A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF "TURN-TAKING" IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF AFRICA INDEPENDENT TELEVISION'S *MÌNÌJỌ̀JỌ̀*

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JUNE, 2016

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NIGERIA

JUNE, 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in the thesis entitled "A Conversation Analysis of "Turn-Taking" in the Electronic Media: A Case Study of Africa Independent Television's *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀"* has been carried out by me. 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 this or any Institution.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Student	Signature	Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF TURN-TAKING IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF AFRICA INDEPENDENT TELEVISION'S *MÌNÌJỌ̀JỌ̀* by Ijaleye, Adejoke Oluyemisi meets the regulations governing the award of Masters of Arts (M.A) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the loving memory of my late grandmother, Dorcas Bosede Ajayi. Thank you for tellingus on time that ‘Half education is delicate’.

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My eternal gratitude is to God, the owner of my soul. I love you because you first loved me. I will forever be grateful for your love. I want to say a big thank you to Dr. Jonah E. Amodu. Thank you for giving me a second chance. I really appreciate your tutelage. To Professor Adebayo Joshua, thank you for setting the direction for this work. I also want to appreciate the Head of Department, English and Literary Studies, Dr. A.A. Liman. Big thank you to Professor Aliyu Mohammed, Professor J.S. Aliyu (of blessed memory), Professor Gani-Ikilama, Professor Gbenga Ibileye, Professor Abaya, Professor Dili Ofuokwu, Professor Surakat and all the lecturers who contributed to the success of my post graduate programme.

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ABSTRACT

Turn-Taking in conversation varies from one language to another because Turn-Taking is usually bound by natural etiquettes attributable to the people's culture. Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversation is no exception. It reflects to a large extent the culture of the Yorùbá People. Hitherto, politeness, honorific pronouns, greeting, proverbs, prayer etc. are major factors in Yoruba Turn-Taking. The major preoccupation of this work, however, is to examine how Yorùbá people take turns especially in a media settingwhere the interlocutors express themselves in their local dialects on weekly discussion topics. The greatest influence on this work is Sacks et al. (1974). Not only did Sacks and his associates pioneer the field of Conversation Analysis, their many discoveries about how interlocutors take turns successfully are still very relevant. The uniqueness of this research, however, lies in the analysis of Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversation in juxtaposition with Sacks et al.'s Turn-Taking which focuses only on how interlocutors take turns in American English conversation. The subject of this research is the audience of *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀*, a weekly Yorùbá discussion programme which airs on Africa Independent Television (AIT) on Sundays between 1pm and 2pm. The audience comprises of speakers of major Yorùbá dialects like the Ìjẹ̀bú, Ìjèṣà, Ẹ̀gbá, Èkìtì, Ìbàdàn and Onḍó dialects. Through disguised observation (with the permission of the producer of the programme) as well as audio and video recordings, the data for this research were collected, transcribed according to Conversation Analysis methods and then analysed. During the analysis, one very important finding is that some Turn-Taking rules are exempted in a media setting because certain media ethics override such Turn-Taking rules in Yorùbá conversation. It is of interest, however, to discover that proverbs in most Yorùbá conversations form Adjacency pairs and at other times, overlapping utterances. In all, this research presents how Turn Allocation Component/Technique, Interruption/ Overlapping, Adjacency Pairs, Back-Channel Communication, Silence, Repair and Non-Verbal Communication operate in Yorùbá conversation. It is hoped that this work contributes to subsequent researches on Yorùbá Turn-Taking since there are very few literatures that address Turn-Taking as an important aspect of Yorùbá conversation.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

As far as human relationship is concerned, conversation is an essential tool that promotes interaction among human beings. Only in monologues, where only one person speaks throughout, is the concept of conversation discarded and this is mainly a feature of drama. Fundamental to dialogues and multilogues (conversation involving more than two persons), however, is Turn-Taking. Turn-Taking in a conversation ensures discipline in who speaks, at what point, and for how long. It is like a sharing device, an 'economy' operating over a scarce resource (Levinson, 1983:297). It is also a crucial mechanism in human-system interaction in which the interlocutors yield and take turns, guided by Turn-Taking cues (Duncan & Fiske, 1977).

In discussing Turn-Taking, therefore, a mechanism guided by a set of rules can be identified (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1978). This mechanism includes a local management system which will indicate a Transition Relevance Place (TRP), Turn Construction Units and regulations by signals and Allocation Systems. In all, silence is abhorred, so much so that even when there is silence, it is still interpreted as an action. Although Turn-Taking is regarded as a prerequisite to every organized conversation, every culture has its unique Turn-Taking qualities.

Similar to a typical conversation in any human language, the Yorùbá conversation possesses the unique rules that ensure the free flow of conversation between individuals (Fakoya, 2006). These governing rules must be adhered to strictly to guarantee that a

particular message is transmitted effectively from the speaker to the listener. Where such rules are broken, the conversation process is said to be unsuccessful. Turn-Taking, as earlier stated, is an expedient rule that makes conversation a productive experience. It basically stipulates that each speaker must at least wait for his own turn before speaking. The speaker thus taking on the role of a listener immediately his turn expires and vice versa.

The distinction of Turn-Taking in a Yorùbá conversation is argued to exist in some conversational rules that have been greatly influenced by a people's culture and tradition. So much so that a second language speaker of the Yorùbá language can easily be separated if he has not incorporated these principles of Yorùbá Turn-Taking. This research work in totality seeks to explore Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversations with a special focus on Yorùbá interactions as they appear on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀,* a Yorùbá interactive programme on Africa Independent Television (Nigeria)

In this introductory chapter, a background to the study is provided. This chapter includes write-ups on the electronic media in Nigeria with special emphasis on Africa Independent Television (AIT) and the case study, *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀*. The chapter, as well, accommodates the Statement of the Research Problem, Research Questions, Aim and Objectives of the Study, Justification for the Study, Significance of the Study and the Scope and Delimitations.

1.1Statement of the Research Problem

A conversation occurs when there are linguistic interchanges between two or more partners (Mey, 2001:13). Unfortunately, conversations do not just happen. They require

careful thoughts and considerations by would-be interlocutors as any attempt to rush into any conversation may cause a lot of friction and disaffection between the parties. As conversations differ, so do the roles they play in each speech community. In other words what is considered acceptable in a particular speech community may be regarded as offensive in another. Even when speech communities belong to the same geographical location, these differences in conversation norms still abound. Little wonder Besnier (1994) notes that:

> Research in language in its social context has long recognised that individuals, social groups and speech communities produce different amount of conversation and that different amount of talks are normatively associated with different contexts.

As characteristic of most languages, the Yorùbá language also possesses its own unique features which reflect on the conversation and invariably, the different contexts in which the language is employed. Unfortunately, these unique features have been the subject of many suppositions. Some of these suppositions include but are not limited to:

- the notoriety of the Yorùbá people in offering greetings for every occasion (Adjacency Pairs);
- the absolute necessity of exchanging pleasantries before making requests (Adjacency Pairs);
- the exalted position of an older interlocutor in any conversation (Interruptions, Overlaps, Repairs, TCU); and
- the social stigma usually attached to a third party whose opinion is not requested (Interruptions etc).

It becomes, therefore, necessary to examine and verify the authenticity of these speculations in order to present an unbiased conclusion about the Yorùbá people, their conversations and ultimately, the manner with which they take turns especially from a media perspective since the crux of this research is to view how Yorùbá Turn-Taking plays out in a media setting.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the issues presented in the previous section, answers will be sought to the following questions:

1. How relevant is the application of Turn-Taking rules to the success of any conversation?
2. Which conversation features are unique to the Yorùbá Turn-Taking process?
3. Does Yorùbá Turn-Taking in an electronic media setting present special principles that are absent from other settings?
4. What informs possible conversational behaviours among Yorùbá interlocutors?

1.3Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to analyze Yorùbá Turn-Taking in a television studio environment with a view of determining its nature, pattern and structure. In general terms, this work is an adventure into Conversation Analysis which is an area that studies the way people organize and structure their conversations, with conversations

themselves seen as encounters involving the 'deliberate' participation of the speakers socially (Cheepen and Monaghan, 1990).

The following are the objectives of this study:

1. analyse the relevance of Turn-Taking to the overall success of any conversation;

2. present the unique features of Yorùbá Turn-Taking;

3. identify distinct Yorùbá Turn-Taking principles found in an electronic media setting; and

4. studysome conversation behaviours of Yorùbá interlocutors.

1.4Justification for the Study

In Conversation Analysis, the complexity of a conversation is studied. Conversation analysis (or CA), therefore, delves into

> …how is it that we, as language users make sense of what we read in texts, understand what speakers mean despite what they say, recognize connected as opposed to jumbled or incoherent discourse and successfully take part in that complex activity called conversation (Yule 1996:139)

To simply assume that the concept of conversation as it is viewed in one language should apply to all other languages of the world will translate to not seeing the world beyond the geography of a tiny village. As interesting as the field of CA is, it is quite unfortunate that studies carried out are not done universally. Studies in conversation are usually limited to individual languages. Coulthard (1977), for example, was basically a Birmingham affair with little or no influence and reflections on the conversation conventions of this part of the world. Gumperz (1982) based his research on the

American-Indians of the North-West Coast. Even Saville Troike (1982) who extended the scope of his work to some discourse practices in Nigeria did so scantily. In Wardhaugh (1985)'s attempt to broaden his area of study, his sources were from Toronto.

Specifically, in a second language learning environment, there is a tendency for learners to overlook a people's language as a reflection of their culture. Learners oftentimes are prone to learning a language outside the context of the culture. This study will assist in ensuring a smooth language learning experience for second language learners of the Yorùbá language who may not realize that the rubrics of the Yorùbá conversation transcends mere lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential structures.

A study into Yorùbá conversation will help to boost the growth and appreciation of indigenous languages among the younger generation who in the face of modernity are gradually losing their lingual heritage to foreign colonial languages. In this area, this work will provide practical and typical means, through which Yorùbá speakers commence conversation, sustain it and bid farewell to fellow interlocutor(s). Hitherto, this study will not only expose young people to the Yorùbá language but also to the local dialects of the language which are at the verge of total extinction.

Another justification can be perceived in terms of the focus of this work. While it may be easier to focus on individual dialects of the Yorùbá language, this research work will focus on the Yorùbá language in totality. No doubt, this will help strengthen the mutual intelligibility that exists between these dialects. The case study (*Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀*) actually

accommodates all the dialects of the Yorùbá language, thereby, acting as the perfect avenue to achieving this goal.

1.5Significance of the Study

The Yorùbá conversation is supposedly a reflection of the people's worldview and culture. This is to say that the manner with which the Yorùbá people employ their language is greatly influenced by their beliefs, perceptions and ideologies (Ajayi & Balogun, 2014). As stated earlier, the effect of these factors on the eventual usage of the language are sometimes not presented in the right perspective. This study is therefore significant in that it seeks to eliminate the misinterpretation and misunderstanding that may arise with the Yorùbá conversation especially in connection with the way the people exchange turns.

Another important significance which this study bears is that Yorùbá Turn-Taking which is often neglected in most academic (teaching) curriculum is, at least, granted prominence. First language speakers and second language learners can hitherto begin to find theoretical basis for why and how Yorùbá interlocutors engage certain principles of Turn-Taking which are exclusive to the language. It is further hoped that this study will spur other researchers to dabble into the field of Conversation Analysis with a special bias for Nigerian languages.

1.6Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This study deals primarily with Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversations. It ventures into how the Yorùbá speakers make use of their language and what principles influence the way they engage their language. The setting, however, will be limited to a media

environment where several Yorùbá language speakers meet to interact in their various dialects. Some of these dialects are Ijesa, Ekiti, Oyo, Egba, Ijebu among others. These dialects are used on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* by the members of the audience to express their views on topical issues. This style is employed on the programme as opposed to the use of only the standardized Yorùbá version on other Yorùbá programmes.

Users of the Yorùbá language have been said to be over 100 million (Drewal et al, 1989). While majority of the Yorùbá people can be found in the south-west of Nigeria, remnants of this tribe can be found in Cuba, Brazil, Togo and Benin Republic. In Nigeria, 37% of the population is Yorùbá people. They occupy Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Osun, Ondo, Ekiti and some parts of Kwara and Kogi states. Altogether, they are as many as seventeen dialects in Yorùbá language. As a whole, this research is a journey into Conversation Analysis (CA) as an area of language study. It will also focus on CA's historical sketch and tenets.

The scope of this work is restricted to 10 randomly selected recorded editions of *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* (*Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* is a Yorùbá discussion programme that airs on Africa Independent Television on Sundays between 1pm and 2pm). The 10 editions include 88 conversations between the presenters of the programme and the members of the audience. The basis for selecting this number is to ensure that this study is limited to a manageable and reasonable size. Another reason for selecting this number is to ensure that a superfluous conclusion is not arrived at since it is hoped that whatever conclusions drawn from the study will present an unprejudiced acuity of Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0Preamble

This chapter attempts to delve into the foundation of Conversation Analysis, The concept of Turn-Taking, Review of Previous Studies on Turn-Taking, Turn-Taking in Yorùbá language and Theoretical Framework.

2.1Conceptual Review

This section presents fundamental topics related to the study. Thus, this section presents Coversation Analysis, its focus as an area of language study as well as Turn Taking which this study specialises on. Yorùbá Turn-Taking is also a focus of this section.

2.1.1Conversation Analysis: A Historical Sketch

With the study of Sociolinguistics which started in the early 60s, there was a shift of focus regarding the appropriate method of collecting linguistic data. Language users played a very prominent role as they were viewed against the background of their society. From Sociolinguistics grew Discourse Analysis and Ethnomethodology. The Discourse Analysts of that time were involved in building structural models particularly in relation to talk in formal situations where there is role differential. Unfortunately, most of their data were gotten intuitively (see Levinson 1983).

Ethnomethodology came into existence to improve the premature theorizing and the intuitive use of data experienced in Discourse Analysis. Ethnomethodologists set out to discover what methods (-methodology) people (ethno) use to participate in and make

sense of interaction (Cook, 1989:52). This method made room for participants who were really involved in the act of interaction and not a personal theorization of the analyst which Discourse Analysis set to do.

Ethnomethodology soon proved to be an observable and reportable area of study (Garfinkel 1967, 1974,). Matter of fact and fancy, evidence and good demonstration about the affairs of everyday activities are made of seeing and saying, observing and observation and report that talk is part of this. This, then, shows that talk is something that can be observed and reported. Unlike Discourse Analysis, imagining what people say, should say or could say does not arise. Talk is available to a member as a resource, for his use as well as "being something that while using and counting on, he also glosses" (Garfinkel 1974:17).

The focus of Ethnomethodology is on actual spoken dialogue and this is very crucial to all Conversation Analysts as the use of actual talk is both methodological and theoretical (Schriffin 1988:253). In essence, only actual interaction between speakers can provide evidence for the function of a particular conversational device. The data gathered by the Ethnomethodologist become of theoretical importance in that the speaker and the hearer are the primary focus of inquiry. Therefore, whatever analytic perspective gotten aims to replicate the language users' perspective. It is with this that analysts outside the talk strive to use the actual data which the conversationalists themselves have access.

