# CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF MARKET EXCHANGES IN YORUBA LAND

**BY**

**IBRAHIM JULIET OLUFUNKE (MRS)**

**AUGUST, 2012**

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**IBRAHIM JULIET OLUFUNKE (MRS)**

**(BA, MA ILORIN)**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY ZARIA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LITERARY STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA.**

**AUGUST , 2012**

## DECLARATION

I declare that the work in the thesis entitled 'Conversation Analysis of Market Exchanges in Yoruba Land' has been performed by me in the department of English and Literary Studies under the supervision of Professor Gbenga Solomon Ibileye, Professor A.A Joshua and Doctor (Mrs.) S. Frank-Akale. The information derived from the Literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at any University.

| Ibrahim Juliet Olufunke | _____ | _____ |
|---|---|---|
| Name of student | Signature | Date |

## CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF MARKET EXCHANGES IN YORUBA LAND by Ibrahim Juliet Olufunke meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of doctor of philosophy (PhD) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and Literary presentation.

_____ _____

Professor Gbenga Solomon Ibileye
Major Supervisor Date

_____ _____

Professor A.A Joshua
Member, Supervisory Committee Date

_____ _____

Dr. (Mrs.) Frank-Akale
Member, Supervisory Committee Date

_____ _____

Dr. A.A Liman
Head, Department of English and Literary Studies. Date

_____ _____

Profssor A.A Joshua
Dean, Postgraduate School Date

## DEDICATION

To God Almighty who has given me the undeserved gift of abundant life

And

My mother Madam Alice Iyenola Medaiyese- Abiyomo lijo gbogbo.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Except the Lord builds the house the labourer labours
but in vain. The Lord He is that makes a way where there
seems to be no way. The Lord He is, that parted the Red
Sea for his children to pass through. You are! You are!
You are the Most High God.

He indeed has helped me. He has done this through the instrumentality of so many people who I shall endeavour to acknowledge here.

I must first thank my able Professor and Supervisor, Professor Gbenga Solomon Ibileye for his concern and untiring personal efforts daily to make this work a success. You have not only helped to make academic research a pleasurable exercise but have also broken the traditional barriers of supervisor-supervisee relationship. Your type is rare. To Professor A.A Joshua and Dr. (Mrs) Frank-Akale, my minor supervisors, am grateful for their immeasurable contributions. Professor Marietu Tenuche, (DVC Administration, Kogi State University, Anyigba), you are a wonderful friend in need.

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And to HIM, again, Who has made all things good in HIS time I sing: You are worthy to be glorified You are worthy oh Lord You are worthy to be glorified you are worthy.

**ABSTRACT**

Bargaining procedure is an important aspect of market transaction whereby prices of goods are determined. From these interactions, some kinds of patterns emerged but which have not been accorded enough studious attention. However, there have been some related works on language attitude in market transaction in a typical Yoruba town and the structure of Yoruba local drug advertisement with focus on 'attention orientation'. To date, no work seems to have focused specifically on the structure of market exchanges in Yoruba land. This work therefore is an analysis of the structure of market exchanges in Yoruba land. It studied transactions on some selected goods such as: textile materials, foodstuff, soup ingredients and domestic animals. Interactants on these goods include male buyers/female sellers and female sellers/female buyers. Among them are familiar and unfamiliar participants. Markets used are located in the six state capitals of the core Yoruba speaking states of Akure, Ado, Oshogbo, Ibadan, Idumota and Abeokuta. The study adopts an eclectic model approach to language study to capture both the social and structural aspects of conversations among people from all walks of life in Nigeria. The data analysis shows that the cooperation enjoyed by participants helps in structuring discourse in market situations and enables participants to adhere strictly to the rule of turn taking. This adherence prevents frequent interruptions and overlaps. Participants also listen to current speakers to understand and interpret utterances correctly. This attention works for the high percentage of 'preferred' responses over 'dispreferred' responses in the data. It is finally noted that despite abrupt termination of some transactions, exchanges in markets are structured and organized as most have beginnings, middles and endings. The paper ends by showing the linguistic and social relevance of its findings and how these can be used, if adopted, to promote social understanding among Nigerians.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces us to what the topic of the study is all about.The Chapter harmonizes the background to the study, the objectives of the study, the research problems, the research questions, justification of the study, the scope and delilimitation of the study and the significance of the study.

## 1.1 Background of the Study

The presence and functions of markets in almost every town and village in Yoruba land attests to the important role it plays in the economy of our society. A market is a place where people interact through buying and selling of goods like food items, clothing materials to mention some that help to ease human existence. Most towns and villages have market days when business transactions take place daily or five days intervals. Besides, stalls are erected in the market place and businesses are transacted in the open place. In some large towns, there are permanent architectural structures erected to serve as retail and wholesale markets too.

Because of the ease with which markets are established by people, they are found everywhere in Nigeria, Yoruba land inclusive. Its importance in helping to

sustain and maintain lives makes it essential to communities, individuals and even governments. These same roles explain the reason behind the prompt attention governments at all levels give to any market that is destroyed by natural disaster or even by willful actions.

Witzel (2003:159) believes that 'a market is a geographical or other defined area in which there exists a number of potential customers for products or services or as the largely invisible mechanism by which goods and services is traded between buyers and sellers'. Webster( 2003:780) is of the opinion that ,'market is a place where merchandise is exposed for sale, specifically, an open space or a large building in a town or designated positions occupied by different dealers'. On his own part, Goetz (2005:858-59) sees market as a means by which the exchange of goods and services takes place as a result of buyers and sellers being in contact with each other, either directly or through mediating agents or institutions or through telephone and telex links.A synthesis of the above arguments produces a workable definition for this work. Market according to the researcher could therefore be defined as a place where people come in contact in an open air to buy or sell goods (services excluded here)

There are different types of markets as recorded by Samuelson and Nardhaus (2005). These include international markets where dealers from all over the world buy and sell through direct contact or through telephone and telex. There are also

financial markets where shares, securities, government bonds and currencies change hand through organized stock markets or foreign exchange markets (185). Labour market is also a type of market and the 'consumer goods' or 'final product' market forms another type (185). The unique aspect of markets is the coming together of the buyers and sellers with their goods and sevices for price determination.

Price determination in these markets is a major problem in transactions and one glaring fact is that, sellers and buyers are always working towards a goal, that is, agreeable prices. Bargaining procedure is very important in market transactions. It often starts from the buyer who wants to find out the price range to know whether he or she is capable of buying the materials. After the price is mentioned, haggling starts. This haggling may end up either satisfactorily or otherwise.

In a market situation, Hanson (1977:160) identifies two methods of determining price namely: selling by 'auction' and selling by 'haggling'. The haggling method of determining price applies to consumer goods like: foodstuff, textile materials, household goods and domestic animals. Moreso, sellers mark their goods at definite prices and buyers come to bargain. If the prices are affordable, the goods are sold, otherwise sales will slack, as customers would only come, bargain and go away.The above arguments are relevant to marketing situation in Yoruba land. From these interactions however, a unique aspect of

communication pattern emerges and becomes imperative but this has not been accorded enough attention.

A tool for interaction and for expressing one's feelings, ideas and desires in Yoruba market is language. However, some obstacles to effective communication are identified such as 'polarized thinking' and absent indexing that can distort organization of reality. Another obstacle is caused by ambiguity, where a message contains one meaning for the speaker and another for the receiver (Osborn & Motley,1999 :32). This last barrier to communication also features in conversation in market transaction, where most of the seller's feelings are expressed in indirectness thereby leading to ambiguity. Examples of these are found in the transactions below:

| | **Yoruba** | **English** |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | Buyer: E lo nisu? | How much is the yam? |
| | Seller: Apo meta | ₦600 |
| | Buyer: Apo kan nko? | What of ₦200? |
| | Seller: Wa gbe e | Come and carry it |

This response in actual sense does not mean the seller has agreed to sell the yam for two hundred naira. Thus, the expression *'wa gbe e'* that is "come and carry it" is an indirect way of saying the buyer should go away. This type of indirect speech is common among native Yoruba speakers. If this intending buyer is not a

native speaker of Yoruba, he/she would not get the message that, it is not in affirmative but in negative so as to just move away.

Another example could be:

| | **Yoruba** | **English** |
|---|---|---|
| (b) | Buyer: E lo nisu yi? | How much is this yam? |
| | Seller: Won ti ra. | They are bought already. |

Actually, the yams might not have been bought but probably because the seller noticed the intending buyer as one who is fond of pricing without buying; she has to find a way of sending the customer away unhurt. So the real intention of the seller here is not to sell to the intending buyer.There is yet another example:

| | **Yoruba** | **English** |
|---|---|---|
| (c) | Buyer: E lo le ta eja yi? | How much do you sell this fish? |
| | Seller: Apo meji | ₦400 |
| | Buyer: Se o gba muri marun? | Can you sell for ₦100? |
| | Seller: Eleja o si niso . | The owner is not around. |

The seller is indeed around, it is just that she is most probably displeased with the price offered by the buyer and she does not want the customer to proceed in her bargaining so as not to provoke the disguised seller the more. It is observed that discourse in market transaction is full of indirect statements. The meanings of expressions like these therefore are best studied in relation to the culture of the speaker because according to Hudson, the properties of language are the properties of culture. Moreover , since the purpose of transaction is to achieve the desired

goal, this research work is put up to uncover how information in this speech event is structurally organized to achieve the desired goal.

It is arguably true that many business transactions in Yoruba land have failed because of inappropriate use of language for transaction and many have succeeded because the language used is suitable. This study therefore carries out a conversation analysis of market business exchanges especially within the Yoruba community to map out what the structure of exchanges looks like.

The market situation under this study is seen as a speech community – a heterogeneous speech community where the dominant language is Yoruba. All the same, there are sellers and even buyers that have some degree of competence in English or Pidgin. This is what facilitates code-mixing and code-switching in the trading process. Participants in market transactions are therefore able to interact well but still, individual's present and previous experiences are still reflected in their use of language. Linguistic choice in these markets that is, linguistic items are therefore determined by the different kinds of situations and behaviour being experienced by either sellers or buyers.

**Language use in market transaction in Yoruba land**

Market discourse is an important sphere of human interaction because, much interaction takes place in markets as a result of bargaining. The situation is not the same in the western world where price tags placed on goods in departmental shops

or supermarkets do the talk to the potential buyers (no haggling). The focus of this work is the open market in Yoruba land where people (buyers and sellers) come in contact to determine the price at which goods are sold or bought through serious bargaining exercise.

The tool for interaction and for expressing one's feelings, ideas, thoughts and desires in these markets as earlier stated is language. It is also used to categorise experiences in different contexts such as in market context. Language, Ogunsiji (2001) says, can be seen as a facilitator or hindrance to transactions. Okolo (1999) also comments that language can make one desire to have what one does not have, if effectively used. It can exert powerful control over people's thoughts and actions and make one do things that one would otherwise never think of doing.

Crystal (1999) observes that, the study of verbal language has not been properly addressed because of the people's general belief that every human being can use language in any situation without difficulty, more so that language grows with man. For this fact, it is concluded in some quarters that there was no need to study something (language) which can be taken so much for granted. But suddenly, the need to study this natural human activity (language) arose when people became aware of how their own language features were misunderstood and how they also found other people's language features unusual.l

The knowledge of how language works Coulthard (1977) notes will avert serious trouble that misunderstanding and misinterpretation of utterance in our day-to-day interactions can cause. The need to make communication successful therefore was what prompted the response of the earlier grammarians to the study of language. This study of speech by grammarians like Bloomfield, Chomsky and Sapir has a long-standing history.

Chomsky (1968) for instance, gives credence to speaker/hearer linguistic competence without reference to why one utterance might be appropriate to a particular situation but not to another that is, communicative competence. He is also against the use of corpus of data from spontaneous utterances as a basis for linguistic analysis becuase a corpus always contains a list of errors, which he calls performance errors such as false start, ellipsis and memory limitation (Ibileye, 1994). Bloomfield and Coulthard on their own part put more emphasis on the study of form rather than the study of meaning because they believe that meaning is elusive and therefore cannot be defined.

Later it was discovered by linguists such as Austin, Searle and Bach and Harnish quoted in Adegbija (1989) that 'language functions' or 'communicative aspects' were not emphasized. That is, the context within which utterances are made and the relationship between users of language, which should provide ground for effective interpretation of utterance, had not been given adequate consideration.

Firth had already established the fact that language could only be meaningful when it is considered in its context of situation: that is, the prevailing situation features that surround an utterance. That is, a linguistic utterance will only have its meaning as a result of its being read against the backdrop of a social context.This is why Malinowsky in Olateju (1998) proposes that a text should be placed in its living environment because, any adequate description of any kind of linguistic interaction in any kind of conversational exchange, both the cultural and the history behind the participants are important. It is this ‘‘fitting’’ into a social context according to Ibileye (1994) that will eliminate other possible meanings.

The concern of this study is on exchange in market situation, which provides a fertile ground for the display of both linguistic and non-linguistic communication strategies to organize conversation and produce a structure. The market is chosen because it is where naturally occurring language in a social context can be studied and where data will genuinely be representative of significant patterning between language and context.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The purpose of transaction in trade and commerce in market situation is to arrive at an agreement by the parties involved through effective communication. The ability to use language effectively ‘requires more than just acquiring some

grammar and vocabulary. 'It involves competence to suit the language to the situation, the participants and the purpose of the speech' (Ibrahim, 2006: 125).

It has been observed that there exists some haggling patterns in market transactions, in Yoruba land which contemporary linguists appear to have ignored but which is important in bussiness negotiation. This has to do with how most often, topics are merely initiated by hagglers, not developed and when developed, they are not terminated either by linguistic or non-linguistic markers. This abrupt termination of topics, which appears tolerated by the natives may be a source of problem that can hinder the smooth transfer of information by the non-natives especially.

Inspired through observation by this prevailing social condition in market exchanges in Yoruba land, this work is sets forth to identify the structure of this peculiar way of communication pattern. This need arises because of the emerging complex sociolinguistics pattern of Yoruba land which was otherwise assumed monolingual set-up but which the influx of non-indigenes into the community has made multilingual. As a result, the abrupt termination of communication which natives are used to may create problems to non-indigenes and this may lead to ''misfiring'' (misuse of language). This can in turn affect transactions negatively. This type of misunderstanding in language use, which is part of transaction, as each party pursues his/her interest has prevented many from successful transactions, even when the purchasing power (money) is there and the items needed are available everywhere in the markets.

Buyers' inability to arrive at sellers' intention or understand the prevailing socio-cultural beliefs of the area have made several t ransactions to collapse. Successful transactions in the market situation require appropriateness of

language to the circumstances within which it is to be used. It is in the light of this that this study is set forth to examine the structure of this conversation to map out a conversation structure that will be 'universally'known to both the natives and the non-native buyers and sellers in Yoruba land to enhance communication so that both groups can communicate effectively. Moreso, the non-speakers of Yoruba language will no longer fall victims of the language pattern found in Yoruba markets.

### 1.3 Research Questions

The research questions are meant to serve as a basis for empirical analysis of the relationship between the structure of discourse in market transaction and

the degree of success in communication.

**I** what are the unique nuances of the conversation structure in the market situation in Yoruba land in terms of elements like turn-taking, transition and adjacency pairs?

**II** To what extent do non-linguistic signs affect the structure of exchange in the Yoruba market context?

**III** How does the context of environment influence language use and meaning in Yoruba market transaction?

**1V** What are the factors responsible for the range of linguistic items employed by interlocutors in the market transaction?

**V** To what extent does politeness as a conversation strategy influence the structure of transaction in market situation?

**VI** What are the means used to ensure cooperation in market transactions?

## 1.4 Aim & Objectives

The general aim of this work is to critically carry out a conversation analysis of market transaction exchanges in Yoruba land with a view of determining its nature, its pattern and its structure. Other objectives are given below:

**I** To investigate and map-out the unique exchange structure in market situation under study so as to bring out its nuances in terms of elements like turn-taking, transition, adjacency pairs and sequences.

**II** To study the impact of non-linguistic signs on the structure of discourse in market transaction

**III** To determine the relevance of context in the interpretation of language use in market situation

**IV** To determine factors responsible for the range of linguistic items employed by interlocutors in market situation

**V** To determine the influence of politeness strategy on exchange structure in market situation.

**VI** To determine the strategy that ensures cooperation in market exchanges.

## 1.5 Justification of the study

Two related works to this research topic are discovered in the process of gathering materials for the work. These include Ogunsiji's (2001) 'A Sociolnguistic study of the Language in Market Transaction' and Michel's 'The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica'. The former focuses on language attitude in market transaction in a Yoruba town – Ibadan. The work, which is approached from a socio-linguistic perspective, reveals essentially how a seller's attitude conditions his/her language use, factors that determine a seller's choice of language and the effect of this choice on the degree of sale-ability of goods.

What differentiates this present work from Ogunsiji's majorly is in their scope. Ogunsiji is in the realm of socio-linguistics, whereas this work is on conversation analysis. Ogunsiji focuses on a single town in Yoruba land – Ibadan but this work cuts across the length and breadth of the core Yoruba speaking states. This gives the work a wider coverage than the existing literature on the act of buying and selling in Yoruba land. Ogunsiji observes some social differentiations like age, sex, social status and educational background as determinants of language use but this work examines the various mechanisms employed by interactants to ensure cooperation in transactions. Unlike Ogunsiji's, this study observes that the shared socio-cultural background and past experiences are the principal

determining factors responsible for the choice of language use rather than age or social status.

Mitchel's work studies the language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica. The work makes a linguistic survey of market situation and the focus is on the functions of language in a market transaction. Rather than focusing on the functions of language in this situation as emphasized by Mitchel, this study examines those strategies used for coordinating transactions in market. It also examines the appropriateness of language to business situations.In this work, both the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours that combine to structure conversation in market transaction are also examined. This study further offers a systematic account of the structure of discourse in market transactions in Yoruba land.

The present study is embarked upon, as there seems to be no work of this nature to the researcher's best knowledge that has focused specifically on the analysis of the structure of conversation in market transactions in Yoruba land. Findings from the research work and recommendations will contribute to existing knowledge in pragmatics, semiotics and situational linguistics. It is hoped that this study will also enrich the existing literature on market discourse. Similarly, research findings from the work can be replicated in similar bilingual/multilingual or second language environments.

## 1.6 Scope and Delimitation of the study

In this study, investigation is limited to the identification and analysis of both the linguistic and non-linguistic signs employed to coordinate discourse in market transactions in Yoruba land. The study also examines those factors that promote cooperative environment, mutual understanding and facilitate successful business to business communication. Since the Yoruba speaking group constitutes a speech community – a community of speakers whose experiences and pattern of behaviours are reflected in one language (Akindele and Adegbite 17), it means that the mode and means of business transaction in markets in Yoruba land are possibly going to be similar. It thus follows that selected markets and towns will be representatives of other markets and towns in Yoruba land. The corpus materials come from the six coreYoruba speaking states of Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo and Osun (excluding Kwara and Kogi where Yoruba language is just one of the languages used in transactions). The corpus consists of twelve markets – two per each state.

The choice of markets in state capitals and cities is based on some features such as size and location that provide ample opportunity for the researcher to study the structure of discourse in markets in multilingual situations. This is made possible because of the presence of federal offices that attract workers from various states of the country and even possibly outside the country. This cream of

workers has to get to markets to buy or sell. Traders from various linguistic backgrounds also converge at the metropolis to transact business. From their interactions, there will be language contact leading to bilingualism/multilingualism and culture contact that may possibly influence the structure of conversation. A large number of buyers and sellers in this group therefore provide adequate opportunity for the researcher to study the possibility of any impact of culture, education and multilingualism on the structure of discourse in market situation.The data analysis will be on transactions in the different categories of goods covering 'food stuffs', 'domestic animals', 'textile' materials' and 'soup ingredients'. Transactions in each of the four items are documented, transcribed and analyzed.This work was entangled with paralinguistic challenges in the area of translating the collected data in Yoruba into English. There were also problems in the area of getting the data transcribed from the video machine because of the underground noise and the so many unwanted materials recorded along with the basic transactions the research work is designed to study.

The findings of this research work will be of great importance in the following dimensions: the systematic analysis and *raison d'etre* of language use among interlocutors in market situation in Yoruba land will promote better understanding of the discourse structure of the texts. The study will bring out the roles of contextual cues in the interpretation of utterances among hagglers and

show that not only what is said needs to be understood but how those non-verbal communication strategies affect the structure of discourse. Moreso, a study of language in a real life situation that involves almost everybody in the society could be profiting in a contextual situation.

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

Related literature to the topic of the research is reviewed under two major sections. The first part examines language situation in Yoruba land, Yoruba Traditional commercial system, Stages of market Transaction in Yoruba land, language use in Transaction, and Conversation strategies in Yoruba land. The second part addresses the theoretical background of the topic of this study and the model of analysis. The following sub-headings are examined within the second part: Conversation analysis, Conversation structure, Aspects of Conversation, Conversation features, Ethnography of Speaking and Interactional Sociolinguistics

**Section one:**

## 2.2 Language Situation in Yoruba Land

This section deals with the languages in the community including a look at their usage and their relationships with the social community. Over the years, we have withnessed a gradual increase in the number of non-indigenes coming to settle in Yoruba land for different purposes such as commerce, education, civil service transfers and so on. An influx of non-indigenes into the community is bound to have far reaching consequences on the socio-linguistic structure of the

community bearing in mind the realities and consequences of 'language in contact' as a phenomenon.

Notable among the settlers in Yoruba community is the Hausa/Fulani group. In virtually every area of the community, we have the cattle rearers, known popularly as the 'Bororos'. They live mainly at the outskirts of towns and villages coming to towns mainly on market days and during special muslim festivals. This group interacts with the natives mainly in Hausa. Other members of the group may be seen hawking simple wares and goods such as wristwatches and electronic goods. Often they live close in neighbouring houses and compounds called 'Zango'. They rely on their language only for interactions and communications.

We also have the ubiquitous Ibo traders and settlers. A good number of them are integrated into the speech community. Having stayed long enough in the area, some of them have mastered the language and relate well with the indigenes and others in the community. However lbos in the speech community represent one of the principal agents for the propagation of Pidgin English in the community, which they use as language of business.

Another important language group found in Yoruba community is the Ebira. Quite a good number of them are found in towns and villages like Owo, Ibadan, Akure, Ondo and Ado. Like their Ibo counterparts, they also readily adjust to their linguistic environments, demonstrating fluent communication skills in Yoruba

language. They are mainly farmers and artisans and are seen in large numbers on market days when they bring their farm products for sale.

The significance of these observations and preliminary investigations is that they point to an emerging complex sociolinguistic pattern in an otherwise assumed 'monolingual' set-up. The simple assumption that Yoruba language is all in all seems to be no longer true.

There may still be some other unidentified language groups in the speech community .One thing that is clear about the revelation is that, as they aspire to learn the native language-Yoruba, they have to equally learn the cultural part which is reflected parin the mode of market transaction, in other not to become victims of circumstances. This reason also makes this study worth while so that the indigenes and the non-indigenes can communicate effectively and get things done.

## 2.3 Yoruba Traditional Commercial System

Traditionally, the main occupation of women in Yoruba land is trading while men take to farming with just very few among them as traders. Before money economy, goods were exchanged for goods. For instance, yams could be exchanged for meat or meat for corn through a system known as 'barter'. 'Barter' according to Baumol and Blander 'is a system of exchange in which people directly trade one good for another without using money as an intermediate step'(675).

This system was saddled with the problem of 'double coincidence of wants' and it was time consuming (Samuelson and Nordhaus 185). There was also the problem of arriving at how much meat should be given for yam or how much yam should be given for meat. These problems frustrated the practice in Yoruba land and the people advanced to the use of commodity money where means like cowries and other items were used as means of exchange. Here, goods were placed at strategic places and the required number of cowries for the goods was indicated by the number of small stones placed on the goods. Whoever desired the goods would count the number of stones. If he was satisfied with the number of stones, he/she would drop the corresponding number of cowries. As time went by, unfaithfulness from the side of buyers did not allow the system to be too successful. Shortly, money economy was introduced ( Ojuolape 98).

As money economy developed, people no longer use commodity money. By the 18th century, silver and gold which had intrinsic value were used. This later gave way to paper money and the essence of money became wanted, not for its sake but for what it can buy (Samuelson and Nordhaus 185). The intervention of money in economy facilitated division of labour and the possibility of exchange arose. Money became the key determinant of the price level. It is this exchange that gives room for haggling while haggling in turn generates the structure of discourse, which is the focus of this research work.

## 2.4 Stages of market transactions in Yoruba land

Five stages of transactions in normal market (non auction) are identified by Ogunsiji (2001). The first of these is the 'salutation' stage which opens the proceedings with appropriate greetings. This is followed by the 'enquiry' stage which consists of question and answer pair such as: How much is your mat? Answer: Thirty five naira. The 'investigation' stage forms the third stage and as the name suggests, it investigates the object of sale and this may be carried out verbally or non-verbally. Question: How much is this yam?

Answer: it's N50

On the other hand, the buyer may just point at the displayed item and the message is conveyed to the seller who responds appropriately. The fourth stage is the 'bargaining' stage which takes place between the seller and the buyer. This is where prices are stated and haggled out. The buyer may pay the stated price by the seller or a lower one. At times, the bargaining may end on sour note and the buyer leaves the stall.The fifth and the last is the 'conclusion' stage which Ogunsiji (2001) says involves the final move of just one of the participants or both. At times, the transaction may end satisfactorily while at other time it may end abruptly. In markets in Yoruba land, stages 1 and 2 can co-occur simultaneously as in :

‘Good morning/ who owns this yam?’ (Stage 1 greeting) / (stage 2 enquiries)

Stage 1 and stage 3 can also co-occur as in:Good morning/how much is your yam?(Stage 1 greeting /stage 3 investigations) One thing noted about these stages is that, it is only stage three that is, the ‘investigation’ stage that seems to be obligatory. All the other four are optional as noted in market transactions in Yoruba land.

From the above interaction however, some kinds of patterns have emerged but these have not been accorded enough attention. This study therefore carries out a conversation analysis of market exchanges especially within the Yoruba community to map out what the structure of market exchange looks like.

Market discourse is an important sphere of human interaction and this is because, much interaction takes place in markets because of bargaining. The situation is not the same in the western world where price tags placed on goods in departmental shops or Supermarkets do the talk to the potential buyers (no haggling) The focus of this work is the open market in Yoruba land where people (buyers and sellers) come in contact to determine the price at which goods are sold or bought through serious bargaining exercise.

The market situation under this study is seen as a speech community – a homogenous speech community where the dominant language is Yoruba. But there are sellers and even buyers that have some degree of competence in English or

pidgin which results in multilingualism that facilitates code-mixing and code-switching in the trading process. Though participants are able to interact well, individuals' present and previous experience is still reflected in their use of language. Linguistic choice in these markets therefore, seems to be determined by the different kinds of situations and behaviours being experienced by either sellers or buyers.

Language is seen as a facilitator or hindrance to transactions (Ogunsiji, 2001) but when effectively used, it can exert powerful control over people's thought and actions to make them desire to have what they do not have and do things they would ordinarily not think of doing. (Okolo,1999: 2). The role of language in structuring exchanges in market transactions demands attention to uncover how information in this speech event is structurally organized to achieve the desired goal.

However, the study of verbal language has not been properly addressed because of the people's general belief that every human being can use language in any situation without difficulty, more so that language grows with man. For this fact, it is concluded in some quarters that there is no need to study something (language) which can be taken so much for granted. But when people became aware of how their own language features are misunderstood and how they too found other people's language features unusual, the need to study this natural

human activity – language arose. This is because it is observed that, the study of verbal language or the knowledge of how language works will avert serious troubles that misunderstanding and misinterpretation of utterance in our day-to-day interactions can cause (Coulthard, 1977).

The study of communicative competence is therefore given credence over linguistic competence that is emphasized by Chomsky (1967) but which does not make any reference to why one utterance might be appropriate to a particular situation but not to another. Communicative aspects or language functions are emphasized by Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Bach and Harnish (1979). These linguists emphasized the context within which utterances are made and the relationship between users of language which should provide ground for effective interpretation of utterances. This Ibileye (1994) further expands will help eliminate other possible meanings. The market is therefore chosen for the study as it is where naturally occurring language in a social context can be studied and where data will be genuinely representative of significant patterning between language and context

## 2.5 Language Use in Transaction

Language is defined by Webster as an organized system of speech used by human beings as a means of communication among themselves, while UNESCO in Le Page defines it as a basic means of people's mark of cultural identity and as an

instrument for ordering and interpreting the world around them. When effectively used, language can make one desire to have what `one does not have.

Several pragmatic roles are played by language but only those that are relevant to this study are highlighted. Among these are: the 'persuasive role' where language is used to control people and events. An example of where this is displayed is in the buying and selling situation where language is used by sellers to make buyers change their choice positively. Another is the 'interactional role' where language is used to maintain social and personal relationship with other people. This is displayed by sellers with a good degree of social relation to be able to negotiate conversation effectively ( Wallwork 72-92).

The 'referential role' is another function of language. This is relevant to this study as sellers mostly, employ this function to make some exophoric references to elicit either buyer's compassion or to convince them of the reason(s) for high prices in the market. The personal function of language also features in buying and selling. For instance, the emotional feeling and personality of the seller/buyer about what they sell are revealed through their use of language.

Firth quoted in Omole on the other hand, speaks on the social values of speech that is, it can be used for phatic communication and for pragmatic efficiency in transaction such as in market transaction (13). Language use is a reflection of both the individual's present and previous experiences together with

his capacity to mean. The different kinds of experiences individual seller/buyer passes through at different times are determining factors of the range of linguistic items employed by speakers.

The different social functions performed by lexical choice in different societies do not allow the use of language to be limited only to communication per se but also as a device for categorizing experience in different 'context of situation' (Wallwork 72-92). In essence, it means language use is determined by the situation in which it is used. So, individual can vary his/her uses in different situations. As the use of language is determined by who one is talking to, where one is, topic and purpose of talk, it is also the primary aim of the speaker to control his language to suit his hearers while considering what he knows about them. The effect the speaker hopes to make on the hearer either to persuade, insult or inform must also be considered while considering the impact of situation on speech. Thus, concepts such as 'tenor', 'mode' and 'field' as part of what affect speech situational categories need to be examined.

**Field:** The field of conversation usually determines the choice of language to be used. This choice is usually determined in terms of the way in which linguistic variations correlate with variation in the type of subject matter as used in a given text. For instance, in consumable goods market, lexical items like 'jara', a borrowed Hausa word to mean 'extra' is in use while in electronic markets such a

lexical item is absent. Age, status and religion can also determine the choice of language in market situation. All these mark varieties according to use.

**Tenor** relates to the role relationship between the participants in such situations – customer/market seller, customer/producer. A market seller or producer uses a lot of persuasion, be it gentle or otherwise to effect a transaction. People are in business to make money and not to waste time. This paramount concern with money affects the interpersonal function of language in market situation (Halliday 32-33). The subject matter of business or transactional communication situation include promoting good will, complaining, apologizing, accepting, rejecting, claiming, demanding and many others. The relationship between these sets of people could be formal/informal, casual/intimate. In this research, the relationship of the buyer/seller is casual but often taken as intimate.

**Mode:** most people interpret mode as the difference between spoken and written language. Whether the text is written or spoken depends on situation. In this study, the mode is spoken – a face-to-face interaction. However, one major role in this language is that of persuasion, especially on the part of the seller. Elements of persuasion are also found in the language of the customer as when he/she starts to bargain, indicates a willingness to do more business later, or promises to send a friend to the same seller.

Language is being used to bring out the desired result by the users, in other words, to get goods sold or bought. To achieve this, there is the need for cooperation for transaction to go on smoothly. It is noteworthy that despite this cooperation, there is still occasional conflict. But this conflict is usually resolved with the experience of the sellers.

The market situations examined in this study are located within a speech community as earlier pointed out. Within this community are various people from different linguistic backgrounds coming together to transact business. This leads to language contact, the contact that gives rise to multilingualism. This development not withstanding, there is still the dominant language of transaction, which is Yoruba but when occasion warrants, there is a shift to the use of either English or pidgin as the case may be. This ability to shift from one language to another makes the transaction of buying and selling easy. After the examination of the characteristics of language of transaction in general, it is important to establish those strategies of conversation in commercial transaction.

## 2.6 ConversationStrategies in Markets in Yoruba land

Rundell in Uhunmwangho defines strategy as ‘a particular plan for gaining success in a particular activity’and Gumperz and Scupin both in Uhunmwangho agree that‘Conversation strategy forms what may not be internationalor conscious but fully automated impulses that are flexible and goal-orientedform of language

use, interpreted as a complete communicative event in a social situation.(Uhunmwangho171).

This part ofthis study takes a cursory look at those strategies of conversation adopted by buyers and sellers in commercial transaction in Yoruba land. The success of any seller in Yoruba market depends on how skillful such a seller is in the manipulation of the available communication strategies to him/her. Likewise, any buyer who is not ignorant of the role communication strategies play in getting things done will be successful in his/her bid to buy goods in Yoruba markets (Ojuolape 46).

Strategies of communication in market situation in Yoruba land include the use of rhetorical questions, Pidgin, code-mixing, code-switching, non-verbal communication, backchannel and politeness strategies. All these have their various impacts on selling and buying. The choice of any of these strategies is determined by prevailing situations. When these strategies are effectively used by sellers especialy, they promote sale and when employed skillfully by buyers, they ease transaction and grant users favour. Each strategy is used to convey the intended messages and meanings to the hearers (buyers/sellers).These strategies are discussed below.

### 2.6.1Multilingualism

Multilingualism as a concept has been variously defined by various scholars but only relevant ones to the study are cited. Hartman and Stork define multilingualism as: 'The use of more than two languages by a speaker or speech community. It also exists in a large area encompassing many tribes each possessing its own language' (147) Dittmar provides another definition for the same concept as: 'the term given to the linguistic situation where two or more languages co-exist within the bonds of one society and are kept constant by politically or economically determined interest'(27-28)

Bell also argues that multilingualism is: 'both the use by an individual and the use by a group or nation of more than two languages' (116). This view explicates a situation where an individual can function at some reasonable level of competence in more than two languages and the existence of many languages within a territory'. A synthesis of these various arguments produces a more workable definition, such that describes the concept as a common human condition that makes it possible for an individual to function at some level, in more than two languages.

Okolo draws a distinction between multilingualism which is internal to a speech community (language used for domestic communicative purpose), and one which is external to the speech community (additional language being used to

facilitate communication with other nations). In a society where two or more languages co-exist as in Nigeria, the relative functional use of such languages is of utmost importance (2-8). When there are some languages in a society, they may be used to a different extent, different domain and for different functions (diglossic environment). This kind of society may decide to make a second language available in order to gain access to wider market or information. An example is the increasing use of English and Pidgin English in Nigeria and in Yoruba land to be more specific.

A multilingual is skilled and has the ability to interact freely with the speakers of other languages in different situational contexts. Multilingualism in Nigeria involves not only the indigenous languages but also the major groups of non-Nigerian languages. The first group comprises English language and Nigerian Pidgin, which is the derivative of contact between English and the indigenous languages. Other foreign languages such as French and Arabic languages are taken as academic subjects in schools.

Yoruba land is a monolingual region. Though some dialects of Yoruba exist within its boundaries, they are mutually intelligible and differences in dialects have no significant impact on their transactional conversation. What is responsible for the multilingual nature of Nigeria is in its contact with other languages. This contact is brought about by many contemporary factors such as job mobility,

education, boundary demarcation and inter-tribal marriages that produce both individual and societal multilingualism.

The strength of multilingualism is in the flexibility that allows for greater participation in social and economic processes of different linguistic groups. This is the situation in Yoruba land and it shows the extent to which transaction and intra group communication are made possible. The relevance of this concept to this research work lies in its mobility as one of the communication strategies to facilitate good sales.

The understanding of many languages by a seller places such a seller/buyer above whoever is a monolingual. In addition, the ability of a buyer to speak more than one language also makes it easy for him/her to transact business with ease and possibly gain the favour and confidence of the seller, who is ready to sell at a reduced price because of the common language that unites the seller and the buyer. Seller's ability to speak more than one language will enable him/her to attract more customers and sell more. This brings us to the concept of code-switching, code-mixing and Pidgin which are parts of the concept of multilingualism.

### 2.6.2 Code-mixing

Code-mixing is a sociolinguistic phenomenon prevalent in any multilingual setting like Nigeria. It is a communication strategy used for convenience as well as for social and egoistic manifestations (Abdullahi – Idiagbon 35-46). 'Code-mixing'

is a common phenomenon in rural and urban areas because of the heterogeneity and complexity of the area. This communication device cuts across both the old and the young in Nigeria in daily utterances, Yoruba land inclusive. In Wardhaugh's words, 'code-mixing' occurs 'when conversationalists use both languages to the extent that they change from one language to another in the course of a single utterance' (45).

Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| A: Customer buy 'ogbono' | ('ogbono' is a type of soup ingredient that draws like okroh) Okra |
| B: Customer 'pikin nko'? | Customer how is your child? |
| C: 'Iyawo mi' buy 'ewedu to dara' | my wife, buy good vegetable. |

Code-mixing occurs at times when a speaker is short of equivalent lexical item in the general language or acceptable language to express him or herself. If a direct translation will make the original word lose its meaning through translation, it will be left intact as seen in the above examples.

It is the view of Populack (1985) that speakers mix codes in order to demonstrate a personality of mixed identity and to achieve egoistic effect. Coupland and Jaworski also submit that the use of distinct language varieties in a conversation is an index of flexibility and creativity on the part of the speaker and not necessarily as language defect (135). Appel and Muyesken (1993) do not share this previous view; rather, they believe that it is an attempt to cover incompetence or deficiency in the art of communication or in the linguistic facility of a particular

language that prompts speakers to code-mix. Whatever the discrepancies in the views of people on why speakers code-mix, the fact remains that, this language phenomenon as a conversation strategy is relevant to this study which gathers data from heterogeneous linguistic situation which provokes code-mixing as demonstrated earlier.

### 2.6.3 Code-Switching

Code-switching according to Hudson refers to alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation, which contains some conversation unity (57). He further adds that conversational 'code-switching is not something a bilingual does except when talking to a fellow member of a community which permits it'. Rayfield also shares this view as he records that 'code-switching is the pattern of alternation between two languages when used in a conversation' (148).

Code-switching takes place especially when a seller or a buyer notices a kind of linguistic restriction between him/her and the seller/buyer. When a situation like this presents itself, switching becomes predictable. In a market located in a metropolis, if transaction is to go on smoothly and successfully, either seller or buyer will have to code-switch to meet the linguistic requirement for transaction. In a metropolitan market, buyers and sellers do come from various linguistic backgrounds and it is their wish to sell or buy.

When a seller is also out to insult a buyer who she perceives is not ready to buy but just pricing or a buyer who offers a ridiculous price, she switches to a local language to express her displeasure and also to prevent the buyer from understanding the insult and thereby get offended. Where the buyer (unknown to the seller) happens to speak the same local language with the seller, there could be a fall-out though this is quickly repaired when it happens by the seller for the sake of mutual co-operation. An example is given below.

Na better yam 'alarinka'. : (They are good yams, wanderer.)

If the buyer was to understand the intended meaning of 'alarinka' that is, 'wanderer' he or she may not proceed in his/her bargaining. To achieve the effectual meaning, the seller says it in a joking manner that will not make the buyer suspicious. The relevance of code-switching to this work is further buttressed by Benstein's observation quoted in Wallwork (53-55) that:''limited ability to switch varieties has social disadvantages…more fundamentally and far reaching disadvantage in the context of present social institution''.

The mixing and switching of codes are consequences of languages in contact. Participants in market transaction use these with a view to communicating effectively with one another. This mixing or switching is not restricted to semi literates alone in market situation, as highly educated participants who are competent bilinguals, also code-switch and code mix when buying and selling.

### 2.6.4 Pidgin

Nigerian pidgin can be viewed as the linguistic outcome of contact situation according to Mafeni and Faraclas in Tinuoye (12). Sociolinguists describe Pidgin as a marginal language, which arises to fulfill certain restricted communication functions among groups with no common language.The multi-ethnic/multi-cultural setting in Nigeria necessitates a language of inter-tribal communication especially in the absence of an indigenous national language. The English language and Nigerian pidgin complement each other to play this role in the country, as both provide for effective communication among diverse ethnic groups of the country.

Naturally, speaker's response to language is based on basic cost-and-benefit considerations. This is why pidgin receives great attention because of the socio-economic benefits it offers to both the educated and the illiterates in the country. There is a growing data that gives evidence to the increasingly important role which users have accorded Nigerian pidgin in social interaction as seen in business transactions among people of different languages. The Nigerian pidgin due to its social-interactive functions is now considered as a Lingua Franca for many and even helping as mother tongue for numbers of certain families in certain areas.In spite of the traditional attitude of disapproval towards pidgin, it still flourishes in commercial and social activities where different ethnic groups without a common language except pidgin come together to transact businesses.

The role of pidgin in the social activities of people that is, uniting people of various linguistic backgrounds is also reproduced in the conversation of buying and selling where different people from different linguistic backgrounds come together to sell and to buy. Pidgin is a ready-made language for commerce in transaction in Yoruba land especially where markets are located in the metropolis. It makes communication in the environment easy as everybody-literate or illiterate is able to use pidgin to interact with people from diverse linguistic backgrounds to sell or to buy.

The relevance of pidgin to the success of buying and selling in Yoruba markets located in the metropolis, especially where people from different linguistic backgrounds converge to buy or sell, is what is responsible for its inclusion in the analysis of conversation in market situation for this study.

### 2.6.5 Rhetorical Question

Rhetorical question is one of the linguistic devices employed for effective communication. According to McArthur, 'it is a question that requires no answer because, most of the time, answers are self-evident or the questioner provides the answer depending on the context of its utterance' (782). Examples are:

i) How do I get my money?

ii) What can I do to come out of this problem?

Rhetorical questions are used to reveal the inner workings of the minds of their users. They can be used to reveal the state of anger and it is a weapon of condemnation and emotional outburst. In Carter and Simpson's argument, rhetorical questions are also frequently used in situations of disappointment, agony and frustration to ward off verbal or behavioural responses (1-18). To Boulton, 'very angry people also often come out with rhetorical expressions; and so do people in great distress' (143). An example is given below to illustrate the above

'Why has this lady failed to pay me so as to be able to pay my rent?'

Boulton goes further to explain that rhetorical questions are used to induce emotion in other people or stimulate the emotion of the hearer (143). Examples of this are given below:

*i)* Won't you pity me with this newly born baby and allow me to stay in the room till Monday?(from a rejected wife to her husband).

ii) Won't you please pay the money you owe me to enable me buy food for my children?

In Osborn and Osborn contribution, rhetorical questions are used to arouse attention and curiosity when used to introduce discourse (202-211). But when used at the end of a persuasive speech, according to Osborn and Motley (as often found in market discourse), they may call for responses from listeners (264). Take for instance these examples:

*(i)* At how much do I sell if I buy at two thousand naira per bag?

(ii) What do I do with these spoilt mangoes?

Rhetorical questions are equally used to make an indirect appeal to people in order to effect a change on the prevailing situation.

*i)* Madam don't you know that new yams which are not usually matured before they are harvested are not as good as old ones that are well preserved?

*ii)* Won't you consider my plea and buy just one gallon?

The use of rhetorical question makes expression to be more forceful. This language device has its relevance in the speech event under consideration – market discourse because most often, sellers and buyers resort to the use of this linguistic device when they are not comfortable with happenings around them or to them in order to purge their emotions just as rightly observed by Carter and Simpson (171-186) and McArthur (714) that rhetorical questions are used by people to express disappointment, frustration, surprise and anger. It is used again by sellers to occasionally evoke sympathy from buyers and to make exophoric references in order to get buyers convinced to buy from them. An example is given below:

*i)* Who is not feeling the bite of the increase in petrol price ?

The implication of this linguistic device to this work as a transactional device will be highlighted further in the course of our data analysis. It appears to be a prominent linguistic device employed by sellers and buyers in Yoruba markets to relief themselves of any emotional stress in line with what Boulton says that,'suffering is relieved by talking the trouble out'(154).

### 2.6.6 Politeness Strategies

The size of a group of people or the level of their education does not preclude their demonstration of politeness in their daily face-to-face interaction. In fact, it is a social aspect that further distinguishes human beings from animals. It is a force that enables communication to go on smoothly and achieve its purposes. The form of politeness strategies discussed in this work as related to buying and selling in Yoruba land are: 'greeting', the use of 'kinship terms'and 'honorifics'

'Politeness, Leech (1983) defines, is a form of behaviour that establishes and maintains comity and which involves the ability of participants to operate in social interaction in a harmonious atmosphere. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary sees 'Politeness' as having or showing good manner and respect for the feelings of others (898). Cutting, submits that 'politeness' is a pragmatic phenomenon which lies not in the form and the words themselves, but in their function and intended social meaning. Politeness therefore, as a crucial aspect of social relationship can affect linguistic choice.

To save face and be appreciated (in any conversation) Carter and Simpson state, there is the need to show politeness that involves showing friendly attitude (208-209) .There are two types of politeness as recorded by Leech in Cutting. These are: the 'positive' and the 'negative' forms of politeness. The 'negative'

politeness seeks to avoid disagreement or conflict. This form of politeness is more important than the 'positive' form of politeness, which seeks 'concord'.

A series of maxims proposed by Leech found in Cutting to explain how politeness operates in conversational exchanges are later tagged 'politeness principle'.These maxims are six in number and the first in the series is the maxim of 'tact' which says speakers must 'minimize cost' to others and 'maximize benefits' to others. The maxim of 'tact' influences whatever we say more powerfully (Atchison, 2009). The difference in the level of influence notwithstanding, it is possible for speakers to employ more than one maxim at once in an utterance. For instance, the maxim of 'tact' and the maxim of 'agreement' can co-occur concurrently and they are the maxims that feature mostly in the conversation of buying and selling which is the focus of this work.

The maxim of 'tact' borders on the ability of a speaker to be diplomatic rather than been rude in his/her approach. This maxim finds relevance in the conversation of buying and selling because a seller only sells if he/she is diplomatic in her use of language and a buyer too finds transaction easy if he/she is not rude. The maxim of 'agreement' is also relevant as a strategy of getting things done. For instance, both seller and buyer have to reach a compromise (agree) before buying and selling can take place.

There is another form of politeness which equally appears among the Yorubas. This is called 'politeness on record'. This is where an insult is passed in form of commendation or as a form of respect when in actual sense, the statement means insult. 'A le bu yin eyin na niya wa' meaning we cannot insult you because you are a mother to us when in actual sense she is insulted already with the statement. The statement is a concealed insult in a polite way or a polite way of passing insult. The listener hearing this may not take offence whereas the real message is that, the hearer has behaved in a way that is unexpected of an adult and which belittles her as an adult and therefore requires some indirect insults.

The principle of politeness is a necessary supplement to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) and conversationalists in their attempt to look friendly and cooperative often (deliberately) break the cooperative principle for politeness sake. This is amply displayed in market transactions in the data.

**2.6.6.1 Greeting**

Greeting, according to Adegbija is a mandatory politeness strategy used to attract the attention of a hearer and as the oil for lubricating the channel of communication (1-6). Friendliness and mutual love are also shown through greeting. Greeting usually comes from the younger to the older person in Yoruba land but there are occasions too when the older greets first, especially when the older wants to acknowledge a gesture. From whichever direction greeting comes,

it is expected that the greeted responds no matter how busy the greeted may appear to be.

Greeting is so much valued in Yoruba land that failure to use it as a means of opening a discussion or showing appreciation can almost paralyze discussions either between two interactants who are of the same age or between interactants of unequal status. Lack of greeting can be seen as a display of lack of etiquette or lack of proper upbringing. For instance, when two persons are meeting for the first time to discuss and the younger fails or forgets to start with greeting, the elder can challenge and force the younger to greet before he proceeds in the discussion. This is further corroborated by Hudson that, 'greeting must be used to establish mutual relation before the participants can get down to any 'business' they may have to transact' (129).

Most greetings used in the context of buying and selling are routinized like other areas and they have no one-to-one English equivalents and their meaning is non-literarily derived.The content of greeting can be extended beyond the greeted to his immediate and even extended family members, during which the greeted is asked how his family is, member by member. When this social aspect is omitted either consciously or unconsciously, whoever feels offended points out the omission so that communication can proceed smoothly.

In a situation where greetings are made to function well, it can facilitate favour to and from either side of the participants and reduce anxiety in social contac. Greetings are used to produce attention, and to manipulate particular ends. Greeting as a strong politeness strategy is employed to minimize the imposition of a face-threatening act (negative politeness).The role of greeting as a communication strategy appears to be well highlighted in the conversation of buying and selling where buyers want to get their goods at cheaper rates. It is used by sellers to call the attention of buyers and to pave way for smooth interactions. Greeting is a means of getting things done in the situation of buying and selling as this study is expected to explicate.

### 2.6.6.2 Kinship Terms

Another dimension of greetings is the use of kinship terms which are verbal communication means of indicating blood relationship among users. The English have specific terms used to illustrate the above. Examples are ‘brother’, ‘sister’, ‘father’, ‘mother’ and ‘uncle’. ‘Wife’ and ‘husband’ are other terms used to indicate social relationship. But these terms as used in the Nigerian socio-cultural environment are associated with certain meanings which are not found in British English where they are denotatively applied in reference and address (Oyeleye, 2004).

These terms as used in the Nigeria context cover several other persons outside primary kinship with whom blood bond could be established. They are used to address unrelated persons in the wider community even to include persons seen for the first time in life. These terms as often used in Nigerian environment lack the original felicity condition. For instance, they neither connote family relationship nor strong connection. In the conversation of transaction in Yoruba land, expressions such as the ones found below are merely used as forms of politeness strategy.

| Yoruba | English |
|---|---|
| 'Oko mi' | My husband |
| 'Egbon wa' | Our sister/brother |
| 'Iyawo mi' | My wife |
| 'Anti mi' | My sister |
| Boda mi' | My brother |
| 'Baba' | Daddy |
| 'Mama/Iya mi' | Mummy/my mummy |
| 'Omo mi' | My Son or my daughter |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| i. | 'Oko mi' ba mi ra isu | My husband help me buy yam |
| ii. | 'Boda wa' epo to dara wa | Our brother there is good oil. |
| iii. | 'Iyawo mi' wole ko wa wo awon aso to dara' | My wife enter and look at fine clothes |
| iv. | 'Anti wa' o ma tojo meta | Our sister, it is a long time we saw last |
| v. | 'Iya mi' e n binu simi ni? | My mother are you annoyed with me? |

The above are expressions merely used to create intimate and conducive atmosphere for transaction or to lubricate the channel of communication. They are

also used to attract attention. The users of the above expressions may in no way be related to the addressees. In fact, each can be used to address a customer that is seen for the first time and who is even a non – Yoruba speaker. This usage might not be unconnected with the fact that, the Yoruba see themselves as people that came from the same ancestry.

These forms of politeness are employed to make the buyers feel wanted and lubricate the channel of communication. Most often, they facilitate good sales. They are meant to generate familiarity and draw the attention of the expected buyer rather than indicating any blood relationship. The use of these kinship terms are found relevant to this research work and are therefore given some attention in the analysis.

**2.6.6.3 Honorifics**

The use of honorifics is a mark of respect or politeness and not necessarily a display of status differential. It signals the high regards the user has for the party addressed informs the addressed that the addresser is willing to talk with the addressed. From this, it is clear that the honorific is more than an attention-getting strategy or a floor passing device. It is also a floor-getting device. This is because a response from the addressee necessitates another initiation from the addresser. Examples are: ‘madam’, ‘chief’ and so forth. This is a recurring feature in our data and shall therefore be considered.

## 2.7 Non-Verbal Communication

While it is true that language is the most important method of communication, it is manifestly not the only method but just one form of communication. According to Wallwork, communication relies on other features than language to be effective and on a lot of things that are not said (93). As a means of communication, it is as important as the linguistic communication strategy in human interaction. Non-verbal communication is that type of communication that does not use words and yet affects people's reactions (Osborn and Osborn 320-322). This mode of communication is greater than the verbal aspect in interactive language, where social contact is of key importance and whereby, it is not what is said that matters but how.

Most of these forms of non-verbal communication strategies are subsumed under what Hudson (1980) tags 'visual modality'. Under this umbrella are found categories such as 'gesture', 'eye contact', 'proxemics' and 'artifacts'. Under artifacts are 'clothing', 'ornamentations' and 'jewelry'. But only the relevant ones to this work are examined. These include 'eye contact', 'facial expression', and 'vocalics' that belong to the kinetic group.

### 2.7.1 Eye Contact

Eye contact is a form of non-linguistic communication strategy that signals a lot of messages and its interpretations are determined by the culture within which it is used (Wallwork 93-96). For instance, maintenance of eye contact in a conversation by participants in Yoruba land is evidence that, the participants are interested in the topic of discussion but in some other cultures, it is a downcast eye that signals attention and agreement. More still, according to Osborn and Osborn , direct eye contact in Japan for some Native Americans for instance, could be seen as offensive or aggressive (320). While in American culture, prolonged eye contact is permissible even between two participants of unequal status (Brown 1980).

On the other hand, the same type of contact could be seen as a sign of disrespect in Nigeria (Yoruba land especially) when it occurs between participants of unequal status. Eye contact is in some instances a key to communication and as earlier pointed out; a lot of messages are signaled by eye contact. These messages include possibly, hostility, attraction, interest, boredom, empathy, understanding and misunderstanding.

Osborn and Motley also argue that eye contact facilitates continuity in discourse (50). According to them, if a speaker pauses for a moment while looking away from the listener, it usually indicates that the speaker is going to continue after the pause. But if the speaker stops talking and looks directly at the hearer, it is

a signal for the hearer to take a turn as a speaker. Misunderstanding can arise from this non-verbal mode of communication when there is cultural interference.

This non-verbal category is relevant to this study as sellers/buyers value eye contact in transactions. In fact, maintenance of eye contact in market situation enables the seller to monopolize the attention of buyers and know when to take the 'floor' in turn taking. Little wonder the popular saying in Yoruba land that "Oju loro wa" meaning, message is conveyed on the eye or eye transmits message. This dimension of non-verbal communication is examined in the data interpretation for this study.

**2.7.2 Facial Expressions:** This refers to speaker's or hearer's countenance. This is an important aspect of non-verbal communication strategies. There are two main functions performed through facial expression. For instance, we can wink our forehead and raise our eyebrow. Expressions from these actions are meant to show consent or agreement to what is being said especially in Yoruba land. Orebiyi in his own observation says when someone squints his/her face, the interpretation is either that the person is in agreement, disagreement or lack of interest in what is going on (27).

The eye, Osborn and Osborn observe, is the most important element of facial expression. Someone's state of mind like fear, doubt, and sincerity are confirmed

from someone's expression by looking at the face of the speaker (320). This prompts Osborn and Osborn to say that 'a look at the eye is the arbiter between what we see and what we hear'. Corroborating this, Argyle expresses the fact that, emotions are also clearly shown on the face. He therefore identifies various types of emotions the face can display. These are: sad, happy, fear, surprise, anger, disgust/contempt and excitement (94).

This aspect of non-verbal communication is of great importance to this study. Because, all the emotions the face is known for or capable of displaying are in consonance with the types of emotions sellers/buyers do express at different times in the course of their buying and selling. As a result, the role of facial expression is addressed in the data analysis for this study.

### 2.7.3 Vocalic or Paralinguistic Behaviour

This refers to the vocal characteristics of non-verbal utterance. Voice characteristics in speech, Itede in Scherer and Giles says, are not only significant in identifying the speaker but that 'most of the emotional components of meaning are conveyed by voice phenomenon'. This voice phenomenon includes 'tone of voice', 'manner' and other accompaniments of spoken message (79).Athos and Gabarno, (100) also confirmed that 'changing emotional state can be judged from voice properties such as the use of intonation and stress'.

Most of the time, speech is accompanied by suprasegemental cues that are meant to clarify the meaning of an utterance. For instance, anger in English and even in Yoruba is conventionally conveyed by a harsh phonatory setting with a raised pitch span and an increased loudness span. The intonation pattern of a sentence, Itede in Scherer and Giles says, affirms a grammatical function and an emotional function (79). The distinction between a statement and a question, he states further, can be signaled by a difference in intonation. What this translates to mean is that, the meaning of an utterance may be modified and even reversed by paralinguistic cues. This is why Osborn and Motley conclude that what one says is not as important as how one says it (32). This example in Yoruba can help illustrate this. The utterance 'Gbee' is an ordinary statement that means 'carry it' but 'Gbee e'also meaning 'carry it' is an indirect way of asking the buyer to move away from the goods. That is, it is a way of expressing the anger or the displeasure of the speaker/ seller over a ridiculous price offered by a buyer.

The implication of this communication strategy is that, all the characteristic features of paralanguage are displayed by either sellers or buyers in their transactions to express their mood, just as Wallwork says, that 'messages are handled by words but mood by the gesture, tone and voice' (98). The fact that Yoruba, the language under study is a tone language makes the consideration of paralinguistic features relevant to this study.

The importance of non-verbal communication to verbal communication is similar to what auxiliary verbs do to the main verbs to which they are usually attached. That is, they help to bring out the intended message of main verbs. What is conveyed with body language is of great importance to what is verbally uttered. For instance, Abercrombie observes that: 'the study of paralinguistic behaviour is part of the study of conversation; and that the conversational use of spoken language cannot be properly understood unless paralinguistic elements are taken into account' (64).

Brown in his own contribution to the importance of non-verbal communication strategies states that, they 'help to lift barriers, identify certain personality characteristic and set a general mood' (210). Summarizing the roles of non-verbal communication strategies, Wallwork observes that 'a lift of an eye, a twitch at the side of the mouth, a straight look in the face or a silence, convey more message than half an hour verbal talk' (93). One can therefore conclude that the role of non-verbal communication signals interpersonal attitude and emotion than verbal messages equivalent'.This shall be examined in the data

### 2.7.4 Silence

Silence is defined by Hornby as 'a situation in which somebody refuses to talk about something or to answer questions or a situation when nobody is speaking. As people are different in race so are they different in culture. It is often

said that language is a universal means of experiencing one's feeling, thought and beliefs yet; there are cultures where silence is used as a means of expression as well. In Hudson for, silence is seen as an indication of distress (117).

Each culture seems to have an unwritten agreement about the accepted length of a pause between the turns. In any culture, if the pause is intended to carry meaning, analysts call it an 'attributive silence' (Cutting 29). Speaker's silence may be justifiable and even construed as a floor-passing activity where, for instance, his physical appearance acts as a signal of having spoken. For instance, a seller that fixes a gaze on a buyer even without opening her mouth has spoken in Yoruba land.

Silence as a means of communication does not present any linguistic problem to the linguists but Wallwork says it can be potent (210). Silence, though cherished in some cultures is abhorred in others. For example, Bazilian Speech Community in South America is extremely verbal that, when a person says some disagreeable things, he is still considered better than someone who utters nothing. That is why Kernon et al conclude that 'The pleasure of life is talk' (214). Occasions where silence is observed differ from culture to culture. For instance, while silence is used to express rejection, disappointment and disinterestedness in some cultures it is used as a form of politeness in some.

Middle age men in Paliya in South India investigated by Gardener,in Montgomery seem to practically stop talking altogether as verbal communicative persons are regarded as abnormal and often as offensive (211). Among the Yoruba, silence could be maintained to show the disinterestedness of a person in a matter or whatever is going on but at the same time it can be used to express politeness. This means of communication is relevant to this work as it is often used by both the seller and the buyer as a means of politeness strategy to maintain interpersonal relation. This role shall be examined in our data analysis.

### 2.7.5 Limitations of Non-verbal Communication

Some linguists observed that as powerful as non-verbal communication appears to be in interpersonal functions, it can be stalled if not accompanied by verbal form. Also, the intended message may not be easily understood if the cultures of the speaker and the hearer which should enable them provide mutualunderstanding are not the same (Wallwork 210).These observations notwithstanding, of all the various types of non-verbal communication strategies so far discussed, none is found to be irrelevant to the topic of this study. All the credited characteristics of non-verbal communication strategies are found amply in the discourse of buying and selling. They are therefore, highlighted in the data.

Th second section of this chapter deals with the Theoretical Frame work of the study.This section has the following sub-headings: (a) Studying language in the 'context of situation' (b) Conversation Analysis (c) Pragmatics (d) lnteractional Sociolinguistics (e) Discourse Analysis and (f) Ethnography of Communicaton.

## 2.8 Studying Language in the 'Context of Situation'

The origin of 'context of situation' is traceable to Malinowski. But Firth, who according to Adegbija, was also interested in the cultural background of language, helps to elaborate Malinowski's concept of 'context of situation' and buids it into his own theory (24). To Firth, all linguistics was the study of meaning and meanings function in context (Olateju 2). Hymes according to Adegbija refers to context as the prevailing situation that surrounds an utterance (38). Context of situation is very important to interpreting utterances because that is where a text (spoken) is embedded and it refers to all those extra-linguistic factors which have some bearing on the text itself.

'Context of situation' provides 'endophoric' but necessary reference. 'Endophoric' reference refers to cognitive references which are not available in the text but without which the text cannot be interpreted (Halliday 31-32). In conversation analysis, 'context of situation' is important when an individual for instance, refers to himself as 'we' instead of 'I'. It would be difficult to understand

him unless we understand the 'context of situation' or circumstance within which he says so.

According to Osborn and Motley the context of a speech helps disambiguate ambiguous messages. The 'context of situation' they further express 'is a sort of protective shield against ambiguity' (3). The consideration of context therefore, is an essential ingredient for an effective communication where the speaker is able to carry the listeners along or sustain the audience attention. The same context determines the interpretation given to any utterance in order to derive the text features from the feature of situation.

Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens propose the three headings 'field', 'mode' and 'tenor' as the concepts required for describing how the 'context of situation' determines the kinds of meanings that are expressed (215). This is why Osborn and Motley stress the fact that, it is crucial to establish the context of utterance at every point in the message. Halliday who views language as a social semiotic, posits that since language is said to function in 'context of situation', any account of language therefore, which fails to build in the situation as an essential ingredient is likely to be artificial or unrewarding (50-51).

Traditionally, linguistic analysis takes notice of situation and this is usually expressed in deitic terms which reflect the speaker 'I', the addressee 'you', and the topic of communication 'it' (Omole 9). The role relation between the speaker and

the addressee can shift and alternate, when 'you' becomes 'I' and 'I' becomes 'you' whenever the hearer assumes the role of the speaker but the topic remains constant. This type of analysis of the context of situation is inadequate to handle the analysis of the situation under which an utterance is made effectively. A more precise and detailed identification of situation is therefore required to identify the 'context of situation'. To this effect, Firth according to Omole (18) lists the components of situation which include the relevant features of participants' personalities which include the verbal and non-verbal action, relevant objects and the effect of the verbal action on hearer (18).

From the above, it is clear that the categories of context as given by Firth are imprecise. For example, what does Firth mean by 'relevant object'? In spite of the imprecision, Firth's insistence on 'context of situation' as a means of interpreting utterances is important as his attempted categories provide a first approximation to a specification of component of communicative situation.

Like the traditional approach, Gregory like Crystal and Davy according to Omole adopts sociolinguistic approaches. These approaches establish the correlation between linguistic forms in a text and situational variable. In other words, language is given and explored in terms of extra-linguistic context (11-13).

Perhaps the most important work from the sociolinguistics point of view is that of Hymes in Gumperz in which he proposes taxonomy with thirteen (13)

elements reduce-able to the acronym 'SPEAKING'. The acronym 'S' means setting and scene, 'P' means participants, 'E' ends, 'A' act sequence, 'K' key, 'I' instrumentality, 'N' norms and 'G' genre. According to him, not all these elements are activated in a given situation ( Omole 14).

'S', 'setting' and 'scene' refer to general physical circumstances in which the communication events take place with reference to time and place. For example, a public lecture may be defined within a certain hall, 4pm on Monday 8th August, 2011. The scene is relatively formal since it is possible for the lecture to have been announced before hand. The implication of the 'context of situation' is in the interpretation of utterances in this work.

Context is a crucial factor in pragmatic analysis, as it influences what people say, how they say it and how others interpret what is said. The occasion of an utterance is important and dynamic as it has the potentials of making or marring human relation. Considering the meaning of an utterance in isolation of the context within which it was uttered therefore, may not bring out the exact meaning or the intention of the speaker. But when an utterance is related to the situation in which it occurs, the real or supposed meaning is made known.

Appropriate interpretation of utterance, Schmitt opines, requires some contextual information such as the role relationship of the interlocutors, communicative setting of the interaction, the number of people present and what

the communication event is all about (83). The 'context of situation' enables decoder to know what is said, why and how it was said (Babatunde and Adeyanju, 2002). Its relevance finds a place in this research work because interpretation of utterance in market conversation also requires the knowledge of the context within which it is uttered to avoid misinterpretation and ambiguity. 'Context of situation' will therefore be considered in the analysis of data in this work.

## 2.9 Theoretical Background

Different approaches have been adopted in classifying language according to nature and functions and no one approach has been considered absolute or best. This is because linguistics view of what language is and how language works have influenced the way in which the linguists perceive particular language. Recent works by Dyk and Tannen quoted in Ofor have shown that an utterance should not only be characterized in terms of the act accomplished by producing such an utterance but also the social meanings (24).

Based on this, he suggests that grammatical theory must take into its scope, conversation or two parties discourse. Unlike the grammatical sentence, conversation and discourse sample cannot be said to be well-formed or ill-formed because the correctness and or appropriateness of language choice is determined by the context within which it is used (Barry 7). This means, it will not be possible to

determine the grammaticality or well-formedness of utterance without getting involved in many ways in the details of social interaction by means of language.

### 2.9.1 Conversation Analysis

There are various approaches to the study of language as earlier stated and Conversation Analysis is one of those approaches. The origin andmuch of current practice in Conversation Analysis (which shall henceforth be referred to as CA) resides in the sociological approach to language and communication known as 'ethnomethodology' which is the study of the link between what social actors 'do' in interaction (Jaworsky and Coupland 19). Its development is traceable to the three renowned sociologists - Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, whose 'interest centered on the development of naturalistic observational discipline' that could deal with details of social interactions in a rigorous empirical and formal way. These sociologists' submission could be linked with Harold Garfinkel another sociologist and founder of the American 'ethnomethodology', whose proposition gave life to the distinctive methodology.

Dominant in the theory of ethnomethodology is the assumption that people use practical reasoning to produce orderly behaviour together and that the orderly structure of social interactions are part of the wider social order. This social structure is a form of order and this order is partly achieved through talk that is

itself structured and orderly. Fundamentally therefore, interaction is studied as a social rather than a linguistic process.

Following this line of investigation, CA views language as a form of social action and aims, in particular, to discover and describe how the organization of social interaction makes apparent and reinforces the structures of social organization and social institutions. The main concern of ethnomethodology therefore is to understand how society is organized and how it functions.

Garfinkel's approach is based on the common sense reasoning skills and ability which enable ordinary member of a culture to produce and recognize intelligible course of action. Social actors therefore endeavour to produce what can be regarded as orderly activity by themselves and other members of the community. The ultimate goal of interaction is the establishment of interpersonal relationships which is more important to CA than the exchange of information. Conversation in Levinson is defined as: 'a familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking, when generally occurs outside specific institutional settings like religious services, law courts, classrooms and the like' (184).

Although conversation takes place outside specific institution settings, it is an activity carried out for specific purpose. Analysts are therefore pre-occupied with discovering the underlying process that a speaker of a language orientates to

in order to produce and interpret communicative experiences. This Jaworski and Coupland observe, include the unsaid assumptions that are shared, natural knowledge and understanding the properties of the sequential organization of talk and the way in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences (19-20) Also in its analysis, CA considers both the recurring patterns of linguistic and non-linguistic choices which are equally analyzed in conversation.

CA is defined by Jaworski and Coupland (19-20) as:'the study of recorded naturally occurring talk-in-interaction…principally, it is to discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with central focus being on how sequences of interaction are generated'. Put in another way, CA's objectives is to uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequence of interaction. Emphasis has therefore shifted away from the patterns of 'knowing' per se towards discovering the structures of talk which produce and reproduce patterns of social action. As part of its concern is also the behaviour of participants in talk and on patterns recurring over a wide range of natural data.

Exponents of conversational analysis study conversation as a rich source of observable material on how members of a society achieve interaction orderliness in their everyday interaction with each other. They viewed conversation as jointly

constructed, practical accomplishments, and seek to display from the analysis of transcribed data, the methods adopted by participants in achieving orderliness (Montgomery, 1986). To achieve the above, conversation analysts engage in the study of data collection from naturally occurring interaction, while they avoid idealized treatment of research materials.The basic starting point of conversation analysis is the observation that conversation involves turn taking and that there is always a smooth transition from one speaker's turn to the other though not always. As a result, conversation analysts try to describe how people take turns in spoken interaction and under what circumstances they overlap turns or pause between them.

Sternstrom views conversation as a joint here-and-now social activity which is governed by two main principles:

(1) speakers take turns and

(2) speakers cooperate

A turn is described as everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over. While there are very short turns consisting of one word, others are very long and almost turning to short monologues. The contribution of conversationalist may start a conversation or keep it going or even terminate it. When a speaker says something, it provides opportunity for the next speaker to respond in one way or the other. Otherwise, there would be no conversation.

The cooperative nature of conversation forms the second principle. For conversation to work smoothly according to Sternstrom (1996), speakers have to cooperate on three levels: interaction, discourse organization and communication that is, they are expected to observe the basic rules for turn taking and to listen attentively when they are not speaking. It is also expected of them to transmit in a way that does not create ambiguity and be prepared to make inferences from the context, whatever that is required. But one thing noticed is that speakers do not always cooperate as ther are occasional fallout between speakers.

Heritage (1989) in his contribution, suggests that the basic orientation of conversation analytic structures could be summarized in terms of three assumptions: The first is that, interaction is structurally organized. This most fundamental assumption means that all aspects of social action and interaction can be explained in terms of conversationalized or institutionalized structural organization which analysably informs their production (Frank, 1989).

Secondly, it is assumed that the significance of any participant's communicative action is doubly contextual, in that, action is both context-shaped and context-renewing. It is context-shaped because its contribution to an ongoing sequence of actions cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the context in which it participates. Communicative action is also context renewing since every current utterance will itself form the immediate context for some next

action in a sequence; it will inevitably contribute to the contextual framework in terms of which, the next action will be understood.

The consequences of this are two for conversational analysis researchers. The first consequence is a general retreat from premature theory construction in favour of a strongly empirical approach to the study of social action. The second consequence lies in the adoption of a similarity stringent view towards the analysis of the cultural competencies which are employed in the production and recognition of activities.

The final which is the third of the assumptions is that, there is stress on the value of naturally occurring data as the central medium of research. This emerges in relation to two interrelated considerations. The first is that without recorded data which can be repeatedly examined, it is simply impossible to gain access to the detail necessary for the analysis of conversational interaction. The second consideration is that conversation analysts have aimed at grasping the organized procedures of talk as they are employed in real relationships where talk has a real consequentiality and accountability.

There are two other basic notions that underpin conversation analysis but they are subsumed by the earlier basic assumption suggested by Heritage (1989).The first is the notion of accountability among speakers. Here, behaviour is always designed to take account of how it will be interpreted and analyzed.

Following the above is the focus on 'sequential organization of conversation. In conversation, each contribution creates a new context which the next speaker has to take account of. Therefore, meaning is not inherent in the utterance but depends upon how it is responded to by the speakers.

McArthur (1996) points out that discourse and conversational analysts are interested in essentially similar phenomena, but they often see their perspective approach as distinct or even incompatible in verbal interaction as a manifestation of linguistic order and are concerned to describe and explain it in terms of comprehensive model utterance-exchange. Discourse analyst has tended to concentrate mostly on institutionalized settings while Conversation analysis is more concerned with verbal interactions as instances of the situated social order. It eschews the practice of setting up general models of analysis and undertakes instead to characterize small-scale local feature of conversational organization. In other words, rather than try to impose large structures on what is happening from the outset as discourse analysts do, conversation analysts begin at the most local level, trying to see how participants in interaction handle conversation; how they judge who can speak and when. Though the contribution of a CA may not do justice to the description of talk in a wide range, its insights are valuable to understanding patterns of individual relations between interactants' 'individuals'

'positions within larger institutional structures and overall, societal organization (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999 :19-22).

This is not to say CA is without its critics. The most contested notion in relation to CA is that of 'context'. Indeed, what CA programmatically assumes to be the sole (and sufficient) source of its analysis is, according to Heritage,'the organization of talk itself'(1-2) .The initial and most fundamental assumption of CA is that all aspects of social action and Interaction can be examined in terms of the conventionalized or institutionalized structural organizations which analyzably inform their production.

The ethnographic critique of CA's disregard for the cultural and historical context of interactions is summarized by Duranti in Jaworski and Coupland (19-27). He does not dismiss CA's, methods and goals a priori; he also argues that some of the insights and observation about interaction as provided by CA cannot be accessed without attention to the fine ethnographic details that is characteristic of the ethnographic approach (Jaworski and Coupland 22).

Conversation analysis has been criticized for limiting its horizon because it takes little account of the cultural context of interactions. It gives a rather implausible image of conversation as a skilled social practice existing in a socio-cultural vacuum; as if talk were generally engaged in just for its own sake. Conversation analysts have equally been accused of taking for granted that the

practical reasoning processes of the analyst are the same as those used by the speaker.

