

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF VOWEL LENGTHENING IN YORÙBÁ


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This study, which is descriptive, discusses the phenomenon of vowel lengthening in Yorùbá vis-à-vis social interactions among the Yorùbá language speakers. The data used were drawn from participant observations, some Yorùbá textbooks, interviews and recorded utterances. In the study I argue that vowel lengthening in Yorùbá lexical items is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that may elicit various meanings and that the various meanings which include directives, discontentment or disappointment, complements, compassion, denial, emphasis, surprise, summons, affirmative, familiarity, condolence, echo and sorrow can only be properly understood in the context of an utterance. The findings also show that it is not only the knowledge of grammar that underlies the concept of communicative competence but the knowledge of grammar vis-à-vis culture.

Cette étude, qui est descriptive, traite le phénomène de l'allongement de voyelle en Yoruba vis-à-vis des interactions sociales entre les locuteurs de langue Yoruba. Les données utilisées sont tirées des observations des participants, des manuels Yoruba, des interviews et des conversations enregistrées. Dans l'étude, je soutiens que l'allongement vocalique dans le lexique Yoruba est un phénomène sociolinguistique qui pourrait susciter divers sens et que les différentes significations qui comprennent des directives, de mécontentement ou de déception, des salutations, de la compassion, le rejet, l'insistance, la surprise, la citation, l'affirmation, la familiarité, la condoléance, l'écho et le mécontentement ne peut être correctement compris que dans le contexte d'un énoncé. Les résultats montrent aussi que ce n'est pas seulement la connaissance de la grammaire qui sous-tend la notion de compétence communicative, mais la connaissance de la grammaire vis-à-vis de la culture.

0. INTRODUCTION

Information from the Yorùbá grammar books used for the teaching and learning of the Yorùbá language shows that the Yorùbá lexical items or words can be divided into some groups (see Crowther 1852, Bowen 1858, Delano 1965, Bamgbos  e 1965, 1967, 1990, Awobuluyi 1978). The groups are:

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1. | V-type | ẹ 'you (pl)' ọ 'you (sg)' |
| 2. | CV | wá 'come', lọ 'go' |
| 3. | VCV | èmi 'I', adé 'crown' |
| 4. | CVV | bé  è  'yes' |
| 5. | VVCV | oògùn 'medicine' |
| 6. | CVCV | dùdù 'fried yam' |
| 7. | VCVCV | ọkùnrin 'male person' |
| 8. | CVCVCV | kó  kó  ró  'key' |
| 9. | VCVCVCV | àgbàlagbà 'old person' |

However, the focus of the Yorùbá grammar books is not on vowel lengthening. Therefore none of the researchers or grammarians has shown that the vowel that is used as a word or that occurs initially or finally in Yorùbá words can be lengthened. For example, èèèmi 'I', èmiiii 'I', lọọọ 'go' or A rí ọọọ 'We saw you (sg)'. The only research work which shows that the vowel that occurs finally in any Yorùbá personal name or the vowels of any bisyllabic Yorùbá personal name can be lengthened for love, echo, caution and praise is the one carried out by the present writer in Ikotun

(2010: 187-190). For example, he says **Olúwáfé** **miii**, **Fé** **é** **é** **miii** or **Fé** **é** **é** **mi**. In this paper, I want to continue the discussion of vowel lengthening in Yorùbá. Although, in some Yorùbá dialects such as Òwò, vowel lengthening is used for grammatical purposes like focus construction, in this paper I will not be concerned with grammatical functions. I will only focus on the social functions of vowel lengthening. I will examine how speakers of Yorùbá lengthen vowels in Yorùbá lexical items and show that vowel lengthening in Yorùbá lexical items may elicit various meanings and that the various meanings which include directives, discontentment or disappointment, complements, compassion, denial, emphasis, surprise, summons, affirmative, echo and sorrow can only be properly understood in the context of an utterance.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Studies conducted on language use in social interactions have shown the importance of sociological factors as factors which help to reflect the true language situation in any community. The study conducted by Brown and Gilman (1968:254-255) recognises social status, physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family as factors on which choice of pronouns and rules of speech acts are based. The credence given to these sociological factors helps Brown and Gilman (1968:258-259) to draw a distinction between the social functions of the second person singular pronouns *tu* and *vous* among the French language users. Although the two pronouns are singular, the use of the pronoun *vous* carries a mark of deference when used in social interactions. However, the study does not tell us whether there are occasions when the use of the pronoun *vous* can reflect some other intentions apart from the factors of deference, solidarity and power.