Conversation Analysis which is often associated with Ethnomethodology also arose in contra-distinction but in contrast with the main stream American Sociologists (Levinson 1983:295) whose scholastic pursuit was purely quantitative. Not only that, a previous

field of study like Discourse Analysis was guilty of the arbitrary imposition on the data of supposedly objective category arrived at through unmotivated theoretical constructs and substantiated intuition. Schegloff and Sacks, two of the pioneering practitioners of Conversation Analysis, were sociology students of Goffman at Berkeley, California, USA. They followed in his interest in researching face to face interactions in the real world context of talk and interaction. It is Sacks who is generally credited with formulating procedures that came to be known as Conversation Analysis through his analysis of a collection of tape-recorded calls to a Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Centre.

Like Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis does not emphasize on building structural models but in the close observation of the behaviours of participants in talk and on patterns which recur over a wide range of natural data (McCarthy 1991:6). The analysis of conversation, then, is typically based on the linguistic output of someone other than the analyst. This type of linguistic material is sometimes described as 'performance data' (Brown & Yule 1983:20) which may contain features like hesitations, slips and non-standard forms.

The methodology to be used in Conversation Analysis, therefore, requires evidence not only that some aspects of conversation can be viewed in the way suggested by previous fields of study, but that it actually is so conceived by the participants themselves. This, then, puts heavy emphasis on the data and the patterns recurrently displayed therein. Such data consist of recording, tape and video, and transcripts of naturally occurring conversations with little attention paid to the nature of the context (Levinson 1983).

It is worthy of note that Ethnomethodology as an instrument of conducting research in language study was the first tradition to deal with conversation (Gumperz 1977) as co-operative endeavours. It pioneered sociological analysis of verbal interaction. This tradition really stemmed from the belief that social knowledge is revealed in the process of interaction itself, and the format required for description of communication is dynamic rather than static.

Gumperz (1972:191) asserts that conversational inference is the 'situated' or context – bound process of interpretation by means of which interlocutors in a conversation assess others' intentions and on which they base their responses. This then points to the fact that interlocutors are quite aware of what they are doing conversationally and what the researcher or analyst does is to 'catch' that consciousness on tape so that it can remain for a long time, a 'living' example of what it is that people do while interacting.

2.1.2 Conversation Analysis as a Field of Language Study

For centuries, linguists have created different areas by which language could be studied. Apart from Phonology, Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, there are also Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, Stylistics, Semiotics, and Discourse Analysis etc. Conversational Analysis (henceforth CA) is also another area of language study. Conversation Analysis is an evolution at the nexus of paradigm shifts in Linguistics toward Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics (Grice 1975, Hymes 1977) and also Ethnomethodology in Sociology (Garfinkel 1967, Goffman1963, Sacks 1972, Schegloff &Sacks 1973).

Within the CA framework, the organization of interaction (such as Turn-Taking, the distribution of speakers' rights and openings and closings of conversation) is examined. Additionally, the specific interaction situation, the local unique interaction situation, the local unique interaction requirements, and how the interlocutors understand and demonstrate their orientations toward these "rules" can be examined. Sacks (1974) and others were careful to articulate that these are not prescriptive rules but rather, rules that develop within and through the interaction. Thus, CA is a systematic method to observe the production of intention or the achievement of understandings in the turns of talk between human speakers.

If it is one thing that Sacks (in association with Schegloff and Jefferson) has been able to prove, it is that CA is not just a researchable area of language study but also one that is very realistic in that it uses everyday conversation to back up CA's claims. One of such claims is that CA tries to capture not only what is said but also the way it is said. This Sacks explicated by one of the many phone calls he recorded to the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center. One of the tasks of the centre's staff was to try to obtain the caller's name; and on many occasions, if they gave their name, they found that the callers would then identify themselves in reply. In many cases, however, the centre's staff had difficulty getting callers to state who they were: either callers would not say their name after the centre's staff had introduced themselves; or later, when explicitly asked for their name, they would refuse to disclose it. For the centre, then, the problem was getting callers to reveal their names.

this is Mr. Smith, may I help you
I can't hear you
This is Mr Smith

Smith
(Sacks, 1992)

Instead of Sacks simply analysing the “I can’t hear you” part of this conversation as probably a distortion in the telephone line that causes the individual at the other end to state his communicative problem, he examines this utterance in the light of what it might be doing. According to Sacks, there is a possibility that the utterance was produced so as to allow the caller to avoid giving his name, while not explicitly having to refuse to do so. With this question, Sacks raises the possibility of investigating utterances as objects which speakers use to get things done in the course of their interactions with others.

Typical of most English conversations where names of interlocutors are exchanged are the opening turn, the above example seems to be a deviation from this norm. Sacks, therefore, argues that the caller is using the utterance 'I can't hear you' to fill the slot in the conversation where it would be expected that he returns his name. However, he has not had to refuse to give his name. Instead he has used that slot to initiate what is called a repair sequence, which is a short series of turns in which some 'trouble' (in this case, 'not hearing') is resolved. By doing 'not hearing', the caller has been able to move the conversation on from that point at which he might be expected to give his name. In this case, then, the caller's expression of an apparent hearing difficulty is a method by which he could accomplish the activity of 'not giving a name' without explicitly refusing to do so.

While Sacks did not claim that on every occasion when someone says 'I can't hear you' they are avoiding giving their name; nor was he saying that doing 'not hearing' was the

only method of avoiding giving a name. He was simply noting that it was possible to analyze how, in this instance, this particular utterance performed this particular activity in this particular slot, or place in the interaction.

Another claim by Sacks is that it is important to focus on the idea that there are slots in interaction where specific kinds of actions are appropriate or expected. This allows us to grasp the idea that verbal interaction has a structure, an architecture, which can be formally described by reference to the relationship between the actions our utterances perform. The idea of the paired units comes into play here. If someone offered an 'hi' as a form of greeting, it is a norm that there should be another 'hi' in response to the previous utterance. These paired units could be Greetings-Greetings, Questions and Answers, Invitations and Responses, Summons and Answers, Identifications and Recognitions etc. So much so that if the other part of either of these pairs is not provided, there seems to a minor breakdown in expectations in respect to interpersonal interaction (Wooffitt, 2005). The following example explicates this. Speaker A is an attendant nurse while Speaker B is a patient.

A: Mr Thompson please (0.3)
A: Mr Thompson, it's your turn to see the doctor
B: you mean Chief Thompson

The above is an example of a Summon-Answer pair. The nurse summons the patient but there seems to be a minor breakdown in communication. While there is likelihood that there is more than one person by the name Thompson in the waiting room, Speaker B might also want to correct the nurse as par his status as a chief in the society. At the first

instance, it is expected that once there is a summon, an answer should at least immediately follow.

At the beginning of CA, Sacks was preoccupied with analysing calls to the Suicide Prevention Centre and recordings of therapy sessions with juvenile offenders but subsequently, CA metamorphosed into the investigation of what might be referred to as mundane conversation. Their work began with the assumption that turns - lengthy utterances, phrases, clauses, or even single words - were systematically designed objects which performed some activities in interaction. The goal of analysis, then, was to investigate the nature of these objects - how they were designed, what they did, where in interaction they occurred, how they were connected to prior turns, and their implications for subsequent turns - and to describe the underlying organization of the way interaction unfolded on a turn-by-turn basis.

As effective as CA looks in analysing conversation, it is not without its short comings. One of these short comings is that CA is an expensive and time consuming method of language research. It will not be enough to limit this study to mere jotting. Getting a recorder is an important instrument in carrying out research in CA since any data not recorded can be easily lost and improperly investigated. Because no CA analysis can be carried out without first transcribing the recorded data, the process of analysis takes a longer time. It is also required that whoever is dabbling into the field of CA must first learn the transcription symbols which are interactionally significant. The over reliance of Conversation Analysis on these transcripts can also be questioned.

Getting to learn the transcription notations is one big step. Anyone who wants to specialize in CA must also be wary of committing errors as the analytic process is sensitive to misinterpretation and over-interpretation (Vo, 2010). Likewise, the analyst must be careful of the tendency to essentialise the phenomena that they are observing. To this end, the analyst must always check these initial patterns before arriving at conclusions.

Many researchers have also argued that the focus of CA is stilted towards Sociology. Hitherto, CA should not be regarded as an area of linguistic research. This claim is further strengthened by the fact that Sacks and his associates were not linguists but sociologists and they only succeeded in transferring the tenets of Sociology into language study. Furthermore, CA practitioners have been accused of refraining from extensive theoretical and methodological discussion. CA papers tend to be exclusively devoted to an empirically based discussion of specific analytic issues. This may contribute to the confusion of readers who are not familiar with this particular research style. They will use their habitual expectations, derived from established social-scientific practice, as a frame of reference in understanding this unusual species of scientific work (Ten Have, 1990).

2.1.3 Conversation Analysis versus Discourse Analysis

It is the turn by turn analysis that forms a major distinction between Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis. While Conversation Analysts tend to adopt an inductive methodology (reasoning from the particular to the general), being interested in the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction, Discourse Analysts tend to adopt a

deductive methodology (reasoning from the general to the specific), focusing on rules for producing well-formed units of language larger than the sentence (Cassell and Tversky, 2005).

Wooffitt (2005) attempts a clearer distinction between these related areas of language study using Sacks et al (1974) – Conversation Analysis -and Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) –Discourse Analysis. While Sacks (et al)'s study is based on recordings of interaction at the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Centre, Gilbert and Mulkay's work presents the analysis of a dispute which happened between two groups of scientists who were working on a complex molecule called Adenosine Triphosphate (ATP). One group argue that the production of ATP requires the presence of chemical intermediaries. The other group suggests that chemical reactions in the cell wall were responsible for energy transfer. To Gilbert and Mulkay, this was a significant dispute: eventually the latter theory not only prevailed but its leading proponent was awarded a Nobel Prize.

Wooffit (2005:18-19) submits that:

> For Sacks, ordinary language can be analysed as a vehicle through which we perform interpersonal actions; moreover, these actions are organised socially: that is, they display regular patterns which emerge out of the contributions of different participants. For Gilbert and Mulkay, the focus on language was a consequence of their argument that accounts and descriptions cannot be treated as neutral representations of an objective social reality.

Conversation Analysis actually developed from the works of Sacks and his associate and it examines language as social action. Talk-in-interaction is taken to be systematically organised and ordered. The primary data for research in Conversation Analysis are audio (and sometimes, video) recordings of naturally occurring interaction. This may not necessarily be the case in Discourse Analysis as data may be collected from other

sources. In Conversation Analysis, transcripts assist in the analysis of audio/video material. The transcription system in Conversation Analysis provides a detailed characterization or ‘messiness’ of everyday interaction focusing on speech production and turn taking organisation (Wooffitt, 2005:13)

Discourse Analysis emerged in the sociology of scientific knowledge. The relationship of Conversation Analysis to Sociology as a field of study can also not be ruled out. Discourse Analysis, however, established a departure from realist accounts of scientists’ actions to a study of scientists’ accounting practices. It proposes that language is used invariably. Accounts are constructed from a range of descriptive possibilities and are ultimately tied to the context in which they are produced and the functions they perform.

2.1.4 Theory of Turn-Taking

Sacks' lectures on the organization of conversation dates back to 1964. Although these lecture notes were not published collectively until 1992, they were available in mimeographed form during the 1960s. Moreover, Sacks and his colleagues were publishing the results of their studies during the late 1960s and early 1970s prior to the publication of their research on Turn-Taking. In their famous work, ‘A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation’, Sacks et al (1974) present the theory and the rules governing Turn-Taking. It is necessary to discuss what they meant by the word 'rule'. They are not claiming to have identified a set of determinate rules, the application of which governs Turn-Taking. Rather, speaker transfer is taken to be an accomplishment, achieved as a consequence of mutually coordinated speaker sensitivity to those procedures or conventions for effecting such

change. It is locally managed by the parties involved, that is, an interactional achievement coordinated 'on the spot' (Schegloff, 1992c).

The following summary is an attempt to capture the very essence of the Turn-Taking system as postulated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson. This summary is therefore carried out based on the fourteen points used by Sacks et al (1974) to expound Turn-Taking in English conversations.

- **Speaker Change Occurs, or at Least Occurs**

This is the very essence of Turn-Taking in any conversation. As long as there is more than one speaker, turns are bound to change and keep changing as the conversation progresses. Speaker selections, therefore, operates at each point where a turn (or a turn construction unit) could be treated ‘meaningfully’ and recognizably complete. The turn (unit type) could, however, be sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical. The following example explicates a turn.

A: Will the Chemistry teacher be available today?

B: As long as he has no other excuse.

A: Then we can at least work on other meaningful subjects.

B: Please don’t say Physics.

A: Uhhhh, that happens to be my favourite subject

B: Uhm!

In the above example, there are two speakers who take turns to make utterances at different times in the conversation. Whoever is currently speaking is the interlocutor holding the floor at that moment. At some points, there is a change of speakership. The

point where the change of speaker occurs is known as the Transition Relevance Place. Here, the transfer of turn to a next speaker is effected. This process continues recursively. Interruptions may however occur at Transition Relevance Places.

- Overwhelmingly One Party Speaks at a Time

In a conversation, one speaker is expected (that is usually the norm in English conversations) to speak at a time. As earlier stated, the current speaker is said to hold the floor. Unfortunately, this is not always the case as the person who is not holding the floor may still engage in verbal or non-verbal behaviours (McShane, 1980).

Examples of verbal behaviours include 'I see', 'Really', 'Okay' etc .Yngve (1970) tags these verbal behaviours 'backchannel' communications while Dittman & Llwellyn (1968) refer to it as 'listeners' responses'. There have been scholarly arguments, however, as to whether this kind of behaviour should assume the status of a turn. Nodding, facial gestures, shaking of the head, are examples of non-verbal behaviours.

- Occurrences of More than One Speaker at a Time are Common, but Brief

Despite the fact that one speaker is expected to talk at a time, there are instances where more than one speaker could be speaking. This situation is regarded as an 'overlap'. To make sense of their contributions, speakers ensure that overlaps do not last for too long (Coulthard, 1977). The Turn Allocation Component applies here as it ensures the some worth reduction in the occurrences of overlaps. It also ensures that each speaker gets opportunity to his own turn. The Turn Allocation Techniques (Rules) are as follows:

1. For any turn, at the initial turn-constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current-speaker-selects-next technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no other have such rights or obligations and transfers occurs at the same place. For example:

B: Is it possible to get ice-cold water on this very sunny day?

(0.5)

B: [Or::::

S: [I guess you just have to get used to the power outage situation

In example above, despite S's reluctance to answer (indicated by the five second silence), he is still obligated to provide an answer to the request made by B. B's utterance is a classic example of a First Part Pair of an Adjacency Pair (More will be discussed on Adjacency Pairs later).

(b). If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of 'current-speaker-selects-next' technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

Example: (at a funeral with many guests)

G: M: It's bad enough that she was hit by a vehicle

(0.7)

M: Should she die this young?

