọ lúlu òdì kejí,
 Kí in tibẹ kiyèsi ire ire.
 Kó ó relé ọlífá,
 Ọlífá nì á í kẹ ẹ málubáàsì sílẹ.
 Ẹn un torí nọdò, Ẹn un e r'eku, Ẹn un ẹ r'ẹja.-"

(For if someone wants a child in the next town,
 Take careful note from this.
 If he goes to an Ifá priest,
 The Ifá priest will ask for an advance.
 His reason, he wants to buy rats and fish.-)

Our next example exhibits the effect of a contact situation between EY and English. A chanter goes back in his life and refers to days when he used to accompany his elder brothers to Ibàdàn for sports. These were days when our colonial masters were still in power, and we all celebrated the British Empire Day by marching and running etc. The chanter in reference to such occasions chants:

"Káàgba ra ịọn bá re Páyàdèè,
 Ẹ la jọ í yún l'ibàdòn."

(When our senior (brothers and friends) went
 to the Empire Day Celebrations,
 We went with them to Ibàdàn.)

Even words and phrases which do not normally fit the structure of EY but are found in the SY variety, now find their way into the chants of chanters who

live away from home, but come home for the Olúa festivals. They tend to mix SY and EY and on such occasions this type of example is found:

"Kọn ọn bá ti pidérègbè kọn ọn bá ti rába inú
rẹ líbẹ,

Ibeé la ẹ bá gbogbo rìn lékòò ùmọdún."

(If when a goat is slaughtered, the bile is
found in it,

You will all be here this time next year.)

The EY equivalent of gbogbo is kete, and gbogbo is only used by those who have been 'abroad'. Similarly in the next example, the subject marker which is a peculiar feature of EY is replaced by kí í in the performance of one of such chanters:

"Ọmọ méjì Ibàrà kí í ẹ í dì lókùn tókò á
sígboro."

(It is not possible to tie two fruits of the
water melon from the farm to the village.)

The ordinary EY speaker would have chanted that line as:

"Ọmọ méjì Ibàrà é (ì í) ẹ í dì"

As the years roll by, and free education reaches all the local government areas of the State, one should expect more examples of dialect mixture in the chants.

From the evidence in hand one can conclude that EY like other local dialects of Yorùbá language exhibits more lexical items and there exist many more which to one's consciousness are present in them. These need to be collected and incorporated in a new Dictionary of the Yorùbá Language to enhance the richness of the language.

PART TWO

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF ÛJAAMÈSÈ

From the collection of chants analysed for this thesis, it is clear that the paramount theme in the chants is adoration. Adoration, as used here, includes invocation, praise, prayer and a general description of the adored.

The major object of adoration is the deity, OLÚA and it is to him that the invocation and supplications are directed. An admirable chanter of ùjaamèsè therefore is traditionally defined as the one whose performance has as its dominant theme, the adoration of OLÚA. It is about such a chanter that a devotee would say 'òmọ ọ̀nọ ọ̀úrọ̀ ní'.¹ (He is the child of the route of the morning). This expression is intelligible only to the initiated and means that the chanter has good stuff in him.

Although OLÚA is the main object of praise and prayer in ùjaamèsè, it is note-worthy that reference is made in the chants to some other Yorùbá deities.

¹ ọ̀nọ ọ̀úrọ̀: literally, means 'the morning route' here used metaphorically to mean 'the origin of something'.

Ùjaamèṣṣè also contains the oríkì of particular clans in the communities as well as selected individuals.

On the whole, therefore, the subject matter of ùjaamèṣṣè may be classified as follows:

- (a) adherents' adoration of Olúá;
 - (b) adherents' supplication to Olúá;
 - (c) references to other divinities;
 - (d) the oríkì of selected clans;
 - (e) the oríkì of selected individuals;
- and (f) didactic sayings.

Each of these will be discussed in this part of the thesis, with reference to excerpts from the chants.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 THE RELIGIOUS CONTENT

4.1 Adherents' adoration of Ọlúa:

It has been established in Chapter 2 of this study that to the devotees of Ọlúa in Èkitì, and in particular to those of Idó-Ọ̀sì communities of Èrọ Local Government area, Ọlúa is not a deified hero. Furthermore the point has been made that the extent of Ọlúa's powers are exemplified in the testimonies of 'blessed' individuals. It is not surprising therefore, that ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ chants reveal the chanters' as well as the believers' ideas about the deity.

As a chanter performs in adoration of the deity, he dwells on his (Ọlúa's) powers, his abode, his physical appearances during festivals, his general comportment, his skill in dancing, and his favourite sacrificial food items. Moreover, the praises of Ọlúa touch upon his devotees, their beliefs about him, and their behaviour during the festival.

4.1.1 ỌLÚA's Powers:

The powers which are referred to in the chants are those based on one of the major beliefs of the devotees in this deity, namely, his capability to

give children to women who may have hitherto been labelled 'àgòn' (barren) by their friends and relations. One set of utterances in the chants which refers to this power runs thus:

- (i) "Kòlòbùnrin kò yàgòn,
Kó délé mi ní Ìwè,
Èje lá a bí."

(If any woman who is barren,
Finds her way to my home in Ìwè,
She will have seven (children).)

The chanter-devotee refers to Ìwè his home because Ìwè (a quarter in Ōsì) is the home of the largest number of Olúa's devotees. He also considers Olúa his father, and as such his father's home is his. The significance of èje (seven) is that the hitherto barren woman will not only be blessed with children but will have many of them, and so will have peace. The number èje (seven) is a lucky number associated with the tenderness of the female sex as well as abundance and satisfaction.²

² Westcott, W. Wynn, 1974, op. cit., p.73. The Yorùbá also associate the figure seven with femininity using seven pieces of alligator pepper or other articles in the preparation of medicines for female children or women.

The utterance:

(ii) "Ọmọ alálẹ ọn bù ẹun ọmọ lọnọ Ọrọ,"

(Owner of the ground whose sand is used
for fertility medicine on Ọrọ road,)

also refers to Ọlúa's capability to give children to the needy. The same utterance is a picture, painted in words, of the situation during festive occasions. At the spectators' precinct at each ugbómọlẹ, several devotees come to ask ỌLÚA for various favours, among which is the grace of child-birth. For the believer, not bold enough to have her name publicly announced, it suffices that she simply touches the ground with her right hand, place the sand on her forehead and make her request; or kneel and bow down with her forehead touching the ground as she asks ỌLÚA for the special favour. Here, it is a question of achievement dependent on faith.

Another utterance in the performances recorded, describes ỌLÚA as:

(iii) "Aba ibú olúọrun Kọọ mi.

Ukú í dàmèrè sẹyin."

(Father of the waters, Lord of the heavens,
my husband!

He who drives back (to earth) the emèrè.³⁾

In the utterances, reference is made to his ability to revive a dying child who merely 'wants' to die in order to hurt his parents. So, the deity is here believed to be able to raise from the dead.

4.1.2 His abode:

Apart from the devotees' belief in Olúá's powers, they (Idó-Ósi devotees) feel certain that his abode is in heaven, and references are often made to this in the chants.

A constant reminder of the abode of OLÚÁ is heard not only as he is welcomed to the annual festivals, but also in the farewell addresses to him towards the end of the festival.

In a welcome address to the deity in one of the recorded performances, the chanter among other utterances chants:

³ The emèrè in Yorùbá belief, is another kind of child also born to die like the àbíḱú, but behaves differently. The emèrè is usually not as sickly as the àbíḱú, and is usually attractive and loved by all, until he or she suddenly dies.

(iv) "Orí-dídú-oróké o kú ùrín àtòrunbò.

O kú ùrín líbí o rè lẹ̀rẹ̀kọ̀n lẹ̀nẹ̀ ìwẹ̀."

(The black one from above, you are welcome
from the heavens.

You are welcome from that place where you
went some time ago.)

In these utterances the chanter with confidence
welcomes the august visitor from his abode 'òrun'
(heaven), and even reflects on an earlier visit at
the end of which he returned to the place from
where he has now come to pay yet another visit.

The following quotation from an ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀
performance:

(v) "Ọ̀nì Kó rugbóLọ́fin mọ́ alẹ́.

Òkè mọ́ lùlé ùya ù ùba líjọpa."

(Anyone in Ọ̀lọ́fin's forest⁴ should not
gaze on the ground.

The home of Mother, Father of Ijọpa⁵
is above,)

⁴ UgbóLófin is an area now close to the Anglican
Church in Ilógbò. In yester years, when it was
on the outskirts of the village, Ọ̀lúa used to
dance there too.

⁵ Ọ̀lúa is father and mother, for as a twins-deity,
one twin is female (Ọ̀dọ̀ùn), and the other is male
(Àgọ̀gun).

is a point of correction to those who may be praying to the deity gazing on the ground. To confirm that the 'òkè' in excerpt (v) above does not refer to a hill, the chanter uses another utterance to state specifically where the deity's abode is:

(vi) "Kó o ẹ t'alẹ álẹ.

Kọ ọ lọ e múlé Ọrun.

Lọnọ Ọrọ." ⁶

(Give to the earth that which belongs to it.

Then go (to your) home in heaven by way of Ọrọ.)

This confirms the devotees' assertion that OLÚA visits his people in order to cheer them, listen to their complaints and receive their thanks. He then returns to his permanent abode in heaven.

4.1.3 Olúa's physical appearances during festivals:

Olúa's appearances at festivals form an illuminating part of the subject matter of ùjaamẹẹ.

⁶ Ọrọ is a village now known as Ìlọrọ. It is in the Ijerò Local Government Council area and there exists even today a footpath that leads to it behind the ugbómọlẹ in Ìlógbò.

The chanters describe his attire at festivals, his height and size, as well as his style of walking, and dancing.

With regard to his attire during festivals, Olúa's representations are described as being heavily-clad in palm-fronds, as the following utterances imply:

(vii) "Òní lẹ̀rẹ̀gòdò ò,

Kọ paọ itẹ̀lẹ̀ aṣọ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀."

(It is today that the terrible one,

Arranges his under garments in fine
strands.)

The chanter here suggests that even if what is seen on the outside is thick and heavy, the under garments are fine. The word 'aṣọ' is used in reference to the palm-fronds, as palm fronds are meant to be a visible representation of the beautiful clothing that Olúa may put on. In fact, chanters suggest, as in the extract below, that the attire seen on Olúa during festivals, is only one of the many that he possesses:

(viii) "Ọmọ alárọ̀n-ò-yi.

Ọmọ atọ̀kẹ̀ú-yọ̀là-lérùn.

Ọmọ atọ̀kẹ̀ú-yọ̀dodo-aṣọ."

(One who does not change his velvety attire.

One who skips and throws on the loveliest white.

One who skips and picks the best apparel.)

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• **Q:** How can I tell if my child has a learning disability?

Kẹẹgbẹwa ọjò í podíde.

Kéèko rẹ ke e reni."

(It is high time for you to salute the Mother of
Ìwẹ on my behalf.

One who wears a tassel on her head.

One who like the leopard does not lose his
complexion even after being beaten
by the rain.

One who has a smooth skin.

Even if the parrot is beaten by two thousand
rain showers.

His red tail-feathers will remain attractive.)

In these utterances, the chanter not only admires the fluffiness of the deity's head-wear, but likens it to the skin of the leopard, which is naturally colourful and specially designed, stressing the unchangeable texture of the skin. The analogy is appropriate because palm-fronds do not change their colour either, in spite of several showers of rain pouring on them. "Diprín-ínkinni" in the third utterance describes the smoothness of the palm-fronds. The continued prettiness of the deity's attire even after the rain is further stressed in its comparison with the red tail-feather of the parrot. The deity's constancy is also implied.

Hyperbolic statements are made about the quantity of the deity's attire. In spite of the fact that what is visible to the naked eye is simply a well arranged array of palm-fronds, chanters'

utterances about them describe them as 'excessive', even bordering on the extravagant, an attempt to portray the deity as wealthy. A chanter says:

(xi) "Uurúmọlẹ ọ mọ pidairi aṣọ.

Oo, aṣọ ẹlẹrún lẹfà bá mú bóra í sùn.

Mú ùwọ nùkọn mọ tẹ sùn.

Uurúmọlẹ ọkọọ mi lí í rá lọnọ Òkè Oṣè."

(The deity spreads his clothing on the
ground around him.

Oh, the clothing wide enough for five or
six people

You alone have spread to sleep on.

The deity, my lord, is performing beyond the
baobab tree.)

This is a vivid description of the deity's performance as he squats before retiring into the ugbómọlẹ. The suggestion that his attire is wide enough as coverlet for five or six people confirms the thickness of the layers of palm-fronds.

Olúá's perpetual youthfulness and perhaps immortality are accorded recognition in the chants with the utterance:

"Ọmọ ipádẹrẹ mào lómílómí"

(One who resembles the pretty 'párẹẹ'⁷ bird.)

⁷ Ipádẹrẹ is also known as Párẹẹ or Kárẹẹ in other parts of Ekiti. It is a beautiful bird, dark black on the back and white at the chest. It is known to live long, but it never ages. It has the swiftness of the Ethiopian Swallow.

The comparison here is to the never-ageing look of the bird and that of the deity. This consistent youthfulness is seen by another chanter as similar to that of the royal python who in season sheds its old skin to reveal a fresh one underneath:

(xii) "Aafàkúnlẹ ilògbò lásọ bọkáká.

Ọ mò kọlálá ọ Lérè-apọpọ."

(The crawling reptile clothed like a viper.

Compliments of the festivals, owner of the
pythons in the swamp.)

These utterances, in addition to confirming the agelessness yet youthfulness of the deity, also suggest his height.

4.1.3.1 Olúa's height:

His height is exaggeratedly likened to that of a crawling reptile. This is in reference to the normally short appearances of the deity at most of the festivals. He is not only described as short, in the chants, but also as robust:

(xiii) "Kọ ọ bá ti rúmọlẹ,

Kọ sẹgbẹ rùbùtù.

I kó mu kékeré gùn jalẹ.

Ọrìṣà ibàbá Olúwátọlá ni."

(If you find a deity.

Who is robust.

And is only slightly above the floor level.
It is the deity of Olúwátọlá's father.)

(xiv) "Ọmọ umọlẹ kó rógùrò.

Kè í ri bọlọọní sùn sílẹ i jó lọnọ Ìwẹ."

(The deity while dancing in a standing posture,
Looks like one dancing in a sleeping posture⁸
on Ìwẹ road.)

His robust stature remarked in the first example is based on the fact that Ọlúa is heavily-clad in palm-fronds. The second extract supports the first in considering the deity almost as short as a foot-rule or even less; but this is over-exaggerated, the deity has never been seen to be less than the height of a six-year old child, except when he squats.

According to a Yorùbá custom, a young woman newly married into a family gives several appellations to children born before her marriage to the family. She is not expected to call them by their ordinary names. Such appellations are based on the behaviour and/or appearance of the children. One such

⁸ This hyperbolic statement is meant to connote his diminutive stature, especially when he dances squattingly. The impression is given that his normal height is not more than the ankle measurement of a man.

appellation is 'Òreñté' (small and smart) given to a short and smart person. Therefore, because Olúa is represented by short, smart figures he is described in the chants as 'Òreñté lórò' because the deity is the short and smart favourite of the lórò (leaders of the cult) and evidence of this is shown in his cheerful performances during the festivals.

4.1.4 His general comportment during festivals:

Various utterances in àjaamèsè chants describe not only the physical appearance of the deity during festivals, but also his performances from the time he is said to arrive, up to his departure in the afternoon of the following day. These performances range from his way of speaking to the way he walks.

The utterance:

(xv) "Ọmọ ẹkùn í fọyọnmọlà oún o !"

(The 'leopard cub with a special voice !),

refers to the peculiar vibrant voice with which the deity communicates with his devotees at festival times. This peculiar voice distinguishes him from other deities who are usually imagined and are never seen in any form.

Olúa is said to announce his arrival by screaming in the nearby forest a few hours before

he is finally seen. The introductory screaming call; is a frightful whistling sound, which accounts for why cult members and their families are not allowed to whistle. This aspect of Olúa's performances at festivals is mentioned in the praises of Olúa in the chants.

The deity is described as:

(xvi) "Ọmọ akédí yìgbèrè oko.

Ọmọ akédí koògbèèrè yí ọ'gbẹ ẹ."

(One who screams around the forests.

One who screams and frightens the un-initiated farther into the forest.)

This is therefore why this part of the festival is described as the íkédí⁹ (the screaming call).

To the initiated, Olúa's cry is frightening and even more so to the non-initiate. So, if a non-initiate on his way from the farm happens to hear the cry unexpectedly, he is bound to fall flat on his face, for fear, or rush further into the forest. In all likelihood therefore, one would expect the uninitiated to refrain from going to his farm on

⁹ íkédí: This takes place during the 'orò ọjò', the festival of the wet season. Between 3 and 4 p.m. in the afternoon of the first day of festival, the cry is heard, but Olúa is not seen. He could leave a message, but no one would see him. He then arrives later in the evening.

Olúa's arrival or departure dates. An alternative is for him to go to the farm and return home before noon.

His special mode of walking also calls for reference in the chants, because Olúa, unlike human beings, does not seem to walk facing the direction of his destination. Usually when he is about to dance during the festivals, he moves from the ugbómọlẹ on to his dancing arena, a large space of land between the ugbómọlẹ and the spectators' precinct. The chanters use the following utterances to record this aspect of Olúa's performances:

(xvii) "Uurímọlẹ meyin rìn láṣọ bọ́kà ọ mò
kọ́dún ò."

(The deity that walks backwards, happy festive
season !)

or

(xviii) "Èyìn inì ọ mu í ọ'lé.

Èyìn inì lo c kíkú mú íjádé o.

Mọ yá mọlẹ kó mò mèyèèyìn í rìn."

(You enter walking backwards.

You come out walking backwards.

I take refuge on the deity who walks backwards.)

In the two sets of utterances above, the chanters refer to the deity's backward movement in and out of the ugbómọlẹ. What in fact obtains is that one cannot discern which is the front or back of the

palm-frond-clad representation of the deity, totally blended with palm-fronds. The supposed backward movement of the deity is expected to distinguish him from a masquerade such as the one clad in palm-fronds and usually wearing a mask.

One artist sees the deity as walking like one bow-legged and lame; he says:

(xix) "Ọmọ àgbàlagbà ípẹ́pẹ́yẹ í rìn báarọ.
Ọmọ ẹmọ pùbúpùbú lóróde."

(One who like an aged duck walks like a cripple.

One whose waddling gait on the road resembles
that of the red rat.)

Another perceives some elegance in Olúa's steps and compares them to those of an elegant little bird of the dove family - ṣínṣínrìngún:

(xx) "Ọmọ Ṣínṣínrìngún kọ m̀rìn í ̀ṣùṣẹ."

(One who walks elegantly like the ṣínṣínrìngún
bird.)

This variation represents the many sides of the deity as seen by the devotees.

Special performances during festivals are not limited to his screaming call; and his mode of walking only. The gifts he receives at the ìgbónbọ¹⁰

¹⁰ ìgbónbọ: See 'The Oracular Dialogues' - in 2.4.4.4 pp.76-78 of this work.

do not pass unnoticed by the chanters. The Igbónbò affords devotees and visitors alike, ample opportunity for presenting gifts to the deity, either in thanksgiving for favours received, or as payment of their vows. These the chanter sees as special contributions, which a contributor never collects in a lumpsum, contrary to the practice in the traditional thrift-collection, èsúsú. So, the chanter describes Olúa as:

(xxi) "Ọmọ umọlẹ agbèsísú mó wi."

(The deity who collects non-refundable contributions.)

This description is in fact more appropriately used for his cult leaders who share the edible items of the 'contributions'.

4.1.5 References to his mode of dancing:

In the ùjaamẹṣẹ chants, various allusions are made to his dance steps. His sideways movements as he makes variations in his steps are compared to the movement of a cock trying to woo a hen. The utterances run thus:

(xxii) "Àkìkọdìyẹ tọrẹgẹ mábo ọ.

Bùùgbì k'Ààtogùn mòjò¹¹ tọrẹgẹ
l'Ọbàjẹdù."¹²

¹¹ Àtogùn-mòjò - another name for Olúa.

¹² Ọbàjẹdù - another name for the ugbómọlẹ.

(A cock staggers sideways to woo a hen.

As Àtogùn-Mòjò staggers sideways at Ọbàjẹdù.)

In the next set of utterances, Ọlúa's dance steps are likened to that of the ùri,¹³ a bird noted for its elegant gait which resembles dance steps.

(xxiii) "Ọmọ umọlẹ meeji, iwọ lí í jó
bùuri l'Ìjopa ra."

(The twin deity that dances like the ùri in
our Ìjopa.¹⁴)

Like the first, this utterance is meant to be a complimentary description of Ọlúa's dance steps, as the ùri is a beautiful bird and its elegant steps are admired by all.

When a chanter, in singing the praises of Ọlúa, uses utterances such as the following, he refers to the dance performances of the deity of twin representation as each twin varies his dance steps:

(xxiv) "Mọ yá mọlẹ kọ gẹgẹ ke í yí.
Mọ yá mọlẹ kọ mọ sọrọn,

¹³ ùri - a dancing bird, bigger than the oriri, the red-billed wood-dove.

¹⁴ Ìjopa - area in Òsì inhabited by devotees of Ọlúa.

Kò yáá gorí ékéèjì kerekete,
Kòn ọn báá dọ̀nọ̀ Àsìsẹ̀."

(I seek refuge with the deity elegantly poised.
I seek refuge with the deity that performs.
Mounting on its twin-partner very comfortably.
As one approaches Àsìsẹ̀.¹⁵)

"Mọ yá" (I seek refuge) in the first two utterances in this set, marks the utterances as part of the ibà¹⁶ homage paid by the chanter at the beginning of her performance.

Another chanter however perceives the movements of Ọlúa as soft and far from vigorous, and so likens his dance to the type of movements one would expect a pregnant woman to make, on hearing the sounds of bẹ̀nbẹ̀ drums. He chants:

(xxv) "Ọ̀ni aboyún kẹ̀ jọ bẹ̀nbẹ̀.
Amijó rẹ̀durẹ̀du lọnọ̀ Ẹ̀wẹ̀."

(A pregnant woman does not dance to bẹ̀nbẹ̀ drums.¹⁷)

¹⁵ Àsìsẹ̀ - the special oríkì for the village Ọ̀sì-Èkìtì.

¹⁶ ibà - an acknowledgement of superiors, both physical and spiritual, living and non-living. For more details, see 7.1.2, pp.248-253 of this work.

¹⁷ Bẹ̀nbẹ̀ drums could make such very harsh and fast music dangerous to the baby in a pregnant woman.

The dancer with the sideways movement.)

The sideways movement here is further indication that the deity is heavily-clad in palm-fronds, and therefore looks as heavy as a woman in the family way.

In spite of the soft, now vigorous and elegant dance steps, described by various artists in different performances, a chanter still feels that a whole stretch of road in Òsi is not wide or long enough as dancing arena for Olúa.

(xxvi) "Òréré Uparaà gb'Àtogùn jìjọ
lọ̀nọ̀ Àsìsẹ̀."

(Upara road is not long enough for Atogun's dance on Àsìsẹ̀ road.)

What the chanter probably has at the back of his mind is that Olúa should not limit his dances to Upara, for if he would also dance on other roads, many more people would have the opportunity of seeing him perform. This might help in winning more converts for Olúa and therefore augur well for his future in these areas.

4.1.6 The sacrificial food items:

Although informants were not willing to answer questions on the sacrificial animals, all is not lost.

Ùjaamèşşè chants reveal the types of food items that may be offered or given in sacrifice.¹⁸ In the following utterances for example,

(xxvii) "Emi lòmọ olórò upònnọ kọn ọn ẹ
máko adiye dè e.
Ọrọgọdọ ọ ti lọ s'Ọbàjẹdù ọ."

(I, descendant of the worshippers of the deity,
for whom cocks are reserved.

Ọrọgọdọ has gone to Ọbàjẹdù.)

it is clear here that extra-large cocks are reserved long before the festival day, to be given in sacrifice to Ọlúa. It is also deducible from the utterance below that the ram is another item of sacrifice:

(xxviii) "Ọọrọmọlẹ í jàgbò.
Kọ bá í lọ lí tùgbẹ.
Èyí lí í jẹ'wọ."

(The frightful deity that eats the ram.

When you are ready to go just then.

It is you, and only you.)

These utterances however do not tell us how many rams are offered and what happens to the carcass.

¹⁸ Here we distinguish between offerings and sacrifices, by limiting sacrifices to those victims offered to the deity by the shedding of blood.

Another chanter supplies that bit of information by chanting that Olúa's stew is cooked with the meat from two rams:

(xxix) "O o ji ire lẹbẹ ọn mẹji agbẹ í sẹ !"

(Good morning to you, one whose stew is cooked with the meat of two rams.)

The deduction here is that two rams are killed because Olúa is a twins-deity. In fact, the numeral two may symbolise the killing of more than one animal for sacrifice. Even if only two are directly offered as sacrifice, many others are offered in thanksgiving to the deity, killed and also eaten.

Another piece of information is given in the praises of Aláyẹ.¹⁹

(xxx) "K'Aaláyẹ Arinlélú kẹ ẹ rọnsẹ
s'Ọbadù Aọrọ,

Kẹ ẹ pajá ówòlowò upara ẹbọ."

(Aláyẹ, the Arinlélú should send to Ọbadù.)

¹⁹ Aláyẹ is the leading priest of Olúa in Ọsi, and also head of the Ijopa clan. The cognomen Arinlélú, literally means 'one who walks on mushrooms'. Our informants say this is a historical allusion to a time when Igbólé soldiers were threatened with retreat as mushrooms miraculously grew in their battle field, probably in a local battle between Ọsi and Igbólé. See Fig. 12 on p. 153a for a photograph of the present Aláyẹ.



Fig. 12: The Aláayè of Òsì-Èkìtì,
in front of his
Official Residence.

Who slaughters the barking dog at the altar
of sacrifice.)

These utterances reveal that the dog is yet another item of sacrifice, even if it is offered in the secret corners of the ugbómọlẹ̀, by one of the priests of Ọlúa known as Ọbadù.

The utterance immediately following the above adds yet another dimension to the revelation, that the dog is killed at night and its flesh is eaten only by the initiated:

(xxxi) "Líbi kòògbèèrè kọn bá ọn í jajā
kọn ọn mòru pa."

(Where the non-initiate does not partake of
the dog killed at night.)

The chants therefore reveal a lot of information, particularly about the rituals, which was otherwise denied the researcher.

4.1.7 Devotees' beliefs about Ọlúa:

As chanting progresses, chanters continually remind themselves and their listeners of their reasons for worshipping the deity, reasons based on their beliefs about him.

The beliefs range from those connected with his arrival on earth from heaven, and his return thither, to those about his intrinsic and moral attributes. The devotees believe, for example, that Olúa is smart of hearing and so no matter where a devotee's request may originate, Olúa is near enough to hear. The following quotation from ùjaamẹsẹ confirms this:

(xxxii) "Mi kí mè í lúwò ẹrírà ò.

Kí mọ mẹ i nínúu sáfín o o.

Kòòùn mi á dọdọ rẹ ò'ba mi."

(I say that even if I am in an ant-hill.

Even if I am in a gorge.

My voice will get to you my father.)

Here the chanter implies that Olúa is omnipresent, and that he is a protector and guardian worth the title 'father'. Although he lives in the heavens, he could also be found in the deepest gorges. No wonder he is described as 'Elétí-Ọfẹ' (he who is smart of hearing).

(xxxiii) In reference to him also, a chanter uses the following utterances:

"Alàyé ni mọ fẹẹ gbọ o.

O o o.

Ojiji laàjẹ í ọ̀n ùbá l'Íjọpa.

Ìa lí wí káàba ni yára kẹ ẹ lọ.

Àgbà ra mè í ró lóde o."

(I want to hear the explanation.

Oh yes.

Witches do their havoc on shadows, father of
Íjọpa.

We asked that man to depart quickly.

For our elders are waiting outside.)

The analogy used in 'òjiji laàjẹ í ọ̀n ùbá l'Íjọpa' is used to explain the situation where the person attacked by a witch is not necessarily near, but his or her shadow is conjured and attacked.

Almost in the same way, Ọlúa, even when believers are far from him, is believed to know the secrets of their minds. Therefore in addition to his omnipresence, he is believed to possess omniscience, and so he is able to watch both the good and the evil among people:

(xxxiv) "Ọmọ umọlẹ Ọdọ̀ùn kẹ́ í ẹ̀se."

(The deity Ọdọ̀ùn²⁰ from whom no evil behaviour is hidden.)

Expressions such as the following are also found in ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀:

²⁰ Ọdọ̀ùn - the female of the twins-deity is known as Ọdọ̀ùn, while the male one is ÀGỌGUN.

(xxxv) "Uwọ nọn ọn mè í p'Ọrọ o.

Uwọ nọn ọn mè í p'Èsẹ.

Uwọ nọn ọn í p'Ọrọgọdọ ò."

(You are known as Ọrọ.

You are known as Èsẹ.

You are known as Ọrọgọdọ.)

The term Ọrọ is sometimes used by the Yorùbá to refer to something they consider extra-ordinary and terribly frightful; frightful because they do not know enough about it. Èsẹ is also used for something dangerous or injurious to the normal well-being of a person. No wonder then that the incomprehensibility of the deity is expressed in the terms Ọrọ, Èsẹ, and Ọrọgọdọ to connote the progression in severity manifested in the three terms respectively. That the devotees fear Olúa and consider him to be incomprehensible is further confirmed in other expressions in the chants where their fear of him is compared to their fear of death; thus ukú (death) is matched with Ọrọgọdọ (frightful fear!), while the deity's attire is compared to a special type of melon-seed known as itóò. This portrays the special character of his nature. The itóò is not used often. It is used only on special occasions. It is for instance made into a hand-chain and tied round a baby's wrist as a form of protection.

On his journey from the heavens to the earth during festivals, Olúa is believed to travel by a route meant specifically for him:

(xxxvi) "Ọmọ ọlọ̀nọ elèèjì ọọ rìn"

(Owner of a route not shared by anyone else.)

This belief is wound round the curfew that is imposed on the celebrating village just before Olúa's supposed arrival. Therefore no matter which route he is imagined to take, he is not likely to meet anyone. While no definite comment is made on the particular route he uses on arrival, the chants reveal (and believers agree) that the deity returns to heaven through the grounds of the ugbómọ̀lẹ̀.

(xxxvii) "Ìbì kèèyẹ ìwé tì sẹ́jì ọ̀'lẹ̀.

E mò dèèyìn í ùgbẹ́ ká a bá délé mi."

(A spot from which Eye ìwé departs from earth.

Never again grows grass in my home.)

4.2.0 Supplications to Olúa:

Since ùjaamèsè chants are tied to particular religious occasions and the worship of a particular deity, devotee-artists in their performances beseech the deity to grant them various requests. These requests are all interwoven in their adoration during

the festival. An analysis of the texts yields two types of supplications; namely the direct prayer and the wish expressed.

4.2.1 In the direct prayer, the chanter calls on the deity, either in a preceding utterance, before saying the prayer next, or by beginning with the prayer and ending the utterance with the deity's name. Here is an example:

(xxxviii) "Ọ̀ṣẹ̀mọ̀lẹ̀ í j'àgbò, kọ ba í lọ lí tùgbẹ̀.
 Èyí lí í jẹ'wọ.
 Je mi rájé ẹe bí mọ ri ti í fẹ.
 Aájé n'ọn ọn mú í sin'mọlẹ.
 Jé mi rájé ẹe bí mọ ri ti í fẹ l'Íwẹ."

(The deity who eats the ram, if you must be going.

That's just you.

Let me have as much money as I want.

The worship of a deity involves spending money.

Let me have as much money as I want in Íwẹ.)

Here, the chanter first addresses the deity, then he follows it up with his prayer giving a good reason why the deity should grant his request.

The same chanter piles up all his other requests by chanting after the above extract, prayers for

addition to his family and protection against present and prospective enemies. He chants:

(xxxix) "Mọ mọ kọn j'ọn ọn m'ọmọ olòmúnrin
rájú mi."

(Don't let people console me with other
people's children.)²¹

(xl) "I kọ dà k'ọn ọn mú ẹ mí ọn mú ẹ'ra rọn."

(Whatever evil they (enemies) plan for me
should befall them.)

Other chanters ask for long life and or happiness in utterances such as the following:

(xli) "Ọ mọ jẹ mi darígbó ọ 'mọlẹ Ọdọun."

(I pray you, let me live till old age, Oh
deity Ọdọun.)

or

(xlii) "Umọlẹ kọ gègègè bọ ti í lọ.

Mọ j'ọn ọn d'omi ùsẹ súlé mi ọ
Bànífọnyèdè."

²¹ That is, let me have children of my own.

(The deity elegantly poised, as you leave,
 Make sure they (enemies) do not throw the
 water of poverty into my house Bànífọnyèdè.)²²

The former chanter, simply asks the deity for grace to live long, while the latter does not ask directly for wealth, but seeks the deity's protective ability to ward off poverty from her. She hails the deity both at the beginning and at the end of her statement of petition.

Yet another chanter using metaphorical language, apostrophizes the deity at the beginning of his petitions as he asks for happiness in his home:

(xlili) "Eléré apọpọ, ẹẹnínú mi mọ jiyọ mi domi.
 Mọ j'ọn ọn wí mọ mọ í bọ.
 Wí ẹẹ ni mo ró sẹbí ọnọ o.
 Mọ mọ jẹ mi mọrun mi pùdábọde.
 Akínṣalẹ mo mò mure í ọ.
 Àtọgùn-rí-bèrù bọ ti í lọ lọla ọ mọ
 Ọ mọ jẹ mi rúgbà lò."

(Owner of the pythons in the swamp, have
 mercy on me.)

Let not my salt turn into water.²³

²² This is another oríkí of Ọlúa.

²³ Salt which has turned into water is considered useless.

Do not let them (enemies) say that I am on
the way.

Only I am waiting outside.²⁴

Do not let the words of my mouth be my ruin.

Akínṣalẹ̀,²⁵ it is to you that I pray.

Àtògùn the frightful, as you leave tomorrow,
let me,

Let me have a peaceful time.)

In these utterances, the chanter-devotee presents his supplications to Olúa, that he may not suffer any reverses in his life. It is in this respect that he uses the analogy of grains of salt turning into a solution. He also prays that his home may be so happy that he need not be frightened to go back into it at any time. The tongue being an organ capable of strengthening and destroying human relations, the chanter asks Olúa for grace to be able to control his tongue in order that it may not be his ruin.

4.2.2 The wishes expressed include those for the chanter herself or himself, and those for others. When these wishes are presented however, the chanter may or may not hail the deity. He may simply slip

²⁴ This is the description of someone who has lost confidence even in his own capabilities.

²⁵ This is an oriki for Mother Earth.

the wishes into the chants in the form of assertions thus:

(xliv) "É sùkú pẹkẹ.
 È mò sarùn pẹkẹ.
 É sùkú á pọmọ yèyèè mì ké í l'Ósì í."

(There is no sudden death.

There is no sudden illness.

Death will not strike any of my people in Ósì.)

Here the chanter intercedes that all her relations may live long without being troubled by illnesses, or sudden death. But, in the following example, the chanter-devotee expresses his wish as he bids Olúa 'good-bye' at the end of a village festival:

(xlv) "Ọlórún Iwè bọ ọ bá í lọ.
 Mó mu mi dání.
 Alàáfíà lọ ọ yá dé bá mi lékòò ẹrẹmúrín.
 Bẹẹ lo sẹ e dé bá mi lékòò ùmọdún."

(The god of Iwè, as you leave.

Do not take me with you.

I shall be in good health when you come again.

In that state you will find me next year.)

This chanter is not willing to accompany Olúa to his home in heaven, since no human being is known to have

visited heaven and returned to the earth. So, he can only wish Olúa 'Good-bye for now !' with an additional wish that he (the chanter) will be alive and well when Olúa returns for the next festival.

4.3.0 References to other deities and divinities:

Prayer and praises constitute a major theme of ùjaamèsè chants, but this is not to say that the chants are limited to praying to and praising Olúa. References are made even if in passing, to other deities.

It is important to remember, however, that to his devotees in Idó-Òsì area of Èkitì, Olúa is God Almighty himself, and so from him all powers are handed down to the deities who are intermediaries between him and his devotees below the heavens. In our informants' words, the deities are his servants: 'Òjúsè rè n'òn on jè' (they are his messengers.) The devotees in this area therefore feel that whatever powers are attributed to any deity in ùjaamèsè are indirectly Olúa's.

In the chants collected, various utterances occur in reference to deities and divinities worshipped throughout Yorubaland, as well as those worshipped only in the area under study. In the

opinion of the present writer after experiences gained at participations in festivals, these other deities and/or divinities come up for mention because chanters perform along the route from the ugbómọlẹ̀ to their respective homes; and so as they pass by shrines and homes of clan heads whose clan worship particular deities, chanters pay their respects by showering praises on both the deity and its worshippers.

4.3.1 Ọrìṣà Nlá:

This deity is worshipped by all in Yorubaland. He is the deity believed to be responsible for moulding the human form before the breath of life is breathed into it by Olódùmarè. He is known by various names²⁶ in different parts of Yorubaland.

In àjaamèsè, a chanter admits her ignorance of the appropriate oríkì of the deity, but offers a substitute:

(xlvi) "Ọrìṣà Abálu"²⁷ 1'Úpara kí mo sùbèèrè èkiki.²⁸

²⁶ Ọrìṣà Nlá - He is known as Ọrìṣà Oníṣọ̀n in Ifẹ̀n, Ọrìṣà àgbáyé, Ọrìṣà Úróyè in Ilógbò. In fact some villages attach their own name to "Ọrìṣà" for this deity.

²⁷ Ọrìṣà Abálu is nother name for Ọrìṣà Nlá, Abálu being the Chief priest.

²⁸ èkiki - Oríkì, see Chapter 1, footnote 12.

Mọ yá mọlẹ ọkọdọ mi ukú í fọ pẹpẹ yẹgbeyẹgbẹ."

(The deity of Chief Olú of Upara, whose oriki
I am asking to be reminded of.

I seek refuge on my husband's deity, death
which breaks down the pavement.)