Discussing language etiquette among the Javanese people, Geertz (1968:282-283) observes that choice of word or language is contingent on status and familiarity. Geertz argues that there are three approaches to language use and they are determined by status such as high, mid and low. According to the study, the use of the three approaches and honorifics shows class distinction or social stratification. We can say that it is not impossible to discover occasions where further research works may show that there are other occasions where the use of any of the honorifics may show other intentions. In this paper, we will determine how social factors of directives, age, position, familiarity, denial, emphasis, discontentment or disappointment, sorrow, complements, compassion, surprise, summons, affirmative, condolence and echo influence vowel lengthening in Yorùbá in social interactions among the Yorùbá language speakers. We shall also show that there is no rule that determines the number of times a speaker can have a vowel lengthened in Yorùbá words in sociolinguistic interactions.

2. DATA COLLECTION

This study is descriptive and the method used for collecting the data was an informal method. This involved audio recording of spontaneous utterances by a number of Yorùbá language speakers. The data collected through the informal method is the speaker's or speakers' vernacular that can be regarded as natural as well as unguided usage. Second, we considered the use of Yorùbá in the advertisement of religious programmes in electronic media in the Southwestern part of Nigeria where Yorùbá is dominant. Third, data from some Yorùbá drama books written by Ajewole (1986:42), Ladipo (1970) and Eṣo-Olubo (2003) were also considered. This is because the data drawn from drama books also show natural language use in society.

3. VOWEL LENGTHENING IN YORÙBÁ

Yorùbá, like any other language, has words which belong to different grammatical categories. They include nouns, verbs, pronouns and pronominals to mention a few. As already shown in the introductory section of this paper, the Yorùbá words may be summarised as CV, VCV or V types. However, it is not every vowel in the language that can be lengthened. For example, Yorùbá verbs are consonant initial and they are in three categories. The first category comprises verbs that are monosyllabic. For example; **wá** ‘come’, **lo** ‘go’ and **gbe** ‘carry’. The second category consists of verbs that are bisyllabic. For example **raso** ‘buy cloth’, **wole** ‘enter’ and **gbomo** ‘carry a child’. The polysyllabic verbs such as **téwo** ‘stretch out your hand to receive a crown’ and **gbadúra** ‘pray’ belong to the third category. The vowel that occurs finally in any of the Yorùbá verbs whether monosyllabic, bisyllabic or polysyllabic can be lengthened. For example; **wááá**, **looo**, **gbeee**, **rasooo**, **téwo** and **gbadééé** and **gbadúrààà**.

In addition, the pronouns in the Yorùbá language are monosyllabic in nature and they are in two categories. The first category comprises pronouns that can occur in the subject position. They include **mo** ‘1st person sg’, **a** ‘1st person pl’, **o** ‘2nd person sg’, **e** ‘2nd person pl’, **ó** ‘3rd person sg’, and **wón** ‘3rd person pl’. The second category consists of pronouns which occur in the object position. They are **mi** ‘1st person sg’, **wa** ‘1st person pl’, **e** or **o** ‘2nd person sg’, **yín** ‘2nd person pl’, the vowel of the verb used can be duplicated to serve as the third person singular pronoun in the object position and **wo** ‘3rd person pl’. Pronouns such as **mi**, **(r)e**, **(r)è**, **yín** and **wo** can also serve as pronoun qualifiers. In the Yorùbá language only pronouns or the vowels of the pronouns in the object position can be lengthened. For example, **oooo**, **eeee**, **miii**, **woonoono**.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of vowel lengthening can be observed in Yorùbá pronominals such as **èmi** ‘I or me’ **iwo** ‘you (sg)’, **òun** ‘he/she (sg)’, **àwa** ‘we’ **àwo** ‘they’ and **e** **yin** ‘you (pl)’. The first vowel of any of the pronominals can be lengthened. For example, **èèmi**, **iiwo**, **òòun**, **ààawa**, **ààwo**, **èèèè** **yin**. The second vowel can also be lengthened. For example, **èmiii**, **iwooo**, **òununun**, **àwaaa**, **àwoonoono**, **èèèèèè** **yininin**.