(0.5)

M: [She's only 35

G: [It's so pathetic

M's first turn does not select the next speaker and so she has to continue speaking till third turn where also G supplies an overlapping statement and comes to her rescue by self-selecting himself. This example shows how the self-selection rule functions.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current-speaker-selects-next' technique, then current speaker may, but need to continue, unless another self-selects. For example:

Y: Football players are so stu:::pid

Y: I mean,

(0.9)

Y: Just look at that defender

(0.4)

Y: ho:::rrible defensive [blunder

B: [That should not have been a goal if he had passed the ball

B: You are right. They are so stupid

The above example is the application of rule 1(c) where from turns 1-4 the speaker does not select the next speaker and so has to continue.

2. At initial turn constructional unit's initial transition relevance place, neither 1(a) or 1 (b) has operated, and following the provision of 1(c) has continued (i.e. no transfer has taken place), then the rule set 1(a)- 1(c) reapplies at the next TRP and recursively at each TRP until transfer is effected.

The explanation for this last rule is that all the three possibilities can take place and the cycle can continue until there is a transfer of speakership.

- Transitions from One Turn to a Next Turn with no Gap and no Overlap are Common

Transitions occur in conversations. While there may be overlaps at some points, overlaps or gaps may not occur at other Transition Relevance Places.

Example A:

T: Tell me more about your job

V: I buy and sell cars

Example B:

G: Can you please turn down the [television set

B: [Why? My favourite show is on

G: But I am trying to study

In example A, there is no overlap or gap. Hence, there is a smooth transition at the Transition Relevance Place. B is an example of an overlap where two interlocutors speak at the same time. This is indicated by the '['symbol.

- Turn Order is not Fixed, but Varies

There is no particular turn order or pattern in Turn-Taking. A speaker can take the floor at a point and give it up at the next. In all, Turn-Taking system typically allocates a single turn to a speaker at a time although a turn can still contain two activities by the same party without an intervening turn by another speaker. For example, a question can be repeated before it is answered (Schegloff, 1968).

- Turn Size is not Fixed

Speakers in a conversation can never tell how many turns they are likely to take at the beginning of a conversation. They may not also be able to tell how long each turn will take. Syntactically, turns (unit types) can be sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical. That is to say that the size of a turn is not as important as the meaningful contributions it is supposed to make in a conversation (Taylor, 1990).

- Length of Conversation is not Specified or Fixed

In the Turn-Taking mechanism, the length of a conversation is not specified or fixed. Interlocutors are at liberty to determine how long or short their conversation should be. Certain factors, however, affect the length of an interaction. These factors may include the relationship between interlocutors, the place where the interaction is taking place etc (Abdul, 2001)

- What Parties Say is not Fixed or Specified in Advance

Certain occasions like wedding ceremonies may demand that parties know what to say before the actual event but in others, like debates, interviews, classroom situations, participants may not really know what the content of their conversation will entail. Speakers are therefore free to use whatever turn allocation technique that suits them in the course of their interaction with the first turn being the determining factor. The first turn could be a first pair part of an adjacency pair which will demand that the next turn must complete the pair.

AnAdjacency Pair is a sequence of two utterances that follow one another, or are 'adjacent', and has two parts, a first pair part and a second pair part. What kind of first pair part is used by the speaker determines the range of responses that the other participant in the conversation can give, as only specific second pair parts correlate to each first pair part. Thus, there could be greeting/greeting, question/answer, invitation/answer, summon/response etc (Woofitt, 2005). More will be discussed on Adjacency Pairs in subsequent sections.

- Relative Distribution of Turns is not Specified in Advance

Just as turns are not fixed, the recurrence of the turn allocation techniques in a conversation is not also fixed. Rule 1(a) might be abundant in a certain conversation. At other times, the occurrence of all the rules can take place in a conversation. The combination of all the rules provides alternative routes whereby any current non speaker is a potential speaker. Over all, the rule-set operates at each Transition Relevance Place (TRP) and at each place, any party in the conversation can speak next; hence the rule-set provides for the possibility of any of the rule distribution. The bottom line, however, is the avoidance of manipulation by any party as regards the distribution of turns.

- Number of Parties can Vary

Here, Sacks et al (1974) employ the term 'interruption' to indicate the possibility of other participants joining in the conversation. Participants in a conversation could vary from just two to as many as twenty or even more (Levinson, 1983). These participants may enter or exit the conversation depending on the kind of interaction and also the

speakers involved. Typically, a conversation usually engages two people who switch roles as speaker and listener at different times. With a larger group, conversation becomes more complicated and the possibility of a 'schism' arises especially when the interlocutors are four and above. Schism, a kind of division among parties involved in the conversation affects any pair of parties by preventing them from not getting or taking a turn over some sequence of turns. This may also prevent them from finding a mutual accessibility in getting into a second conversation.

- Talk can be Continuous or Discontinuous

Talk is said to be continuous when there is a minimization of gap or overlap for a sequence of TRP. Talk can also be taken up by a speaker or continued by another. Discontinuous talk, however, takes place when there are no exchanges of turns or better still, when a current speaker has stopped, no other speaker starts (or continues) and the ensuing space of non-talk constitutes itself as more than a gap but a lapse.

For instance:

A: He didn't present the facts

(0.5)

A: I mea:::::::n he should have at least cross checked the facts

(0.9)

A: Where did he put the documents?

C: It's in the accountant's office

A: [Get them for me

C: [Should I get them?

A: Yes please

(15.0)

The above example contains intersections where a continuous talk is indicated (by the short pauses, 5 seconds and 9 seconds respectively) and then, the discontinuous talk indicated by the long lapse (15 minutes).

In categorizing silence in a conversation, however, Sacks and his associates use the terms pause, gap and lapse. These are defined as follows: a pause is a silence that occurs inside a speaker's turn. This includes the silence at a Transition Relevance Place (or TRP), when a speaker has been nominated but has not begun to speak. It also includes the silence at a TRP, when a speaker has stopped, but then continues to speak after the TRP. A gap is the silence that occurs at a TRP when the first speaker has not nominated another speaker, but another speaker self-nominates and there is a turn change. A lapse is the silence at a TRP, when the first speaker has stopped speaking, has not nominated a new speaker, and does not continue speaking. No other speaker takes the turn. A lapse is in part defined by the perceived length: thus, a lapse should be perceived as longer than a gap and as a discontinuity in the flow of conversation (Fors, 2011).

- Turn Allocation Techniques are Used

In every conversation, the turn allocation techniques are employed. These techniques determine the speakership in any conversation and more importantly, the interlocutor that takes the floor. Sacks et al (1974) mention the following techniques by which a speaker can determine who speaks next.

-. Addressed Question: Here, the concept of the adjacency pair is very relevant. As earlier said, an Adjacency Pair consist of two parts: the first pair part and the second pair part. The major role of the first pair part is to set constraint on what should be done in a next turn but do not by themselves allocate next turn to some candidate next speaker. They are none the less the basic component for selecting next speaker. The second pair part could best be described as the reaction to the first pair part. For example:

J: Good morning, Francis

F: Good morning to you too

The above example is a typical example of an adjacency pair where the first part determines an obligated response. This type of adjacency pair is called greeting/greeting. Other types are complaint/apology, denial, compliment/acceptance, rejection, challenge/acceptance, rejection, request/grant, rejection, offer/ acceptance, rejection, instruct/receipt etc.

- Another way by which current speaker selects next is by using an address term (or some other device for achieving addressing e.g. gaze direction) to a first pair part. Even when this happens, another speaker who is indirectly addressed can still take up the turn. For example:

D: It's still baffling how the hand chain vanished

(0.5)

A: David, I think those who use gold in this office should be the first [culprit

B: [Excuse me:::

B: I use gold and I didn't steal it

A: I didn't imply that you stole it

B: So, what are you implying?

The second turn in the above conversation contains an address form which is indicative of whom A directs his response i.e. David. B thereafter picks up the turn despite not being addressed directly. Obviously, the utterance made by B is indirectly focused on her or her group.

- One variant of the use of the first pair part to select a next speaker will accomplish a next speaker selection without addressing a particular interlocutor, but will select only a particular other as next speaker. This device is a variant of the question, a type of first pair part –namely repetitions of parts of a prior utterance with question intonation; a variety of 'one word questions' such as what, who, etc and other repair techniques.

Example A: Repetition of parts of a prior utterance with question intonation.

S: Do you like Judo?

T: Ludo is a childish game.

S: I mean do you play the Asian sport of Judo?

Example B: One word question

V: The consultant will be coming

D: When?

V: 5pm

The affiliation of a tag question like 'You Know?', 'Don't you agree?' etc is another possibility. The availability of the 'tag question' as affiliable to a turn's talk is of special importance, for it is the generally available 'exit technique' for a turn. By this, if a

speaker finds no other self-selecting options, he can add a tag questions as a means of escape.

- Another option in allocating a turn is the introduction of particular social identity which Sacks and his associates find rather cumbersome since social identities could apply to more than one speaker. To illustrate this, Sacks et al cite a reference to a member of the other couple. This is rather ambiguous because selection excludes the speaker's partner. Here is another illustration:

> A: The social center is featuring a thriller tonight, we have decided to celebrate Ann's birthday there, would you come?
>
> B: Yes, if we are invited.
>
> (Abdul, 2001:120)

In which case, each speaker belongs to different groups and therefore speaks on behalf of his/her group.

- The basic technique for self-selection is 'starting first'. Thus, the system admits that a 'first starter goes' provision is faced by the restraints of unit types. A unit type that encourages projection will therefore be needed, say a sentence, even though the occurrence of overlaps cannot be avoided.

In the struggle to start first, speakers resort to appositional beginnings e.g. well, but, and, so etc. These set of words satisfy the constraints of starting first. Appositions therefore serve as turn entry devices or pre-starts just as tag questions are exit devices or post completers.

-There are techniques for second starters where all the speakers are competing to be the first to speak. Here, the 'second starter' or subsequent starters would equally be engrossed in the struggle to start. As was noted, the first starter provision for self-selection operates without respect to the type of utterance. Second starter techniques are contingent on the type of utterance they can, from their start reveal themselves to be. It should be noted that prior speakers may be systematically selected to be the next speaker, but then, this selection is accomplished by the recipients' display of understanding and not of prior understanding. Goffman (1976) discusses the possibility of unhearing. For instance:

M: Beatrice is now in charge

T: Who is in charge?

M: Beatrice

Obviously, T has hearing issues. In the other example provided below, the recipient does not have hearing issues yet he lacks an understanding of what the speaker intends.

A: The forecast says it will rain cats and dogs here.

C: Amazing, so it rains cats and dogs in white men's land

A: Mama, it means it will rain heavily here.

- Various Turn Construction Units are Employed for the Production of the Talk that Occupies a Turn

The relationship between Turn-Taking and syntax is exposed under this explanation. Turn constructional units as earlier stated could be lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential. The use of appositional and tag questions to indicate a possible completion point that

will result in a TRP is also viable. It is interesting how through the use of intonation a word like ‘what’ could be differentiated in a one word question and a start of a question sentence.

Illustration:

G: Did you actually do that?

→W: What?

By intonation, it is possible to detect that the ‘What’ in the above utterance is a one word unit when compared to the following:

D: At last we will be celebrating it with a big party

→E: What are you celebrating?

It is important to note that a turn is to be thought of as a turn-in-a-series with the potential of the series being made into a sequence. As a result, turns display gross organizational features that reflect their occurrences in a series. These occurrences provide a basis for what happens in a prior turn, what is happening in that current turn and what will happen in the next turn. This is being referred to as a three part structure which allows a turn to be latched to its surrounding turns.

- Repair Mechanisms Exist for Dealing with Turn-Taking Errors and Violations

In the course of conversations, errors and violations are bound to occur. There is likelihood of interruptions, disruptions, false starts etc (Riley, 1985). All these errors in conversation means interlocutors will have to undertake extra-conversational work better known as repair (Gumperz, 1982). Repair devices are used for correcting errors

and violations in conversations. Goffman (1969) submits that repair of 'facework' is the action taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent by face. Goffman (1963) implies the 'positive value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact'.

To save an individual's face, therefore, repair devices are available. The first available repair takes place when turns are being exchanged. Take for instance the use of 'Me?' in the following example

M: Whad are you doin'
→L: Me?
M: Yeh [you goina go to sleep like that?
L: [Nothing

(Sacks et al, 1974: 723)

The above conversation ensued between a mother and her 11 year old daughter with the situation of a dog sleeping on the bed with them. The issue of the dog in bed with them had been addressed earlier.

The use of interruption markers such as 'Excuse me' and others, false starts, repeats or recycles of parts of a turn overlapped by others- as well as premature stopping (i.e. before possible completion) by parties to simultaneous talk- are repair devices directed to troubles in the organization and distribution of turns to talk.

For example:

F: You don't happen to know where the rest room is, do you?

→R: Excuse me?

F: I want to use the rest room, bathroom, toilet; anywhere to ease myself.

When overlaps occur in conversations, there is usually one of the early starters who upgrade his voice during the occasion of the simultaneous speech. During this upgrading, such interlocutor may increase his amplitude and then lengthen his vowels (Levinson, 1983: 30). Other speakers who fail in gaining the floor during the simultaneous talk can then resort to repair of their damaged turns.

It is important to note the compatibility of Turn-Taking and repair. If there are various interruptions in a talk, it is the repair mechanism that ensures that all the interlocutors inserts their repair to whatever damage has been done to their turns, so much so, that a repair can even spill over the boundaries of a turn into a sequence (Ferencik, 2005). In summary of repair, Schegloff et al. [1977:361-362] observe that there are ways by which organisation of repair is carried out in conversation and that these repair mechanisms are addressed to problems which recur in speaking, learning, and understanding.

The fourteen (14) rules of Turn-Taking as proposed by Sacks et al (1974) are summarised as follows:

- Speaker change occurs or at least recurs
- Overwhelmingly one party speaks at a time
- Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief
- Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions characterised by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.

- Turn order is not fixed, but varies
- Turn size is not fixed, but varies
- Length of conversation is not specified in advance
- What parties say is not specified in advance
- Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance
- Number of parties can vary
- Talk can be continuous or discontinuous
- Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select next (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-selects in starting to talk
- Various 'turn-constructional units' are employed e.g. turn can be projectedly 'one word long' or they can be sentential in length
- Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn taking errors and violations; e.g. if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them must stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble

A critical look at these rules which are representative of the Turn-Taking rules in English conversation reveals that these rules also find expresson in Yorùbá Turn-Taking (Akindele, 1987). For instance, Turn Allocation Techniques (current speaker selects next, next speaker self-selects and current speaker continues) also apply in Yorùbá Turn-Taking. The factors that may necessitate changes to some of these rules could be cultural. This will be explicated in a later section where Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversation is discussed.

2.1.5 Criticisms of the Theory of Turn-Taking

The contribution of Sacks et al (1974) in the Turn-Taking aspect of conversation is unarguably tremendous. With the theory of Turn-Taking, the English conversation is viewed in a more realistic way because the theory focuses on the everyday interactions of participants. The theory tries to capture the 'super' abilities possessed by 'ordinary' and often- taken- for -granted contributions of interlocutors. As spectacular and ingenious as this theory seems, it has several shortcomings.