The chanter here refers to Ọrìṣà Nlá as ukú (death) perhaps because she assumes that the deity who participated in the beginning of man will not be altogether ignorant of his end in death. Furthermore, in days gone by, when a man died in this area, the pavement in front of his family home was usually broken down to provide a grave.

Another chanter, in paying the ibà homage to Ọrìṣà Nlá uses the following utterances:

(xlvi) "Ukú ulé Ifón kí mọ mọ mibà ọní sùn.
Ukú ulé Ifón kí mọ mọ sá yá lí tẹmi."

(The deadly deity of Ifón to whom I pay the
ibà homage.

The deadly deity of Ifón to whom I run for
refuge.)

Here the chanter refers to the home of
Ọrìṣà Nlá sanctioned by tradition, that is, Ifón.²⁹

²⁹ See Wande Abimbola, Ijnlẹ Ohùn Ẹnu Ifá, Apá Kííní, Ọgúndá méjì, Ẹsẹ Kííní, p.98, lines 31 & 32.

Further on in the chants, she refers to the sacrificial animal of Ọrìṣà Nlá thus:

(xlvi) "È n'ọn ọn mò mí yẹgbẹyẹgbẹ ábo adiye Kọrìṣà
 Ụróyè.³⁰

(They give a well-fed hen to the deity of Ụróyè.)

This is a pointer to the fact that a hen (among other items), is used as sacrifice to Ọrìṣà Nlá and also that in these parts he is known as Ọrìṣà Ụróyè.

When a person is afflicted by small-pox in these parts of Èkìtì, the deity appeased for the cure of the patient is Ọrìṣà Nlá. The reason for this is that Sọnpọnná, the divinity believed to inflict the disease is not specially worshipped here. No wonder then that Ọrìṣà Nlá is also referred to as 'amójú-ọmọ-sọnọ' (one who tattoos a child's face). This is in reference to the permanent scars that the disease leaves on the patient.

4.3.2 Sàngó:

This is the Yorùbá god of thunder worshipped by some clans in the area of study and reference is only

³⁰ Ọrìṣà Ụróyè is the worshippers' name for Ọrìṣà Nlá in Ilógbò.

made to him when the chanter pays the lbà homage in ùjaamèšè. Let us examine these utterances in an artist's performance:

(xlix) "È ni mọ mọ yá Sòngó ijíjì aṣònpàlújù.
Aamúlé èké jiwo.
Umọlẹ kọ múnọ sẹrùn í fọ bí inọmùnọmù.
Oolúlé kọn ọn mọ jìṣa un tín'rá ọrun."

(I seek refuge with Sòngó who strikes, even at
the trees in the forest.

One who burns the house of a liar.

The deity who speaks with fire in his mouth³¹
like Orò,

The owner of the house pleads that his isá³²
may not be completely burnt down.)

In the first utterance, the chanter draws his inspiration by invoking the deity, and using one of his praise names - 'aṣònpàlújù'. The praise name which means 'one who strikes even at trees in the forest' describes the deadly blow that Sàngó gives

³¹ cf. Dúró Ládiípọ, Qba Kò So, (Macmillan 1970), pg.viii-ix; & pg.1.

³² isá: a type of plant whose wide leaves were used for roofing houses before the days of thatches.

to a criminal, no matter who or what it is, and wherever he may be hiding. Sàngó is believed to be a deity who abhors dishonesty and theft; no wonder then that in the next utterance the chanter describes Sàngó as one who burns down a liar's house. Therefore, the chanter believing that he is neither a liar nor a criminal for any reason feels that Sàngó will grant him protection as he performs.

4.3.3 Èṣù:

This is another Yorùbá deity to whom reference is made in ùjaamẹṣẹ. To the Yorùbá, Èṣù is the deity who is helpful to those who have given him food, and could cause confusion on happy occasions for those who have starved him. It is therefore a common practice among Yoruba traditionalists to leave a portion of an offering or sacrifice for Èṣù before offering it to the deity for whom it is specifically meant. This practice is meant to prevent Èṣù from playing his dangerous pranks on the person concerned. Reference to this deity in ùjaamẹṣẹ is another confirmation of this practice. The utterance runs thus:

(1) "Kọ́ọ lóní ẹ tẹ̀erù.

T'Èṣù nọ́n ẹ kọ́kọ mú."

(If anyone is offering a sacrifice,

Èsù's share must first be put aside.)

Apart from those utterances which confirm various Yorubá beliefs about the deities worshipped by all ~~the~~ communities, ùjaamèsè chanters also comment on deities and divinities which are peculiarly worshipped in particular areas of Yorubaland.

4.3.4 Ösün:

This is the goddess of the river known by the same name, and whose worship and festival are popularly associated with the people of Ọṣogbo, although its source is believed to be in Ìgèdè-Èkitì. Reference to Ọṣun in àjaamẹ̀ṣẹ̀ is merely made in passing, as part of the ibà homage utterances at the beginning of a chanter's performance. She chants:

(li) "E lo o mò mi yègbeyègbè abo adiye K'òrisha
Ùróyè.

E nọn ọn mọ mi yẹgbẹyẹgbẹ abo adiyẹ K'Ọnifẹn'un
Ọsun."

(You give a well-fed hen (as sacrifice) to
 ॐṛiṣa Ūróyè.

They give a well-fed hen (as sacrifice) to Ọnifón and Ọsun.)

In these utterances the chanter refers to the sacrificial animals offered to Òrìṣà Nlá, Olófin (Ọ̀nifẹ̀n) and Ọ̀ṣun as being identical.

In another chanter's utterances Ọsun is simply associated with the clan that worship it in Ọsi:

(.lii) "Ọsun eye mi ẹ ẹ l'Údọfin."

(Ọsun my mother, is in Údọfin.)

This utterance simply points to the fact that Ọsun is worshipped by the Idọfin clan in Ọsi, the home of the chanter. Reference to Ọsun as mother - 'eye mi' is another confirmation of the sex of the divinity; but as the utterance itself is ambiguous, as it may also mean 'my mother's Ọsun is in Idọfin' there may also be a reference to the clan of the chanter's mother, Idọfin where Ọsun is worshipped.

4.3.5 Ọrìṣà Ìmìlà:

This is another divinity whose name comes up for mention in ùjaamèsè and coincidentally, there is a family home by the same name in Ilógbò-Èkìtì. Obviously, the divinity is worshipped in this family. Although some of our informants insist that Ọrìṣà Ìmìlà is synonymous with Ọlúa, the present writer rejects this assumption, if only in view of the import of the following utterances from the chants:

(liii) "Ọrìṣà Ìmìlà non ọn wí kẹ ẹ á r'nÀtogùn Mòjò lérù.

Kó dórí itítì ọ mò piraba."

(Ọrìṣà Imílà was asked to lend Àtògùn Mòjò
a hand,

But on getting to the road, he became
confused.)

The above utterances imply that Àtògùn Mòjò is much more powerful than Ọrìṣà Imílà. Hence on getting close to the former, he was too frightened to move near his awesome personality, let alone lend him a hand. The helping hand that is required here may be taken as that of protection for the land of the worshippers. This therefore leads one to conclude that both Àtògùn Mòjò (Olúa) and Ọrìṣà Imílà are two guardians at the entrance and the exit to the land of their various devotees.

4.3.6 Okèrè:

This is a divinity worshipped by the Ejemu clan in Ilógbò-Èkitì. In fact the major praise-name of the village of Ilógbò is 'Ilógbò Okèrè' because a type of protective medicine buried at the old entrance in the name of this divinity is believed to protect the village and ward off all evil. The divinity by this name is however believed to have been imported from Iléṣà when the forefathers of the Ilógbò people on their way from Ifẹ sojourned there for a while, before settling at the then Ilúgbòrò

later called Ilógbò. It is therefore not surprising that the divinity is worshipped by the Ejemu clan, the first to arrive in these parts.

The types of powers which Okèrè could exhibit are referred to in these chants and others used in these parts. In ùjaamèsè, a chanter welcomes Okèrè to the Olúa festival with these utterances:

(liv) "Amóyintúnnú mò kọ̀dún o."

(Happy festival to one who drives them off
with a swarm of bees.)

Since the power to protect is Okèrè's, it is believed that he is very powerful in times of war and in the oral traditions, he is believed to have driven some warriors back by conjuring a swarm of bees to attack them. Since in those days leading warriors fought on horse-back, it has arisen probably that no one should enter Ilógbò on horse-back. The following utterances from Àsamò, another genre of oral poetry refers to this practice:

"Umọ̀lẹ̀ Okèrè ni jón ọ̀n í mési kó t'Úlógbò.

Ògidigbi nọ̀n ọ̀n mú í kó."

(The divinity Okèrè forbids anyone from riding
a horse through Ilógbò.

One has to pass along the Ògidigbi.)³³

³³ Ògidigbi: is one of the main streams in town. A new born babe is usually given to drink from it, before any other water.

Passing by the Ogidigbi lengthens the rider's journey. So if he would rather pass through the town, he is only allowed to walk across with his horse, thus giving an indication of his friendly disposition.

During the Olúa festivals in Idó-Òsi area of Èrú Local Government of Oṣṣ State, it is believed that because of the pre-eminence of this great deity in the hierarchy of the deities, all the other deities attend his festival. So, in welcoming them one by one, a chanter mentions the name of Ọsọnyin.

4.3.7 Ọsọnyin:

The Yorùbá believe that this divinity possesses par excellence the ability to manipulate the herbs of the forest, produce and dispense medicine. As such, all the medicines found in a herbalist's house will be found in a section of his 'office' known as 'ilé Ọsọnyin'. In Ilógbò, Idó and Ùṣi, for example, as in some other parts of Yorubaland - there are family homes known as Ilé Àró, the heads of which are the Àró. The Àró, a chief, is the local custodian of all the powerful medicines in the locality. No wonder then that the chanter, in welcoming divinities and spirits to the festival, chants as follows inter alia:

(Lv) "Ọsọnyìn kẹ í lùlé Ọba Àró mò jí ire lẹkọkọn."

(Good morning to all the Ọsọnyìn in Àró's house.
individually.)

"Lẹkọkọn" in the utterance implies that there are more than one Ọsọnyìn in Àró's house, and that further implies that the medicines are so many that they cannot all be kept in one single 'ilé Ọsọnyìn'.

Some examples shown here of references to Yorùbá deities other than Olúa, confirm the general beliefs of the Yorùbá about the deities or divinities; others confirm the common practice of their devotees in relation to them, whilst yet others merely increase the list of praise-names the chanters give them, as part of the chanter's way of invoking them for inspiration, or welcoming them to the festival. In addition, the examples give us an insight into the types of divinities and deities worshipped in our area of study.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 VERBAL SALUTES (ORÍKÌ)¹

5.1.0 The Oríki of selected clans

In this section of the subject matter of the chants, each artist, depending on his own home and his knowledge of clan praises, makes favourable allusions to the various good deeds of appropriate clans in his village. A clan (termed Ebí in the local speech form) is composed of families living in compounds called ULÉ. While the clan-head is known as OLÓRÍ EBÍ, the head of each family is called Baálé. Usually the Baálé is the oldest member of the family, but the Olórí Ebí who is not necessarily so, is appointed by the kingmakers from nominations given to them by members of the clan.² In Òsi for example, the Àbáláayè is the Olórí Ebí for the Ijopa clan; Abá Eísápè is the Olórí Ebí for the Isape clan in Ìdó, and in Òṣì, Aba'Nurin is the Olórí Ebí for the Ènurin clan.

¹ oríki - see Chapter One footnote 12.

² For further details see Ọmọtáyọ Olútóyè - 'Àṣamọ: a type of Yorùbá Oral Poetry in Èkítì Dialect', (Unpublished Long Essay B.A. 1970, University of Lagos), p.13f.

In this work, the discussion is based on the clan oríkí which feature most prominently in the chants. Our deduction is that the best ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ chanters are to be found in Ìlógbò and Òsì. Perhaps this is due to the fact that there are more devout adherents of Olúa in these villages than in others. This fact is further supported by the utterances of a respected chanter:

- (i) "Ìjopa ní sí í rí bíí káfútèèni ọ̀dọ̀ Àtogùn.
 Ìlógbò lí rí í rí b́́edíkọ̀tá ikete ra
 porogodo."³

(While Ìjopa plays the role of Captain for
Àtogùn,

Ìlógbò acts as the Headquarters for us all.)

These utterances clearly mark out these two villages as the major participants in all rituals and festivities. In fact, since each village participates in the festival as held in each of the other villages in turns, it is almost impossible for the spectator who is a visitor to distinguish an Òsì man from an Ìlógbò man during festivals. All the initiated move in

³ These comments were made in the chants after a General Meeting of the Leaders of Imẹ̀şẹ̀ held in Ìlógbò, to determine whether or not to give audience to the present writer.

and out of the ugbómọlẹ and the leaders perform their usual rites.

5.1.1 Clans in Ilógbò-Èkitì:

Here, there are eight clans namely:

- (i) Ebí Òkè Ọwá
- (ii) Ebí Idọfin
- (iii) " Ijẹmu
- (iv) " Ènurin
- (v) " Aró
- (vi) " Ọsọlọ
- (vii) " Ìmílà
- (viii) " Ìsoko.

As explained earlier on, each clan has a head known as olórí ebí. The table below shows clearly the head of each clan:

Name of Clan	Head of Clan
(i) Ebí Òkè Ọwá	Ọwálógbò
(ii) " Idọfin	Aba'Dọfin
(iii) " Ijẹmu	Aba'Jẹmu
(iv) " Ènurin	Aba'Nurin
(v) " Aró	Aba'Ròó
(vi) " Ọsọlọ	Aba'Sọlọ
(vii) " Ìmílà	Aba'Milà
(viii) " Ìsoko	Aba'Lááwẹ

In the local language, of the villages, the name of each chief or clan-head is prefixed with Aba⁴ which could be taken to stand for 'father' or 'chief', so Abá aláayè in Òsì is Chief Aláayè; Abamílà in Idó is Chief Mílà.

In the ùjaamèsè chants therefore, any of these clans may come up for praise, depending on who is chanting, and his knowledge of the clans as well as his own whims. Such praises include the occupation of the clan, the divinities they worship and their special performances if any, at the Olúa festival.

The chants collected exemplify the oríkì of all clans in Ilógbò except Ebí 'Mílà while in Òsì, most clan oríkì are those of Ebí 'Dòfin; Ebí Iludì and Ebí 'Jopa. The various points made about each clan are now discussed and analysed below:

5.1.1.1 Ebí Òkè Qwá - The Qwá's Clan:

This is the clan headed by the Qwálógbò (the Oba of Ilógbò) himself. As the head of the village,

⁴ This is because it is disrespectful for a young person or a non-chief to address a chief by his name or title without referring to him first as an elder or 'father'.

he and all members of his family participate fully in the Olúa festivals, in fact in all festivals. It is not surprising therefore that the greatest quantum of praises to particular clans are showered on this clan. Of the forty references to particular clans, twelve go to this clan alone. The praises give the listener ample information on what is said to be the origin of the clan, and the divinities they worship, the type of drums used during their clan festivals; the occupation of the clan, as well as the other villagers' impression of the clan.

In the extract from tjaamèsè chants, the artist refers to Osùn-ún, a village twenty-one kilometres to Ilógbò, a place supposed to be a sister-village to Ilógbò because according to oral traditions, the first Ọwá of Osùn-ún was a twin-brother of the first Ọwálógbò. Our informants explained that when one of the twin-brothers was made the Ọwálósùn-ún his twin-brother left him in envy, went to Erínmòpé, another village along the Èrọ Local Government border, and then to Ìlúgbòrò. There the Ejemu offered this latest sojourner the headship of the village. Therefore Osùn-ún which is regarded as the traceable origin of the Ebí Òkè Ọwá, occurs in these utterances:

(ii) "Nlẹ 'mọ Ọwá o o.

Qmọ Olósún mípèèsì yiyùn.

Ọmọ Olósun rì jiyọ́n ẹ́de.

Ọmọ ààwà iyààrà í fún béeó Ọlágbẹmọ ọ.

Bá'Lódùmọ̀rẹ̀ !"

(Hello, you sons of the Ọwá.

Descendant of the Olósùn-ún with the melodious
Ipèsi⁵ drums.

Descendant of those who do not eat pounded-yam
outside their homes.

Descendant of those whose trenches are as
white as the pebbles of Ọlágbẹmọ stream.

God Almighty !)

The implication of the reference to Ipèsi drums in the second utterance of the extract is one of involvement in ancestor-worship, if only from their place of origin Osùn-ún. The practice of not eating pounded-yam outside their home is however the usual practice by all Yorùbá Ọba, at least traditionally, that they should not be seen eating, even in their own homes. This description of a normal habit of an Ọwá has therefore been transferred to the whole of his clan. The artist having greeted the Ọkẹ Ọwá clan then hails the deity at whose festival she is honoured to chant by ending the utterances with one of Olúa's many praise-names, 'Bá'Lódùmọ̀rẹ̀ !'.

⁵ A special type of drum used during Egúngún festivals.
See Fig. 13 on page 181a.

181a.

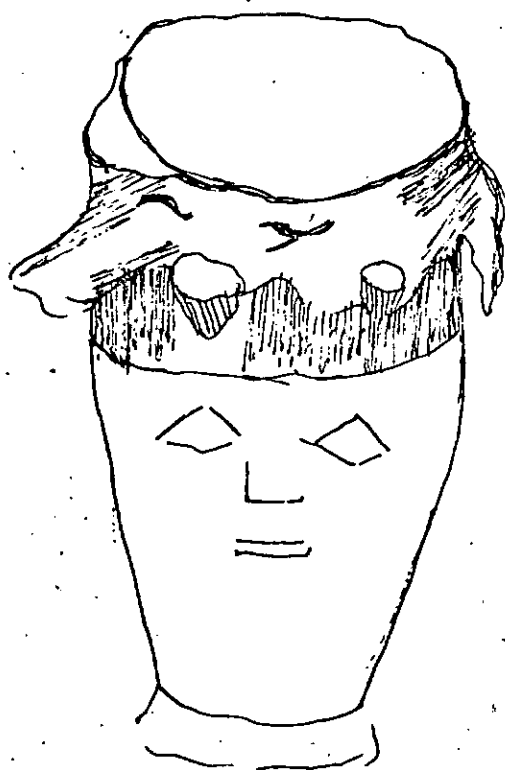


fig. 13 — IPÈSÌ DRUM.

In other extracts from ùjaamẹṣẹ, this clan is described as being ardent worshippers of Ògún and Òrìṣà Òróyè. With these utterances:-

- (iii) "Ọ̀lúà mi mì mè í kí.
 Ọ̀mọ aṣorò mí gòngònún sẹyẹ lònò Àrè.
 Iṣe ni ín mò kòn mígbó kété í ọ̀n'lejò.
 In e múgbó Ògún bẹ."

(I am paying my respects to my husband.

Descendant of those who celebrate with the
Gòngònún⁶ drums in Àrè⁷.

You never reveal the secrets of the forest to
 strangers.

You normally keep Ògún's grove secret.)

The artist not only sings the praises of her husband's clan, but mentions one of their deities and the seriousness with which they keep the secrets surrounding its rituals.

The next extract reveals another divinity by which the clan is well known, but it also refers to their occupation, palm-oil production:-

⁶ Gòngònún - ìyá ilù = the master drum.

⁷ Àrè = this refers to the site of Ogun's grove. It is situated near Ọ̀lúà's ugbómọ̀lẹ̀, in Ilógbò-Èkitì.

(iv) "Ọmọ Ọwá lẹmọ Ọwá àjílẹ̀jà ẹ̀kùn.
 Ọmọ Ọwá lẹmọ Ọwá àjíjẹrọ̀n ẹ̀sì.
 Ọmọ àgbàgbàá íṣọ́ọ gbẹ̀rẹ̀ ẹ̀yíndì Ọ̀sòkíà.
 Ọ̀n mu sùrì.
 Ọ̀n mu sùkàrà mẹ̀ nì yò.
 Ùgbì kọ̀ díjọ ọ̀dún ọ̀n mú kùnrọ̀n ẹ̀sì.
 Ọmọ ẹ̀lẹ̀jò ukọ̀rọ̀ í sáre ùkú gbámù-kọ̀rọ̀lọ̀.
 Ẹ̀ í lá lónò Ọ̀kẹ̀ Ọ̀sẹ̀.
 Ọ̀kọ̀n bóòrùn béẹ̀sìsà íbẹ̀lẹ̀pọ̀ alẹ̀ ukọ̀rọ̀ ọ̀nò
 Ụ́rọ̀yẹ̀.
 Í kóòun bélẹ̀pọ̀ alẹ̀,
 Kún un jẹbì íré epo."

(Descendant of the Qwa who wake up fit as a leopard.
Descendant of the Qwa whose first meal is horse-
meat.

Owner of the agbábàá⁸ with widespread leaves
behind Osòkíá⁹ shrine.

It is not used for wrapping maize gruel.

It is not used for wrapping bean-cakes either.

During festivals, it is used for wrapping while dissecting the carcass of the horse.

One whose snakes have a meandering route to take
while running for dear life.

8 agbágbaá - a tree with very wide leaves considered virtually useless because it is not useful for wrapping cooked food.

9 Osòkìà - a minor divinity worshipped in the palace of the Qwálógbò.

He is performing on Okè Osè road.

Something similar to the tiger-ants throw the palm-oil off the carrier's head on Uroye road.

Its aim is to fall with the palm-oil maker.

So it can eat the best of the oil.)

Two other divinities, Ọrìṣà Ẹróyè, and Ọsòkìà, worshipped by the clan are also referred to here. Ọsòkìà's shrine is in the palace, while Ọrìṣà Ẹróyè's place of worship is in a forest not very far from Ọlúa's ugbómolè.

The wealth of the Okè Owá clan is amply described in the utterance in the second line as the chanter hails the clan for their favourite type of meat, horse-meat.

The main occupation of the clan, production of palm-oil also features in the clan praises. A description of some biting ants similar to the tiger-ants, finding their way into the body of the palm-oil maker is a confirmation of the attraction of such ants to palm-oil. As the bitten woman tries to get rid of the pest, she is likely to fall and break her pot of palm-oil. This then gives the ants an opportunity of feeding on the best part of the oil. This is bound to be so, since the route to the site of palm-oil production is not only winding and steep, but also slippery owing to the oil from previous accidental falls. It is therefore a hard time for a woman with

a pot of palm-oil on her head, to try and negotiate the bends as well as battle with biting ants. So, this artist is justified in her imaginative account. On the other hand, a woman married into this clan, who can survive the insect bites without spilling her oil, must be commended for her endurance.

Apart from the oil-palm, the Ebí Òkè Qwá also have the wine-palm in their farms. So they are usually alluded to as 'Qmọ olódò Ûróyè abẹni-mẹmu' (one who invites people to drink of his palm-wine.) In ùjaamẹsẹ however, apart from referring to their palm-wine production the utterances emphasise the secrecy with which it is done, in order that others may not share in the sweet wine. The stinginess of the Ebí Òkè Qwá implied in these utterances must have been embarrassing to the clan over the years, and so, the quotation above must be a recent innovation. The ùjaamẹsẹ utterances run thus:

(v) "E ni mo mò kú lààtíjọ, 'mọ ewúsà imọrìsà
kẹ í jẹẹsín.

Ọlọsọn imọrìsà kọn ọn gbọ porò tín,

Kọn ọn mẹbibọ sẹkejì.

Qmọ ọlọpẹ ọn mọjá dá.

Ọlọpẹ ọn mọđọjá dá.

Ká a mọ gbọ pòròpòròpòrò ugbà.

Bàà tóri kọn ọn mọ bàà yà mẹmu oko ra ni."

(Here am I once again, mythical relation of the
'giant rat' which parades in day time.¹⁰

Owner of the 'oson' tree which on hearing
one drop,

One runs and picks an extra one previously
dropped.

Owner of the palm-tree climbed with a sash, for
wine-tapping,
The palm-wine tapped with a sash that none
may hear the sound of the climbing rope.

So that none may share of the sweet wine in
our farm.)

The first of the utterances above, is a metaphor in which Orisha Uróyè is represented by the daring giant rat. The divinity's ability to do anything with impunity is here illustrated by the nocturnal giant rat seen during the day. The next utterance refers to the large 'oson' tree near the grove of Orisha Uróyè. It is so sweet that when one of its fruits drops in front of the shrine, a passer-by, not able to resist the temptation of picking it up must say 'O járe ò, Baba' (please excuse me, father), before picking it up.

With regard to the Olúa festival, however, an "Ojùá"¹¹ is usually chosen from Ilé Àtogùn which is

¹⁰ It is a bad omen to see a giant rat during the day; the Yorùbá believe that whoever does is likely to lose a close relation, usually a father.

¹¹ Ojùá - a person, whose duty it is to share things out in a group.

one of the family compounds of the Ebí Okè Owá. As a rule, when the Ojùá shares anything out, the rule is 'self last'; and this is vividly woven into the chants:

(vi) "Omọ àkúíkútín usin oko Ejèlú sògbò mọfà,
 Kọomọ Ùrò e yèjì.
 Kọomọ Ìwẹ ẹ yẹta.
 Ùgbì kọ kẹlà kọn sórí usin la à mú sẹlà
Ojùá lúlẹ mi in."

(An ageing akee apple tree in Ejèlú's¹² farm has six slices.

Let Ùrò's¹³ children have two.

Let Ìwẹ's¹⁴ children have three.

The last slice on the apple then goes to the Ojùá in my home.)

The Ojùá is a responsible officer at the ugbómọlẹ during the Olúa festival, since it is his duty to share food among the initiated, this experience may also be made use of in family matters in his own clan. On such occasions, he must realise that the Owá's family (Ìwẹ) gets the lion's share of the article to be shared, the king-makers next, and himself last.

¹² Ejèlú - a chieftaincy title not limited to any clan. Anyone in the village may be so appointed.

¹³ Ùrò - the king-makers in Ìlógbò-Èkìtì.

¹⁴ Ìwẹ - the Owá's family; includes Ilé Ìyèdì.

Since the Ebí Òkè Qwá are initiated into both the Olúa and the Èrẹ̀jù¹⁵ cults, it is appropriate that there should be many references to them in the chants. In any case, since the clan-head is also the village-head, he is obliged to participate in all festivals.

5.1.1.2 Ebí 'Dòfin:

This clan is headed by the Chief who is second in command to the Qwálogbò. His title is ÒDÒFIN. There are only four references to them in our twenty performances. This is because members of this clan feature more prominently in the Èrẹ̀jù cult.

One of the oriki of the clan as it appears in the chants gives some information on the post of the Òdòfin in the conferment of chieftaincy titles:

(vii) "E ni mo mò kú lààtíjọ 'mọ onídòfin
àrìkùnnọ.¹⁶

Qmọ-ajẹyí-gbẹrẹgẹdẹ-lóyè.

Qmọ-adípẹ-oyè-'óní-bá-mó-tì-rí.

Qmọ ikàrà ọ̀n din bọ́ọ́yìn ẹ̀dẹ ọ̀şu
lẹ́bí 'dòfin."

¹⁵ Èrẹ̀jù - A secret cult more widely known among the Yorùbá as the Qrọ cult.

¹⁶ inọ̀n - the cantharides insect; the sticky liquid from it is used for marking the skin as a form of adornment.

(Here am I once again, descendant of the Idòfin
clan who do not need the use of the
cantharides.

Descendant of those who own the choicest titles.

Descendant of those who plead for those who have
none (titles).

Descendant of those who make beancakes as big as
yams in Idòfin clan.)

The utterance in the second line of this extract refers to the title of the Òdòfin as the 'choicest' since he is second in command to the Owá and it is his duty to perform chieftaincy ceremonies when new chiefs are to be installed. Such ceremonies are usually accompanied with gifts in cash and kind for the Òdòfin.

The next quotation describes the Òdòfin as one in a position to plead for those who have no titles. This implies that the Òdòfin is party to the nomination of suitable candidates for chieftaincy titles, and when the final selection is made, his contributions at such meetings are highly respected.

Reference to bean-cakes in the last utterance of the above extract draws attention to the clan festival of the Ebí 'Dòfin. During the festival known as ATARÉ, bean-cakes feature prominently just as fish or melon soup does in the festival of other clans in the village. It is however not 'bean-cakes or nothing' at their festival; for another extract from ùjaamèsè

refers to the use of a special vegetable, òsùn. This vegetable is cooked in its normal form (without cutting the leaves), during the festival. The utterances which follow refer also to the stream from which the Ebí 'Dòfin catch fishes for their clan festival:

(viii) "Şe ni mọ kọn bọmọ í lọ mákọkọ bùmọ
òsùn saò.

E la a mọ kọn yúbu ómi méyín ikòkòkò
bálẹ.

E la a mọ kọn yúbu ómi mébibù ẹja
talọre lúlẹ mi o."

(I am just going with those who dish out the
òsùn vegetable stew with boat-shaped spoons.

We simply fall backwards into the water.

As we fall, we take and give away fish.)

Apart from references to clan festivals and the functions of the Ọdọfin, the head of this clan, it is interesting that the extract "Ọmọ oní 'Dọfin àríkùnnọ" is an acknowledgement of the beauty of the descendants of this clan. This extract which means 'one who does not need any adornment' confirms the adage that 'beauty unadorned is best adorned'; therefore since the descendants of the Idọfin clan are already considered beautiful, no further adornment is necessary. This practice has however become one of the taboos of the clan.

One can conclude here that the praise names of the Ebí 'Dòfin that occur in ùjaamèsè do not associate them with the Olúa festival, and in fact, do not consist of even an invitation or welcome to the festivities, as other extracts tend to do with other clans. References to them are likely to be more relevant in Èrèjù chants, that is, in Òdùdù.

5.1.1.3 Ebí'Jemu - The Ìjemu Clan:

The Èjemu and head of the Ìjemu clan is third in rank to the Owá and head of the village, named OWÁLÓGBÒ, although his (Ejemu's) fore-father is said to have founded Ilúgbòrò (now Ìlógbò). We have recorded only two references to this clan in the chants. The present writer's inference is that the Olúa cult was not brought to Ìlógbò by the founding fathers. Its beginning therefore must be much later than the founding of the village. This clan, according to our informants are members of the other major cult in the village, the ÈRÈJÙ cult.

The first reference to the Ejemu clan describes the masks worn by certain members of the clan at their special clan festival. The festival is celebrated with the aim of warding off all evil spirits from the village:

- (ix) "Èmi l'òmọ ẹlẹpa lilejú ọn dín'kọn soṣoṣo.
 Ọ̀tòkòròjò¹⁷ mò ti pòòyì kún ẹ̀n bẹ̀ lorí ọ̀n
 fàkitipà ẹ̀di rẹ̀.
 Ègìgun àbá Ikékeréyè¹⁸ ọ́ e soro túnmọ̀ lònọ
 Ọ̀rọ̀."¹⁹

(I am a descendant of those whose fierce-looking masks are worn only once a year.

Ọ̀tòkòròjò swirls round as if to behead offenders but his control chain is pulled.

Ikékeréyè's father's masquerade will discipline offenders even on Ọ̀rọ̀ road.)

It is not surprising that the Ejemu clan have masks which are worn by their masqueraders, since the Èrẹ̀jù (Orò) cult is closely related to the Egúngún cult. This is further confirmation however in support of the claim made by Olúa's devotees that Olúa is not a masquerade.

¹⁷ Ọ̀tòkòròjò - one of the fiercest masquerades represented in the clan. A heavy, long chain is usually tied round his waist to control his movements.

¹⁸ Ikékeréyè - the performing chanter's name. She hails from the Ejemu clan, but is married to the Ènurin clan, so she participates in the Olúa festival.

¹⁹ Ọ̀rọ̀ - the village is now known as Ilórò. The presence of Ọ̀tòkòròjò on Ọ̀rọ̀ road, where Olúa's ugbómọ̀lẹ̀ is situated, is confirmation that all divinities and spirits attend Olúa's festival.

The other reference to Ebí'Jemu gives us more information about the use of the Epa masks and the source and type of material with which they are tied to the wearer:

- (x) "Mọ mọ bọmọ í lọ y'íbòkun sòd àdòdó bọ.
Se ma à kọn bọmọ í lọ mádòdó sùgbarun Epa."

(I am with you, descendant of those who go to
Ìbòkun and return home, bringing floral materials.

Yes, I shall always be with those who use floral
materials to fix their masks (to the head.)

The above utterances reveal that imported floral materials from Ìbòkun are used in fixing the Epa masks to the wearer's head.

Reference to Ìbòkun in the utterances has two implications. The first is that members of this clan are renowned traders who used to go as far as Ìbòkun (Iléṣà) to buy and sell. When they were in business, they were able to bring back home, floral materials, different from the traditionally hand-woven ones and therefore considered expensive. The second is that while they traded with the Ìbòkun people, they interacted so well with the people that they joined them in worshipping Òrìṣà Ìbòkun, a divinity they still worship today. The Ebí'Jemu are non-members of the Olúá cult.

5.1.1.4 Ebí'Nurin - The Enurin Clan:

The ENURIN is head of this clan. Although many members of the clan are Roman Catholic Christians today, the clan is committed to the Olúa cult and festivals. In fact, the ugbómọlẹ in Ilógbò is adjacent to one of the family homes of the clan, Ilé Èrọ.

The oríkì of the clan as extracted from ùjaamẹsẹ chants reveal the geographical description of Enurin homes, their farm, the type of food eaten at clan festivals as well as one of the divinities worshipped by them. The oríkì go further to inform the researcher that this clan has family ties with Oyẹ-Èkitì, a town 33 kilometres to Ilógbò. The relevant quotation is as follows:

(xi) "Olúa mi mi mè í kí ọmọ olóşẹ ọn m̀ỳinti
ti yọ.

Olóşẹ ọn m̀ỳin ti,

Kọn ọn peó erú,

Kọn ọn sí pa tọmọ.

Ọmọ olókè ọşẹ èyí lí í jẹ'wọ o."

(I am greeting 'my lord', a descendant of those
whose baobab tree guarantees happiness.

Owner of the baobab tree on which one rests,

As one makes money worth the value of a slave,

And one makes money to take care of one's
children.

Descendant of those who own the baobab tree,
there you are.)

The baobab tree here referred to was at the foot of the rock known as ÒKÚTA EDÌ, which is also near Ilé Èrò. Around this tree there used to be a mini-market; so women spread their wares either on the bare ground or in calabashes and rested against the baobab tree. This explains why the chanter feels that a lot of money is made, even as the women put their backs against the tree.

Apart from the description of the home environment of the Enurin clan, the chanter also describes the type of trees that are most common in the farms of the clan. In the extract below, the chanter, in addition to the baobab tree, also refers to the akòko²⁰ tree, and also to the stream that flows near the farm:

(xii) "E lo o mò kú lààtíjò,
Ọmọ olóṣẹ lákòòko lúlẹ rẹ.
Aakòòko ẹrẹkẹ ọn maká ọluọ rọn rọ í sí.
Ọmọ olúrù mẹfà kẹ i létí Ódú.
Èjì mò kọn í jírà ayé.
Èjì rẹ i jírà ọrun.

²⁰ akòko - the New boldia Laevis (Bignoniaceae).
(For further details see R. C. Abraham's Dictionary of Modern Yorùbá, p.44.

Èjù kó kù nọ̀n odò omi sinringindin ní bá í rẹ̀."

(I haven't seen you for a long time.

Descendant of those who in your home, own the
baobab and the akòko trees.

The bulky akòko tree on which you hang the arms
of your sacrificial victims.

Descendant of those around whose Òdú²¹ six wasps
fly.

Two of them are of this world.

Two others are of the sky.

The remaining two fly down-stream.)

Reference to sacrificial victims (Oluò) in the third utterance of the extract above implies that in years gone by, members of the Enurin clan must have offered human sacrifices either to the spirits of the akòko tree, or to some divinity. Suffice it to say however that this must have been before 1886.²² The wasps are merely one of the many insects that fly around the stream. Their division into categories according to their place of abode is part of the chanter's own embellishment of the text.

²¹ Òdú - this is the name of a stream that flows near the farm known as Ufefe, by the Ilógbò people. The farm is used by the Èrò family, one of the families of the Enurin clan.

²² 1886 - On the 29th of September of this year, the three leading Ọba in Ekiti signed the enactment for the abolition of human sacrifice in Ekiti. (For further details, see Johnson - The History of the Yorubas, (C.M.S. (Nig.) Bookshops 1921), pp.664-665.

Ujaamẹṣẹ artists also included in their chants, something about the Enurin clan festival. It is considered one of the very interesting annual occasions in the village. In the following utterances for example:-

- (xiii) "Ọ káàtijó'mọ ọlọyọn²³ kọn-ọn-kọn-ọn-kọn.
 Ọ 1 1 jorí ẹjá.
 Ọ 1 1 jẹyin-in rẹ ẹ.
 Arinrin ẹja làbaà rẹ kó gbé 1 sédé è."

(It is a long time, descendant of the owners of
 the croaking bull-frog.

You do not eat a fish's head.

You do not eat its tail.

The body of the fish is found in your father's
 melon-saturated stew.)

the chanter refers to the bull-frog used in yester-years during clan festivals. He describes the bull-frogs' croaking voices with the onomatopoeic word 'kọn-ọn-kọn-ọn-kọn'. Reference to fish on the other hand is also reference to the proximity of a stream not too far from one of the family compounds. The chanter assumes and rightly so, that fish dishes are delicacies to the clan. In fact we are told that this is specially so at the clan festival:

²³ Ọyọn - the Èkìtì word for kọnkọ (bull-frog).

(xiv) "Ọmọ aṣorò gbí lẹgbẹlẹgbẹ saò.

Káátijẹ 'mọ aṣorò gbaò ẹja tira."

(Descendant of those who celebrate with
'lẹgbẹlẹgbẹ'²⁴ in their plates.

It is nice to see you again, descendant of
those who celebrate with dishes full of fish.)

According to our informants, the festival of the
Enurin clan known as GÚN-ÙN²⁵ or ỌJÒ EDÈ is not complete
without melon-seed stew in which fishes are the main
ingredient. So the artist's description of the clan
festival is not full, if he leaves out the edè (melon)
stew - ùjaamẹṣẹ chanters do not. They chant:

(xv) "Ọlúa mi mi mè í kí ọmọ aṣorò gbí
lẹgbẹlẹgbẹ saò.