Similarly, nouns in the Yorùbá language are in two categories. The first category consists of nouns which are vowel initial and vowel final. For example, **omi** ‘water’, **Olorun** ‘God’ and **obè** ‘soup’. The second category comprises nouns which are consonant initial and vowel final. For example, **Kàkàkí** ‘trumpet’ **tanganran** ‘breakable plates’. The vowel that occurs initially or finally in the first group and finally in the second group can be lengthened. For example, **Oolorun** or **Olorununun** ‘God’, **Kàkàkííí** ‘trumpet’.

The loan-words in the Yorùbá language which are from other languages especially English are also in two groups. There are some loan-words which are used in replacement of Yorùbá personal names. Some of the loan-words are **mekaniki** ‘mechanic’, **télò** ‘tailor’, **siamaanu** ‘chairman’ and **diréfa** ‘driver’. The other loan-words which are not used in replacement of Yorùbá personal names are **buredi** ‘bread’, **bulóòkù** ‘block’ and **biléèdi** ‘blade’ to mention a few. The vowel that occurs finally in any of the loan-words can be lengthened. For example, **mekanikiìì**, **siamaanuùù**, **buréèèè**, **buléèèèèè**.

4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS OF VOWEL LENGTHENING

Vowel lengthening is a socio-linguistic phenomenon that is common in the speech or utterances of Yorùbá language speakers. It is used to express sociolinguistic functions such as affirmative, directive, command, summon, emphasis, echo, question, denial, discontentment, disappointment, bad behaviour, calamity, sorrow, sympathy and surprise. The data and the discussions are categorised into different sections and they are as follows:

4.1 AFFIRMATIVE

In Yorùbá, vowel lengthening, when used, can serve as evidence of affirmative in discourse. For example, the lengthening of vowel *e* in *he* as in *he* *ne* *ne* of the word *he* *ne* 'yes' in the recorded utterance below is used as affirmative in discourse between interlocutors as opposed to *hé* *nhè* *n* or *hùnhun*. This form of language use can be from older people to younger people and from younger people to older people.

- (1) (i) *Addressee: ...Sé kì í se ibi Trust Bank?* 'Is it not where Trust Bank is?'
 (ii) *Speaker: He* *ne* *ne* *n* 'Yes.'

This lengthening also suggests that the speaker is now happy with the addressee who has now shown sufficient knowledge of the instruction the speaker has long been passing.

4.2 DIRECTIVE/COMMAND/SUMMON

Command, directive and summon, depending on the verb and the social situation or context, are factors that can influence vowel lengthening in Yorùbá verbs. For example, the lengthening of vowel *o* in line 6 *Ó tóóóóó!* / Silence in the extract from Ladipo (1970:29) below shows a command.

- (2) a. *(Tìmì yo o fa rè pè lú igberaga ati iwuri nireti a ti s eGbò nkàà bí o s e s e*

ns e ojú. Àwo n ará E de dúnro tì í le hìn; nwo n sè nwú u lóri.)

Ará E de: ...Tafàa re siGbò nkàà o.

Bí bé è kó o, a o sègbé o!

Ogun òní o: ogun re pe te!

Gbò nkàà: Ó tóóóóó!

Mo ní koriko táa báá já ní o wó ò tún...

(Tìmì ta o fa titi s ùgbó n o fa ati igèdè ati oògùn tiGbò nkàà nsà ké lé ké lé kò je ki o fà bà á. Nike hinGbò nkàà pe o fò lu Tìmì; pe lu iyanu Tìmì sùn lo fo nfo nGbò nkàà si pase ki á gbe e lo si O yo ni didè pe lu okùn.)

- (2) b. Translation

(Tìmì pulls out his arrow with pride and confidence, hoping to teachGbò nkàà a lesson he will never forget. The townspeople stand by praising him.)

Townspeople: ...Shoot your arrows atGbò nkàà,

Lest we be lost!

Today's battle: a terrible battle!

Gbò nkáà: Silence...!

I say the herb which we put in the right hand...