The most common argument on the theory of Turn-Taking is the ambiguous use of the word 'turn'. Power & Martello (1986) point out that this theory uses turn in reference to the right to speak (turn allocation) and at other times, the utterance which the rightful speaker produces (turn construction). Meierkord (2000) submits that "the central concept, that of the 'turn', has remained only vaguely defined". To proffer solution to the issue of the turn, however, Ford et al (1996) suggest that CA should move away from the segmentation of talk into turns or turn construction units and move towards the analysis of the practices used to form turns and make them interpretable.

The theory of Turn-Taking also fails in showcasing the relevance of non-verbal signals on Turn-Taking. In a situation where the data for the analyses of Turn-Taking is mostly extracted for telephone conversations, such omissions are bound to occur. Thus, non-verbal signals such as gaze, the itchiness of a participant to enter a conversation, etc. are omitted in this theory. Sacks and his associates only succeeded in capturing early starts in conversations. They ignored the evidence suggesting that other methods are equally important e.g. overloudness (Meltzer et al, 1971), gaze aversion (Kendon, 2000) and

gesticulation (Duncan, 1972). The ability of the theory to fully analyze face to face interaction, therefore, can be questioned.

The ability of the theory to define a complete utterance is another defect. The theory states that an utterance in progress at a Transition Relevance Place (TRP) is 'possibly complete' without stating what counts as a possibly complete utterance. It fails to define clearly the difference(s) between a complete and incomplete utterance as well as the factors (verbal or non-verbal behaviours) and features (Prosodic, Syntactic, Semantic or Pragmatic) that determine the completeness of an utterance. Perhaps, a complete utterance should be decided by the listener (Power & Martello, 1986). Even at that, context and the type of message intended by the speaker should still be taken into account.

On the current speaker selects next turn rules, there are exceptions to the 'obligation' that Sacks et al propose. The first pair part of an adjacency pair may not necessarily receive an obligated response from the interlocutor and this may still not violate the supposed norm. For instance:

B: Mary, are there still tomatoes in the store?

T: Are we making tomato sauce this evening? That will be great.

M: (from the store) Will you need garlic and ginger?

B: Yes dear. Thanks.

In the above example, there are series of questions. Only the last one got a verbal response. The previous two never got such responses and yet the conversation still ends up a success.

Some scholars have questioned if these two part pair should not be regarded as a three pair part. Tsui (1989) declares that the three part exchange is a more adequate basic unit of CA when compared to the adjacency pair. For instance,

Y: May I have some chocolates please

G: Sure, why not?

Y: Thanks

Goffman (1976) argues that what appears to be an adjacency pair at first glance actually includes another part in the social interaction, which is often non-verbal and produces the second part of a three-part exchange as a reaction to it. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) study conversation interactions in classrooms and conclude that the basic form of conversational unit included three-part exchanges, namely the teacher asking a question, the pupil responding and the teacher then giving feedback. They also state that when the third part in the exchange was not given, this often had tactical reasoning behind it, e.g. the teacher remaining silent could indicate to the student that the answer is wrong and another response is expected.

2.1.6 Turn-Taking in Yorùbá Conversations

According to Levinson (1983:284), Conversation is "that familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking…." Because of the pervasive, everyday nature of conversing, the scientific study of conversation has proved particularly complex. It has been difficult to obtain acoustically clear, natural samples of spontaneous conversation, especially because of its more informal varieties. Regardless of these complexities, CA strives to capture and analyze the everyday essence of

language. One of these complexities is experienced in Turn-Taking, the process by which people in a conversation decide who is to speak next.

Like conversations in other world languages, the Yorùbá conversation is a reflection of the Yorùbá people's worldview and culture. In other words, the way Yorùbá people use language is greatly influenced by their beliefs, perceptions and ideologies (Ajayi & Balogun, 2014). Thus, daily usage of language is hinged on these cultural factors. Abioye (2011) submits:

> The Yorùbá of southwestern Nigeria have been described as a gregarious people whose communication patterns employ proverbs, folktales, rituals, songs, prayers, pithy sayings and even drumming and singing to enrich the meaning of what they say. This is especially true when speaking their native language…. The Yorùbá often use humour to prevent boredom during long meetings or serious discussions. They believe that when songs, proverbs, folktales, humour, satire, etc are embedded in their messages, such messages are not readily forgotten, particularly since Yorùbá is a tonal language where the tone of an utterance determines the meaning of what is said.

Based on the afore mentioned factors, it may be difficult to discuss Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversations without making reference to certain distinguishing cultural features that affect Turn-Taking in Yorùbá. After all, language and culture are inseparable (Atolagbe, 2012:159).

2.1.6.1 Politeness

Leech (1983) describes politeness as 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. This definition views politeness as a norm which has positive social consequences. The failure to embrace this norm will translate to negative reactions from other participants.

To Watts (2005), politeness is the natural attribute of a 'good' character, the ability to please others through one's external actions and the ideal union between the character of an individual and his external actions. In this definition, Watts tries to differentiate between good and bad character. What the good character possesses is politeness as against probably rudeness which may exude from a bad character.

Huang (2008: 98) provides a more compact definition of politeness. According to him:

> Politeness can also be regarded as a restraint … some kind of social norm imposed by the conventions of the community of which are members. Sometimes we feel we have to be polite in order to show that we are civilized and cultivated to such an extent that we know what to do to live up to the conventionally recognized social standards so that we will not be accused of being rude or ill-mannered. In order to be polite, we have to be tolerant. Under certain circumstances, to meet certain standards, we have to refrain from doing certain things which we would readily do in private.

The politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) considers politeness as a universal concept. They also try to distinguish between positive politeness and negative politeness. Unfortunately, whatever attitude is considered polite is still decided by the society to which one belongs.

To the Yorùbá people, politeness is greatly reflected in an individual's interaction with other members of the society. So much so that one can determine if a member of the community has 'home training' by the kinds of utterances he makes and how he makes them. Consequently, a man's success in life is believed to be greatly affected by his interactions and eventually his relationship with the people around him (Babatunde, 1992:236-237).

To have home training in the Yorùbá parlance will connote that a child does not speak unless spoken to. Automatically this means that a child cannot self-select or take the initial turn in any conversation that involves him and someone much older than him. Even when spoken to, there is limit to the amount of utterances a younger interlocutor can make in a turn. And when the younger party does not get any back channel cues, it is indicated that he needs to surrender the floor to another speaker. Hitherto, Fitch (2004) submits that children respect more Turn-Taking rules than adults. This will be further explained in a later section.

Although an issue of serious controversy, a woman who dominates the Turn-Taking process while her husband or a much elderly man engages her in a conversation, especially in an outdoor setting, is said to lack home training (Familusi, 2012). Due to the patriarchal nature of the Yorùbá society, a woman is expected to 'politely' listen and wait for cues before she can speak. Otherwise, she has to seek permission to voice her opinions.

Over all, the moral values of the Yorùbá people are reflected in their conversation. Ogunade (2006) therefore opines:

> This is one quality that the Yorùbá demonstrate so much, that they are sometimes misinterpreted as cowards. The Yorùbá children, in particular are raised and trained to have respect for people, especially elders. The younger siblings do not call their elder siblings by name. Doing this is tantamount to dis-respect. It is also common to see children or younger people prostrating (if a boy) or kneeling (if a girl) whenever they greet elders. The younger person will call an elder sibling "brother" Ayo or Segun or whatever the name of the fellow (if a male), and "sister" or "anti" Sade or Titi or whatever name (if a female).

In the same vein, wives are forbidden to call their husband's relations or children born into the extended family before their marriage by name. The wives' conversation with

these groups of people is usually dominated by appellations or pet names. For example, pet names like *bàbá ọkọ mi* (my husband's father), *ìyá dúdú* (dark woman) etc, are used to avoid referring to this people by their names (Ajayi & Balogun, 2014:82).

It is also a form of politeness for a younger interlocutor to apply certain non-linguistic gestures when conversing with an older interlocutor. For instance, a child is not expected to stare at an adult when being spoken to. Also, it could be termed rudeness when a child extends a hand shake to an older interlocutor. Only an older party can enjoy such privileges during conversations.

As morally outstanding the Yorùbá race seems, Ibrahim (2012) points out a kind of negativity in Yorùbá politeness. While it is true that a younger interlocutor is not expected to be in anyway rude to an elder, insults can still be tactically passed to the older party. This Ibrahim (2012) calls 'Politeness on Record'. For Instance, *'Aà lé búu yín, ẹ̀yin náà nìyá wa'* (we cannot insult you because you are a mother to us). Although the utterance contains an element of rudeness, it is subtly uttered to downplay the insult contained therein.

2.1.6.2 Honorific Pronoun

One form of linguistic politeness that must attract attention is the use of honorific pronouns by the Yorùbá interlocutors. If a Turn-Taking process has to be successful in a typical Yorùbá conversation, then the use of honorific pronouns must be incorporated. This feature of the Yorùbá language entails the use of plural pronouns for singular entities. While this feature is contained in the standard Yorùbá dialect and virtually all

the other dialects, the Ondo, Owo and Oyi dialects have this feature significantly missing (Abiodun, 1992).

Ajayi & Balogun (2014) identify four types of honorific pronouns in Yorùbá conversations. They are Ẹ^{h} (You), Yín^{h} (Yours), Wọ́n^{h} (He/She), and Wọn^{h} (His/Hers, Him/Her). Ẹyin (You), and Àwọn (He/She) are also pronouns that are used to indicate respect for an older party. These are used in the following examples:

1. *Ṣé ẹ ti rí ago náà?* (Have you seen the watch?)
2. *Níbo ni ilé yín wà?* (Where is your house located)
3. *Wọ́n ti lọ.* (He/She has gone)
4. *Ìwá wọ́n dára*. (He/She's character is pleasant.
5. *Eyin ni o fi jo.* (He takes after you)
6. *Àwọn ló so bẹ́ẹ̀.* (He/She said so)

Honorific pronouns are used to show a sign of respect and honour for an older or respected interlocutor. At other times, it could be used in some settings to "show majesty, prowess, strength, wealth, influence, or very high sense of appreciation" (Alo, 2010). The lack of honorific pronouns in any Yorùbá conversation might produce negative results especially with regards to Transition Relevance Places and Adjacency Pairs. For instance:

T: *Ṣé o bámi rí aṣo mi?* (Did you see my dress?)

(0.7)

T: *Jọ̀wọ́, mò ńwá aṣo funfun mi*. (I am looking for white dress please)

(0.5)

T: *O ti ẹ̀ lè dá mi lóhùn* (You are not answering)

G: *Ṣé mò ńse ẹgbẹ́ ẹ ni?* (Are we mates?)

The first speaker indicates a challenge of searching for her dress but her inability to employ the use of an honorific pronoun for the obviously older listener meets a brick wall. At other times, non-usage of honorific pronouns might not even attract the obligated second pair parts in adjacency pairs.

2.1.6.3 Greeting

The concepts of Politeness and Greeting are closely related in a Yorùbá conversation. It is believed that when an interlocutor is polite, he should also express his politeness through greeting. It will be totally absurd and rude to commence a Yorùbá conversation without at least using a form of greeting even in interactions with total strangers.

Akindele (1990) defines greeting as "the exchange of expressions, pleasantries or good wishes between two people interacting for the purpose of fulfilling social obligations or for the purposes of establishing interpersonal relationships". It may also be in order to state that greeting can be an exchange of pleasantries between more than two people for the purpose of social interaction.

Schleicher (2010) groups the numerous greetings in Yorùbá conversation into three categories:

1. Greetings based on times, seasons, and circumstances
2. Greetings based on traditional occupation or religion
3. Situational Greetings: (a) greetings for a pregnant woman (b)greetings for the new mother and baby (c) greetings for the children of an older person that dies.

An important question will however be whether this categorisation has done enough justice to the countless Yorùbá greetings that exist. The application of these greetings in various age situations could also be questioned since offering a particular kind of greeting to different age groups may be counted for rudeness.

The notoriety of the Yorùbá people in greeting cannot escape notice. In fact, Yorùbá greetings abound at the opening, middle and closing of most conversations so much so that these greetings affect the Turn-Taking process. For example, in a gathering where someone says *Ẹ kú ìkàlẹ̀* (a form of greeting to salute everyone present) and then proceeds to say *Asì kú ìpàdé àná* (referring to the meeting held yesterday). Only the person(s) present at the previous day's meeting has the right to take the next turn. Thus current speaker selects next technique is carried out through the use of a form of greeting.

2.1.6.4 Proverbs

Although the 'modernized' Yorùbá is infiltrated with a lot of code mixing, code switching, and pidgin, the usage of proverbs is an appreciated practice in Yorùbá conversations. As beautiful an oral tradition proverbs seem, they are difficult to define because of their culture specific traits, Fakoya (2006) submits that proverbs to the Yorùbá people are used as a means of achieving clarity and conciseness in discourse. They constitute a powerful rhetorical device for the shaping of moral consciousness, opinions, and beliefs (Akporobaro & Emovon, 1994). Thus when Yorùbá people say, *"Òwe l'eṣin ọ̀rọ̀, bí ọ̀rọ̀ bá sọnù, òwe l'afi nwa"*, they mean a proverb is the horse which carries a subject under discussion along; if a subject under discussion goes astray, a

proverb is used to track it. This shows that in every statement made to reflect decisions taken by Yorùbá people, proverbs are vehicles used in driving home their points. Usually, proverbs in Yorùbá conversations are metaphoric utterances which should not be taken at the mere surface level because of the hidden meaning embedded in them.

Proverbs in Yorùbá Turn-Taking process perform very unique roles. They could appear at the beginning, middle or end of a conversation. They work effectively as Turn Allocation Techniques as they could be used to start turns, give turns, receive turns and 'snatch' turns. They also serve as good repair mechanisms.

For starting turns:

→N: *Ọ̀pẹ̀rẹ̀kẹ́tẹ̀ ńdàgbà, inú adámọ̀ ńbàjẹ́, a di baba tán inú ńbí wọn*

Palm tree *cont* grow up, inside adam *cont* spoil, we turn father inside *cont* agree them

They are not happy about my prosperity

T: *Awọ́n wo nì yẹn o? Àbí yẹn ni e káàárọ̀ tiyín?*

Them who are that *emph*, Or that is your good morning yours.

Who are you referring to? Is that your way of saying good morning?

For giving turns:

→T: *Ó yẹ kí wọ́n ti máa bawí, díè díè nimú ẹlẹ́dẹ̀ ńwọnú ogbà.*

It right for them to *cont* correct him, little little nose pig *cont* enter yard

They should have been correcting him before he became delinquent

W: *Wọn kúkú lè ní ìjọba ló bàájẹ́*

They *emph* will say government did spoil him

They may even blame his delinquency on the government.

For receiving turns:

M: *Mi ò tí ẹ́ rántí pé mo sọfun*

I neg did remember that I tell him

I didn't remember I told her

→B: *Gbogbo aṣo kọ́ làá sá lóòrùn, ẹ sóra*

All cloth *neg* spread in sun, watch body

Be careful not to reveal all your secrets.