Ọlúa mi mi mè í kí ọmọ aṣorò gbaò ẹja tira.

Ọlúa mi mi mè í kí ọmọ agb'ójò edè ṣ'ọfẹ
gẹgẹ y'ójú ita."

(These greetings are to 'my lord' descendant of
those who put 'lẹgbẹlẹgbẹ' in their plates.

These greetings are to 'my lord' descendant of
those who celebrate with dishes of fish.

²⁴ lẹgbẹlẹgbẹ - it is supposed to be the name of a kind
of fish; from the name, one may expect it to be
long but slim.

²⁵ GÚN-ÙN - Our informants fail to explain the root of
this convincingly, but the full description of the
name leads one to conclude that it may not be
unconnected with masquerading or ancestorship.

These greetings go to 'my lord' descendant of those who dash to the ita²⁶ with melon stew.)

The practice of balancing the dish of melon stew on one hand as each family representative dashes to the point of offering, to offer the food to their ancestors, is here described by the artist in the last utterance above. The quantity of melon stew cooked during the festival has led to the second name of the festival - ỌJỌ EDE (rains of melon).

The relationship between this clan and people in other Èkìtì towns form part of their oriki. From the extracts in àjaamẹsẹ, it becomes obvious that the Enurin clan in Ilógbò has genetic aggregation with certain families in Ọyẹ and Ìkòlé both in Èkìtì. With regard to Ọyẹ, references such as the following, occur in àjaamẹsẹ:

(xvi) "Ọ̀pọ̀ obì àrìlà ọ̀n mú ì kọ́rí ùrọ̀n ọ̀n rẹ.
Kọ̀n ọ̀n bá d'Ọ̀yẹ Ìgbó.
Ọ̀mọ Ọ̀lọ̀yẹ kú moró.
Ọ̀sùpá rọ̀n tomitomi lùlé Èrìbọ."

(A complete pod of kola nuts is offered to your ancestors,

²⁶ ita - a point in each family compound where the ancestors are hailed, offerings made to them, and their assistance is sought.

When one is among them in Oyè.

Descendant of the Oloyè !

The moon shines even in your waters in Èribò
compound.)

The first two utterances of this extract are a further confirmation that members of this clan are great kola-nut farmers. No wonder they can afford to offer a whole pod at a time to the ancestors. The last utterance is simply the artists' own observation from nature.

An example of utterances relating this clan to Ikòlé runs thus:

(xvii) "Ikòlé mò lèkilkòn kìn ìn jí mú'gbao ọ́sọ́
rọ́ í sí lúlé Èribò.

Èèdùmàrè mò mò kaà kòn jẹ́ ìn mú'gbao
òdà rọ́ súlé dè mi lááláé."

(Ikòlé descendants, you have racks for your
ornaments in Èribò compound.

May the Lord prevent you from hanging up
cutlasses (as you lie in ambush) for me.)

These utterances are a recognition of the fact that members of this clan are known to be fashionable, so much so that they have special racks for hanging their clothing and ornaments - beads, decorative armlets and bracelets; on the other hand it is also a confirmation of their use of human victims, for sacrifice in yester-years.

The family head who is next in rank to the ENURIN is the QSOLO, and the Ebi'Solo is also praised in ùjaamèse.

5.1.1.5 Ebi'Solo - The Qsolo Clan:

Living descendants of this clan are devout worshippers of Olúa and members of his cult. Therefore it is not surprising that chanters refer to them as often as they chant at the festivals.

The first reference to them describes how they pay their own homage to the deity - either by kneeling down and adoring, forehead touching the ground, or as an alternative, touching the ground with their right hand and dabbing the head with the sand thus picked:

(xviii) "Qmọ alálẹ ọn bù tẹẹrẹ mí kájú.

Qmọ elési alède.

Qmọ elési kaajòòjì pòyì í ká kọmọdélẹ
sì ì a roko."

(Owner of the land whose soil is used for rubbing
the face.

Owner of the èsl,²⁷ situated outside (the compound).

²⁷ èsl - It is a medicine prepared and buried at the gate of a compound or village for protection. It is believed to have the power to ward off all evil. cf. Hermes, Greek god of boundaries and roads, C. L. Barnhart, (ed.), The World Book Dictionary, Field Enterprises Educational Publication, 1974, Vol. One, p.983.

Owner of the èsi round which strangers must pay
homage before citizens go to the farm.)

The èsi here referred to is in the Ọrìṣà Ìmílà family
compound, and during their clan festival, part of
the annual ceremonies is a dance round it.

As acclaimed participants of the Ọlúa festival,
the Ebí'Solò are described as having gorgeous attires
for the festival:

(xix) "Ibaba lomo ajèbi yàlà ró.

Omọ ajàre yòdodo aṣọ bora.

Omọ amátàbàtúbú-aṣọ-b'Àtogùn-Mòḍjò-ṣorò."

(Father (clan head) is one who wears a white
garment if guilty.

One who when he is innocent wears a befitting
dress.

One who puts on a gorgeous attire to celebrate
Àtogùn's (Ọlúa's) festival.)

The clan head here referred to as 'father' is
mentioned by the chanter as a befitting representative
of the clan, in describing their festival habits.

In this clan also, there is an ègè²⁸ Ọlúa at

²⁸ ègè - An èsi (see note 27) specially used as the
object through which sacrifices are sent to the
deity, Ọlúa.

the foot of which the barren plead to be blessed with a child. This practice is recorded in the ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ chants as part of the oríkì of Ebí'Solò:

(xx) "Ọmọ ẹlẹ̀gẹ̀ ọríságbá o.

Ọmọ ẹlẹ̀gẹ̀ mimù witi upara ẹbọ.

Ùùgba ọjúsẹ̀ mépo í wẹ upònnò ọkọ mi lúlẹ̀
l'Ìyèdì.

Mọ mọ bọkọ í lọ lẹ̀gẹ̀ i mẹ̀gẹ̀ yíyẹ̀ o.

Ọmọ ẹlẹ̀gẹ̀ ọríságbá l'Úrèrè.

Èẹ̀gẹ̀ ọn mùkókó ọni í tí kẹ̀ẹ̀gẹ̀ mọ yẹ.

Èẹ̀gẹ̀ ọn mọ mùkókó ọni í tí kẹ̀ẹ̀gẹ̀ mọ dàá
lúlẹ̀ lònò Ìwẹ̀.

Èẹ̀gẹ̀ ọgìlìgun mó mu í ẹ.

Mí mọ bẹ̀gẹ̀ ọmọ ni o.

Ọmọ apuò túò ẹ lúgbó Baniḡfọn."

(Owner of the ẹ̀gẹ̀ on which none may put out her calabash to dry.

Owner of the ẹ̀gẹ̀ surrounded by many imù²⁹ shrubs
at the garden of sacrifice.

Two hundred maids of the deity are adorned in my
husband's home at Ìyèdì.³⁰

²⁹ imù - a shrub with feather-like leaves. It is specially put in the pot when water is to be drawn for the deity Orisaálá.

³⁰ Ìyèdì - this is an area in Ìlógbò where one of the family compounds of the Ọsólò clan is situated.

I am going with my husband, one who is an expert
at erecting an ègè.

Owner of the ègè on which none may put out her
calabash to dry in Urèrè³¹.

The ègè which is watched by a man so it may not
collapse.

The ègè which is watched by a man so that it may
not break into pieces on Ìwè road.

I had thought it was a protective ègè.

I did not know it is a child-giving one.

One who kills the victim and dresses it in
Bànífòn forest.)

In the utterances above which are part of the oríkì of Ebí'Sòlò, various pieces of information are given with regard to the preparations preceding the Olúa festival. First, there are special maids of honour who attend to elders of the cult during the ceremonies and the third utterance in the above extract attributes to the Osòlò clan a contribution of two hundred of these maids. Although, the number two hundred is an exaggeration by the chanter, it is true that this clan as one of the major devotees of Olúa, nominates two of the maids.

Secondly, information is given as to the importance of the women who virtually keep vigil at the forest during the festival, making sure that the ègè does not

³¹ Urèrè - is a farm in Òsì. Urèrè is used here to represent Òsì since Òsì is the ritualistic headquarters for the worship of Olúa.

collapse. Although the devotees were not willing to expatiate on this aspect of the festival, the necessity for a man to watch over the ègè pre-supposes that there are a number of pieces making the complete ègè; each of these is probably so delicately placed on the one below it that it need be watched. No information was given as to what may happen if the watchman dozes off and the ègè collapses.

The eighth and ninth utterances of extract (xx) also confirm the assertion that devotees who are barren may ask Olúa to grant them the grace of procreation; while the last utterance in the extract reveals that a human victim used to be offered as sacrifice at the grove of Bànífón.

Other references in ùjaamèsè point to the probability of the Ọsọlọ clan being herdsmen many years back - the clan head is described as owning a flock of sheep:

(xxi) "Àgùntọ̀n ní dà gílírí,
 Ọ̀n mú í sọgún mò de ọ̀nọ̀ ọ̀kẹ̀ ọ̀jà ọ.
 Àgùntọ̀n ní dà gílírí,
 Kà á mú í sọgún mò de ẹ̀run odi.
 Ọ̀ni p'àgùntọ̀n dídú Ọ̀ba' Sọ̀lọ̀,
 Ọ̀ mò sìnọ̀ ọ̀kẹ̀ ọ̀jà.
 Ugbi mi p'àgùntọ̀n dídú Ọ̀ba' Sọ̀lọ̀,
 Mí mò sun'run odi."

(When sheep rushed down the road,
 We thought we were invaded in Òkè Ojà.
 When sheep rushed down the road,
 We thought our fort was invaded. ,
 Whoever kills one of Ọsọlọ's black sheep,
 Is bound to lose his way to Òkè Ojà.
 Since I have not killed Ọsọlọ's black sheep.
 I won't sleep outside the fort.)

The above utterances refer to the size of the flock of sheep held in trust by the Ọsọlọ, the head of the Ebí'Sọlọ, and liken their movement through the area of Ilógbò inhabited by some members of the clan to a possible unexpected invasion of the village by external forces.

5.1.1.6 Ebí Àró - The Àró Clan:

Next in the hierarchy of chiefs in Ilógbò-Èkìtì is the Àró, who is also the head of the Ebí Àró (Àró clan). Members of this clan are well-known worshippers of Ọsọnyìn, the divinity regarded as being in charge of medicinal powers. The Àró is believed to be a man versed in the use of herbs and is the Olórí Awo (Chief Medicine man). His compound is therefore known as 'Ilé Olórí Awo'. Therefore, in ùjaamèsè various references are made to Ọsọnyìn, and the powers the Àró is believed to possess. For example, a chanter

in paying ibà homage to Ọsọnyin chants:

(xxii) "Ọmọ ẹírà títù kẹ í jó mùdì foroforoforoforo.

Ọsọnyin kẹ í lúlẹ Ọba Àró mò jí ire
lẹkọkọkọn."

(Owner of the cold leaves that burn.

Good morning to all the Ọsọnyin in Àró's compound.)

As she pays homage, she cleverly describes the ability of the Àró to make a fresh leaf efficacious for the treatment of diseases as though it burns out the disease. The word 'lẹkọkọkọn' also implies that the Àró has so many medicines in the house, that he requires more than one Ilé Ọsọnyin.³²

Another artist advises any man, who may be thinking of seducing the Olórí Awo's wife, to commit suicide rather than carry out this plan. This (suicide) is probably considered an easier way of ending his life than the kind of death he would undergo for seducing Olórí Awo's wife: In the words of the chanter:

(xxiii) "Àámọ ọní mò mọyà Olórí Awo í pàdẹ.

Èrù àlilẹ lí bà.

Kó kúkú yíqlé Ọsọnyin kọ mọ ọ títù
léra ọ yá."

³² Ilé Ọsọnyin - This is a secret chamber in a medicine-man's house, where all dangerous medicines are kept. He, and only he may open it up.

(One who meets the Olórí Awo's wife secretly,
Is not afraid of the alilè.³³

It is better for him to go into the medicine
chamber and pick a medicine for committing
suicide.)

In addition to the various medicines believed to be
in the home of the Àró, the chanter also says that the
sigidi in Àró's home speaks:

(xxiv) "Sigidi ojulé ra i fọ b'ọni."

(The sigidi in our house speaks like a person.)

This is in reference to divining powers believed to
be shared by Ọsọnyin, for on occasions, it is he who
identifies and picks out a lying culprit among a
number of suspects.

References to the Epa masquerades owned by the
Ebí Àró also come up for mention in ùjaamẹsẹ:

(xxv) "Ọkọ lúpè ikùtù ọnọ Okoà.

E ọnọ ọn mọ múpè ikùtù i pe'ra rin tín.

Kọn ọn mọlùn í pè ọ lúlé Àró."

(My husband whose early morning bugle is heard
on Okoà road,

As you are woken up in the morning with your
own bugle,

³³ alilè-àalè - a piece of broom or special mark of
ownership placed on a property, a sign that no other
may touch it.

You are also invited by the Oba's crier in
Aró's compound.)

The epa is likened to a bride because when the masks are worn, some of them are so designed to look like brides with a special hair-do and an adorned face. Although spectators know that what is worn is a mask, the design and make-up are still appreciated. No wonder the chanter says:

(xxvi) "Ọmọ ẹpa kọn kọ ọ s'ọbuntun re'ni."

(The epa mask that looks like an attractive bride.)

It is very interesting to note that the other two clans in Ilógbò-Èkìtì viz. Ebí'Soko and Ebí'Milà are not referred to at all in all the sixteen performances recorded during the festival in Ilógbò. Although the Olúa festival attracts every villager, the Ebí'Soko and Ebí'Milà are left out of the chants because they are members of the EJIO cult.

5.1.2 The Oríkì of selected clans in Ọsi-Èkìtì:

In Ọsi, there are six clans, namely:-

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| (i) Ebí Ìludì | (iv) Ebí Ìjopa |
| (ii) Ebí Ìdọfin | (v) Ebí Èyinlata |
| (iii) Ebí Ìsao | (vi) Ebí Òwárọ. |

Of these clans, only three are referred to in the chants collected, they are the Ebif'Dòfin, Ebif Iludì, and the Ebif'Jopa.

5.1.2.1 Ebif Iludì - The Iludì Clan.

This clan has, as its leading representative at the time of our recording the Olósi of Ósi-Èkiti, Ọba Ainá Akínyedé (now deceased).

The clan praises in àjaamẹsẹ refer specifically to the village head, and appeal to him to show more interest in the Olúa festival as well as other indigenous festivals of the village. The relevant excerpts from the texts run thus:

(xxvii) "Ọmọ Olùrè jìjà wọrọ lókè àkòdì.
 Mé r'eru ké e kí bàbàà rẹ Ọdúndún
 l'Ásìsẹ.
 Ó mírùkẹrẹ.
 Ó mú táyé Ọsi nì ẹ.
 Í jareè mi kó o wí sí baba ké ẹ múra
 sọrọ orò ulé.
 Bí Fágúnmedọ ọpọlọ ẹ múra sọrọ ufọn
 yíyún kùsàkùsà."

(Descendant of those who own the ùrè³⁴ in the family centre-court.

³⁴ ùrè - a tree whose branch is usually used for carving handles for knives and cutlasses.

I wish I had a slave to take a message to
Ọdúndún your father, in Àsìsẹ (Ọsi).

He used his horse-tail,

To improve the lot of Ọsi.

Please tell Baba (the Ọba) to show more
 interest in things cultural.

As the toad takes seriously the scratching of
 his scabies-infected skin.)

The appeal in the chants was passed through a member of the clan present at the festival and at the site of performance. It became necessary to make this appeal because Ọlúa's devotees felt that the Ọba who had his own Christian obligations to respect, gave the festival only his passive support. Therefore the chanter, having praised the clan for the developments in the village brought about by the good works of their ancestors, sent this important message to the Ọlọsi.³⁵

5.1.2.1 Ebí' Dọfin - The Idofin Clan

The Ọdọfin of Ọsi, who is next in rank to the Ọlọsi is head of this clan. References to the praises of the Idọfin clan range from a partial description

³⁵ This material was recorded on 15/8/77 and the reign of the then Ọlọsi began on 10/11/76, therefore the allusion was directed to him being a traditional ruler, who was also a renowned Christian.

of their section of Òsì, to fruit trees in the clan farm, to the clan deity and his food offerings.

An artist, Ilésanmí Alóńgẹ from Ilé Èmilà, one of the compounds of the Ebí'Dọfin describes the length of the street on which their own compound is situated, suggesting that it takes an energetic woman to walk along its entire stretch without showing signs of fatigue:

(xxviii) "Ọgbọn ẹlẹrun lẹẹgbọn ra kọn ọn bá
délé l'Údọfin.

Ọgbọn itáşoró, ọgbọn amilerun o.

Ọmọ ọlẹgbọn-ọn rẹnyinrẹnyin ọnọ
Údọfinşin."

(Our street leads off a junction in Idọfin.

The street on which one must tighten one's
wrapper (before walking through it),

The street on which scorners abound.

Owner of the long and crowded street, the Idọfin
road.)

The last utterance in the above extract refers to the usual crowd on the street on any day, implying that those who come in and out of the compounds of the clan each day must be very numerous. The import is that the Ebí'Dọfin is a large one. Since the street Odi Iludi is also the main one in Òsì, the utterance can also be taken to refer to the size of the crowd

walking to and from the ugbómọlẹ̀ during the Olúa festival.

A further description of the environments in which other members of the clan live, includes this description of that area of the village where the torrent splits its course, and runs in two directions. This happens because at this point the road forks into two. Hence the artist chants:

(xxix) "Ọmọ àgbàrá Ẹlẹ̀yọ́ kẹ̀ é jìjàdù ọ̀nọ̀ mejì."

(One whose rain water torrent at Ẹlẹ̀yọ́ struggles to follow the two available courses.)

The next praise to this clan in the chants refers not only to the stream that runs through their farmland, but also the pineapples that grow along it:

(xxx) "Ọmọ ẹlẹ̀kíkún eti Ilàgbé ẹ̀jẹ̀ẹ̀jì àtirìn.

Ọmọ olókún ipọ̀pọ̀tú.

Ọmọ olókún ọ̀n sẹ̀jì í gbé kẹ̀ ẹ̀ si sẹ̀
d'ọ̀rùn ayamọ̀ ọ̀nì."

(Descendant of the owners of the pineapple
along the Ilàgbé stream.

Descendant of the owners of thick beads.

Beads that require two (people) to put them on
one's mistress.)

The last two utterances also refer to the traditional coral beads worn by the clan-head in his capacity as

one of the major traditional chiefs in the village.

The chanter also confirms in his chants some informants' explanation given us that the Ọdọfin and the Èmilà belong to the same clan in Ọsi. He chants:

(xxxi) "In jare ibí rẹ kọn ọn bá mi jiyọn e rẹ,
 Ọdọfin sáá ní í sàba mi.
 Kọn ọn bá délé Èmilà."

(No matter how much they argue with me.

Ọdọfin is my father.

Even in my home in Èmilà compound.)

'Father' in the second utterance refers to the position of the clan-head as father of all the members of the clan and not necessarily to the biological relationship. In the utterance:

(xxxii) "Mọ lẹ í múgbó Ọsun aba mi."

(I am off to my father's Ọsun grove),

the chanter makes an important revelation that the Ebi 'Dọfin worship Ọsun, the river goddess. So in other utterances, items of sacrifice to the deity form part of praises of the clan, as well as items commonly found in their farms:

(xxxiii) "In jare, là ní mò gb'òsè kòn lérí áun.

Gbé'kòn ko kù ka a gbè lérí ùgbín."

(Please listen, we are the ones who place one
foot on a tortoise.

And the other on a snail.)

Since the Ebí'Dòfin are leading members of the Imèsè cult and they also worship Ọsun as these praises reveal., Our own opinion based on deductions in respect of the relationship between these two deities will be discussed in the concluding chapter to this work.

5.1.2.3 Ebí'Jopa - The Ijopa Clan

The head of this clan is the Aláayè known as Abá'Laayè. He is also the leader of the Imèsè in Ọsi. A chanter known as Èkémọ́dé, a member of the Ijopa clan praises his clan as he chants:

(xxxiv) "Emi lomọ Ọbadù Aọrọ.

Kẹ ẹ gb'ajá owólowò upara ẹbọ.

Ọmọ ọka gbe gélégélẹ yí ọ'nú ebibu.

Ọmọ ekòlọ rìn gbẹdẹgbẹdẹ ọ'lẹ.

Ọmọ sìnşininrìngún kọ mùrìn í sùsẹ.

Ọmọ okirikiri bàtá ọni akọni amori
regerege.

Ibà ni mì mò í jẹ.

K'ọn ọn mò tun pè mí lóníníkòn."

(I am the son of the Obadù³⁶, nick-named Aòrò.

Who receives the barking dog at the time of
sacrifice.

Son³⁷ of the viper that creeps stealthily into
thick sand.

Son of the earthworm that moves very slowly
into the earth.

Son of the şínşínínringún bird that shows off
its style of walking.

Son of the 'Okiríkiri bàtá'³⁸, the brave one
with the dainty head.

I am paying ìbà homage, do not call me names.)

This extract from the praises of Íjopa clan in
ùjaamèşè reveal that at some period during the festival,
a dog is slaughtered for sacrifice. Although the
devotees refused to discuss this aspect of the
festival with the researcher, and would not say
whether the victim of a dog is offered to Olúa or to
Ògún, our deduction is that it is offered to Olúa since
ùjaamèşè is his festival chants. Also, both Ìgèdè³⁹

³⁶ Obadù - father of the Chanter. Obadù is a title in
the Imèşè cult and the Obadù is also a family in Òsi.

³⁷ We have used son here because 'omo' is used as direct
kinship term (rather than one of descendancy), with
Olúa as father and the chanter as his child - Olúa is
'father' to all his devotees.

³⁸ Okiríkiri bàtá - one more of the oríkì of Olúa.

³⁹ See 2.3.1.2, pp.43-48 of this work.

devotees and Idó-Òsi adherents reject the suggestion that there is some special relationship between Olúa and Ògún as different from that between Olúa and other deities. Therefore, one deduction one may make here with regard to the offering of a dog in sacrifice to Olúa is that the farmers, whose harvest season festival the Olúa festival is, show their gratitude to Olúa for having protected them from the dangers involved in the use of iron implements - hoe, cutlass, knife etc. although Ògún is believed to own these implements. Another deduction may be that since these farmers owe allegiance to Ògún, they pass to him, through Olúa, the sacrifice of a dog, in appreciation. But, does it then follow that Olúa is a lesser deity than Ògún? The people of Idó-Òsi give an emphatic 'No' reply to that poser.

The third to the fifth utterances in quotation (xxxiv) above refer not to the Ijopa clan as such, but to the deity Olúa. The utterances give a vivid description of the elegant steps of the deity's representation at the festival. The sixth utterance lays emphasis on his bravery in spite of his gentle steps, and the beauty of the tassel-like palm-fronds on his head. The chanter, therefore, as a 'son' of the deity wants us to believe that all the descendants of Ijopa clan are elegant, brave though of gentle gait and good-looking.

The next object of praise to be mentioned is Ilé Aláayè, a family compound of the Ebí'Jopa and home of the head of the clan:

(xxxv) "Mi kọ ọrẹ ò mọ yá Arinlélú ọmọ atọdọdọ
ẹmu bọ'ko.

Ọmọ aṣorò lúgbèèkùyè í jà.

Ọmọ aṣorò rọpọ ojú rà.

Ọmọ olúpepe Ọun.

Kín ín tí k'ẹmu í rà b'ùùgbò oyin."

(Hello, I seek refuge with Arinlélú⁴⁰ who bring
the choicest palm-wine from the farm.

Descendant of those who celebrate during èkùyè.

Descendant of those who celebrate and command
a crowd.

Descendant of the owners of the Ọun pavement.

Where palm-wine is rationed for sale, as if it
were honey.)

These utterances refer to the social side of the Ọlúa festival with devotees treating themselves to the choicest wines. Since the Aláayè is the leader of the Imèṣè in Ọsi, the drinking of wine takes place in his house after the rituals. On these occasions, the ordinary villager pays through the nose for palm-wine for his own private entertainment,

⁴⁰ Arinlélú - is an ancient nickname of the Ijopa clan.
See also Chapter 4, footnote 19.

if he gets any to buy at all. So great is the demand for palm-wine that the following utterances form part of the praises of the Ijopa clan, this time, Ilé Onígẹmọ:

(xxxvi) "Lúlé Onígẹmọ ọpoòrò.

Ọmọ lílẹ kẹ ẹ gbọdọ le ọgbọn Ijopa.

Ọmọ lílẹ kẹ ẹ gbọdọ le ọgbọn Iwẹ mọjọ."

(Now to the house of the tough Onígẹmọ.

The stubborn child must not dare be stubborn on Ijopa road.

The stubborn child dare not be stubborn at Iwẹ.)

The utterances refer to the characteristic stubbornness of the children of this compound, who know that they dare not misbehave at the ugbómọlẹ. Penalties for misbehaviour range from kola nuts to a ram.

5.1.3 Clans in Iḱó-Ekiti:

In Iḱó, there are twelve clans:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| (i) Ebí Ọmọ Ọwá | (vii) Ebí Èmílà |
| (ii) Ebí'Dọfin | (viii) Ebí Ísápè |
| (iii) Ebí Sàadè | (ix) Ebí Ísoko |
| (iv) Ebí Sàkete | (x) Ebí Sàlórò |
| (v) Ebí Ajàṇọ | (xi) Ebí Iníike |
| (vi) Ebí Iḱobà | (xii) Ebí Ọbańlá; |

led by the following clan heads:- Olórí ọmọ Ọwá,

Abá'Dòfin, Abá Saadè, Abá Sakete, Abá'Jànò, Abá'Dòbà, Abá'Milà, Abá Èísàápè, Abá'Jemu, Abá Sàlórò, Abá'Nurin and Abá Baálá respectively.

5.1.4 Clans in Igbólé-Èkitì:

In Igbólé, the following clan heads are also leaders of their respective clans: Abá'Dòfin, Abá'Jemu, Abá'Nidòfinşin, Abá'Sifimò, Abá'gemo and Abá'Sólò.

5.1.5 Clans in Òşì-Èkitì:

Similarly the nine clans in Òşì have their own clan heads. The Ebí Omoowá is led by the Eşifimò, Ebí Ilésà by the Eşàsì, the Ebí Idòfin by the Odòfin, while the Ejemu, the Ajànò, the Olótín, the Odòbà, the Èmilà and the Èremo are heads of the Ebí'Jemu, Ebí'Jànò, Ebí Ilótín, Ebí'Dòbà, Ebí Imilà, and Ebí Imije respectively.

Although ùjaamèşè chants also include the oriki of particular clans in each of these villages, the present writer has limited her description of the content of ùjaamèşè to materials from Ìlógbò and Òşì. This is because she considers these two villages representative of the other areas for three reasons:

- (a) The festival in each village is participated in by devotees from all five villages.
- (b) On all the occasions when the elders concerned agreed to permit some ùjaamèşè

artists to perform for the present writer's recording, most of them and the best of them came from Ilógbò and Òsi.

- (c) These two villages, Ilógbò and Òsi, command the respect of worshippers from the other villages. The deduction here is drawn from an undisputed claim made by one of the elders of Imèsè in an original composition, at a special meeting of elders. These are the chanter's own words:

(xxxvii) "Ìjopa lí rí í rí bíi káfútéèni ọ̀ọ̀dọ̀ Àtògùn.
Ilógbò lí rí í rí bẹ̀ẹ̀díkọ̀tà ikete ra porogodo."

(Òsi, alias Ìjopa, is the captain in respect
of Àtògùn.

And Ilógbò is the headquarters for us all.)

From the collected text, clan praises occur in the chants of almost all the chanters in varying frequency, the least being once and the highest, eleven times in any one performance. The category of praises that feature more prominently in the chants depends entirely on what the chanter knows not only about the deity, but also about the society in relation to the spectators around.

It is possible, however, for the chanters to prevent clan praises from over-shadowing the praises of Olúa and supplications to him.

5.2.0 The Oríkì of Selected Individuals and Groups:

It has been said by various informants that ùjaamèsè should consist in the main of the adoration of Olúa, and that the chanter who succeeds in praising Olúa and making the least digression to other items of content, is the one that receives the acclamation of the devotees. Yet, the materials collected by the present writer show that certain individuals are praised in the chants. These selected individuals are important personalities in the Imèsè cult.

An interesting observation also made by the present writer is that, in the content of the chants, all Olúa devotees, particularly the initiates are praised as if they are a clan. Moreover, certain oríkì in the chants, according to our informants, are meant specifically for the devotees as a group called 'omo Imèsè' or 'Imèsè' for short.

5.2.1 The Oríkì of selected individuals:

Those notables who are specially praised include the Aláayè, the Obaíyè and the Àjànò. The purpose of

this set of praises is an attempt to describe some of the functions of the post held by such individuals, although mention is also made of their personal appearances and occupations.

5.2.1.1 Aláayè: is the head of the Ebí'Jopa and also head of the cult in Òsi. Anyone who is therefore a relation of the Aláayè is a bonafide devotee of Olúa. This is why a chanter confirms his own right at a festival by using the following utterances:

- (xxxviii) "Arinlélú ní bí mi, mẹ mẹẹ sàjèjl ọdọ Àtogùn.
Arinlélú ní bí mi, mẹ mẹẹ í s'àgbéá l'Ijopa."
(Arinlélú is my father, I am not a stranger in
Àtogùn's gathering.
Arinlélú is my father, I was not carried to
Ijopa (as a visitor).)

His position as the leader, and therefore the one who can give orders to the other cult leaders is made obvious in these utterances:

- (xxxix) "K'Áaláayè Arinlélú kẹ ẹ rọnsẹ s'Ọbadù Aẹrọ.
Kẹ ẹ pajá ówòlowò upara ẹbọ.
Líbi kòògbere kọn bá'ni í j'ajá kọn ọn mòru pa.
KỌbadù Aẹrọ.
Kẹ ẹ rọnsẹ s'Ọlílbalóyè kẹ ẹ lónò ọkò ọsẹ."

(Aláayè the Arinlólú should send to Qbadù
the Aòrò,

Who kills the barking dog at the spot of
sacrifice.

Where the non-initiate may not partake of
the dog slaughtered at night.

Qbadù the Aòrò.

Should send to Qlíbalóyè on Òkè Oṣè road.)

Reference to Aláayè here does not merely show his
position, it also gives an indication of some
hierarchy among the cult leaders.

5.2.1.2 Qbadù: is the second in command to the
Aláayè in the Òsi cult of Qlúa. A few utterances
scattered through the chants go towards his praise.
The commonest one is:

(x1) "Qmọ Qbadù Aòrò kẹ í gbajá ówòlowò upara ẹbọ."

(Descendant of the Qbadù, the Aòrò, who receives
the barking dog at the area of sacrifice.)

This describes his main function during the ceremony,
the offering of sacrifice, while at the same time,
it mentions a dog as one of the items of sacrifice.

Since his function is such an important one,
and since he is an elder initiate, one can assume
that quite a sizeable portion of the meat will go to

him or to his group. This assumption is confirmed in another ascription of praise to Obadù:

(xli) "Èrọ̀n k'ọ̀n ọ̀n bá ti délé Ọ̀badù fẹ̀ kù
àmọ̀fẹ̀ẹ̀rọ̀n ọ̀ni."

(The only type of meat you are not likely to see in Obadù's house, is human flesh.)

This is further proof that the dog is not the only type of animal for sacrifice to Olúa. The ram and the cock are also offered.⁴¹

5.2.1.3 Ológèébà: as earlier explained in Chapter 2,⁴² the Ológèébà in any of the villages is the youth leader for the cult in that village. It is from him that new initiates learn the rules and regulations of the cult. In the chants collected, the chanter gives him a nickname as he describes his (Ológèébà's) personal appearance:

(xlii) "Baba olórí ọ̀mọ̀dé ògébà kẹ̀ ẹ̀ l'Íjopa.

O, in jare ariṣaláo Ifá mọ̀ ẹ̀l mí dún.

Ng bá ti bí Fílàní ẹ̀ lo gbọ̀nrọ̀nrọ̀n-rọ̀n-rọ̀n.

Ọ̀yìbó Ọ̀runmílà kí mọ̀ bá í lẹ̀.

Mẹ̀ y'ọ̀dọ̀ Ifílàní.

Mẹ̀ yọ̀ọ̀ j'ọ̀n ọ̀n já mi sílẹ̀ s'okè Ọ̀ya.

'Lórí ọ̀mọ̀dé ògébà ùwọ̀ ní mo kí nísìn-in nì."

⁴¹ See 4.1.6, pp.151-154 of this work.

⁴² See Chapter 2, footnote 53.

(Leader of the new initiates in Ijopa !

O what a shame ! I am not an Ifá priest.

I would have gone with Filàní definitely.

I'll go with the white priest of Òrúnmìlà.

Not with Filàní.

I won't risk being left behind North of the
Niger.

Leader of the new initiates, I salute you !)

The chanter regrets not being an Ifá priest, because the Ológèébà (in Òsi) is one. He feels that his (the chanter's) company would have been more welcome, were he a priest also. He nicknames the Ológèébà, Filàní because of his complexion. The Ológèébà (in Òsi) is almost an albino. If therefore the chanter and the Ológèébà were to find themselves in the North, where the Fùlàní ethnic group live, the Ológèébà might be mistaken for a Fùlàní and therefore detained with the chanter. So, in the extract above, the chanter clearly reveals that the Ológèébà is a leader of the Imèsè cult, and also that ordinarily, he is an Ifá priest.

5.2.1.4 Chanter's Oríkì

In addition to alluding to the oríkì of particular individuals, the chanter may decide to allude to his own oríkì or that of a close relation, present. For example, a chanter whose hobby is

hunting gives an indication in his chants of the type of creatures he often hunts:

(xliii) "Emi rọn laàkókó bímọ í sìn lẹrun odi ì."

(It is for us that the woodpecker has its young ones.)

This shows that he is fond of hunting for birds and that when birds multiply, he is glad, for this gives him good game.

Similarly another chanter, a woman and a mother of twins, praises herself and the twins in her chants:

(xliv) "Lémi tika Ajínọọlálá èrin ẹye.

Aají mọ mọ kọọdún o.

Aají mọ mọ kọọlálá o.

Eye èjirẹ mẹ i jọọgàrẹ.

Itáyélolú gbẹdọ kẹ ẹ fẹrọn ẹdun barun.

Kete ẹye èjì kọ ba rẹdun.

Ní mọ gbẹdọ kẹ ẹ jẹrọn ẹdun.

Ìn mọ jare kèèkè mọ mẹ raká ẹdun libẹ.

Mọ mọ yààgò libẹ.

Yè sí kọn yọọ ráká ómiye rẹ l'ọjà.

Koojú mó ro jinra jinra.

Aajọ ọ mọ kọọdun o.

Mí ti i yúrú kí mi sí ẹẹ se'bẹ.

Ọọrọ èjì ọn tika ọ kúkú pọn lójú mi."

(I, Ajínṣṣolá, the smiling beauty.

Happy festivities to me.

Compliments of the season to me.

A mother of twins must not eat the baboon-meat.

Táyélolú⁴³ must never taste monkey meat.

All mothers of twins, if they see the monkey,

They must not eat of its meat.

Of course I saw the arm of a monkey there,

And I walked away from there.

Who could see his own relations arm on sale
in the market,

And would not feel sore ?

Happy celebrations to you.

I don't have to buy mustard seed to cook my
soup.

The twins are very dear to me.)

The chanter having congratulated herself for being present at the year's festival, refers to the taboo that no mother of twins may eat of monkey-meat. The taboo is based on the Yorùbá belief that twins and the Colobus monkey have some genetic ties.

In his own chants, Èkémṣṣé, a middle-aged chanter asserts that he is old in the art, and so does not waste words. He compares himself with 'àjàò' a type of bird which in old age perches on

⁴³ Táyélolú: is the first to be born, of a pair of twins. The short form of Táyélolú is Táyé, sometimes called Táéwò.

the top of a tree, and not on its low branches,
thus displaying expertise:

(xlv) "Ọrọ kọn ọn bá rí kọ sílẹ laàgbà í fẹ.

Ọrọ mí rí yẹ kí me e tètítò wẹẹrẹwẹ sá.

Mo ti kóò lẹgbẹ ọmọdẹ.

Mo rí ti lọ s'ẹgbẹ àgbà.

Mo ti d'ògbólogbo àjàò.

Mí mò tún mú'gi lódò alẹ.

Òkèlókè ní mo ti yé mú tẹmí."

(An elderly man speaks only what is worthy of
the records.

It is not right that I should just demonstrate
mere oratory.

I am no longer young.

I am moving close to old age.

I am an old àjàò bird.

I no longer perch on the lower branches of a
tree.

I perch right at the top.)

This chanter from Òsì is one of the renowned chanters
of àjaamẹsẹ, and he is always cheered both by specta-
tors and by fellow-chanters as soon as he starts to
chant⁴⁴. One type of cheer on such occasions is

"Ọ káre ọmọ ẹlẹgẹ" (Bravo ! Descendant of those who

⁴⁴ For the full text of a performance by this chanter,
see Appendix A, No. 4.

own the ẹgẹ (protective medicine usually buried or revered).

5.2.2 The Oríkì of the Imẹsẹ:

The content of the oríkì showered on this group dwells on the qualities of their performances at the festival. For example, the Imẹsẹ are saluted in these words:

(xìvi) "Ọmọ atọ́ọ́ ẹmu bọ'ko.
 Ọmọ asigboò girìgiri yódẹ.
 Ọmọ amóo ẹfón pera rọn.
 Ọo ijàkẹsẹ kà á mó mu kára.
 Ká á s'òní s'ùmọ́dún lónọ Iwẹ."

(Descendant of those who bring the choicest
 wine from the farm.)

Descendant of those who rush to the ugbómọlẹ.

Descendant of those who attract one another's
 attention by blowing buffalo horns.

Horns used for wishing one another many more
 years (of celebrations) in Iwẹ.)