Nevertheless, because conversation, no matter how restricted, takes place in the speech situation under study. This research work is therefore expected to benefit enormously from the basic notions introduced by conversation analysts. Some of these notions are 'turns','types of turn taking''preference organization in adjacency pairs', and the 'sequencing of a spoken interaction into the beginning, middle and close'.Perhaps, the greatest relevance of conversation analysis to the present research work is its insistence on the use of naturally occurring data in real life's situation. This research is essentially an effort in conversation analysis even though it will take into account the socio-cultural context of language use of the situation under investigation for effective interpretation of utterances.

## 2.10 Conversation

Schegloff (1968) defines conversation 'as all shades of the state of talk. He is of the opinion that conversation covers dialogue, chats, asking for and getting the time of the day and not just a social action carried out by people who are casually or intimately related' (1076). Conversation is also defined by Levinson as a familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more people freely alternate in speaking outside specific institutional settings like court trials and classroom talk. Any discourse produced by more than one person is tagged conversation b. But

this is restricted to spoken dialogue. Cook adds that a talk can only be classified as conversation if it is not primarily necessitated by a practical task, when any unequal power of participants is partially suspended, when turns are small and talk is primarily for the participants and not for the outside audience. To Stubb (1983), conversation is unplanned, unplanable and unpredictable. In the researcher's view, conversation is any unplanned face-to-face talk produced by more than one person outside specific institutional settings.

Talor in Abdul classifies conversation into two groups-informative dialogues and the idle chat. While informative dialogue contains brief and purposeful dialogue, an idle talk on the other hand is about this and that between two or more participants, the purpose of which is mainly just to exchange information (43). Most often, idle chat are about nothing in particular. Whatever the nature of any conversation, there is one feature that unites all conversations and that is the fact that, all types of conversations involve speaker – listener interaction and an on-the-spot formulations of speech .These two salient features of conversational speech mark it out as distinct from written text of discourse.

Conversation, Abdul (2001) states, is characterized by features such as overall interactional goal, topic shift without the content of a pre-determined topic, schedule and equality of participant status. Conversation can be seen as a social activity that takes place between familiar people in relaxed atmosphere outside

institutional settings. As the activity is not planned, the outcome of such activity cannot be predictable. Conversation needs to involve at least a speaker and a hearer and for an activity to qualify as conversation it must be spoken, friendly or casual or intimate.The speech event under examination in this study qualifies as conversation as it meets all the conditions mentioned above.Folowing this explication are what the researcher tags ingredients of Conversaton Analysis which are discussed below.

## 2.11 Conversation Rules

In any society, there are specific rules governing the conduct of conversation and cognizance of these facilitates smooth discourse. Though these conventions are not taught, whenever an aspect is transgressed against, it is quickly noticed and frowned at. Whatever the nature of the conversation, certain regularities are found where speaker A speaks to stimulate response in B and B's response in turn, provokes further response from A. Most of these tactics or rules, which could be verbal or non-verbal, are culture specific. In free discourse, Wallwork (1981) notes, rules are observed. Some of the rules that govern conversation are explicit while some are implicit. Some of these rules which are generated are culture specific. For instance, in Yoruba land when one is fed up with a situation and wants to leave, one can indicate this with the squinting of eyes but in English the affected person may merely look at his/her wristwatch. Some of the

communication constraints are supra-sentential, that is, supra contextual.These rules are briefly discussed below.

### 2.11.1 Getting attention/Discourse initiation

Before the commencement of any conversation, the attention of the hearer is necessary for linguistic production to be functional and accomplish its purpose. Getting attention is a convention to be assimilated especially by non-speaker of a language. Without such a convention, a non-speaker of the language in use may be reluctant to participate in conversation because of his own inhibition.

One way of getting attention is by asking question in order to start the listener thinking about the topic. In this way, the listener could become actively involved. Most of the time, these questions require direct answers. For instance, in a market situation, which is the focus of this study, questions can be used to get the attention of a customer. An example is: (a) Seller: 'Anti ee bawa wo gba wa ni?' (Sister won't you look at our goods?)This is an indirect invitation and most times, this strategy works and negotiation commences at once. At times, questions can be used to get the attention of a seller who is far away from her goods. An example is:(b) Buyer: 'Talo nigba o? 'Who owns this stock?'It is this question which is in form of summon that will arrest the attention of the seller and he/she runs to his/her goods to attend to the buyer.

### 2.11.2 Topic Development

It is the wish of participants in any conversation to get their conversation developed to a meaningful level. But often times, a lot of things (events) come in to punctuate temporarily or terminate the discourse. Conversation can be developed using turn-taking conventions. For instance, a question requires an answer and from the answer, another question can emerge thereby creating adjacency pairs. These chains of reaction can go on endlessly where there is mutual understanding. When an answer to a question is not forthcoming, it is quickly noticed. The importance of this pairing is that, it provides organizing device within the flow of conversation. That is turn-taking provides structure to conversation.

| **English** | | **Yoruba** |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Customer, how much is this bag? | Elo lapo yi? |
| Seller: | This or that one? Or which of them? Two thousand naira | Se eleyi abi ewo ninu won? Apo mewa |
| Buyer | Are they the same? | Se iru kan ni won? |
| Buyer: | What is the last price? | Elo ni jale? |
| Seller: | Pay one thousand five hundred | San apomeje abo |
| Buyer: | Do you have the black colour? | Se oni kolo dudu? |
| Seller: | No. But this colour is also good. | Rara amo kolo yi da |
| Buyer: | I prefer the black. Thanks. | Dudu ni mofee eseun. |

### 2.11.3 Topic Termination

While trying to develop a topic in conversation, many problems can be encountered, such as effort by hearer to clarify topic and the need for 'repair' in

linguistic error. There could also be a shift or avoidance of topic through verbal and non-verbal cues. The non-verbal dimension of conversation, Adegbija says, is greater than the verbal aspect (18). This is true of interactive language functions in which social contact is of key importance. That is, it is not what one says that counts but how one says it. What is conveyed with body language, gesture, eye contact, physical distance, and other non-verbal messages and 'backchannel' are very important. Any of these variables including interruption can help to terminate or restructure conversation. Where a buyer for instance is out to do a market survey, he will not be ready to develop discourse as shown in this example. Buyer: Elo ni bucket? (How much is this bucket?) Seller: Apo marun. (one thousand)The buyer did not respond to the given price before she walks away and the transaction gets terminated.

Topic termination is difficult to master through transactional functions. For instance, one of the conversationalists may wish to terminate a topic while the other may wish it continues. Topic termination could be because of mood, lack of mutual understanding or lack of interest in whatever is going on. Topic and age for instance, can function to terminate conversation. If a topic on promiscuity is opened with a highly religious person for instance, it may not stir up any interest in such a person as a result, such a topic can be terminated suddenly.In addition, when a topic that tests the linguistic competence of a child is raised, the

conversation may not develop, as the child may not be able to go far. Likewise, in a market situation, when a buyer offers a ridiculous price the seller could keep quiet and not respond until the buyer goes away. When a seller gives a high price the the buyer may not say anything before he or she moves away. The relevance of this aspect of communication is further highlighted in the analysis of data.

## 2.12 Features of Conversation

Features of conversation include: 'turn taking' and 'adjacency pairs. There are two types of turns identified by Sternstrom (1996: 68). These are: the 'simple'and the 'complex'.A'simple' turn is where the turn contains only one move but where the turn contains two moves it is called 'complex'.

Examples are: Two interactants – a buyer and a seller

B: Alright look. Can I take this as replacement?

S: No.

In Sternstrom's view, B does two things in her turn. In the first part of her turn, she draws the attention of the seller to the pawpaw she wants in replacement of the small one in her hand with 'Alright look,' then in the last part she asks if the seller would allow an exchange: 'can I take this as replacement?' The seller (S) on the other hand does just one thing in her turn which is just a response 'No.'In turn A, the turn is complex because more than one thing is done. Turn B is a simple turn because only one thing is done. Several of these samples – 'complex' and

'simple' turns abound in market exchanges and shall be given adequate attention in the data later.

Sternstrom (1996) further elaborates that a turn may contain just one move and yet be more intricate than a complex one. This is when there are a lot of pauses, and verbal fillers employed by the speaker to formulate the required message. It is equally possible for a turn to be fairly long in terms of words but simple in terms of content and function. All these varieties are available in our data for analysis.

### 2.12.1 Turn taking

The turn is the basic analytic unit in conversation analysis and the length of turns varies ranging from a minimal one-word utterance to extended talk for many minutes (Carter and Simpson, 1989: 292). This is an aspect of conversation where it is mandatory that two or more participants must be involved to facilitate exchange. Turn taking simply refers to the negotiation of the floor by the participants in a discourse. In conversasion, speakers take turns. At any given time, it is expected that one person will speak at a time depending on the culture prevailing. It is not often possible for all the participants to talk all at the same time. Conversely also, there is no time when no one talks at all. This is not to say there is no time when silence is observed or noticed but whenever such a silence or pause is noticed, it is usually 'repaired'.

A turn is everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over and this turn taking system provides a basic framework for the organization of talk; as it allows participants to alternate the floor. This process leaves talk coordinated. A turn usually consists of one or more 'turn consideration units' that is marked by interaction, stress or pause. Where a turn is endlessly dominated by a speaker thereby almost turning to a monologue and the listener is tired of waiting, the listener can cut it to create what is called 'overlapping' or 'interruption'.Turn construction unit may be deliminated by intonation, stress or pause. To mark the end of a transaction, participants can use all those features of unit to project the end-point of the turn that is currently in progress. What marks the end of a turn is what is called Transition Relevance Place (TRP) which is where speaker-change may occur.

To determine the end of a turn, the speaker needs to observe a lot of things that include knowledge of the content of what he says, the prosodic as well as the grammatical structures of the speech and the non-verbal behaviour that include gaze direction and eye contact. The TRP point does not mean just anything should happen. There is an ordered set of rules for the allocation of the next turn. These rules include, the current speaker either selects the next speaker or the next speaker selects him/herself. It is also possible that the current speaker carries on. Turn

taking system according to Sternstrom (1996:68-83) involves the basic strategies which are:

1. Taking the turn
2. Holding the turn
3. Yielding the turn

These three strategies present a perfect system that allows only one person to speak at a time while the other waits patiently for his/her turn.

In turn taking, two things are likely to happen and which may affect the turn taking system. For instance, the listener may not be attentive enough. When a speaker does not project accurately the end of the last speaker's turn, the speaker's coming in will lead to unintended overlap (Adeniran 95-96). But when the new speaker enters at the point in the last speaker's utterance, it is not an unintended overlap but rather an interruption as it is planned by the new speaker.When in the process of speaking, the listener loses track or gets disconnected from the conversation, it may also cause unplanned 'silence' especially if the listener is not ready to fill the gap. These are also features in turn taking in conversation exchanges in market transaction in Yoruba land though not rampant; they shall be examined in our data analysis.

## 2.12.2 (i)Interruption

Interruptions constitute a deeper incursion into a speaker's ongoing turn, penetrating well within the grammatical boundaries of a current speaker's utterance.

Examples:A When the man comes we shall talk about it but in case he….
B Now it may be fruitless buying the cap without a*de*quate preparation for the feast.

'A has begun a new clause (but in…) when the second speaker (B)'s turn began.The onset of this turn is classified as an 'interruption' of A'.

A glaring reason for interrupting a turn may be because, the listener feels the speaker has completed his talk and has nothing more to say or that the listener believes that there is no need for further explanation on the topic. It could also be because the listener wants to speak at a particular point in the on-going talk before it is too late. Any of these can lead to interactants competing for the turn. Turns like these are atimes confusing to outsider but definitely not to the interactants as they are usually ready to proceed in the conversation and even end amicably.

There are some discourse devices used to serve as interrupters.These interrupters come in form of alerts and 'metacomments'. Alerts as the name suggests are used to attract participant's attention and they are usually uttered with loud sound. Examples are: 'eh' and 'haba!' These are common in market

transactions in Yoruba land usually, where there is a fall out between the seller and the buyer over prices.

( a) 'Haba!' the price can't go lower than this'

( b) 'Hey, you mean that is the last price".

**2.12.3 (ii) Overlapping**

This is another feature of conversation. It is a simultaneous speech that results from the speaker's failure to project the end of the last speaker's turn with complete accuracy. 'Overlap' is when the beginning of one turn momentarily coincides with the end of another and it is a common rather than a disruptive feature of fallout talk. Where the new speaker comes in at the point where she thinks the last speaker will finish, forms one type of overlapping. In this case the overlap is not intended. The other type is the one in which the new speaker may start to speak at the point in the last speaker's utterance. When overlapping is intended it becomes interruption. This is a feature that is not too common in market business transactionbut it shall be considered in our analysis wherever it occurs.

**2.12.4 (iii)Insertion Sequences**

This is another feature of turn taking. The embedded sequences of question and answer within the original pairs are called 'insertion sequences' (Adeniran 97). The reason for this occurrence within turn taking is that, at times speakers are not ready to get themselves committed until they know more or get more facts. It also

happens that a speaker may want to stall a next speaker producing not a second pair parts but another first pair part.When this happens, the result is dispreferred response that can lead to 'insertion sequence'. This is because the response provided to previous questions is not appropriate. As it is inappropriate, it becomes odd and therefore forms what is called an 'insertion sequence'. This is a way of saying 'if you answer my question, I will answer yours'.An example is given below:

A: Where is the pen I gave you?

B: Who brought this bag here?

A: The class prefect

B: I left it at home

In this conversation, the question asked by A did not elicit an appropriate answer until B was sure of A's inttention. Therefore, B's utterance was also a question that had to be answered before B's real utterance finally came. The first utterance from B and the second utterance from A are embedded sequences and answer within the original pair. These embedded sequences are called 'insertion sequence.This insertion makes conversation to be treated as an accomplished product rather than a developing process. This is because the process is already punctuated and moreso, answer may never occur. One thing to be noted in this structure is the fact that, during the inserted sequence the original question retains

its transition relevance. If it happens that the second speaker fails to produce an answer it is noticeably absent.This feature is a possibility in market business exchanges and will therefore be given some attention in the data analysis.

**2.12.5 (iv)Backchannel**

According to Montgomery, 'backchannels are those indications by non-speaking participants of their reactions to what is being said. These reactions, she further states, could be 'through positive gesture and gaze direction… they could be supplemented by vocal forms such as 'laughter', 'eh', 'ah' … but they do not constitute a turn in themselves (114). What differentiates 'backchannel' from turn is the fact that, they do not involve a speaker shift. Rather, they come between turns and cause partial overlap or interruption.They are sometimes introduced to discourage or encourage speakers or listeners (especially in Yoruba market situations). 'Backchannels according to Hudson (1980) do come from a third party (uninvited) who is an onlooker in the speech event. Though backchannels are external comments, they wield a great influence on both participants in the talk.

According to Schmitt (2002), backchannels are not interruptions but co-operative activity by participants to facilitate communication. Backchannels are common in market conversation; they are directed at both buyers and sellers in market situation. They are used to either encourage a seller to sell to the buyer or

discourage the seller from selling at a particular price offered by a buyer. In most cases, 'backchannels are meant to encourage buyers to buy.

These attributes of 'backchannels make them relevant in the act of buying and selling. Both sellers and buyers are mindful of them as they can affect buying and selling negatively or positively. This aspect of conversation is therefore highlighted more in the course of the data analysis of this study.

**2.13 (B) Adjacency pairs**

Different authors have written about utterance that occurs one after the other thereby forming pairs. This pattern of occurrence is referred to as 'dialogic pairs' ( Abdul 2001: 57) and as 'adjacency pairs'(Coulthard 1977: 52-62). Whatever is the name given, all the definitions provided by various authors point to one and the same thing. But this work is more comfortable with the name given by Coulthard- 'adjacency pairs'. Adjacency pair is seen as the basic unit of conversation, a pair of utterance produced by different speakers whose second member is constrained by the first. Schegloff (1968:52-62 ) defines Adjacency pairs in Coulthard as a feature of conversation that: 'a person who has asked questions has areserved right to talk again, after the oneto whom he has addressed the question speaksand in using this reserved right he can ask a question.

Adjacency pair can also be seen as a sequentially constrained pair of turns at talk in which the occurrence of a first pair part creates a slot for the occurrence of a

second pair part. The non occurrence of a second pair part of an utterance is heard as an official absence; thereby de-pairing the pair.Crystal (2000 : 7) defines adjacency pair as 'a single stimulus response sequence by the participants.'Though Crystal has not stated specifically which of the pairs provides the stimulus (whether first or second) and which one produces the response, it is certain that the first pair stimulates the second. A 'hello good morning, from Mr. B attracts a 'Good day' from Mr. C. This is a pair, while 'Hello good morning,' stimulates 'Good day' that forms the response.

Adjacency pairs Coulthard says are basic structural units in conversation. They can be used for opening and closing conversation

[ 'Hi there' ]

'Hello' opening conversation

[ 'Bye then' ]
[ 'Bye' ] closing conversation (Coulthard 2000:70)

During conversation, adjacency pairs are important for operating the turn-taking system as they enable a speaker to select next action and next speaker to avoid both gap and overlap. This explains Adeniran's stand that spoken interactions are typically structured around pairs of adjacent utterances.

Adjacency pairs Schiffrin (1988) observes are sequentially implicative because, the prime location for the display of a relationship between utterances is in the next turn at talk, especially one whose relevance to a prior turn has already been proposed. Based on this, pairs of utterances in talk are mutually dependent, as a question predicts an answer and an answer presupposes a question.This is a common feature in market business transaction and shall be studied.

### 2.13.1Features of the Pairs

Features of the pairs according toAbdul include the following:

1. They are of two- utterance length. That is, there is usually a first utterance followed by a second utterance as given below:

   A: Grace good morning

   B: Good morning Paul

It is also possible to have a one first-pair part utterance that is followed by a two second- pair utterance as found below:

A: When is the meeting?

B: I can't say

C: Why do you want to know?

Even though the responses of B & C to A may appear as two, they constitute single pair to A's single initial initiation. Supporting this is Goffman (1967: 290)

that says ‘natural talk might not be just a conversational unit but an interactional one. This is because, an event may be mentioned and a comment is passed on it. This is not usually the case in our own setting- the market, where transactions are mostly strictly between a buyer and a seller; a third contributor’s comment (backchannel) is not usually recognized.

2. They are adjacently positioned.

Under this feature, answers are adjacently positioned side by side with questions thereby creating a question- response relation. While the question forms the first pair part, the response forms the second pair part.

A: Who brought this bag?

B: I did.

Through this adjacent positioning of utterances Schegloff (1968: 240) asserts ‘appreciations, failures, corrections, etc can be themselves understandably attempted’. This is because, through this adjacent positioning, a speaker can show that he understood what a speaker said and that he is ready or not to cooperate. Through this pairing also, questions are answered and requests are rejected or accepted.

It may be difficult to come across strict adjacency as adjacency pairs can be punctuated by ‘insertion sequence’. An example is:

A: How much is this yam? Q1

B: Do you wish to buy or just pricing? Q2

A: I want to buy A2

B: Okay ₦250 A1

This posibility of 'insertion sequence' occasionally is what prompts Levinson (1983) to share the view that there should be a replacement of the strict criterion of adjacent positioning, with the notion of conditional relevance. That is, when a first pair part of utterance is given, the second pair is immediately relevant and expectable, but if such a second part fails to occur as noted in the above example, then it is noticeably absent. If another first part then occurs in its place, it will be heard where possible as some preliminary to the doing of the second part.The relevance of which is not lifted, until it is either directly attended to or aborted by the announced failure to provide some preliminary action. This follows that, it is not completely true to assert that a question must receive an immediately adjacently positioned answer if it is to count as a well-formed discourse, but the expectation of the setting up of specific expectations which have to be attended to before the answer is provided. Consider this exchange between a husband and a wife.

A: Have you paid our rent?

B: Why are you bothered?

A: I just feel concerned

B: Okay. No.

B's response to A is likely to be precipitated on the possibility that the husband is extravagant while their rent has expired.

3. Different utterances are produced by different speakers.

When a first speaker produces first pair part of talk, the rule states that he must stop to give response by producing a second pair part. In other words there must be a speaker A who is different from speaker B, and what speaker B uttered have been informed by what speaker A uttered. That is, a question anticipates an answer and not a command. It is further agued that, it is possible for one person to produce a pair of utterance with the first serving as a stimulus to the production of the second as its response. This is where a person soliloquizes.

4. Parts are relatively ordered

As part of the features of the pair, there is a relatively ordering of parts. In other words the first pair part precedes the second pair part. In that case, it follows that there is an immediate answer to every question.

A: When are you travelling?

B: Tomorrow by the grace of God

This sequence may not occur in classroom exchange between teachers and students. This is because the students might not be aware of where questions are coming from so as to prepare their minds.

5. Pairs have discriminative relations.

In this feature the pair type of which a first pair part is a member is relevant to the selection among the second parts (Abdul, 2001: 58-68) That is to say the pair has discriminative relations. The response to an initiation for instance, must be relevant and not the opposite. It is possible for the initiation to call forth similar responses. That is why there are several first pair parts with several possible second pair parts. So their production cannot be as constraining as others in terms of the choice or selection of the right or relative response. For instance, the English word 'Hello' in McCarthy (1991) could be a greeting or a request to a telephone caller for identification of self or an expression of surprise. In Nigeria on the other hand it is 'an attention-getter'

An example: Hello Paul what do you say?

In some ritualized first pair parts, there could be identical second pair parts as in 'Goodmorning – Goodmorning' 'Hello – Hello'. But there are some that require a different second pair part as found in the example below.

'You are welcome – Thanks.

The response ‘thanks’ which is the second pair part could be a second pair part to a range of first pair parts. It could be a response to offers or apologies.

There are times when the type of response to a talk is determined by the degree of intimacy between the participants. That means there will be ‘preference organization’ associated with the selection of acceptances or rejections. This is because the potential second parts to a first part of a pair are not of equal standing which translates to mean that there will be ‘preferred’ and the ‘disprefered’ categories of responses .For instance, while acceptance will be preferred as a response, rejections will be dispreferred actions.Preferred second pair partare usually ‘unmarked’ and are normally produced while dispreferred seconds are ‘marked’ and usually come after some significant delay.

## 2.14 Conversation Structure

Structure is defined by Hornby (2000: 1110) as ‘the way in which the parts of something are connected together, arranged or organized’. While conversation is defined by Sternstrom (1996:134) as a piece of discourse containing one or more topics, each of these corresponds to a transaction structure. Conversation Structure therefore, will refer to the arrangement of the parts that form a conversation in a unified way. Relating this to the structure of exchange in market situation, it thus

means the way sellers and buyers string together their verbal utterances to form a whole text.

The whole pattern of face-to-face conversation according to Sternstrom depends on where the conversations take place, who is talking to whom and what the talk is about (135). And what makes a conversation hang together is first of all, the interactional framework which determines the overall conversational structure in terms of 'opening', 'message', and 'closing' sections.

The opening and the closing sections are more or less purely the interactive parts of a conversation where not much is being talked about. But the message part or is interactively coherently and cohesively linked. Each of these parts that represent the structure of conversation is examined below:

### 2.14.1 (A) Opening

This is the portion of transaction that opens or introduces one into what is about to feature in conversation. Exchange openings differ in complexity depending on how well the interactants know each other, what they are talking about and the aim of the conversation. The nature of an opening is also determined by whether the conversation is private or public. For instance, when the topic is private and informal the dialogue may open without any polite introductory moves rather, the interactants go straight to the point. An example is:

Buyer: How much is this pawpaw?

Seller: N50

But when the topic is private, informal and between two familiar persons, it may open with some polite chats such as found below:

Buyer: Mama Grace, its long i saw you last. Hope there is no problem?

Seller: It's fuel subsidy o. How much is this pawpaw?

Most conversations begin with opening before the message is introduced but some face-to-face conversations lack openings altogether. Three types of introductory procedures can precede the opening.These are by 'summonsing', by 'framing' and by 'focusing'.

**2.14.1.1 (i) Summons:** The attention of a person is arrested through summons. This could be by the use of vocatives such as the use of proper names or kinship terms or some other forms of address such as greetings. Examples are given below:

i. Good morning
ii. Grace how now?
iii. My dear long time.

Summons Sternstrom (1996) says strengthens the force of subsequent question and thus makes it impossible or difficult for the hearer or listener to avoid answering. This is a common feature used in opening market exchanges in Yoruba land and shall therefore be considered in the data later.

**2.14.1.2 (ii) Framing:** This is another way of calling the listener's attention though it is not as effective as summonsing. A frame Sternstom (1996) says signals that a message is on the way or that a topic is about changing frames such as 'well', 'now', 'ok', 'anyway', 'all right'. This is not a feature too common in market exchanges but but whenever it appears it shallbe considered in the analysis.

**2.14.1.3 (iii) Focusing:** This is the third way of opening conversation. It also calls for the attention of listeners. This can be used to arouse attention or mark a transition between topics. Examples are preface and metacomments such as 'what else'. These are used to fill gaps in conversation or carry conversation forward.This is not a common feature in market exchanges and may therefore not be examined in the analysis of data in this work.

After these strategies for opening conversation comes the 'initiate'. That is, topic introduction. This 'initiate' happens to be the first and the obligatory move in any exchange and Sternstrom identifies three ways in which an exchange can be introduced. These include making a 'statement' asking a 'question' and putting forward a request. These three forms the basic initiating acts and fortunately, they are all present in market exchanges in Yoruba land.

**'Statements'** are meant to supply information and answers are expected. An example is: 'The engagement ceremony comes up today by 4pm'. The initiator expects a reply from the hearer such as 'I hope to be there'or 'that is alright'. When

an exchange opens by questioning such as ‘when is the engagement ceremony coming up?’ the questioner as the initiator above also expects an answer such as‘Next week.’

Another way of opening conversation is by **asking question** in order to start the listener thinking about the topic (Osborn and motley, 1999) In this way, listener becomes actively involved and Sternstrom (1996) identifies four types of questions which are: the ‘identification’, the ‘polarity’, the ‘confirmation’ and the ‘echo’ questions. An identification question asks for an answer such as ‘who is the owner of these yams?’ The answer to this type of question can be brief or long. There is no restriction on what kind of information and how much information can be expected. This type of question features prominently in market exchanges in Yoruba land and most often they elicit information from the seller or even buyer. Here, there is no restriction to the length of answer to be provided. It is therefore given attention in the data analysis.

The next type of question is the ‘polarity’ question that asks for a yes or a no answer. An example is:

A: Do you have mellon?

B: Yes

This type of question is also prominent in our data and shall therefore be studied.

The ‘confirmation’ question that asks for confirmation answer forms the third type of question. An example is ‘you mean you have paid back the money? This is confirming the obvious. This third type of question is also available in our data but not as prominent as the first two.

The ‘echo’ question is where the previous speaker is made to repeat (part of) what he has just said. As an example:

A: Will you be able to come to our house?

A: I said will you come to our house? This comes in the form of a repair.

**2.14.1.4 (iv) Requesting:** This is where a speaker asks a listener to do something or to allow the speaker himself/herself do something. Example:

1 ‘I want you to help me close the door’

2 ‘Give me chance to talk’

This type of question used to introduce topics is also present in market exchanges in Yoruba land especially where there is need to express request in a conventionally polite way. It shall be examined in our data analysis.

**2.15 Middle/Message:** This is the second stage in conversation structure. The message of a conversation is what the conversation is about and this message is developed within a topical framework. The message section of transaction or conversation is the area that is more complex. The message of a face-to-face

conversation can contain any thing from a main topic, divided into subtopics, to a series of more or less related topics. Each topic corresponds to a transaction and each transaction is made up of more than one exchange.

Within the message, there could be topic change, topic drifting and topic shifting. When a topic changes, the current topic of discussion is abandoned in favour of a new unrelated one.This is not common in market exchanges. When topic shifts on the other hand, there is a move from one topic to a related topic or a move from one aspect of the current topic to another. Thisfeature is common in market exchanges in Yoruba land especially when a seller is bent on getting customers persuaded. Within the persuasion the seller can allude to 'some aspects of the main topic just to convince the customer. Topic'shift shall therefore be examined in our data.

It is also possible to have topic 'drift' within the message. This time, movement from one topic to another is imperceptible. Topic drifts Cutting (2002) says are linguistically unmarked but there is usually some associate link between the old and the new topic. In a conversation that progresses well, talk drifts imperceptibly from topic one to another. Examples of these are found in our data and shall therefore receive attention.

There could be ‘digression’ also which involves moving away temporarily from the current topic spontaneously or deliberately. There are some digressions which are clearly related to the current topic while others appear to be completely unrelated. Digressions are usually introduced by phrases such as: actually, by the way, I mean, incidentally. Usually, speakers who broke out of the current topic are the ones who take the initiative to go back and resume the old topics. . This process therefore leads to topic shift and this type of digression that leads to topic resumption is usually introduced by ‘alright’, ‘ok’, ‘well’,’ now’, ‘anyway’.These are features in market transactions and shall therefore be considered in the analysis.

It is the wish of participants in any conversation to get their topic developed to meaningful level. But often times, a lot of things (events) come in to punctuate temporarily or terminate the topic. Conversation can be developed using turn-taking conventions. For instance, a question requires an answer and from the answer, another question can emerge thereby creating adjacency pairs. These chains of reaction can go on almost endlessly where there is mutual understanding but when an answer to a question is not forthcoming, it is quickly noticed.

The importance of these pairing, Montgomery (2001) further notices is that, turn-taking provides organizing device within the flow of discourse (also present in market exchanges. The message section is where haggling is usually carried out. It is the core of transaction and this is where the structure built up through turn taking

is actually noticed. It is more complex than either the 'opening' or the 'closing' part of transactions. There are occasions in market exchanges where topics are merely introduced but not developed. An example is given as:

Buyer: Elo ni peli yi? How much is this bucket?

Seller: Apo meta abo ₦700

Here the topic is merely introduced but not developed before the buyer left.

The message section in the work is where bargaining takes place. It is where prices are argued out and it forms the body of the transaction which contains what the transaction is all about. It is equally where the structure and components of structure are displayed through turn-taking. Within the message stage, sequential ordering of conversation comes into limelight.

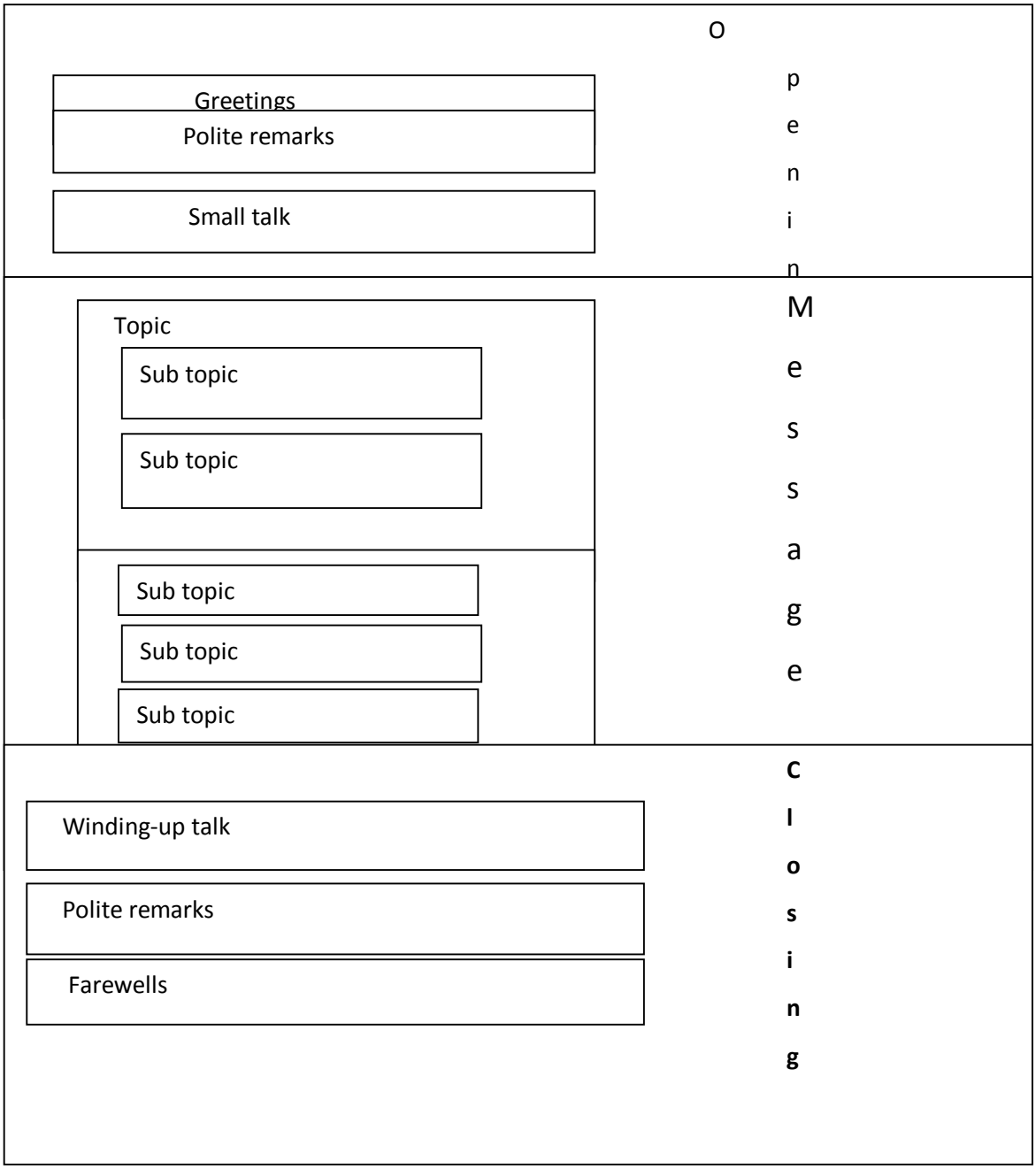
## 2.16 Closing:

The closing is where the message winds up or comes to a close with polite phrases before the conversation is finally closed. This stage Hudson (1980) says is difficult to master through transactional functions. For instance, one of the conversationalists may wish to terminate a topic while the other may wish it continues. Topic termination could be because of mood or lack of mutual understanding Atimes terminations are linguistically marked while at some other times no linguistic marker for termination of conversation.

Closing up a conversation may be more demanding as the situation may demand more varied techniques, such as going away without saying goodbye or where a talk follows goodbye. In a market situation for instance, when a buyer offers a ridiculous price the seller could keep quite and not respond. As a result transaction closes abruptly. As this is a feature in market exchanges in Yoruba land, it shall feature in the data analysis.

This structural division of conversation as noted here (opening, message, closing) is a possibility in market business exchanges in Yoruba land that has that structure of 'topic initiation', topic development and 'topic termination'.

**Table i: Conversation Structure**




(Sternstrom 1996:183)

## 2.17 Interactional Sociolinguistics

This is a sub discipline of linguistics founded by Gumperz (nd) a linguistic anthropologist (Wikipedia 2011). The aim of Gumperz was to develope

interpretive sociolinguistics approaches to the analysis of real time processes of face-to-face interactions. As an off-shoot of linguistics, Interactional Sociolinguistics (which shall henceforth be referred to as 'ISL') employs discourse analysis to study how language users create meaning via interactionand takes into account the pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of interaction as well as adjacency pair, turn taking and sequences (all that equally interest conversation analysis), (Wikipedia 2011). It also gives relevance to the way that language is situated in particular circumstances in social shared knowledge about speakers and their purpose in speaking. ISL also looks at social structure, grammar and cultural patterns. In the opinion of ISL, social groups have their own ways of expressing meanings with their language.

According, to Gumperz quoted in Cutting (2002), language relates to context through 'contextualization cues'. That is, those linguistic features that indicate the aspects of the context relevant to what the speaker means and the full meaning is accessed when the hearer is familiar with the rest of the context and when he is a member of the social group. When these subtle cues present in a situation are not noticed by participants in a conversation according to Wikipedia (2011) it can lead to misunderstanding especially when the interactants are from different cultural backgrounds. This explains the reason why ISL as a model of studying language, has among its focuses cross cultural miscommunication and politeness.

The combination of Conversation Analysis and ISL as the model for studying language is very apt especially for studying language use in market exchanges in Yoruba land, where so many subtle cues that require attention abound. Lack of consideration of these contextual cues such as intonation in one another's speech can lead to misfiring or misunderstanding. This in the long run can affect the structure of conversation.

The goals of ISL which include the relationship between the people (role of status and power) the purpose of speaking, location of the exchange and the context of interaction according to Sternstrom (1996) can definitely affect 'exchange structure', – 'turn taking', 'adjacency pairs' 'sequences' and 'grammar'. In other words, the goals of ISLcan affect the goals of Conversation Analysis. It thus follows that the consideration of the goals of ISL will pave way for the realization ofConversation Analysis goals. This is why the researcher believes that the effort ofISL will complement that of Conversation Analysis. The result of this will give us the pragmatic of conversation.