For snatching turns:

D: *Àbíkẹ́ ò sí níbẹ̀ nígbàtí wọ́n jalè*

Abike was not there when they steal

Abike was not part of the robbery

→S: [*Ìtàkùn t'óso mọ́ ìrókò, ló kọ́gbé báa*

[Creeping plant attach to iroko cause wound to it

[The creeping plant on the iroko is the cause of the cutlass wound

G*:[Bóyá, wọ́n*

[Maybe, they

S: *Ẹgbẹ́kẹ́gbẹ́ ló faa*

Bad company is cause

That's the consequence of bad company

G: *Wọ́n lè parọ́ mọ*

They may lie against her

It might be a set up

For repairs:

J: *Oga ise yi o rorun*

Boss, work this *neg* easy

Boss, this job is tasking

K: *Kiloso?*

What did you say?

→J: *Obo nlagun, irun ara e ni o je kaa mo*

Monkey *cont* sweat, hair body his *neg* allow us to know

It's unfortunate you can't see how hard I am working

2.1.6.5 Kinship Terms

Some scholars have argued that the use of kinship terms is an important feature that influences Yorùbá conversations and possibly, Turn-Taking. It may not be a difficult task for a typical Yorùbá speaker to apportion kinship expressions to individuals he does not even share blood relations with (Oyetade, 1995; Bamiro, 2015). Eades (1980:51) submits thus:

> The basic kin terms are limited in number: baba, 'father', iya 'mother', egbon 'senior sibling', aburo, 'junior sibling', oko 'husband', aya (or iyawo) 'wife', ana 'affine', omo 'child'. These terms can be used in combination to specify relationships more precisely, and are regularly used in a classificatory sense to include distant kin, or even non-kin with whom an indicidual has quasi-kinship relations. English kin terms have also been borrowed: mama, dadi, broad ('senior brother') and anti (derived from 'aunt' meaning 'senior sister') are all widely used.

Yorùbá kinship terms might seem irrelevant when discussing the topic of Turn-Taking but when the issue of selecting next speaker arises in a multilogue, the importance is exposed especially in a society where politeness is highly appreciated like the Yorùbá society. The use of kinship terms when selecting the next speaker allows the one holding the floor to hand over the floor without necessarily using address forms like names, appellations, titles etc.

2.1.6.6 Prayer

The notion of prayer to the Yorùbá people is a very important one. Prayers are attached to the supernatural concept of 'ase' which allows natural beings to make pronouncements like the deities. It is believed that Olodumare, the supreme deity of the Yorùbá people has equipped not just individuals but also other inanimate objects this right to make things happen and produce change (Adegbite, 1993).

Because the Yorùbá people understand the power behind prayers, prayers also play very important roles in Yorùbá Turn-Taking. For example, prayers could be used to receive turns.

A: *Bawo lo se ri oro naa?*
How do you see word that?
'How do you see the issue?'
→D: Ki Olorun gba wa o.
That God take us *emp*
God should deliver us.

At other times, prayers are used to hand over turns. As seen in the example below:

S: *Bo seri niyen. A o ni se ori buruku*
That how it is. We neg do head bad
'That's how it is. We won't get ill luck'.
G: *E rora o.*
You easy o
'Take care'

Prayers could also be used to signal that the end of a conversation.

2.1.7Turn-Taking Rules in Yorùbá Conversations

The discussion on Turn-Taking rules in Yorùbá conversations is predicated on the basic features of the conversation which are elucidated above. It is virtually impossible to address how turns are been shared among Yorùbá interlocutors without acknowledging the existence and influence of these features in the previous sessions. Albeit, Turn-Taking rules in Yorùbá conversations will be explicated under the following headings: Turn Allocation Component, Interruption/Overlapping, Adjacency Pairs, Back Channel Cues, Repair, Silence and Non-Verbal Communication.

2.1.7.1 Turn Allocation Component/Techniques

The Turn Allocation Component (henceforth TAC) describes how participants organize their interaction by distributing turns to speakers. In simple terms, a turn is "everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over" (Stenstrom, 2014:4). In discussing TAC, therefore, reference will be made to the Turn Construction Unit (henceforth TUC), Transition Relevance Place (henceforth TRP and Turn Allocation Techniques which form the basic rules governing turn construction.

TUCs can be explained in the following terms (Sacks et al 1974, Brockmeyer & Smieja 2006):

- TCUs are turns at talk, e.g. in sentences, clauses, single words or phrases.

- TCUs have the property of projectability: it is possible for participants to project, in the course of a TCU, what sort of unit it is and at what point it is likely to end.

- TCUs have transition-relevance places (TRPs) at their boundaries: at the end of each TCU there is the possibility for legitimate transition between speakers.

As stated above, TRPs usually mark the end of a TCU. Hence, TRPs are regarded as ‘possible completion points‘ of contructions (Sacks et al 1974:721). They may also be said to be junctures that signify the end of a turn. To understand a TRP, interlocutors must be equipped with the knowledge of the subject discussed, the prosodic and grammatical structures of the interaction as well as non verbal behaviours which includes gaze and eye contacts (Ibrahim, 2012)

Three basic rules are used as techniques for allocating turns in English after which they could reoccur. Brockmeyer & Smieja (2006) present them simply as:

a) current speaker selects next speaker

b) next speaker self-selects

c) current speaker continues

Turn Allocation Components/Techniques in Yorùbá Turn-Taking is similar to that of English. TCUs in Yorùbá could be sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical. A noticeable difference will be where the TRP occurs. In Yorùbá conversations, turns are pre-allocated based on the ages of the interlocutors. Older interlocutors speak without possible interruptions, leaving the younger interlocutors few chances of holding the floor. The older interlocutors are however at the liberty of interrupting younger interlocutors at will (Olutayo, 2013).

This is also the situation when the interaction is influenced by the social or occupational status of one of the interlocutors. To this end, Adegbite (1991, 1995) illustrates how Turn-Taking between an herbalist and his client reflects the exalted position of the herbalist. He observes:

> A situation of uneven power and social status between the participants leave the control of strategic interaction in the hands of the herbalists who dominates Turn-Taking routines to his or her own advantage and sets the pace of the dialogue.
>
> (Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006)

Invariably, the allocation technique/rules for English conversations presented by Sacks et al (1974) may apply to Yorùbá conversations where interlocutors have no age or status differentials. Unfortunately, these rules do not augur well when discussing other situations.

2.1.7.2 Interruption/ Overlapping

According to West & Zimmerman (1983), interruptions are violations of a speaker's turn at talk. Technically, they describe interruption as an incursion initiated more than two syllables away from the initial or terminal boundary of a unit type. James & Clarke (1993) submit that interruption happens when one person initiates talk when another person is already talking. An idealized schema for interruption is provided by Drummond (1989:150).

Speaker A:---------- [-------

Speaker B: [----------

Time: 1 2 3 4

Figure 2.1 Idealized Schema for Interruption

According to the above model, speaker A commences talk at Time 1. An interruption by speaker B occurs at Time 2. Speaker A relinquishes his turn to speaker B at Time 3. Speaker B thereafter completes the turn at Time 4.

West and Zimmerman (1983) explain an overlap as an instance of simultaneous speech where a speaker other than the current speaker begins to speak at, or very close to the Transition Relevance Place (TRP) in a current speaker's utterance. Schegloff (1973) submits this distinction between interruptions and overlaps:

> By overlap we mean talk by more than one speaker at a time involving a second one speaking while a first was already speaking, and that the second one has projected his talk to begin at a possible completion point of the prior speaker's talk. If that's apparently the case, if for example, his start is in the environment of what could be have been a completion point of the prior speaker's turn, then we speak of an overlap. If it's projected to begin in the middle of a point that is in no way a possible completion point for the turn, then we speak of it as an interruption.

In simpler terms, it is the proximity to a legitimate point of speaker alternation that leads to distinguish overlaps from interruptions.

The occurrence of an interruption or an overlap in a Yorùbá conversation is solely dependent on the age and the relationship that exists between the interlocutors. The topic being discussed also determines if there will be likelihood of interruptions or overlaps. While there may still be occurrences of overlaps due to eagerness to contribute in a talk, a younger interlocutor may have to seek permission before he interrupts an older

participant's turn or apologize for the interruption. For instance: a conversation between an elderly man in his seventies and his younger son-in-law.

B: *A bèrè bèrè títí ṣùgbọ́n wọn ò dáwa lóhùn = wọ́n ti é sope:::*

We ask ask for long but they neg answer us =they *pf emp* say

We kept making enquiries but got no response = They said

D: = *E ma binu sa o,*

= you don't be angry sir *emph*

= Excuse me sir

D: *Se alaga le loba ni?*

Q chairman you go meet?

Did you meet the chairman?

B: *Alaga ati akowe nii:::*

Chairman and secretary *emph*

It's the chairman and the secretary

The portion where the younger man utters "Excuse me sir" is not only indicative of a question (younger interlocutors may not freely question an adult) but it also indicates the emergence of an overlapping turn which will be eventually overlooked by an older interlocutor and not counted for rudeness. As such, younger interlocutors target the Transition Relevance Place (TRP) before they make their contributions.

Interruptions and overlaps are common place in conversations involving interlocutors who belong to the same age group or who relate on friendship/love basis. Interlocutors in these kinds of conversation are free to express themselves, jump in and out of

conversations to the extent that a third party can even intrude even when his contribution is not requested.

2.1.7.3 Adjacency Pairs

An adjacency pair is a unit of conversation that contains an exchange of one turn each by two speakers. The turns are functionally related to each other in such a fashion that the first turn requires a certain type or range of types of second turn. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) state that an adjacency pair has these features:

> 1. two utterance length
> 2. adjacent positioning of the component utterances
> 3. different speakers producing each utterance
> 4. relative ordering of parts i.e. first pair parts precede second pair parts
> 5. discriminative relations i.e. the pair type of which a first pair part is a member is relevant to the selection among second pair parts
>
> (pp.295-6)

The second pair part is said to be either preferred or dispreferred. Eggins and Slade (1997) note that preferred responses tend to be shorter and linguistically simpler than dispreferred responses. They suggest that this is because preferred responses are usually supportive, compliant and orientate towards closure. While dispreferred responses are generally longer as respondents are more likely to want to justify or explain themselves. McCarthy (1991) observes another characteristic of dispreferred responses is that they tend to require some sort of linguistic ‘softener’. Linguistic softeners are elements of

informal but polite conversations that are usually used to smooth over potentially embarrassing situations. They help people 'save face' in responses and are often necessary for speakers not to appear impolite or rude. Cook (1989) also points out that in an adjacency pair any response that is not a preferred or dispreferred could be interpreted as rudeness or a lack of attention.

The functionality of Adjacency Pairs (AP) in Yorùbá conversation is similar to those in English conversations. AP in Yorùbá conversations like in English also consist of a two part component which are the First Pair Part (FPP) and the Second Pair Part (SPP). Upon the production of a FPP, the next speaker is obligated to produce a SPP. Failure to supply a SPP is regarded as rudeness or better still, 'lack of home training' since the act of courteous conversation is expected to be learnt at home.

AP in Yorùbá conversation could also be in form of question/answer, greeting/greeting, invitation/acceptance or decline, complaint/denial or request/grant, amongst others (Sacks et al, 1974). The most common form of AP in Yorùbá happens to be the greeting/greeting pair which is quite abundant due to the many kinds of greetings available in the Yorùbá language. This pair according to Schmidt (1983:131) is a "closed set formulae" which are "easily learnt". On AP in Yorùbá conversations, Ajayi & Balogun (2014) identifies the greeting-request pair in the language. For example:

F: *Ẹ káàsán*
You good afternoon
Good Afternoon
B: *Ẹ káàsán, níbo ló dà?*

You good afternoon, where to

Good Afternoon, where are you going?

A noticeable factor in Yorùbá AP greeting is the question of who should offer the FFP in this pair. As a result, age, occupation, social status and gender may play significant roles in determining who is expected to offer a greeting first. For example, Odebunmi (2013) using doctor – client relationship in Yorùbá conversations explicates how a doctor's occupation may relieve him the duty of offering a FPP to his patients.

Whichever kind of AP is employed, the underlining factor should be politeness so much so that even when, for example, an invitation is made, the other party politely rejects or declines. However, there are exceptions to the operations of AP in Yorùbá conversation especially when the interaction occurs between older and younger interlocutors. In situations like these, the younger interlocutor may not necessarily response but instead supplies non-verbal signs which may be accompanied by back channel expressions. The following conversation ensued between a mother and her child. The child is being questioned for stealing.

G: *O ti fe maa jale?*

You *pf* love to steal

You have started stealing?

D: (shakes head)

G: *uhm! O fe lo s'ewon?*

Uhm! You love go to jail?

You want to go to jail?

(0.5)

D: (shakes head)

G: *Emi o bi omo ole o. Iwo l'omo ibi ti o ti r'ole.*

I *neg* born son thief *emph*. You know where *pf* you *pf* find thief

I did not raise a thief. Don't know where you picked that habit.

The above illustration is an example of how AP does not necessarily receive the obligated SPP in a Yorùbá conversation. A child's supply of an SPP will translate to lack of remorse and ultimately rudeness on the part of his mother who is a much older interlocutor. A SPP may however be supplied if the mother repeats her questions to indicate the request for a definite answer.

2.1.7.4 Back Channel Communication

The scholarly argument as to whether some back channel cues should be accorded the status of a complete Turn Construction Unit (TCU) is an inconclusive one (Oreström, 1983). Regardless of this argument, one undeniable fact is that back channel communications contribute immensely to Turn-Taking in conversations as they may serve as continuers (e.g. mm, yeah) when they appear alone. They may also serve alignment and agreement purposes in Turn-Taking. Although their contribution is dependent on a pragmatic knowledge shared by the interlocutors, they serve as proof of the existence of engaged listenership.

Yngve (1970) first employed the term 'back channel' and was later adopted by Duncan and Fiske (1977: 201–202) to explain utterances such as 'uh', 'huh','yeah', etc, but they included completions by a recipient of sentences begun by another, requests for clarification, brief restatement of something just said by another and head nods and shakes (Olateju& Yusuf, 2006).According to Schegloff (1982:81), Back channel

communications are continuers which are indicative of an understanding of the state of talk. Schriffrin (1982) refers to this type of communication as discourse markers which may be used to signal changes in the conversation topic and indicate participants' interest in a conversation. Examples of back channel communications in English are 'yes', 'ok', 'uh', 'oh', 'really', 'wow' etc.

To illustrate the relevance of back channel communication to Turn-Taking, Stenstrom (1994) in Stubbe (1998) submits that "well" serves various functions in conversation. These function are however dependent on the context and its position in the utterance. The placement of "well" at the beginning of a turn serves as a response marker to what has gone before. Also, "now" at the beginning of a turn is used as a transition marker, introducing a new topic and changing the direction of the conversation. In the case of automated dialogues, where the application may be very specific, "now" can be used to move from one part of the dialogue to another.