In the above oríkì to the Imẹsẹ, the chanter describes some of the physical activities of the devotees in the festival. In these utterances, reference is made in the first, to the traditional drink of the festival season, in the second, to the enthusiasm with which the devotees attend the various occasions,

and in the thirā, to one of the musical instruments used.

In other utterances, reference is made to the dancing session. On the night the deity is expected to arrive, a lot of dancing and singing of war songs take place at the spectators' precinct, in front of the ugbómọlẹ. No one is allowed to make a recording of such songs. Both the initiates and the non-initiates participate in this dancing. A chanter full of admiration for this part of the festival makes the following comments about it.

(xlvi) "Ọ̀nìyọ̀n kọ́ bá wí ọ̀mọ́ rẹ̀ ún ọ́,
Kẹ́ ẹ́ yá ọ́ á lónọ́ Ọ̀rọ́.
Ìlẹ́ ní mò jọ lẹ̀bẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀ mẹ́kítì ńdí reni.
Kọ̀n ọ̀n bá délé mi in."

(Whoever is not keen on having children of his own.

Should come and see us on Oꝛò road.

There we dance and make our buttocks appealing.

When you get to my home.)

The Imèssè are also referred to as,

(xlvi) "Ọmọ adójee síré ọpá lígbègbè."

(Descendants of those who play with long sticks
on the hill-side.)

This refers to the scuffle that accompanies the festival, when cult members run after one another, threatening to beat each other with sticks. Our informants refrained from explaining the significance of this exercise, but insist that it has nothing to do with masquerading. Obviously, it is a good toughening exercise for the Imèşè, particularly the newly initiated.

Any of the oriki due to the Imèşè in general, may however be showered on particular personalities in the cult. From information so far obtained through investigations about the import of allusions in the chants, particularly the texts used in this chapter, one is led to conclude that in addition to the adoration of Olúa, verbal salutes, be they to deities or to clans, to individuals or to groups, form an important theme of ùjaamèşè.

This focuses attention on the social aspect of the Olúa festival and the social function of the chants. The chants and here the oriki in them are used to reduce the tension which usually surrounds the rituals, not only for the initiated or the uninitiated devotee but also for the ordinary spectator. The oriki gives one an insight into the prestige of the clans which are involved in the festival, and also describes the functions if any, of each clan in the cult. Since there are few or no

places of tourist attraction around the villages, festivals form a very important part of the social life of villagers. And so, consciously or unconsciously, Ujaaməşə provides some attraction for the villagers whose clans normally come up for mention, even if they themselves are not members of the cult.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 DIDACTIC SAYINGS

Didactic oral poetry is used inter alia to transmit information to the listener in an interesting way, capable of making one retain such information in one's memory.¹ The main aim of didactic oral poetry is therefore that of imparting knowledge.

In this study of Yorùbá oral poetry of the Èkiti-Yorùbá, the term is used to include sayings which inform the listener; give him warnings or expect him to draw a moral; as well as those which re-state perpetual truths and general everyday observations.

Didactic sayings are used in ùjaamèsè as a form of digression to draw the listener closer to the chanter and to give the chanter some time to think out his next major utterances. These sayings occur within long performances and between the main themes of the chants. In a few cases, they also occur as part of introductory utterances.

¹ cf. K. Beckson, & Arthur Ganz, A Reader's Guide to Literary Terms, (Thames & Hudson, 1961), p.50.

The examples given here are sub-divided into three types; (a) the instructional, (b) the moralistic and (c) those merely stating general observations about nature, friendship and local occupations.

6.1.0 The Instructional: This group of didactic sayings tends to teach the audience present at ùjaamèṣṣè performances what they are expected to know about the occupations of the Èkìtì people and about nature. For example, here is a quotation from ùjaamèṣṣè texts:

(1) "In jàre ọ̀rìjọ k'ọ̀n ọ̀n dáró ọ̀lìṣẹ̀muṣẹ̀,
ọ̀rìjẹẹ lí í jáde."

(Do note that the dye from the leaves of the ọ̀lìṣẹ̀muṣẹ̀,²
Is fully prepared on only one day.)

With this, the chanter directs the listeners' attention to a special type of plant which requires only one day's steeping in water to produce a dye.

The following utterances provide another example:

² ọ̀lìṣẹ̀muṣẹ̀: is a creeping plant which when pounded in a mortar and soaked in water, produces a dye immediately.

- (ii) "Ọ̀nìyẹ̀n kọ̀ mọ̀ b'Ugbólé ja'gùn.
E e r'óḍù ṣ'epo."

(Any group of people who wage war against
Igbólé,
Will have no pots for storing their palm-oil.)

Here, the listener is informed of two other occupations of the Èkitì - pottery and palm-oil production.

Also in the following example, a chanter tells the audience about types of rats found in the locality, and compares part of the daily life of each with that of the Colobus Monkey:

- (iii) "Yẹú lẹyíyẹ í ṣe lẹgbẹ̀ ègìgun.
Ọ̀yùnkún se'bẹ̀ rádinrádin s'úwò afà
d'omọ̀ ẹ̀dun.
Orí ẹ̀dun é gbuwò kọ̀Ọ̀yùnkún ọ̀."

(The squirrel travels cautiously on thorny
plants.

The Ọ̀yùnkún³ prepares some sweet soup for the
Colobus Monkey in the trunk of the afà
tree.

But the monkey's head is too large to pass
through Ọ̀yùnkún's route.)

The first two utterances inform the listener of the different characteristics of the squirrel and the

³ Ọ̀yùnkún: is a type of rat similar in appearance to the squirrel, but much bigger than it.

òyùnkún. The squirrel is a climber, he climbs plants and trees; the òyùnkún on the other hand lives inside tree trunks, eating his food there. The third line however explains that bigger though the òyùnkún may be, than the squirrel, his whole body is still much smaller than the head of a Colobus Monkey.

6.2.0 The Moralistic:

In this group of didactic sayings found in ùjaamẹṣẹ, the chanter sounds various notes of warning, expecting each listener to heed these for his own welfare.

In the following example, the chanter advises those who may be behaving like ingrates to mend their ways in their own interest. The utterances run thus:

- (iv) "Ọní a míbí ẹ'ókè èkù.
Àmọ́fọ́ní ẹ jẹun epo ò."

(He who would be ungrateful to the palm-oil
production site
Is none but he who would never eat food
prepared with palm-oil.)

This saying is based on the fact that almost everyone uses palm-oil in Yorubaland, and since palm-oil is made in the traditional pit, all users should show

appreciation to those who take the trouble of making such a useful commodity. Ingratitude is thus here condemned, and show of gratitude is not expected to be taken for granted.

A gentle warning not 'to play with fire' is given to adulterers in the following saying:

(v) "Ààmọ ọní mọyà olórí ao í pàdé.

Èrù ààlìlè lí bà.

Kó kúkú yíṣṣé Ọsọnyìn.

Kọ ọ mọṣe títù léra ọ yá."

(But whoever meets the chief medicine-man's wife in secret places,

That person does not fear the àlìlè⁴ (on her).

It were better for him to go into Ọsọnyìn's chambers.

And place death's cold hands on himself⁵.)

The Olórí Ao is believed to be the most powerful medicine-man in any village where he is recognised. So, anyone who tries to seduce his wife should be ready to pay a heavy penalty, ranging from serious illness to wretched death. The chanter

⁴ See Chapter 5, footnote 33.

⁵ That is, look for some medicine to accelerate his suicide.

suggests that it was better for the seducer to go into the medicine chamber (ilé Ọsọnyìn) and poison himself, than wait for the Olórí Ao's penalty. This is a warning to those who may engage in any confrontation with people more powerful physically or otherwise than they.

Another chanter in his own saying advises listeners to be careful in their choice of friends, for a wrong choice may lead to regrets. He chants:

(vi) "Eniyọn kọ ọ sọni bá rẹ.

Kó o sẹniyọn bá rìn.

• Torí kọni mọ bà á jifun ọra ọni."

(Man, mind whom you befriend.

Mind whom you move with.

So you may not eat your own intestines.)

The last utterance is metaphorical and means that a person who makes the wrong choice of friends may end up being poisoned; not necessarily poisoned through the mouth, but in the sense of getting addicted to corruption through bad influence.

Ọjaamẹsẹ being chants used during a religious festival, a chanter quickly warns spectators not to go beyond their bounds. He chants:

(vii) "Ọmọdé kẹ í tunsẹ ẹrírà í ọnú ipòporò,
 Ẹ ní fẹẹ rídon."

(A child who trails ants into the corn-stalk,
 Is really asking for trouble.)

This warning is appropriate seeing that spectators at the ugbómọlẹ during Ọlúa's festivals are not only barred from moving past particular parts of the arena, but are not allowed to be inquisitive. The metaphor in the warning is appropriate in that while 'the child' represents the inquisitive spectator, 'the ants' stand for the deity in his resting place in the ugbómọlẹ, the corn-stalk for the ugbómọlẹ and the consequences in each case are not pleasant.

6.3.0 General Observations:

In these, the chanter re-states what people already know, as a kind of reminder. If for example, you have in a crowd of listeners, a young woman who has been noticed as one who no longer respects her mother's opinion, a chanter may weave the following utterances into the chants:

"Ẹ mọ sọni mọni tètè dé'le ọkọ léye òun ọmọ
 'lẹs mi."

(There is no one who does not know the first
 to be married,

A mother or her child.)

The following are perpetual truths which anyone should know, and the chanter weaves them into his chant in his ìbà homage:

"Oyúnūnnú ẹ ẹ sòròn,
Kọn ọn r'ókùn gbe dè.
Sẹ non ẹ dáríjì mi.
Ìsínkọnrín ẹ ẹ m̀gòrò,
Kọn ọn yá lẹjọ rẹ lẹjọ kẹta."

(If a foetus commits an offence,
It cannot be punished by tying it with a rope.
They have to forgive me.
If weavils drink palm-wine from a gourd,
People don't meet to subject the weavils to
trial on the third day.)

With the above quotation, the chanter pays homage and asks to be forgiven for whatever offences he may have committed. He expresses the opinion that he should be let off, since the above statements are true.

Suffice it to say here, however, that didactic sayings are relatively few in ùjaamẹsẹ. This is as it should be, for ùjaamẹsẹ is primarily meant for religious purposes, and only such digressions as may teach morals or give warnings, and thus prevent mishaps, are appropriate in the chants; any other type is irrelevant.

PART THREE

THE FORM OF ÛJAAMÈSÈ

Form is probably the most frequently discussed term in Literary Criticism, yet it has been interpreted in various ways by several scholars. Some writers on the criticism of poetry and the definition of literary terms have used the term 'structure' as a synonym for 'form', using the latter in contrast with Content, Expression and Thought.¹ Thus they speak of Content and Form; or Content and Structure. Beckson and Ganz consider 'form' as the total structural integration of the work itself, but on their page 213, they admit that structure refers to the organization of elements other than words.

In the booklet, Dictionary of Literary Terms, published in the Coles Notes series, the explanation of the term 'structure' ends with a comment that in contemporary criticism of poetry, 'structure' is used 'to define not only verse form and formal arrangement but also the sequences of images and ideas which unite to convey the meaning of the poem.'² In spite

¹ Karl Beckson, and Arthur Ganz, A Reader's Guide to Literary Terms, Thames and Hudson, 1961 (1972 Reprint), p.71.

² Dictionary of Literary Terms, (Coles' Notes), Coles Publishing Company Ltd., 1963, p.116.

of the explanation of the term before the above comment, 'form' is still defined as 'the pattern or structure or organization which is employed to give expression to Content.'³

The present writer's view is that 'form' is not totally synonymous with 'structure'. Form is a shape developed from within the poem, not imposed on it from without. Structure is in fact, only one aspect of the form of a poem. It is the inner form of a poem, the pattern or outline of the poem with regard only to the arrangement of ideas - the set of paradigmatic relationships between its component parts.⁴

This part (Part Three) of the thesis focuses attention on the inner form of ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ in Chapter 7, while Chapter 8 is a detailed discussion of the outer form of the chants.

³ (Coles Notes), ibid., p.47.

⁴ cf. Afọlabi Olabimtan, 'A Critical Study of Yorùbá Written Poetry, 1848-1948', (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Lagos, 1974), p.291.

CHAPTER 7

7.0 THE INNER FORM OF THE CHANTS

In this section of the analysis of ùjaamèšè, the present writer uses the term 'inner form' to refer to the shape of the component parts of an ùjaamèšè performance, and the sequence of the occurrence of those parts. In order to show the sequences more vividly, two of the representative chants in Appendix A are analysed in this chapter.

7.1.0 Opening Utterances:

Ùjaamèšè has a free and unrestricted structure. This means that the component parts of a performance of ùjaamèšè could be arranged in any order that suits the chanter, the only exception being that there are no examples of performances which end with an ibà.

Ibà is invariably found at or near the beginning of a performance or in the middle, at points about fifty utterances or more after the commencement of performance. The other ideas within a poem - the invocation of and supplication to, Olúa; clan-praises; reference to other deities as well as digressions, may be arranged in any order that suits the whims of the chanter. A chanter may open and close his performance as he wishes. Introductory utterances may be a collection of sounds used for some purpose,

such as drawing the attention of the audience to himself or taking in breath. Alternatively, they may be used to make an observation on some issue (religious or secular) or they may form an ibà.⁵

7.1.1 Non-ibà opening utterances:

The opening utterances of a performance may constitute a comment on the festival, intended to enlighten the non-initiate. To illustrate this, here is an excerpt from the transcribed text of a performance:

- (i)⁶ "O o o.
 Oorò í r'òde⁷ o.
 Oorò í re'bi orò í re ògbèrè ni mọ mọ.
 Òní ni mọ ẹ í sọla o."

(I crave your attention.

The deity is departing.

The deity is departing for his home but the
 non-initiate does not know it.

⁵ See Omotayo Olutoye, 'An Introduction to the oral poetry of the Èkìtì-Yorùbá', paper presented at the West African Languages Congress, 1976, p.24.

⁶ All excerpts used in this chapter are numbered serially in Roman figures.

⁷ 'r'òde' literally means 'go out' but it is used here to refer to the deity's departure at the end of the festival. The chanter uses 'òde' because he is not prepared to accompany the deity home, since that means death.

It (the festival) ends today, not tomorrow.)

While drawing the attention of spectators to himself with 'O o o', the chanter opens his performance by informing the spectators, particularly the uninitiated, that once the deity departs the festival ends.

Another performing artist may introduce his chants by invoking Olúa with a verbal salute such as this:

(ii) "Ààfàkúnlẹ̀ ilògbò láṣọ bọkà ọ mò
kọlálá ọ Léré-apọpọ!"⁸

(O creeping plant clothed like a viper.
Hail, ~~you~~ owner of the python in the mud.)

or (iii) In mò bá mí e kí Láyé o.
Ọmọ umọlẹ̀ agègègè-mọ-yẹẹ.

(I pray you, do salute His Majesty on my behalf.
O deity of seemingly unsteady but actually
sure steps.)

While some chanters use introductory utterances with a religious flavour, others open their performances with remarks on secular issues such as:

(iv) "Ọrìjọ k'ọ̀n ọ̀n dáró ọlísẹ̀mùsẹ̀,
Ọrìjẹẹ ní í jáde."

⁸ Snakes are one of the symbols of the powers of Olúa.

(It is the very day that the olisẽmusẽ creeping
 plant is soaked in water,
 That it turns into a dye ready for use.)

The chanter uses the above utterance to emphasise her
 right to chant. It is a festival day and so the
 right day.

Another chanter may begin his performance with a
 clan praise such as:

(v) "O káre 'mọ olóṣè ọn m̀yinti ti yò o.
 Ọmọ olóṣè ọn m̀yinti k'ọn ọn peo erú.
 K'ọn ọn mọ pa t'ọmọ lúlé lónọ Ẹribọ."

(Bravo, descendant of those whose baobab trees
 guarantee happiness.

Owner of the baobab tree on which one may rest
 one's back,

And make money worth the value of a slave;⁹

As well as enough money to maintain
 one's children at home in Ẹribọ.)

⁹ 'rest one's back': while selling local crops.

7.1.2 The *ibà*¹⁰

In ùjaamèsè, the ibà usually occurs wherever the chanter pleases, right at the beginning of performance, soon after the opening utterances, or after very many utterances, that is, midway through performance. The person or group or thing to whom ibà is given is not necessarily mentioned in the words of the chants. In a situation where the honoured person or thing is not mentioned, the audience assume that all elders, all living and dead chanters, and all witches present at the performance are thus honoured.

ibà may occur in ùjaamèsè either as a short opening utterance, as a long stretch of utterances within a performance, or as one or two utterances repeatedly used as the chanter progresses in his chanting. When ibà is given to particular persons, deities or spirits, 'the person honoured' is usually named immediately preceding the words of the ibà; or his name may be included in the ibà utterances, for example:

¹⁰ The ibà is a very important element of the content as well as the structure of Yorùbá oral poetry. In the ibà, a chanter acknowledges the presence of other chanters and elders at the occasion; and gives recognition to generations of chanters before his time. ibà is paid to the living and the dead, to human beings and spirits alike, and to the origin of inanimate objects. ibà functions as the chanter's appeal for protection, guidance, and inspiration at particular performances.

(vi) "Aláakè lẹ̀dẹ̀súwájú irá kẹ̀ ẹ̀ sìlẹ̀rò ẹ̀rò l'Úfẹ̀.

Mo jí kọ̀nseẹ̀ lẹ̀dẹ̀ rẹ̀ ọ̀.

Mọ̀ jẹ̀ mi kọ̀sẹ̀ mọ̀ ọ̀n jẹ̀ mi kọ̀run."

(Aláakè is the leader of all the Chief Priests of Ifẹ̀.

I call for help and permission (to perform).

Let me not stumble, either with my feet or
with my tongue.)

Here the Aláakè is the person to whom the ibà is given,
and his name precedes the words of the ibà.

The following examples are the two longest examples
of ibà in our tape recordings of ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀. In the
first example, the ibà occurs in the fourth to the
sixteenth utterance of the performance. The chanter
directly asks for the protection of all the deities
believed to be present at the Olúa festival:

(vii) Mọ̀ yá'mọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ gẹ̀gẹ̀ ke 1 yí.

Mọ̀ yá'mọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ mọ̀ sọ̀dọ̀rọ̀n kọ̀ yáá gorí
ékéèjì kerekete.

Kọ̀n ọ̀n bá d'ọ̀nọ̀ Àsìsẹ̀.

Ìibà n'ọ̀n ọ̀n mọ̀dọ̀ rí kọ̀n í mu lókooşẹ̀ ọ̀rọ̀.

Şe ni mọ̀ yáá jíbà.

5

Ùúkú ulé ufọ̀n kí mọ̀ mọ̀ m̀l̀bà ọ̀nı̀ sùn.

Ùúkú ulé ufọ̀n kí mọ̀ mọ̀ sá yá lí tẹ̀mı̀.

È n'ọ̀n ọ̀n mọ̀ mí yẹ̀gbẹ̀yẹ̀gbẹ̀ ábo adıye
K'Ọ̀rìşà Ọ̀róyẹ̀.

È n'òn ọn mọ mí yègbèyègbè abo adiyẹ
K'Ọnifọn'un Ọsun.

È l'Ọọlúa mi mò gùn lérí éṣi mọpǎ
ìjẹ̀ẹ̀gèdè tilẹ. 10

Kí in kírǎ lílá Ọyọ deni.

Aamóju ọmọ sọ̀nọ k'ọ̀ọ̀dún o.

Irá kọ tun bọ ọ á mọ kọ̀ọ̀dún lẹ̀kọ̀kọ̀n."

(I seek refuge with the deity that balances himself
without slipping.

I seek refuge with the deity that performs, mounting
on his twin partner comfortably.

Right there in Asisẹ.

Ibà is the appropriate greeting for the early morning.

I have come to give ibà. 5

The terrible deity of Ifọn, to you I give ibà today.

The terrible deity of Ifọn, with you I seek refuge.

A well-fed hen is offered in sacrifice to the deity
of Ụróyè.

A well-fed hen is offered in sacrifice to Ọnifọn and
Ọsun.

My lord rides on a horse and still uses a
swagger-cane. 10

Please greet the great one of Ọyọ.

One who tatoos a child's face, happy festival
celebrations.

Happy celebrations individually to all divinities
here present with you.)

In the ibà above, the chanter gives ibà seeking refuge
from Ọlúa in her performance and from Ọrisha ńlá/

Orisà Òróyè, Onifón (Olófin), Ọṣun, and all other deities.

In the second example, the chanter after starting his chant with what seems like an ordinary greeting, proceeds to give the ibà proper, not only to Aláakè (Aláayè), the leader of the Imèṣè Cult (fourth line); the Abá'Lógèbà (leader of the Imèṣè youths) (eighth line), but also to the dead and living priests of Ifá (ninth to eleventh lines inclusive), and to all elders and superiors (thirteenth to seventeenth lines). The ibà homage runs thus:

(viii) In mọ ọra o 'mọdé'mèṣè.

Mo kí in tàgbà tàgbà.

Mo kí in tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe.

Aláakè lẹṣúwájú irá kẹ e ọlórò òrò lùrẹ.

Kẹte ọlórò ọn kìn in wà lúgbó ẹbọ.

In e ọlórò àkísà.

5

Abímọlémọ ni in in yee ẹ.

Olórí ọmọdé ọgébà mo jíba rẹ ẹ.

Ibà Akódá.

Ibà Aṣẹdà.

Ibà Aràbà babà baba erío.

10

Ibà akomọlífà-ọjúlà mo jíba.

Mo jíba lúlẹ kí mi sí i e ròde o.

Mo ti dọdọbalẹ lẹdọ alàgbà.

Mo mórí balẹ lẹdọ ajunilo.

Ugbẹẹ non ọn í kí mi e rẹ.

15

Ọn ọún gbẹdọ sọn'rí mi."

(Hello, Imèsè youths.

I greet you not forgetting the elders among you.
I greet you including the young, the very young,
the very very young.

Aldakè is the leader of all the chief priests
of Ifè.

All you chief priests now present in the
sacrificial grove.

May you not wear rags.

May you be blessed with many children.

O youth leader, I give you my ibà.

I give ibà to Akódá.¹¹

I give ibà to Aṣèdà.¹²

I give ibà to Aràbà, the chief, the father of
all initiates

To the spirit who teaches an initiate Ifá in
his dreams, I give my ibà.

I gave ibà at home before I came out.

I prostrated myself before the elders.

I paid obeisance to my superiors.

They all bade me farewell.

And wished me well.)

The following five utterances are the introductory
utterances in the performance by one of our artists
from Ūṣi-Èkiti, and this chanter introduces her
performance with the ibà thus:

(ix) "Oorí aye kéte mọ mọ mibà ọrọn mi sun.

ibà ni mọ mọ kọn á jẹ kẹ ẹ yọọ yá mi ẹ lọ o.

11 & 12 Akódá; Aṣèdà: These are entities or different
names of an entity to whom homage is usually
paid in public performances of Yorùbá oral
poetry. In ese Ifá, as in àjaamèsè, homage is
paid to Akódá and Aṣèdà before the Aràbà, the
acclaimed leader of all Ifá priests. The names
in our opinion may thus be applicable to God
Almighty, and comparable to the Alpha and Omega
of the Christian faith.

Ọ̀pọ̀wáátakílẹ̀ mọ̀ mọ̀ mibàà mi sùn.

Èyée Báawíyìn mọ̀ mọ̀ mibàà mi sùn.

Ibà akoíkótín ọ̀mọ̀dé 1 kerùkù alède."

(To the orí of everyone I give my ibà.

I shall give ibà that I may progress undisturbed.

The deity with a vast kingdom, to you I give
my ibà.

Báawíyìn's mother, to you I give ibà.

I give ibà to the conviction that no child can
gather all the sand in a family compound.)

The chanter seeks refuge with the elders present at the festival and asks for their protection and support so that she may have a successful performance.

Of the thirty chanters recorded, only ten gave the ibà. Five of them used the ibà as their opening utterances or part thereof, one used the ibà after invoking the deity Ọ́lúá; another chanter used two utterances of ibà which recurred twice in his performance. Three other chanters gave ibà only towards the end of their performances.

From the evidence at hand, one can conclude that the ibà, important as it may be in other genres of Yorùbá oral poetry, is not a compulsory part of the inner form of ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀.

7.2.0 Arrangement of Themes:

Following such introductions, the chanter proceeds to arrange the component parts of his performance as he chooses. This is acceptable, as long as he abides by the rhythm of the chants. One thing is significant however, and that is, that no matter the length of a performance, ùjaamẹsẹ is usually not accompanied with songs.

Movement in the performance is in pairs and trios of utterances; although there are examples of utterances based on particular themes, which move in groups of two to four, five or six utterances. Such groups of utterances based on a particular theme we here label as 'poetic unit'.

The present writer's analysis of various examples from the text show that these poetic units exhibit a sequence of thought which she considers crucial to the inner form of the chants.

7.2.1 Expansion of preliminary statements:¹³

The expansion of particular statements made during performance, by consecutive utterances, may take the form of a single utterance preliminary statement, expanded by another single utterance, or by two or

¹³ cf. Olabimtan's discussion of Odunjo's style in Afolabi Olabimtan, 'A Critical Study of Yorùbá Written Poetry, 1848-1948', 1974, op. cit., pp.393-396.

more utterances. Otherwise, preliminary statements may be made in two or more utterances and the expansion also achieved within two or more utterances as well.

From an examination of the numerous examples in the material under study, one can conclude that this feature is used in the chants for three main objectives:

- (a) Semantic clarification;
- (b) Cultural clarification,
- and (c) Listing.

In the chants recorded, the preliminary statements usually carry a lexical item, a theme, or a cultural pronouncement, which the chanter assumes is not known to all. He therefore takes it upon himself to explain, so that his audience may fully appreciate his performance. Sometimes, the explanation is directed only to a section of the audience and the chanter makes this clear also.

7.2.1.1 For Semantic clarification: When statements are expanded for semantic clarification, the clarification may be a one to one correspondence, that is one word in the explanatory utterance explaining the difficult word in the preliminary statement; or the clarification may be by morphological analysis.

Here are examples of these two possibilities:

"Ọmọ aṣorò gbé lògbòlògbò sàà.

Ọniyòn kẹ bá ti mó mudi rẹ.

Eja non on ẹ ẹ jẹ bàà."

(Descendants of those who celebrate their festival
with lògbòlògbò in their plates,

For those who may not know what that means,

I am told that is the name for a type of fish.)

In the above excerpt, the second and third lines are simply a vehicle for introducing the word 'ẹja' (fish) which explains the word 'lògbòlògbò' in the first line. The chanter focuses this explanation to a section of the audience — 'ọniyòn kẹ bá ti mó mudi rẹ' ((only) those who do not know what it means). This is a one to one correspondence between the underlined words, and 'lògbòlògbò' fittingly describes the long, slim slippery-skinned fish.

In other examples where the knotty lexical item is not easy to explain with a one-to-one substitution, the chanter applies another method — morphological analysis. Here is an example:

"Ẹmi rọn non on mọ í pe lóṣùkẹyóṣò.

Ọjọ kòṣù kẹ bá ti yóṣò lẹ ẹ fani gbẹ yělíwẹ."

(I am one of those known as Ọṣùkẹyóṣò.

When òdù goes to the stream, it needs all the water to fill it, mother of ìwẹ̀.)

The first line needs to be expanded because the noun 'òdùkẹ̀yódò' is pregnant with meaning. This time, a one-to-one substitution is not satisfactory, therefore the artist attempts a morphological analysis of the word. He breaks it up into òdù + kẹ̀ + yún + odò (òdù + does not + go + (to the) stream), for in the second utterance he explains what may happen if it does.

The expanded utterances then leave us with a metaphor that compares the chanter with an òdù; that is the tenor of the metaphor is the chanter, its vehicle is an òdù (a large pot), and the ground of the metaphor is capacity. The interpretation is that an òdù is never taken to the stream or it might 'draw all the water' from the stream, just as the chanter never performs unless he is sure to be given enough time to perform. This is to ensure that he is able to demonstrate to his audience his excellence in chanting and his wealth of knowledge of the chants.

In the next example, the artist begins by stressing her pitiable condition and the various sources from which she receives sympathy, (lines 1 - 4). The seven lines that follow then delve into the history of her life to reveal the cause of this sympathy which all feel that she deserves:

"Ènínú mí mò ti sèrògbònṛè.

Ọ .mò kọn sáyè kété.

Ọ sílẹ̀ kí mò bá jokoò.

Ènínúù mí mò ti sọmọ ọni ì."

(Strangers are sorry for me.

Everyone sympathises with me.

Even the ground on which I lie.

All are sympathetic.)

These utterances above are the preliminary statements which need expansion. Why does she deserve so much pity? That question is answered in the lines that follow. The next few lines explain how she lost her mother then her father, both during the rainy season, only to be mocked by neighbours soon after:

"Ìṣe leeyèè mí kú léjídún.

Abaà mí kú nilààrò òjò mò ní yò.

Ìṣe mè kọn mọ̀rọ̀n mó mú sẹ́jídún òun ilààrò
òjò, mejì.

I jẹ léjílẹ̀jì ní mọ rìn áyè.

Àsẹ̀yínà àsẹ̀yínbọ ò.

E leeyèè mí kú lẹ̀run oṣù kẹ̀fà,

Ọmọ aráyé tú ì yò mí ì."

(You see, my mother died during the rainy season.

My father died during the late rains.

I don't know why the rains have picked on me.

Perhaps all my life is tied with the rains.

After all said and done,
Six months after my mother's death,
Neighbours began to mock me.)

In this example therefore, what needs explaining is tied to the main theme of the utterances in the first four lines.

7.2.1.2 For Cultural Clarification: This occurs where the preliminary utterance or utterances need be expanded to explain some cultural phenomenon or practice. So, in order to fully appreciate the import of the preliminary utterance, the investigator must know the culture of the people concerned.

In ùjaamèsè, utterances of cultural importance to particular clans do occur in the oríkì of various clans. The chanter makes allusions to clan divinities and clan festivals, but does not stop at mere allusions, rather he uses two or more succeeding utterances to explain such allusions. In the following example from the chants, a clan is referred to as:

"Omọ agbagbàá sọọ gbèrẹ̀ èyíndì òsòkíà."

(Descendant of those who own the 'agbágbá¹⁴⁾ with
widespread leaves behind the Òsòkíà¹⁵⁾ shrine.)

¹⁴⁾ The agbágbá is a wild-growing tree with wide leaves. There used to be one behind the palace in Ilógbò.

¹⁵⁾ Òsòkíà is a clan divinity of the Ebí Òkè Owá, in Ilógbò-Èkiti.

Having referred to this important tree which used to grow behind the palace, and specifically behind the shrine, the chanter continues with a description of the use of the leaves, leaves which to the people, are of no particular utility.

"Ọn mǔ sùrì,

Ọn-ọn mú sùkàrà mè ni yò.

Ùgbì kó dijọ ọdún ọn mú kun'ron ẹ̀sì."

(It is not used for wrapping maize gruel.

It is not used for wrapping bean-cakes either.

During festivals, it is used for wrapping horse-meat after the carcass of a horse has been dissected.)

The explanation in the last three utterances refers to the religious festival of the clan, during which the horse-meat is shared. This special use of an otherwise useless item is emphasised by the preceding negative utterances.

Reference to participants' preparations for the Ọlúa festival also gives rise to the expansion of statements in the chants. In the next example, the first utterance refers to a customary observance by Ọlúa devotees while the next two constitute expansion:

"Ooní lorò ọkọọ mí mí íí r'oko lúlé Ẹ̀rìbọ.

Ọn í í wí k'ọn ọn mọ y'oko lúgbò orò.

Ẹ n'ọn ọn í pẹ í jí b'ọrìsà pèrò."

(Today is my lord's festival day, I do not go
to the farm, for I belong to Èribò family.

No one is banned from the farm during the festival.

But one must wake up early to confer with the
deity.)

These last two utterances clear the doubt that would have arisen in the mind of the listener, as to whether or not it is a taboo for anyone to go to the farm during Olúa festival. Therefore an important religio-cultural point is made here in the expansion — that the festive season is not a period for passing time away in laziness. Our informant explains that those who decide to go to the farm are expected to go early and return in good time to continue with the festival.

It is the custom of the Èkiti to give due respect to the Oba both inside and outside the palace, and the village. The extent of the respect given to an Oba extends to the farm and farmland. Therefore no one is expected to have his farm directly next to the Oba's. In the following excerpt from the transcribed material, the chanter laments her inability to cultivate the portion of land that pleases her most, particularly since she is also of royal birth:

"Uurú kẹ ríì kọn jẹ mí í jiyọ̀n àná ìkààsín ní dà.

Un-ún jẹ mí yá kọbí rẹ mí jù oko ra me e wí báà.

Aàribọ́lọ́jà í sààgbẹ ní mọ kàà kọn jẹ mí yá kọbí
rẹè mí jù oko ra.

Ọn kuku lorire ijù buùgbì mi ti à;
 Ọwá bí mi, maAbadọfin tún yáá yà mi.
 Kaa ráka ibi ọ a yà mí sí ?"

(I'll tell you why I don't farm on the portion
 I like best in our farm.

It is not customary to have a farm next to the
 Ọba's, so I cannot farm on the portion I like
 best.

Afterall, I cannot be better placed in life
 than I am.

I was born of an Ọwá, and I am a reincarnation of
 an Ọdọfin.

So, what can you do about me ?)

The utterance in line two is expanded by that in line 3,
 and the argument in lines 4 & 5 only help to emphasise
 that the custom is kept without exception.

7.2.1.3 For Listing: Preliminary utterances in
ùjaamẹsẹ are also expanded for the purpose of listing.
 The chanter having made a point about the number of an
 item, may proceed to list those who may share of it,
 and may also do a mathematical calculation of the
 sharing. For example a chanter says:

"Akúlkútín usin Ejẹlú sògbò mẹfà;

Kọmọ Ừò e yẹjì,

Kọmọ Ừwẹ ẹ yẹta.

Ừgbì kọ kẹlà kọn sọrí usin la à mú sẹlà
 ọjùà lúlẹ mi in."

(The fruit from the ageing akee-apple tree
in Ejèlú's¹⁶ farm has six slices,

Let Uros have two,

Let Iwès¹⁷ take three.

The last slice on the apple then goes to
the ọjùá¹⁸ in my home.)

In the next example, the item which is explained
is the verb 'ọ' in the relative clause. The next three
utterances explain where the oranges referred to, are
found:

"Mọ mọ kú atijọ ọmọ ọlọsọn kí ọ pẹrẹ luta.

Ọkọn ọ lúwá ẹbọ.

Ọkọn ọ lèyèyìn irẹ.

Àrínmọrín ọjú ẹbọ lẹkọn a ọ sí bọ ọ dọla."

(Here am I, descendant of those whose ọsọn drop
on rocks.

One drops in front of the spot of sacrifice.

Another one drops behind it.

One other is likely to drop right on top of the
spot of sacrifice, tomorrow.)

¹⁶ See Chapter 5, footnote 12.

¹⁷ For explanation of Ùrò and Ìwẹ, see Chapter 5,
footnotes 13 & 14.

¹⁸ The person whose duty it is to share things out
among devotees.

Although listing is done here to give more information, the artist does not give the total figure of the oson picked at the area of sacrifice. The listener is left to do that calculation himself. Nevertheless, the implication is clear — the tree is in the vicinity of the spot of sacrifice, and no matter from which branch an oson drops, it is close to the spot of sacrifice; so only the initiated may move near to pick and eat.

Therefore one can conclude that the two major functions of this characteristic feature — expansion of preliminary statements — are clarification and emphasis.

7.3.0 Closing Utterances:

There are no fixed points in time or particular utterances on which a chanter must end his performance. So, closing utterances vary enormously. Below are a few examples:

"Ooró me è í rè e e e e e."

(The deity is departing !)

"Ègè kookò."¹⁹

Oní ní mọ́ é í s'òla o.

O sere kò."

¹⁹ An expression used for padding, ^{match} to the tune.

(The festival ends today, not tomorrow.

Thank you indeed.)

"Mọ lẹ í múlẹ ò lẹ̀nẹ̀ Èyìgbò."

(I am off to my home in Èyìgbò.)

"Èèdùmàrè lẹ̀kẹ̀ mọ̀ mọ̀ kọ̀rà kọ̀n jẹ̀ mi bọ̀ ọ̀n jọ̀
kòríbobo o."

(May the Almighty God guard me against joining
those who dance to music that has lost its beat.)

So, a combination of short utterances, a supplication, a closing announcement or a straightforward praise or invocation of Ọlúa may occur at the end of any chanter's performance. The artist is free to open and close his chants as he chooses.

7.4.0 The general structure of two representative chants:²⁰

Though handed down orally from generation to generation by chanters, and although it follows a rhythmic pattern set in the mind of the chanter, every genre of Yorùbá oral poetry fails to produce a performance which can be said to be 'the same as

an original chant or song or recitation. No one performance can be said to be 'the poem'. Each performance in any genre is a poem sung or chanted to

²⁰ For the full texts of the chants, see Appendix A, Nos. 3 and 4.

fit into the in-built rhythm of the particular genre. Therefore what is here discussed, is the structure of each representative poem showing how each of the component parts of ùjaamèssè poems may recur through a performance.

In Ekémòdé's²¹ performance, the structure is such that the components of the content echo and re-echo through the long poem. In chart form, the components may be well set out thus:

Group	Description
(a)	<u>ìbà</u> /opening utterance.
(b)	Invocation/Praises of <u>Olúa</u> .
(c)	References to other deities.
(d)	Clan praises.
(e)	Individuals' praises.
(f)	Supplication to <u>Olúa</u>
(g)	Moral Exhortations etc.