One of the most outstanding developments noted in Interactional Sociolinguistics according to Brown and Yule ( 29) was the formulation of politeness theory. This politeness phenomenon they believe is responsible for how people obviously universally deviate from the maximally efficient models of communication as spelt out by Grice (1975). That, politeness is the reason why

people do not always say what they mean, say more than is expected or give inadequate information. The aim of politeness theory which is to provide a 'universal descriptive' and explanatory framework for social relation is built around Goff man's notion of face that is, a person's self image and projected self into others.

The implication of this model to this research work is in the fact that all its concerns as enumerated earlier in the work will be of great importance to complementing the conversation analysis model and give the work a successful outlook. For instance, the notion to understanding messages which is conspicuously absent in conversation analysis model is greatly examined or taken up by ISL. Blending the two great models of studying language to produce what the researcher tags 'Interactional model' will save the work from criticisms that will be based on inadequacies of a model that cannot comprehensively study the complex market exchanges that the work is designed to study.

Though the main goal of ISL according to Cutting (2002) is not to describe the structure of discourse, (the main concern of conversation analysis) 'the two approaches he says are coming together'with analysis looking at the relationship between grammar and social relation within the larger schemes of human conduct and the organization of social life.

As a research method, ISL analyses audio or video recordings of conversations and other interactions. It focuses contextualization cues that are culturally specific and usually unconscious (Wikipedia 2011). This is why it is considered as a good partner in progress with conversation analysis as jointly, they will provide a comprehensive analysis for the work more than those that have hitherto been analyzed using a single model that has not been able to attend to both the social and structural aspects of conversation.

## 2.18 Ethnography of Speaking

This approach to language study is also refered to as 'ethnography of communication'. This tradition of work probably owes most to anthropology as long as it is distinctively occupied with question of cross-cultural differences in speaking practices, and the degree to which language enters differently into the life of different societies to sustain and reproduce them. Researchers in ethnography of speaking proceed on the assumption that speakers functioning as members of a particular society interms of a particular culture have internalize not only rules of grammar but also rules of appropriate speech usage which are broadly shared by other members of their society; and which they apply in their speech behaviour (Coulthard 30-52).

Ethnography of speaking has two main foci which are: firstly it is directed at the description and understanding of communicative behaviour in specific cultural

settings; and secondly, it is also directed towards the formulation of concepts and theory upon which to build a global meta-theory of human communication. An ethnography of communication study focuses on the speech community, and one of the questions generally asks is: what does a speaker need to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community, and how does he or she learn? This approach to language study is therefore, concerned with the ways in which all these interact with other systems of culture.

The principal concern in the ethnography of communication therefore include the following topics: patterns and functions of communication, nature and definition of speech community, means of communicating, components of comminucative competence, relationship of language to world view and social organization, and linguistic and social universals and inequalities (Saville-Troike, 1982 :127). The data of analysis in this field, tend to be utterances or collection of utterances, features of the speaker, hearer, and speech situation, and the presumed purpose of speech (Coulthard 30-52)

An analysis of a communicative event begins with a description of the components which are likely to be salient. These are:

1. The genre or the type of event (joke, story, lecture, conversatio)
2. The topic or referential focus

3. The purpose or function, both of the events in general and in interms of the interaction goals of individual participants.
4. The setting including location and time
5. The participants including their age, sex, ethnicity, social status, or other relevant categories.
6. The message form
7. The message content
8. The act sequence or ordering of communicative speech acts
9. The rules for interaction, or what properties should be observed.
10. The norms of interpretation, including the common knowledge, the relevant cultural presuppositions or shared understanding which allows particular inferences to be drawn about what is to be taken literallyand what to be discoursed.

While speech act theories and pragmatics generally exclude the metaphorical and phatic uses of language from basic consideration, these constitute a major focus for ethnographic description. While phatic communication conveys a message, it has no referential meaning; the meaning is in the act of communication itself.

The field of ethnography of communication has, however been criticized for focusing too much on the ceremonial or 'special' uses of language to the

neglect of more everyday communication (Bloch 37). He adds further that: it only concentrates on the picture of the world apparent in ritual communication obscures the fact of the universal nature of a part of the cognitive system available in all cultures. Despite the above criticism, the field of ethnography of communication has a high relevance to the present study as it focuses on the communicative competence desirable in communivative event of buying and selling for instance, among the Yoruba speech community.

Ethnography of communication places a high premium on linguistic routines. Routines are fixed utterances or sequences of utterances, which must be considered as single units, because meaning can not be desired from consideration of any segment apart from the whole. This work is expected to benefit from the awareness brought about by ethnographers that, understanding routine requires a shared cultural knowledge because they are generally metaphoric in nature, and must be interpreted at a non-literal level.

This study also adopts the methods and procdures of data collection as popularized by this field of language inquiry. These include the use of participants' observation and anonymous observation.

## 2.19 Theoretical framework

### Introduction

Different approaches to the study of discourse are identified by McCarthy. These approaches are classified according to disciplinary origins. For instance, 'Conversation analysis' is found under Sociology while 'Ethnography', 'Conversational linguistics' and Variation theory' are found under Sociolinguistics. The Speech Acts and Pragmatic approaches according to McCarthy et al (2002) are found under the discipline of Philosophy. The linguistic discipline has the structural-functional and social semiotics methods. The Birmingham school model of language study takes its root from the Structural-Functional approach. Out of these various approaches, the relevant disciplines to this work are 'Sociology' and 'Sociolinguistics' that produce 'Conversation Analysis' and 'Conversational Linguistics' respectively.

Two of the identified outstanding methods of studying language are: Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis. They are two of the approaches to looking at the structure of discourse.The discourse analysis model analyses the exchange structure of the conventional overall patterns that occur when people are talking. The second model – conversation analysis studies the way that what speakers say determines the type of answers expected and speakers take turns when they interact. Based on the concern of the two approaches, it is clear that they

are different. This is because, exchange structure starts with a model as demonstrated in Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) work and see how real data fits into it. On the other hand, Conversation Analysis starts by observing real data and describing when patterns emerge.

### 2.19.1 Relationship between Sociology and Sociolinguistics

Sociology has a lot in common with Sociolinguistics. Sociology is the study of human social life, groups and societieswhile Sociolinguistics on the other hand is the study of language in relation to society. This observation is from the point of view of Sociolinguistics impact on social life in a given society and not from structural view. Sociolinguistics, Adeniran further expands attempts to isolate the linguistic features used in particular situations that mark the various social relationships among the participants and the significant elements of the situation (92).

From the above explication, one can say that Sociology and Sociolinguistics study the same phenomenon and they employ similar approaches to their study. This is because the two disciplines often rely on 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' methods of social research to describe patterns of social relationship. As observed, there is a strong link between Sociology and Sociolinguistics. This link Adeniran identifies as 'ethnomethodology' a term first coined by Harold Garfinkel (92). This sociological discipline focuses on the ways in which people make sense of their

world, display understanding to others and produce the mutually shared social order in which they live. 'Ethnomethodology' like Sociolinguistics is a research method that allows the researcher to conduct his/her research by being a participant observer in the speech events he or she is studying.

Having established the relationship between the two disciplines – Sociology and Sociolinguistics, the researcher discovers the relevance of their offshoots – 'Conversation Analysis' and 'Interactional Sociolinguistics respectively as models of studying language for this work. They are therefore adopted as the descriptive models to analyse the data collected in the speech situation under study – market exchanges.

The fundamental assumption of CA is that, all aspects of social action and interaction can be studied in terms of conversationalized or institutionalized structural organization.(Heritage 1-2). But some of the insights and observations in interaction according to Duranti in Jaworski and Coupland cannot be accessed without attending to the fine ethnographic detail. He recommends therefore, studies which combine CA with attention to the cultural detail characteristic of the ethnographic approach (19-27). Corroborating this is Frank, who equally observes that the contribution of a participant to an ongoing action cannot be adequally understood except by reference to the context in which it participates. This is because according to her, communication is context-shaped and context renewing.

A large percentage of what goes on in the market transaction is more of interactional than conversational. This is why CA as a model of analysis that is concerned with the natural organization of verbal interaction, how people take turns and under what circumstances people do overlap or interrupt turns, will not be able to handle all that happen in market exchange.

As a complementary effort to CA, Interactional Sociolinguistics which is concerned with how users of language create meaning via interaction takes note of pragmatics and sociolinguistic aspects of interaction. This same model is also concerned with relationship between people, the purpose of speaking and location of the exchanges. Considering this wide area of coverage by Interactional Sociolinguistics, one then understands why Sternstrom concludes that the context of interaction can affect the components of exchange structure such as Turn taking, adjacency pairs, sequences and grammar which are the concern of CA if they are not considered in speech analysis (135-143).

Moreover, the skill required for manipulating language to make things happen in conversation or the politeness strategies that make transaction successful are not found within the scope of CA. As it is noted in our data, there is no single data that does not enjoy the display of politeness which, often times makes sellers deliberately flout some maxims just in an attempt to be polite to customers and thereby get their goods sold.

The model to be adopted for analyzing exchange structure in this market transaction is 'eclectic'as it draws insight from Garfinkel's method of studying language – 'Conversation Analysis', which has hitherto been referred to as CA and 'Interactional Sociolinguistics model' founded by Gumperz (nd) (Wikipedia (2011) which also is referred to as ISL.

The concern of conversational analysis as earlier explained in this chapter centers on 'turn types', 'turn taking', 'preference organization in adjacency pairs' and 'sequencing of a spoken interaction into beginning, middle and close'. Conversation analysis which involves studying naturally occurring interaction and which brings out the natural organization of verbal interaction has its proponents as Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson. It also has the object of determining the nature, pattern and structure of conversation.The properties of sequential organization of talk and the way in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences also form the focus of Conversation Analysis. But with little or no serious attention to the context within which such utterances are made and context it is believed, is what reveals the intended meaning of messages.The notion of context includes the social-situational circumstances of speech events and the intention of the speaker.

From the concern of CA as earlier stated, it is clear that CA does not consider socio-context. It does not consider what is not said while what is not said is part of what is said. Also, it does not account for the sociological aspects of

interaction – why people say what they say and the components of situation. These are what can help to handle those peculiar traditions behind buying and selling, particularly in Yoruba land, the setting of this work.

Chomsky quoted in Stubbs (1983) states that any data worth its value requires to be given a comprehensive analysis. With the above omissions or inadequacies, the CA model of analysis becomes inadequate for analyzing the data for this work which contains some contextual cues. Going by what Fairclough says that: Conversations do not exist within a vacuum … but connected to structures of social institutions and societies (12), it means analyzing language used by people will not be complete without due consideration of the context within which such utterances are made. And since Stubbs (1983:63) concludes that: "no single description can account for the wide range of linguistic, pragmatic and social factors which contribute to the coherence of discourse", it behoves the researcher therefore to look for an extra model that can take into account both the structure of conversation and the social aspects of interaction. This is to prevent the work from becoming a victim of what conversation analysis is accused of.

Though some of 'ISL' goals such as turn taking, adjacency pairs and sequences in spoken interaction overlap with the concern of CA, there are still some areas not covered by CA but which are examined by 'ISL, model. These areas include 'context of situation' and those subtle 'contextualization cues' which

are features that indicate the aspects of context relevant to what the speaker means. It is discovered that, lack of consideration of those cues such as gesture and intonation in one another's speech can lead to misfiring or misunderstanding. For instance, in Yoruba land the setting of this work, the word 'koo' meaning 'pack them ' does not mean the same thing with 'kooo' contextually though translated literarily to mean 'pack them'. The difference in meaning is in the way the two are pronounced.

Consider these responses in the examples below.

(i)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo nisu yi? | How much is this yam? |
| Seller: | Apo meji | ₦400 |
| Buyer : | je kin san waso meta | let me pay ₦ 150 |
| Seller: | "kooo" | "pack them" (ironically said) |

'Kooo' is an indirect way of saying 'No' or move away from here because of the rediculos price offered by the customer. It is an expression of anger or disapproval or better still, a negative politeness.

(ii) Consider the same word in a different situation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Elo nisu yi? | How much is this yam? |
| Seller | San apo meji | Pay ₦400 |
| Buyer | Je kin san ₦300 | let me pay ₦300 |
| Seller | "Koo" | "Pack them" |

The word 'Koo' in this second exchange which means 'pack them' is a positive response showing that the seller agrees with the offered price. The tone

with which the first 'koo' was uttered caused the elongation of the vowel in the word. This elongation leads to a reduplication of vowel 'o' (oo) in Yoruba which phonetically means the English diphthong /□u/ is what changes positive response to negative response.

The use of such indirectness can hardly be understood without the cross-cultural perspective lacking in CA analysis but which 'ISL' takes care of (Tannen ,1998: 33). Based on this, one can see the relevance of the 'ISL' model to this work as it helps to complement the effort of CA to bring out the pragmatics of conversation. This will be in the area of relating language to context through contextualization cues. Moreover, Stubbs (1983:8) attests to the fact that: "…there is no use of language which is not embedded in the culture…culture is what everyone knows and part of this knowledge is conversation competence". Within this eclectic approach, it is believed that both the concerns and the goals of CA and ISL would be taken care of within the framework.

The aim of the proposed model is not to identify transactions in terms of the three major types (inform, direct and elicit) as in the analysis of classroom discourse. Rather, it is to be seen as a step above earlier approaches that seek to account for aspects of particular speech events using a single model such as classroom talks and courtroom talks. This model has its limitations and as a result,

it could only qualify as a foundation on which further work can still be done in order to have a more comprehensive descriptive equipment for discourse.

This model will not only help in describing the nature, pattern and structure of conversation, it will also enable one to determine those properties of sequential organization of talk and the way in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences. Moreso, the model will enable us to consider those contextualization cues that promote quick understanding of messages. The model also accounts for the social-situational circumstances of speech. These are factors that reveal the intended meanings of messages and eliminate ambiguity. This general model will not leave out any aspect of conversation unaccounted for.The name 'Interactional Conversation analysis' is therefore derived from the adopted 'eclectic' model. This model which considers context alongside what is said is given the above name for the convenience of the work.

# CHAPTER THREE:

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

## 3.0 Introduction

This section presents the process of investigating the structure of discourse in commercial transactions and the strategies employed to design the structure. As a survey-based study interested in the relationship between the structure of discourse in transactions and the success or failure in transactions, the details of the investigative process and the measurement techniques used are in the following order:

(i) Research design

(ii) Data gathering procedure

(iii) Procedure for data analysis

## 3.1 Research Design

The data used for this work was collected from selected markets located in the metropolis of Yoruba speaking states excluding Kogi and Kwara states where Yoruba language is just one of the languages used in transactions in the two states. The chosen states include: Oyo, Ogun, Osun, Lagos, Ekiti and Ondo.

After a preview of a number of recordings of some transactions, some were selected and dubbed. Those selected include video recordings and jottings on goods such as textile material, foodstuffs, soup ingredients and domestic animals.

After a further examination of the recordings and the jottings, two transactions on textile materials were chosen to represent the lots recorded from that section. Three others were also chosen from food stuff category. From soup ingredients, three are chosen while two are also chosen from domestic animals. The total transactions examined in our analysis were ten. Among these are transactions between familiar and unfamiliar participants. There are also male buyers and female sellers but male sellers were not included as none appears in the recording probably because of the fact that it is not too common to find male sellers on those goods chosen for analysis in this work.

The tapes were played over several times and were carefully listened to in order to get every bit of the transaction for transcription. Transactions were written out directly based on the turn taken by each participant. Sentence boundaries are not considered as exchanges are not too complex to understand. The tapes were played back several times to re-consider for transcription where there are elements of doubt. In the light of the research objective and questions earlier stated, this work is based on survey of the population with those sociolinguistics research methods recommended by Akindele and Adegbite (1992).

This research work which is in the realm of conversation analysis deals with the investigation of an aspect of everyday life of the people-buying and selling. The model of analysis as earlier stated is eclectic. The model draws insight from

CA and the Interactional Sociolinguistics models to produce 'Interactional Conversation Analysis'. Within this Interactional Conversation analysis is embedded Grice's politeness principle.

## 3.2 Setting

There are two types of settings. These are the 'institutional' and the 'non institutional', Talk can vary according to the situation in which it takes place. There are formal and informal settings and the activities that take place in each setting differ.

Institutional settings are places physically designated for the conduct of professionally related duties. Examples of such are schools, courtroom, and consultation rooms in hospitals. Transactions in this setting are primarily accomplished through the exchange of talk of professionals and lay persons. Activities are conducted following norms and procedures and there is someone that guides and guards the situation. He equally regulates participant's contributions to the talk and his status is higher than that of the rest.

The second type of setting is the 'informal' or 'non-institutional' setting. These include places like the market or shop, or home where people socialize or where people interact freely without inhibition and there is no code of conduct. Participants in this setting interact with themselves without hindrance and in friendly atmosphere. There is respect for one another and there is equality of each

other's right to initiate topics or respond to questions. That is to say there is equal role participation as participants are equally placed. The goal of this setting is to facilitate social interaction within a social frame. The talk is more casual and the atmosphere is free. Either of the interlocutors is free to initiate discourse and responses are freely given. Discourse is also terminated anyhow without any qualm.This work is situated within the non-institutional setting –the market.

### 3.3 The market

This is a place that draws people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds together in pursuance of a common goal. Interlocutors in this setting usually have one thing in common; to buy or to sell. Market therefore, represents a place where individuals young or old, male or female interact through buying and selling of food items, clothing materials and other goods that help to ease human existence. It is a place where subtle and polite language is expected to dominate business transactions. It is also a place where interlocutors freely interact within a mutual environment to get things done. Any of the interlocutors-seller/buyer is free to initiate conversation as occasions dictate.

There is no superior or inferior status. Any of the interlocutors can also hold the floor until the next speaker takes over and this has nothing to do with status. Even when difference in status or age exists, it is usually temporarily suspended for the sake of mutual and successful transaction. Greetings can come from the old

to the young or vice verse. All these suggest the type of cordial atmosphere prevailing in market places. This atmosphere therefore permits the study of naturally occurring language and it also provides an important setting for data collection.

### 3.4 The subject of the study

The subjects used in this study are Yoruba drawn from the western zone of Nigeria made up of Oyo, Ogun, Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo and Osun states. Speakers of Yoruba found in the western and the central zones of Kwara state and speakers of Yoruba in the western district of Kogi state are excluded as the two states have other major languages used for transactions apart from Yoruba.

### 3.5 Data Gathering Procedure

The central medium of the research is naturally occurring data. The researcher freely attends the various markets at different times and locations to make her observation accurate. The researcher handled personally, collection of data so as to witness and experience what goes on in the business of transaction and possibly to be able to share in the feelings of the buyers and sellers.

She also personally documented and tape-records some live transactions in the various markets selected for use. The study focuses on transactions in the morning, afternoon and evening times in markets. She equally studies transactions

in metropolitan markets where people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds meet to transact business.

For this study, the corpus of materials as earlier stated under Scope and Delimitation are from the six core Yoruba speaking states of Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Ekiti, Lagos and Osun. The researcher situated her findings on twelve markets. These are: two from each state capital. Transactions in items such as textile materials, food stuff, domestic animals, and soup ingredients are selected for recording and analysis.

### 3.6 Research Instruments (Methods)

The research methods used include the following:

(i) Participant's observation.

(ii) Anonymous observation.

(iii) Audio-tape recording.

(iv) Video tape recording.

A number of instruments were used when conducting research in interactive discourse. Notable ones among them are: participants' observation, anonymous observation, interview, questionnaire and two others that were extensively used for this study – audio-tape recording and video-tape recording. All these methods except interview and questionaire were employed for the thirty two exchanges collected for this work.

The goal of the ethnographers was to discover the way native speakers perceive and structure their communicative experiences. This made them to study what native speakers think they do on a daily basis. This authenticates the fact that, ethnographic data are collected based on the observation of the discourse practices of the people studied. This warrants the researcher's need to have a direct contact with thosehe or she is observing. While doing this, some notes are made to aid his or her memory. Ethnographic method studies situated discourse in which linguistic performance is used as the locus of the relation between language and the socio-cultural order.

A discourse of ethnography will necessitate the notion of ethno-methodology which examines the use of language and how conversations are structured in everyday interactions. A careful study of what the people say to each other through participant's observation provide them with a natural language for their analysis. Through this study, ethnomethodologists are able to get a lot of information that remain private to the participants. Such information include why certain behaviours are preferred in places of others.

### 3.6.1 Participant's Observation

This is where the researcher as an observer equally takes part in observing the exchanges among participants' in transactions.The use of direct observation of language or languages in use has both literary and theoretical support and

relevance as given by Akindele and Adegbite (1992:15) who state that 'it is a fact that a study of the social functions of language must be supportedby adequate data of language use'. A close and direct observation of the language (s) in use in transaction on food items, domestic animals and soup ingredients will reflect how business transactions are carried out and how utterances affect one another.

In this study therefore, as an adult native speaker of Yoruba language, the researcher had on several occasions participated and still participating in the act of buying and selling. Hence, employing this participant's observation method will enable her to observe the natural exhibition of the variables involved in transaction. Expectedly therefore, this study is enriched by a very judicious use of introspection, innate knowledge and native insight.

### 3.6.2 Anonymous Observation

This involves the researcher posing as a buyer and observing unobtrusively, situations of buying and selling. Whatever is observed is recorded in a notebook. This observation is carried out as many times as possible. This affords the researcher a close watch of both the linguistic and the non-linguistic communication strategies employed by the hagglers for persuasive reason. This method can minimize the problem of observer's paradox to the lowest level.

### 3.6.3 Audio-Tape Recording

Another important instrument for data gathering process is the use of a tape recorder. This method as a back-up instrument of the events being observed is supported by Akindele and Adegbite. Both scholars report that:

'Sociolinguistics makes use of those appropriate techniques for a particular study…the recordingof natural speeches is most valid when surreptitiouslydone**…**Recording of data have been done via tape recorder**…'(15)**

Tape recorder is used in this study to record transactions in the **morning, afternoon** and at **evening** times. These three times are significant variables that can possibly determine the structure of discourse. The time of the day at which a buyer prices a commodity can influence the seller's attitude. For instance, the price at which a commodity is sold in the morning may not work out in the afternoon for the same commodity. Transactions between male and female, female/female are also recorded because the two sexes are likely to display different temperament while bargaining.

Recording is done surreptitiously because if subjects are aware of being tape recorded the language they use cannot be taken as a reliable sample. With recordings the needed sample of the structures of discourse development through the process of buying and selling are detected for transcription.

Audio-tape recording of people's interaction provides materials with a single virtue; it can be replaced, transcribed and studied extensively and intensively no

matter the length of time it takes. They are also at the disposal of the researcher and the other researchers provided the tape recorder is not missing or destroyed. It can be used to authenticate whatever hypothesis generated or conclusions drawn by the use of material in them.The researcher is aware of the nature of the tape recorder in providing both the wanted and unwanted databut the onus is on the researcher to sift and sieve the recordings with the aim of using only the relevant portions.

### 3.6.4 Video-Tape Recording

Video-tape recording behaviours are also essential to buttress participant's observation. Video-taping of various discourses during market transactions has the added advantage of not only capturing the acoustic and phonetic aspect of human speech but also of its kinesics as it allows the paralinguistic behaviours of the interlocutors to be noticed and noted. Though video-taping gives more credence to utterances and provides additional opportunity for interpretation, there is still the problem of focus, particularly where the range of settings for observation is enormous, and also where those to be video-taped are not controlled groups. Taping people might also attract resentment as the camera may not be easily concealed in such outdoor, or informal locations yet it is employed in data gathering for this work because of its relevance. The researcher was able to overcome this problem as she usually first bought some goods in those areas she

needed to record from so as not to look as stranger in those areas. Moreover, the Video Camera the researcher used was small in size (Camcoder) and it was not easily noticed by the subjects.

### 3.6.5 Unstructured Oral Interview

This is also a backup instrument for data collection. The use of oral interview as an instrument of measurement in different research programmes has been widely acclaimed as it appears to always yield a better sample of the population being studied. It is also known for a high immediate response and capable of probing the sentiment underlying some expressions by sellers especiallythough it seems not too relevant in this study. The reason is, most of the prospective subjects are not likely to be ready to devote any part of their time to answering questions that do not bringmoney to them or that will not allow them have adequate attention for their customers. According to market men and women in this setting, 'Time is money' therefore, it would be a fruitless effort for the researcher to use the instrument on the subjects who are not likely to cooperate with her.Based on this the instrument was not used at all in this work.

## 3.7 Observation and Recording

The researcher personally observed, documented and tape-recorded some speech events in market places. The recording was done in a natural and uncontrolled atmosphere to make room for objectivity.

## 3.8 Transcript

It is expected that the corpus of data collected is transcribed before it can pass as a reasonable sample of the data. With transcripts, the researcher is able to search through episodes in the diverse transactions that take place within different contexts, by different participants and with different content.This enabled the researcher to identify stable, systematic phenomena, and collect multiple instances of those phenomena (Drew 750). A transcript captures those areas transcription systems have not noticed or recorded. This does not make the transcript circumscribe the original audio – recording from which it was made. Rather, both the recording and the transcript are analyzed in conjunction with one another.

Conversation analysis transcripts of recorded discourses display the actual verbal behaviours of speakers in just how it happened. Though conversation analysis relies much on the analysis of tape – recorded discourses, the researcher still endeavours to capture such non-verbal reports such as gaze-gesture and eye-

contact. This is because they are related to this work as they are required for the interpretation of particular business encounters.

### 3.9 Transcription Procedure

Since there is no system for converting spoken speech into written form without broader ramifications, transcripts are usually selective. Devising a transcription system for instance, demands making of decision about phenomena such as intonation, pausing, laughter and non-verbal gestures which are incidentally analytically important to the research topic.

Two general approaches to types of transcription system are therefore identified by Schriffin (988). These are the 'sequential' and 'distributional' accountable approaches. The focus of the 'sequential' approach is on a few sequences of talk that aims to account for way in which each utterance fits into its text. The objective of the approach is for the analyst to be able to explain the particularities of every utterance in terms of why it occurs and why it occurs at that point in the discourse. Analyzing from a single channel cannot be said to be independent of features from another channel. Such an analysis therefore, cannot be representative of what happens in many other conversations. Therefore, the approach is not suitable for this work.

**Distributional accountable approach**

This approach is not narrow in its analysis. Just as the name suggests, it focuses on multiple sequences and its goal is to account for why a particular feature occurs in conversation generally. Here, the analyst was able to determine instances of occurrences of certain features in certain positions in conversations. Such examinations permeated transactions carried out in different markets. Atkinson and Heritage (1985) appear to have provided the transcription system that conveys many essential characteristics of speech delivery distributionally. These include some morphological, lexical choice and aspect of prosody that includes stress, pitch and sound lengthening. This transcription system is relevant to this study as the language in which the data for this work is collocted is a tone language and sound lengthening is also one of its features.This model was used only when recorded utterances were transcribed and translated into conversational English. Competent Yoruba linguists were contacted for transcription and to cross check the transcript and the cassettes for this work to avoid manipulation of contents.

## 3.10 Procedure of Data Analysis

A number of procedures have been proposed for the study of spoken interactions. Two major ones among them are considered under this work.

### 3.10.1 Structural analysis

The most influential approach to the study of spoken discourse is that of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). This model developed at the University of Birmingham, initially concerned itself with the structure of discourse in school classroom. According to Mcarthy (1996:13), the model, though 'not the only valid approach to analyzing discourse, is a relatively simple and powerful model which has connections with the study of speech acts**….** at the same time, tries to capture the larger structures and the whole'.

Sinclair and Coulthard's model found in the language of traditional native speaker school classroom has a rigid pattern where teachers and pupils spoke according to very fixed perceptions of their roles and where talk could be seen to conform to highly structured sequences. It is a three-part exchange labeled 'opening move', 'answer move' and 'follow up move'. They concluded and proposed that there is a particular structure in classroom discourse and that, what goes on in the classroom is not just a string of language forms, but a structural exchange with a regular sequence of questions, answers and a comment. This perceived structure not withstanding McCarthy (1996) reveals, the model will not be applicable in informal and spontaneous context like this study that deals with discourse where role differentials are not a feature (5-28).

### 3.10.2 An ethnomethodological analysis procedure

Ethno- methodology was coined by Harold Garfinkel to index the study of everyday practical reasoning as constitutive of all human activities. It is a basic consideration in the study of practical reasoning in members' use of everyday talk to describe the actual status of their experiences and activities.In the previous model by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) there seems to be a heavy reliance on speech act to describe the classroom structure. Whereas, discourse outside the classroom is more complex as it does not follow rigidly, the question – answer format. As a result of this complexity in discourse outside classroom, ethno methodologists devoted a great deal of their time to observing how people actually behave conversationally and how they co-operate in the management of discourse. Their analysis was based on the conversational behaviour displayed by conversationalists and on the real data as spoken by the participants. It is therefore applicable to the analysis of data in this work

The analysis of conversation as suggested by Gafinkel (1974) include:

(i) how conversation can be started and terminated by different speakers and hearers strategies;

(ii) the relationship between the speaker's social status and his right to talk about a particular topic under specific interactional circumstances;

(iii) how certain marker is available for further talk about a particular topic;

(iv) how topics are introduced or avoided or changed or prolonged within and over different conversations,

(v) how different chunks of a conversation can be seen as tied together to communicate particular kinds of information not evident from the sequential character of the dialogue, and

(vi) how speakers and hearers use particular lexical items or phrases to convey context-free or context-restricted impressions and how we structure our speech to accomplish activities like making excuses, persuasions, promising and the like.

This analytic procedure is applicable to this work and will therefore be considered.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## Data Analysis and Discussion

### 4.0 Introduction

This study is concerned with market business exchanges in Yoruba land. Specifically, it is concerned with the structure that emerges from the exchanges between sellers and buyers in this casual situation. The researcher in addition is concerned with the types of turn in the exchanges, how turns are managed and how cooperation is achieved between buyers and sellers who possibly are from different linguistic and social backgrounds.

The work also examines the three tiers of exchange such as the 'opening', the 'message' and the 'closing'. Strategies involved in initiating topics, developing topics and terminating topics are equally studied. Contextualization cues that help in interpreting utterances are considered in the analysis of the data.In this chapter, the study identifies the prevailing turn types in the exchanges and the sequential organization of the exchanges are discussed.

In the final analysis, the chapter addresses the structure of market business exchanges in Yoruba land.

### 4.1 Data and Data Presentation

As indicated in our methodology chapter, the data were collected from one setting-the market though various markets located in different states were used.

The data showed a display of thirty-two transactions that took place between buyers and sellers out of which only ten are selected for analysis because of the nature of the data. There are female/ male interactants, and female/female interactants at different times of the day and on different goods such as: foodstuff which shall be labeled in the analysis as 'FD', textile materials as 'TD', domestic animals as 'DA' and soup ingredients as 'SD'.The data displayed transactions where topics are initiated, developed and terminated either abruptly or successfully. It also displays where topics are merely introduced but not developed.

There are three parts in the conversation structure. These are: the 'opening', the 'message' and the 'closing'. Market business transactional openings are places where buyers and sellers exchange pleasantries if they are familiar before any enquiry on the goods or just greetings as situations may require. An example is: Seller: 'Mama Grace oma tojo metaa' (Mama Grace long time). Where the interactants were not familiar, buyers especially went straight to the point by opening the exchange without any form of introduction. Such as found in this exchange :Buyer: Elo ni su yi? ( How much is this yam?)

At times sellers employed politeness strategies to woo buyer's attention and to pave way for smooth transactions. And at times also sellers showed some concern over the well being of the customer (buyer) such as:

Seller: Se ko si taafi riyin mo?

Seller: Hope there is no problem why we no longer see you around?

There are occasions when greetings as opening strategies are reciprocated as in: Seller: E karo o (Good morning)Buyer: E kaaro (Good morning)

At some other time responses to greetings by customers are accompanied by enquiry about the price of the displayed goods such as found in the exchange below:

Seller: E karo anti mi(Good morning my sister)

Buyer:Ekaroo. E lo le tasu yin?

Goodmorning. How much do you sell your yam?

Each of these strategies has its impact on the structure of transactions.

Common strategies used for opening transactions in Yoruba markets as found in this work include: greetings, questioning, requesting and making statements. In this setting, either of the interactants (buyer/seller) has the right to open or close transactions. These various strategies shall be considered one after the other.

Opening by statements from seller

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ebami ra tomatoe | Help me buy tomatoes (Sd III) |
| 2. | Boda , ebawa wogba | Brother look at our stock (Fd IV) |
| 3. | Sister ebami wogba | Sister look at my stock (Td V) |
| 4. | Mama Paul long time no see | mama Paul it's long I saw you last (Sd III) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | Sister otojo meta | sister it's a long time (Td VI) |
| 6. | Sister e r'ogede | sister buy plantain (Fd III) |
| 7. | Madam ebami raja | madam buy something from me (FdV) |

**Opening by requesting from buyer**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Efun mi ni adire kan. | Give me one tie and dye (Td IV) |

**Opening by questioning from buyer**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eni species. | You have species (Sd II) |
| 2. | Kosadire mo. | No more tie and dye (Td II) |
| 3. | Elo lawon eleyi? | How do you sell these? (Td 3a) |
| 4. | Elo logede yi? | How much is this plantain? (Td 3c) |
| 5. | Elo ni Gino? | How much is Gino ? (Sd IV) |
| 6. | Elo ni maggi? | How much is your maggi? (Sd IX) |
| 7. | Madam elo ni tomapep yi? | Madam how much is your tomapep? (Sd IX) |
| 8. | Elo lelubo yin? | How much is your yam flower? (FdVI) |
| 9. | Elo leleyi? | How much is this (Da I) |
| 10. | Elo ladie ? | How much is this fowl? (Da II) |
| 11. | Talo nigba o? | Who owns these goods? (Pd I) |

12. Elo ni close-up? How much is close-up? (Pd II)

13. Key soap nko? What of key soap?

**Opening by greeting from seller**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ekaro anti mi e wa | Good morning my sister |
| bami wogba. | buy something from me (Sd VII) |
| Anti e karo ewa | Good morning sister, buy |
| bami rogede to dara. | plantain from me (Fd II) |
| Ekaro anti mi e bami ra fresh fish | Good morning sister buy fresh fish from me (Sd VII) |

**Opening by greeting from buyer**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ekaro | Good morning (TdI) |
| Ekaro talo nisu | Good morning who is the owner of the yam? (FdIII) |
| Madam e karo | Madam good morning (FdVI) |
| Ekaro anti mi ebami ra fresh fish | Good morning sister buy fresh fish From me (SdVII) |

**Table ii: Summary of opening strategies**

| | *BUYER* | *SELLER* | *TOTAL* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Statement* | -- | *7* | *7* |
| *Question* | *14* | *1* | *15* |
| *Request* | *1* | -- | *1* |
| *Greetings* | *4* | *2* | *6* |
| *Non-verbal* | *By gesture 3* | -- | *By gesture 3* |
| *GRAND TOTAL* | *22* | *10* | *32* |

Out of the openings in the data, ten were opened by sellers while 22 were opened by buyers. This confirms the claim in chapter two that there is no status differential or power struggle. None of the interactants had the monopoly of opening transactions, but buyers have the greatest percentage of openings because they are the ones in need of one thing or the other. So, they need to make their requests known.

Out of the various transaction opening strategies, opening by

'Statement' has 7 (21.88%),

Questioning: 15 (46. 078%),

Requesting: 1 (3. 13%),

Greetings: 6 (18.75%),

Non-linguistic: 3 (9. 38%) This is where the buyer merely points at the desired goods and the seller responds with words.

From the analysis above, it is clear that questions were used more than other strategies in the data to open transactions as it constitutes 46.88%. This is followed by statements with 21. 88%. Greetings have 18.75%, and non-linguistic 9.38%. Opening by request has the least with 3.13%. In the data, buyers have the greatest figure in the opening strategies with 68.75% while sellers' percentge of openings amounts to 31.25%. This still further proves that it is those who are in need that

should make their requests known. That is why the greatest percentage of openings comes from the buyers.

Though greeting does not score the highest percentage as a strategy, it remains a very strong tool for the smooth take- off of most face-to-face conversatons in Yorubaland. Its non-occurrence in some of the exchanges does not mean the exchanges are hostile or that they are not on greeting terms. Absence of greeting to open conversation indicates the degree of familiarity or intimacy between interactants. For instance, when people are so friendly or familiar or meeting not for the first time in a day, greeting may give way he said. This is not so in market transactions because whether the interactants are familiar or not has nothing to do with the use of greetings. Interactants may not be familiar and yet exchange greetings.