(Timì shoots his arrows continuously but the incantations and charms which Gbò nkáà recites quietly prevent the arrows from hitting him. At last, Gbò nkáà recites incantations against Timì; with surprise, Timì falls into a sound sleep, and Gbò nkáà orders him to be tied up with rope and carried to Oyo.)

The lengthening of vowel **o** in line 6 is an example of command expressed in a direct way and it is a command meant to cower down the praise-singers of his opponent in the duel.

The lengthening of vowel **o** as in the example **lo** below is also an example of command.

(3) **Lo** 'go' → **looo**

The lengthening of vowel **o** could be influenced by differences and similarities in age and position. In other words, the lengthening could only be from an older person to a younger person or from one colleague to another who are of the same age and status especially if there is intimacy or familiarity between them. The other deduction that can be made from the lengthening of the vowel **o** in **lo** 'go' is: It can mean that the addressee is moving from one place to another and there is an obstacle along the road and the speaker is commanding the addressee to disregard the obstacle so that the addressee can continue his or her movement. It is also possible to lengthen the vowel **o** as a form of address if one's movement is impeded by another person.

Among those who speak the Yorùbá language, the lengthening of a vowel of a verb as a form of summons from children to parents is not the case. If a child needs the attention of his father or mother, the child could lengthen the vowel of the pronoun qualifier **mi** in addition to the adoption of **bàbá** 'father' or **iyá** 'mother'. For example,

(4) **Bàbá miii**

4.3 EMPHASIS/ECHO/SURPRISE/CAUTION

In some cases also, vowel lengthening in verbs can be for emphasis, echo, surprise and caution. For example, the lengthening of final vowel **à** in **gbàdùrà** 'pray' as in **Gbàdùrààà** in the recorded utterance below could be influenced by the position or role of the addresser in the church. The pragmatic function of the lengthening is an emphasis which urges the addressees to pray.

(5) (i) *Pastor:* **O ó wá gbóhun sókè pé kí gbogbo isòro re kí O lórun bá e ségun.**

You (pl) will raise your voice that God should help you solve all your problems.

(ii) *Addressees(A):* Yes.

(iii) *Addressees(B):* **Olúwa**

Lord.

(iv) *Pastor:* **Ò tá ilé, ò tá òde.**

Enemies within and enemies without.

(v) *Addressees:* Yes.

- (vi) *Pastor:* **Amo□nis□eni, afàìmo□nis□eni kí Oluwa bá e□ s□é□gun.**
Known and unknown enemies that the Lord should help you conquer them.
- (vii) *Addressees:* Yes
- (viii) *Pastor:* **Gbàdúrààà** ‘Pray!’

The lengthening can also suggest that the addressees who are in a Church or a revival have many problems and that only powerful prayers or prayers filled with emotions can bring divine solutions.

The lengthening of vowel **ε**, the second person singular pronoun in the object position in the sentence below shows that the addressee's attention has since been required.

- (6) *Speaker:* **Fé□mi, wó□□n n̄ pè é□é□é□**
Fé□mi, they/he/she (pl) is calling you (sg) since.
Fé□mi, you are called ‘in case you did not hear’.

The reciprocal use of the second person singular pronoun which is lengthened is possible between an older person and a younger person. However, while the choice of the lengthened **ε** by an older person for a younger person shows differences in age and possibly position, the choice of the lengthened **ε** by a younger person for an old person is evidence of familiarity and disrespect. This is because, in the Yorùbá language if the pronoun **ε** occurs in the subject position and it is used to refer to a person the use will show deference because it is a plural pronoun. But, if it is used in the object position, the use does not show deference because it has become a singular pronoun.

Furthermore, the factor of echo can be responsible for the lengthening of vowel **ĩ** in **yín** in the recorded utterance below.

- (7) *Speaker:* **Ta lo nis□u yii?** ‘Who is the owner of this yam?’
Addressee: **Is□u yin** ‘Your (pl) yam.’
Speaker: **Ki lo so□?** ‘What did you say?’
Addressee: **Mo ní is□u yínínín** ‘I said your(pl) yam.’

However, when any of the final vowels of any of the pronoun qualifiers or pronominals is lengthened it will show that the two interactants are far apart. For example,

- (8) *Speaker:* **Ta ló lowó orí table?** ‘Who owns the money on the table?’
Addressee: **Èmi** ‘I or me.’
Speaker: **Kí lo so□□?** ‘What did you say?’
Addressee: **Èmiii** ‘I or me.’