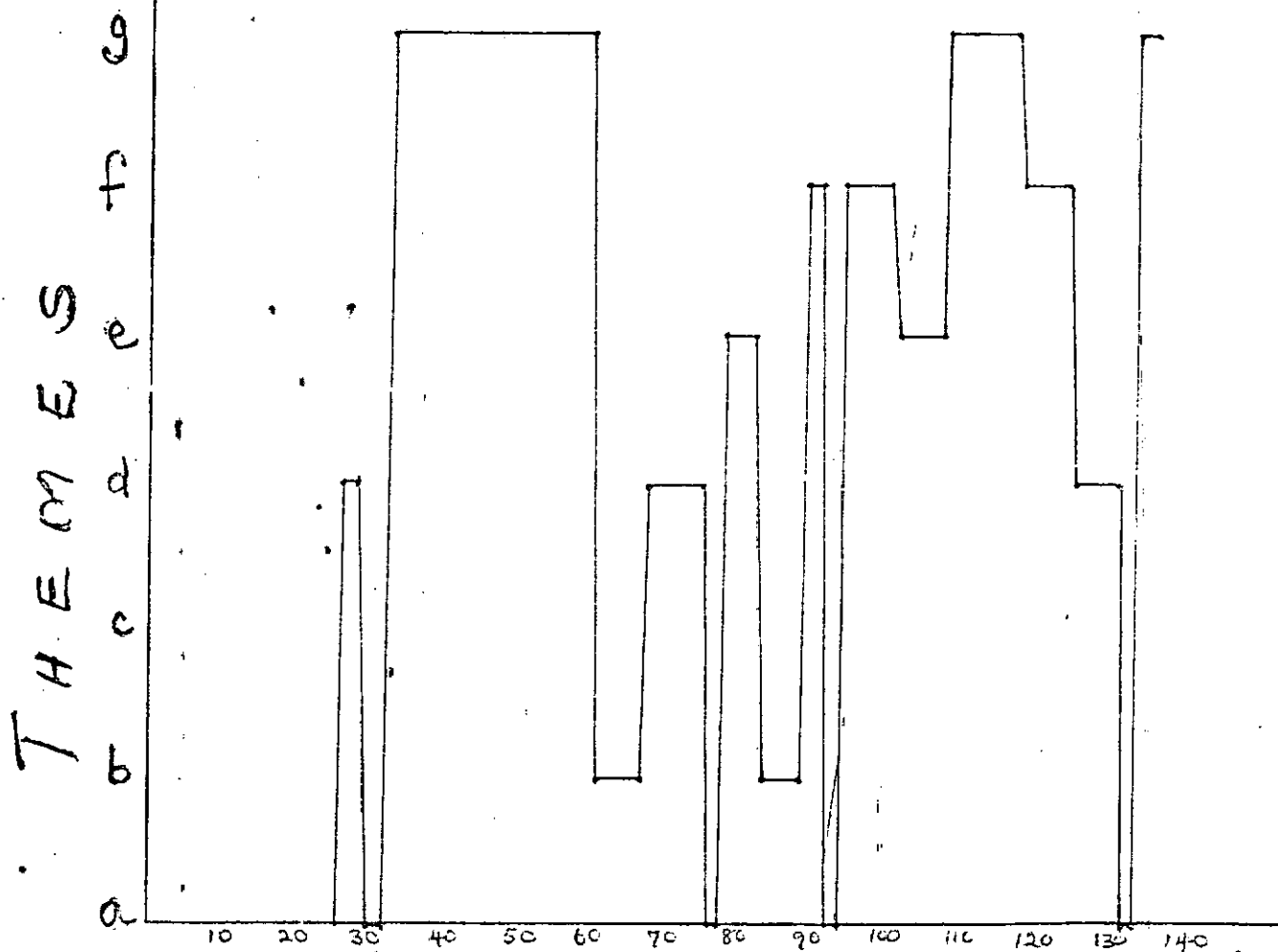
An analysis of Ekémòdé's performance yields the following structure:

²¹ See Appendix A, No.4.

Sequence of utterances	Themes	Themes' Labels
Lines 1 - 26	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 27 - 29	Clan praise	(d)
Lines 30 - 32	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 33 & 34	Reference to occasion of performance	(g) ²
Lines 35 - 60	Moral exhortation plus explanation	(g) ¹
Lines 61 - 67	Praises of Ọlúa.	(b)
Lines 68 - 75	Clan Praises	(d)
Lines 76 & 77	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 78 - 82	Individuals' praise	(e)
Lines 83 - 88	Praises of Ọlúa ...	(b)
Lines 89 - 91	Supplication to Ọlúa	(f)
Lines 92 & 93	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 94 - 100	Ayáǵó/Supplication	(f)
Lines 101 - 107	Individuals' praise	(e)
Lines 108 - 112	Didactic saying	(g) ²
Lines 113 - 117	Reference to occasion of chanting and to an earlier statement.	(g) ²
Lines 118 - 124	Greeting and supplication	(f)
Lines 125 - 131	Clan Praises	(d)
Lines 132 - 133	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 134 - 136	General comment	(g) ²

The graph on the next page is an attempt to show more clearly the movement forwards and backwards from one theme to the other in a performance of àjaamèsè.

THE STRUCTURE OF MR. EKEMOBE'S PERFORMANCE.



'LINES' OF THE CHANT.

KEY.

- (a) *ibà* / opening utterances.
- (b) Invocation / praises of *Ọlúa*.
- (c) References to other deities.
- (d) Clan praises.
- (e) Individuals' praises.
- (f) Supplication to *Ọlúa*.
- (g) Moral Exhortations etc.

Scale: 1mm. : 1 line of the chant.

Fig. 14

The analysis above also shows that this chanter (Ekémódé) utters words of ibà on five separate occasions during his performance, and even towards the end of it. Theme (b), 'praises of Olúa' occurs only twice and in thirteen utterances only. There is no reference to any other deity. The chanter praises one clan or the other (d) thrice, praises himself twice (e). Supplications also occur thrice. In addition to the main themes of ùjaamèşşè, the chanter twice made comments on the purpose of the meeting at which he chanted. He ends his performance with some food for thought (religion-bound yet political) in the statement,

"Ijopa ni lí rí í rí bííkáfútèní ọ̀ọ̀dọ̀ Àtògùn.

Ìlógbò lí rí í rí bẹ̀ẹ̀ẹ̀díkọ̀tá ikete ra porogodo.

Irá kọ kù seyin k'ọ̀n ọ̀n ẹ̀ j'ólú ùlú lẹ̀tẹ̀tẹ̀."

(One can say that Ijopa is the captain of all the towns who worship Àtògùn.

And Ìlógbò is the headquarters for all.

The other towns can stand as individual worship centres.)

Our finding from a scrutiny of Madam Nọ́ọ̀plá's²² performance is that it features the following components:

²² See Appendix A, No.3.

Sequence of utterances	Themes	Themes' Labels
Line 1	Invocation of Ọlúa	(b) ¹
Line 2	Supplication to Ọlúa	(f)
Line 3	Invocation of Ọlúa	(b) ¹
Lines 4 - 16	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 17 - 31	Clan praises	(d)
Lines 32 - 37	Individuals' praise	(e)
Lines 38 - 43	Clan praise	(d)
Lines 44 - 45	Moral exhortation	(g) ¹
Lines 46 - 47	Clan praise	(d)
Line 48	Reference to Ọsọnyìn	(c)
Lines 49 - 56	Clan praise	(d)
Lines 57 - 60	Individuals' praise	(e)
Line 61	Greeting, Invocation of Ọlúa.	(b) ²
Lines 62 - 63	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 64 - 66	Praises of Ọlúa	(b)
Lines 67 - 72	General remarks	(g) ²
Lines 73 - 82	Praises of Ọlúa	(b) ²
Line 83	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 84 - 85	Supplication to Ọlúa	(f)
Line 86	Didactic saying	(g) ²
Lines 87 - 97	Individuals' praise	(e)
Lines 98 - 99	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 100 - 102	Praises of Ọlúa	(b) ²
Line 103	<u>ibà</u>	(a)
Lines 104 - 131	Clan praise	(d)
Line 132	Supplication (to Èdùmarè)	

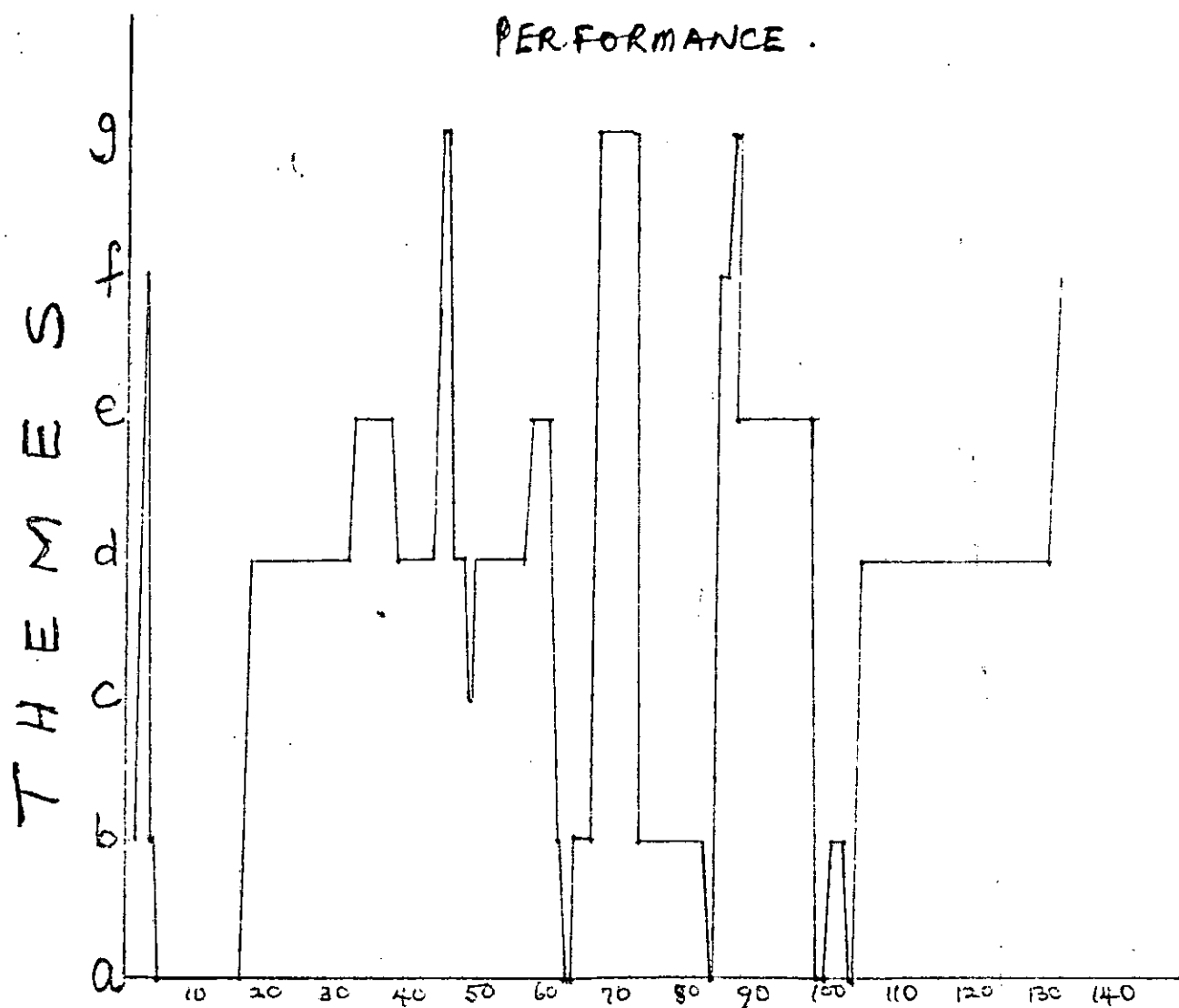
The above analysis shows that the chanter invokes or praises Olúa six times and gives ibà four times. On the whole, for clan praises, this chanter uses about three times as many utterances as she uses for Olúa's praises and/or invocation. References to the chanter herself as well as other general remarks are also featured in the performance.²³

Our conclusion from the foregoing, is that although ùjaamèşè is used only at the religious festivals of Olúa, its social tone overshadows the religious. The chanter, still conscious of the religious purpose of her chants returns to Olúa once in a while only after praising the clans of her close relations as the performance proceeds.

The other in which the themes occur in the ùjaamèşè chanters' performance is not regular. Therefore we are in a position to discuss the structure of each performance of ùjaamèşè and not a general structure for the genre.

²³ (A graph of the structure is shown on page 272).

THE STRUCTURE OF MADAM NŌŌQLÁ'S PERFORMANCE.



'LINES' OF THE CHANT.

KEY

- (a) ibà / opening utterances.
- (b) Invocation / praises of Olúa.
- (c) References to other deities.
- (d) Clan Praises.
- (e) Individuals' praises.
- (f) Supplication to Olúa.
- (g) Moral Exhortations etc.

Scale 1mm. : 1 line of the chants.

Fig. 15

CHAPTER 8

8.0 THE OUTER FORM OF THE CHANTS

Outer form has been discussed by several scholars, notably Babalolá, Berry, Coleridge, Crane and Shaw.¹ The consensus is that the outer form of a piece of verbal art should be regarded as those aspects of it which affect the senses — what we see, hear, visualise, touch, smell or taste — actually or imaginatively.

In discussing the outer form of ùjaamèṣṣè therefore, the present writer examines the utterances which in the written form of the chants are represented as lines, the basis for lineation as well as the rhythmic features and the stylistic features which are characteristic of the chants.

Ùjaamèṣṣè uses what one might describe as 'traditional form'. The chanter begins his performance by taking a deep breath. As he progresses, he makes

¹ See S. A. Babalolá, The Content and Form of Yorùbá Ijálá, (O.U.P. 1966), p.344f. Jack Berry, Spoken Art in West Africa, (London, 1960), p.5. For the views of Coleridge and Crane, see M. H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1941), p.165. Of all these scholars, only Coleridge attempts a distinction between mechanic form, and organic form, the latter of which corresponds to outer form. The others discuss generally or discuss the feature of outer form, but avoid a definition.

several pauses, some short, some long, until he makes a final pause which marks the end of one performance. A single performance so demarcated is what may reasonably be treated as an ùjaamẹṣẹ poem.

8.1 Lineation:

Like other artists of Yorùbá oral poetry, the ùjaamẹṣẹ artist is not conscious of what the analyst delimits as a line of a poem. He ends each utterance at a particular point which coincides with his in-built notion of the end of a rhythm-unit for the particular chant. By rhythm-unit here we mean the whole stretch of utterances coming forth from the mouth of a chanter, from the moment he draws his first breath till he takes a deliberate pause.² Since the chanter's notion of a rhythm-unit is in-built, he is capable, at the end of one performance of ùjaamẹṣẹ, of rendering a different type of oral poetry of the area, differing in mode of vocalization as well as in rhythm.

In delimiting the lines of ùjaamẹṣẹ, the present writer has used the following criteria:

- (a) breath pause;
- (b) semantic completeness or balancement of sense, and

² cf. Babalola, 1966, op. cit., p.346.

(c) parallel structures.

The present writer considers the breath pause an important criterion for the lineation of Yorùbá oral poetry texts, although the use of this criterion has been criticised in certain quarters. A Yorùbá scholar and literary critic, Ọlatunji³ criticises Babalọlá for using the breath pause to delimit a line of ijálá. On the grounds of inadequacy, the critic's argument is that there are occasions when the pause occurs after a very long utterance such that the utterance seems too long for a line of poetry, or in the middle of an utterance, such that each part of the long utterance may be meaningless. While the present writer agrees with Ọlatunji that some pauses may come after long utterances, and that the artist may be forced to take a breath after a meaningless utterance, the analyst is expected to take for pauses those which the artist intentionally takes at particular points in the performance. These points tend to recur as he progresses, and to a researcher who is a mother-tongue speaker of the language of the text, these points are easily identifiable, for they coincide with segments which are semantically complete, or those which reserve fractions of their meanings to successive segments.⁴

³ Ọlaitan O. Ọlatunji, "Characteristic Features of Yorùbá Oral Poetry", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970, pp.12-19.

⁴ cf. S. A. Babalọlá, 1966, op. cit., p.345.

This presupposes that meaning is another useful criterion for lineation. The present writer therefore supports the inclusion of semantic completeness (Babalola's balancement of sense) and parallelism as useful factors for lineation, both used in conjunction with the breath-pause.

Lineation in ùjaamẹṣẹ comes easily because of the mode of performance, for the chanter begins and ends his 'lines' with prominent syllables. Particular artists even consciously emphasise such introductory and final syllables. These last syllables often coincide with meaningful segments which are sometimes sentences in the language. Here is an example:

"In in mò bá mi e kí láyé o o.

Ọmọ umọlẹ agègègè-mọ-yẹ.

Ọmọ umọlẹ kó pèrè ẹmu jinní.

In in mò bá mi e kí Láyé o.

Ọmọ umọlẹ kó rógùrò,

5

Kè í ri bọlọọní sùn sílẹ i jó lónọ Ìwẹ.

Ọmọ uunúumọlẹ amàọ-kiwikiwi l'Ọbàjẹdù.

Ọlúa mi mòò gùn lẹri ẹ̀sì í sọjẹẹ,

Oojú mò lónọ Ìwẹ.

Oojú laadiyẹ ààba kọ rọ í jáde o.

10

Urojú kùùku rọju kùku laakikọ mò ẹ kọ mọjú.

I jaré ọ ọ mò yára kọ ọ k'ọmọ rẹ jẹ.

Ọdún pé lóde o.

Ọdọdún ọọjà Egbè.

Ààṣigbó ọdọdún ọọjà upọnnọ àba Eómọyàdọn lónọ
Ìwẹ." 15

(Kindly salute Láyé⁵ on my behalf.

The deity very delicately poised.

The deity who patiently collects his palm-wine.

Kindly salute Láyé.

The deity who while he stands upright, 5

Looks like one in a reclining position in Ìwẹ.

The deity who has a tantalizing complexion
in Ọbàjèdù.

My lord mounts on a horse and poses.

The day has dawned in Ìwẹ.

The hen hatching its eggs just manages to
come out. 10

The cock has barely crowed at dawn.

Do hurry up and bring your young ones out
to play.

It is festival time.

The Egbè market is open annually.

The market in front of Eómọyàdọn's father's
house is also open annually.) 15

In the above example, the chanter has some utterances which are semantically complete in the dialect and can therefore stand as individual lines or rhythm-units

⁵ Láyé: literally, 'owner of the earth', the one who reigns and rules, His Majesty !

(lines 3 and 7), each being a nominalization. She also has rhythm-units made up of two or more rhythm-segments,⁶ such that the meaning of the first segment becomes complete in the succeeding utterance(s) (lines 1 and 2; 4 - 6; 12 & 13; 14 and 15). One can therefore conclude that in this chanter's performance, a rhythm-unit may coincide with two or more segments. In lines 1 and 2, the utterance in line 2 is an expansion of Láyé in line 1; as in lines 4 - 6, lines 5 and 6 expand Láyé in line 4. In lines 12 and 13 however, the utterance in line 13 adduces a reason for the request made in line 12, while the next two utterances follow as a logical conclusion from the two preceding ones.

In the next example, however, the artist chants individual utterances each ending with a deliberate pause. In most cases, the low tone which ends each utterance is emphasised, while each utterance makes a complete sense in the chanter's language:

"Oòrí ayé kété mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.

Ìbà ni mọ mọ kọ̀n á jẹ kẹ ẹ yọ̀ yá mi a lọ o o o.

Ọ̀pọ̀wá́átakílẹ̀ mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.

Èyée Báawíyìn mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.

Ìbà àkoikótín ọ̀mọ̀dé kí kẹ̀rùkù alẹ̀de.

5

Jíjì lo o mò jí ire nì ọ̀mọ̀ umọ̀lẹ̀ kó rìn korokoro
şegun-ùn.

⁶ a rhythm-segment is a component of a rhythm-unit having only a partial meaning. It requires another segment to give it full meaning.

Akókóníkò òdò Òrìṣà ọmọ-arúnyínrunyín fẹpo-yọrun ò."

(I offer ibà to everybody's orí.⁷

I shall offer ibà so that I may move on
quickly (with my chanting).

To Ọ̀ṣẹ̀wàtakílẹ̀,⁸ I offer ibà.

To Báawíyín's mother,⁹ I offer ibà.

To the reality that a child cannot gather
all the sand in a family-compound, I offer ibà. 5

You've risen hale and hearty this morning,
deity reputed for striding briskly to victory.

The strong one co-eval with God¹⁰ who eats
palm-nuts and cleans his mouth with palm-oil.)

This chanter gives her performance by vocalizing one meaningful utterance at a time before she pauses. The utterances in lines 1 - 5 are examples of semantically parallel expressions of ibà, while lines 1, 3 and 4 are structurally parallel. Parallel lines in ùjaamèsè may occur consecutively or alternately; they may even occur at irregular intervals within a performance, as in the following example:

⁷ orí - see Chapter 1, footnote 14.

⁸ Ọ̀ṣẹ̀wàtakílẹ̀ is another oríkì of Ọlúa, used in reference to the enormity of his kingdom.

⁹ Báawíyín's mother was a female leader at the festival.

¹⁰ Òrìṣà is used also for God in this area.

Taken together therefore, the breath pause, semantic completeness (balancement of sense) and parallel structures facilitate the lineation of ùjaamèssè.

8.2.0 The Stylistic Features of the Chants:

Freeman divides into three parts all recent works in stylistics. The three parts are:

- (a) 'style as deviation';
- (b) 'style as recurrence or convergence of textual pattern',
- and (c) 'style as a particular exploitation of a grammar of possibilities'.¹⁴

For the analysis of a literary text to be properly understood, a thorough knowledge of its medium of expression, the language and its use in the work of art is indispensable. This is so because 'much of the basic vocabulary of literary criticism cannot be explained without recourse to linguistic notions'.¹⁵

¹⁴ Donald C. Freeman, (1970), Linguistics and Literary Style, (Holt, Rinehart & Winston), p.4.
cf. Bernard Bloch, "Linguistic Structures and Linguistic Analysis", in Georgetown University, Monograph Series IV, 1953, p.42.

¹⁵ Geoffrey N. Leech, A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry, (Longman, 1969), p.2.

In discussing the stylistic features of ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀, the present writer combines the 'deviation' and 'the recurrent patterns' with a discussion of the realities of the poetry. The effect that ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ has on the listener is due to the combination of its sound and its meaning. ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ is a type of religious poetry,¹⁶ therefore, other factors such as the effect of devotees' belief on the poetry, and the mood of the listeners, as well as their notions of the universe are also brought into the discussion.

8.2.1 RHYTHM

Rhythm is one of the basic factors that lead to the enjoyment of poetry. It is the effect produced by the recurrence of a certain pattern in a poem. The effect is achieved by a controlled selection and arrangement of words.

A number of Yorùbá scholars notably Babalọlá, Ìşòlá, Oyèláràn, Ọlátúnjí and Ọlábímtán have studied and presented their findings on the rhythm of Yorùbá

¹⁶ Ruth Finnegan, Oral Poetry in Africa, (O.U.P., 1970), pp.167-8.

poetry.¹⁷ Babalola emphasises the feature of parallelism among rhythm-segments, and a feature of balancement, prominent in the arrangement of the rhythm-units within a line.¹⁸ Işola proposes that in describing the rhythm of Yoruba oral poetry, both the features used by all artists, namely, breath pauses, tones, ornamental sequences of vowel syllables; and those features dependent on the individual style of each artist, that is, prominent syllables, duration of pauses and the length of an ornamental sequence of vowel syllables should be considered.¹⁹

Ọlábímítán rightly observes that there is no disagreement among scholars as to the existence of prominence, but that the point of disagreement is in the determination of the position of prominence in a Yorùbá poetic line.

¹⁷ S. A. Babalola, (1966, op. cit.), pp.345-360; Akin Işola, 'The Rhythm of Sàngó-Pípè', Yorùbá Oral Tradition, ed. Wande Abimbola, (I.U.P. 1975), pp.777-805; Ọlasope O. Oyelaran, 'On Rhythm in Yorùbá Poetry', also in Yorùbá Oral Tradition, pp.701-705; Ọlatunde O. Ọlatunji, 'Rhythm and Metre in Yorùbá Oral Poetry', YORUBA, 1/2, 1973, pp.75-85; and Afolabi Ọlabimtan, 'Rhythm in Yorùbá Poetry: The Example of Orin Àrùngbè', R.A.L., Vol.8, No.2, Fall 1977, pp.201-218.

¹⁸ S. A. Babalola, 1966, op. cit., p.360.

¹⁹ Akin Işola, 1975, op. cit., p.782..

Iṣòlá and Oyèláràn however do not emphasise stress or prominence in their discussion of rhythm factors. In fact, Oyèláràn emphasises that the central factor is syntactic parallelism and it is the use of this factor that conditions the use of other poetic devices; prominence he considers as subjective in the determination of Yorùbá poetic rhythm.

The present writer's experience through careful study of ùjaamẹṣẹ has shown her that ùjaamẹṣẹ like some other genres of Yorùbá oral poetry - Ijálá, Ràrà, Ṣàngó-Pipè - has a free rhythm because of the irregular length of its lines.²⁰ This freedom is however not merely limited to the number of syllables in a line, but also extends to the use of tones at segment-ends. The mid and the low tones contrast to produce the rhythm of the poem. What is most important however is the recurrence of a particular pattern at more or less regular intervals in the chants.

Comparatively, the rhythm of an ùjaamẹṣẹ chanter's performance is only basically similar to the rhythm of other chanters' performances, but features a super-imposed variation in rhythm. So, in the discussion of the rhythm of ùjaamẹṣẹ, the present writer, as Iṣòlá suggests, takes into consideration, both the general and the individual stylistic features

²⁰ cf. S. A. Babalola, 1966, op. cit., p. 344; and O. O. Olátúnjì, 1970, op. cit., p. 78.

contributing to rhythm, while at the same time, like Qlabimtan, she plays down on the features of individual performance.

The following factors are important regarding the rhythm of ùjaamèşè:

- (i) Balancement of sense.
- (ii) Parallel structures.
- (iii) Nominal extension;
- and (iv) Low and mid-tone alternation at segment ends.

These features are exemplified below as they occur in the text.

8.2.1.1 Balancement of sense is an important feature of the rhythm of ùjaamèşè. Performances recorded by us exhibit this feature. Balancement may take place within an utterance; or in two consecutive utterances such that the second utterance balances the idea expressed in the first. In this work the writer takes for a rhythm-unit those two utterances which thus balance each other, each of them therefore being a rhythm-segment. An utterance which is self-explanatory and requires no complement, and is said between the taking in of breath and a deliberate pause therefore coincides with a rhythm-unit.²¹ Here are a few examples of sense balancement from our text.

²¹ cf. S. A. Babalolá, op. cit., p.346 and Afolabi Qlabimtan, 1977, op. cit., pp.204-205.

- (i) "1²² Ooo, kó lúrú kī mọ́ báa ẹ́ kó kù dẹ́,
 2 Kín in dáríjì mi o.
 3 Kọ ẹ́ pákùn lí gbòrò lílá lóko lí l'Iwẹ́,
 4 Ẹ ẹ́ dáríjì 'kémọ́dé.
 5 Oyún-un-nú ẹ́ ẹ́ sọrọ́n-ọ́n,
 6 Kọ́n ọ́n r'ókùn gbe dẹ́,
 7 Ẹ́ n'ọ́n ẹ́ dáríjì mi.
 8 Ísínkọ́nrín ẹ́ ẹ́ m̀gòrò,
 9 Kọ́n ọ́n yá jàjọ́ rẹ́ líjọ́ kẹ́ta.
 10 Iun k'ọ́n ọ́n jẹ́ bínì ẹ́ gbẹ́dò unni."

- 1 (Whatever my shortcomings may be,
 2 Do forgive me.
 3 If a creeping plant grows wild on the farm at Iwẹ́,
 4 It will forgive Èkémọ́dé.
 5 A foetus which commits an offence,
 6 Cannot be punished by tying it with a rope.
 7 They have to forgive me.
 8 If weavils drink palm-wine (from a gourd),
 9 People don't meet on the third day to subject
 the weavils to trial.
 10 One's inheritance does not become one's
 stumbling block.)

In the above excerpt, the second, fourth, sixth and ninth lines balance the sense in the lines immediately preceding them. In the tenth utterance, one can also perceive a balancement of sense if one allows a pause

22 In this section, excerpts will be numbered in Roman figures, and arabic figures will be used to number each utterance demarcated as a line. This is to facilitate reference. The full stop also marks the end of rhythm-units.

after 'bíni', such that the stretch 'Iun kón ọn jẹ bíni' is a rhythm-segment whose sense is balanced by the rest of the line.

In the next example also, the feature of sense balance-ment is exhibited in consecutive utterances:

- (ii)
- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | "Ọ̀ọ̀niyọ̀n ko dèdè gílírí, |
| 2 | Kọ́ bá tí mó r'ọ̀sù, |
| 3 | Ke e múlẹ́ lóníí. |
| 4 | Ọ̀ọ̀nì gbùrù gbé sùta Edì, |
| 5 | Ọ́ dẹ̀rẹ̀múrin o. |
| 6 | Ọ̀nì gbùrù gbé sùta Edì, |
| 7 | Ọ́ dùmọ̀dún lúgbódè. |
| 8 | - - - - - |
| 9 | Ooní mò nìjọ ẹ̀dìn árígbọ̀sẹ́ í lẹ́ o. |
| 10 | - - - - - |
| 11 | Ọ̀ọ̀nì bá sun'run lónì ọ̀, |
| 12 | Àjẹ ní mú í bí ọ̀ ugbln Arẹ̀." |

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | (Whoever rushes out to see, |
| 2 | And no longer sees the moon, |
| 3 | Should return home today. |
| 4 | Whoever leaves his horsetail behind near the <u>Edì</u> rock, |
| 5 | Can only pick it next festival. |
| 6 | Whoever leaves his horsetail behind near the <u>Edì</u> rock, |
| 7 | Will pick it next year at the grove temple. |
| 8 | - - - - - |
| 9 | Today is the day when none may cross legs
(in love making). |
| 10 | - - - - - |
| 11 | Anyone who makes love today |
| 12 | Will surely give birth to a witch, you
inhabitant of heaven ! |

In this excerpt, sense balancement occurs where line 3

We beat mixed sounds in the witches' grove.

We beat the drums with our feet in the grove of
'His Majesty'.)

Next for consideration is another excerpt where there is parallelism between consecutive lines. In this example, the recurrence of this feature within a chanter's performance is also shown.

- (iv) 1. "Ọ̀rọ́wáátakílẹ̀ mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.
 2. Èyée Baawiyin mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.
 3. Ibà àkoìkótín ọmọdé 1 kerùkù alède.
 4. - - - - -
 5. - - - - -
 6. O o sẹ ọ rọra 'mọlẹ Arinlélú o.
 7. O o sẹ ọ rọra 'mọlẹ kó mólòlò poun.
 8. - - - - -
 9. - - - - -
 10. - - - - -
 11. - - - - -
 12. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ro wíí.
 13. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ró bí ìlìbọn ò."

- (1. To Ọ̀rọ́wáátakílẹ̀ I give ibà.
 2. To Báawiyin's mother, I give ibà.
 3. To the conviction that a child cannot
gather all the sand in a family compound,
I give ibà.
 4. - - - - -
 5. - - - - -

6. You are welcome, Arinlélú's deity.
7. You are welcome, the deity with a stammerer's style of speech.
8. - - - - -
9. - - - - -
10. - - - - -
11. - - - - -
12. Owner of the pile of palm-branches that drop with a noisy sound.
13. Owner of the pile of palm-branches that sound like the report of a gun.)

In the above example, syntactic parallelism is exhibited between consecutive rhythm-units 1 and 2; 6 and 7; and 12 and 13. The period between each set of parallel utterances and therefore recurrence of the feature in the performances, is irregular.

Apart from structures which are parallel in alternate and consecutive rhythm-units in the chants, there exist clichés which individual artists use intermittently during their performances. Such clichés which include 'Ọ̀ṣọ̀n rẹ̀ jọ mi lóju o' (I am impressed by your deeds); 'Ira líla ulé l'Íwẹ̀ o jí ire o' (The great one of Íwẹ̀, you are elegantly poised); and 'Alàyé ni mo fẹ́ẹ̀ gbọ́ o o' (I need some explanation) occur two, three or more times within the performance of such chanters. Various utterances of oríkí of the deity, Ọlúa, also recur in the performance of chanters; occurring in the structure 'Ọmọ umọlẹ̀' and therefore partially or fully parallel to one another.

8.2.1.3 Nominal Extension, another factor of the rhythm of ùjaamèṣṣè recurs frequently in the chant. As performance progresses, sense balancement combines with syntactic parallelism and nominal extension to create rhythm. In such utterances, a nominal used in a preceding rhythm-unit is followed by its explanation or description in the following rhythm-unit. Here is an example:

- (v) 1. "Ụsojù àbá l'Imẹsẹ Ọun bọni kúumọlẹ
 ọún mọ lọ lẹrun.
 2. Ọni kà á yaka ẹron,
 3. Kà a yùtẹlẹ bọ'bẹ,
 4. Kà á yon'bi lẹkòlekò ọra ẹron á'lẹ.
 5. Ụsojù imẹkúnnù bọni kí umọlẹ ẹ lọ'sẹjù
 mẹta ni."

- (1. The male-initiate would wish that the deity's festival be extended to five days.
2. Since he gets a share of animals' fore-limbs,
3. A share of animals' hind-limbs,
4. And takes home a share of the choicest parts of meat.
5. The lay-man would rather have the festival for three minutes only.)

The nominal 'àbá l'Ìmèşè' in the first rhythm-unit is further described with the utterances in the next rhythm unit, segments 2, 3, and 4. It is worthy of note that the nominal 'mèkúnnù' in the following rhythm-unit which is parallel to the first rhythm-unit is not so extended.

In the next example, the nominal extended is 'awèrè'; the qualifying expressions that extend it are found in the next rhythm-unit.

(vi) 1. "Ọkọ mi mi mè í kí ọmọ aláwèrè àwègbokùn
(gbé).

2. Àwèrè k'òn ọn wẹrí wẹra tọn,

3. Ọn mò gbọdìgbàrà okùn gbé sí."

(1. I salute my husband, descendant of those who own the Awèrè stream at the bank of which one leaves beads behind.

2. At the Awèrè, when one has bathed the whole body,

3. One leaves behind heavy adorning beads.)

8.2.1.4 Tonal contrast at segment-ends also combines with the above features to create the rhythm of ùjaamèşè. Evidence from this study has shown the present writer that in spite of individual variations from the five sub-dialect areas under study, the low and the mid tone recur more frequently at segment-ends than the high tone. There could however be a succession of low or a succession of mid tones at two, three or more and up to, but not more than five consecutive rhythm-units. Here are two examples from the representative chants as collected from artists in Igbólé and Ósì respectively.

(vii)	"Okoq mi mi me i kí ọmọ'lálẹ ọn pọjọgbò alẹẹẹẹ.	L ²³
	Ọmọ'lálẹ ọn bù sọfẹ l'fórò.	L
	Ò ku'lálẹ ọn bù sọfun ké e mo mò dújà omiye-miba.	M.
	Irà lílà ulé è n'Iwẹ o lé ire o.	M.
	Ọmọ'mọlẹ kó sẹjẹjẹjẹjẹjẹ i rìn.	L.
	Úwọ ni mi me i kí ọmọ umọlẹ kọ sẹlọ àrìjìkọn.	L
	Úwo li sẹlọ lójule ra mọ mọ fọn'wò alẹ pẹ mi Tóogun Mojoco.	M
	Úwọ ni mi me i kí ọmọ așorò boogun lókòkè Arèè.	L
	Ọkà soro i ọn'pẹ.	
	Kò o tún soro i ọn'gìgun oko.	M
	Așorò-iọn'ye ulé ra mọyọn mejì pilele așọ lọnọ Iwẹ	L
	Bọoní soro looní i rí Tóogun Mojooooo.	M
	Ọmọ ọlọwọ ọpẹ l'Úrèrè." ²⁴	
(viii)	"'Lórí ọmọdé ọgébà kẹ i l'íjopa !	M
	'Lórí ọmọdé ọgébà kẹ i lọnọ Òlógbò !	L
	Olúkálùkù kẹ ẹ yá kirá ulé rẹ lílọ,	
	Kí ikete rọn sẹrun jẹjẹ-jẹ-jẹ-jẹ.	H
	Ijọ kinní líbee lúgbò orò Ọgbẹlẹ.	L
	A gbọ wí irá kọn i tutòkutò.	L

²³ The tones recorded in the right hand column are the final tones of each rhythm-unit.

²⁴ For a translation of this and the next excerpt, see Appendix A2, lines 5 - 17, and A4, lines 35-46.

A gbọ wí irá kọn í sùsọkúso.

Ọn ẹron kọn ọn í pa í jẹ lúgbò orò

iBaba ọn ọ fẹ pọ jù

L

Báà kọ̀ẹ̀rìsà ún gbà'gbò kọ̀ẹ̀kọn lẹ̀wọ ọmọ
olòmúrin,

Unun kó ẹ́ ẹ́ ọ́n ọ́ jù bàà,

Ẹ́ ní ẹ́ron n'ọ́n ọ́n mú í sọ́n l'Ékiti."

L

In addition a closer look at the last two syllables of each rhythm-unit shows that allowing for individual variations, the low or the mid tone is often repeated, such that each rhythm-unit ends on LL, or MM and sometimes ML.

One can therefore now conclude that for ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀, (i) syntactic parallelism, (ii) sense balancement, (iii) tonal contrast at the end of rhythm-units and rhythm-segments, as well as (iv) other syntactic features such as the relative clause qualifier, combine to create rhythm. Syllable lengthening be it at segment or unit ends or even within utterances is a feature of individual style in ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀.

8.2.2 Imagery:

Imagery is an essential component in poetry, and particularly in Yorùbá oral poetry, because of the richness of the Yorùbá language in figurative expressions.

Imagery, as is well known, is a portmanteau term consisting of various uses of words which carry sensory effects for the purpose of vivifying narrative, description, instruction or reflection. It is an umbrella term covering several figures of speech notably simile, metaphor, analogy and personification, all of which will be discussed in this section as they are featured in the texts of ùjaamẹsẹ chants.

8.2.2.1 SIMILE

Various examples of this figure of speech occur in the text. The examples and the items compared give one an insight into the world of the Èkitì and gives the reader of ùjaamẹsẹ an idea of the way the festival of Olúa is celebrated. Here is an example of a simile based on cookery:

"Şe ni mọ mọ kọnyini kẹrẹ ọọnı kọnyindiye sını
ẹẹfọ."