In Chapter Two of this work, the various types of questions available in conversations are highlighted. Among them are: 'confirmation' question which asks for confirmation answer. So, the first two questions in our analysis here that is:

Buyer: 'Eeni species' (You don't have species Sd II) and

Buyer: 'Kosadire mo' (No more tie and dye TdII) fall under the category of 'confirmation' question. Though they appear in statement form, they are indirect questions understood by both the buyer and the seller.

The next question type is the ‘identification’ question which also asks for an answer such as:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo ni mongoro? | How much is your mango? |
| Seller: | Ta lo ni lantern? | Who is the owner of the lantern? |

Answer to this type of question can be brief or long. Whichever way, there is no restriction on what kind of information that can be expected. This is why this type of question is frequently used more than the other types of questions in market conversational exchanges in Yoruba land. For example, out of the 14 questions used for openings, 13 are ‘identification’ questions that is, questions 3 - 12 thereby forming 79.34% of the total opening questionsThis question type by buyers usually gives sellers ample opportunity not to only answer the questions posed but also to make effort to persuade and convince the buyer to buy from them. Such answers which usually convey politeness and persuasive words, oftenmake seller toflout some conversation maxims make buyers change their minds positively.

As success of bargaining depends on communicative competence, sellers usually exploit areas where they can display their ability to manipulate language to get what they want or even make people do what they might not be willing to do ordinarily. It is this attitude to language use

that makes sellers often times hold on to floor to a point of making dialogues almost becoming monologues.

'Polar' questions are not used to open transactions in our data. But even where they are asked within the data, complex turns are given as responses rather than the normal 'Yes' or 'No' responses. For instance in 'TdI'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Se aso tiwon fise eleyi loje koyato? | Is it the material used for this that makes the difference? |
| Seller: | En. Five yards leleyi. Aso tafi se lojeko yato | Yes. This one is five yards The cloth we used for it is what makes the difference. |

'Echo' question which is another variety of conversation opening strategy does not feature in any of our data as opening strategy. It will therefore not be considered in our data analysis.

'Statements' are used to open transactions and it is the second largest of transaction opening strategies. It takes 21.88% of all the strategies. One thing that is peculiar with these modes of opening transactions is that, whenever they are uttered, listeners-sellers understand them to be questions in disguise. This is because of the mutual contextual belief that both the buyers and the sellers share and which enables them to interpret utterances correctly.

Any of these opening strategies can come in form of 'summon', 'framing' or by 'focusing' (Sternstrom 84-89). Summons as earlier stated in Chapter Two of this work is used to arrest the attention of the listeners, strengthen the force of

subsequent question and ensure an answer from the listener. The summons could start with a 'kinship term' or by the first name. Consider:

Buyer: Madam, elo ni tomapep? (SdX)
Seller: Anti e kaaro (Fd IV)
Seller: Mama Paul long time (SdII)

(More are found in the Appendices)

'Framing' and 'Focusing' are other two opening strategies but they do not feature in opening transactions in our data. They shall therefore not be given attention in the work.

**Message:** The message section of the data contains what each transaction is about. It was developed through a topical framework. The message part of a transaction can contain a main topic, divided into subtopics, to a series of more or less related topics. Bargaining took place within the message part and it is where prices are argued out. It forms the body of transaction. That is where the structure of conversation is actually discovered through turn taking. Within the message, the types of turn, features of turns and sequential ordering of transaction are considered. It is at message level that the closing is determined. Though in some transactions, the message part is not developed, this could be as a result of high the price given by sellers and which usually sends would-be buyers away.

Consider the transaction below:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | Ebami ra, ebami ra iya oko mi. | Help me buy tomatoe my mother-in-law |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo ni? | How much? |
| Seller: | Ten ten naira ni iya oko mi. ee bale layo, oju o ni tiyin, ebami raa oju o ni tiyin. Ebami raa olori ire gbogbo. Ten ten naira ni. | It's ten ten naira my mother-in-law. You will get home safely.You will not be put to shame. Help me buy customer with good luck. It's ten ten naira. |

The high price might be responsible for the abrupt termination of the transaction above before it is developed to message level.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | E lo la die? | How much is your chicken? |
| Seller: | Apo marun | ₦1,000 |
| Buyer: | Se ko gba apo meji abo ? | Can you sell it for ₦500? |
| Seller: | San apo meta abo | Pay ₦700 |
| Buyer: | E ta fun mi | Sell it to me |
| Seller: | O da san apo meta | Okay pay ₦600 |
| Buyer: | E bami gbe sinu apo | Help put it in my bag |
| Seller: | (Ogbe adie sinu apo alabara na sisan owo) | (She puts the chicken into the customer's bag. and the customer pays. |

Though the above transaction is between two unfamiliar participants,it is opened, developed and terminated though nonlinguistically.

**Closing:** This is the last part of the structure of transactions. It is the part that shows that transaction has come to an end. But in market transaction it is usually handled haphazardly as it is not often clear whether transaction has actually ended or suspended. Most often it ends without any linguistic or non-linguistic marker.

This closing section is intuitively guessed at. A buyer may just pay and walk away as in the transaction below:**Sd 1V**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo ni Gino? | How much is Gino? |
| Seller: | Gino 40 naira | Gino is ₦40 |
| Buyer: | Ko gba 30 naira ni? | What of ₦30? |
| Seller: | Rara iya oko mi, eo bale layo, odun yi atu wa lara. Ebami ra e e sori ire. | No my mother-in-law. You will reach home safely. This Christmas will profit you. Help me buy. You will be prosperious. |
| Buyer: | Elo le pe eleyi? (onowo si Oja miran) | How much is this? (pointing at another item) |
| Seller: | ₦100 | ₦100 |
| Buyer: | Eleyi o gba ₦50? | Can I pay ₦50 for this? |
| Seller: | Rara | No |
| Buyer: | Efi gba a. | Sell it to me |

(More are found in the appendix)

One thing noticed in the way transactions close is that, the point of payment is usually regarded as transaction termination point and when such transactions are abruptly terminated, no eyebrow is raised as interactants are used to the system. This system can be said to be peculiar to market exchanges.

## 4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

In the analysis, data on' textile material' is labeled 'TD', the one on 'food stuff' as 'FD' the one on 'soup ingredient' is labeled 'SD' while the one on 'domestic animal' is 'DA'. Areas noted for topic shift are underlined while areas of overlapping are marked with three dots**(…)**

**SDX Data Analysis (APPENDIX 1)**

Starting our analysis with 'ISL' model of analysis that focuses the relationship between interactants and the location of talks, one discovers that the transaction is between a female seller and a male buyer and the object of sale is 'tomapep' (a particular type of canned pepper). This transaction takes place in an informal environment – market and the interactants are not familiar from the way their interaction progresses. Though they appear to be of unequal status age wise, there is no power struggle between them. The female seller is an adult and the male buyer is a married man who feels embarrassed by the seller's utterance. Insult from females in this part of the country is not usually taken kindly by men especially when they are coming at a public place like the market. These combine to influence negatively, the way the data progresses. It is therefore right to say here that, the type of interpersonal relationship between interactants and the environment has a great influence on the way the data unfolds.

But in 'CA's view, that the interactants do not know each other well does not warrant the way they addressed each other. For instance, according to 'CA', if the discussion is less personal the sign of not knowing each other may not show well. This illustrates why 'CA' does not believe that all contexts are relevant in the interpretation of talks but to 'ISL', all background contexts influence what interactants say.

Applying the 'CA' that is designed to see how real data unfolds and how utterances affect each other, it is possible to talk of 'turn taking' in the sense of respecting transition relevance point .This is because the transaction though unfriendly, is not chaotic as there is a speaker and there is a respondent. Even though the topic of discussion shifts from the main topic to some sub-topics, the shifts do not affect turn taking as each contributor waits for the current speaker to finish talking before he/she contributes. Out of the fourteen turns noticed in the transaction, there is only one 'overlap'. Though the interactants seem to antagonize each other, the talk is still a casual one which ordinarily is expected to be saddled with overlaps and or interruptions. But these features are not rampant in the talk. There is no single interruption to punctuate the smooth flow of information. This is evidence to proof that the talk though casual is organized.

From lines 15 – 17 is a backchannel contributed by a third but an external contributor. Usually, this would have disrupted the flow of information but it is responded to by the buyer which makes it fit into the structure.

Backchannel lines 15-17

| | |
|---|---|
| Ah oga eyin na e fowo si | Ah Mr man, add little amount |
| Oorun yi o da f okunrin | this sun is not good for men |
| Be e e ni umbrella te le fi | and you have no |
| Yipo oja ka | Umbrella withwhich |
| you can parade the market | |
| Buyer: To ba ni fun mi (Line 18) | If you have give me |

Another 'backchannel' is found between lines 20 – 22

…. se iru eleyi ni yawo …… can this type have
tonfo gbogbo oja kiri a wife and be going round
tonwa ibi ti o ti jale? the market studying
(o si rerin)where he can steal from?
(and she laughs).
Buyer: ori yin o pe papo Eyin asewo You are idiots you harlots.

In line 20, the external contributor interrupts and takes the turn from the seller to tease the buyer thereby preventing the buyer from expanding his own defence. Yet, this does not make the transaction chaotic.

Analysis of the **adjacency pairs** shows there is a neat pairing of turns or utterances except in lines 7-8 and18-23 where there are dispreferred responses to statements.

Lines 7-8
Buyer: koda ko ye ko ju muri kan lo it's not supposed to be more than N20
Seller: igbati mi o jii When I didn't steal it

Lines 18-23
Buyer: To ba ni fun mi (umbrella) If you have give me.
Seller: To ba dele ko gba lowo iyawo collect from your wife if you gethome
Buyer: Ori yin o pe papo eyin asewo You are all idiots, harlots

These dispreferred responses are as a result of misunderstanding between the seller and the buyer. Otherwise all other responses are relevant to questions or statements

Though turns are held by the seller in lines 10-14 and another one by an external contributor as backchannel covering lines 15 – 17, no offence is taken at this dispreferred response as the exchange is an amicable one. No fight and no

power struggle. There is only one overlap which is not enough to disturb the flow of information. As overlap and interruption are not frequent in the talk, the talk is able to maintain its structure.

Analysis of the **sequences** of the transaction shows that there is an opening but no closing because a back-channel in line 25 comes in after what looks like a closing in line 24 from the seller. There is no **pre- sequence** and this absent feature does not indicate any intimate relationship between the interactants as earlier observed in our literature review.This might be because of the personality involved – an adult male that might not have time for what women would have regarded as a necessity. It might be because the man wants to be as brief as possible in the transaction as a man, until events proved him wrong. This is when the seller turned an attacker, and the external contributor pinned him down with embarrassing attack to which the buyer responds swiftly.

There are two **insertion sequences** introduced by the external contributor that supply the backchannels in lines 15 - 17

| | |
|---|---|
| Oorun yi oda fun | this sun is too much for men |
| okunrin be e ni umbrella | and you have no umbrella with |
| te le fi yipo oja ka | which you can parade the market |

Backchannel lines 20-22

| | |
|---|---|
| ….se iru eleyi niyawo tonfo | can this type of man have a |
| Gbogbo oja kiri tonwa ibito | wife and be parading the |
| Ti le jale | market studying |
| where he can steal from | |

These insertion sequences also form backchannel comments that have the great function of infuriating the buyer. This is a deliberate attack on the buyer because of the personality involved in the transaction – a man. In this setting, Yoruba land, women seem to look down on men who are trying to buy soup ingredients by themselves instead of allowing their wives to do so. This is what calls for the reference to the buyer's wife who probably might be at home.

Through the examination of the relevance of the interpersonal relations and the situational context, we can analyze the transaction from the 'InteractionalSociolinguistics' point of view and notice that the contextualization cues point with imprecise reference to the knowledge that they (buyer and seller) share. 'Itis more than that' (lines 5) '**it'** here refers to 'tomapep' I did not steal it. 'This' in 'can 'this' have a wife? in line 20, refers presumably to the buyer. The use of exophoric reference with a personal pronoun 'it' and the demonstrative adverb 'this' only have meanings to the interactants because they only know the referring items because of their inter-textual knowledge which excludes outsiders.

In this data, it is discovered that by merely describing how turns are taken and the sequential organization of utterances, may not give a clue to the meaning of utterance in the exchange, until the type of interpersonal

relationship that exists between interactants is determined, the location of the exchange identified and the personalities involved in the exchange are equally examined. 'CA' only takes care of the behaviour of participants in this talk and recurring patterns in the data, whereas 'ISL' studies the relationship between interactants, purpose of speaking, status of speakers and the location of talk, all that help provide meaning to the transaction. It equally studies the contextualization cues which indicate the aspects of the context relevant to what the speakers mean. In summary, 'CA' takes care of the sequential organization of the exchange while 'ISL' examines its social aspects that reveal the intended meanings and eliminate ambiguity. The role of 'ISL' therefore, complements the effort of 'CA'. This is why their combination that forms the 'eclectic' model has done justice to the analysis**.**

**Table iii: Summary of the structure of appendix 1**

| Adjacency pairs | Question type | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferred Response -7<br>Dispreferred-7 | Polar 2<br>Identification 1<br>Confirmation -<br>Echo - | Overlap –1<br>Interruption 1<br>Backchannel 2 | Shift 5<br>Drift –<br>Change - | Pre sequence -<br>Opening strategy question<br>Closing –<br>Insertion 2 |

**TDII Data Analysis (See Appendix ll)**

This is a very long transaction between a female seller and a female buyer. The transaction displays many features of informal talk taking place in an informal environment – the market. From the way and manner the transaction progresses, the participants look familiar. This is seen in the way the transaction commences straight with "kosadire mo" (line 1) meaning, 'no more tie and dye' a 'confirmation' question type that looks like a statement. It shows that the buyer must have been coming there and seeing different types of 'tie and dye' materials but that day, she feels disappointed as she could not see any. So, instead of the direct question 'Se eni adire? 'do you have tie and dye?, she asks in a confirmatory way as 'Kosadire mo'confirming what she sees. She has already noticed the absence of 'tie and dye. So, there is no need to ask any direct question because if they have, it will be on display. This same familiarity is further proved by the way the seller responds with not only "kosadire mo" meaning 'no more tie and dye' but with further explanation on why tie and dye is out of stock. 'We don't want people to feel it is only 'tie and dye' that we sell (lines 3-5). Another evidence of familiarity is seen in the digression introduced into the data (lines 80-87).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | Sebie mo pe gbogbo awon Materials yi aan import e ni Nigeria o produce any textile kankan. | You know all the materials we use for these designs are imported. Nigeria doesn't produce any textile |
| Buyer : | A ni o | We have |
| Seller: | Nibo lo wa? | Where is it? |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | A ni o | We have |
| Seller: | Nibo lo wa? | Where is it? |
| Buyer : | Ani, anse, Kaduna lanisi | We have in Kaduna |
| Seller: | Aso melo lan produce? | How many textile materials do we produce? |
| Buyer: | Aso noo lankara | We produce vegetable wax |

The above also portrays a relaxed atmosphere where none of them seems to be in a hurry to do any other serious thing.

Another evidence of familiarity is seen between lines 59-62.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | O kan ri be ni, oun ni won ma fi n ran aso awon india | It just looks like that, it is usually used to sew Indian style. |
| Buyer: | Oh! moranti Igba kan ni won se pelu lesi chingum | Oh! I can remember it was produced the same time with chew-gum lace |

This familiarity leads to the digressions into the various areas not directly relevant to the topic and dialogue almost turned to monologue as a result of the type of relationship that exists between the participants.This relationships is also responsible for the abnormal length of the transaction. For instance, one turn taken by the seller covers 27 lines (lines 16-42) within which 22 sentences are made. Despite the length of this turn, the buyer who understands the rules of the game, part of which is, one person speaks at a time, patiently waits for the current speaker – the seller to hand over the 'floor' and there is no interruption within this longturn to show that the listener is annoyed or impatient.

Grice's Politeness principle which is embedded in the 'Interactional Sociolinguistics' model is a strategy greatly exploited by the seller to a point of flouting the maxims of 'quality' and 'relevance' just to get the buyer convinced.

For instance, the seller goes into the details of how the textile material was produced, why the price increased and who to blame for the increase (lines 44-45). All these make some of the seller's explanations irrelevant and therefore over burdened the transaction.

Because the interactants share the same contextual beliefs and background information, those imprecise exophoric references made by the seller are jointly understood. For instance, Seller: 'Ilu yi o da tobe kama tun yen so' (line 44)when directly translated, 'Ilu' a Yoruba word means 'town' or 'village' but the buyer understands that it is an exophoric reference to country – Nigeria; that things are expensive all over the country. That is why she quickly responds with "Ilu daa lase duro sibe" (line 46) meaning 'the country is good that is why we remain in it' (line 46).

**Question Type:** In the text, thirteen questions (13) are identified and out of these, five (5) are polar questions that demand 'Yes' or 'No' answers. An example of which is: Buyer: Se ko gba ₦ 1,200 ni? line 43 Can't it sell for ₦1,200?The remaining eight (8) are 'identification questions' that require answers which could be brief or long. But in most cases, answers are long. Consider the exchange below taken from lines 78 – 82

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | E se wa filee? | Why did you increase the price? |
| Seller: | Ejo wa naa ko<br>Awon custom, won o je kaa | It is not our fault. The<br>custom men used to disturb |

| | |
|---|---|
| koja. Se e mope gbogbo awon materials yii a'n import e ni Nigeria o produce any textile kankan. (lines 78-82) | us on the road You know all the materials we use for these designs are imported. None is produced by Nigeria. |

This analysis further confirms our observation under strategies for openings that identification question type is more in use in market exchanges than any other type. Yet one canstill say there is smooth turn taking and there is 'Transition Relevance Point'. Even where the seller holds the 'floor', whenever she yields the 'floor', the buyer is able to connect and take over immediately with a relevant response. Turn–taking is very tight in this transaction; that is, there is no 'overlapping' or 'interruption'. Even the **'Insertion Sequences'** that do punctuate turn-taking or adjacency pairs are not present in this lingering transaction. Majority of the turns are also complex because each contains more than one idea especially the seller's responses. Consider this excerpt from the data: lines 1-4

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer : | Ko s'adire mo | No more tie and dye |
| Seller: | ko s'adire mo. Ko ma kan jepe boya oun nikan la'nta. elo miran, kampala ti su u. | No more tie and dye.We diversify so that people will not feel it is only tie and dye that we sell. There are People who prefer kampla for variety sake. (more of these in the appendix) |

Borrowing Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) term, the structure of turn-taking in this transaction is IR, IR, IR and so forth.

In the transaction, there are 45 turns that produced 88 sentences. Out of these 45 turns, 23 are taken by the buyer while 22 turns are taken by the seller.

Out of the 88 sentencesthat make up the total transaction, 61 sentences are constructed by the seller while 27 are constructed by the buyer. What this translates to mean is that, the buyer's contribution to the transaction is just 30.7 % while seller's contribution constitutes 69.3 %. This is enough evidence to prove that it is the seller's turns that are usually longer and more complex than the buyer's own. Even though the number of turns taken by the seller is less than the turns taken by the buyer, evidence abounds that the seller's turns are usually extremely long. For instance, there is one turn with 22 sentences covering lines 16 – 42. This is because the purpose is to persuade and convince the customer.

Sellers are usually fond of prolonging transactions. It is also observed that out of the 113 lines that make up the transaction only 8 lines say something on price determination while 105 lines are concentrated on digressions (shifting and drifting of topics) There is no serious bargaining exercise as much time is given to irrelevant issues, the purpose of which is to get the buyer convinced and buy. For instance, the first question asked by the buyer in line 43 was never given any direct answer but through digressions found in far away lines 53and75which makes the buyer burst out in line 103 with 'okay how much do you want to take for this?'. This delay strategy works as the buyer eventually bought the textile material. This is characteristic of transactions between familiar interactants in market places.

Through the examination of the **interpersonal relation** and the **situational context**, it is noticed that there are some imprecise references to the knowledge the interactants share. Such as 'it', 'they', 'them', 'these' which only have meanings for the interactants because they know those items through their inter-textual knowledge.

The analysis of the **adjacency pairs** shows that there are neat pairings of turns inspite of 'digressions' and shifting of topics. An example of digression that does not affect neat pairing is between lines 44- 48.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | Ilu yi o da tobe kama tun so miin | This country is not that good to sell like that. |
| Buyer: | Ilu daa lase duro sinu ilu | The country is good that is why we are still inside it. |
| Seller: | Aa ni choice. Ibolafe lo? | We have no choice. Where do we go? |
| Buyer : | Ilu daa fun wa laa se sa jade | We remain in the country because it is good. |

This digression notwithstanding, each question in the digression receives relevant answer until the digression is eventually brought in line with the main topic of discourse again. It is also noticed that the shifting of topic does not affect pairing of turns as well. The shift occurs where the discussion shifts from bargaining to whether the country – Nigeria produces textile materials or not and if so where is the industry located? This is found in lines 82 – 89.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller : | Nigeria o produce any Textile Kankan | Nigeria does not produce Any textile material. |
| Buyer : | A ni o | We have |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | Nibo lo wa? | Where is it? |
| Buyer : | A ni o | We have |
| Seller: | Nibo lo wa? | Where is it? |
| Buyer : | Ani, anse, Kaduna la nisi | We produce in Kaduna |
| Seller: | Aso melo la n produce? | How many textile material do we produce? |
| Buyer: | Aso noo lankara | We produce veritable wax |

The above is a sub- text within the main text which constitutes a 'shift' and at the same time an 'insertion sequence'. Yet the turn pairing is not disorganized.As long as the transaction is, it contains only two dispreferred responses found between :Lines 43 – 45

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Se ko gba ₦1,200 ni? | Can't it sell for ₦1,200? |
| Seller | Ki le so? Ilu yi o daa ka ma tun yen so | What did you say? This country is not good. |
| Lines 103-106 | | |
| Buyer | O ya elo le fe gba? | Okay, how much do you Want to sell it? |
| Seller | Ewo eleyi ₦1,500. Awon eleyi gba ₦1,000. Awon eleyi, quality won jura won lo(onowo si orisi aso miran) | look at all these, each sells for ₦1,500 and the quality of this is different from that one which sells for 1,000 |

It is interesting to note that there is no single 'overlap' or 'interruption'. This is evidence that the turn-taking pattern is tight and smooth as both participants are aware of the rule guiding conversation (one person speaks at a time ) and therefore do not depart from the normal fluency. This adherence to rule enables them to listen out for points in each turn where transition to another speaker has become

relevant. This is why there are more ‘preferred’ ‘responses in the transaction than ‘dispreferred’ ones.

Analysis of the **sequences** of the transaction shows that the data has opening that starts straight with an enquiry into the availability of the goods the buyer wants. There is no **pre-sequence.** This reflects the cordial interpersonal relationship on which this present interaction is built. The transaction has an **opening** that is found in line one. It also has the **‘message’ or ‘middle**’ section which contains the haggling proper (lines 2-111). There is the ‘closing’ section though not clearly marked out linguisticallybut non-linguistically as the buyer pays, collects the material and nothing was said thereafter.

There is no way ‘CA’ can do justice to the analysis of this complex and lingering data. To understand how the data unfolds, there is a great need to examine the type of relationship between the interactants and the topic of discussion. Allthese cannot be sourced from just analyzing the sequential organization of the data and the types of turns present. This is why the researcher deems it fit to join a model that examines the social aspect of utterance ‘ISL’ to ‘CA’ that is particularly mindful of the structure of data and the behaviour of interactants. This need calls for an eclectic approach to study market exchanges where interpersonal relationship is of great importance in determining the success

of transaction. It dictates Turn taking patterns, the length of transactions and the success of transactions in market places.

**Table iv: Summary of the structure of Append II**

| Adjacency pairs | Question types | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferred Response 43<br>Dispreferred Response 2 | Polar 5<br>Identification 8<br>Confirmation 1<br>Echo - | Overlap -<br>Interruption –<br>Backchannel - | Shift – 9<br>Drift –<br>Change - | Pre sequence I<br>Opening-yes question<br>Closing –yes<br>Insertion 2 |

**DAII Data Analysis (Appendix lll)**

The analysis starts with the use of the 'Interactional Sociolinguistics' model of analysis that concerns itself with the status of participants, the type of relationship between them, why they talk and the location of talk. One is therefore able to say that the participants in this transaction are: a male buyer and a female seller. The object of transaction is a fowl and the interactants are not familiar with each other.

The type of relationship between them and the type of persons involved have some influence on the way the transaction unfolds. The buyer is a man who probably does not have enough time to drag on bargaining like a woman. Just as earlier noted in one of the data, men are not too common in Yoruba markets as

buyers (of food and soup ingredients) as it is believed that the act is meant for women. So, whatever men do in the market is done unavoidably and briskly in most cases. This is why the transaction goes on sharply and not for long. The application of 'ISL' model of analysis brings to limelight who the interactants are, where the talk takes place and the type of relationship that exists between them. Also, there is no single person among them with the role status to initiate talk and the other responds as in the doctor / patient or Courtroom situation. Moreover the situational context does not require it.

While 'CA' believes that only some background contexts influence whatever interactants say, 'ISL' is of the opinion that, all background contexts influence whatever we say as seen in the analysis so far. For instance, because the context is a market place, the man – the buyer does not want to stay long on price determination as a woman would have loved to do. Also, that he does not know the seller before does not allow him to waste time charting or greeting at the opening part.

As short as the transaction is, we can talk of **Turn taking** in the sense of respecting Turn Relevance Points (TRP). This is because the speaker patiently waits for the other to finish talking before she answers or contributes to the transaction. This makes the transfer of information to be smooth and there is no

single overlap or interruption even though it is a casual talk between two unfamiliar persons.

Analysis of **adjacency pairs** shows that there is a neat pairing of utterances or turns. This is why there are no 'dispreferred' responses rather; they are all 'preferred' responses as a result of the neat pairing of turns.

Analyzing the **sequences** of the conversation, it becomes clear that the transaction has no presequence such as greeting or phatic talk as the buyer goes straight to the point which is:

Seller: 'Elo le die?'(line 1) 'How much is the fowl?'

There is the 'message' section that contains mainly what the transaction is all about. When it comes to 'Closing', there is nothing to indicate that the transaction has ended more than the fact that, the buyer asks the seller to put the chicken in his bag, an evidence that transaction has come to an end. It is a complete transaction even though some features that mark closing are absent. Once payment is made and no more talk after the payment, transaction is deemed to have come to an end.

There is no **pre-sequence.** This indicates the type of relationship that exists between the seller and the buyer. Moreso, there is no need to prepare the mind of the seller for the transaction as both the object of sale and the seller are available.

Returning to the relevance of ISL, one can get the existing interpersonal relations and the situational context. When we analyze the conversation from the

ISL point of view it is noticed that, the contextualization cues point with imprecise reference to the knowledge that they both share. An example is:

Seller: 'Bami gbe sinu apo' 'Help me put 'it' in the bag' (line 7). 'It' in the above sentence refers presumably to 'fowl' .That is an exophoric reference that has meaning only for the interactants because they know the referring items, based on their intertexual knowledge.

There is also an elliptical statement in line 5 that reads:

Buyer: E taa fun mi Sell it to me instead of 'E ta edie naa fun mi' that is,' sell that fowl to me'. This is understood by the speaker and the hearer-seller. The missing or ellipted 'fowl' is recoverable from line 1. Also there is an ellipsis in line 7 with 'Ebami gbee sinu apo' 'Help me put it in the bag'. Instead of 'help me put the chicken into the bag'. The 'fowl' element is absent but the utterance is still understandable to the interactants.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the concerns of both models – CA and ISL that form our eclectic model of approach are seen overlapping in the data such as 'adjacency pairing' and 'turn taking'. But closely observed, it is clear that the two models have to work hand in hand for a comprehensive and effective analysis of the data. For example, CA is concerned with the way the transaction unfolds while ISL is interested in the type of relationship that exists between speakers, the status of the speakers and the location of the speech. In the early part

of this work, the relationship between CA and ISL is established. There it is stated that, the concern of ISL, if not considered in any conversation analysis it will definitely affect the concern of CA.

Based on this observation, it is clear how the status of the buyer- a man, in the above data, and the location of the transaction – market combined to influence the length of the data and why the buyer behaves the way he does in the data where majority of the turns are simple turns (turns containing one idea). The role of ISL to enable us understand the data is complementary to the role of CA, that provides the structural organization of the data .This symbiotic relationship between ISL and CA proves the fact that it is an eclectic approach that will be effective for our data analysis.

**Table v: Summary of the structure of Appendix lll**

| Adjacency pairs | Question type | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferred 8<br>Response<br>Dispreferred - | Polar 1<br>Identification 1<br>Confirmation –<br>Echo - | Insertion<br>Sequence –<br>Overlap –<br>Interruption –<br>Backchannel - | Shift –<br>Drift –<br>Change - | Pre sequence –<br>Opening question<br>Closing - |

**FDIII Analysis ( See Appendix iv)**

This analysis is opened with 'ISL'model of analysis that is concerned with the type of relationship that exists between participants, the purpose of talk, the location of talk and the status of the interactants. This is a transaction between two women- a seller and a buyer and the object of sale is yam. Transaction takes place in an informal environment- a market and the two participants involved are not familiar as observed from the opening section of the exchange. Lines 1-3

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Madam ekaaro o. | Madam good morning |
| | Talo nisu yii? | Who is the owner of this yam? |
| Seller: | Emi ni o | I am |

Yoruba is a tone language where what you say does not matter much as how you say it. For instance, 'Ekaaro o' translated to mean 'good morning' in English is not the same with Ekaaro which is equally translated to mean 'good morning' in English. 'Ekaaro o' is not an ordinary greeting as it is understood by traders in Yoruba markets to mean a 'summon'. The last vowel in the greeting is what signals the 'summon' and at the same time showing the people around that the seller is not nearby. It is the type of relationship between the participants that calls for this 'summon' and that is why the response is given in the same rising tone 'emi ni o' meant to show that the seller is far away and to hold down the buyer; instead of 'emi ni' which means 'I am'. The question and the response end in

rising tone which the interactants jointly understand because of their shared background knowledge.

Considering the CA model that focuses the organizational structure of conversation and how utterances affect each other, it is observed that, it is possible to talk of **turn taking** in respect of Transition Relevant Point (TRP). This is because; there are no overlaps or interruptions that could affect the smooth flow of information. Each participant waits patiently for her turn. This patience it is noticed, aids quick understanding and management of turns in such a noisy situation. Despite this noise, turns are taken sequentially and responses to questions are relevant. This relevant response in turn taking facilitates another feature which is the **'adjacency pairs'**. There is a neat pairing of turns. No single '**dispreferred'** response which is usually caused by insertion sequences. One can conveniently therefore say that, all the responses are **'preferred'**.

The prevalence of 'polar' questions over the 'identification' questions is evidence of the simplicity of the data. This question type (polar) makes the turns to be simple as each turn contains one idea and the transaction, though brief is complete. Out of the six questions asked in the data, 'polarity' takes four while identification questions that usually prolong transactions are just two. The implication of this to the conversation is, time saving.

Analysis of the **sequence** shows that the data has a **pre-sequence** used to prepare the mind of the seller to receive the oncoming event. It is through this pre-sequence found in lines 1- 5 that one gets to know the type of relationship that exists between the seller and the buyer- unfamiliar. This pre-sequence has prepared the transaction channel so that the request of the potential buyer will not be turned down or the buyer not been attended to. An example is given below. Lines 1-5

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Madam e karo o. | Madam good morning Who |
| | Talo nisu yi? | is the owner of this yam? |
| Seller: | Emi ni o | I am |
| Buyer: | Se tita ni? | Is it for sale? |
| Seller: | Beni o | Yes |

This pre-sequence is what enables the buyer to proceed to the initiation level where she asks for the price of the yam in line 6:

Buyer: Elo le fe taa? How much do you want to sell it?

The data also has the **message** portion which contains what the transaction is all about. This is found between lines 4-21 and there are no topic shifts, drifts or changes. Rather, it has a pre-closing portion found in line 18.

Seller: Emu eyi tee ba fe wa. 'Bring the one you don't want', before the seller offers 'Thanks' in line 21 in acknowledgement of what the buyer does.

An account of the structural organization of this transaction without due consideration of the social aspect will be deficient. So, while the structural organization of the transaction and the behaviour of interactants are taken care of

by ‘CA’, ‘ISL’ complements the effort of CA by examining the contextualcues such as ‘tone’ that usually affects the interpretation of utterances in a setting like the Yoruba, where the impact of tone on utterance is significant. The distant relationship between the interactants does not permit turn holding in the data. This is why the transaction, though complete and successful is brief. The analysis above confirms the relevance of the choice of an eclectic approach for detail analysis of data in this work.

**Table vi: Summary of the structure of Appendix iv**

| Adjacency pairs | Question type | Turn taking | Topic | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferred – 18<br>Dispreferred - | Polar 4<br>Identification 2<br>Confirmation -<br>Echo - | Insertion sequence –<br>Overlap –<br>Interruption -<br>Backchannel - | Shift –<br>Drift –<br>Charge - | Pre sequence 1<br>Opening question<br>Closing ‘thanks’ |

**SDIII Analysis (See Appendix 5)**

Analyzing this exchange using ISL model of analysis that looks at the social structure, the relationship between the interactants and the purpose of the exchange, it becomes clear that the exchange is between a woman seller and another woman buyer. The transaction takes place in an informal environment and it does not appear from the data that, the interactants are familiar in any way judged from the way the transaction opens and ends abruptly.

Seller: Ebami raa iya oko mi line 1(o nowo si tomatoe)

Help me buy it my mother- in law (she points at some tomatoes)

The seller looks desperate probably because she has not sold anything before then or that she sees the prospective buyer as someone who does not show interest to buy. The repetition of line one in line two: 'Ebamiraa iya okomi'.' Ebamiraa iya oko mi' shows there is no mark of familiarity between the interactants. Despite the repeated use of kinship terms 'iya oko mi' in line 2 meaning 'my mother in-law', to woo the buyer, the seller could still not get the tomatoe sold.

Seller: 'Ten ten naira ni iya oko mi'(line 4)
Seller: 'It is ten ten naira' my mother-in-law

The seller in her bid to sell keeps maintaining her friendly tone of positive politeness throughout the data, that it almost turns what should be a dialogue into a monologue. See lines 1-2.

Seller: Ebami raa iya oko mi Help me buy it my mother in- law
Eba mi raa iya oko mi Help me buy it my mother in- law

In this transaction, topic is merely introduced with 'elo ni?'(line 3) but it is not developed. So, it gets terminated abruptly. Using 'CA' to examine the interactants' behaviour in the data, it is discovered that there is no sequence at all. No topic development and no topic termination except for the fact that, the topic is merely initiated. The data is full of pleas and prayers because of the competitive nature of the setting - the market. All these are elements of politeness strategy

which are embedded in 'ISL' model of analysis. However, the strategy appears not to work here as the buyer is not moved by the several appeals to buy something from the seller. Rather, she just walks away without uttering a word. So,there is only one exchange in (lines3-4)

Buyer: Elo ni? How much?(line 3)
Seller: Ten ten naira ni iya oko mi (line4)
It is ten ten naira my mother- in-law

Nothing is further built on this. There is no **overlap**, no **interruption** and no **insertionsequence**. This exchange in lines 3-4 is the only area where one can talk of Turn taking. In essence, it is not a full text as it is neither developed nor terminated. Though it has an abnormal structure, such a structure seems to be peculiar to market exchanges; especially where the price placed on goods is probably high or the buyer notices that the goods seem not to be good enough.

Analyzing the **sequence** with 'CA' model, one can see that the data has just displayed the fact that, it is possible to have a topic initiated without a response to build it up to message level. This data has also proved what the researcher said earlier that, it is only the initiating section of transaction in Yoruba markets that is obligatory out of the three parts that make up the structure of transaction. This type of structure is never frowned at by the interactants as it is taken as normal, though it may look abnormal in mundane conversation. Inspite of the incomplete nature of this data, it still functions as an exchange as there is an initiation and there is a

relevant response to it, thereby creating an **adjacency pair** (lines 3-4) and a **preferred** response. It has no**dispreferred** response, no **overlapping** and no **interruption**.

**Table vii: Summary of the structure of Appendix v**

| Adjacency pairs | Question types | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential development |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Preferred Answer 1 Dispreferred Answer- | Polar- Identification 1 Confirmation - Echo - | Overlap – Interruption – Backchannel – | Shift – Drift – Changes - | Pre sequence 1 Opening question- Closing – Insertion- |

**FDVII Analysis ( See Appendix vl)**

This is a transaction that has all the signs of an exchange and it holds between a female seller and a male buyer in a market in Yoruba land. Participants in the transaction do not appear familiar. They argued over the price of a bag of rice. This argument leads to a temporary stalemate that was later resolved through some politeness strategies employed by the seller and the patience exercised by the buyer. The transaction after this, resumes though with the buyer changing his mind from buying rice to buying semovita.