Back channel cues are abundant in Yorùbá conversations. Like their counterparts in English conversations, they are viewed in terms of the context in which they appear. Their uniqueness in Yorùbá conversations nevertheless lies in the intonation with which they are spoken. Yorùbá as a tonal language attributes different meanings to a particular word spelt the same way but pronounced differently by means of a tonal system. The Yorùbá language has three distinct tones: the high tone (marked by an acute accent in written Yorùbá), the mid tone (not usually marked), and the low tone (marked by a grave accent). For instance:

Example 1 (A conversation between a man and his grandson)

G: *Baba baba mi lo koko darapo mo awon ologun oyinbo*

Father father mine first join with them soldier whiteman

My grandfather was the first to join foreign soldiers.

→T: *Ooo, a se ooto ni iyagba so*

Ooo, so truth is old mother say

Ooo, so Grandma was right

Example 2 (A conversation between a man and his wife)

.H: *Lati oni lo, mi o fe ri e nile Mama Simbi*

From today go, I neg love see you in house Mama Simbi

Henceforth, I forbid you to visit Mama Simbi

→O: *Ooo, mo ti gbo alase orun*

Ooo, I pf hear commander of heaven

Ooo, I hear you, commander of the heavens

Both Turn-Taking sequences contain 'ooo' but with different intonations. This is indicated by the tonal marks. The first usage signifies a kind of acknowledgement with an element of surprise while the second contains a kind of agreement but with a sarcastic twist.

Back channel cues in Yorùbá conversations are not limited to non- verbal items like *Ooo, An-han, Uun, Huuuun, O da,Ee-en*, *Hun-un.* They also include verbal items like *Akiika* which is mostly used among older interlocutors in a formal setting. The use of this word acknowledges and endorses a segment of the previous turn. It is also used ironically among younger interlocutors to mimic the elders or playfully tease a young interlocutor that tries to mimic elders (Alo, 2010).

2.1.7.5 Silence

The notion of silence in Turn-Taking deals with intervals within conversations. Intervals can occur within the utterance of a speaker (i.e. pauses), between speakers (i.e. gaps) or speaker changes (overlaps). For clarity, Cassell and Tversky (2005) refer to gaps and lapses as inter- turn silence while they call pauses intra-turn silence. Although Turn-Taking in conversations is said to be precise so much so that speakers tend to start with no gap and no overlap in syntactically predictable boundaries (Sacks et al. 1974, Levinson 1983), the occurrence of silence in conversations may prove otherwise (Heldner & Edlund, 2010).

In English conversations, speakers do not wait for pauses to begin their turn but avoid as much as possible gaps and overlaps. To achieve this they use Grammar, Prosody, and Pragmatics to project when they can start a next turn, suggesting that Turn-Taking is specifically organized to achieve this close timing (Stivers et al., 2009). This may not be case in a Yorùbá conversation as there are instances where silence occurs and is appreciated. For instance, in a situation where a superior questions a subordinate, the silence could be a pause, a gap or even an overlap. This is because the Yorùbá culture does not equip the subordinate with such conversational rights. This type of silence is best regarded as attributive silence because it is intended to convey a meaning. In this case, it conveys remorse on the part of the subordinate.

2.1.7.6 Repair

A conversation in any language should be a smooth activity guided by the rules of Turn-Taking. Unfortunately, this is not always achievable as there may arise conversational

'trouble' that will demand that the speaker revise, rectify, reconstruct or repair his utterances. The process of repair in conversation is one that works on errors, violations and troubles made in the process of interaction. Schegloff et al. (1977) define repair as dealing with "recurrent problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding".

In initiating repair of an interlocutor's utterance, conversationalists indicate the presence of a problem. But in addition, they may also locate it more precisely in the previous turn, or present a diagnosis of what the source of the problem is, for instance, as hearing or understanding. This is apparent in the following example:

A: I have a: – cousin teaches there.

D: Where.

A: Uh:, Columbia.

→D: Columbia?

A: Uh huh.

→D: You mean Manhattan?

A: No. Uh big university. Isn't that in Columbia?

D: Oh in Columbia.

A: Yeah.

(Schegloff et al., 1977: 369)

The repair initiations in turn 4 and 6 both indicate that there is a problem with the utterance in turn 3. However, they present a different diagnosis of the problem. The repeat construes it as a problem identifying what was said and suggests a remedy by presenting a candidate hearing. The second initiation presents a candidate correction and

thus construes the problem as a potential "misspeaking" by the interlocutor. The first places the responsibility for the problem on the repair initiator himself, not having heard what the other said, whereas the second places the "blame" on the interlocutor (cf. Robinson& Stivers, 2006). The repair initiator thus tries the most "innocuous" solution first, and only when this fails to solve the problem, tries the more socially sensitive solution.

Schegloff et al. (1977) propose two broad types of repair. The first is self-repair which may arise from self-initiation or other-initiation. They refer to the second type as other-repair. This can arise from self-initiation or other initiation. They contend that although self-initiation and other-initiation of repair in conversation are of different types, nevertheless, they are not independent possibilities. Inother words, the two are related and their relatedness is organised in the sense that they operate on the same domains and that their respective domains can be characterized not only as distinct but as ordered relative to each other (Schegloff et al., 1977:370).

To this end, self-repair is a type of repair done by the speaker without prompting or repair done by the speaker of the problem. For example:

N: She was givin me a:ll the people that

→ were go:ne this yea:r I mean this

→ quarter y' *II* know

J: Yeah

(Schegloff et al., 1977:364)

\

Other-repair can be considered as repair done by another party or repair after prompting. For instance:

A: Have you ever tried a clinic?
→ B: What?
A: Have you ever tried a clinic?

(Schegloff et al., 1977:367)

Akindele (1991) identifies these two types of repair in Yorùbá conversations. He, however, made the following additions to self-repair and other-repairs.

1. Self-repair which issues from self-initiation:

K: Nje o ti ri ohun ti o nwa?

Q you Pf find thing that you looking for?

'Have you found what you have been looking for?'

L: Nko ti ri i

I-neg Pf find it

'I haven't found it'.

→K: Se o ti rii ewu e, eem se o ti

Q you Pf see shirt your eem Q you Pf

Have you found the shirt..your eem…have you

→* eem se o ti rii sokoto e to nso nu?

your erm Q you Pf see trousers your which be lose

'your erm you find your lost pair of trousers?'

L: Beeni o se.

Yes, you thank

'Yes thank you'.

(Akindele, 1991:175)

The → sign is used to indicate the trouble source while the →* sign points to the repair done. Turn 3 in the above example happens to be the trouble source where the interlocutor utters *'ewu'* shirt but quickly corrects himself and says *'sokoto'* trousers.

2. Self-repair which issues from other initiations.

B: Nje o ti ri Ayo lo'ni?

have you Pf see Ayo today?

'Have you seen Ayo today?'

F: Rara

no

No

→B: Ore mi yii fe je gbese

friend my this want to eat debt

'My frend wants to run into debt'

→*F: Rara, Ayo fe ku

no, Ayo wants death

'No Ayo wants to die'

(Akindele, 1991:175)

3. Other-repair which issues from self-initiation

D: *Lati igbati a ti de nwa awon omode yen kiri ogba*

from time that we Pf come looking for they children those about garden

'Since we came we've been looking for those children in the garden'

R: *Beeni, a kosi ti ri won*

yes, we Neg Pf find them

'Yes, we've not found them'

D: *A si ti nwaa yin kiri lati igba yen*

We also Pf looking for you about from time that

'We've been looking for you since'

→R: *Hun uh, a nse re ki*

Mhun un we doing playing about

'We've been playing around'

→*D: *Uh huh, a nse ranu kiri lataaro ni*

Uh huh, we doing playing about form morning it is.

'We were just messing around since morning'.

(Akindele, 1991:177)

In the above example, the error occurs in turn 4 and a correction is supplied by another in turn 5. The correction, of course, shows elements of sarcasm.

Repairs can occur at different points in a conversation (Akindele 1991). It could take place in the same turn where the error occurs. For example:

→G: *Aso funfun yen wa l'ori tabili, rara, lori apo dudu baba*

cloth white that is on table, no, on sack black baba

'The white cloth is on the table, no, on baba's black sack'.

F*: E je ki n mu wa*

you let me bring come

'Let me go get it

Occurrence at Transition Relevance Place (TRP) where another speaker is expected to take over but the takeover is prevented by the repair.

T: *Ti e bari bi won se se omokunrin naa, hmmm, ti e bari bi won se luu*

if you see as they Pf do child man that, hmmm, if you see how they Pf beat him

'If you see how that young man was tortured, hmmm, if you see as he was beaten'.

→*Won lu won fee paku*

they beat they almost killed him

'They beat him to the extent that they almost killed him'

B: *Lori esun kekere yen ?*

on crime small that

'Over that little crime?'

Occurrence at third turn to the trouble source

S: *Olori oko naa yoo si gba eto tire*

boss farm the enrich also take share his

'The boss will take his own share.'

N: *Mun whm.*

'Uh huh.'

→S: *Mo ni, ohun ti mo nso ni pe yoo gba owo tire*

i say thing that I say is that he will take money his

'I said, the point I'm making is that he will take his own share of the money.'

N: *Ooto ni.*

truth is

'That's true.'

(Akindele 1991:179)

2.1.7.7 Non-Verbal Communication

Although Sacks at al. (1974) did not receive many accolades for not providing enough evidence for non-verbal communication in the theory of Turn-Taking, this does not rule out the existence as well as the importance of non-verbal cues in Turn-Taking. Non-verbal communication is the process of using wordless messages to generate meaning. Researchers show that at the commencement of speech, body movement also follows. Cook (1989) emphasises the use of gaze as a form of nonverbal communication and a useful tool in next speaker selection process. On the role of non-verbal communication in Turn-Taking, Talley (2012) submits:

> There are also Turn-Taking indicators such as eye gazing. When the speaker is ready to yield his/her turn, s/he will look at the other person to indicate to them to take the turn. Many times eye gazing indicates who will be the next speaker but another indication is also head turning. In some cases, head turning is a more obvious signal of who will speak next. When someone wants to speak, s/he will turn his or her whole head towards the speaker as an indication that they want a turn. To reject a turn, a person would look away or at another person—not the speaker. As a professional speaker, I have seen this time and time again. If I ask my audience a question and seek a response, I look towards different audience members. Those who don't want to answer either look away from my gaze or look down.

This submission does not only apply to English conversation alone, it also applies to Yorùbá conversation where body gestures contribute to the process of Turn-Taking. For instance, the refusal of an interlocutor to turn to another speaker who seems to be making an overlapping utterance is a sure signal that such an interlocutor is not willing to give up the floor. In fact, body language is said to speak volumes more the actual utterance made by an individual. This is to show the extent to which non-verbal

communication goes in human conversation and of course, acceptance within the society.

2.2 Review of Previous Studies on Turn-Taking

As far as CA is concerned, Turn-Taking is the binding force in any conversation. Before "A Simplest Systematics for the Organisation of Turn-Taking in Conversation" was compiled by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in 1974, no single literature documented what factors are responsible for Turn-Taking and more important, how it is that interlocutors know when to speak in English conversation. Obviously, Sacks et al can take credit for such terms as turn allocation, adjacency pair, the three major rules of Turn-Taking etc. Thus, these three scholars submit:

> First, the existence of organized Turn-Taking is something that the data of conversation have made increasingly plain. It has become obvious that, overwhelmingly, one party speaks at a time, though speakers change, and though the size of turns and ordering of turns vary; that transitions are finely coordinated; that techniques are used for allocating turns, whose characterization would be part of any model for describing some Turn-Taking materials; and that there are techniques for the construction of utterances relevant to their turn status, which bear on the coordination of transfer and the allocation of speakership.
>
> (1974: 699)

This definition succeeds in capturing the very essence of Turn-Taking in any conversation. Of interest is the turn allocation technique that this explanation entails. It is surprising, however, that prior to this definition Sacks and his associates draw several inferences and examples of Turn-Taking from the fields of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology. None of these illustrations have anything to do with language whatsoever. While some researchers argue that Turn-Taking is not an entirely new

concept in language use and human behavioural tendencies, others acknowledge how successful they are in applying Turn-Taking to language. Not only that, their work displays a sustainable evidence to prove that Turn-Taking in conversation is a researchable area of language study.

As overwhelming as this language research turns out to be, it's rather unfortunate that Turn-Taking itself cannot be merely learnt on the pages of a language book but rather from the society into which one grows. It is the society that determines, for example, how long a turn should be, where the next Transition Relevance Place should occur etc. To a second language learner of the English language, this means that he may need an actual scenario to practice what he has learnt about Turn-Taking.

The greatest flaw of this research is the neglect of the possibility that Turn-Taking also exists in other languages apart from English and that Turn-Taking rules indeed differ from one society to another, to say the least, even in the different societies where English is spoken as first languages. On the contrary, Sacks et al succeed in providing a blueprint through which Turn-Taking can be studied in other languages. To this end, most researches on Turn-Taking in other languages are done in juxtaposition to Turn-Taking as postulated by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson.

Like Sacks et al., Oreström (1983) present a theory of Turn-Taking also based on spontaneous English conversation. As a major contribution towards the theory of Turn-Taking, Oreström distinguishes between two kinds of utterances: a speaking turn and a backchannel item. According to him, speaking turns typically convey new information and expand the topic of discussion while backchannel utterances are "…certain brief,

spontaneous reactions from the listener" (p 23). To explicate the role of a backchannel item in a conversation, Oreström (1983:23) submits thus:

> Examples of these listener responses are m, mhm, yes, yeah, right, fine, ok, alright, I see, that's right, etc (other than answers to questions). They represent rather special functions where the listener informs the speaker that his message has been received, understood, agreed to, and/or caused certain effect thereby supplying him with direct feedback. Such utterances are normally not, if ever, picked up and commented on by the other speaker but are still important contributions as they help to sustain the flow of conversation.

Oreström stresses the fact that a back-channel has a relatively low level in content but has a relatively high level for a smooth communication. Oreström's view on back channel communication is a total deviation from early studies carried out by Yngve (1970) and Duncan (1972, 1974). The claim is that back channel communication does not constitute a turn instead it may participate in a variety of communication functions, including the regulation of speaking turns. Also, back channel communication does not necessarily imply the will to take the turn instead it implies some form of acknowledgement on the part of the listener (Duncan, 1985). Whether back channel items are regarded as overlapping items or a complete turn, the relevance of back channel communication to any conversation cannot be denied as they help to 'cement' a conversation by supplying both speaker and listener a form of satisfaction.

On Transition Relevance Places, Oreström (1983) submits that five linguistic features have the highest correlation with TRPs exposing that Sacks et al (1974) did little justice to this important aspect of turn exchange. The five linguistic features are Prosody (completion of a tonal unit with a non-nucleus), Syntax (completion of a syntactic sequence), Semantics (completion of a semantic sequence), loudness (decrease in

volume) and silent pause (following immediately after the end of a tonal unit). According to Oreström, the first three factors form a grammatical boundary and represent a major juncture in discourse. The more such features appear together, the more likely that the point in question is a TRP (p 68). This findings have however been faulted owing to the fact that Oreström's work is based on dyadic conversation and he exclusively investigated "turns with more than one TU (tonal unit) and where there was no simultaneous talk when the transition took place" (p 61). Despite this, his research is a proof that TRP does not just occur at a grammatical boundary but that Prosody and Pragmatics are found to be just as prominent as Syntax in defining TRPs.