(I just dropped that in quickly like one dropping
an egg into (a pot of) vegetable soup (on the fire).)

Here the artist uses the verb 'kọn' (drop into) quickly followed by its modifier 'kẹrẹ' which connotes quick finished action. The chanter here compares that 'once and for all' action of referring to her mother's clan (the utterances which come before the above excerpt), to the quick and finished action of dropping a boiled egg into a pot of vegetable soup still on the fire.

She expects the point made to sink into the mind of her listener as the egg sinks into the soup. Furthermore, although the process is quick and complete, it is to be taken seriously as an important part of the performance, just as a boiled egg is a delicacy in a pot of vegetable soup.

In the next example, the effect of the sting from two different insects on the person stung is compared, and sensory effects are thereby achieved through the use of the comparative word 'jù' in 'jaro' (ju arò, more than arò²⁵ insect):

"Omọ olúrù mẹfà kọ mọ jẹni j'arọ lúlẹ mi o."

(Owner of six wasps whose sting is more powerful than that of the arọ insect in my home.)

The wasp is a flying insect that stings; so is the arọ, but the wasp's sting is considered to be the more powerful. The chanter therefore shares with any member of her audience who has been stung by the arọ insect, the painful experience of a more powerful sting of the wasp as he chants the quoted utterance.

The next example is of a straightforward simile referring to height. Because the verb is in the present tense, the scene is continuous and the listener is made to see the picture of a human being in a recumbent position, and then compare his height to that of the deity, Olúa:-

²⁵ arọ: a stinging insect similar to the wasp, but which has a brown abdomen.

"Ọmọ umọlẹ kó rógùròò,

Kè í rí bọlọọní sùn sílẹ í jó lónọ Ìwẹ."

(The deity who while dancing in an erect posture,
Looks like one in a recumbent position in Ìwẹ.)

The seemingly tight fitting of two rocks one on the other is often compared to that of two wooden trays used for keeping kola-nuts in Yorùbáland. An example of a simile based on this is found in the following excerpt from the text of àjaamẹ̀sẹ̀:

"Ọmọ egúrú kọn kó de bọpọn'lobi.

Mọ lọ í múlẹ̀ ọ̀ lónọ̀ Èyìgbò."

(Descendant of those whose rocks²⁶ fit each other like
two kolanut trays.

I am going home in Èyìgbò.)

A chanter who feels carried away by her performance and cannot hide her feelings, expresses same by comparing what she feels with the excitement with which a snake crawls up a coconut tree. She chants:

"Bó tí gùn mí gàrà bọ́ọni eṣò í g'àgbọ́n lí í rí
lọ̀rà mí."

(It (performing) gives me the kicks like a snake
climbing a coconut tree.)

In another excerpt from the text, a chanter compares the implicit confidence she has in the

²⁶This is a reference to rocks in the neighbourhood of the homestead of the chanter's clan.

deity (Olúa) with that which a farmer has in a yam species known as 'èrùmèrè' when he replants a roasted ^{cutting} ~~outlet~~ of it. He replants the roasted piece of the tuber, because he is convinced that the yam being thus endowed by nature, will grow in any state, even roasted. In the same way the chanter puts all her trust in the deity Olúa when she chants:

"E ni mo ríyèlè ọ bọ́nì mèsun èrùmèrè dugbè."

(I rely on you like one who plants a piece of roasted èrùmèrè.)

8.2.2.2 METAPHOR

By the use of metaphor, a term or phrase is applied to something to which it is not literally applicable. A chanter or poet does this in order to suggest to the listener, some resemblance. In ùjaamèsè, various examples of metaphor are used in supplication to the deity, Olúa and in other utterances. In this seemingly literal but actually figurative expression, the verb 'kó ... jẹ' (bring out to play) is used in the context of a hen with her chicks. In the extract below, the first 'ọ' of the first utterance refers to the deity:

"I jaré ọ ọ mò yára kó ọ k'ómò rẹ jẹ,
Ọdún pé lóde o."

(Do come out quickly and bring your children out to play.)

The festival is on today.)

The deity is here likened to a hen whose chicks have just been hatched, in view of his ability to make women bring forth children. Here, anthropomorphism is also introduced. The deity is given the human/mammal's quality of reproduction, and the children he is believed to be able to offer to the barren are taken as his young ones.

Similarly in the example,

"Etí áṣọ lẹ ọ mọrọn mi sí ọ Togùn Mòjò.

Mọ jọkọdọkọn ta nù."

(Do tie my problems on the edge of your wrapper 'Togùn
Mòjò.)

Let none of them drop off.)

the noun 'ọrọn' (problems) is used to stand for all that a person may wish for, or has wished for during the festival. The chanter appeals to the deity to tie her problems in a knot in the corner of his wrapper that is tucked. It is a customary practice of the Yorùbá woman to keep any small but valuable possession (e.g. money in notes or coins), close to her body by tying it in the corner of her wrapper. By using these expressions, the chanter, not only gives the deity the qualities of a human being, but also those of a woman. The verb 'ta' (tie) in the second utterance implies that the problems are many and are in tiny pieces which may be dropped if not carefully taken care of. Furthermore the

problems of the chanter are given physical qualities since they are expected to be in a knot lest one of them should drop out.

A chanter supplicating to Olúa just before his departure at a festival asks him to protect her interest in the coming year (that is between that festival and the next). She uses the expression 'mọ jiyọ mi d'omi' (let not my salt turn into water). In the expression, she likens the sweetness of her many joys and happiness to the piquant taste of salt which loses its taste and usefulness when it turns into water. So she uses 'iyọ' (salt) for 'happiness' and 'omi-iyọ' (salt water) for 'sourness'.

When a chanter uses the utterance,

"Oní lẹọjà upọnnọ àbaà mi ògúnfọlájí ò."

(There is business transaction today, in the market in front of my father's (ògúnfọlájí) house,)

she applies the word 'ọjà' (market) to the large crowd of devotees and spectators at the ugbómọlẹ expecting the listener to imagine the size of a crowd in a market place and see a resemblance.

8.2.2.3 ANALOGY

This is another stylistic device that is extensively used in àjaamẹsẹ. In it, two things or situations are compared in such a way that the function or occurrence

of one guarantees that of the other. Chanters therefore choose to argue their points, by analogy. Here are a few such examples from the text of ùjaamẹsẹ:

- (i) "Ìpòrògún sàrì í sọlé í dùmọlẹẹ rẹ,
Mẹ ẹ sọlé dè ọ."

(The plant 'ìpòrògún',²⁷ never fails to look after the home (the ugbómọlẹ) of his deity, I shall look after your (earthly) home.)

- (ii) "K'ọ̀n ọ̀n bá tí p'ídérègbè, kọ̀n ọ̀n r'ábá inú
rẹ líbẹ,

Ibécé lá ẹ bá gbogbo rin lékòò tùmọ̀dún.

K'ọ̀n ọ̀n bá tí s'oyín lékù kọ̀ bá tí líá sínú,
Emi rọ̀n lí tú í a lékòò ẹ̀rẹ̀múrín."

(Since every slaughtered goat has a spleen.

You will all be here next year.

Since in the process of extracting oil from palm-fruits, materials for torches are made from the pericarp,

I shall participate with others in the next festival.)

- (iii) "On m'ókùn í ò'róró ké e mó tú nù.

Kete ra lá ẹ̀ bọ̀ lẹ́ọ̀ ọ̀tá."

(The water melon cannot be tied with a rope,

We will all be saved from our enemies.)

In example (i), the chanter draws an analogy between

²⁷ ipòrògún = pèrègún, *Dracena Fragrans*, a boundary or fence-plant often planted in groves.

herself and the 'ipòrògún' and so expects that since the 'ipòrògún' which is a plant endowed with longevity will still be at the ugbómọlẹ at the next festival, the chanter will participate at that festival.

In example (ii) two situations in the social life of the people of our area of study are referred to; first that of slaughtering a goat either as sacrifice or for consumption, and second, that of preparing fresh palm-oil. The chanter argues his point about his confidence that he surely will participate in the next festival, by drawing an analogy between the certain end-result of each of the above processes and his being granted grace to be alive at the next festival.

Example (iii) is another analogy drawn on the hope of the chanter to be victorious, this time over his enemies. He argues that since no one can tie the water-melon with a rope (because of its slippery skin), no enemy will be able to endanger his life, or the lives of his listeners.

8.2.2.4 IDEOPHONES

Ideophones are lexical items in the language, which the good speaker or chanter may invent in order to convey his ideas more vividly or economically, to the listener. Ideophones may be either onomatopoeic or phonaesthetic.

(a) Onomatopoeic Ideophones: are used very often by ùjaamèşè chanters, who wish to imitate the sounds they want to describe. Such items in the language, are often used in their reduplicated form, functioning as manner nouns in sentence structure. Here are a few examples from the texts of ùjaamèşè:-

- (i) The expression "gbigbirigbi gbigbirigbi" in the utterance,

"Omó'ta kòn yí gbigbirigbi gbigbirigbi mò
dìnò."

(Owner of the rocks which roll noisily to block the gates.)

may be compared to the sound that could be heard, were it possible to lift and roll over, some of the large rocks in our area of study. The ideophone is used in this context in reference to the might of the deity, Qlúa, which is likened to a rock obstructing the path of the wicked in defence of his devotees.

- (ii) The expression 'kòn-òn-kòn-òn kòn' in the excerpt,

"Omọ ọlọyọn kòn-òn-kòn-òn-kòn."

(Owner of the bull-frog with the short noisy nasal sound.)

is used as a manner noun in what is left of a relative clause qualifier qualifying ọyọn (bull-frog). The onomatopoeic ideophone appropriately describes the

croaking voice of the bull-frog, as heard at night. The composition of the word with velar plosives and back nasal vowels describes more clearly the point of production of the sound that is made by the bull-frog. The alternation of the mid and the low tone on the syllables describe the varying pitch of the noise.

(iii) In the following utterance:-

"Ọmọ alálẹ kó ró dòndòndònùn baàgbá."

(The citizen who sounds like the àgbá drum,)

'dòn-ùn-dòn-ùn' clearly mimics the sound of a beaten àgbá drum, here used to represent the power of the deity, Olúa.

(iv) When a chanter uses the expression

'á-mù-á-mù' in the utterance,

"Èyẹ kọn ní fàrídáró í ẹ á-mù-a-mù oko Èjẹmu
lúlée mi."

(A bird though not a dyer, cries ámù-ámù in
Èjẹmu's farm in my home,)

she uses it to echo the sound of a bird's cry which he considers similar to the rumbling noise in a dyer's pot as she dips clothes in and brings them out of her dye.

Another example of an onomatopoeic ideophone is the word 'pòròpòrò' used for the sound that a climbing-rope makes as a palm-wine tapper moves up the palm-tree.

It is used in our text in the utterances of a clan-praise which run thus:

- (v) "Ọlọpẹ ọn mọjá dá kẹn ọn mọ gbọ pòròpòrò
ugbà." ²⁸

(Owner of the palm-tree climbed with a climbing cloth.

So none may hear the sound of a climbing-rope.)

Also in the following utterance from the chants, a chanter describes vividly the speed with which youths rush to the Ọlúa festival:

- (vi) "Ọmọ asígbò gírígrí yọdẹ."

(Descendant of those who rush to the festival arena.)

In the Èkítì sub-dialects of the area under study, the verb sigbo is used to describe the rushing movement of a crowd of people, usually in a hurry to get to a target. Therefore the adverbial gírígrí adds colour to the movement, mimicking the sound made by the feet of the rushing crowd.

- (b) Phonaesthetic Ideophones: In this type of ideophone, the sounds of a particular lexical item evoke in the mind of the native speaker listening, a type of movement

²⁸ ugbà = igbà, a climbing-rope used for mounting palm-trees, in order to tap the wine.

or some physical or moral quality. Such words are phonetically motivated, and the listener then deduces a meaning from the combination of sounds that make the word. Here are some examples from the texts of ùjaamèsè:

(vii) "Ọmọ eléjò ukòdọ 1 sáre ùkú gbámù-kọrọlọ.
 Ẹ 1 lá lónọ Òkè Ọsè."

(Descendant of folks each of whom like a snake,
 runs fast for his life round a bend.
 He is performing in Òkè Ọsè.)

In this example, the chanter uses 'gbámùkọrọlọ' to portray the winding movement of a snake speeding round a bend, to save its life. The first part of the word, 'gbámù' is made by two labials, the sounds of which together connote a sudden threat to the life of the snake and is at the same time reflective of the spontaneity of the start of the escape bid. The second half of the word, kọrọlọ, mimics the quick, irregular movement of the tongue from the velar region to the alveolar, before the lateral is finally made. This helps the listener to conceive that kọrọlọ means 'not straight', in fact 'winding'.

The quality of the 'thing' described may also be conveyed in a phonaesthetic word such as 'rọnmọnjọn', as used in these utterances:

"Ọjòkólẹ̀-gún-rònmọ̀njẹ̀, bá Alakáayé ọrun'kọ̀ọ̀ mi
kú ùmúra o.

Ọfẹ̀rẹ̀ ukú í fẹ̀ lẹ́lẹ́í."

(Ọjòkólẹ̀-gún-rònmọ̀njẹ̀²⁹, owner of heaven and earth,
my lord is getting ready.

The swift and terrible one who passes swiftly
through.)

Although the tones of Yorùbá have no meaning ordinarily,
in some special circumstances, the low tone conveys an
idea about size,³⁰ and in this case large size; such
that rònmọ̀njẹ̀ in the oríkì above refers to the vastness
of the kingdom of the deity so described.

In the utterance;

"Ọmọ ọlọ̀nọ̀ yeyẹ̀yẹ̀ upara ẹ̀bọ̀."

(Descendant of those who have many routes leading
to the area of sacrifice,)

the chanter expects the listener to imagine the
multiplicity of ọ̀nọ̀ (roads) in his use of 'ye' a number
of times. The alternation of tones on the word, is
also meant to be reflective of alternative routes
leading to the same place.

29 Ọjòkólẹ̀-gún-rònmọ̀njẹ̀ - one who is royally seated
in great splendour.

30 See Oladele Awobuluyi, Essentials of Yorùbá Grammar,
(1978), op. cit., p.138.

On the whole, onomatopoeic ideophones tend to be more potent than phonaesthetic ones in ùjaamèsè, adding to the musical effect of the chants in the listener's ears.

8.2.3 Repetition:

Repetition is a very common feature of ùjaamèsè. It is a stylistic device which the chanter uses both for emphasis and intensification. It is here described as a feature characteristic of the chants, and also basic to other stylistic devices such as Lexical Matching and Tonal Counterpoint.³¹ These devices will be identified as they occur in the repeated utterances of ùjaamèsè.

In ùjaamèsè, repetition occurs in different forms and is used for various purposes. The types of repetition noticeable in the chants are: (a) phonological, (b) lexical, (c) structural and (d) semantic. Since this device is well known in Yorùbá poetry, only a few examples of each type will be given here, as they occur in the material.

8.2.3.1 Phonological repetition:

Some ùjaamèsè artists, as part of their individual style, tend to lengthen the words at the end of their utterances by repeating the last two sounds, as in the following example:

³¹ See Oladele Awobuluyi, "Stylistic repetition in Yorùbá Poetry", IBADAN, July 1971, p.57.

"In jare àòrò kekéro i libè i fón'yẹ ọdẹ
ferererere re re re re re."

(A young priest is there making music with a
hunter's feather.)³²

In this example, rather than stop at 'ferererere' which would be the onomatopoeic word for the sound of the feather, the chanter repeats the last two phonemes 'r' and 'e' five times more to intensify the sound of the feather.

Examples also occur in àjaamẹsẹ, of single phonemes repeated within a rhythm-unit. This is used to emphasise the meaning carried by the verb in the utterance. In the following excerpt from the text, the chanter, in order to emphasise the operative word 'lọ' (to go) repeats the /l/ phoneme in the utterance:

"Ilọlọ lọlọ leeyeewẹ,
Kẹ f lọ wọ wọ wọ wọ,
Kòojú méjì kó i ronì goro."

(He is leaving, he is leaving, mother of Iwẹ.

He is leaving, no question about it.

But our two eyes ache.)³³

³² The hunter's feather blown here is a symbol of authority for the priest and his bugle used for inviting cult members.

³³ A literal translation of an expression in Yorùbá which means that the person, or deity leaving, will be missed.

The 'l' sound in the verb has been anticipated from the first word of the utterance and has been said five times even before the verb itself. So also is the vowel 'o' pronounced twice before the verb and four times after it in 'wò wò wò wò'. The consonance of the 'w' sound here and the assonance of the 'o' combine to describe the quick movement of the deity as he is led out of the festival arena.

Similarly, another chanter repeats in anticipation, the 'dz' sound of the verb 'jù' (to be senior or superior to), four times before the verb, in order to emphasise the superiority between two people seemingly equal to each other. Here is the excerpt:

"Àjàrí mò j'Àjàrí.

Ijógolú³⁴ òòn mò jura ròn lò."

(One Àjàyí may be superior to another.

Jógolus are superior to one another.)

The last two examples should not be dismissed as mere phonetic repetition, for though superficially only one sound seems repeated, the meaning of the verb 'lò' (to go) in the first excerpt, and in fact the sequences of the sounds 'l' and 'o' are repeated in the first two words of the utterance; and in the second the sequence 'dz' and 'u' is also present in

³⁴ Ijógolú has no meaning in particular, the chanter invents it here to allow him use another 'dz'.

'j'Ajàrí' (ju Ajàrí) although the 'u' sound has been contracted.

It is also clear that in ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀, phonological repetition does not necessarily occur only at the end of utterances, that is not only on the last two sounds³⁵ of an utterance.

8.2.3.2 Lexical Repetition:

It is a common practice among ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ artists to multiply certain lexical items at the end of utterances for special effect. In the following utterance, the chanter repeats the item 'wẹ̀rẹ̀' three times after the adverbial 'wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀' (in small pieces) in order to further increase the number of the pieces of cloth described in:

"Òní lẹ̀rẹ̀rẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ ò,

Kọ paọ itẹ̀lẹ̀ aṣọ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀."

(It is today that the terrible one,

Arranges his undergarments in fine strands.)

In the excerpt:

"Ọmọ ẹ̀írà títù kẹ̀ í jó mùdì foroforoforoforo."

(the fresh leaves that dance with a wriggling motion)³⁶,

³⁵ cf. Oládélé Awóbúlúyí, "Stylistic Repetition in Yorùbá Poetry", (1971), op. cit., p.60.

³⁶ This utterance, applicable to the doity, could be ambiguous. For an alternative interpretation, see Appendix A3 line 47.

the adverbial 'foroforo' (wriggling movement) is reduplicated to intensify the speed of the wriggling and verbally convey a picture of the correct movement of the dancer (Olúa).

The single lexical item that claims the highest times of repetition in ùjaamèṣṣè is 'omọ'. This lexical item has various meanings in the chants. It may mean 'descendant of', 'person', 'owner of', 'one who is like' or it may just be used for padding at the beginning of utterances, and in initial³⁷ position as in:

"Omọ umọlọ mejì kẹ í jó búrí o.

Omọ umọlẹ kó pèlòlò oún.

Omọ umọlẹ kón kó gorí egúrù fọn'wò réré
l'Ijopa."

(The twins deity who dances like the 'uri' bird.

The deity with a stammering voice.

The deity who jumps on a rock to whistle in

Ijopa.)³⁸

³⁷ cf. Anaphora, in Raymond Chapman, Linguistics and Literature - An Introduction to Literary Stylistics, Edward Arnold, 1973, p.79.

³⁸ The whistling sound is the sign that the deity has arrived at a festival; this is the reason why it is taboo for the devotee to whistle.

Here, the phrase 'Ọmọ umọlẹ' which means, 'the deity' is repeated in the three utterances to emphasise the various qualities of the same deity.

8.2.3.3 Structural Repetition:

Structural repetition may be partial or complete. Such repetition may occur in consecutive utterances or in utterances which occur intermittently within a performance. When grammatical structures are repeated, the lexical items need not be identical.

When a chanter says:

"Ọmọ elétù imọ kẹ í ró wí.

Ọmọ elétù imọ kẹ í ró bílìbọn ọ."

(Owner of the lit palm-fronds that explode.

Owner of the lit palm-fronds that emit bangs
like a gun,)

she repeats the same structure but alters the single word adverbial to a direct comparison in the second line thus elucidating her meaning of 'wí' in the first utterance.

Similarly in the next example, the subject of the verb kéré (small) in each structure is altered in each subsequent utterance, but the structure remains the same. The chanter thus drives his point home more with this repetition:

"Itóró i kéré kón ọn mọ rínọ rí.

Aso fifún i kéré kón ọn mọ rínọ rí.

Alà kí í kéré kón ọn mọ rínọ rí."

(A three-penny piece cannot go unnoticed.

A white piece of cloth cannot escape notice.

A white material cannot escape notice.)

On the few occasions when structures are repeated without a change of lexical item, rather short utterances are involved and the purpose seems to be (a) to allow the artist time to relax his voice, collect his breath and gather fresh momentum for further performance, or (b) (when used at the beginning of a performance), to **arouse** the chanter's confidence. Here are two examples from the text:

- (i) "Oorò í ròde o.
Orò í ròde o.
Orò í ròde o."

(The deity is leaving (for home).

The deity is leaving.

The deity is leaving.)

- (ii) Ègè kookò.
Ègè kookò.
Ègè kookò.³⁹

³⁹ None of our informants claimed to know the meaning of this expression. It is usually used as a stop-gap cliché.

There are also certain utterances which are repeated for the same reasons given above, in individual artists' performances. For one artist it may be:

"Bọọní ọorò loóní í rí látọ́ọ́rọ́."

(It has been like a truly festive season all day today.)

For another, it could be:

"Ọ́ọ́rọ́waatakílẹ̀ o mò jí ire e e."

(Ọ́ọ́rọ́watakílẹ̀, good morning to you.)

For yet another, it could be:

"Uurúmọ́lẹ̀ ọkọ́ọ́ mi lí í rá."

(The deity, my lord, is performing.)

8.2.3.4 Semantic Repetition:

In Semantic repetition, two or more words which fall within the same semantic range are repeated in similar structures. Here are two examples from our material of ùjaamèsè:

(i) "Ọmọ ajebi yàlà ró.

Ọmọ ajàre yọdodo ą́ọ bora.

Ọmọ amátàbàtúbú ą́ọ b'Átogùn Mojò ọorò."

(The guilty one with a white wrapper.

The innocent one with a beautiful attire.

One who uses his choicest attire to celebrate
with Atogùn.)

In this example 'àlà' (white cloth), 'òdodo aṣọ' (beautiful cloth) and 'atàbàtúbù aṣọ' (gorgeous attire), all refer to the mode of dressing of the clan described here. Also, 'ajèbí' (one who is guilty) and 'ajàré' (one who is vindicated) are lexically matched for contrast. This emphasises that no matter what situation, members of the clan described are usually well-dressed.

(ii) In this excerpt from ùjaamòṣṣẹ, the chanter in pleading for mercy uses two utterances which refer to the same idea, that some things happen and are simply ignored either for reasons of convenience or otherwise; and if this is so then elders should forgive whatever mistakes the chanter has made. The utterances run thus:

"Oyún-un-ní ẹ ṣòròn-on kón on rókùn gbe dè.

Se non ẹ dáríjì mi.

Ìṣínkònrín ẹ m̀gòrò kón on yẹ jàjọ rẹ líjọ kẹta."

(If a foetus commits an offence, it is not
punished by tying it with a rope.

They have to forgive me.

If the weevil drinks palm-wine (from a gourd), people
don't meet to subject the weevil to trial on
the third day.)

The first and last utterances speak of possible methods of punishment which are waved in the case of these two distinct creatures, a foetus and a weevil, but the utterances 'rókùn gbe dè' and 'jàjọ rẹ' refer to the same thing, inflicting punishment or taking a decision on same.

It is therefore now clear that in àjaamèsè, repetition is not necessarily in consecutive lexical items or structures, but is sometimes in alternate utterances or in a series interspersed with stretches of different utterances.

8.2.4 Parallelism:

This term is associated with syntactic repetition which includes identical as well as contrastive elements. The structures are thus 'parallel' with respect to their position in the examples given.

In the following example, lines 2, 3 and 4 are parallel with respect, first to the similarities between the human slaves, and then to the difference in their age, and the identical position of the terms 'orú modé' (child-slave); àgbà àrìrẹ̀pọ̀n (young man below age of puberty); and àgbà àrìdádọ̀dọ̀ (uncircumcized adult), in the parallel structures:

"Ọmọ ọlọjẹ upọ̀nnọ.

Kọ̀n ọ̀n tẹ̀rú' modé.

Kòn ọn tàgbà àrìrẹpon.

Ibẹ nọn ọn tààgbà àrìdádódó.

Amokó lẹgilẹgi lúlẹ lẹnọ Èyìgbò." 5

(Owner of the market in front of the homestead.

Where they used to sell slave children;

Where they used to sell young male (slaves) below
the age of puberty;

There, they used to sell uncircumcised adult male
(slaves).

With strapped penis at home in Èyìgbò.) 5

The three utterances in lines 2, 3 and 4 also share a common subject 'ọjà' in the first line qualified by 'upọnnọ'. Similarly, even though the noun, 'erú' object of 'tà' in line 2 is not repeated in lines 3 & 4, it is understood. Therefore all the parallel descriptions in lines 3 and 4 refer to types of slaves sold in this particular market. The descriptions are so vivid that the words carry with them a visual image of slaves of different ages, all male, tied together, and being sold out to willing buyers.

In àjaamẹsẹ two parallel lines may be followed by two other lines of the same length bringing to a conclusion the theme of the parallel lines, as in the following example:

"Mo ti dọdọbálẹ lẹdọ alágbà.

Mo ti mọrí balẹ lẹdọ ọni ko juni.

Ùgbèè nòn ọn í kí mí ẹ rẹ.

Ọn ọ́n gbédò sọnrí mí."

(I have prostrated myself before elders.

I have bowed before those senior to me.

Then they gave me permission to go.

Saying good luck should be mine there.)

The central idea conveyed by the first two lines is that of giving ibà. The lexical items 'dòdòbálẹ' (prostrate) and 'mórí balẹ' (bow) match each other and are identical as physical methods of giving ibà, but contrast slightly with regard to grading. Similarly 'alàgbà' (elders) matches 'ọni ko jùni' (senior) but they also contrast narrowly with respect to age. The last two lines however conclude the theme carried by the first two lines, by expressing the resultant achievement of the steps taken in lines 1 & 2, which enhances the rhetorical emphasis and encourages memorability.

Images exemplified in ùjaamẹsẹ are not all physical and visual. The following excerpt from the transcribed material is an example of the presence of auditory images in the chants:

"È nòn ọn lapata me m̀gbé rẹ,

Ye Iwẹ mọjọ !

Ọn làrìgèdè kí mẹ m̀fọn líjọpa;

Aàròn ọn mìsẹ́pẹ́ igi í lù ni mà á jó lọnọ́ Iwẹ́."

(They beat the apata drums, I do not know the steps.

Mother of Iwẹ́.

They beat the àrigèdè, I cannot respond in Ijopa.

To the àròn⁴⁰ beaten with barks shall I dance in Iwẹ́.)

Line 1 above is parallel to line 3, with the words 'apata' matching lexically with 'àrigèdè' both being drums.

Their level of contrast is the melody produced by each.

In the last line however, 'àròn ọn mìsẹ́pẹ́ igi í lù' is described. This is another type of drum, which by implication, is different in rhythm from the other two.

This is preferred by the devotee-artist. The sound and rhythm of the drums compared, therefore introduce auditory images to the listener, who in an attempt to appreciate the chants, must imagine the sounds, the rhythm and perhaps the tempo of each type of drum, in order to be able to appreciate why the chanter-devotee prefers the last type of drums.

The examples so far examined show that in parallelism, words seek their own kind. They are parallel with regard to class, noun to noun, verb to verb, qualifier to qualifier, and so on.

⁴⁰ apata, àrigèdè and àròn are types of drums used at Olúá's religious ceremonies. They are almost completely unknown to the ordinary villager.

8.2.5 Irony of Tone:⁴¹

This stylistic feature is a type of sarcasm in which 'dispraise' is alluded to under the guise of praise. This is a common feature in ùjaamẹsẹ. In fact a good ùjaamẹsẹ artist has been described as one who can be heard to be polite even when he is being rude. In the words of our informants: "oní bá ti í sùnjaamẹsẹ, ké í búni, kón ọ́n ẹ̀ mò wí ẹ̀ ní í búni, ké í pọ̀nni í lé, kón ọ́n ẹ̀ mò wí ẹ̀ ní pọ̀nni í lé, ọ̀un ní í sọ̀rọ̀n;" (one who can tactfully abuse someone in ùjaamẹsẹ, such that the abused takes no notice, and one who can praise someone without making it obvious, he it is who speaks (chants well)). The present writer does not accept the second half of the informant's comments, for, in Yorùbá oral poetry, a person praised is expected to know that he is being praised, this is in the interest of the entertainer who may be amply remunerated for his action. However, the ùjaamẹsẹ chanters have subtle ways of 'dispraising under the guise of praising'.

In some examples from clan praises in ùjaamẹsẹ, the pilfering tendencies recorded in the history of a clan are here covered with the quality of 'courage', a quality required in such a venture.

An example occurs in this quotation from the text of a performance:

⁴¹ Geoffrey N. Leech, (1969), op. cit., p.176.

"Ọlọgbọn ịsọnibárin kùrèrèrè mọ wí.

Uréré wílè o mò wídidi ọni lúlé lónọ Òkè ọjà."

(Owner of the street along which none may walk
alone for fear of the kite.

The kite picks the thief and picks a whole
person on Òkè Ọjà road.)

Here, the light-fingered smartness and agility of the clan in yesteryears is compared to that of a kite as it flies, hooking all obstacles in its way. The lines condemn the thief by implying that he is 'less than a man' since the chanter uses 'odidi ọni' (a whole person) in contrast to ọlọ (a thief). Furthermore, the chanter still praising the clan refers to the wealth acquired from the art by the clan, and even adds a warning to those members of the clan who may not possess this clan-trait:

"Ọmọ olè í là mún ọnọ Òkè Ọjà.

Ọniyọn kọ bá tí mó sọlè,

Èrọn ojo la ẹ pa sù."

(Descendant of thieves who amass great wealth in
Òkè Ọjà.

Whoever does not go stealing,

He will be fined a goat for his cowardice.)

This last utterance, which refers to the courage of past members of the clan is meant to screen the ugliness of theft. It is therefore used in the

chants as a reminder to the clan, of a stain of the past, and as a subtle suggestion that the courage they have inherited from their forebears can now be more usefully utilized.

In the next example, a chanter focuses his sarcasm on a villager who is of royal birth. In the utterances, he congratulates him (the prince) on his birth, but reminds him that history has recorded princes who have become paupers. This is meant to be a warning to the listener-prince who is probably being criticised for his laziness, or his attitude of living on the glory of his birth. The utterances run thus:

"Uwọ kẹ í j'ọmọwá tẹrẹ mọ sín.

Mọ r'ọniyọ̀n kẹ í j'ọmọwá kẹ ẹ sànnọ àgbódè.

Bẹẹ n'ọ̀n ọ̀n r'ọniyọ̀n kọ mọ kẹ̀n í j'ọmọwá kẹ í
poko ẹ̀sì."

(You are of royal blood, so you are lucky.

But I have seen people of royal blood who sleep
on verandahs.

And there are people of royal blood who feed
horses.)

By using such a stylistic feature in the chants, the happy mood of the festival is maintained, while much food for thought is given to listeners.

8.2.6 Deviations:

Deviation has been defined as "linguistic usage considered to depart from normal expectations of users of the language."⁴² Some of the deviations that may occur in any form of poetry, are part of the routine licence of the poet, while others are licence which allow him to explore areas beyond the scope of the ordinary user of the language. In ùjaamòsè deviations observed include tonal, lexical and grammatical, all of which will be discussed here as they have an impact on the style of the artist and an effect on the poetry generally.

8.2.6.1 Tonal Deviation:

Here, the chanter, exerting a kind of control over the tones and the tonal system of Yorùbá language, and bent on entertaining as he adores the deity, manipulates the tonal system in such a way that particular words and sometimes, phrases, in the language have their tones altered. In some cases, the chanter uses the common tonal pattern when he repeats the word in a different structure. This is where it differs from Tonal Counterpoint.⁴³

⁴² Raymond Chapman, Linguistics and Literature - An Introduction to Literary Stylistics, (Edward Arnold, 1973), p.114.

⁴³ See O. O. Olatunji, (1970), op. cit., p.51.

Examples of tonal deviation in ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ can be appreciated by considering the usual sequence of tones on such lexical items in ordinary speech, in the sub-dialects of the area under study. In the following extract from the recorded material, the word 'òsín' (afternoon) has its tones altered:

"Òòsín pòn kòní mọ̀ rìn ukòrò Ìniwẹ̀,
 Ọ̀nì tí rìn líbẹ̀ ọ̀nì ẹ̀bọ̀ra ní ìn."

(It is noon and none should walk about in Iwẹ̀.
 Whoever dares becomes the deity's.)

In that example the clause 'òsín pòn' which in conversation would have the tonal sequence LH + H now has on the noun, first a lengthening of the first syllable such that the word 'òòsín' with tonal sequence 'HHH' is used and the verb 'pòn' loses its high tone. The deviation here emphasises the word 'òsín' (afternoon) better than the ordinary use, and therefore carries the warning more strongly.

In the next example, the chanter clearly shows his dexterity at controlling the tonal system of the language, for in the same utterance, he uses the common sequence as well as the altered sequence:

"Aşẹ̀ itótó ẹ̀ í bẹ̀ lẹ̀run itótó,
 Aşẹ̀ ìlákòşẹ̀ ẹ̀ í bẹ̀ lẹ̀run ìlákòşẹ̀."

In order to achieve the effect of tonal word-play and counterpoint in these utterances, the chanter uses his licence to alter the tonal sequence on ilákòṣẹ (LHLM) to LHL (ilákòṣẹ).

Tonal deviations in ùjaamẹṣẹ are found not only within individual words; phrases may also have their tones altered but without impeding intelligibility. For example when a chanter says,

"Gbónmìgbawẹjù ọ mọ kẹẹfẹ ọrọ ọ ọ.
 Ọ kú iyédun emi nọ ọ mọ kẹẹfẹ ọrọ.
 Ọmọ umọlẹ dagbà bírì ọyá lónọ ìwẹ."

(Gbónmìgbawẹjù, happy festivities,

It's compliments of the season to you, and
 happy festivities to me.

O deity who swings round in order to move
 behind the palm-fronds in ìwẹ.)

he alters completely, though intelligibly the tonal sequence of the clause 'Ọ kú iyédun'.

Usual sequence

Deviation

M + H + LLH



L + H + LHM.

A scrutiny of the three examples given here shows that in tonal deviation in ùjaamẹṣẹ the mid-tones are invariably changed to low, the high tone is almost always retained, and the few times it is altered, it is altered to mid-tone. Here are the sequences:

	<u>Usual sequence</u>	<u>Deviation</u>
(a)	L H + H òsín pòn	H H H + M òòsín + pòn
(b)	L H L M l lá kò sẹ	L H L L ì lá kò sẹ
(c)	M + H + L L h o + kú + lyèdún	L + H + L H M ò + kú + lyédun

The phenomenon discussed here is sometimes referred to as a distortion,⁴⁴ but the present writer is of the opinion that the word 'distortion' is a wrong characterisation of this feature. 'Distortion' carries with it a tone of prejudice and condemnation. The oral artist should not be said to distort the system simply because he adapts it to suit his purpose, particularly so, if we agree, as Olatunji⁴⁵ does, that intelligibility is unimpeded.

8.2.6.2 Lexical Deviation:

In ùjaamèsè certain words are used in certain circumstances which deviate from their ordinary usage. In fact, the chanter finds himself over-stretching the resources of the language, and inventing

⁴⁴ cf. Donald C. Freeman, (1970), op. cit., p.42 and O. O. Olatunji, (1970), op. cit., p.82.

⁴⁵ ibid., p.42.

a new item of vocabulary. These words may have come into the chants as NONCE-FORMATIONS,⁴⁶ that is vocabulary made up for use only on a single occasion, but as this is oral poetry, they have been picked up by budding artists and so have become part of the vocabulary of the chants. However, they are still recognised by speakers of the sub-dialect as effects of neologism. Here is an example:

"O kú lálẹ̀ ọ̀n bù sùfun ké e mo mò dújà omiye-miba.

(Hello, owner of the land whose special allocation prevents a family rift.)

In this extract, the word sufun is almost totally unknown in the area, except in this usage, and no one doubts the connotation. Similarly, while 'omiye' is a well-known item of vocabulary among the Èkiti-Yorùbá, to speakers of the Ìdó-Òsì area of Èrórì Local Government, the other half of the word 'omiba' is not acceptable. However since in the context in which the 'compound'⁴⁷ word is used, 'omiye' means 'relations of one's mother', 'omiba' obviously refers to 'relations of one's father'.

Another example occurs in the following utterance:

"Àrínmòrín ọ̀jú ẹ̀bọ̀ lẹ̀dẹ̀kọ̀n a ẹ̀ sí ẹ̀ ọ̀ dọ̀la."

(One will surely drop right at the spot of
sacrifice.) —

⁴⁶ See Geoffrey N. Leech (1969), op. cit., p.42.

⁴⁷ See the next sub-section 'Grammatical Deviation' on pp. 330-331.

The word àlrin (middle) is in common usage, but a detailed description of a particular spot which in 'Standard' Yorùbá will be described as 'ààrin gbùngbùn' has no equivalence in Èkìtì-Yorùbá. Here, in ùjaamẹṣẹ however, the chanter coins his own appropriate descriptive word for this — 'àrínmòrín'. It contrasts adequately with the two utterances that precede the above;

"Ọkọ̀n á ọ̀ sùwá ẹ̀bọ̀,
 Ọkọ̀n á ọ̀ sáyòdèyìn-in rẹ̀,"

(One drops in front of the spot of sacrifice,
 Another drops behind,)

such that after the front, and the back, the next obvious position is the middle, so accurately covered by the new word àrínmòrín.