The first comment to make about this text is to emphasize that the unfamiliar buyer and seller transact their business in an informal environment. The inter-personal relationship and the situational context have a significant influence on how the transaction unfolds. They shared the background knowledge about the

general increase in the prices of goods and what leads to the increase. For instance, that they are not familiar leads to the fall-out between the participants and the way the seller often holds the floor in an attempt to assuage the enraged customer.

Seller ‘ Eyin na mo pe owon gogo oja wonyi owo ijoba loti wa nigbati owo bode ti lo soke lori iresi’. (lines 21-23)
Seller: ‘You’ know this inflation is caused by the government that increased import duty on imported rice. (lines 21-23).

The personal pronoun ‘you’ used by the seller is to show that the buyer also is not ignorant of the price increase on goods in the country and the reason for the inrease.Even though the seller claims to have known the buyer before that time, and could not have forgotten him so soon, there is nothing that points to this claim in the text based on how the transaction unfolds.

‘Bawo ni mose le gbagbe eyin alabara mi nikiakia, niwo to je ojulowo alabara mi?’ (lines 19-21)‘How can I forget you so soon as my good customer?’ (lines 19-21).

The seller screamed at the price the buyer offered that is, ₦5000 from ₦ 8000

with‘Haba ! afenito ba ji lole ta be yen’ (Line 12)
‘Haba ! Only someone who stole hers can sell at that price’ (Line 12)

The above expression borders on the type of relationship between the seller (a female) and the buyer (a male). This outburst enrages the buyer and makeshim dwell so much on a trivial matter that any female buyer would have regarded as one of those expressions found in such a situation. There is a sort of misinterpretation of intention by the buyer as the two- the seller and the buyer seemed not to be operating on the same wavelength. That is why the buyer

perceives the statement as an indirect insult used to save the seller's face. He therefore threatens to go away in line 13 with: 'Monlo'I'm going' line 13.Still applying the ISL model which is concerned with the type of relationship between participants and the location of the exchange, it shows that the distant relationship between the interactants enables us to understand why the transaction proceeds the way it does. But in CA's view only some contexts (unspecified) are relevant in the understanding of talks.

Realizing the possibility of losing the buyer to other sellers in such a competitive environment, the seller in lines 15-16 resorts to the use of politeness strategy which is still embedded in Interactional Sociolinguistic model of analysis such as thekingship terms to appeal to the psychology of the buyer

seller: Ema bo (o di onibara mu) ema lo o oko mi.
Eso iye te ba fe san (lines 14-15)
Come now (holding the buyer) don't go away
my husband, tell me how much you
want to pay (lines 14-15).

Further analysis is based on conversation analysis model. Still angry, the buyer did not allow the seller to finish with her persuasive words before he hijacked the floor from her screaming in lines 18-22

Buyer:…….. Mo nlo (o pose) nigba tieti ri mi gege bi
eni to feraja ole. The seller quickly seized the floor from the buyer.
……..'I have to go 'psss' (he hissed) since you have seen
me assomeone who wants to buy stolen goods'

Seller:……God forbid. How can I call you a thief? How can Iforget you so soon as my good customer? (Line 23-24)

Trying to assuage the buyer, the seller quickly hijacked the floor from the buyer back with some pleasant and re-assuring words as found below.

Seller: 'Bawo ni mo se fe bu eyin to fe bami raja kin powo ki nkan le dara funmi? Sebi iru yin bayi lole jeka rowo pada losoja'
Seller'How can I insult you who wants to buy
and make life better for me? Is it not people
like you who will buy and make me return back
to market for more? ( lines 24-28)

Within these utterances are some marketing strategies employed by the seller such as **'rhetorical question'**. The role of which is to make the seller's explanation more forceful and evoke sympathy. It is also to let the buyer know that she (the seller) is not comfortable with how the buyer feels bThe buyer is still ruffled, jugged from his countenance as he uttered the expression below:

'Thanks. What of semo? (line 31) and this is still repeated
in line 33' What of semo?'

The **repetition** of 'what of semo?' does not amount to a 'repair' but to stress the point that the customer is still dissatisfied and therefore does not want to say anything further on the rice issue.

Rather than continuing pricing the goods-rice, he shifts from 'rice' to 'semo'. If the two are familiar, it would not have taken the seller(female) so long a time to get the customer (male) convinced. The same repetition is evidence that the

buyer is not fully appeased even though he goes further to demand for 'semo' from the same seller. The seller gives the price of 'semo' as ₦2,000 but the buyer finally gets it at ₦1,600 and the transaction ends with a 'thank you' in line 50 by the seller.

This is a real-life conversation where one can say that the participants are not familiar with each other, based on the mode of interaction and how it takes the seller such a long time to appeal or convince the buyer to over look what she- the seller,might have said earlier in error. There is no mutual understanding between the two interactants. This is why utterances and intentions are misinterpreted by the buyer and the floor was held for so long by the seller (lines 19-38) almost turning a dialogue into a monologue. This iscaused by the attempt to pacify the enraged buyer; still the buyer seems unconvinced. Despite this unfriendly mood of the buyer, the transaction is smooth looking at it from CA'model which is designed to look at how real data unfolds,how participants behave in talks and how utterances affect each other.

**Turn taking:**One can talk of 'turn-taking' in the sense of Transition Relevant Point (TRP).For instance,participants endeavoured to wait till the other has finished talking before they answer or contribute to the transaction.This is evidence in lines 1-16 where questions are directly followed by their answers.

Even where the reply of the seller in lines 20-28 to the buyer's question in line 19 turns to a monologue, a relevant answer in line 29 still follows immediately.

The total interruptions here are three as found below and they all occurat points of disagreement. (lines 16-17, 18-19, 31 and 32) as found below

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | (Lines 14-15) | |
| Seller: | Ewa. Ema lo oko mi<br>e so iye teba fe<br>san | Come, don't go away my husband<br>tell me how much you want to pay |
| | (Lines16-17) | |
| Buyer: | ..…Monlo nigba<br>te ti rimi bi eni to fe<br>raja ole | … I will go since you have<br>seen me as someone<br>who wants to buy stolen goods |
| | (Lines 18-19) | |
| Seller | …..Haba! Olorun maje<br>bawo ni mo se le peyin lole?<br>Gbogbo nkan to wu kijoba se<br>sawa onisowo ao ni kogba sile | Haba! God forbids how can<br>I call you a thieve?<br>Whatever the government does to<br>we traders we shall survive |
| | (lines 28-30) | |
| Buyer | …..Pssh (o pose) Ese<br>Semo nko? (Line 31) | …..Pssh (he hissed)<br>Thanks. What of semo? |

The seller realising the insincerity in the buyer's 'thanks' (line 31) quickly ovalapped the buyer's response with'Se esi nbinu ni?' 'Are you still annoyed?' (line 32) to which the buyer repeated the response in line 31 in 33 'Semo nko?' ' what of semo?' (a dispreferred response).

In a transaction of 28 turns and onlythree are hijacked thereby causing interruptions and one overlapping, one can not regard such a transaction as rowdy or chaotic as each question or statement is responded to immediately.

**Adjacency Pairs:** Analysis of the adjacency pairs shows that there are neat pairings of utterances or turns in the transaction, the exceptions are just found in lines 11-12 and 31-34

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Egberun marun (line 11) | ₦5,000 |
| Seller: | Afeni to ba ji lo le ta be yen | Only someone who stole hers can sell at that price |

The utterance in line 12 is not the expected response to what happens in line 11. Therefore it is a **dispreferred response** to the statement in line 11.

There is yet another instance where one cannot talk of adjacency pairing in the text and this is found in lines 31-34

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Semo nko? | What of semo? (line 31) |
| Seller: | Se esi nbinu ni? | Are you still annoyed? (line 32) |
| Buyer: | Semo nko? | What of semo? (line 33) |
| Seller: | Oda kekere abi nla? | Ok. Big or small?(line 34) |

Disprefered responses are noticed here and questions are used as responses, a practice which shows a deviation from the established or known pairing where questions are followed by their answers.

The real interpretation of ‘what of semo?’ (line 29) is, ‘do you have semo?’ to which the response could be ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. or ‘I have’. Rather, the response is ‘Are you still annoyed?’ (line 32). The question in line 31 only succeedsin shifting

the topic of bargain from ‘rice’ to ‘semo’ and has an undertone of refusal to accept the seller’s appeal, while the seller’s response in line 32 also exposes her discomfort about the buyer’s posture. This response therefore forms an ‘insertion sequence’.

**‘Preferred’ responses** are more frequent than ‘dispreferred’ responses in the transaction. The few dispreferred responses could not disruptthe smooth flow of information as the interruptions are not taken as offence, since the transaction is an amicable one that permits such deviations.

Returning to the relevance of the interpersonal relationship point of view, we noticed that the contextualization cues point with imprecise reference to the knowledge that they both share. The seller’s ‘price ‘it’ now’ (line 8), and ‘whatever they decide to do’ in line (28) refer presumably to ‘price’ and ‘government’ respectively and they are exophoric references. Both ‘it’ and ‘they’ are personal pronouns which have meanings for them (seller and buyer) because they know the referring items as a result of their inter-textual knowledge.

Using CA, the analysis of the **sequences** of the transaction shows that the text is structured. For instance, the text has opening which is introduced by a summon through the use of vocative.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Madam, good morning | Madam ekaro |
| Seller: | Good mornings my husband | Kaaro okomi |

This is followed by a **pre-sequence** in lines 3-4 that prepares the ground for further sequences and also signals the type of utterance to follow.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Setita lawon eleyi? ( line 3) | Are these for sale? (line 3) |
| Seller: | Beeni. (line 4) | Yes. (line 4) |

The presence of this pre-sequence is possibly a reflection of lack of any close relationship between the seller and the buyer which now requires the preparation of the seller's mind for the transaction. This pre-sequence is what facilitates the topic initiate- How much?' (line 5). The pre-sequence paves way for the real transaction that spreads through line 5 to line 40.

There is also a portion in the transaction that shows the transaction is coming to an end ( pre- closing ) and that is found in lines 39-40.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Um…(39) | Um…(39) |
| Seller: | Kin gbe wa? (line 40) | I should bring it? (line 40) |

which is subsequently followed by a feedback (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) 'beeni'(line 41) 'Yes'by the buyer.(line 41). The feedback is capped with an acknowledgement, 'Thank you' ('Ese e') by the seller which closes the transaction. The **silence** in (line 39) is an 'attributive silence' which indicates affirmative answer and very positive sentiment that encourages the seller to quickly ask the question 'l should bring it?' (line 40) and the response is 'Yes'.

In essence, the text is structured and the structure is closely knitted as there are no gaps. The only area where there is a long pause ended up as an 'attributive

silence', which the seller hijacked and punctuated quickly with a question that reunites the structure. The three parts mentioned in the work, in chapter two of this work - opening, message and closing that form the structure of conversation are present in this data as revealed by our analysis.

.From the above analysis it is clear that there is no way for CA model of analysis alone which is mainly concerned with the sequential organization of utterance, to single handedly give a comprehensiveand unambiguous analysis that will enable us understand what are said in the text, why they are said and the relationship between the speakers.That is what calls for the eclectic approach that considers both the structure and the social aspect of the transaction.

**Table viii: Summary of the structure of Appendix vi**

| Adjacency pair | Question type | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prefer 23<br>Disprefer 2 | Polar 6<br>Identify 2<br>Confirm --- | Insertion ---<br>Overlap 3<br>Interruption -- | Shift ---<br>Drift 6<br>Change --- | Pre seq. 1<br>Opening greeting<br>Closing yes |

**TDI Analysis (APPENDIX VII)**

One notable thing about this transaction is that the object of transaction is textile material. Going by the 'Interactional Sociolinguistics' view that is concerned about the relationship that exists between people, the interactants are: a female buyer and a female seller that share the same linguistic background based on the way the transaction is opened.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Ekaro o | (Good morning) |
| Seller: | Ekaro (Lines 1-2) | (Good morning) |

The interactants seem not to be familiar from the way the transaction progresses. The participants are arguing over the high prices of textile materials. The seller explaines to the customer that her own materials are of high quality and the measurement is accurate. After much talk, the seller is able to convince the customer as the customer finally agrees to buy even at the given price. The two participants are women and there is no traceable element of familiarity between them.

Buyer: Se timba tie ra pupo ko din? (line30)
Soeven if I buy many no reduction? (line30)
Seller: Kodin ma (line 31) No reduction ma. (line31)

The lexical item 'ma' in line 31, used by the seller further shows that the relationship that exists between them is a distanced one. This is because the seller looks older than the customer but for politeness sake she decides to drop the status differential for 'tact' a form of politeness that seeks to pave way for smooth transactions.

Buyer: Mo si fe bayin raja o And I want to buy something from you
Seller: Ebami raja. Olorun a so yin eo ni sirin. E pele. E ta lagbara Olorun. Eni kabamo lagbara Olorun (lines 34-37).
Seller: Help me buy. God will protect you. You will not run into trouble. You will sell by the power of God and you will not regret buying from me by the Grace of God.

The excessive politeness through persuasion is as a result of the fact that the environment is very competitive, the participants are not familiar and the seller wants to make sure the customer buys from her.

Because of the shared mutual understanding between the participants and their consciousness of the unstated rules governing the conduct of conversation, (one speaker speaks at a time) the buyer patiently waits for the current speaker who is the seller to finish with her talk before she, the customer, takes over the floor with a simple response.

Buyer: Beeni Yes (line 22)

Based on the **interpersonal relation** between the participants and the situational context, the seller is not contented with the buyer's 'yes' reply, that is why she goes on persuading using politeness strategies to push in her explanations on why the increase in price is not her fault and that the buyer should therefore understand and buy from her.

One can convincingly talk of **turn-taking** in the sense of Transition Relevance Point (TRP). Borrowing Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) term-Initiation/Response (IR) the transaction is ordered as answers follow questions immediately. From the opening to the closing of the transaction, turn-taking is well observed. Even where turns are held as between lines 13 and 21, 39 and 46 by sellers especially, as soon as the seller yields the floor, the next speaker who is the buyer picks upthe turn and responses are always relevant to what went before.

Still on the relevance of CA it is interesting to note that a large percentage of the turns are complex. That is, a turn containing more than one event. Examples are:

Seller: Owa. Aso nla leleyi to wa lowo yin yen (lines 7-8)

I have. The one in your hand is a High quality one.

(More of this in the appendix)

Because of the regular turn-taking pattern, one can talk of **adjacency pairing.**As questions are always followed by relevant answers as found from

lines 1-13

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Ekaro | Good morning |
| Seller: | Ekaro madam | Good morning madam |
| Buyer: | Eleyi nko? | What of this? |
| Seller: | ₦2,000 ni | ₦2,000 |
| Buyer: | Ah! Koso ni ₦1,500 | Don't you have the one for ₦1,500 |
| Seller: | Owa. Aso nla leyi towa lowo yin yen. Aso nla ni because aso nla lafi se… | I have. The one in your hand is a high quality. One, because the material used to design it is expensive… |
| Buyer: | Eje nwo awon oni ₦1, 500 yen | Show me those of ₦1,500 |
| Seller: | Oun ni ₦1,500 | Each of them is ₦1,500 |

(The remaining are found in the appendix)

All the responses provided are relevant to their questions and are therefore **'preferred**'. There are more preferred responses than dispreferred ones in the text.There is no **insertion sequence** so, there is no interruption that could punctuate the smooth flow of information. This makes the Turn taking very tight.

Analysis of **sequences** shows that the text has opening, (lines 1-2), and the message (haggling portion) lines 3-48. The pre-closing section is between lines 48-51though there is no specific indication of closing the transaction either linguistically or non-linguistically.

This text is characterized by turn holding as found in lines 7-11, 13-21 and 39-46. This is where sellers usually prove their communicative competence to achieve the purpose of transaction.

As part of the strategy to get the buyer convinced, the seller goes into topic 'drifting' as seen in lines 38-46.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | Ewoo, mi o ta gige.Dozen price lemi nta. Teba doun te ba pada no… ati peaso temi o lafiwe. Owo ara mi ni mo fi se eleyi. Original ni mo nlo. Mi ki de ge aso Asotemi de pe | Look I don't sell off cut. I sell at dozen prices If you go elsewhere and you price …and even my cloth is not comparable to others. I designed them by myself. The materials are original I don't reduce the quality of my own from the normal 5 yards. |

There is an indication that the transaction has come to a close with

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller: | 'O da ma' | It's ok ma |

Based on how the data unfolds, it is clear that there is no well established relationship between the buyer and the seller and this actually influenced how the transaction proceeded. Interactionally, the participants are just- a seller and a buyer but the transaction is organized,not rowdy or chaotic.

**Table ix: Summary of the structure of Appendix vii**

| Adjacency pair | Question type | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prefer 12<br>Disprefer 1 | Polar 4<br>Identification 1<br>Confirmation --- | Overlap 1<br>Interruption ---<br>Backchannel ---- | Shrift ----<br>Drift -----<br>Change ---- | Presequence<br>Openin gravity<br>Closing okay |

## TDIII Analysis (APPENDIX VIII)

This is a transaction between a female seller and a male buyer. The transaction centers on textile material. The customer complains bitterly about the high price of the material he wants to buy and wants the seller to favour him as a

man by reducing the price. Rather than reducing the price the seller goes on appealing to the customer using some politeness strategies such as kinship terms to address the psychology of the customer. The customer is won over as he finally bought some pieces from the woman – the seller.

| | |
|---|---|
| Buyer: Okay e da meji yen duro. E fun mi ni six kampala .(lines 30-31) | Those two with you are enough. Give me six kampala. |

Analysing the data with the Interactional Sociolinguistic model of analysis that is concerned with the relationship between participants and the location of utterance, it is clear that this transaction takes place in an informal environment and the interpersonal relation has a significant influence on how the transaction progresses. Both the buyer and the customer share the same background information as to how conversation should be held (that one person talks at a time) it is this consciousness on the part of the participants that allows transaction to go on smoothly.

Using CA which is interested in how conversation progresses and how utterances affect eachother for the data, one is able to talk of turn-taking in the sense of Transition Relevance Point (TRP). This is because participants wait for others to finish before they answer or contribute to the transaction. That makes turn taking to be very tight and there is therefore no overlap or interruption. Also there

is no insertion sequence. As a result, we have more preferred responses prevailing in the data than dispreferred responses.

Though a 'backchannel' is noted in the transaction, it does not disrupt the paring system because any backchannel does not form part of the turn system (Adeniran, 2007). It is a comment from an external speaker, though it can have some influence on the speaker or the listener positively or negatively when listened to. For instance, it might be this backchannel that influences the seller to bring down her price to ₦1,800 from ₦2,000

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo lawon eleyii? | How much are these ones? |
| Seller: | ₦2,000 | ₦2,000 |
| Backchannel: | Eleyi won o | This is costly (backchannel) |
| Buyer: | Ko gba ₦1,800? | What of ₦1,800? (Lines 1-4) |

One other thing noticed in this transaction is that, a large percentage of the turns is made up of simple turns. That is, those turns contain only one event. Out of the 18 turns in the transaction by both the buyer and the seller, only one contains two events and that is the turn taken by the customer in lines 11-13

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Nigeria leleyi. Okunrin lemi Obinrin leyin. Kemi na kon roju kinra | This is Nigeria. I am a man and you are a woman. I am just trying to buy it. (Lines11-13). |

Within the turn, the customer reminds the seller that, they are in Nigeria. Not only that, that the seller should consider him as a male customer. Also within the

same turn, the customer lets the seller know that he is just trying to buy the textile material so that the seller would not see it as a do or die affair for him.

All other turns taken by the participants contain one event each. This might be as a result of the type of people involved in the transaction – a man and a woman. It is believed that buying and selling in Yoruba land is somehow reserved for women. So any man that finds himself doing it will behave as a man by not wasting time over bargaining. This same reason may be responsible for why turns are not unnecessarily held by either of the participants.

The types of questions discovered to be in use are the polar question and the identification question. Each occurs two times in the transaction and they are raised by the buyer. Throughout the transaction, the seller never asked any question.

There is no **presequence** or **greeting** to open the transaction. The buyer goes straight to the business of the day by asking for the price of the goods. The buyer is not out to observe any form of protocolor trying to esalish any relationship with he seller.

Our study of the **adjacency pairing** reveals tha t there are neat pairing of utterances or turns which is responsible for clear talk.This also leads to the greater number of preferred responses found in the data. Examples are: lines 1-5

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | Elo lawon eleyi? | How much are these? |
| Seller: | ₦2,000 | ₦2,000 |
| Backchannel: | Eleyi won o | This is costly (backchannel) |
| Buyer: | Ko gba ₦1,800? | What of ₦1,800? |

Seller: Esan ₦1,900 Pay ₦1,900

(More of this in the appendix)

Analysis of the **sequences** shows that the transaction has no opening as haggling commences straight with:

Buyer: Elo lawon eleyi? (line 1) 'How much do you sell these ones?'

But it has the message portion where the topic of transaction is fully developed. This covers lines 1-29. The pre-closing comment is found in lines 30-31. Okay, eda meji yen duro.'Efun mi ni six kampala' There is no marked closing either linguistically or non-linguistically but transaction ends as soon as the buyer collects the material..

From the above analysis it is clear that the role of the Interactional Sociolinguistics model of analysis in complementing the effort of CA cannot be overlooked. For instance, we are able to see the social aspect of the data, without which meaning would be hanging. For instance, the relationship between the buyer- an unfamiliar man and the seller – an unfamiliar woman affects turn typeand the length of turns in the text. Also the personality of the participants –a man as the buyer and a woman as the seller affects how the exchange proceeds .All these are highlighted through the ISL effort while the behaviour of the interactants in the text are discussed by CA.This is why the proposed eclectic model of analysis for our data that considers both what is said and what is not said is appropriate.

**Table x: Summary of the structure of Appendix viii**

| Adjacency pair | Queston type | Turn taking | Topic development | Sequential organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prefer 18<br>Disprefer -- | Polar 3<br>Identification 1<br>Confirmation 1 | Overlap ---<br>Interruption –<br>Backchannel - | Shift ---<br>Drift ---<br>Change --- | Presequence 1<br>Opening: greeting<br>Closing: okay |

**SDIV Analysis (APPENDIX IX)**

This transaction is between two women – a seller and a buyer. The transaction is on soup ingredient (tin tomatoe). They are in an informal environment and they are not familiar. There is no one between the two of them that holds the right to initiate the transaction or terminate it.

The buyer starts with 'Gino' tin tomatoe. 'Elo ni Gino?' (line 1). Before the price of Gino is settled, she **shifts** to another item, asking for the price.

Buyer: 'Elo le pe eleyi? (Line 7) (O tun non wo si omiran)

Buyer: How much is this other one? (pointing at a new item).(line 7).

Examinig Turn taking, one can talk about the distribution of turns.There was smooth transition from buyer to seller. This was because each participant waited for her turn so there was no **overlapping** or **interruption**. Each participant listened to current speaker and waited for the current speaker to hand over the turn.

Analysis of the **adjacency pairs** shows that there is a neat pairing of utterances or turns. Even when the buyer shifts to another or a new itemlines 7-11, the pairing remains intact. There are more **preferred** responses than the dispreferred because, participants are attentive to each other and are therefore able to interprete utterances and give relevant responses.

Analysis of the **sequences** of the transaction shows that there is opening but there is no closing. So, the transaction is not complete as it gets terminated mid-way. The analysis also shows that there is no **insertion sequence** because turn taking is tight. There is topic shift from tomatoe to another item but the shift does not disrupt the smooth flow of information.

Considerig the relevance of interpersonal relationship and situational context where one considers the location of talk and the status of participants in talk, it becomes clear that CA cannot be used to ascertain the kind of relationship that exists between participants. Since the knowledge of this relationship is part of what can enable us understand the data, it becomes necessary to look for a model that considers both the structure and the social context of the data. That is why the researcher recommends an eclectic model of analysis for analyzing the data.

**Table xi: Summary of the structure of Appendix ix**

| Adjacency pairs | Question type | Turn Taking | Topic Development | Sequencial Organization |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prefer 9<br>Disprefer | Polar<br>Identification<br>Confirm | Insertion<br>Overlap<br>Interruption<br>Backchannel | Shift-----1<br>Drift<br>Change----- | <u></u><br>Opening<br>Closing |

**Appendix (X) Data Analysis**

Using Interactional Sociolinguistic model of analysis which considers the relationship between participants and the location of exchanges, the first thing observed in this text is that, speakers are buyer/seller and they are not familiar but are in an informal environment. The situational context therefore, has a significant influence on how the transaction progresses. The bargaining procedure in this text starts from the buyer because she is trying to find out the price range. The buyer opens with greeting 'good morning' line 1 (e ka ro) as an invitation device to get the attention of the seller and the seller responds in line 2 with 'good morning, my husband' (kaaro oko mi). The use of 'my husband' here is evidence that they both share the background knowledge that they are Yoruba speakers. The interpersonal relationship between them that is not cordial has some influence on how the transaction progresses also. This is reflected in the nature of this questions and answers which makes every thing very brief. All the turns contain just one event each. Even the opening of the response of the seller in line 9 'well' is not completementary it is like saying 'whatever you say, can you pay N900?' It is not said in a friendly tone. This is why Interactional Sociolinguistics and even Pragmatics say that all background contexts are relevant in the understanding of talk but only some contexts are relevant in the understanding of talk according to CA.

If we come to the real life conversation, and try to make it fit the a priori exchange structure, we find that the transaction or exchange of turns is smooth. This is as a result of the shared background knowledge which makes each participant to be conversant with the unwritten rules of conversation which is, that one person talks at a time. As a result both the seller and the buyer exercise enough patience and waited till one speaker finished with whatever she wanted to say before the next speaker took over. This further explains why the two common features of face-to-face interaction – overlaps and interruptions are not common in the transaction except in line 10-12 where there is an interruption that transforms to become insertion sequence. So if we look at the nature of the conversation, using CA which is designed to look at how real data unfolds and utterances affect each other, we can talk of turn taking in the sense of respecting transition relevant place (TRP) No chaos.

Analysing the adjacency pair, it is clear that the pairing is a neat one. The text using CA contains frequently occurring patterns in pairs of utterances known as 'adjacency, pairs'. The first part of a pair for instance, 'how much is the lantern?' line 3, implicates the answer N1200 line 4. This pairing based on CA provides some organizing device within the flow of talk. All the responses except the one found in the insertion sequence in line 10 are preferred responses. In a situation where there

are 19 turns and only one is dispreferred the transaction can be regarded as a smooth one.

Analysis of the sequences of the conversation shows that there are opening and closing sequences because the text is a complete one. Even though there is no pre-sequence, it has a pre-closing which is ‘thank you’ and it finally ends with ‘bye’ in line 19

Considering the interpersonal relation and the situational context, one can analyse the conversation from the interactional sociolinguistic point of view the contextualization cues point with imprecise reference to the knowledge, the use of personal pronoun ‘it’ in line 5,7,8 and ‘that’ in 15 are assumed to be used to maintain reference (via anaphora). Also the demonstrative adverb ‘that’ and other reference ‘it’ only have meaning for the interactants as they know the referring items because of their intertextual knowledge.

From this comprehensive analysis, it is clear that CA as a model will be deficient on vital areas that give clues to the meanings or interpretation of utterances in the text. CA only considers how data unfolds and the sequential organization of talk without reference to the context within which those utterances are uttered. That is, CA only considers what is said and not what is not said but what is not said is part of what is said.

This is why the researcher deems it fit to apply a model that will consider both what is said and the social aspect of what is said in order to get the true message. This is why the choice of an electic approach is segested. Within the eclectic approach are found CA and Interactional Sociolinguistics (ISL) from which the researcher derived a model she named Interactional Conversation Analysis. This name is suggested for the convenience of the work at hand. The topic is introduced with 'how much is this lantern?' line 3 (elo latupa)? And the seller responds with ₦1200 (line 4). The bargaining runs from line 5 to 9 before the interruption in lines 10 -12 but it later resumes from line 13 till it ends on line 19 on a satisfactory note of 'thank you, bye'.

Using conversation analysis model (CAM), the text contains frequently occurring patterns in pairs of utterances known as 'adjacency pairs' and in the conversation, there is nobody with the role status to initiate and the other to respond because the situational context does not require it in conversational analysis view. 'How much is the lantern?' (line 3) implicates the answer '#1200' line 4. Based on the conversation analysis model, the parings provide some organizing device within the flow of talk.

Interactively, there are connections in the text through the use of pronoun 'It' in lines 5, 7, 8 and 'that' in line 15 that are assumed to be used to maintain reference (via anaphora) to refer to the same object 'price' or '₦600'. 'It' for instance has

anaphoric reference to ‘lantern’ line 3 while ‘that’ also has same anaphoric reference to ‘price’.

‘Ellipsis’ is another cohesive device found in line 16 which reads ‘I cannot sell at that price’ which can be rendered as ‘I cannot sell the lantern at that price’. Recovering the omitted word ‘lantern’ that appears in line 3 is made possible because of the shared social context by both the seller and the buyer. This shared social context enables the listener to understand what the referent of ‘it’ and ‘that’ are. The verbal filler ‘en-hen’ which Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) call ‘framing’ also serves as a connector that marks the relationship of what follows in line 13 to what went before in line 9, thereby creating a sort of coherence in the text.

The long pause – silence noticed at the beginning of line 17 forms what Cutting (2002) calls ‘attributive silence’ used here to indicate an affirmative answer and holds the discourse together.

The expression ‘I did not steal it’ (mi o ji) in line 16 has some implicature. The communication purpose went beyond the sense conveyed by the sum total of the individual lexical items in the sentence. The semantic context was at variance with the pragmatic function. For the above utterance not to be regarded as misfiring, participants must share certain underlying background knowledge about each other that the buyer will not take offence in the sellers’ response. Moreover when the

context within which the utterance is made, is considered, the real meaning of the utterance will come out.

The 'insertion sequence' found in lines 10 and 11 typical of casual talks does not affect the flow of information and it can be analyzed from interactional sociolinguistic perspective in which case, factors such as face are included to try and explain why such pattern occurs.

In line 16, the maxim of quantity is flouted for politeness sake as the speaker has spoken more than is required thus making most of his talks irrelevant. The orderliness observed in the conversation can be seen using conversational analysis, which is designed to look at how real data unfolds, and how utterances affect each other. The adjacency pairs that litter the text, those cohesive devices that help to give the data its textual nature combine to prove the relevance of our adopted mode 'Interactional Conversation Analysis' in handling our data. The model does not only examine what is said but also considers why it is said.

In the above data, consideration is not only given to how the real data unfolds and how utterances affect each other but attempt is equally made to highlight the type of interrelationship that exists between the seller and the buyer and the situational context within which these utterances are made. This is why our newly derived model 'Interactional Conversation Analysis' from the adopted eclectic

approach, appears to be adequate in describing casual talks which include our focus – exchanges in market transactions

**Table xii:Summary of the Structure of food stuffs transactions**

| | ADJACENCY PAIR | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **FD3** | **FD4** | **FD7** |
| | Unfamiliar (F/F) 18 Turns | Unfamiliar (F/F) 14 Turns | Unfamiliar (F/M) 26 Turns |
| Preferred responses | 18 | 13 | 23 |
| Dispreferred responses | - | 1 | 3 |
| | **QUESTION** | **TYPES** | |
| Polar | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Identification | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Confirmation | - | - | - |
| | **TURN** | **TAKING** | |
| Insertion Sequences | - | 1 | - |
| Overlaps | - | - | - |
| Interruption | - | - | 3 |
| Backchannel | - | | - |
| | | **TOPIC** | |
| Shifting | - | 1 | - |
| Drifting | - | - | 6 |
| Changes | - | - | - |
| | **SEQUENTIAL** | **ORGANIZATION** | |
| Presequence | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Opening | Question | Question | Greeting |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Closing | Thanks | Thanks | Yes |

**Table xiii: Summary of the structure of Textile Transactions**

| | ADJACENCY PAIRS | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **TD1**<br>13 Turns<br>Unfamiliar | **TD2**<br>45 Turns<br>familiar | **TD3**<br>18 Turns<br>Unfamiliar |
| Preferred responses | 12 | 43 | 18 |
| Dispreferred responses | 1 | 2 | - |
| | **QUESTION TYPES** | | |
| Polar | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Identification | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| Confirmation | - | - | 1 |
| | | **TURN** | **TAKING** |
| Insertion Sequences | - | 2 | - |
| Overlaps | 1 | 1 | - |
| Interruption | - | - | - |
| Backchannel | - | | |
| | | | **TOPIC** |
| Shifting | - | 9 | - |
| Drifting | 1 | - | 2 |
| Changes | - | - | - |

| SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Presequence | - | 1 | - |
| Opening | greeting | question | question |
| Closing | okay | - | okay |

**Table xiv: Summary of the structure of Domestic Animal Transactions**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **ADJACENCY PAIR DAII** | |
| Preferred | 8 Turns (male Unfamiliar 8 | buyermale/female seller |
| Dispreferred | - | |
| | **QUESTION** | **TYPES** |
| Polar | 1 | |
| Identification | 1 | |
| Confirmation | - | |
| | **TURN** | **TAKING** |
| Insertion Sequences | - | |
| Overlaps | - | |
| Interruption | - | |
| Backchannel | - | |
| | **TOPIC** | |
| Shifting | - | |
| Drifting | - | |
| Changes | - | |
| | **SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION** | |
| Presequence | - | |
| Opening | - | |
| Closing | - | |

**Table xv: Summary of the structure of Soup Ingredients Transactions**

| | **ADJACENCY PAIR** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **SDIII** (Unfamiliar) (F/F) | **SDIV** (Unfamiliar)(Unfamiliar) (F/F) | **SDX** (F/8) |
| | 3Turn | 9 Turn | 14 Turn |
| Preferred | 1 | 9 | 7 |
| Dispreferred | - | - | 7 lines 8-24 |
| | **Question Type** | | |
| polar | - | 2 | 2 |
| Identification | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Confirmation | - | - | - |
| | **Turn Taking** | | |
| Insertion | - | - | - |
| Overlaps | - | - | 2 |
| Backchannel | - | - | 2 |
| | **Topic Development** | | |
| Shifting | - | 1 | 5 |
| Drifting | - | - | - |
| Changes | - | - | - |
| | **Sequences** | | |
| Presequence | 1 | - | - |
| Opening | - | - | 1 |
| Closing | - | - | 1 |

**Table xvi: General Summary of the structure of the whole data**

| Textile (3) | Food (3) | Soup (3) | Animals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Turns | 76 | 58 | 26 | 8 |
| | **ADJACENCY PAIRS** | | | |
| Preferred | 73 | 54 | 17 | 8 |
| Dispreferred | 3 | 4 | 7 | - |
| | **QUESTION TYPES** | | | |
| Polar | 12 | 12 | 4 | 1 |
| Identification | 10 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| | **TURN TAKING** | | | |
| Insertion | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| Overlaps | 2 | 3 | 2 | - |
| Interruption | - | 3 | - | - |
| Backchannel | - | - | 2 | - |
| | **TOPIC DEVELOPMENT** | | | |
| Shift | 12 | 1 | 6 | - |
| Drift | - | 6 | 6 | - |
| Change | - | - | - | - |
| | **SEQUENCETIAL ORGANIZATION** | | | |
| Presequence | 1 | 3 | 1 | - |
| Opening | 3 | 3 | 1 | - |
| Closing | - | 2 | 1 | - |

**Summary of features of the Turns in the Data**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total number of turns in the data | | 168 |
| Preferred responses | | 152 |
| Dispreferred responses | | 14 |
| Total number of questions asked | | 50 |
| Polar questions | | 29 |
| Identification questions | | 20 |
| Confirmation question | | 1 |
| Insertion Sequences | 3/168 total turns | |
| Overlaps | 4/168 total turns | |
| Interruptions | 3/168 total turns | |
| Backchannel | 2/168 total turns | |
| Topic Shift | 7/168 total turns | |
| Topic Drift | 18/168 total turns | |
| Topic Change | ---------- | |
| Pre-sequences | 5/168 total turns | |
| Opening | 7/168 total turns | |
| Closing | 3/168 total turns | |
| Total number of turns in the data | = | 168 |

Total number of data used = 10

Out of these data, 3 are taken from textile materials, 3 from foodstuffs, 3 from soup ingredients and 1 from domestic animals.

**Discussion of Summaries:**

**Adjacency pairs**

In the ten data, there are 168 turns and out of these, there are 152 preferred responses from the whole data and there are only 14 dispreferred responses. This is evidence that conversations in market situations in Yoruba land are not complex as there are more neat pairings that form the adjacency pairs. This equally shows that transactions in Yoruba markets are not chaotic. Out of the total turns, preferred responses take 90.5% while dispreferred take 8.3%. This has proved that, the environment may look rowdy, what takes place inside the environment is organized.