The lengthening of the final vowel **i** in **Emi** shows the addressee's concerted effort to pass information to the speaker. The lengthening of the final vowel also helps to remove the ambiguity that may arise in the determination of the addressee's identity. The factors of echo and emphasis can be responsible for the lengthening of the vowel or word **o** in the object position. For example,

- (9) *Speaker:* **Mo rí o□ ooo** ‘I saw you (sg).’

The first possible deduction from the sentence is that the addressee is an offender, may be a thief who is running away for fear of identification. The second, arising from the

first is that the speaker is sure of the addressee's identity and any attempt on the part of the addressee to run away will be an exercise in futility. Another possible deduction is that the lengthening of vowel **o** may be a trick by the speaker to track down the addressee whose identity is not known.

The vowel that occurs initially in any noun, when lengthened, can serve as an expression of surprise. For example, **ooowó** 'money'. On the other hand, if the final vowel of a noun is lengthened especially if the noun refers to a human being, depending on the context, it may show that the addressee has committed an offence. For example; **Ìyàwóóó** 'wife'. A man that is being persuaded to marry a second wife may adopt this language use to express surprise and refusal. The lengthening may also serve as evidence of echo so that she will hear that she is being called or that what the wife has said is not true.

The lengthening of vowel **ù** as in **síámaanùùù** 'chairman' in the recorded utterance below as well as the lengthening of the final vowel of any of the loan-words that can be used in replacement of the Yorùbá personal names can be an expression of surprise and caution at the addressee's behaviour or choice of word.

(10) (i) *Chairman*:...**Síágbón àwo n ará Odòofun ò dibò fún wa lèyí tá a se kojá**

...But the people of Odòofun area did not vote for us in the previous election.

(ii) *A party member*: **Síámaanùù!**

This lengthening can also mean that the claim the chairman is making is not true. In the example above, the lengthening of vowel **ù** here could be from a younger person to an older person or from an older person to a younger person irrespective of the addressee's position, status and wealth. On the other hand, the word **síámaanù** can be shortened to **síá** and the final vowel lengthened. For example, **síáàà**. However, this form of language use shows acceptability and love.

The lengthening of the final vowel of any of the other loan words would be an expression of something done in error. For example,

(11) *Speaker*: **Síolá, ra búré di wá** 'Síolá, go and buy bread.'

If the speaker says **búré di** 'bread' the lengthening of vowel **i** shows emphasis and it would mean that the addressee who has been sent to buy bread has bought something else and the addressee has been asked to go back to buy bread. This language use can only be from an older person to a younger person. This may also happen if the hearer did not hear what the speaker said in the first instance. Thus we can have **Ra kí ni?** 'Buy what?'. **Búré di** 'bread'.

4.4 A QUESTION/DENIAL/DISAPPOINTMENT/DISCONTENTMENT

Any of the factors of question, denial, disappointment or discontentment can influence the lengthening of the initial vowel of any of the pronominals. For example; the vowel [è] which occurs initially in the word **èmi** in line 5 can be lengthened as in the word **èèmi** 'I or me' to show a question or denial. The extract is taken from Ajewole (1986: 42).

(12) a. *Ògún mókùn*: **Ó dáa, dúró ná. (Ó gbé ò pèl è janlè pài)**

Áà! iwo nisó náà ní rùn lára rè,

Èká Méjì ló tún yo sanngèle-sànn gèlè yì.
 Ó yá, yáa máa jé wó, máa kà bí e ni s è s è gbàjé.
 Ògèdèn gbé: (Ó lanu pò ngilà sokè, kò le è pa á dé fún igbà pípé)
 Èèèmi?
 Ògúnmókùn: Ìwo ni, iwo ni, odù tí fi ó hàn gedegbe...

b. (Translation)

Ògúnmókùn: It is alright, wait a minute. (He puts the divination instrument on the floor)

Ah! You are the person to be suspected.

This is Eka Meji that has appeared.

Now, you have to tell the truth start to narrate everything as a witch does.

Ògèdèn gbé: (He opened his mouth and he could not close it for a long time)
 Myself?

Ògúnmókùn: You are, you are, the Ifa corpus has revealed you...