Another example of neologism in ùjaamẹṣẹ is in the use of the word 'ṣuyọ̀n' in the following utterance:

"Ọmọ olórò upọ̀nnọ̀ kọ̀n ọ̀n ẹ̀ keerú jòkólẹ̀,
 Kọ̀mọ ẹ̀ ṣuyọ̀n-ọ̀n."

(Descendant of those at whose festival slaves sit,
 While children work hard.)

The word 'ṣuyọ̀n' only becomes clear in the neighbourhood of an opposite idea jòkólẹ̀ (sit (idle)), and is more appropriate than ṣuṣẹ (work).

8.2.6.3 Grammatical Deviation:

There are also in ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀, examples of constructions which exhibit a deliberate grammatical deviation. For example in the use of 'omiye-miba', the lexical item is used as a compound word by the chanter. 'Omiye' is a compound, both in form and meaning, but 'omiba' is coined as a word opposite in meaning to 'omiye'. One would therefore expect that these two compound forms, in structure, should be joined by a conjunction. This is left out of the utterance. Furthermore, the two separate compound words are then combined in a way contrary to the grammar of the language. For example, 'omiye' and 'omiba' should either stay as individual items, or be joined by the morphophonemic process of assimilation, not contraction, as is the case here.

Similarly expressions such as the following occur frequently in ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀:

"Ọmọ irẹkẹ Aragon í dùn bọọgọ 1yọ."

(Owner of the sugar cane, Aragon which is as sweet as a cake of salt.)

"Ọmọ aínbì méjì kọn ọn mú pọdín-ẹrin."

(Owner of the kola nuts, two lobes of which sell for three and a half cowries,)

and "Ọmọ eúsà imọrìsà kọ ti yá í jẹsín."

(Owner of the bush-rat at the shrine.

The bush-rat that runs around during the day.)

The second item in each of the above examples, is a non-human noun functioning as genitival qualifier to the first noun, which in each case is a human-noun. Therefore there is an evidence of collocational clash here, which is a pointer to the fact that this is meant to be the artist's deviation from the normal form —

omo onírèké — descendant of those who own
the sugar-cane.

omo aláínbí — descendant of those who own
the lobes of kola-nuts.

omo eléúsà — descendant of those who own
the bush-rat

Thus in ùjaamèssè, one can find many examples for realities of style as for deviation. Both combine to form the style of the chants. The deviation in these examples however make it clear that the chanter uses this device in order to be able to place his emphasis on the right words, the base nouns, irèké, ainbí, and eúsà rather than on the combination of the bound morpheme oní plus the noun. The device is therefore used to facilitate emphasis, as well as reduce the boredom that would otherwise have arisen with the repetition of omo and oní in this type of construction.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

On the one hand, this study has brought to the limelight of the world of learning, the worship of a twins - deity, Olúa in the Èrò Local Government area of Oṅdó State. Olúa devotees believe that Olúa is none other than God Almighty himself. They claim that he visits them twice a year, represented by two palm-clad, dancing figures.

The Yorubá, among whom the Èkiti constitute a group, however, do not believe that anyone has ever seen God, in whatever form, and 'neither images nor temples of him are known to have been made.'¹ It is difficult to have a clear dichotomy between the belief and the religion of a people. Therefore, whether or not anyone else believes it, the people of Èrò Local Government area of Oṅdó State believe that Olúa is Olódùmarè. They claim to have temples for him and to worship him at intervals of eight days. They use for him attributes of God Almighty --- Creator, King, Omnipotent, All-wise, All-Knowing, Judge, Immortal and Holy² and while they believe that he is invisible, they claim

¹ G. J. Afolabi Òjò, Yorubá Culture, (1966), op. cit., p.183; and cf. E. Bolaji Idowu, Olódùmarè, God in Yorubá Belief, (1962), op. cit., p.141.

² E. Bolaji Idowu, ibid., pp.39-47.

that in the representations of the èjì umolè (twins-deity), he is partially visible.

After an examination of the material collected and an analysis of informants' answers to questions asked by the present writer, at different interviews, a reasonable conclusion is that Olúa is an arch-deity with executive powers. It is hoped that this study will open up a new research field for students of Yorùbá traditional religion, who in due course, would examine in greater depth, the claim of Olúa devotees in the Èrò Local Government area of Oṣṣó State, that Olúa is synonymous with Olódùmarè.

On the other hand, from the point of view of literature, the study has highlighted one major type of religious poetry of the Èkìtì-Yorùbá. The study of this rich body of oral poetry has been very fruitful; it provides remarkable illumination on the social and religious life of the people of this part of Yorubaland, as well as on the linguistic quality of Èkìtì-Yorùbá as a literary medium.

In other parts of Èkìtì where Olúa is worshipped — Ìgèdò-Èkìtì; Ìgbàrà Odò, Itàpá-Èkìtì, Ikòlè-Èkìtì and others — none of these communities has a special name for the chants used at the festival. In our area of study, the chants are distinguished from all others performed in the area. It has its own name, ÙJAAMÈSÈ.

This investigation has shown that ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ has characteristic features similar to those of other genres of Yorùbá oral poetry already studied at this level. Its own unique identity lies in its closeness to speech rather than to song, its content and mode of presentation, and a constantly recurring low tone on which chanters pause for breath. As a type of religious poetry, didactic sayings are few and jokes have no place in it. Although it provides entertainment for the large audience who participate in this social event ^{that is} heavily charged with emotion, audience participation in the chanting is not encouraged, because of the seriousness of the occasion of its use.

One can safely conclude here that the traditional social life of the Èkiti-Yorùbá in our area of study is closely tied up with their traditional religion, for even these customary, religious occasions, and particularly the chants, tend to be overshadowed by clan-oriki put to ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ rhythm.

Of the numerous features that characterise the form of ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀, expansion of statements and nominal extension are the most prominent. The stylistic devices discussed in the last chapter as well as vowel lengthening within and at the end of utterances; hyperbole and rhetorical questioning, all combine to make ùjaamẹ̀sẹ̀ enjoyable to the listener. Unfortunately, a lot of these features are undoubtedly lost to the

reader if he finds the Èkìtì-Yorùbá dialect rather incomprehensible. It is therefore useful while reading any chants in any dialect of Yorùbá, to have copies of the recorded material handy, for aural experience of the chants. This is particularly necessary for students of Yorùbá oral poetry, because 'the linguistic and the musical elements cannot be divorced one from the other in the study of Yorùbá poetic expression'.³ In the light of this, a cassette-tape recording of four of the five representative chants in Appendix A of this thesis is submitted with the work.

It is rather unfortunate however, that so far, the villagers, devotee or non-devotee alike are forbidden to chant ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ outside of the festival season. This therefore makes it difficult for chanters to boast of original compositions and ^{participate in} competitive performances in preparation for each festival. It is manifestly desirable that cult leaders should change their regulations on the performance of ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀. Every one should be allowed to listen to, chant, or tape-record ùjaamẹ̀şẹ̀ at will.

It is however gratifying that many educated youths now join the cult each year. One hopes therefore that this influx of educated youths will bring about a

³ E. O. Olúkòjù, 'The Place of Chants in Yorùbá Traditional Oral Literature', Ph.D. Thesis, (University of Ibadan, 1978), p.229.

liberalisation of the rules and restrictions, such that ùjaamẹṣẹ will be brought nearer non-members of the cult, and thence spread all round Èkìtì and the rest of Yorubaland. Apart from helping to improve the performances of well-known chanters, freedom to chant ùjaamẹṣẹ at any time would afford modern Yorùbá poets the opportunity of composing new poems in ùjaamẹṣẹ rhythm. The light of this beautiful poetry should not be kept under a pot, but high above the ground for the glory of the communities concerned.

APPENDIX A.REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES OF THE TEXTS OF THE CHANTS

APPENDIX 1.

CHANTERS:ANONYMOUSLOCATION:ÌDÓ-ÈKÌTÌ

1(a)

Eléré

Kííńí :

1. Ìn mò rí ọra ò o ra ulé ra líliwẹ.
2. Ee, ra ulé ra líliwẹ in ẹun ẹun ẹun
ẹun ẹun.
3. Ìn mò mò jẹ mi gbégigun nù gbatipòrò gbé nù.
4. Ìn mò mò jẹ mi ké'mọdé Ûdó mò gbèèyin orò.
5. Kọ ọ lẹniyọn kọ ẹnọ lóko rín in líliwẹẹ,
6. Ẹ lá á rá dānuun.
7. Eniyọn kó bá yóko lúgbò orò,
8. Ẹ lá á rá lúlẹ ìwẹ o.
9. Ira ulé ra líliwẹ in mò ẹẹnínú mi o.
10. Omọ umọlẹ ko pèrẹ ẹmu koni mu.
11. Ọsire-mo-kolòlo kọn ọn mú i sọ páàbàà rẹ
lá á ẹ̀sì.
12. Ijọ munrín ọjà, ẹmí rọn lá á mú gèègé
a jẹun o.
13. Eeyé líwẹ kuùrín, eeyé líwẹ kuùjẹ,
14. Eeyé líwẹ, kuùfunni omọ lúlẹ ìwẹ.

APPENDIX A 1.

CHANTERS: ANONYMOUS

LOCATION: IDO-ÈKITÌ

- 1(a)
1. Hello, relations in our home in Iwè.
 2. Relations in our home in Iwè, I thank you very much indeed.
 3. Pray do not let me sweep away with refuse, important items of life.
 4. Pray do not let me cry for help at the end of a festival.
 5. Whoever loses his way in your farm in Iwè
 6. He is surely lost for ever.
 7. Whoever goes to the farm during the festival,
 8. He'll be lost in Iwè.
 9. My relations in Iwè, have pity on me.
 10. The deity who collects palm-wine for one¹ to drink.
 11. The deity who performs in a stammering voice, such that people say 'your father² will perform wonders'.
 12. Next time, I shall earn my living using a pen.
 13. Mother of Iwè, you are welcome, I wish you good appetite.
 14. Mother of Iwè, you are busy giving out babies (to the barren) in Iwè.

¹ 'One' here refers to Olúa's devotees who drink the palm-wine brought to the festival.

² 'father' is used here as an appellation for Olúa, who to his devotees, is as affectionate as a natural father.

CHANTERS:ANONYMOUSLOCATION:IDO-ÈKÌTÌ

(b)

Eléré

Keji

15. Ìkinnikinni ọra ọni ẹ gbẹdọ kẹ ẹ
rin ni ọra o.
16. Adábìọníwejú Àbẹkẹ ẹ má síkọn ?
17. Ọmọ olúwò kẹ gbọ̀nìyọ̀n gbọ̀n.
18. Ọmọ olókè kọ̀n ọ̀n gù̀n títí yá ọ̀rúpò ọ̀yà
ọ̀ni túnmọ̀ lẹ̀ọ̀nọ̀ Èfọ̀n.
19. Èmi lẹ̀yí kò ọ̀ rí líbẹ́ kò kú jiwinni o.
20. Èyí laayó ọ̀ Kọ̀lìjù.

APPENDIX A2

CHAPTER:

MADAM. ÜBÍYONJÚ ADÉLÉYE

LOCATION:

IGBÓLÉ-ÈKÌTÌ

2.

1. Ira lila ulé è liwè o jí ire o o o o.
2. Omọ lorò obunrin mó wo'ya lonò Iwèdè !
3. Oní rón lẹobunrin Iwe i ké roro kọ̀gọgun
i se jeun lẹ̀onò Iwèdèdèdè dè.
4. I jaré mò wẹ́ wẹ́dè kọ̀kọ̀ mí jeun-un-un.
5. Oko mi mi me í kí omọ'lálẹ̀ ọ̀n pọ̀jọgbọ̀ alẹ̀cẹ̀e.
6. Omọ'lalẹ̀ ọ̀n bù sọfẹ́ l'Iorò.
7. O ku'lálẹ̀ ọ̀n bu sọfun kó e wo ró dújà omiye-
miba.
8. Ira lila ulé è niwè o lé ire o o o o.
9. Omọ'mọlẹ̀ kó sẹ̀jẹ̀jẹ̀dèjẹ̀ í rin.
10. Uwọ ní mi me í kí omọ umọlẹ̀ kọ̀ sẹ̀lẹ̀ àrijikọ̀n.
11. Uwo lí sẹ̀lẹ̀ lójúlẹ̀ ra, mò mò fẹn'wò alẹ̀ pẹ̀
mi Tòògun Mọ̀jooo.
12. Uwọ ni mi me í kí omọ asọrò bọogun lóokè Àndè.
13. Oká soroo í ọ̀npè,

CHANTERS: ANONYMOUS

LOCATION: ÌDÓ-ÈKÌTÌ

2nd Voice

(b)

15. Anything that tickles in a person's body should not give the person the creeps.
16. Where is Abẹkẹ Adábíṣíwẹjù?³
17. Owner of a cave, big enough for a person and his voice.
18. Descendant of those whose hill a man climbs till he can enter into his wife's room in Èfòn.
19. Here am I looking glaringly emaciated.
20. Such is life kọlìjù.⁴

³ Adábíṣíwẹjù is an attributive name given to an Ifá priest or fortune-teller, renowned for knowing the future in advance. A-dá-bí-ṣí-wẹjù literally means 'one who consults (Ifá) like one whose face is washed (with medicine),' for it is believed that a person whose face is so washed becomes clairvoyant.

⁴ Kọlìjù - is a short form of Akọlìjù the name of one of the leaders of Imẹṣẹ in Ìdó.

APPENDIX A2.

CHANTER:

MADAM ÒBÍYQNJÚ ADÉLÉYÈ

LOCATION:

IGBÓLÉ-ÈKÌTÌ

2.

1. Good morning to you, O great one of Iwè.
2. The deity beyond whose palm-frond curtains
no woman may look at Iwè.
3. On this day, women of Iwè cry in sympathy
wondering how Ọgògùn will eat in Iwè.
4. Of course, I have washed my hands and my
feet so my lord may eat.
5. I salute my lord, owner of the beautiful land.
6. Owner of the land used for magical arts in
Iàrò.
7. Owner of the land specially allocated to
prevent a rift among siblings.
8. The great one of Iwè, you are elegantly poised.
9. The deity who walks with his twin partner.
10. I salute you, deity to whom ikòn² is tabooed
for food.
11. Whistling is tabooed³ in my home, do not
whistle to me at night 'Togùn Mòjò.
12. Greetings to you, one who celebrates his
festival like a battle in Okè Arè.⁴
13. The viper displays his fierceness on the oil
palms.

² ikòn-igbá, the bitter tomato (*Solanum Incanum*), used for making sauce and eaten with boiled yams; but not when taking yams to Ọlúa.

³ It is taboo for any Ọlúa devotee to whistle, and no one may whistle in their home, for a whistling sound announces the arrival of Ọlúa.

⁴ Okè Arè - is the shrine beside or near the ugbómolè in every village, where àkàrà balls are offered to Ọlúa during the festival.

14. Kò o tún sọrọ i ọ̀n'gigun okoo.
15. Aṣoro-íọ̀n'yé ulé ra mọ̀yọ̀n nẹ́jì pílẹ̀lẹ̀
aṣo lẹ̀nọ̀ Iwẹ̀.
16. Bọ̀nì sọ̀rò loòni i ri Tóògùn Mòjòooo oo.
17. Ọmọ ọ̀lọ̀wọ ọ̀pẹ l'Urèrè.
18. Ọ̀gbírìgídí ọ̀mọ̀lọ̀pẹ̀ ekù ò mè e rẹ̀ è è e e.
19. Kó e rògbé rọ̀rà líbì alẹ̀ í sọ̀pá'Tógùn Mòjòò.
20. Ọ̀ mè eee múlẹ̀ rìn o apẹ̀rẹ̀kù sọ̀rùn oge hẹ̀rẹ̀kẹ̀.
21. Bí tẹ̀rẹ̀ tí í sẹ̀ ló o mò jí tẹ̀mí ẹ̀ sẹ̀ líwẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀.
22. Àsẹ̀ itótó lí í lẹ̀run itótó.
23. Àsẹ̀ ilákòhòkò lí í lẹ̀run ilákòsẹ̀ Tógùn Mòjòò.
24. Àsẹ̀ Àrìrà LAàrìrá mú í lagi.
25. Àsẹ̀ ẹ̀ rẹ̀ ní iii.
26. Orí-dídù-orókè wó ò mò e rẹ̀ ọ̀ọ̀ ọ̀ọ̀ ọ̀ọ̀.
27. Ọmọ̀ jìjì ọ̀ọ̀ sọ̀rí yẹ̀tu lẹ̀nọ̀ Iwẹ̀ẹ̀ẹ̀.

14. He shows his fierceness among the weeds on the farm.
15. The female celebrants in our home show off their breasts on the edge of their wrappers in Iwè. 15
16. It's like being in a festive mood today, Togùn Mòjò,
17. Owner of many palm-trees in Urèrè⁵ farm.
18. The mysterious one associated with the oil-yielding palm, get ready to depart.
19. Go where the soil is brown and soft, 'Togùn Mòjò.
20. Go to your home, you whose basket-load of belongings almost sprains the maiden's neck.⁶ 20
21. Let all be well with me as it is with you in Iwè.
22. The authority of tótó⁷ is in his possession.
23. Togùn Mòjò the authority of ilákònkò is ilákòsè's.⁸
24. With his authority the god of thunder splits logs of fire wood.
25. Authority is yours.
26. The black one of the heavens, so you are leaving.
27. Deity appearing like a full broom which ends in a tassel in Iwè.

⁵ Urèrè - a farm land in Òsì, where a lot of palm-fronds are collected for the festival.

⁶ a basket containing food, gourds of palm-wine and items of clothing for cult leaders, is carried to the ugbómolè by a maiden or woman in her post-menopausal period.

⁷ tótó - By implication, this is a member of the 'snail' family.

⁸ ilákònkò/ilákòsè - a small type of snail.

APPENDIX A3.

CHAPTER:

MADAM NOÓOLA

LOCATION:

ILÓG BÓ - ÈKÌTÌ

1. Ààfakúnlẹ̀ ilòdọgbọ̀ lásọ̀ ẹ̀bọkà, ẹ̀ mọ̀ kọ́lá ọ̀
Lérè-àpọ̀pọ̀.
2. I jare kèèke mọ̀ mọ̀ kàà kọ̀n jẹ̀ mi ẹ̀n ọ̀n jọ̀
kòròbo ní lẹ́tí mi.
3. Uurúmọ̀lẹ̀ meyin-in rin lásọ̀ ẹ̀bọkà ẹ̀ mọ̀ kọ́dún ọ̀.
4. Mọ̀ yá mọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ gẹ̀gẹ̀ ke i yí.
5. Mọ̀ ya mọ̀lẹ̀ kọ̀ mọ̀ sọ̀rọ̀n kọ̀ yáá górí ekéèjì
kerokete kọ̀n ọ̀n bá dọ̀nọ̀ Àsìsẹ̀.
6. Iba ẹ̀n ọ̀n mọ̀ rí kọ̀n i mú lẹ́kọ́sẹ̀ ẹ̀úrọ̀ sẹ̀
ní mọ̀ yáá jíbà.
7. Uukú ulé Ifọ̀n kí mọ̀ mọ̀ mílílà ọ̀nì sùn.
8. Uukú ulé Ifọ̀n kí mọ̀ mọ̀ sáá yá ní tẹ̀mì.
9. Ẹ̀ lẹ̀ ọ̀ mọ̀ mi yẹ̀ẹ̀gbẹ̀yẹ̀gbẹ̀ ábo adíyẹ̀ k'Ọ̀rìsà
Úrọ̀yẹ̀.
10. Ẹ̀ ẹ̀n ọ̀n mọ̀ mi yẹ̀ẹ̀gbẹ̀yẹ̀gbẹ̀ ábo adíyẹ̀ k'Ọ̀nifọ̀n
'un Ọ̀sùn.
11. Ẹ̀ lẹ́lẹ́lẹ́ mi mò gùn lẹ́rì ẹ̀sì mọ́pa ijẹ́ẹ̀gẹ́dẹ̀
tílẹ̀ kí in kírà lílá Ọ̀yọ̀ deni.
12. Aamóju-ọ̀mọ̀-sọ̀nọ̀ kọ́dún ọ̀.
13. Irá kọ̀ tún ẹ̀ ọ̀ á mọ̀ kọ́dún lẹ́kọ̀bọ̀kọ̀n.
14. Aamóyin-tú-ọ̀n-nú mọ̀ kọ́dún ọ̀.
15. Mọ̀ yá lórò ọ̀dọ̀ oko.

Appendix A3

CHANTER: MADAM NỌỌỌLA

LOCATION: ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

1. The creeping plant clothed like a viper,
I hail you, you python in the mud.
2. Pray let me not dance where no music is played.
3. The deity who walks backwards, clothed like a
viper, I compliment you on these festivities.
4. I seek refuge with the deity that balances
himself without slipping.
5. I seek refuge with the deity that performs,
mounting on his twin-partner comfortably in
Àsìsẹ̀.
6. Ibà should be given before attempting any
assignment in the morning, so I give ibà.
7. The terrible deity of Ifọ̀n, to whom I give ibà,
8. The terrible deity of Ifọ̀n, to whom I run for
refuge.
9. A well-fed hen is offered as sacrifice to the
deity of Úróyẹ̀.
10. A well-fed hen is offered as sacrifice to the
Ọ̀nifọ̀n and Ọ̀sun.
11. My Lord rides on a horse and still uses a
swagger cane, greet the great one of Ọ̀yọ̀.
12. One who tatoos a child's face, compliments of
the festival to you.
13. It's also happy celebrations individually, to
all divinities here present with you.
14. The divinity at whose command bees disperse his
enemies,⁷ compliments of the festival to you.
15. I seek refuge with the great one in the farm.

⁷ This refers to Okèrẹ̀, the divinity believed to be protecting the gates of Ìlógbò Èkìtì.

CHANTER: MADAM NOOLA

LOCATION: ILÓGBÒ-ÌKÌTÌ

16. Irá ulé Owá mò kọdún o.
17. Oní mò kaà kípò ònlyon ké e sí kira rẹ bọoloko ní kúkí í rí.
18. E ni mò mò kaàtíjọ, 'mọ omi kọn jọ gbùgbùrùgbù lẹtùn.
19. E ní mò kaà kọn kù kékeré mi dé'bẹ gbẹẹ moomi gbọra ní í jẹ.
20. Omọ irẹké arágon i dùn bọbọgẹ iyọ.
21. Torí irẹké arágon ni mo ẹ se sọmọ lúlẹ lí Mọbà.
22. Ẹ ni mò mọ bọmọ í lẹ jóròbo rí pèèèèyín ùdì dā.
23. Ibi kí mò mò mààsẹ í de kí mi sí ì dúkọrọ ọnọ Òróyè.
24. Ọ̀kúta ẹ̀pẹ̀ ni mò mò mààsẹ í de kí mi sí ì dúkọrọ ọnọ Òróyè.
25. Ibi kà a mò mààsẹ í de ká a sí ẹẹ d'Ágbogbo lúlẹ mi.
26. Odò ukọ̀rọ̀ ni mò mò mààsẹ í de ká a sí ẹẹ d'Ágbogbo lúlẹ mi.
27. E ni mo mò kù lààtíjọ 'mọ cúsà umọ̀rìsà kẹ í jẹ̀ẹ̀sín.
28. Ọ̀lọ̀sọ̀n umọ̀rìsà kọn ọ̀n ẹ se gbọ porò tìn kọn ọ̀n sẹ̀bìbọ sẹ̀kẹ̀jì.

CHANTER: MADAM NOĆOLA

LOCATION: İLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

16. Compliments of the festival to all members of the Owa's clan.
17. But whoever gives the oriki of other clans before his own, is foolish.
18. Here am I once again, descendant of those who own the roaring stream in Òtùn.
19. Just before I got to the stream, I declared it an abode of spirits.
20. Owner of the arágon⁸ sugar-cane that is as sweet as a cake of salt.
21. I was born at home in Mòbà because of the sugar-cane.
22. I was going towards the òròbo home, then I turned my back.
23. The number of doors I know before getting to Ùróyè corner!
24. I know it (the village) up to the èpè rock⁹ before getting to Ùróyè corner.
25. We know quite a number of doors before Agbogbo¹⁰ in my home.
26. I know the doors up to the stream in the valley before Agbogbo in my home.
27. Here I am once again, descendant of the giant-rat which parades in the day time.
28. Owner of the white star apple tree near the shrine, which on hearing one first drop, one picks an extra one that has previously dropped.

⁸ arágon - reference to a type of sugar-cane used to cure children's coughs.

⁹ èpè rock - a rock in the area inhabited by the Ijemu clan.

¹⁰ Agbogbo - a stream in Ùróyè corner of İlógbò.

CHANTER:

MADAM NOÓOLÁ

LOCATION:ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

29. Ọmọ ọlọpẹ ọn mọjá dá.
30. 'Lọpẹ ọn mọọja da ká a mọ gbọ pòrò pòrò pòrò
ugbà.
31. Báà tóri kọn ọn mọ bàà yà mọmu oko ra ni.
32. Urú kẹ ríi kọn jẹ mi í jiyọn ànọ ikàààsin ní dà.
33. Unún jẹ mi yá kọbí rẹ mi jù oko ra mọ e wí báà.
34. Ààribọlọjà-i sààgbè ní mọ kàà kọn jẹ mi yá
kọbí rẹè mí jù oko ra.
35. Ọn kúkú lóríre í jù buùgbi mí í tí à.
36. Ọwá bi mí ma Àbadọfin tún yáá yà mí.
37. Ka a rẹka ibi ọ a yà mí sí ?
38. È ni mọ mọ kú láàtíjọ, 'mọ onídọfin arííkùnnọ.
39. Ọmọ ajẹyígbẹrẹgẹdẹlọyè.
40. Ọmọ adípẹ oyè ọní bá mọ tí rí.
41. Ọmọ ikààra ọn din bọọọyin ẹdẹ ọşu lébí'dọfin.
42. Èyí ní mẹ í taká ulé yèyèè mí rá lón.
43. Şe ní mọ mọ kọnyí ní kẹrẹ bọcńí kọnyíndiye
sínú ẹẹẹfọ.
44. Aamọ ọní mọ mọyà Olóri Ác í pàde ẹrù àààlilè lí bà.

CHANTER:

MADAM NOOOLÁ

LOCATION:ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

29. Owner of the palm tree whose wine is tapped by a climber using an òjá cloth.
30. The palm is tapped by a climber using an òjá cloth that others may not hear the sound of the climbing-rope.
31. It is all to prevent anyone from sharing of the sweet wine on our farm.
32. I do not eat pounded yam left-over from last night because it is stale.
33. Why I cannot cultivate my favourite portion in our farm, I'll say it.
34. My not being allowed to be an Oba's farm-neighbour is a reason why I cannot cultivate my favourite portion in our farm.
35. Who could be luckier than I am ?
36. I was born of an Ọwá, and a re-incarnation of an Ọdọfin.
37. What can you do about me ?
38. Here am I once again, a descendant of the Ọdọfin clan whose members do not need to use cantharides.
39. Descendant of those who own the choicest titles.
40. Descendant of those who plead for those who have none (titles).
41. Descendant of those who make bean cakes as big as yams in Idọfin clan.
42. That goes for my mother's line, fellows.
43. I just mentioned that like one dropping an egg into a pot of vegetable soup.
44. But, one who dates the Olórí Awo's wife dares the alilò.¹¹

¹¹ See Chapter 4 footnote 60.

CHANTER:

MADAM NỌỌOLÁ

LOCATION:ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

45. Kó kúkú yíolé Ọsọnyin kọ ọ mọ ọ títù léra, ọ yá.
46. Aajọ ọ mọ kọdún o.
47. Ọmọ ẹlérà títù kẹ í jọ mùdì foroforoforoforo.
48. Ọọsọnyin kẹ í lúlẹ Ọba Àró mọ jí ire lẹkọdẹkẹ.
49. Ijífí ire lí lila ikùtù ọúrọ.
50. Ọkọ lúpẹ ikùtù ọnọ Ùkoà.
51. Ẹ nọn ọn mọ múpẹ ikùtù í pẹrá rin tín.
52. Kọn ọn mọlùn í pẹ ọ, lúlẹ Àró.
53. Ọkọ mi irá lílá ulé ọtún amogo ude mu'mi.
54. Ọkọ mi bọbúnrin sìdọsìdọ lodì.
55. Ọ tún jẹni tí ọ sùnọn gẹgẹlẹgẹ.
56. Í kọn ọn bá á ọojú mà a là, àfọmọ ao lí í jẹ bàà.
57. Aajọ ọ mọ kọolá o lẹs mi.
58. Ọ ni mọ mọ a kí ọ kọnlẹ.
59. Mọ mọ a kí ọ kọọnnọ.
60. Mà á kí ọ títí ya kọn'rópọ ọbúnrin kẹrogede.
61. Aajọ ọ mọ kọdún ọ lérè-ọpọpọ.
62. Mọ ọ yá mọlẹ agẹẹgẹ-mọ-yẹ.
63. Mọ ọ yá mọlẹ ajinginní bọdọdúró.
64. Ọọrọn rẹ jọ mi lójú ọ.
65. Uurúmọlẹ kọ mọ kọn í jíyọn líbẹs, kẹ ọ mùkọ lí
Láfíàjì.

CHANTER:

MADAM NỌỌỌLÁ

LOCATIONILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

45. It might be better he entered a medicine chamber and commit suicide.
46. I compliment you on these festivities.
47. Owner of the cold leaves that burn deep.
48. Good morning to all the Ọsọnyin in Aró's compound.
49. Waking up fine is to one a good sign of a happy morning.
50. My husband, whose family use the early morning bugle in Ọkoà.
51. As you are woken up in the morning with your own bugle.
52. You are also invited by the Ọba's crier in Aró's compound.
53. My husband, the great one in the house on the right, who uses a brass drinking cup.
54. My husband hates a filthy woman.
55. He reluctantly replies to the advances of an ugly one.
56. He says anyone who is regarded as civilized, must be an offspring of a medicine man.
57. I hail you, my Lord,
58. I shall praise you down to your ancestors.
59. I shall praise outside your home.
60. I shall praise you right into the room of a woman.
61. Have a happy festival, you python in the mud.
62. I seek refuge with the deity so elegantly poised,
63. I seek refuge with the deity as slim as a slender leaf.
64. I am impressed by your deeds.
65. Your deity, you eat pounded yams here, but take maize gruel in Láfiàji.

CHANTER: MADAM NOŌŌLÁ

LOCATION: ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

66. Ọ̀pòròn rẹ̀ jọ̀ mí lójúú ò.
67. Unun éleó i jẹ̀ ní mọ̀ jẹ̀ ò lérè apòpò.
68. Eléo i mu tíì, mọ̀ mùkọ̀ gbìgbónọ̀.
69. Unun ọ̀lọ̀lá i ẹ̀ ní mọ̀ ẹ̀ ò.
70. Kẹ̀ ẹ̀ i t'Ọ̀lúá kí mí baà tún yáá wá lílẹ̀ òkè ?
71. Mọ̀ mò ríbi kàarungbọ̀n mí tí dede gílírí,
72. Kó mogun ipò̀nùn i mùkọ̀ lẹ̀rìjọ̀ inú bí mí.
73. Ọ̀pòròn rẹ̀ jọ̀ mí lójú o.
74. Ọ̀mọ̀ umọ̀lẹ̀ ayò̀yò̀ ọ̀.
75. Ọ̀mọ̀ umọ̀lẹ̀ ajìgínní bọ̀dúró.
76. Èèdè rẹ̀ jọ̀ mí lójúu o.
77. Ijìngbìnjìngbìn apò̀pò̀ jón ọ̀n ríbi mọ̀sẹ̀
osùn délé Ijọ̀pa.
78. Èèdè rẹ̀ jọ̀ mí lójúu o.
79. Ọ̀mọ̀ umọ̀lẹ̀ ajò̀pò̀ ùyà mọ̀ bí.
80. Ẹ̀e ní mọ̀ kàà dàbọ̀nì kọ̀ ọ̀ mọ̀ i tún lẹ̀ lójú ògbèrò.
81. Èèyìn inì ọ̀ mu í ọ̀lẹ̀.
82. Èèyìn inì lo o kúkú mú í jáde ò.
83. Mọ̀ yá mọ̀lẹ̀ kó mò mèyèèyìn í rìn.
84. Mọ̀ jì tèmi sòro lẹ̀dọ̀ rẹ̀.
85. Mọ̀ jẹ̀ mí bọ̀n ọ̀n k'ónì ro ò.
86. Ọ̀nì k'ọ̀n ọ̀n bá tí mọ̀ lẹ̀rẹ̀kọ̀n, ọ̀n bá á tí mọ̀
tu mọ̀ ayé lí kúkú í ẹ̀.

CHANTER:

MADAM NỌỌỌLÁ

LOCATION:ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

66. I am impressed by your ways.
67. I also eat what the rich eat, you python in the mud.
68. The rich take tea, and I take hot maize-gruel.
69. I do what the renowned do.
70. But for Olúa, why would I have come thus far ?
71. I have seen my mates dash out,
72. To spend twenty pounds a day on food, and it annoys
me.
73. I am impressed by your deeds.
74. The deity clad in numerous broom-sticks.
75. The deity as slim as the slender leaf.
76. Your ways impress me.
77. The messy mud makes it impossible to return home
with the camwood make-up on the feet, in Ijopa.
78. Your ways impress me.
79. The deity who eats so many oil palmfruits without
vomiting.
80. The uninitiated wish you could stay longer.
81. 'Tis with backward steps that you enter.
82. 'Tis with backward steps that you make your exit.
83. I seek refuge with the deity who walks backwards.
84. May my problems not be difficult for you to solve.
85. Let me never cry 'Today is tough'.
86. One who has once been well-known, if he later
becomes unpopular, he is being hunted by ayé.¹²

¹² ayé - this word which literally means 'the world' is also metaphorically used for its people, especially the wicked.

CHANTER: MADAM NOŌŌLÁ

LOCATION: ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

87. Lémi tiká Ájínŋŋlálá èrin èyè.
88. Aají mọ mọ kọ̀dun o.
89. Aají mọ mọ kọ̀lálá o.
90. Èye èjirẹ̀ mẹ̀ i jọ̀gàrẹ̀, Itayé lolú gbẹ̀dọ̀ kẹ̀ ẹ̀ fẹ̀rọ̀n
ẹ̀dun barun.
91. Kete èye èjì kọ̀ ba rẹ̀dun ní mọ̀ gbẹ̀dọ̀ kẹ̀ ẹ̀ jẹ̀ron ẹ̀dun.
92. Ìn jare kẹ̀kẹ̀ mọ̀ mẹ̀ raká ẹ̀dun libẹ̀ mọ̀ mọ̀ yààgò libẹ̀.
93. Yẹ̀ sí kọ̀n yọ̀ọ̀ rákà ómiye rẹ̀ lẹ̀jà, koojú mọ̀ ro jinra
jinra jinra jinra ?
94. Aajọ̀ ọ̀ mọ̀ kọ̀lálá o.
95. Mí tu í y'úrú kí mǐ sí sẹ̀ se'bẹ̀,
96. Ọ̀rọ̀n èjì ọ̀n tika ó kúkú pọ̀n lójú mǐ.
97. Aají in mọ̀ kọ̀dún o.
98. Mọ̀ yá mọ̀lẹ̀ ajìngínní bọ̀dúró.
99. Mọ̀ yá mọ̀lẹ̀ ayọ̀dọ̀yọ̀ ọ̀ọ̀.
100. Urúmọ̀lẹ̀ meylín rín ní mé wí kọ̀n ọ̀n yá pàdẹ̀ un
lìjọ̀pa.
101. È sọ̀ní í dọ̀n mọ̀lẹ̀ mǐ mọ̀ dọ̀n ọ̀ lẹ́o mǐ.
102. È sọ̀ní í dọ̀n mọ̀lẹ̀ apààgugugẹ̀.
103. Mọ̀ yá mọ̀lẹ̀ ọ̀n mò l'òo ún.
104. Kàbọ̀ ọ̀ mọ̀ kọ̀n í mu kí mǐ yá sí ọ̀ lẹ̀ e sí ?
105. Èribọ̀ ọ̀ à kọ̀n í mu kí mǐ yá sí ọ̀ lẹ̀ e sí o ?
106. Ọ̀mọ̀ așoró gbí lẹ̀gbẹ̀lẹ̀gbẹ̀lẹ̀gbẹ̀lẹ̀ saò.

CHANTER: MADAM NOŌŌLÁ

LOCATION: ILŌGBŌ-ĒKĪTÌ

87. I, Ajinoŋŋlálá, the smiling beauty.
88. Compliments of the season to me.
89. Compliments of the season to me.
90. A mother of twins must not eat baboon meat, Itáyélolá
must never taste monkey-meat.
91. All mothers of twins, if they see the monkey, they
must not eat of its meat.
92. Of course I saw the arm of a monkey there, and I
walked away from there.
93. Who would see his relations' arm on sale in the
market and not feel sore.
94. I do hail you.
95. I no longer buy locust beans to cook my soup.
96. Twin children are very important to me.
97. Happy celebrations to you all.
98. I seek refuge with the deity as slim as a slender
leaf.
99. I seek refuge with the deity clad in numerous
broom-sticks.
100. The deity who walks backwards commands that we
meet him in Ijopa.
101. Since no one must test a deity, I do not wish to
test you my Lord.
102. No one tests the deity who dances stylishly.
103. I seek refuge with the deity for whom music is
made with animals' horns.
104. Where are you off to, that I may come with you?
105. Are you going to Eribo that I may accompany you?
106. Descendant of those who celebrate their clan
festival with lōgbōlōgbō¹³ in their plates.

¹³ lōgbōlōgbō - see Chapter 5, footnote 24.