Schegloff (1988), however, provide advancement in the field of conversation and indeed Turn-Taking after the death of Harvey Sacks. Not only did Schegloff attempt a perfection of the notion of Turn-Taking, he tries to illuminate the dark spots on overlapping in a typical English conversation. His success in reviewing the focus of Turn-Taking is astounding. Thus Schegloff (1988: 98-99) submits:

> One feature that underlies the orderly distribution of opportunities to participate in conversation, and of virtually all forms of talk-in-interaction that have been subjected to disciplined empirical investigation, is a Turn-Taking organization. This is an organization of practices designed to allow routine achievement of what appears to be overwhelmingly the most common default "numerical" value of speakership in talk-in-interaction: one party talking at a time. This is a matter not so much of politeness as of the constitutive features of commonplace talk-in-interaction, as an enabling institution for orderly commerce between people.

Schegloff's further contribution to Turn-Taking, overlapping and repair mechanisms after the death of Sacks is immense but unfortunately he did not extend these scholarly advancements to other languages. The focus is still English and his work considered a continuation of what the three scholars had worked on in 1974.

Wooffitt (2005) explains the role of Turn-Taking in a conversation in this fashion:

> Turn-Taking in ordinary conversation is a remarkable achievement. At the start of any period of interaction, neither party knows in advance how many turns they will take, what the topics will be or the order in which they will be addressed, how long each turn may be, whether or not someone else will join in, and if they do, how turns are to be allocated among the respective parties, and so on. Moreover, the length of a speaker's turn is not fixed at the start of the turn. Yet despite these and numerous other uncertainties, it is highly likely that turn transfer will be achieved in an orderly fashion: there will be very few periods where more than one party is talking, and these will be relatively short-lived, and successive turns will be built so as to minimize any gap or delay before the next speaker, indicating that there is an impressive degree of precision timing in the placement of turns in relation to each other.

One unique quality of Wooffitt (2005)'s explanation of Turn-Taking is that order is not necessarily an aspect of Turn-Taking as most scholars propagate. The fact that Turn-Taking is a major aspect of a conversation does not mean there will not be instances where interruptions will occur either from a third party or from one of the speakers especially when the other speaker does not signify that he is ready to give up his turn. It is also likely that two interlocutors might take overlapping turns which means they might both speak at the same time. Although Woofiiit's major preoccupation is to distinguish between Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis, his review of Turn-Taking rules help in simplifying the ambiguity that the Turn-Taking rule might present.

Abdul (2001:95) compares Turn-Taking to a narrow street where people manage to navigate without stepping on one another's toes.

> …when people find themselves in socially organized activities which have to do with speech exchange systems, speakers device ways and means of regulating their participation. In other words, speakers use various Turn-Taking cues to avoid verbally bumping into one another enroute the 'conversational street'. In fact, once a speaker has spoken, the conventions decree that the other participant will speak in rhythm that alternates rapidly from one to the other.

While it may be true that speakers device ways and means of regulating their participation in a conversation, it is important to state that Turn-Taking is never a planned activity, thus the idea of regulating it might not be very realistic. Even in situations like job interviews, for instance, where there is a prior notices of a conversation event, speakers intuitively take their turns by using Turn-Taking signals which could be verbal or non-verbal. Abdul (2001), however, succeeds in pointing out that conversation conventions help a lot in determining where a speaker is expected to take over in a conversation. Hence, Adjacency Pairs is given an important spot in conversation. Unfortunately, the fact that non-verbal signals is left unaccounted for is a minus. None the less, the contribution of this work to turn and turn distribution in a language other than English is worthy of acknowledgement.

The contribution of Cook (1989) on Turn-Taking takes a rather radical turn. According to him, overlap of turns occurs in only about 5 percent of conversation or less, which, in his opinion, suggests that speakers know exactly when and where to enter. Overlapping of turns is almost an emergency situation, "signaling annoyance, urgency, or a desire to correct what is being said" (1989:52).

In Cook's opinion, as important as Turn-Taking is to conversation, it is important to note that Turn-Taking exhibits different principles in different languages. Most of the rules and theories of Sacks and his associates only apply to the English Conversation. For example, while adjacency pairs make so much sense in English conversations, this is not usually the case with all conversations. As a result, Turn-Taking should be viewed in the light of conversation conventions of a speech community.

One major flaw of Sacks et al (1974) is the omission of the importance of non-verbal communication to Turn-Taking probably because their research is based on telephone conversations but subsequent studies on Turn-Taking have incorporated non-verbal cues as an important aspect of Turn-Taking. Keevalik (2014)'s major preoccupation is to prove how relevant non-verbal communication is to Turn-Taking. The research focuses on turns in interaction that involve a bodily-vocal demonstration: an embodied demonstration that is accompanied by a non-lexical vocalization. It shows how the temporal organization of these demonstrations contributes to participant treatment of them as a part of a turn-constructional unit, mostly as its completion. Vocalizations, occasionally with coherent pitch contours of intonation units, are argued to render bodily displays vocal space within turns-at-talk.

Wesselmeier & Müller (2015)'s contribution points to the fact that Turn-Taking transcends the language level. According to them, Psychology also determines how well an individual can effectively take turns. Hence, their study measures concepts like response time (RT), response-related readiness potential (RP) etc. These scholars link the ability of an individual to respond after turn anticipation to the actual speech preparation process. Although their study seems to be psychologically based rather than language focused, they tend to provide a more scientific explanation on how human beings process Turn-Taking in their brains.

There are many literatures on Turn-Taking. Unfortunately, no one literature can incorporate all the rules of Turn-Taking for different languages. The best that can be done is a focus on a particular language or a juxtaposition of these rules in English and

another native language. This therefore makes the rules of Turn-Taking in English a blue print for the analysis of Turn-Taking in other languages.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Despite the similarities and often interchanged usage that exist between Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis is preferred in the analysis of language use in this research. The major reason backing this preference is the ability of CA to rely solely on everyday spontaneous talk-in-interaction as the source of data used in an inductive analysis. Likewise, CA possesses the capacity to analyse how the utterances of speakers influence the type of responses they get and ultimately, how turns are being shared in a conversation. Based on the fore-going, Sacks et al. (1974)'s Turn-Taking model is preferred for this research. This Turn-Taking model presents the basic components of turn taking. These components include Turn Allocation Components/Techniques, Interruption/ Overlapping, Adjacency Pairs, Back Channel Communication, Silence, Repair and Non-Verbal Communication. It is on these components that the analysis of Turn-Taking on Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀ will be based.

In analysing the opening, the middle and the closing of the conversations collected, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) 's Structural Analysis will be employed. This is because Sacks et al (1975) do not make provision for the analysis of the opening, middle and closing of a conversation. It is therefore important to examine how interlocutors commence, sustain and conclude their conversation in order to better grapple the workings of Turn-Taking.

This chapter focused on the review of related literature relevant to the work. It dwelt on topical issues like Conversation Analysis, Turn-Taking in general and Yorùbá Turn-Taking specifically with a bias for factors that influence Yorùbá Turn-Taking. Sacks et al (1974) theory of Turn-Taking as well as Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) Structural Analysis adopted in this chapter for the analysis of the data that will be collected.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

This chapter deals with the processes of investigating Yorùbá Turn-Taking in a Nigerian media setting. It tries to capture how it is that results of analysis carried during the course of the research are arrived at. Hence, this chapter will present Research Design, Data Gathering Procedure and Procedure for Data Analysis. A brief about the setting of the research should also be expected in this chapter.

3.1 Research Design

Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀, a Yorùbá programme that airs on Africa Independent Television (AIT) is the source of the data used in the research. 10 samples of long conversations, each spanning a period of at least 50 minutes, were recorded from the live audience sessions of *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀.* A single conversation constitutes that between two male presenters -Ambrose Olutayo Somide and Bashiru Adisa Baba Gboin (except where one presenter was unavoidably absent) and the audience. The programme usually has three segments- Current issues, Discussions based on letters sent in by viewers or individual experiences and seldom, interviews with musicians or actors. The conversations were seen to have ended at the close of each weekly episode. Demarcations were inserted in the programme recording based on the researcher's initiative and natural breaks in the programme, for instance commercial breaks, musical interlude, introduction of segments.

The researcher's availability at the live sessions catered for non-verbal communications that were exchanged between the participants of the programme. Thus, non-verbal exchanges were noted by the researcher and used where necessary during the analysis of the data collected.

During the process of analysis, the recordings were transcribed to expose the CA components. Subsequently, an attempt was made at interpreting directly the conversation into English followed by a Standard English interpretation. This is to enable non speakers of the Yorùbá language understand how the language works. Some unique characteristics of the language such as the past form (pf), negative form (neg) and emphasis (emph) etc are also brought to the fore (Akindele, 1991).

3.2 Setting

Classically, settings are categorized into two: Institutional Setting and Non-institutional setting. A setting could also be formal or informal based on the situation. Institutional Settings are physically designated venues where professionally related duties are carried out. Courtrooms, schools, hospital consulting rooms are examples of institutional settings. A scrutiny of this setting will reveal an interaction between a 'highly' professional individual and a lay person. Also, the operations in these settings are coordinated by the professional who ensure that certain professional rules are strictly adhered to. Over all, the professional dominates the talk.

The Non-Institutional Settings are places like the market, home, motor parks, etc. Unlike the Institutional setting, this setting has no particular individual at the helm of affairs so participants are at liberty to express their views. Any of the participants is therefore free

to initiate talks and topics during the interaction. Responses are also freely voiced since none of the participants has a definite role to play. The uniqueness of this setting lies in its promotion of social interaction because of the casual nature of the communication and the free atmosphere.

3.2.1 The Media Setting

The media setting is a very unique one. It will be slightly extreme to declare a media setting an institutional setting due to the friendly disposition that the media is expected to promote (even when discussing a topic like law and order). To conclude that the media environment accommodates total informality will also be unrealistic. Most of the time, the media setting is dependent on what transpires at that moment. Operationally, the media encourages civility in as much as the setting also permits 'free flow' language. Practitioners are advised to engage simple, understandable language use which a five year old can comprehend. Those who refer to a media setting as an institutional one might justify their claim by saying that a studio is traditionally where the media operates and that the media professional 'presides' over affairs in this setting. Unfortunately, a programme may not necessarily be recorded or aired in a studio. A broadcast professional may also not coordinate a programme.

It is however not impossible to acknowledge the media's promotion of a friendly atmosphere and more important, social interaction. Their role of serving as link between the government and the people is highly revered. Other roles played by the media include dissemination of information through news reporting and advertising of products

and services. Most individuals also turn to the media for entertainment in the form of music, jokes, games etcetera.

Despite the role of cementing social interaction played by the media, the setting does not encourage vulgarity or obscenity as a form of social interaction. Any vulgarity and obscenity is termed 'NTBB-Not To Be Broadcast'. Stiff punishments are readily meted to any broadcast station found guilty of NTBB materials by broadcasting regulatory bodies (for example, Nigerian Broadcasting Commission).

3.3 The Subject of the Study

The subjects used in this study are Yorùbá indigenes from the Southwest zone of Nigeria (Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Osun, Ekiti). The major dialects with which they conversed include Egba, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ondo, Ekiti, among others. Yorùbá people can also be found in parts of Kwara and Kogi states and also Benin Republic. The reasons for this choice of language group are not farfetched. First, it is the researcher's mother tongue and first language which therefore means that the researcher is in a better position not only to appreciate the people's linguistic practices but also to interpret them. Secondly, the subjects would certainly be more at ease using their local language. Lastly, it will be of interest to analyse how verbal exchanges are employed in a local language especially in a critical dispensation where local languages are threatened by extinction.

3.4Data Gathering Procedure

The data for this research are naturally occurring data in a live studio environment. Although doubts may arise as to whether interactions in situations like this may be

hindered by, for example, camera shyness or nervousness, yet the interactions in local dialects enhanced an unexpected freedom of expression by the participants.

The researcher was available during all the live sessions equipped with a digital recorder and a jotter to take notes on non-linguistic features of the interactions. Since the programme is a live programme, it was necessary for the recorder to be left on throughout the broadcast. Musical interludes, commercial breaks, introduction of segments are therefore not included in the analysis. The actual programme recordings (interactions between the participants) were later played repeatedly to ensure that no relevant data is left out.

3.5Research Instruments (Methods)

The three major instruments used for data collection are as follows:

a. Disguised Observation

b. Audio Recording

c. Video Recording

3.5.1Disguised Observation

In disguised observation, participants are unaware they are being observed and thus behave naturally. The choice of this particular method of data collection is hinged on the premise that the process of gathering data for Conversation Analysis should be such that does not raise the consciousness of interlocutors. This ensures that the conversation is as real and true to life as possible. To ensure that this method does not infringe on the

rights of participants recorded, the researcher sought the permission of the producer of the programme who then verified that such act will not attract legal consequences.

3.5.2Audio Recording

The human memory cannot be trusted with a little information let alone data that are as large as ten episodes of an hourly television programme. The uniqueness of recording, according to Sacks (1974), allows the data to be replayed, transcribed and studied extendedly and extensively regardless of the time frame of the recording. Audio recording materials constitute a good enough record of what actually happened. A recorded material possesses the possibility of being revisited for future studies and it also provides a proof that research was not carried haphazardly. The researcher, then armed with a good recorder, was able to record anything uttered without betraying her intent and without making undue demand on those whose conversations were being recorded.

Each recording was done on a weekly basis since the programme is aired every Sunday (1pm-2pm). A total of 50 minutes were recorded at each edition. This excludes the minutes spent on commercial and musical interludes.

To ensure a perfect recording void of distortions and noise, a digital recorder was used instead of a cassette recorder and the data subsequently transferred to a computer system where a proper naming of the materials was done based on the date and topics of the recording.

3.5.3Video Recording

Video recording is a kind of advanced recording that captures both audio and visual properties of a proceeding. The advantage of video recording in the analysis of conversation cannot be over emphasized as it not only provides the opportunity of repeated play but also repeated viewing.

During the course of collecting data, video recording served as a good back up in case there was an audio recording hitch. The video recording was however done with a mini camcorder and with permission from the producer of the programme. Since it was a television studio, participants were already used to the presence of a camera so the researcher's video recorder did not influence the speeches of the participants.

3.6Analytical Procedure

Under this subheading, important tools like the transcript, the types of analyses employed are introduced. Hence, the relevance of Structural and Ethnomethodological analyses to the study is examined.

3.6.1Transcripts

After audio data are collected from the participants, it is important to convert these raw data into written talk. This converted talk forms the transcript from which analysis can then commence. The transcript, therefore, is the written or typed record of any proceeding. In this case, the transcript is the proceeding of an interactive talk. Transcripts allow a researcher to identify stable, systematic phenomena and collect multiple instances of those phenome. In the analysis of data, the transcript complemented by the actual recording was very effective for the researcher.