When this is the case, the speaker is saying that a lie has been told against him or her or that the speaker has been wrongly accused by the addressee.

The vowel è can also be lengthened to show disappointment and discontentment as in the extract in line 2 below (see E s o -Olubo ro de, 2003:56).

(13) a. Àyíndé: S é, s é, s é èmi lo sò rò sí báun. (Ó bínú jáde) Mojèrè. (Ó yí ojú sí Adùké) S é o rí ohun tó mó re s e. Èèèmi... Wà láà tàláà...

b. (Translation)

Àyíndé: Am I the one you addressed? Mojèrè, Mojèrè, Mojèrè (He turned to Adùké). Have you seen what your child did? Myself? True to God.

The reasons for the lengthening of vowel è in èmi can also influence the lengthening of any of the initial vowels of the pronominals.

4.5 EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY IN TIMES OF CALAMITY OR SORROW

Vowel lengthening can serve as an expression of sympathy in times of calamity or sorrow. For example; in a response to the greeting in the recorded utterance below, the factor of sorrow or calamity may serve as a basis for vowel lengthening in the verbs below.

(14) Speaker: E pè lé é é
 You (pl) are greeted.

Addressee: Àwa nìyíí
 Here we are or we (instead of I) have heard.

We can have three deductions from this greeting. First, it may be that there is a calamity in the community in which the speaker and the addressee live and that both are not directly affected. However, the example shows that the two interlocutors share the concern of those affected in the community. The two interlocutors may be of the same age or status or that the initiator of the greeting is older either in terms of age or status. Second, it may mean that the addressee is bereaved and the speaker is

condoling the addressee. The addressee's reaction shows evidence of a moment of sorrow.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have shown how vowels can be lengthened in Yorùbá lexical items or words. It has also been shown that vowel lengthening is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that is used for different communicative purposes among the Yorùbá language speakers. For example, depending on the word and context, some of the communicative purposes include directives, discontentment or disappointment, complements, compassion, denial, emphasis, surprise, summons, affirmative, familiarity, condolence, echo and sorrow.

Furthermore, the lengthening of the final vowel of some of the loan-words in the Yorùbá language may be an indication of an error committed by the addressee as well as an order on the addressee to effect the necessary corrections. The study has shown that vowel lengthening is sometimes influenced by social factors such as age, position, status, relationship and familiarity. We have also pointed out that vowel lengthening can be for greater emphasis or echo for various communicative purposes in social interactions. In addition, the findings of this study show that it is not the knowledge of grammar that underlies the concept of communicative competence but the knowledge of grammar vis-à-vis culture.

ENDNOTES

1. The phenomenon of vowel lengthening can also be observed in Ga, English and French languages to mention a few. In Ga, when a speaker says **ya a a** from the verb **ya** 'go', the speaker is saying that the addressee is sluggish. Ga is one of the languages spoken in Accra and some parts of the Eastern region of Ghana.
2. In English and French languages, when a speaker says **coome!** [**kaaam**] in English or **vienenen** from **vien** in French, it will mean an expression of urgency, necessity or that the speaker is in serious danger and the speaker wants the addressee to come quickly for a great help or remedy. In English and French languages, the reciprocal use of vowel lengthening in words from older people to younger people, younger people to older people is possible. In English, also, when a football commentator says **It is a gooooooal**, the lengthening of vowel **o** may show the commentator's bias in favour of the team that has scored and on the part of the spectators, it is evidence of joy and happiness. Similarly, the factors of position and responsibility may make a football coach to lengthen the vowel **u**: in 'move' [**mu:v**]. This shows that the coach is not happy with the members of his or her team for their performance. The coach wants the team to go for goals so that the team can be victorious when the final whistle is blown.
3. Among the educated parents and children or elderly ones and younger ones the consonant **j** which is realised as **i** which occurs finally in 'daddy' (father) and 'mummy' (mother) can be lengthened by Yorùbá speakers of English especially children or younger ones as a form of summons for parents or elderly ones when they are in danger. For example,

Daddyyy or **Dádiì** Mummyyy or **Mómiì**

However, the nativised forms **Dádiì** and **Mómiì** are also used by the literate and illiterate speakers of Yorùbá as summons as well as honorific forms of address not only for the older but also for the younger the speaker holds in high esteem.

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