CHANTER:

MADAM NỌỌỌLÁ

LOCATIONILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

107. Ọniyọ̀n kọ́ bá tí mọ́ m̀ùdì rẹ̀, ẹ́já n'ọ̀n ọ̀n ẹ́ í jẹ́ b́áá.
108. Ừọ obi àrílà ọ̀n mu í kọ́rí ừọ̀n-ọ̀n rẹ̀ kọ̀n ọ̀n bá
d'Ọ́yẹ́ Igbó.
109. Ọmọ ọ́lọ́yẹ kú moró ọ́sùpá rọ̀n tomitomi l'úlé Èrìbọ.
110. I jare kèèkè i kí mọ́ m'ijọ́ Gún-ùn rẹ̀ dà kọ́ ọ́
sákúlà sí mi lúlé Èrìbọ.
111. È ní mọ́ mọ́ dalè d'Èrìbọ tórí kí mi yọ́ọ rọ́bẹ́ ẹ́já
ẹ́ jẹ́.
112. Aasẹyiwa àsẹyinbọ, ọ̀n míyọ̀n ọ̀n Gún-ùn rọ̀n yọ̀n mí
lójú l'Èrìbọ.
113. Àmọ́ ẹ́ mọ́ kọ̀n á pẹ́ kí mi mọ́ rún'bẹ́ kọ̀n'ra ẹ́já igí
rọ́ lúgbègbè.
114. Aajọ́ ọ́ mọ́ k'ọ́ọ́lá o.
115. Ọmọ́ omi kọ̀n ọ̀n pààmù sẹ́ yèéé.
116. È lo o mò kú l'ààtíjọ́ ọ́mọ́ igí kọ̀n ọ̀n búlà búlà búlà
kó dèdè l'úlé Èrìbọ.
117. Iigí kí sẹ́ ọ́ kò o dèdè ?
118. I i tẹ́rutọ́mọ́ i là ún àlálìidabọ.
119. I i tẹ́rutọ́mọ́ i kún ún rọ́yin rọ́yin rọ́yin lúlé
Èrìbọ.
120. Ìkọ́lé lí mọ́ l'ẹ́kikọ̀n kí ín jì múbá'un ọ́sọ́ rọ́
í sí lúlé Èrìbọ.
121. Èdùmarè mọ́ mọ́ kàà kọ̀n jẹ́ ín múbá uddá rọ́ sùlé
dè mi láláláé.
122. È lo o mò kú lààtíjọ́ ọ́mọ́ olóşè lákòkò lúlé rẹ́.

CHANTER: MADAM NỌỌLÁ

LOCATION: ÌLÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

107. For those who may not know what that is, it is the name of a fish.
108. A complete pod of kolanuts is offered to your ancestors in Oyẹ.
109. Descendant of the Olọyẹ where the moon shines even in your waters in Eribò.
110. Please when your Gún-ùn festival has been fixed, send me a circular letter.
111. I came to find a lover in Eribò so that I could eat fish stew.
112. In the end, they tantalised me with their pounded yam at the Gún-ùn festival in Eribò.
113. Bad luck ! however, some day I'll have a piece of fish in my stew.
114. I do hail you.
115. Owner of the stream whose water bubbles as a pot is dipped in it.
116. It's a long time, owner of the stump which grows again into a tree after being split several times in Eribò.
117. Stump, why did you shoot up again ?
118. It says both the free-born and the slaves split it.
119. It says both freeborn and slaves mob it in Eribò.
120. Ìkòlé descendants, you have racks for your accessories in Eribò compound.
121. May the Lord prevent you from ever hanging up cutlasses for me.
122. I haven't seen you for a long time, owner of the baobab and the akòko¹⁴ trees in your home.

¹⁴ akòko: *Newboldia Laevis* (Bignoniaceae). The leaves are used at the appointment ceremonies of a new Chief.

CHANTER: MADAM NOŌŌLÁ

LOCATION: ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

123. Aakòòko ẹrẹẹkẹ ọn maká ọluọ rọn rọ í sí.

124. Ọmọ olúrú mọfà kẹ í létí Ọdú.

125. Èjì mọn kọn í jira ayé.

126. Èjù rẹ í jírà ọrun.

127. Èjì kó kù nọn ọdò omi sinringindin ní bá í rẹ.

128. Aají in mọ kọlálá o.

129. Ọmọ aṣọrọ gbaò ẹja tira.

130. Ọnìyọn kọ ba ti mọ mùdi rẹ ẹja ní í yá í jẹ báà.

131. Aají in mọ kọdún o.

132. Èèdùmarè lóke mọ mọ kaà kọn jẹ mi bó ọn jó
kòrìbobo o o.

CHANTER:

MADAM NOṢOLÁ

LOCATION:ILÓGBÒ-ÈKÌTÌ

123. The bulky akòko on which you hang the arms of
your sacrificial victims.
124. Descendant of those around whose Odu stream,
six wasps are seen flying.
125. Two of them fly low on earth.
126. Two others are of the heavens.
127. The remaining two, fly down-stream.
128. I hail you all.
129. Descendant of those who celebrate their clan
festival with dishes of prepared fish.
130. For those who may not know, it is a special type
of fish.
131. Compliments of the festivities to you all.
132. God prevent me from struggling in vain.

Appendix A4

CHANTER: MR. ÈKÉMODÉ

LOCATION: ÒSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

1. In mò ọra ò'modé Měşẹ.
2. Mo kí in tàgbà tàgbà.
3. Mo kí in tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe.
4. Aláakè lẹṣṣúwájú irá kufẹ i şìòrò orò lūfẹ.
5. Kete lòrò ịọn kìn in wàà lúgbọ ẹbọ,
6. In e şìòrò àkísà.
7. Abímọlémọ ni in in yee şe.
8. Olórí ọmodé ògébà mo jibà rẹ ẹ.
9. Ibà Akọda.
10. Ibà Aşẹdà.
11. Ibà Àràbà babà baba erío.
12. Ibà akọmọlífá ojúlàa mo jibà.
13. Mo jibà lule kí mi síì e ròde o.
14. Mo ti dọdọbálẹ lẹdọ alàgbà.
15. Mo morí balẹ lẹdọ ọni ko juni.
16. Ùgbẹẹ non ọn wí kí mi e rẹ.
17. Ọn ọun gbẹdọ sọn'ri mi.
18. O o o, kó lurú ki mọ báá şe kó kù deẹ.
19. Kìn in dáríjì mi ò o.
20. Kọ şì pákùn lí gbòrò lílá lóko lí líwẹ,

APPENDIX A4.

CHANTER:

MR. ÈKÉMODÉ

LOCATION:ÒSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

1. Hello, youths of Imèṣṣè.
2. I greet you not forgetting elders among you.
3. I greet you all including the young, the very young, the very very young ones.
4. Aláakè is the leader of all the Chief priests in Ifè.
5. All chief priests now present at the forest of sacrifice,
6. May you not wear rags.
7. May you be blessed with many children.
8. O youth leader, I give you my ibà.
9. I give ibà to Akódá.
10. I give ibà to Aṣèdà.
11. I give ibà to Àràbà the chief, the father of all initiates of the cults.
12. To the spirit who teaches Ifá to an initiate in his dreams, I give ibà.
13. I gave ibà at home before I came out.
14. I prostrated myself before the elders.
15. I paid obeisance to my superiors.
16. They all bade me farewell.
17. They gave me their blessings.
18. Whatever my shortcomings may be,
19. Do forgive me.
20. If a creeping plant grows wild on the farm at Iwè,

CHANTER:

MR. ÈKÉMODÉ

LOCATION:ÒSI-ÈKÌTÌ

21. È ẹ dáríjì 'kemodé.
22. Oyún-unnú ẹ ẹ sòròn-on,
23. Kọn ọn rókùn gbe dè.
24. Se non ẹ dáríjì mi.
25. Iṣinkinrín ẹ ẹ m̀gòròò,
26. Kọn ọn yé lẹ'jọ rẹ lịjọ keta.
27. Iun kọn ọn jẹ bí'ni ẹ gbèdò un'ni.
28. Ojúle ra non ọn mí m̀ẹsẹ sọjọ sí.
29. Emi lomo Ọbadù Aṣorẹ kẹ ẹ paja lówòlowò upara
ẹbọ.
30. Ìn mọ ọra ọ mọde m̀ẹsẹ.
31. Mo kí in tàgbà tàgbà.
32. Mo kí ni tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe tẹwe.
33. Ètò kà á fẹ se lénì,
34. Ètò pàtààkì ni mọ in o.
35. Lórí ọmọdé ọgébà kẹ i Lìjopa !
36. Lórí ọmọdé ọgébà ke i lònò Ùlógbò !
37. Olúkalùkù kẹ ẹ yá kirá ulé rẹ lílọ.
38. Kí ikete ròn sẹrun jẹ jẹ jẹ jẹ jẹ.
39. Ijọ kiiní líbeé lúgbò orò ọgbelẹ.
40. A gbọ wí irá kọn í tùtòkutò.
41. A gbọ wí irá kọn í sùsókúso.
42. On ẹròn kọn ọn í pa í jẹ lúgbò orò iBaba,

CHANTER:

MR. ÈKÉMODÉ

LOCATION:

ÒSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

21. It will forgive Èkémódé.
22. If a foetus commits an offence,
23. It cannot be punished by tying it with a rope.
24. They have to forgive me.
25. If weavils drink palm-wine from a gourd,
26. People don't meet to subject the weavils to
trial on the third day.
27. One's inheritance does not become one's stumbling
block.
28. Imèṣẹ originated in our home.
29. I am a descendant of the Ọbadù, the Aòrò who
kills the dog for sacrifice.
30. Hello, youths of Imèṣẹ.
31. I greet you, especially the elders among you.
32. I greet you, especially the young, the very young,
and the youngest ones.
33. The ceremony we are about to perform,
34. Is an important ceremony.
35. The youth leader from Ijopa !
36. The youth leader in Ilógbè !
37. Each one should warn his group.
38. That they should control their tongues.
39. The other day, here at the festival of the dry
season,
40. We heard that some people wagged their tongues.
41. We heard that some people said various things.
42. They complained that the quantity of meat eaten
at Father's festival,

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43. Ọn ọ fẹẹ pọ jù.
44. Bàà kọ̀rìṣà ún gbà'gbò kọ̀kọ̀n lẹ̀wọ ọmọ olòòmúrìn,
45. Unún ko ẹ í ọn ọ jù bàà,
46. Ẹ ní ẹ̀rọ̀n nọ̀n ọn mú í sọ̀n lẹ̀kítì.
47. Torí kọ bá ti lẹ̀ni kẹ́ í wá'mọ́ lúlu òdìkẹ́jì,
48. Kín in tibẹ́ kiyèsi ire ire;
49. Ko o relé ọlífá,
50. Ọlífá ni á í kẹ́ ẹ́ málùbáàsì sílẹ́.
51. Un un torí nọ̀n, ún un e reku un ẹ́ reja.
52. Kó o relé aaládùrà,
53. Ọn e wí kẹ́ e méó á.
54. Aládùrà ini a un ẹ́ yẹ ràbélà mejì,
55. Kún ún e yé mú ẹ̀tò ọ̀dọ̀n ọn rẹ́.
56. Kó ọ́ relé Alálùfáà kẹ́ í jọ́límọ́lẹ́,
57. Ọ́límọ́lẹ́ un á í kẹ́ e yé méó dẹ́ẹ́ í un.
58. A ún kọ̀n ọn ti méó kún un mú rẹ̀wọ́jà,
59. Kún un ẹ́ yẹ́ mú júsẹ́ rẹ́ un.
60. Ẹ́ sọ̀nì í ẹ́rú rẹ́ lẹ̀dọ̀ Ààtọ̀gùn.
61. Uumọ́lẹ́ kó ẹ́ ọni kẹ́ lásọ́.
62. Ọ̀rìṣà Íwẹ́ẹ ẹ̀n-ọ̀n lí í jẹ́ báà o.
63. Ọ́ ò umọ́lẹ́ kó ẹ́ ọni kẹ́ lásọ́.
64. Ọ̀rìṣà aba Èkémọ́dẹ́ tọ̀kúnrin.
65. Kọ́ ba ti pàdẹ́ ọ̀rìṣà kọ̀n kọ́ ẹ́gbẹ́ rùbùtù,

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43. Is too much (annually).
44. But were the deity to demand a ram each from some
of them,
45. That would be nothing, compared with what he
bestows on them.
46. But an animal is the article of thanksgiving
(to a deity) in Èkìtì.
47. For if in the next town, someone is praying for
a child,
48. Take careful note from here.
49. If she goes to an Ifá priest,
50. The Ifá priest will demand advance payment.
51. For buying rats and fishes.
52. If she goes to an Aládūrà,
53. She will be asked to pay some money.
54. The Aládūrà explaining that two candles need be
bought.
55. In order to present her case.
56. If she goes to an Àlùfáà, who is a Muslim,
57. The Muslim will demand some money.
58. The money to be spent on ingredients.
59. For presenting her case.
60. No one does all that at Àtògùn's.¹⁵
61. A deity who bestows gifts on his people ungrudgingly.
62. He is none other than the deity of Iwè.
63. The deity who bestows gifts on people ungrudgingly.
64. The deity of Èkémódé's father is magnanimous !
65. If you see a deity who is round,

¹⁵ Gifts are usually brought to Olúá/Àtògùn, only when a person is satisfied that his prayer has been answered. See 2.4.4.4.

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66. Kọ ba tóbi ké gùn jalẹ,
67. Ọrìṣà àbàà mi lí tó báà síṣe.
68. Torí ọni bá tí í k'gún ọ̀nìyọ̀n ké o sí kira rẹ,
69. Ó kú ùyà àrímọ̀kíkí.
70. Èmi lọmọ Ọbadù Àọrọ.
71. Kẹ ẹ pajá lówólowò upara ẹbọ.
72. Ọmọ ọká gbe gẹlẹgẹlẹ yi ọnú ebibu o.
73. Ọmọ ekòlò rín gbọdọgbọdọ ọlẹ.
74. Ọmọ sìnşinínringún kọ mùrín í sùsẹ o.
75. Ọmọ ọ̀kíríkírí bàtà ọni akọni amóri rogerege.
76. Ibà ni mi mẹ í jẹ.
77. Kọn ọn mọ tun pè mí lẹ̀níníkọn.
78. Ogede ùlù ọ́a ni mọ mọ lílù.
79. Mẹ yọ ẹ dẹlẹsínrín.
80. Ià ni mọsẹ í lù kọn ọn d'úgbó ọ̀rìṣà.
81. Ià ní mọ kọn í lu gbáḡongbáḡongbáḡon lúgbó àjẹ o.
82. Ià ní mọsẹ í lù kọn ọn dúgbó Ọ̀dío.
83. O o o.
84. Ọlúá í lọ mọ yọọ ba lọ o.
85. O o o.
86. Ọrọgọdọ balẹ ta jiàjiàjiàjià.
87. Ooní ni mọ orò agọnyin ẹbọ o.

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66. If the deity is huge, but only a few feet above
the ground.
67. He is my father's deity.
68. For whoever renders the praises of twenty other
clans before his own clan's praises,
69. Is ignorant of clan praises.
70. I am a descendant of Obadù Aòrò,
71. Who kills the dog for sacrifice.
72. The viper crawls stealthily into the dust.
73. The earthworm moves supplely into the earth.
74. A family of the gínṣinṣinrìngún with delicately
elegant steps.
75. The short and plumpy one with a moderate head.
76. I am trying to give the ibà.
77. Let no one call me names.
78. All I can do is beat drums.
79. I do not want trouble.
80. We are the ones who beat drums with our feet in
the deity's forest.
81. We, beat mixed sounds in the witches' grove.
82. We, beat the drums with our feet in 'His Majesty's'
grove.
83. Alas, Alas !
84. Olúá is leaving, but I cannot go with him.
85. Alas, Alas !
86. Òrògòdò¹⁶ steps on the floor and staggers.
87. Today is the festival of 'Agonyin ebo'.¹⁷

¹⁶ Òrògòdò - See p.157 of this work.

¹⁷ Agonyin ebo - a deity, on whom it is better to depend,
than the offering of sacrifices.

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88. Ọrọ̀gọ̀dọ̀ kẹ́ í rín nínú ọ̀ú kàṣà kàṣà kàṣà kàṣà.
 89. Ọlọ̀rún Ìwẹ̀ bọ́ ba í lọ, mọ́ mu mi mọ́nì.
 90. Àláfia lọ ọ yá dé bá mi lẹ̀kò ẹ̀rẹ̀múrín.
 91. Bẹ̀ẹ̀ lọ ọ sẹ́ ọ dé bá mi lẹ̀kò ẹ̀mọ̀dún.
 92. Tọ̀mọ̀dé tàgbà kó mé tú í líbẹ́.
 93. Mọ́ mọ́ jibà ikete rín-in-in.
 94. Kọ̀n ọ̀n bá tí pídẹ̀rẹ̀gbẹ̀ kọ̀n ọ̀n rábá inú rẹ̀ líbẹ̀.
 95. Ibeé la ẹ́ bá gbogbo rín lẹ̀kò ẹ̀mọ̀dún.
 96. Kọ̀n ọ̀n ba tí sẹ̀yìn lẹ̀kù kọ́ bá tí líá sínú,
 97. Emi rọ̀n lí tu í a lẹ̀kò ẹ̀rẹ̀múrín.
 98. Ọ̀n mọ̀kún i díróró kẹ́ e mọ́ tú nù.
 99. Kete ra la ẹ́ bọ́ lẹ́ ọ́ tá.
 100. Ọ̀mọ́ méjì ibàrà kí í sẹ́ í dī lókún toko á sígboro.
 101. Baba lórí ọ̀mọ́ lógě̀bà!

Ológě̀bà: Mọ́ jẹ́ ọ́ lújẹ̀kúnrin.

102. Emí tí yẹ̀ lóún ríra o.
 103. Ọ̀rọ̀n mi tí kọ̀bọ́ lẹ̀rọ̀n àsọ̀nù.
 104. E lí yẹ́ kí mi mákòwẹ̀ kọ̀n tíra e yóde.
 105. Kọ́ lúru kíi mọ́ báá sọ́ lúgbọ́ orò.
 106. Kọ̀n ọ̀n ẹ́ sọ́ sínú ìwẹ́ o.
 107. Kọ̀n ọ̀n wí báá lẹ̀ékémodé wí lúgbọ́ orò àábá rẹ̀.

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88. Orògòdò, the deity who matches through a cotton farm.
89. The deity of Iwò, as you leave, don't take me with you.
90. I shall be hale and hearty when you return next time.
91. You'll find me in that state when you return next year.
92. To both old and young here present,
93. I give ibà to all.
94. Since every slaughtered goat has a spleen,
95. You will all be here next year.
96. Since in the process of extracting oil from palm-fruits, materials for torches are made from the pericarp,
97. I shall participate with others in the next festival.
98. The òróró¹⁸ cannot be tied with a rope.
99. We will all be saved from our enemies.
100. No one can successfully take home from the farm, two pieces of water melon tied with a rope.
101. Leader of the youths.
- Ológěbà: I respond like a man.¹⁹
102. Mine is no longer a humming performance.
103. I do not waste words.
104. It's high time I took a secretary out with me.
105. So that my performances during festivals,
106. He could record on paper.
107. As a record of what Èkémódé says during his 'father's' festival.

¹⁸ òróró - Èkìtì-Yorùbá word for bàrà, water melon, grown for its melon seeds.

¹⁹ This response was made in the ordinary style of speech, hence it is not numbered among the lines of the chants.

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108. Èn èn yoo o.
109. Itòn lĩ í yèdi ọròn.
110. Ọn m'ọmọđé débi orò o òun akin.
111. Un un káre.
112. Ẹ agbàlagbà kó mú débi orò ni rí ọ̀ọ̀mùgò líbẹ ?
113. Ọrọ mọ sọ líbẹ́ dábọ̀we lójú ọ̀gbẹ̀ere.
114. Inú ni in mọ̀ọ̀ròn-ọ̀n nì í ye e sí lẹ̀kọ̀ẹ̀kọ̀n.
115. Iré ni mo fẹ́ẹ́ ẹ.
116. Mẹ fẹ̀ròn lẹ̀ọ̀nọ̀ngbọ̀n fífà.
117. Iré nọ̀n ọ̀n jí í ẹ lájùlé itia.
118. Baba lórí ọ̀mọ lúlogbò !
119. Aláayẹ rẹ ó dúkù mi nísinyin ni.
120. O kọ̀ọ̀dún,
121. O kú ùyèdún o.
122. O ẹ ọ̀ọ̀dún ni.
123. O ẹ ẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀múrìn.
124. Ọ̀dún kọ̀n ọ̀n bá tí r'óbì n'ọ̀n ọ̀n í ye r'ẹ̀ùsá.
125. Ọ̀ra baba lórí ọ̀mọ lóde Òsì !
126. Ọ̀mọ Aláayẹ Arinlélú.
127. Ọ̀mọ asígboò girigiri yọ̀dẹ.
128. O o o.
129. In jàre in mọ k'Arinlélú kẹ ẹ tọ'gọ iyọ.
130. Kẹ ẹ tọ sọ̀ọ̀ọ̀ mi o.

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108. O hes, oh yes,
109. A lot of evidence is hidden in history.
110. You take a child to a festival, and he claims to
be brave.
111. He even cheers himself.
112. Is the elder whom he accompanies then the fool ?
113. What I have said earlier sounds metaphorical to
the uninitiated.
114. But you should keep each point in your mind.
115. I am here to perform.
116. I don't enjoy looking for trouble.
117. In my home we always play and make merry.
118. Youth leader in Ilógbò !
119. I fully understand and accept your explanation.
120. I compliment you on the festivities.
121. And compliments of the season.
122. You will enjoy this year's festival.
123. You will be present for the next.
124. Any year when the kola nuts grow, the 'awùsá²⁰
also does.
125. Hello, father of youths in Òsì !
126. Descendant of the Aláayè Arinlélú.
127. Descendant of those who rush to the forest.
128. Yes, yes, yes,
129. Please greet the Arinlélú and ask him to drop
some salt.
130. To drop it on my palm.

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LOCATION:ÒSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

131. Ọmọ umọlẹ mejì kẹ í jó búùrí.
132. Mọ yá mọlẹ amùtì sẹkúsẹkú.
133. Mọ yá' mọlẹ kọ mà' rọn tẹlẹ í jó líjọpa.
134. Íjọpa ní lí í rí í rí bíí káfútèèní ọ̀dọ̀ ọ̀tógùn.
135. Ilógbò lí rí í rí bẹẹ̀díkọ̀tá ikete ra porogodo.
136. Irá kọ kù sẹyìn kọn ọ̀n ọ̀ jólú ùlú lẹ̀tẹ̀tẹ̀.

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MR. ÈKEMODÉ

LOCATION:ÒSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

131. Descendant of those who own the deity who dances
like the ùrì bird.
132. I seek refuge with the deity whose steps are short.
133. I seek refuge with the deity who spreads velvet
material on his dance ground in Ijopa.
134. One can say that Ijopa is the captain of all the
towns who worship Àtogùn.
135. And Ilógbò is the headquarters for all.
136. The other towns can stand as individual worship-
centres.

Appendix A5

CHANTER: MADAM BÓYÈDÉ DÀDÀ

LOCATION: ÙSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

1. Oòrí ayé kete mọ mọ mibà ọrọn mi sùn.
2. Ibà ní mọ mọ kọn á jẹ kẹ ẹ yọ́ yá mi a lẹ o o o.
3. Ọ̀rọ́wáátakílẹ́ mọ mọ mibà mi sùn.
4. Èyée Bááwiyin mọ mọ mibàa mi sùn.
5. Ibà àkókótin ọmọdé i kerùkù alèdè.
6. Jíjì lo o mò jí ire ni ọmọ umọlẹ́ kọ rìn
korokoro sẹgun ún.
7. Ààkókóniko ọdọ ọrìsà ọmọ arúnyinrunyin f'epo
yọrun ò.
8. O o sẹ ọ rọra'mọlẹ́ arínlélú o.
9. O o sẹ o rọra'mọlẹ́ kọ mọlólò pọ̀n.
10. Ugbo olóde lo ó í ree kàbòomi eriru ni i ?
11. Jíjì lo o mò jí ire ni.
12. Òkè úle ria ke e jùgun-un,
13. À a wọdoro a a si i.
14. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ró wii.
15. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ró bí ilibon ò.
16. Mo riyè lé ọ bí ọní mọsun ẹ̀ẹ̀rùmẹ̀rẹ̀ dugbẹ.
17. Sẹ ni mo riyèlẹ ọ kọ ọ mọ tọn mi ọrọn ẹ̀tọn
kẹ sunon.
18. Mi kọ ọ báá ti mọ tọn mi imí á kò mí.
19. Kakarígbáda ọkùnrin o o o.

APPENDIX A 5.

CHANTER:

MADAM BÓYEDÉ DÀDÀ

LOCATION:ÙSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

1. I give ibà to the orí of all.
2. I shall give ibà so that I may move quickly on
(with my chants).
3. To Ọ̀pẹ̀wàtakilẹ̀ I give ibà.
4. To B́áawiyín's mother, I give ibà.
5. To the conviction that a child cannot gather all
the sand in a family compound, I give ibà.
6. Good morning to you, deity who walks briskly into
victory.
7. The strong one with òrìṣà (God) who eats palm-
fruits and cleans his mouth with palm-oil.
8. You are welcome, Arínlélú's deity.
9. You are welcome, the deity with a stammerer's
style.
10. Are you off to Olóde forest or Erírù stream?
11. Good morning to you.
12. If our hill is difficult to climb,
13. We'll pull one another up it.
14. Owner of the pile of palm-branches that drop with
a noisy sound.
15. Owner of the pile of palm-branches that sound
like the report of a gun.
16. I rely on you like one who plants a piece of
roasted èrùmèrè ²¹ yam.
17. I rely on you so don't deceive me, it is not
right to deceive.
18. If you don't deceive me, I'll be invigorated.
19. The mysterious man !

²¹ èrùmèrè - a tuber, similar to the coco-yam, used
mainly in the production of medicinal herbs.

CHANTER:

MADAM BÓYÈDÉ DÀDA

LOCATION:ÙSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

20. O o sẹ ọ rọra'mọlẹ Arinlélú o o.
21. Ọmọ ọlósùn isòhnbẹ kọn ọn mu í kun'jú àtiríjọpa
ria ọ.
22. Ugbá osùn maà o di r'Úmògún ljànọ mọjọ ?
23. Ayé iyọ lo ọ gbé leọọọọ mi ọ.
24. Mo ríyele ọ kọ ọ mọ tọn miii jẹ.
25. Èsù áye kéte í jòkó t'Àró mò geṣi líjànọ.
26. Ọmọ 'ọlọọ ikàrà ọurọ o.
27. Ọọ ikàrà sẹ mi lẹrun yọyọyọ oko ria à.
28. Ọọsin pọn kọni mọ rìn ukọrọ ọnọ inIwọ.
29. Ọoní ti rìn níbẹ ọni ẹbọra ni.
30. Ùwọ laàgbágbá mùdi yẹgi.
31. Abewé. jèèèrẹjẹrẹ ọ.
32. Jíjì lo o mò jí ire ni.
33. Ọmọ olóo àlùmọlẹ.
34. Ọmọ umọlẹ ọn mò lẹo iun nọdà nọdà nọdà nọdà nọdà.
35. Ọọrọwaatakilẹ ọ mò jí ire e.
36. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ró wí.
37. Ọmọ elékù imọ kẹ í ró bí iiiiibọn ọ.
38. Ọmọ ọlósùn isòhnbẹ ọn mọ e mú í kun'jú àtiríjọpa ria ọ.

CHANTER:

MADAM BÓYÈDÉ DÀDÀ

LOCATION:ÙSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

20. You are welcome, Arinlélu's deity.
21. Owner of the brightly coloured camwood used for
adorning the face before the trip to cur Ijopa.
22. Are you taking my own calabash of camwood to
Unògún in Ijànò quarters ?
23. Give me a life-time spiced with salt.
24. I rely on you, so don't deceive me.
25. Other people's Eṣu are seated on the ground, but
Aró's is seated on horseback in Ijànò.
26. Owner of the numerous bean cakes of the early
morning.
27. Numerous bean cakes which make my mouth water on
our farm.
28. It is noon, and no one may walk about in Iwè.
29. Whoever dares becomes the deity's captive.
30. You are the Agbàgbà whose roots are thick.
31. Whose leaves are pretty.
32. Good morning to you.
33. Owner of the horns knocked on the ground (to
provide music).
34. Deity whose dance music is produced from animals'
horns.
35. Ọ̀pọ̀wàtakilẹ̀, good morning to you.
36. Owner of the bundle of palm branches that fall
making a loud noise.
37. Owner of the bundle of palm branches that sound
like the report of a gun.
38. Owner of the brightly coloured camwood used for
adorning the face before the trip to Ijopa.

CHANTER: MADAM BÓYÈDÉ DÀDA

LOCATION: ÙSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

39. Ugbá osùn maà ò dí r'Úmògun Ijànò mọjọ ?
40. Ayé iyọ lo ò gbe lẹ́ọ́ọ́ mi ò.
41. Kẹkẹrígbẹ̀dẹ ọkúnrin ò o.
42. Ò ò sẹ ọ rọra'mọlẹ kó mólólò pòùn.
43. Ò ò sẹ ọ rọra'mọlẹ kó mò mòùn j'agbe lúlẹ lókè
lòrò.
44. Jíjì lo o mò jí ire nì.
45. Ọmọ ààdégígún sọ́ọ ọpá rilọrilọ ò.
46. Eegígún ulé ùbaà mí sòro íò.
47. Ọgbèrè kọ mò a ọyá úle ríá é mò a miyá rẹ ọla o.

CHANTER: MADAM BÓYÈDÉ DÀDA

LOCATION: ŪSÌ-ÈKÌTÌ

39. Are you taking my own calabash of camwood to
Umògún in Ijànò quarters ?
40. Give me a life time spiced with salt.
41. The mysterious man !
42. You are welcome, deity with the stammerer's style
of speech.
43. You are welcome, deity with a voice like the
Blue Touraco's at home on Iòrò hill.
44. Good morning to you.
45. Descendant of those at whose masquerade festival
long cudgels are waved around.
46. It is dangerous to watch the masquerade in my
father's house perform.
47. The non-initiate who looks beyond the palm-frond
curtains in our home today, shall not recognise
his mother tomorrow.²²

²² It is believed that whoever goes beyond his bounds
is not likely to see the following day.

APPENDIX BDATA COLLECTING METHODOLOGY

As soon as some initiates of the Qlúa cult found out that the preliminary recordings of ùjaamèsè chants were meant for research, the author experienced a lot of hardship and setback from the devotees of Qlúa who still cherish the secrecy surrounding their cult, and the deity. Therefore, if anyone wishes to ask too many questions about the cult, they do not take it kindly, worse still if the researcher is a female.

In order to be able to continue with the work however, the author had to convince Councillors, Chiefs, Qbas and leaders of the cult that the emphasis of this study is on Poetry, not Religion. Her pleadings were strongly supported by a few good Samaritans among the cult members, and enlightened leaders of the Communities.

When permission to carry on was finally given, as it were by majority vote, she used the following methods for collecting more materials for the relevant data:

- (a) Attendance at festivals;
- (b) Tape recording of chants;
- and (c) Interviews:

- (i) Within the five villages under study,

and (ii) Outside the area, but in those other parts of Yorubaland where tradition says some people worship Olúa.

Interviews in the area of study were carried out both by the author and some colleagues and friends who volunteered to act as 'Research Assistants'. In the other area, the interviews were carried out during visits by the author.

Some of the people interviewed had fears of being reprimanded by cult leaders, and so did not allow a tape-recording of their interviews. Others allowed the researcher to tape-record the information they gave. Some of the chanters who gave life performances refused to give their names and/or addresses.

APPENDIX CINDEX OF PRINCIPAL CHANTERS AND INFORMANTS

NAME OF CHANTER	ADDRESS	PLACE OF RECORDING	DATE OF RECORDING
1. Madam Oláyemí Ògúnfolájà	(Not given)	Òsi-Ekìtì	15/3/71
2. Madam Foláyegbè Amírè	Ilé Odíyílèkà Òsi-Ekìtì	Òsi	15/3/71
3. Mr. Michael Olúwátólà	(Not given)	Òsi	15/3/71
4. Mr. Egbébi	(Not given)	Òsi	15/3/71
5. Mr. Bíbílẹ̀mọ̀ Ajáyí	Ilé Ajíbóyè Isao Street, Òsi	Òsi	29/4/71
6. Female chanter	Ilé Ugboḍun Òsi-Ekìtì	Òsi	29/4/71
7. Mr. Yẹú Urù-Ekùn	Ilé Osólò Okè Ọjà, Ìlógbò Ekìtì.	Ìlógbò- Ekìtì.	29/4/71
8. Mr. Akin Òtiko	Ilé Abálú, Ìlógbò-Ekìtì	Ìlógbò	29/4/71
9. Madam Kékeréyè Balógun	Ilé Èrọ̀, Oḍò Ode Street, Ìlógbò-Ekìtì	Ìlógbò	29/4/71
10. Madam Npólá alias Eye Èjì	(Not given)	Ìlógbò	29/4/71
11. Madam Adémikéyè Àgbéjọ̀bi (R.I.P.)	Ilé Odi Olówó Ìyẹ̀dì, Ìlógbò- Ekìtì.	Ìlógbò- Ekìtì.	29/4/71
12. Chief Dàda Adéoyè The Òbròèfún	Ilé Èfún, Okè Ọjà, Ìlógbò	-	15/8/77
13. Madam Ubíyọ̀njú Adéléyè	Ulé Olú, Igbólé- Ekìtì	Igbólé	15/8/77
14. Ilésanmí Alónḡé	Ilé Èmílà, Òsi-Ekìtì	Igbólé	15/8/77
15. Mr. Àlàbá Àgbéréulé	Ilé Onígẹ̀mọ̀ Òsi Ekìtì	Igbólé	15/8/77

NAME OF CHANTER	ADDRESS	PLACE OF RECORDING	DATE OF RECORDING
16. Mr. Olúbóbadé Aládélúà	Ilé Aláun, Òsì-Èkìtì	Igbólé	15/8/77
17. Mr. Aláoyè Ọlótín alias Alága	Ilé Ọlótín, Ìlógbò-Èkìtì.	Igbólé	15/8/77
18. Mr. Èkémọdé	Òsì-Èkìtì	Ìlógbò	Aug. 1977
19. Mr. Kayọde Àíná	Ilé Àbálúàré, Ìlógbò-Èkìtì	Ìlógbò	Aug. 1977
20. Madam Bóyèdé Dàda	Ilé Àbásàjìyọ̀n Ụsì-Èkìtì	Ụsì-Èkìtì	1979
21. Madam Dàda II	Ilé Èdẹmọ, Ụsì	Ụsì-Èkìtì	1979
22. Àkọlìjù's Group	Ìdó-Èkìtì	Ìdó-Èkìtì	1979

PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

NAME OF INFORMANT/ INTERVIEWEE	ADDRESS	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1. Chief Ọlátóyè Ọníẹpẹ The Àbálógẹ̀bà of Ìlógbò	Ilé Ìyẹ̀dì, Ìlógbò-Èkìtì	Ìlógbò- Èkìtì	7-8/2/78; 19-21/3/78; 23-25/5/78; 21-25/8/78; and 7/1/79.
2. The Àbálógẹ̀bà of Òsì-Èkìtì	Òsì-Èkìtì	Òsì- Èkìtì	21/8/77, 20/3/78; 24/8/78 and 7/1/79.
3. Chief Joseph Ọlatínrìn, The Àbá Láyẹ̀ of Òsì	Ilé Aláayẹ̀, Òsì-Èkìtì	Òsì- Èkìtì	23-24/5/78 and 24/8/78.
4. Chief Dàda Adóoyè	Ilé Èfún, Ọkẹ Ọjà, Ìlógbò	Ìlógbò- Èkìtì	19/3/78 and 25/8/78.

NAME OF INFORMANT/ INTERVIEWEE	ADDRESS	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW
5. Mr. Ijàòtù Ọ́gínní Ọ́mọ Ọ́lúá	Ilé Ọ́lúá, Odo Ọ́do, Ilógbò	Ilógbò- Èkítì	23/5/78, & 25/8/78.
6. Chief Igbálájobí The Olúlogbò*	Ilógbò Quarters, Igèdè-Èkítì.	Igèdè- Èkítì	8/2/78, 18/3/78 and 24/8/78.
7. Madam Florence Ọ́nì	Ilé Ọ́lúá, Ọ́kè Ọ́lúá, Igbàrà-Odo	Igbàrà-Odo	18/3/78, 24/5/78 21/8/78.
8. Professor James Ọ́ladípupọ́ Adéjùwọ́n	Department of Geography, Faculty of Social Sciences, Univer- sity of Ifẹ	Ilé-Ifẹ	22/5/78
9. Madam Abigail Adéjùwọ́n	Ilé Ọ́balórọ́ Igbàrà-Odo	Igbàrà-Odo	24/5/78
10. Chief Ọ́sóbùkólá, The Atàruwà of Igbàrà-Odo.	Ilé Atàruwà, Ọ́gótún Road, Igbàrà-Odo	Igbàrà-Odo	18/3/78
11. Ọ́ba Adeniran Ọ́lámọ́dì II, The Ọ́wá of Ọ́tan- Ayégbajú	The Ààfín, Ọ́tan-Ayégbajú	Ọ́tan- Ayégbajú	4/12/77 & 22/12/79.
12. Mr. Ọ́bídhùnmádé Adémúyíwá Baba Isàlẹ́ Onísọ̀npọ̀nná	Ilé Sòókò Wáníkú Ọ́gbọ̀n Èyíndì, Ilé-Ifẹ.	Ilé-Ifẹ	9/2/78
13. Madam Mọ́tọ́ládé Ọ́bídiréppọ́ Iyalode Onísọ̀npọ̀nná	Ilé Olórìsà, Lafogídò, Ilé- Ifẹ.	Ilé-Ifẹ	9/2/78
14. Mr. Jímọ́pọ́ Ọ́mọ̀nbe Ọ́mọ́lẹ́yìn Onísọ̀npọ̀nná	Ilé Adàgbá Ilé-Ifẹ	Ilé-Ifẹ	9/2/78
15. Mr. Joseph C. Kọlawọ́le	Ilé Ọ́gbéyọ́, Ilógbò-Èkítì	Lagos	5/7/77
16. Mr. Mákànjúplá Àìná	Ilé Ọ́rìsà Ìmìlà, Ilógbò-Èkítì	Lagos	5/7/77
17. Mr. Michael Ọ́latunji Adébáyọ́	Ilé Ènurin Ilógbò-Èkítì.	Lagos	5/7/77.

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