On the types of questions asked, out of the 50 questions Polar questions take 29 that is 58% identification questions take 20 which is 40 % while confirmation question takes 1 that is 2%. As observed, identification questions are questions whose responses are not restricted. Responses could be short or long but most often in the data, responses to identification questions are long. That we have as much as 20 identification questions that arevery close in number to polar questions justifies the very lengthy turns usually taken as responses of sellers as we have in

FDVII and TDII. This question type is the factor behind turn holding in the data. Sellers derived satisfaction in answering identification questions, as they provide seller the opportunity to express themselves through politeness strategies, rhetorical questions,digressions and persuasions even in a single turn as found in FDVII, TDII, SDI and TDVI. Though the identification questions are not as many as the polar questions their impact on the structure of transactions in market in Yoruba land is much. They constitute a large percentage of the tool for structuring discourse in market transactions.

**Turn-taking:**

In the whole lot of 168 turns taken in all the data, only 3 ‘insertion sequences’ 4 ‘overlaps’, 3 ‘interruptions’ and 2 ‘backchannels are noticed. The number of these conversation features isjust12 out of 168 turns. This forms 7.14 %. Even though these features are characteristic of face-to-face conversations, they are inconsequential in the data.This is because participants in the transactions adhered strictly to the rule of conversation which says-one person should talk at a time. This makes turn taking to be very tight for any intrusion.

**Topic management:**

It is observed that out of the 168 turns by sellers and buyers in the data, topic of discussion shifted on 7 occasions 4.17% while topic drifted 18 times

10.71%There are more driftings than shiftings because on several occasions as noted in TDII and FDVII sellers especially need to buttress their points with some elaborations and digressions that can help convince the buyers of the sellers' intention. So, they usually drift to both related and unrelated topics and move back to the main topic again. This practice usually creates sub-topics within main topics of discussion.

The impact of this on the structure of transactions is that, such drifts usually lead to dispreferred responses and insertion sequences. At times also, the insertion sequences create text within text that delay responses to questions asked; almost making one forgets where the conversation starts from. This is because what starts as a dialogue is almost becoming a monologue; yet the smooth flow of information is not tampered with as pairing of turns remains undisturbed.

Topic shift has no adverse consequences on the structure of transactions because the shift is usually to related topics as we have a customer in FDVII shifting his interest from buying rice to buying Semo. Turn taking in this situation resumes as soon as the 'floor' is yielded. Turn taking therefore, remains smooth.

Considering the sequential organization of the data, it is observed from the summary that 5 of the data (10) have pre-sequences. This is as a result of the fact that participants there are not familiar. As a result, buyers need to prepare the minds of sellers before the real transactioncommences so as not to face negative

treatment or response. An example of pre- sequence is given here. “Se tita leleyi”?FDVII‘Are these for sale? (line 3). If the response is 'negative’ for instance, there will be no need for the prospective buyer to initiate any transaction.

7 out of the 10 data have openings. This figure is above average that is, 70%. Closing has 30%. As earlier stated in chapter two of this work, opening in transactions is the most common of the three parts of conversation structure. The remaining 4 of the data that do not start with opening can possibly start with pre-sequence.

On the other hand, closing has 3 (30%). This is a low percentage but it is not surprising as it is earlier stated in chapter two of this study that, transactions usually end abruptly. On many occasions, there are no signs to indicate that transactions have come to an end either to be linguistically or non-linguistically marked. This abrupt termination of transaction that is never frowned at by both participants can be concluded to be a feature of market transactions. Over all, the point for payment for goods can be regarded as thetermination point of transactions in markets as observed in the data. This is because once payment is made, no further conversation is noticed.

From the above analysis, it can be said that conversation in market transaction is structured and the structure is peculiar to it.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## 5.0 Summary, Limitations, Observations, Relevance and Conclusion

## 5.1 Summary

The study has attempted to do an interactional conversational analysis of the structure of market exchanges in twelve selected Yoruba markets. These markets are located in the state capitals of the six Yoruba speaking states of Nigeria namely: Oyo, Ondo, Ekiti, Ogun, Lagos and Osun. Their capitals are: Ibadan for Oyo, Akure for Ondo, Osogbo for Osun, Ado for Ekiti, Abeokuta for Ogun and Idumota for Lagos. Though Idumota is not the state capital for Lagos State, it hosts the nerve of commercial activities in Lagos. The main language of transaction in these areas is Yoruba significantly. Kwara and Kogi states are exempted from the list because Yoruba Language is just one of the languages used for commercial activities in the two states.

Recordings of business transactions were carried out on goods such as food stuff, soup ingredients, textile materials and domestic animals. Each recorded transaction between buyer and seller takes different times and the length of transaction is at times dictated by the type of social relationship that exists between the participants.At another moment, it is determined by the prices placed on goods.

After a preview of the thirty two recordings by video camera and hand jottings (all carried out as a participant observer) where it became impossible to use video camera, ten were selected and dubbed. Those selected include three on textile materials, three on food stuffs, three on soup ingredients and one on domestic animal. Among these are transactions between farmiliar participants, unfarmiliar participants, male buyers/female sellers and female sellers/female buyers. Male sellers are not found in the data probably because of the fact that males are not common as sellers on those goods recorded in those sellected markets in Yoruba land. Some extracts from other recordings apart from the selected ten above have also been used to highlight some points.

The purpose of this work is to map out the structure of market exchanges in transactions and see how this structure can be analyzed using an eclectic approach to language study.

Some questions were raised and efforts are made to provide answers to them. Those questions include:

(I) To what extent is it correct to say that market discourse has its own peculiar structure?

(II) What are the strategies used in market exchanges to achieve cooperation in the transaction?

(III) What is the role of politeness strategy in structuring market exchanges?

(IV) What is the role of non-linguistic communication in market exchanges?

(V) Of what importance is this work to the society?

**(VI)** What is the role of context in the interpretation of utterances in market exchanges?

5.2 **Observasions**

- It was observed that how skillful a seller is in the manipulation of the available communication strategies to him/her and the type of interpersonal social relationship between the buyer and the seller are very important to the success of transactions in markets in Yoruba Land.
- The analysis revealed that interactants were able to manage the business exchanges with such fluency by listening out for points in each turn wherever transition to another buyer has become relevant.
- It was equally observed that transactions between familiers were usually characterized by digressions and topic drifting which usually caused turn holding and prolon transactions unnecessarily.
- Another area worthy of attention is the area that concerns overlaps and interruptions which are characteristics of mundane face-to-face conversations. These were not common in market business exchanges in Yoruba land. This made turn taking system to be tight and transfer of

information was smooth because interactants were able to observe the conversation rules of one person speaks at a time.

- Business transactions that involved men as buyers as noticed in the analysis were usually briskly carried ou. There was no digression, no topic drifting and turns were not usually held.
- Transactions were usually terminated abruptly by the seller or the buyer, yet no eye brow was raised over that.
- There was a perceived resentiment from female sellers about men coming to buy food items or soup ingredients in markets in Yoruba land even though they benefited from them.
- The referential role of language as observed in the analysis also enabled the sellers to elicit buyers' compassion as they were able to appeal to the psychology of the buyers through exophoric references.
- It was also observed that the preferred responses above the dispreferred responses in the analysis was a result of the listening ears of the interactants which enabled them to listen to the other persons talking, understand what was been said and provided relevant responses which in turn facilitated the ample adjacency pairing in the analysis.
- The two key factors observed in the analysis as responsible for the cooperation between buyers and sellers in the analysis were the patience and

the politeness strategiesemployed by sellers especially, which enabled interactants to provide relevant responses.

- The absence of asymmetrical relationship between the buyers and the sellers enabled interactants to respect each other's views by patiently waiting for the current speakers to finish before he/she contributed so as not to 'misfire'(misuse of language).
- Of the three possible structures identified with market exchanges- (a)Structure containing Opening alone (b)Structure with Opening and middle/message and Structure with Opening, middle/message and Closing)- the commonest of them was the structure with Opening and middle/ message.
- It was also observed that of the three components of market exchange structure (opening, message and closing) the mandatory one was the Opening.
- The most striking feature of market exchanges noticed among hagglers while collecting the data was not the amount of simultaneous speech but the fact that, sellers and buyers were able to successfully communicate in such a noisy environment and get things done.
- It was observed that there was no rigid order as to who opens or terminates transactions.

- Even though outcomes of transactions were neither planned nor predictable, market transactions in Yoruba land were organized and structured as there were usually speakers and listeners to respond.

## 5.3 Limitations of the Study

Most parts of the recorded data are inaudible while some are completely missing because of the problems encountered at the recording venues- market places. In the course of the research, the study was entangled with paralinguistic challenges especially in the area of translating the data from the original language- Yoruba into English

.Another problem was in the area of selecting audible video recorded transactions for transcription. It was a herculean task trying to seive the actual messages from the underground noise that pervaded the whole environment.

Also, the study did not consider the prosodic elements as a result of the fact that,the work is more concerned with the structural organization of exchanges rather than phonological consideration.

## 5.4 Relevance of the Study

Looking at interactional and even sometimes transactional encounters closely, one could see that we engage in a period of waiting In turn taking. Turn taking is a major variable examined in determining the structure of market exchanges in this work as it allows participants to alternate the floor so talk is not uncoordinated. This is why turn taking, a principal tool for structuring market exchanges is considered worthwhile for consideration for its role in the data analysis.

Schiffrin affirms that, turn taking is part of the organisational structure of conversation, and they are used for ordering of moves in games, for serving of customers at business establishments, … (sacks et all 7).There can be no activity in the market without turn taking and there can be no structure of any kind in market exchanges where there is no turn taking. All activities are woven round turn taking. According to Sacks et al, 'turns are used for ordering of moves in games, for allocating political office, for serving of customers at business establishments, for taking interviews, meetings, etc' (7).

Turns are also used to allocate positions to people. Adherence to the rule of turn taking (one person speaks at a time) in market transactions makes exchanges to progress orderly. This orderliness makes turn taking to be tight and there is little or no room for overlaps and interruptions which could disrupt the smooth transfer

of information .This equally allows exchange to be structured. This orderliness facilitates cooperation between participants and allows interactants to listen and understand each other even within the hustle and bustle of the market.

Social structure Jaworski and Coupland observe is a form of order and this order they believe is partly achieved through talk that is itself structured and ordered (107-109). It thus follows that, the type of structure achieved in market exchanges through turn taking, where talks are ordered as contributor to talks patently waits for the current speaker to finish before her own contribution, can be replicated in our social life in Nigeria. This is when we learn to wait patiently for our turns in our daily activities.When this happens we shall be able to at least to some extent leave organized and peaceful life, free of potential clashes and friction. Even in the face of provocation, talks are still ordered in market exchanges in the analysis. If society members can adopt this strategy for good life that is, by being patient, tolerant and by having listening ears to hear what others have to say and from it generate their own responses, as it happens in market transactions, then the society members can be orderly in whatever they do through cooperation . This will provide opportunities for peace and future progress.

If people can learn to wait for their turns and shun impatience that usually causes people to usurp power and allow turn taking to be in operation in their daily activities, the counry will be a conducive environment for growth and

development. As interactants in the analysis are able to manage turn taking through cooperation and tolerance, there is smooth transfer of information. This is why there are more preferred responses than dispreferred in the analysis. This facilitates neat pairing of turns (adjacency pairs) that ordered the talks. When we become tolerant of one another as we have in market transactions, we shall be able to respect one another's views. This can usher in a form of participatory democracy that can bring peace and progress in the society.

Socially, Turn taking system creates an intrinsic motivation for listening .This is true of those data analyzed in this work as there are no occasions for 'repairs' as questions of inattention does not arise, inspite of the noise everywhere in the market. This is because participants are focused. As participants listen attentively to each other, each is aware of when to take over 'floor' or yield 'floor'. When one links this with positions of authority, one discovers that leadership positions also change. But when the change is forcefully effected as when there is interruptions or overlaps in conversation, it can derail programs and cause disaffection among *the people*. This is why these features (interruptions and ovalaps ) which are characteristic of casual talks are not common in market transactions and that is why there is hardly any obstruction to transfer of information

Occupants of government positions should know that whatever has a beginning must have an end. So, when a leader holds on to power that is meant to be rotational for selfish motive, it can create anxiety and impatience among the citizenry which in turn can lead to chaotic situations in the country. This is why Turn holding is not a common feature in the data except in very familiar transactions, as it unnecessarily wastes time and delays actions.

There is no role status in market exchanges where one person talks while another listens that is, the right to 'floor' in market conversations is not permanent so also is the right to perpetual leadership or followership. One should therefore learn to encourage participatory democracy for smooth governance just as both participants can open or close transactions in the data. No monopoly of role.

Also,as result of the emerging complex sociolinguistic pattern in an otherwise assumed monolingual set-up, (Yoruba land) the peculiar but traditional mode of haggling, which the core natives are used to, may not go down well with the non natives. The presence of the non-natives in the land as a result of influx of traders and civil servants from various linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, makes it imperative to fashion out what the structure of market transactions looks like in Yoruba land so as to facilitate smooth bargaining exercise and smooth transfer of information.

As the structure is identified it will promote better understanding of the conversation structure of the texts. Ability to rely on context for interpreating utterances as highlighted in the analysis will help avoid 'misfiring' in language use. Also, the peculiar pattern of terminating transactions abruptly in markets in Yoruba land will become a 'universal' practice among participants (natives and non- natives) in market business transactions.

**5.5 Conclusion**

The researcher has examined how people interact in non-institutional setting-the market and the type of structures that emerge from the interaction. From the work, one can conclude that participants in market exchanges in Yoruba markets are very cooperative in their use of language which enables them to manipulate language to achieve their goals. It is observed that ability to listen facilitates orderliness in any human society. The work has also established the fact that not only what is said that is important in the interpretation of utterances but also, how it is said, the personalities involved and the environment of the talk.

As part of the conclusion drawn from the study is that, adherence of the participants in market transactions to the conversation rule (one person talks at a time) has helped in structuring market exchanges. Also, the abrupt way of terminating exchanges in market transaction is peculiar to it as whenever such happens no eye brow is raised by any of the interactants.. The successful analysis

of the data has shown that it is possible to adopt an eclectic approach to study conversation in non-institutional setting such as the market. In spite of the hustle and bustle in the market, market exchanges are seen to be structured though the structures found within them are peculiar to them.These structure patters are: (1) Opening; (2) Opening and middle/message; and (3) Opening,middle/message ,Closing).

One can finally conclude that the noise that pervades the market place has nothing to do with the structure of business transactions, as participants are well focused. The market may look chaotic (very noisy) and the outcome of transactions not 'planned' or 'predictable', the activities that go on within it (buying and selling), between buyers and sellers are organized and structured, as there are speakers and there are listeners to relevantly respond. The structures found within the exchanges are peculiar to them.

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## APPENDICES

### SDX DATA Soup ingredient (APPENDIX l)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: 1 | Madam e lo ni tomapep? | Madam how much is tomapep? |
| Seller: 2 | Waso | ₦50 |
| Buyer : 3 | Se ko gba ₦25? | What of ₦25? |
| Seller: 4 | ko gba san ₦35 | No pay ₦35 |
| Buyer : 5 | Ko ko ju be lo | it's not more than that |
| Buyer : 6 | o jube oko mi | it's more than that my husband |
| Buyer : 7 | koda koye ko ju muri kan | Even is not suppose to be more than ₦20 |
| Seller: 8 | Igbati mi o ji | when I did not steal it |
| Buyer : 9 | Te ba tie ji ti won o mu yin | Even if you steal it and you are not caught |
| Seller: 10 | O da eyin na le loji eyi tefe lo. | Okay. You can also go and |
| 11 | Opo okunrin biti yin lon jale | steal the one you need to |
| 12 | tiwon nlu jibiti kiri igboro tori | cook. Men like you are in |
| 13 | ojukokoro. Iru wa o le jale tori | town stealing because of |
| 14 | ki iru yin le ri nkan se obe ₦5 | greediness. People like us can't steal for you to get something to prepare your ₦5 soup |
| (Backchannel)15 | Ah oga eyin na e fowo si. | Ah master add little amount. |
| 16 | oorun yi o da fokunrin be e | This sun is not good for |
| 17 | eeni umbrella te le fi yipo oja ka | men and you have no umbrella with which you can parade the market |
| Buyer: 18 | Too ba ni fun mi | If you have give me (replying the backchannel |
| Seller: 19 | Too ba dele ko gba lowo iyawo e | Collect from your wife if You get home (Backchanne) |
| 20 | . …Se iru eleyi ni iyawo | …Can this type |
| 21 | tonfo gbogbo oja kiri tonwa ibi | have a wife |
| 22 | to ti le jale? | and be going round the market like this studying where he can steal from? |
| Buyer: 23 | ori yin o pe papo eyin asewo | You are all idiots. You harlots |

Seller: 24 E se esa sun siwaju. E kile o — Thank you. Just move away and greet your people when you get home

Backchannel:
25 Boda talo lowo to bosile yi? — Brother who owns this money

on the ground?

**TD IIData Textile material (APPENDIX ll)**

Buyer: 1 Ko sadire mo? — No more 'tie and dye'?
Seller: 2 Ko sadire mo. Ko ma kan je pe — No tie and dye.We
3 boya oun nikan na ni anta e — diversify because we don't
4 mo elomiran kampala ti su u. — want people to feel it's only
5 won ma nfe nkan miran to tun — tie dye that we sell.
6 ma yato. — There are people who prefer kampala for variety sake

Buyer: 7 Bi mo se nri awon orisirisi — As I look at the various
8 patterns — patterns
9 mo se bi pe kampala nikan le ma — I thought it's only kampala
10 nta nibi. — that you sell.

Seller: 11 A ma n mix e gbogbo orisirisi — We sell assorted. Like the
12 lan ta. Iru red te le nwa yen a — red colour you demand for
13 le ri ninu (holding a sample) — you can get it here.

Buyer: 14 …E je nwo naa — Bring that one and let me look at it

Side talk: 15 Se Ayo nwo ni? — Is Ayo just watching?

Seller: 16 Se e mope nkan bi eleyi, — You know colours like these
(holding one in her hand) red — are called red. It is
17 ni won ma n pee. Colour yen — just that this
18 lo ma nje ko bo red yen mole — other colour used to
19 so that ko ni show. And one — overshadow the red colour
20 thing ni pe, e e mope <u>Nigeria</u> — and doesn't allow it to show.
21 <u>o daa ka ma so min</u>.Otun pelu — Nigeria is bad not to think
22 nkan. Ki sepe boya eyan o le — of it.This adds to our
23 produce red yen. Red e wa — problem.It is not that we
24 expensive a ma nfi mix aso ni. — cannot produce those
25 Awon ijoba wa, owo won lokusi. — colours in Nigeria. The red
26 Kani <u>won</u> je ki gbogbo <u>nkan won</u> — colour is expensive. So we
27 <u>yen</u> ko easy fun yan latira, it — use it to mix other colours
28 should have been better lati ma — for customers. All these

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 29 | ri awon colour ni latest. Elomiran | problems are caused by our |
| | 30 | naa ma nbere pink but awon | government. Assuming they |
| | 31 | primary colour yen a ma fi n mix | allow the importation of |
| | 32 | awon aso ni tori o je material. | all these, they would't have |
| | 33 | Bose ma nri gangan ni yen. | been so expensive or |
| | 34 | (Showing the buyer an example of | difficult to get. We would |
| | 35 | the colour the buyer requested for). | have been able to make |
| | 36 | Iru awon eleyi bose wa gangan | latest colours available. |
| | 37 | niyen. Amo taba mix e bayi | Some people come to ask for |
| | 38 | a tun je ko fine la se ma | pink colour. But we use all |
| | 39 | n mix e.Ale loo bayi.(demonstrating how it can be used to the customer). | primary colours to boost our products. This is how we |
| | 40 | A si le lo eyokan bayi. So that won | imported all. (showing the |
| | 41 | a le lo five-yards. A ma n mix e. E le wa ba mi ra ko won ₦1,500 | buyers the available colours).But if we mix them |
| | 42 | pere na ni. | with other colours, we can tie two yards on another two yards). We can also just tie each separately (two yards at a time. So whoever wants it for wrapper, can use five yards. But to make them beautiful we mix colours together. Help me to buy, they are not expensive. Each is just ₦1,500. |
| Buyer: | 43 | Se ko gba ₦1,200 ni? | What of ₦1,200? |
| Seller: | 44 | Kile nso? Ilu yi o da tobe ka | What are you saying? This |
| | 45 | ma tun yen so | country is not good enough |
| To sell at that price. | | | |
| Buyer: | 46 | Ilu da a lase duro sinu ilu. | The country is good that is why we are in it. |
| Seller: | 47 | A a ni choice nibo lafe sa lo? | We have no choice. Where do we run to? |
| Buyer: | 48 | Ilu da a fun wa na nii laa se sa jade. | The country is good that is why we remain in it. |
| Seller: | 49 | A maa da a fun wa. Wholesales la | It will continue to favour us. |
| | 50 | ma nta. Awa o ki nta eyo. | We sell in wholesale. We |
| | 51 | Iru awon eleyi nisin, | don't sell per yard. Like |
| | 52 | tori awon material ta lo, eleyi gba | these ones now, they sell for |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 53 | ₦1,500 (pointing at a particular type) | ₦1,500 each because of the materials used to produce them. |
| Buyer: | 54 | Se awon ma womi ni leleyi? | Are they the types that wash off as we dip them into water? |
| Seller: | 55 | Ma womi ko o | No |
| Buyer: | 56 | Opa melo? | How many yards? |
| Seller: | 57 | Opa marun naa ni | It's just 5 yards |
| Buyer: | 58 | To fuye lowo bayi | And it's so light? |
| Seller: | 59 | Okan ribe ni. Oun ni won ma fi | It just looks like that. It is |
| | 60 | nran awon aso Indian. | used to sew Indian style. |
| Buyer: | 61 | Oh! Mo ti ranti. Igbakan ni won | Oh! I can remember. It was |
| | 62 | se pelu lesi chingun. Oya e je | produced at the same |
| | 63 | a wo. Bi mo ti nlo bi moti mbo | time with chewingum lace. |
| | 64 | kampala lati nribo. | Alright, let me look at it I have been going up and down and I've seen only kampala. |
| Seller: | 65 | Iru gini eleyi na daa ale fi awon | We use this type of guinea |
| | 66 | won yen di won be e | material to produce batik. (she points at those guinea materials). |
| Buyer: | 67 | Eeh | En |
| Seller: | 68 | Ani colour lorisirisi | We have different colours |
| Buyer: | 69 | Se bose ba wa ni yi? | Is this how you bought them? |
| Seller: | 70 | A a di. Bo se ba wa niyi | That is how we bought them we did not re-design them. |
| Buyer: | 71 | E se wa ka bi kampala? | Why did you fold them like local kampala? |
| Seller : | 72 | Bi won se ka niyen. Taba tun ka | That is how we bought them. |
| | 73 | koni fine loju. | If we re-fold them they will look rough |
| Buyer : | 74 | Oun ni mose rope won di oun na ni | That is why I think they are kampala |
| Seller: | 75 | Won o di. Won o di. Iru eleyi | Not tie and dye. Not tie and |
| | 76 | ₦1,600 ni. Ni three months ago | dye. Like this one it is 1,6oo |
| | 77 | aso yii ₦1,400, ₦ 1,500 la ta a. | But three months ago we sold them for ₦1,400 and ₦1,500. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 78 | E se wa fi le? | Why did you increase the Price? |
| Seller: | 79 | Ejo wa naa ko o. Awon custom | It is not our fault. The |
| | 80 | won o je ka koja/. Se e mo pe gbogbo | custom men used to disturb |
| | 81 | awon materials yii a n import e ni. | us on the road.but you know all |
| | 82 | Nigeria o produce any textile kankan. | the materials we use for these designs are imported. None is produced by Nigeria. |
| Buyer: | 83 | A ni o | We have |
| Seller: | 84 | Nibo lo wa? | Where are they? |
| Buyer: | 85 | A ni o | We have |
| Seller: | 86 | Nibo lo wa? | Where are they? |
| Buyer: | 87 | Ani, anse, Kaduna la nisi | We produce in Kaduna |
| Seller: | 88 | Aso meloo lan produce? | How many do we produce? |
| Buyer: | 89 | Aso noo lankara | We produce veritable wax |
| Seller: | 90 | Gbogbo awon aso wonyen | All these clothes are |
| | 91 | imported niwon, won o produce | imported None is produced |
| | 92 | aso kankan ni Nigeria. | in Nigeria. |
| Buyer: | 93 | O ga o | This is serious |
| Seller: | 94 | Oun lojekaso won, most of awon | That is why these clothes are |
| | 95 | aso wonyi are from China koto de | expensive because the |
| | 96 | Nigeria, abi ka wa no to lo ra ni | materials on which they are |
| | 97 | Kutonu,Kano. Ka to re, ka to yo | designed are imported from |
| | 98 | owo moto. Nkan tawon custom | China and before they get to |
| | 99 | tun foju wa ri. Igba min won | us here, we have to go to |
| | 100 | ani kalo mu three million naira wa. | Cotonu or Kano. By the time |
| | 101 | Igba miran won o ni gbowo afi eru | we add transport money and |
| | 102 | So, ara owo aso na lon koja si. | custom charges and even what we experience on the road from custom men ( ) at times they would ask us to bring three million naira, at times they won't collect money but seize our goods so all these are added to the cost of these clothes. |
| Buyer: | 103 | Oya e lo le fe gba? | Now, how much do you want to collect? |
| Seller: | 104 | Ewo eleyi ₦1,500 Awon eleyi gba | look at all these (pointing at |
| | 105 | ₦1,000 (Pointing at the different | some materials) they sell for |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 106 | types). Awon eleyi quality jura | 1,500. Their qualities are |
| | 107 | won lo | different |
| Buyer: | 108 | Se the same leleyi ati iyen ni? | Is this one (Pointing at some other materials) the same as that one? |
| Seller: | 109 | Be e ni | Yes |
| Buyer: | 110 | E joo e je nwo eleyi. Se todo yin | Please bring this one I hope |
| | 111 | yen o won juu lo ni? (o san owo | that one with you is not |
| | 112 | eyito wa | more expensive than this |
| | 113 | lowo e osi lo) | one. (Pointing at some materials). The customer pays for the one she collected and moved away |

**DA II Domestic Animal (APPENDIX lll)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 1 | E lo le die? | How much is your chicken? |
| Seller: | 2 | Apo marun | ₦1,000 |
| Buyer: | 3 | Se ko gba apo meji abo ? | Can you sell it for ₦500? |
| Seller: | 4 | San apo meta abo | Pay ₦700 |
| Buyer: | 5 | E ta fun mi | Sell it to me |
| Seller: | 6 | O da san apo meta | Okay pay ₦600 |
| Buyer: | 7 | E bami gbe sinu apo | Help put it in my bag |
| Seller: | 8 | (Ogbe edie sinu apo alabara | (She put the chicken into |
| | 9 | na san owo o si lo) | the customer's bag. and the customer paid and left). |

**FDIII Data Food item (APPENDIX lv)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 1 | Madam e kaaro o. | Madam good morning. Who |
| | 2 | Talo nisu yii ? | is the owner of this yam? |
| Seller: | 3 | Emi ni o | I am |
| Buyer: | 4 | Se tita ni? | Is it for sale? |
| Seller: | 5 | Beni o | Yes |
| Buyer: | 6 | Elo lefe ta? | How much do you want to sell It? |
| Seller: | 7 | Apo meta | ₦600 |
| Buyer: | 8 | Se o gba apo meji | Can it sell for ₦400? |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seller: | 9 | Ko gba | No |
| Buyer: | 10 | Se e eri pe isu yen kere ni? | Can't you see that the yam is small? |
| Seller: | 11 | O kere amo ko baje | It is small but not spoilt |
| Buyer: | 12 | Ebami wo se | Help consider my price |
| Seller: | 13 | Ko gba | It can't sell at that price |
| Buyer: | 14 | Oda, jeki san apo meji | Okay let me pay ₦450 |
| | 15 | ati waso | |
| Seller: | 16 | Ko gba | No |
| Buyer: | 17 | Se wa paro eleyi to kere yi? | Will you replace this small one? |
| Seller: | 18 | Emu eyi teeba fe wa (o fun ni | Bring anyone you don't like |
| | 19 | eyi ti ko fe) | (she gives her the one she does not like) |
| Buyer: | 20 | O da e se owo niyi | Okay take your money |
| Seller: | 21 | E se | Thanks. |

**SDIII data Soup Ingridient (APPENDIX V)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seller: | 1 | Ebami raa (tomatoe) iyaoko mi. | Help me buy tomatoe my |
| | 2 | Ebami ra, ebami ra iya oko mi. | mother-in-law |
| Buyer: | 3 | Elo ni? | How much? |
| Seller: | 4 | Ten ten naira ni iya oko mi. | It's ten ten naira my mother- |
| | 5 | ee bale layo, oju o ni tiyin, ebami | in-law. You will get home |
| | 6 | raa oju o ni tiyin. Ebami raa olori | safely.You will not experience |
| | 7 | ire gbogbo. Ten ten naira ni. | shame. Help me buy it. Customer with good luck. It's ten ten naira. |

**FDVII DATA (APPENDIX VI)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 1 | Madam e kaaro | Madam goodmorning |
| Seller: | 2 | Kaaro oko mi | Goodmorning my husband |
| Buyer: | 3 | Se tita lawon eleyii? (0nowo sapo iresi) | Are these for sale? ( pointing at some bags of rice) |
| Seller: | 4 | Beeni | Yes |
| Buyer: | 5 | Eloo? | How much? |
| Seller: | 6 | Egberun mejo | ₦8000 |
| Buyer: | 7 | Eh o! | Eh! |
| Seller: | 8 | E no o | Price it now |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 9 | Elo ni jale? | What is the last price? |
| Seller: | 10 | Egberun meje abo | ₦7000 |
| Buyer: | 11 | Egberun marun | ₦5000 |
| Seller: | 12 | Haba afeni to ba ji lole ta beyen | Haba! Only someone who stole hers can sell at that price |
| Buyer: | 13 | (O fe ma binu lo) | (He threatens to go) |
| Seller: | 14 | Ewa, ema lo oko mi e so iye te | Come now don't go my |
| | 15 | ba fe san | husband.Tell me how much you want to pay |
| Buyer: | 16 | ….Mon lo nigbati eti rimi | ….I have to go since |
| | 17 | gege bi eni tofe raja ole | you have seen me as someone who wants to buy stolen goods |
| Seller: | 18 | Haba! Olorun ma je. Bawo ni | God forbid. How can I call |
| | 19 | mo se le peyin lole? Bawo ni mo | you a thieve? How can I |
| | 20 | se le gbagbe eyin alabara mi ni | forget you so soon as my |
| | 21 | kiakia? Eyin na mo pe owon gogo | good customer? You know |
| | 22 | oja won yiowo ijoba lo ti wa nigba | that this inflation is |
| | 23 | ti owo bode ti lo soke. Sibe | caused by the government |
| | 24 | opo lonfe imported rice.Bawo ni | that increased import duties |
| | 25 | mo se fe bu eyin to fe bami raja | on imported rice yet people |
| | 26 | kin powo ki nkan le dara fun mi? | still prefer it to the local |
| | 27 | Sebi iru yin bayi lole jeka rowo | ones. How can I insult |
| | 28 | pada losoja. Gbogbo nkan to wu | you who wants to buy and |
| | 29 | kijoba sesi awa onisowo aani | make life better for me? Is it |
| | 30 | kogba sile. | not people like you who will buy and make me return back to market for more? We must survive whatever The government decides to do to we traders. |
| Buyer: | 31 | Ese. Semo nko? | Thanks. What of semo? |
| Seller: | 32 | Se esi nbinu ni? | Are you still anoid? |
| Buyer: | 33 | Semo nko? | What of semo? |
| Seller: | 34 | Oda kekere abi nla? | Ok. Big or small? |
| Buyer: | 35 | Nla | Big |
| Seller: | 36 | Apo mewa | ₦2000 |
| Buyer: | 37 | Apo meje abo | ₦1500 |
| Seller: | 38 | Fi muri marun sii | Add 100 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer : | 39 | Um…..(3) | Um…..(3) |
| Seller: | 40 | ....Kingbe wa? | ….I should bring it? |
| Buyer: | 41 | Oda (O san wo) | Yes (she pays) |
| Seller: | 42 | E seun | Thank you |

**TDI (APPENDIX VII)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buyer: | 1 | Ekaro o | Goodmorning |
| Seller : | 2 | Ekaro madam | Goodmorning madam |
| Buyer : | 3 | Eleyii nko? | What of this? (she points at a Particular material) |
| Seller: | 4 | ₦ 2,400 ni. | ₦ 2,400 |
| Buyer : | 5 | Ah! kosoni ₦1,500 ninu | Ah don't you have those of |
| | 6 | gbogbo e ni? | ₦1,500 out of all these? |
| Seller: | 7 | Owa, aso nla leyi towa lowo yin | I have. he one in your |
| | 8 | yen. Aso nla nla ni o because | hand is a high quality one |
| | 9 | aso nla lafi se | because the market used to |
| | 10 | Toba sepe enfe oni ₦1,500 ni | prepare it is expensive. Buy |
| | 11 | keje nmu fun yin. | If you want ₦1,500 type let me give you |
| Buyer : | 12 | Eje nwo oni ₦1,500 | Let me look at those of ₦1,500 |
| Seller: | 13 | Oni ₦1,500 wa. Gbogbo | All the sets here are ₦1,500 |
| | 14 | awon set to wa nibi yi ni | each (She points at their |
| | 15 | ₦1,500 (o toka sibi ti oni 1,500 wa) | directions). All these are |
| | 16 | Awon eleyi ₦1,500. | 1,500 each. You know what |
| | 17 | Se emope kini tafi Se e (aso) | we used to prepare each is |
| | 18 | yato si ara won. Awon eleyi | different. All these are |
| | 19 | oto ni (pointing at other ones). | different from those ones |
| 20 | | Aso nla leleyi. (o si ntoka si) | there. (She points at the |
| | 21 | Eleyi oto ni. | various directions) |
| Buyer: | 22 | Bee ni | Yes |
| Seller: | 23 | Aso eyi oto | The material used for this is different |
| Buyer : | 24 | Se aso ti won fi se eleyi loje | Is it the material used for it |
| | 25 | ko yato? (She picks a particular | that makes the different |
| | 26 | design) | because the design is the same? |
| Seller: | 27 | En. Five yards leleyi. Aso tafi | Yes. This one is 5 yards. The |
| | 28 | se lojeko yato amo ise kan | cloth we used for it is |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | different |
| | 29 | na lase si. Aso ta fi se loyato. | But the pattern is the same |
| Buyer : | 30 | Se tim ba tie ra pupo ko din? | So even if I buy plenty there will be no reduction in price. |
| Seller: | 31 | Ko din ma, ₦1,500 ni. | No reduction ma, it's ₦1,500 |
| Buyer : | 32 | Ah! | Ah! |
| Seller : | 33 | Colour, colour lo wa te ba nfe | Different different colours areavailable youcan get any colour you want |
| Buyer : | 34 | Mosi fe ba yin raja o | I want to buy from you |
| Seller : | 35 | Ebami raja. Olorun a so yin, | Help me buy. God will |
| | 36 | e o ni sirin, e pele, e eta lagbara | protect you. You will not run |
| | 37 | Olorun eni kabamo lagbara Olorun | into trouble. You will sell in Jesus name and you will not regret buying from me. Please |
| Buyer : | 38 | Iye te e pe no ni | It's because of thr price you place on it |
| Seller: | 39 | Ewoo, emi o ta gige. Dozen | Look I don't sell off cut I sell at |
| | 40 | price lemi nta. Te ba doun, | dozen price. If you go |
| | 41 | te ba pada no… ati pe aso | elsewhere and you price…. |
| | 42 | temi o la fiwe. Owo ara mi | and even my cloth is not |
| 43 | | ni mo fi se eleyi original aso | comparison to others. I |
| | 44 | ni mo nlo. Mi ki de ge aso | designed them myself the |
| 45 | | mi. aso mi de pe. | Material are original. I don't reduced the quantity of my own from the normal 5 yards |
| Buyer : | 46 | Se ko din ni ₦2,000? | Can't you reduce it from ₦2,000? |
| Seller: | 47 | Ko din | No reduction |
| Buyer: | 48 | A je pe meta ni ma mu ma san | then I will take just pay for |
| | 49 | owo eleyi (She picks them) | three |
| Seller: | 50 | O da ma. | It's alright ma |
| Buyer: | 51 | (O sanwo) | (She pays.) |

**TDIII DATA (APPENDIX VIII)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: 1 | Elo lawon eleyii? | How much are these ones? (pointing at some materials) |
| Seller: 2 | ₦2,000 | ₦2,000 |
| 3 | Eleyii won o (Back channel) | This one is costly (Backchannel) |
| Buyer: 4 | Ko gba ₦1,800? | What of ₦1,800? |
| Seller: 5 | Esan 1,900 | Pay ₦1,900 |
| Buyer: 6 | A de ti wa koko naa loke nibe | We have priced it over there |
| 7 | yen o boya te ba gba bi ₦1,600 | before coming here may be |
| 8 | ke taa fun wa. | you will allow us pay ₦ 1,600 |
| Seller: 9 | A a ti gba ₦ 1,800 eyin tun ni | I have not even agreed on |
| 10 | ₦1,600 | ₦1,800 |
| Buyer: 11 | Nigeria leleyii. Okunrin lemi | This is Nigeria. Iam a man |
| 12 | obinrin leyin kemi | and you are a woman I am |
| 13 | naa roju ki nra | just trying to buy it |
| Seller: 14 | E san ₦1,800 yen jale kin siju e | pay that ₦1,800 so that I sell it to you |
| Buyer : 15 | Eede ta fun wa ni ₦1,600 e jo o | Sell it to me at ₦1,600 |
| Seller: 16 | Ebami ra baba oko mi | Help me buy it my father-in-law |
| Buyer: 17 | Iye to wa lowo wa niyen | That is the amount we have on us |
| Seller: 18 | E ba de ro to je iye ka naa, | If you get elsewhere and the |
| 19 | Epada wa bami ra a o teba na to | price is the same come back |
| 20 | padawa je bakan naa. | to buy from me. |
| Buyer : 21 | Okay. Nigba yen a ma pada wa. | Okay. Then we shall come |
| 22 | (going away but suddenly he | back (going away but he |
| 23 | came back) | suddenly coma back). |
| Buyer: 24 | E fun mi keje kin nwo. | Give me and let me |
| 25 | (pointing at another cloth). | observe at properly. Don't |
| 26 | E lamin green ni? | you have army green? |
| Seller: 27 | Army green wa. | There is |
| Buyer: 28 | Army green and blue nko? | Is there no army green and blue? |
| Seller: 29 | Army green and brown lowa. | We have army green and Blue (the seller brought |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | out some samples) |
| Buyer: 30 | Okay e da meji yen duro. Efun mi | Those two with you are |
| 31 | ni six kampala. (she paid) | enough give me six yards of kampala |

**SDIV (APPENDIX IX)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer: 1 | Elo ni Gino? | How much is Gino? |
| Seller: 2 | Gino 40 naira | Gino is ₦40 |
| Buyer: 3 | Ko gba 30 naira ni? | What of ₦30? |
| Seller: 4 | Rara iya oko mi, eo bale layo, | No my mother-in-law. You |
| 5 | odun yi atu wa lara. Ebami ra | will reach home safel150y. This |
| 6 | e e sori ire. | Christmas will profit you. Help me buy. You will be prosperious. |
| Buyer: 7 | Elo le pe eleyi? (o nowo si | How much is this? |
| 8 | oja miran) | (pointing at another item) |
| Seller: 9 | ₦100 | ₦100 |
| Buyer: 10 | Eleyi o gba ₦50? | Can I pay ₦50 for this? |
| Seller: 11 | Rara | No |
| Buyer: 12 | Efi gba a. | Sell it to me |
| 13 | (Ki oloja to daun onibara ti lo) | No response so the buyer walks away. |

APPENDIX (X)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. b | good morning | 1 | b e ka ro |
| 2. s | good morning my husband | 2 | s karo oko mi |
| 3. b | how much is this groundnut oil? | 3 | b elo la ta ororo? |
| 4. s | ₦1200 | 4 | s apo mefa |
| 5. b | can it sell for ₦600? | 5 | b se o gba apo meta? |
| 6. s | no pay ₦1000 | 6 | s kogba, san apo maarun |
| 7. b | ha! It's even na Igbo made so you koye ko | 7 | b ha! ti Yibo tile ni, |
| 8. | should sell it for ₦600 | 8 | ju apo meta lo |
| 9. s | okay can you pay ₦ 900? | 9 | s oda, se o le san apo merin abo? |
| 10. b | mummy please where di man we | 10 | b mama e jo, okunrin |
| 11. | de sell meat here? | 11 | tonta eran ni bi yi nko? |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | She donmove to the new market | 12 | so ti ko lo ja tutun |
| 13 b | all right I sey you should allow | 13 b | en hen, mo ni ko je kin san |
| 14. | me to pay #600, it's not more than that | 14 | apo meta koju bee lo |
| 15 s | I cannot sell it for that price, | 15 s | mi o le ta ni eye yen, |
| 16 | I didn't steal it | 16 | mi o ji |
| 17 b | …(pause) okay bring it and | 17 b | …(odanuduro) o da gbe wa |
| 18 | let me pay that amount. | 18 | kin san iye to pe |
| 19 s | thank you, bye. | 19 s | o seun, o dabo |

**Backup Data**

**Textile materials**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Elo logede? | You don't have plantain pattern type? |
| Seller | O wa a | Owa |
| Buyer | Ekan ti e point e fun mi ni kin wo bose ri | Give me and let me see how it looks. |
| Seller | Oun niyi (o nowo si) | This is it (she points at it) |
| Buyer | Okay. Duropa yi nko? | Okay what of 'duropa'? |
| Seller | Duropa niyi | This is 'duropa' |
| Buyer | Se be leyi ni sugar? | I thought you said this is sugar pattern type |
| Seller | Sugar ni yii | Yes it is sugar type |
| Buyer | O da beni pe eyi tewi yen wa nita.Ma mu yen nita. | But it appears the one you are referring to is outside. I will take that one from outside. |
| Seller | E je kin fold eleyi so, teba setan, ma a ni kan bayin fold eleyi (the army green material) | Let me fold this when you finish I will ask someone to help fold the army green for you |
| Buyer | Ok esi da army green yen duro | Okay, you can still keep the army green |
| Seller | E fe balik? Se efe imported? | You want batik? Do you want imported? |
| Buyer | Eh, e fun mi ni amin eleyi ma n bo mi o fee, | Yes give me the army green This other one use to wash |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | won ma n complain | of this is not double. People who buy from us used to complain that it washes off |
| Seller | Awon kan kan naa nra | Some people still buy it |
| Buyer | Mi o fe o . | I don't want it |
| Seller | Mo ma n salaye fun awon customers pe fun ra wa ko la awon kokan si ma nra. E jo ebami fa soke. | I use to explain to our own customers that we are not but the designer still same people like it. Please help me pull it up. (pointing at a bag) |
| Buyer | Ok | Okay |
| Seller | Awon imported lawon eleyi. Chingum China lo produce. Ti won ba wa si ibi yi won a mu design wa won a wa lo gbe sori machine won a wa se e. | This ones are impoted (pointing at some on the shelve). They are produced by chewgum in China. They use to come to Nigeria to pick our local hand woven textile to go and reproduce ther patterns in a modern way. |
| Buyer | Awon customers miran man complain pe won o like e tori e ni mi o se ra. | Some customers use to complain that they don't ike it that is why I don't buy it to sell |
| Seller | E je kin fun yin ni jakan ati awon tie and dye te ma nra | Let me give you jakan and the and dye you use to buy |
| Buyer | Efun mi ni tie and dye to je | Give me tie and dye |
| Seller | Se e fe jakaadi leleyi ( ) | Do you want jacquard? |
| Buyer | Ejeki nwo | Let me look at it |
| Seller | Eleyi, price eleyi e mu ni ₦1,700 | This is the one of 1,700 |
| Buyer | Egba ₦1,600. Eleyi lowu mi | This is the one I like. Let me pay 1,600 (pointing at the jacquard material shelf) |
| Seller | Baba oko mi e bami ra a oja a ti won ni. | My father-in-law help me to buy it. Things are expensive these days |
| Buyer | Awa naa ma n se wahala kato taa | We also suffer to get them sold |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | E ede tori Olorun. | Please for God's sake |
| Buyer | Etaa fun mi. Eyin na mo pe mi o ki raja nibi Meji (o fe ma lo) | Sell to me. You know I don't buy materials from two places (threatening to go away) |
| Seller | E wo eleyi | Look at this |
| Buyer | Ok se eyekan naa ni? | Ok is it just one? |
| Seller | E mo nkan to sele ejeka se bayi. Esan ₦1,600 | Do you know what? pay ₦1,600 |
| Buyer | Ok but ema ra minerals fun mi o | Okay but you will buy minerals for me |
| Seller | Ani e ma worry to ba je tori eleyi ni | I say you should not worry about that if it is minerals |
| Buyer | Ma a de gbowo card ti mo fi pe yin | And I will collect money for the recharge card I used to call you |
| Seller | Ko si wahala | No problem |
| Buyer | Eleyi nko? E ba mi din owo e na | What of this? Reduce the amount |
| Seller | Eye kan na ni gbogbo eleyi. | All have the same price |
| Buyer | E fun mi. Se black wa? | Give me. Do you have the black colour? |
| Seller | En o wa. Eje ki nfi awon eleyi han yin meji kan ni tetira ₦3,000 leyo kan kan. | Yes, but let me show you these two types that you have not bought. Each one is ₦3,000 |
| Buyer | E je kin wo E lami green? | Let me look at them Don't you have army green? |
| Seller | O wa | I have |
| Buyer | Emu wa | Bring it |

**(iv)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | E seun (o san wo and pointed At a new one) | Thank you (he pays and pointed at another |
| Seller | Esan ₦4,000 | Pay ₦4,000 |
| Buyer | ₦4,000? | ₦4,000? |
| Seller | En aso nla ni | Yes. It's a high quality cloth |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | E gba ₦3,000 lowo mi. Emi na kan ma lo fi try market ni | Let me pay ₦3,000 I just want to go and use it to try market |
| Seller | Lati ₦4,000…… e mo nkan to sele? E san ₦3,800 | From ₦4,000… you know what? Pay ₦3,800 |
| Buyer | Eje nse ni ₦3,500 Madam | Let me pay ₦3,500 madam |
| Seller | No, eje kin fun yin ni ₦3,600. | No I will give you for ₦3,600 |
| Buyer | E ta a fun mi emo pe mi o kii raja ka kiri. | Sell to me. You know I don't like going round the market |
| Seller | Mo mo. Seri, aso nla leleyi. Emi naa kan fi n try oja ni (pointing at another alternative to the buyer) ma ta eleyi ni ₦2,000 but ise owo yato sira won. | I know. This is a high quality one and am also using it to try market. (pointing at another alternative to the buyer). I can sell this for ₦2,000 but the designs are different |
| Buyer | Eleyi ni mo fe e | This is the one I want |
| Seller | Ebami ra a | Help me to buy it |
| Buyer | Ok e park e but ₦3,700 ni mo ma san o. | Alright park it buy I will pay ₦3,700 |

**(v)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Sister eba mi wo gba o | Sister look at my stock please |
| Buyer | Do you have this type of lace material? | Se eni iru lace yi |
| Seller | Yes I have, come and see | Beni e wa ke wa woo |
| Buyer | This is not the same with the one in my hand | Eleyi yato si ti owo mi |
| Seller | This colour is also good it does not wash | Awo yi na dara. Kii bo |
| Buyer | Is a uniform dress so my own colour cannot be different | Egbe joda ni temi osi ye ko yato |
| Seller | But if you buy this, after the ceremony you still be | Sugbon teba raa e ripe ema ri tiyin lo ju awon tokulo. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | able to use your own since the pattern is the same and are not likely to be the only one with the colour even others when they see it they will be envious of you | Osese ki awon miran na ni iru tiyin. Tawon miran ba you tile ri eleyi won yio jowu yin |
| Buyer | How much do you sell it per yard? | Elo le ta opa kan? |
| Seller | Per yard is ₦600 but as a new customer and as I see that you are ready to buy I will give you at ₦550 | Apo meta ni opa kan sugbon bi alabara mi fun igba akoko ma funyin ni apo meta o din waso |
| Buyer | I will pay ₦500 | Apo meji abo ni ma san |
| Seller | No my sister. Things are costly these days may be because of the increase in fuel pump price. Moreover, government had banned the importation of foreign textiles and many people prefer foreign textiles heavy custom duty | Rara anti mi. Gbogbo nkan lo won bayi boya toripe won fi kun owo epo ni. Ati papa ijoba tun gbese le kiko aso wa lati ilu okere be opolopo lonfe aso ilu okere idi niyi ti awon aso bode fi ngba owo pupo lolowo eni to ba ko oja wole pataki julo aso |
| Buyer | So, you can't give me at that price? | Se e o ni le ta fun mi ni iye ti mo no? |
| Seller | Add ₦200 | Fi apo kan kun |
| Buyer | Ok thank you fold it for me (she paid for it) | O da a e se. Ebami ka. Osi san owo re |

**(vi)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Sister e o tojo meta. En bami ja ni? | Sister it's a long time. Are |
| | E wo ekoko joko no tori oorun yi o lara amo be se joko nike se ma bami fegbe oju wo awon oja mi o | you fighting with me? First da of all, sit down because this sun is not good for the body. But as you sit down take the corner of your eye to look through my goods. |
| Buyer | Se eni iru guinea yi? | Do you have this type of guinea? |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | o wa (The seller stood and and brought one similar in but different in colour) | Yes (The seller stood brought one similar in pattern but different in colour). |
| Buyer | Ah eleyi o jo towomi o ti e tun wa le lowo | Ah this is not the same with the one in my hand and is even strong. |
| Seller | Ah colour yi naa daa kiibo. Awon to ti ran nibe so bi won se gbadun e to. Otun wa ba colour yin mu. Imported tun ni eleyi. | Ah, this colour is also good. Those who have bought from It testify to the goodness of the stuff it does not fade. The colour also matches your skin colour and is imported. |
| Buyer | Aso tawon egbe kan fe fi se iyawo ni. Bawo ni mase wa ra eyito yato si sample ti won fun mi. | The cloth is for a group of people for wedding Celebration. How can I buy a different one from the example they gave me. |
| Seller | E e leso ele pada wa ripe opolopo lo ma like e. tiwon ba papo ra awon gan a gbadun e. seni keso fun won pe iru eyi ti won fun yin o si loja mo ope to ti jade. Teba ti e ri ni sobu miran ee le ri ju bi opa meji opa metato je ataku. E o le ri iru eleyi gangan mo. E le wa ri fake e o tiwon a sofun yin pe original ni ti won a daaru mo yin loju. Amo ati pe lowo ara ju pe ki nse yin ni jamba tori ola ju eni lo | You cannot conclude you may get there and discover that many of them will even prefer this colour.You just have to tell them that the type you are given is no longer in the market because it has taken a long time that it was released into markets. Even if you find the same it may just be remnant like two or three yards you can't find it in bulk.You may again find a similar one which is fake and sellers will want to trick you into buying it. But our relationship has extended beyond me trying to trick you over such a thing as tomorrow is greater |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | than today. |
| Buyer | Mo mo sugbon iyato e po | I know but the difference is much |
| Seller | Sa fi eleyi danmi wo. Ekoko Mu die lo han won. Ti won ba ko e da pada. Ko kuta rara. Mo sese ko de ni ko iti wopo larin oja. | Just test my sincerity. Take few yards to show them. If they reject them return them. I've just brought them to market. Even this is not easy to come by in the market for now |
| Buyer | ….Ok e lo lopa marun? | …Ok how much for five yards? |
| Seller | Esan ₦3000 tori mosa f eke bami raja. Ti o ba se be ₦4000 ni bo se sese jade bayi | Pay ₦3000 because I want you to just buy from me. If not as it is newly released it sells for ₦4000 |
| Buyer | Ma san ₦2500 | I will pay ₦2500 |
| Seller | Haba e din muri marun nibe ke san ₦ 2,900 | Pay ₦2900 |
| Buyer | Iye timo ma san niyen | That is how much I will pay |
| Seller | Ore mi odabi pe efe bami raja leni owo custom leri to je ki oja won bayi. Sugbon ti eba le san iye ti mo so yi mo ti gbiyanju fun yin gege bi ore | My friend it is just as if you don't want to buy anything from me today it is the increase in custom duty that affects prices of goods. But if you cannot pay that ₦2900, I have tried for you as a friend |
| Buyer | (4sec) em | (4sec) em |
| Seller | Kinge wa | I should cut it |
| Buyer | En | Yes |
| Seller | E se o (o se. Alabara si san owo | Thanks (She cut the material and the customer paid) |

**B SOUP INGRIDENTS**

**(ii)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | E e ni spices? | Do you have spices? |
| Seller | O wa a | We have |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Eh eh | Eh….. |
| Seller | En en | Yes |
| | Ah! Kilo sele e mo gbemi o. | Don't record my voice |
| Buyer | E wo a fe raja ni a fe mo bi won se noja. | Look we want to buy and see how you people go about bargaining |
| Seller | E ma binu, mi o gboju soke ni. | Don't be annoyed. I didn't look up |
| Buyer | oun da a? | Where is it? |
| Seller | Oun leleyi | This is it |
| Buyer | Elo ni eleyi? | How much is this? |
| Seller | Se roll abe yo | A roll or one? |
| Buyer | Elo ni roll eleyi? | How much is a roll |
| Seller | ₦150 | ₦150 |
| Buyer | ₦120 | ₦120 |
| Seller | Ko gba | No |
| Buyer | A le e lo? | I said how much? |
| Seller | Mistake ni mo se o ₦300 ni o. Tori ₦30 ni eyo kankan. | I made a mistake it is ₦300 per one |
| Buyer | E lo lo wa ninu e? | How much do you have in a Packet? |
| Seller | Mewa lowa nbe | There ten in each packet. |
| Buyer | Tin ba f era meji nko? | What if I want to buy two? |
| Seller | Mefa e je ₦ 180 | Six cost ₦ 180 |
| Buyer | Ko gba ₦ 120 ni? | What of ₦ 120 ? |
| Seller | Mewa ni packet kan, marun ni half | A packet contains ten and half is five |
| Buyer | A ni melo ni marun yen? | I said how much is that five? |
| Seller | ₦150 | ₦150 |
| Buyer | Ko gba ₦ 130? | What of ₦ 130? |
| Seller | ₦150 ni | Is ₦150 |
| Buyer | O daa o | Okay |
| Seller | Nkan die die lo wa nibe ta fi nta. | We have just little gain on each of these items |
| Buyer | E fun mi nikan | Give me one |
| Seller | Boda yi sa fe gbe mi mi o Fe'ke gbe mi o | record This man just want to my voice and I don't like it |
| Buyer | E ma gbe mi o ….. | Don't record my voice |
| Buyer | Mo ni ke mu wa | I said you should bring it |
| Seller | Mo n da yin lohun Mummy | Am answering you mummy |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Mo ni ke mu wa, eleyi | I said you should bring it |
| Seller | Mo ti fun yin ni spices | I have given you spices |
| Buyer | Eyo kan le fun mi | You gave me one |
| Seller | Melo leni kin fun yin nisin kin fun yin? | How much do you want me to give you now? |
| Buyer | Mo ni ke fun mi ni five te so pe idaji e | I said you should give me that five that is the half |
| Seller | Ok Ma | Ok Ma |

)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Elo ni Maggi? | How much is maggi? |
| Seller | Ewo ni nbe? Ewo le fen be? | Which of them? Whch one do you want? |
| Buyer | Se eni Beli (bondle) ? | Do you have full pack? |
| Seller | Beli wa | There is |
| Buyer | Oni chicken ni mo fe o | I want chicken flavoured one |
| Seller | Elede lo wa Enlosi'so miran ni?. Eba wa ra a Elede na fine ni jolof rice. | There is only cray –fish flavored one appears going elsewhere Are you going to another Shop?. Help me buy something The cray-fish flavoured one is also good for jolof rice |
| Buyer | En En | En en |
| Seller | En | Yes |
| Buyer | Moni se elede yi daa? | I say is the cray-fish flavoured one good |
| Seller | Ah elede yi fine daa daa | It's very fine |
| Buyer | Se mo si ni change lowo yin? | Do I still have some balance with you? |
| Seller | En Esini change. Se pack lefe abi eyo | Yes. Is it a whole parket you want or sachets? |
| Buyer | Eyo ni mo fe ra, melo le ma fun mi se ₦100 | I want sachets how many can you give me for ₦100? |
| Seller | Merin ni ₦100 | Four |
| Buyer | Marun | Five |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Iro, merin pere ni ₦100 | No just four is ₦100 |
| Buyer | Elo lawon wonyi? | How much do you sell these ones (pointing at a different them from spicies |
| Seller | ₦50 | ₦50 |
| Buyer | Eleyi nko? | What of this? |
| Seller | ₦50 | ₦50 |
| Buyer | Tibi yi nko? | What of that one over there? pointing at a whole carton |
| Seller | ₦800 | ₦800 |
| Buyer | Agolo nko? | What of the one in the tin? |
| Seller | ₦80 | ₦80 |
| Buyer | Robber yen nko? | What of the one in plastic container? |
| Seller | ₦420 | ₦420 |
| Buyer | Alubosa yen nko? | What of this onion? |
| Seller | Merin ₦200 | Four sell for ₦200 |
| Buyer | Toba je pe apo nko? | What if am to buy a whole bag? |
| Seller | ₦40,000 | ₦40,000 |
| Buyer | Eleyi nko? | What of this (pointing at different)? |
| Seller | ₦7,000 | ₦7,000 |
| Buyer | Se rodo wa? | Do you have 'rodo'? |
| Seller | En | Yes |
| Buyer | Tomatoe na nko? | What of tomatoes? (pointing at tomatoes) |
| Seller | ₦50 | ₦50 |
| Buyer | Se ko gba ₦40 | What of ₦40 |
| Seller | Oya e ko | Okay pack your own |
| Buyer | Elo ni? | How much? |
| Seller | ₦200 | ₦200 |

**(vii)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Ekaro anti mi ewa ba bami ra fresh fish | Good morning anti, come and fresh fish from me |
| Buyer | Elo ni eleyi (o gbe eja nla kan soke) | How much is this? (holding a big fish) |
| Seller | ₦170 ni | Its ₦170 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Ha! Madam oti won ju | Ha! Madam it's expensive |
| Buyer | (o fi owo osi mu eja). Eleyi nko? | (She picks another fish). What of this? |
| Seller | (O fajuro) Ejo anti efowo Otun mu. ₦150 ni | (Frowning slightly) sister please use your right hand to pick it. It's ₦150 |
| Buyer | Ema binu | I am sorry |
| Seller | ₦150 ni | ₦It's 150 |
| Buyer | Ma san muri marun | (Corrects herself) I will take it for 100 |
| Seller | Rara, anti o jube lo. Gbogbo nkan lo won bayi | No anti please it is more than that.Things are expensive these days. |
| Buyer | O daa (ofe malo) | Ok (Making a move to go) |
| Seller | (Oun pe kikankikan) anti e bami ra Leni eyin ni onibarami akoko | (Calling after her almost desperately) anti please buy from me. You are my first customer today. |
| Buyer | Mo fe raa, sugbon e fe ta | I want to buy, but you don't want to sell. |
| Seller | …Eti je ti mi o ni se fe ta? Esan ₦130 | …Why will I not want to sell? Pay ₦130 |
| Buyer | …Bi o ba fe ta je ki nsan ₦120 | … If you want to sell let me pay ₦120 |

**(viii)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Mama Paul long time no see o | Mama Paul is long that I saw you last |
| Buyer | I de o | I am still alive |
| Seller | I don te we me I see you last | It is long I saw you last |
| Buyer | Na sickness won take my life | I have been sick to a point of death |
| Seller | Sorry… Wetin you won buy? | Sorry… what do you want to buy |
| Buyer | You get fine vegetable? | Do you have fine vegetables |
| Seller | I get soko, I get gbure and ugu | I have 'soko', 'gbure', and ugu |
| Buyer | You no get ewedu | don't you have 'ewedu' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | No. As rain never come plenty we no fil get am now. | No. Until we enter raining season before we can get it. |
| Buyer | I no like these | I don't like all that you have |
| Seller | Try ugu or soko and you go you go de cook | Try and cook 'soko' and you will not cook any other type of vegetable apart from soko |
| Buyer | No o (customer walked away) | No (customer walked away) |

**(ix)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Elo ni packet magi? | How much is a packet of maggi? |
| Seller | Apo meji odin murikan | ₦380 |
| Buyer | Eh o! (O rin siwaju pelu ibinu) | Eh! ((She walks away in annoyance). |
| Seller | E noo madam. A a sa diye le fun yin. E nlo ni? Ah! Laro kutukutu yi Olorun. Bawo lelese osi yi se de waju mi laro yi? O da wa san ₦50 O da wa mu laisanwo. Alawin. Iyawo olopa ko le ri nkan fi sebe fun oga. (the buyer over heard the and stormed back in a rage). | Price it now madam. At least we have not place a price on the good. Are you going? Ah this early morning. How did this person with left legs (meaning bad luck) come to me this early morning? Ok come and pay ₦50. Ok come and pick it without paying money. So that you can have something to cook soup for master ( Her husband). Debtor, police' wife |
| Buyer | Ori e loburu. Oni jibiti o fe kole sori omi. Gbogbo enia nta paketi magi ni apo kan. Oni toun apo meji din waso (₦350) se dandan niki nra lowo e ni. Se mo mo e ri? Psseeuuu (o pose) iya oja. | It is your head that is bad Fraudster. She want to build house on a river. Everybody sells a packet of maggi at ₦200 she said her own is 350. Is it compulsory I buy from you? Psseeuu(he hissed) Do I know you before? mother of market. (market mummy) |
| Seller | ko dun mi. E saa lo be awon oga ki won fi kun owo ounje yin keyin no le ba won sebe to dun. E kile o | Am not annoyed. Just go and beg your master (her husband) to increase your |

food allowance so that you too can cook good soup for him. Greet your people at home.

**(x)**

**C FOOD ITEMS**

**(i)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Mo n fe Semo | I want semo |
| Seller | Ewo nibe | Which type? |
| Buyer | Se eni golden penny? | Do you have golden penny? |
| Seller | O wa a | Yes |
| Buyer | Oun da? | Where is it? |
| Seller | Oun ni yi | This is it |
| Buyer | Elo ni | Hwo much? |
| Seller | ₦1,600 | ₦1,600 |
| Buyer | Elo ni jale? | How much last? |
| Seller | Jale ₦1,500 ni jale | Last price is ₦1,500 |
| Buyer | Aaa kogba ₦1,300 ni yen? | Ah what of ₦1,300 |
| Seller | Ko gba | No |
| Buyer | Honey well (Semo) nko? | What of Honey well semo? |
| Seller | Honey well niyi | This is honey well (pointing at it) |
| Buyer | Elo ni? Se eleyi o kere ju? | How much? But this appears too small |
| Seller | En oun lo kekere ju, eyi to kere ju leleyi | Yes. It's the smallest |
| Buyer | Elo eleyi? | What of this? |
| Seller | Eleyi ₦500, eleyi ₦250 | This one is ₦500 and that one is ₦250 (pointing at each) |
| Buyer | Se mo leri meji eleyi ninu eleyi? (Pointing at the ₦250 pack) | Can I get two of the ₦250 own from the one of ₦500? |
| Seller | En ema ri meji eleyi ninu oni ₦500 | Yes you can get two of this from that ₦500 |
| Buyer | Se kin san ₦450 eleyi? | Should I pay ₦450 for this? |
| Seller | Ko gba, ₦500 ni jale | No is ₦500 last |
| Buyer | Eje un wo apo mi boya ma | Let me check my bag |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | lowo to to be. Oga o nkan ni ibi bayi o. | whether I have up to that won amount. It's terrible things are so expensive here |
| Seller | Rara nkan o won awon Ijoba na loje ko won | No. it's not true the fault of government's |
| Buyer | (O sanwo. Osi gba semo) | (Pays and receives the |
| Seller | Eje ki fun yin ni leather polythene bags for it. | semo) Let me give you |

**(ii)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Anti mi karo o | My sister good morning |
| | Ebami rogede | Help me buy plantain |
| | Ogede to dara ni | The plantain is good. |
| Buyer | Elo ni | How much? |
| Seller | Muri marun ni merin | ₦100 |
| Buyer | Se ko gba muri meji? | Can it sell for ₦40? |
| Seller | Ko gba. Ogede to dara ni | No. The plantain is good |
| Buyer | Se ale pon bayi? | Can it ripe later? |
| Seller | Ah! Ogede ibile to dara ni ki se agiriki | Ah! The plantain is a local specie not a hybrid type |
| | Ose je ni tutu, tabi ke din | You can eat it raw or you fry it. |
| Buyer | Elo lefe ta? | How much do you want to sell it? |
| Seller | Esan muri merin | Pay ₦80 |
| Buyer | Ma san muri meta abo toripe ose owo aro | I will pay ₦70 because it is morning time. |
| Seller | Iya oko mi ebami ra a | My mother-in-law help me buy it. |
| Buyer | Oda e ko wa | Okay bring them |
| Seller | E se gan | Thanks very much. |

**(iv)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Boda, ebawa wo gba | Brother look at our stock |
| Buyer | Se eni soya beans to se gbin? | Do you have soya beans good for planting? |
| Seller | O wa | Yes |
| Buyer | Elo ni mudu kan? | How much do sell per |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | measurement? |
| Seller | Waso meta | ₦150 |
| Buyer | Se ko gba waso meji? | What of ₦100? |
| Seller | Ejo ago melo lolu? | Please what is the time? |
| Buyer | Ago mejila abo | Half past twelve |
| Seller | Ko gba. Muri mefa ni ebami ra e ni padanu | No. It is 120 help me buy you will prosper |
| Buyer | Se e le ta ilaji? | Can you sell half of the measurement? |
| Seller | Daa da | Of course yes |
| Buyer | O da e won wa. O won mudu kan fun | Okay measure half for me She measures the soyabeans |
| Seller | (5) (non-linguistic) | (5) (non-linguistic reaction) |
| Buyer | E se owo niyi | Thanks this is the money |

**(v)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | Madam e bawa wogba esun, mo bi oja wa dara ko si won | Madam come near and check our stock our goods are fine and affordable |
| Buyer | E lo labo ewa? | How much per measurement? |
| Seller | Apo kan ati waso | ₦250 |
| Buyer | O se won bayi? | Why is it so expensive? |
| Seller | Ewa ti tele ni osi dun, o ma nwu dada. Titun na wa o ti owo re je apo kan | It is an old product, it is sweet and swells when cooked. But I also have new one which sells for ₦200 |
| Buyer | Se ti tele yi gba waso meta? | Can you sell the old one to me at ₦150? |
| Seller | Rara. | No |
| Buyer | Ewa na da ko si ni kokoro | The beans is good and not spoilt by insects |
| Buyer | Mo fe ra amo mi o le san ju iye timo pe yen | I want to buy but I can't pay more than that |
| Seller | Elo ni mo ri tepe na? | How much did you say you want to pay? |
| Buyer | Mo ni waso meta | I said ₦150 |
| Seller | O da san muri mejo | okay pay ₦160 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Madam iye timo le san niyen | Madam that is what I can pay |
| Seller | Mo fi Olorun be yin te ba de waju tori bakan na e ma sai pada wa bami ra. Ma fisi fun yin, ma si fun yin ni abo to dara | I am appealing to you if you go elsewhere and if their price is the same with mine, please come and buy you, from me. I will add extra for and I will use good a measuring cup for you. |
| Buyer | (Ko soro) amo o san owo | No verbal response but she paid. |

**(vi)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | E lo lelubo yin? | How much is your yam flour? |
| Seller | Apo marun | ₦1000 |
| Buyer | Eje nsan apo meta | Let me pay ₦600 |
| Seller | Ko gba san apo meta abo | No pay ₦700 |
| Buyer | E rip e o tutu ni | Can't you see that is still wet? |
| Seller | Beni sugbon oorun ojo kan mu gbe asiko ojo tawa lo fa. Otito ose kan bayi ti mo ti nsa | Yes but one day sun will dry it up it is because of the raining season. It is up to a week now that I have placing it under the sun. |
| Buyer | E ta fun mi. Se eyin no mo pe mi o le lo bayi afi ti mo bat tun se wahala lori e | Sell it to me. You know it is not what I can use now.I stiil have to labour on it for sometime. |
| Seller | Ebami ra. Ti o ba tutu eyin no mo pe o ma ju iye ti mo ni ki e san | Help me buy it, if it is the price will be more than what I asked you to pay. |
| Buyer | Eje ki nfi waso si | Let me add ₦50 |
| Seller | ….Madam<br>Moti try fun yin te bafe bami ra e San iye ti mo<br>san iye ti mo pe | ….Madam<br>I have tried for you if you want to help me buy<br>pay what I asked you to pay |
| Buyer | No response rather she walked away | (Walked away) no response annoyed again. |

## D DOMESTIC ANIMALS

### i

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Elo leleyi? | How much is this? (he points at a goat) |
| Seller | ₦3,000 | ₦3,000 |
| Buyer | Se eko gba nkan bi ₦1,500 bayi? | Can't it sell for ₦1,500? |
| Side- talk | Elo ni last price | This is expensive |
| Seller | Emutiyin ni ₦2,000 kin ta fun yin | Take yours ₦2,000 |
| Buyer | Ah! ₦2,000? | Ah! ₦2,000? |
| Seller | Eleyi bayi ₦1,4000 | But this one is ₦1,400 |
| Buyer | Se ko gba ₦800 ni? | Can't it sell for ₦800? |
| Side- talk | Oye keleyi gba ₦800 now | This should be able to sell for ₦800 |
| Seller | ₦1,000 ni jale bo se wa yen | Is ₦1,000 as it is |
| Buyer | O ga o | That's serious |
| | Elo wa leleyi jale bayi? | How much is this? |
| Seller | ₦2,000 ni bo se wa yen | As it is, it's ₦2,000 |
| Side- talk | 2,000 nibo? | ₦2,000 as how? |
| Buyer | Oye ke le din nibe o | You should be able to sell it less |
| Seller | Rara | Not at al |
| Buyer | Black yen nko? | What of black? |
| Seller | ₦2,000ni black yen jare | That blac is ₦2,000 |
| Buyer | Ah ah. Elo leleyi? | Ah ah . how much is this? (pointing at a different colour) |
| Seller | ₦2,000 ni, eleyi three thousand, eleyi six (thousand) | This one ₦2,000, three thousand and this one six thousand |
| Buyer | kilode teleyi tun wa fi odindi three thousand yato si eleyi? | Why is this one three thousand naira higher (pointing at the different goats) |
| Seller | En eleyi ti bimo ri | Yes this one has given birth before |
| Buyer | Ako naa lawon meeji yi and se tori odun lose wa won bayi ni? | The two are males and is it because of chrismas that they are so espensive? |
| Seller | En beeni | Yes |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Buyer | Jale elo wani bayi mama? | How much last mama? |
| Seller | En ti won ….. ba soro ti da ye le ₦5,000 | Someone has answered him ₦5,000 |
| Buyer | Ah five yen wa po, pe mo je omo yin bayi nisinsiyi, elo le f eta fun mi? | Five thousand is much am like a son to you. So at how wa much will you sell it to me? |
| Backchannel | (Awon wonyi o loja ra) | These people are not buying anything |
| Seller | To bati gbowo jade | If you bring out money |
| Buyer | Ah owo waa to base pe ti owo, asetan lati ra. (o gbowo jade) se eri bayi a setan lati ra. So bayi nsin elo le f eta jale? | There is no problem with money. We are ready to buy (bringing out money for the woman to know how serious he is). I hope you see that we are ready to buy it. So how much do you want to sell it ? |
| Seller | Eleyi ₦15,000 (pointing at another one) | This one is ₦15,000 (pointing at another one) |
| Buyer | Ah se oloyun bayi ni abi bawo? | Ah! Is this pregnant |
| Seller | Ko loyun | No |
| Buyer | Jale ti e nko? | Okay how much is this one last? |
| Seller | Eni bama ra bayi ₦13,000 ni jale ntie | Whoever will buy this will pay₦13,000 |
| Buyer | Ati gbogbo awon eleyi na? | And even all these? |
| Seller | E le e…. Ema binu ma | You said.…don't be annoyed please |
| Side-talk | (Era nkan teba ma ra to ba ma fi di ola bayi a won si o) | Buy whatever you want to buy now because by tomorrow prices of things will increase |
| Buyer | Egbo ma, Eyin na le e f eta fun wa. Bayi ani elo ni ka fun yin jale? | Listen ma, you are the one who doesn't want to sell to us I say how much do you want to sell to us? |
| Seller | Awon te bere yen won ti ra won sile. Eyi te bere yen won ti ra won sile. | All those which you have been pricing are bought already |
| Buyer | Ok eleyi o si to bi to be e | okay this one is not as big how much you want to sell it? |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Seller | O ri iru eleyi | Like this one |
| Buyer | O si kere | It's still small |
| Buyer | Taba wo siwaju to ba je bakanaa. | If we go round pricing and yours is discovered to be the cheapest we shall come back to buy from you |