The CA transcript captures a range of detail missed by the more conventional transcript. This includes non-linguistic interactions like gaze, laughter etc. Thus non-linguistic interactions are included in the final CA transcript by the researcher to ensure that no part of the interaction is lost. After all, non-verbal interactions also convey their own meanings and add to the general understanding of the interlocution. The eventual data used in the analysis of Turn-Taking in this research used the standard Yorùbá dialect. This is arrived at after the various dialects used on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* have been translatedinto thestandardized form. In arriving at these translations, the researcher consulted other native speakers of these dialects in translating and verifying utterances made by participants of the programme.

3.6.2 Structural Analysis

The use of structural analysis in language study started with Sinclair & Coulthard (1975). Using a classroom model of talk, these two scholars establish that conversation especially in a classroom setting is structured. The participants, typically the teacher and the pupils, recognize their roles and play them out accordingly. This interaction between the teacher and the pupils consist of a three part exchange namely: 'opening move', 'answer move', and 'follow-up move'.

Although there have been claims as to whether structural analysis of language can be used when there are no strictly defined role differentials (McCarthy, 1996), yet this research work adopted a structural division of conversation into opening, middle and closing. The study in these terms employed structural analysis of conversation.

3.6.3 Ethnomethodological Analysis Procedure

The devotion of Ethnomethodologists in observing how individuals behave conversationally is a worthy vocation. Although Ethnomethodology as an approach to language study is said to lack formally stated theory and formal methodology, yet Garfinkel (1974) in Ibrahim (2012) suggests unique methods by which conversations can be analysed. They are stated as follows:

- how conversations can be started and terminated by different speakers and hearers strategies.
- the relationship between the speakers' social status and his right to talk about a particular topic under specific interactional circumstances.
- how certain markers are available for further talk about a particular topic
- how topics are introduced or avoided or changed or prolonged within and over different conversations
- how different chunks of a conversation can be seen as tied together to communicate certain particular kinds of information not evident from the sequential character of the dialogue and
- how speakers and hearers use particular lexical items or phrases to convey context-free or context-restricted impressions and also, how we structure our speech to accomplish activities like making excuses, persuasions, promises and the like.

As an improvement of Ethnomethodological procedures, CA has become very relevant in also analysing talk. The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in

participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction. At its most basic, this objective is one of describing the procedures by which conversationalists produce their own behaviour and understand and deal with the behaviour of others. A basic assumption throughout is Garfinkel's (1967: 1) proposal that these activities - producing conduct and understanding and dealing with it -are accomplished as the accountable products of common sets of procedures.

This analytical procedure is applicable to this research and will therefore be used in analysing data gathered.

The analysis of the data collected is presented in terms of the features of Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversation as well as the rules and structure of Yorùbá Turn-Taking as they appear in Chapter Two of this work. Special emphasis is however on the strategies employed in opening turns and exchanging of turns in Yorùbá conversations.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0Preamble

The major focus of this study is Turn-Taking in Yorùbá conversations. As established in previous chapters, the setting is a media setting where the audience (interlocutors) participates in a discussion of topical issues. Hence, this chapter analyses the Yorùbá Turn-Taking mechanism (rules) as they are applied on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀*, a Yorùbá television discussion programme. Of interest, however, will be also how conversations are initiated, sustained and exited in this setting.

4.1Data Presentation

As stated in the methodology chapter, the data for this analysis were collected from one setting- the media setting- specifically one television programme. A total of 10 long conversations were recorded. These long conversations (equivalent of an edition and labeled EDITIONS 1-10) encompass smaller conversations (or better still, sequences) which ensued between the presenters of the programme and each member of the audience called upon to speak at any point in time. On the average, each episode contains at least 8 of these smaller conversations depending on the ability of the presenters to manage effectively broadcast time. Over all, a total of 88 sequences were obtained in the recorded data.

The members of the audience comprises Yorùbá men and women between ages 35 and 60. Their occupational preferences vary as well as the Yorùbá dialects with which they communicated on the programme. The basic requirement for being an active member of

this audience is preparedness since the presenters can make a call for meaningful contribution at any point in the course of the programme.

4.1.1Opening

In this setting, the opening turn is solely handled by the presenters (their names are appreviated as ‘Am’ and ‘Gb’ for easy reference; the participants’ initials are used to differentiate them from the presenters). It is important to state that a member of the audience does not hold the floor unless the presenters hand over such rights. In other words, the presenters decide who speaks at whatever point and possess the undisputed right to interrupt and terminate an interlocutor’s right to speak. Howbeit, members of the audience can supply non-verbal forms of communication like laughter etc where necessary.

At the commencement of talk on the programme, one of presenters reels out the issue of the day through a monologue which may be accompanied by backchannel cues from the other presenter or the members of the audience. Since the focus of this research is to analyze Turn-Taking, proper analysis will start from the point where the dialogue between the presenters and the members of the audience commences. This is the point where the presenters invite reactions to the issue of the day and where they make use of the current- speaker- selects next technique. The selection of the next speaker is carried out by the presenters in different ways. These include the following:

1. Address form: The use of address forms on the programme is common practice by the presenters to hand over the floor to the next speaker. Address forms used on the programme ranges from True names, Appellations to Titles.

True name

→Am*: Megun, Ó yá*

(Gloss) Megun, it fast

(Standard Translation) 'Megun, it's time.'

M: *Sé ẹ ri::: ayé yí ò le, ọ̀bẹ̀ò sì rán.*

(G) Q you see, life this neg hard, knife neg able to cut

(ST) 'You see, Life is not hard enough to use a knife'.

(ED 3)

Appellations

→Am: *Een, Iya Ekiti*

(ST) Okay, Iya Ekiti

I: *Okunrin yen t'oba bada sinu'le yen, 'tit for tat' ni*

(G) Man that if return into house that, tit for tat is

(ST) 'If that man returns to that house, it is going to be tit for tat.'

(ED 1)

Titles

→Am: *Aafa, bawo le se ri?*

(G)Aafa, how you do see it

(ST) 'Alfa, how do you see it?'

A: *(0.2) Ki Olorun ki o ranwa l'owo*

(G) That God that him help hand

(ST) 'God should help us'.

(ED 1)

2. Question: Questions also form one of the strategies used to invite speakership. The basic observation in this area is that questions are not posed without the use of an address form to select the next speaker.

→ Gb: *Ó yá Bánkólé, bí ìyá se ńsoro lo nboyin, se oro awada ni*?(laugh)

(G) it fast Bankole, as mother was cont talk you peel teeth, is it word comedy (laugh)

(ST) 'Bankole, it's time! As mama was talking you were laughing. Is it funny?'

B: *E je ka dupe lowo Olorun fun oro yi*

(G)we should thank hand God for word this

(ST) 'Let's thank God concerning this issue'.

Questions are, however, used by the presenters without address forms when such questions are meant to be rhetorical or require joint response from the members of the audience. In this case, the presenter does not directly select the next speaker.

→Am: Se Olorun wa j'ebi?

(G) Q God guilty

(ST) 'Is God guilty?'

Audience: Hhmn!

(ED 2)

3. Statement: In these cases, the presenter hands over the floor by making a statement. Although a 'mere' statement, it immediately allocates the next turn to the selected speaker and an obligatory response is provided. Though these utterances are statements, they still elicit responses from the members of the audience.

→Am: *Councillor Semiu, E je kaa koko lo si odo yin na.*

(G) *C.S.*, you let us first come to side yours

(ST) '*C.S.*, let's start with you'

C: *E mo ohun ti o sele (0.2) Bi:: Farao se lagbara to yen, agbara ogun ni.*

(G) you know thing Pf it happen (0.2) As Pharaoh is powerful reach so, power war is

(ST) 'The issue is this. As powerful as Pharaoh is, he only possesses war powers.'

(ED 2)

4. Request: Request is another strategy used in the opening turn. In these instances, the presenters request the contribution of a particular member of the audience.

→Am: *Alagba Ojo, e jowo e bawa dasi*
(G) Mr Ojo, you please you help us contribute
(ST) Mr Ojo, please contribute

O: *Aye yi le o*

(G) World this hard emph

(ST) 'It's a tough world'.

(ED 3)

5. Proverb: Proverbial sayings were also used in the opening turn to select the next speaker.

→Am: *Alhaji, E ri wipe ogodo ti yi o fi ni sesin*

(G)Alhaji, you see that boil pf will do person shame

(ST) 'Alhaji, You can see that the boil that will disgrace you'

A: *Hmn, gongon imu ni i tale ni*

(G)Hmn, tip nose stick on person
(ST) ' hmm …will appear on the tip of your nose'

(ED 2)

It is important to state that at instances where proverbs are employed as current speaker selects next technique, an obligation is usually placed on the selected member to complete the proverb. In cases where this do not happen, the selected speaker supplies non-verbal communication or back channel cues probably to avoid supplying the rest of the proverbial statement.

Gb: *Alhaji, Yorùbá ni Igúnnugún bà lé òrùlé.*

(G) A. Yorùbá say vulture rest on roof

(ST) 'Alhaji, the Yorùbás say the vulture perches on the roof'

→A: Hmmh!

Gb: Ojú tó ilé ó tó oko (0.2) se ooto ni

(G) Eye reach house it reach farm (0.2) Q truth is

(ST) its eyes see the homestead as well as the farm(0.2) Is it true?

(ED 7)

6. Greeting: Through the exchange of pleasantries, the presenters also handed over the floor although usage of this kind of Adjacency pair was very minimal in this setting.

→Am: *Baba Ijebu bawo ni o?*
(G) Baba Ijebu, how are you emph
(ST) 'Baba Ijebu, how are you?'
B: Daadaa ni (0.2) Ki Olorun ki o gba wa.
(G) Good is (0.2) That God should him save us
(ST) 'I'm good (0.2) God should save us.'

(ED 5)

7. Prayer: The presenters also made use of prayers to transfer turns. However, instances where prayers are used in this situation are very few.

→Gb: *Ode, afi ki Olorun ma gbe adanwo ko wa*
(G) O. except God should Neg carry temptation face us
(ST) 'Ode, May God not face us with temptations'
O: *Kai:: Adanwo nla ni eleyi o*
(G) Kai, temptation big is this emph
(ST) 'Kai, this is a big temptation'.

(ED 5)

It is important to state that the use of address forms appears in virtually all the opening turns. This is because this strategy ensures that the presenters select the next speaker successfully. There are however instances where just the address forms are used. In other situations, the presenters merge address forms with any of the strategy used above. In subsequent analysis, the use of address forms is examined as a single entity and not in combination with other strategies.

The strategies used in the opening turn are presented in the following table:

Table 4.1 Opening Strategies

	No of Occurrences	**Percentage**
Address forms	19	21.6
Questions	37	42.1
Statements	10	11.4
Requests	9	10.2
Proverbs	4	4.5
Greetings	5	5.7
Prayers	4	4.5
Grand Total	88	100

Another important categorization of the presenter's invitation turn will be in terms of the unit types which they employ to hand over the floor to the member of the audience. In chapter two, the various unit types were discussed. These could be lexical, phrasal,

clausal or sentential. The data showed the presenters made use of the lexical, phrasal, clausal and the sentential unit types. This is presented as follows:

Lexical Unit Type

→ A: *Ibadan.*

I: Gbogbo ohun to ba nsele laarin loko laya, ki won maa ro bi isu bi isu.

(G) all thing that happening between husband wife, that they should think like yam, like yam

(ST) 'All that happens between a husband and wife should be seen from the angle of a yam.'

(ED 3)

Phrasal Unit Type

→Am: *Eegun, niseju kan*

(G) Eegun, in minute one

(ST) 'Eegun, in one minute'.

E: *Ko ma bada sibe*

(G) She Neg return there

(ST) 'She shouldn't return'

(ED 3)

Clausal Unit type

Am: *Ẹ jẹ kaa lo s'owo eyin, lodo:: awon* 'back benchers'.

(G) You let us go to hand back, where them back benchers

(ST) 'Let's move to the back where the back benchers are sitted'

(ED 4)

Sentential Unit Type

→Gb: *Se e ngbo ohun ti won nso?*
(G) Q you hearing thing pf they saying
(ST) 'Can you hear them?'S
B: *Mo kuku ngbo, iha orisirisi lo ko si onikaluku*
(G) I definitely hearing, side different is appear to individuals
(ST) 'Definitely, I can hear. People perceive things differently'.

(ED 6)

The following table captures the usage of the unit types by the presenters in the opening turn:

Table 4.2 Unit Types in Opening Turns

	No of Occurrences	**Percentage**
Lexical	19	21.6
Phrasal	10	11.4
Clausal	26	29.5
Sentential	33	37.5
Grand Total	88	100

4.1.2 Middle

The message tier of any conversation contains the main topic which may be divided into subtopics or even more or less related topics. In this setting, the middle or the business tier is where the members of the audience express their views on the issue of the day. Here, another speaker takes over the floor and resumes his turn in the sequence. It is important to state that in this tier the presenters allow the members of the audience to freely express themselves. In other words, they are not told what to say prior to them

being called upon so their utterances in this tier are in no way simulated. Of concern, however, are the strategies employed by these interlocutors to take over the floor. In this tier also, the likelihood of repairs, overlapping and interruptions occur especially when the presenters feel there was a need to correct certain notions or add important information to the ones provided by the selected next speaker. Apart from the fact that all the turn allocation units in this tier reflected the politeness factor i.e. the language employed was rather civil, the use of the honorific pronouns was obvious except on very few occasions where it could be deduced that the presenters and the next interlocutor chosen related beyond just being participants on the programme. For the most parts, the audience members engaged the use of statements, rhetorical questions, proverbs and prayers to express themselves in this tier. These are explicated below.

1. Statement: Without making reference to the abundant non-verbal communication (e.g laughter, hand movements, eye movements etc), the use of the statement in this tier was quite predominant. Audience members relied majorly on the use of statements to voice their opinions.

→C: *T'oba je eni to feran e gege bi o ti so…er… ko ma se e nija*
(G) If it is person that love her just as he pf say...er...should not do it in fight
(ST) 'If he truly loves her just as he has said..er...it shouldn't cause a quarrel'.
Gb: *O sa ni oun fe dasi rough ni*
(G) She insist she love turn it rough so
(ST) 'She insists on making matters worse'
→C: *Ogboongbon ni ko fi se.*
(G) Wisely wisely she should use to do it
(ST) 'She should apply wisdom'.
(ED 4)

2. Proverb: The programme displayed an abundant and excellent usage of Yorùbá proverbial sayings in this tier. Proverbs were used by participants to not only take over

the floor but also to drive home their points. Proverbs were introduced by such expressions as *'Awon baba wa sope'* (Our fathers said), '*Yorùbá ni'* (Yorùbá says), '*Awon agba maa pa owe'* (The elders have a proverbial saying) etc.

Am: *E je kaa se ni paapaapaa nitori a ni alejo loni*
(G) You let us do it quick quick quick because we have guest today
(ST) 'Let's be fast about it because we have a guest today'.
→C: *Awon baba wa maa nso pe oju merin lo b'imo, igba oju lo nwo*
(G) them fathers us Pf say eyes four born child, two hundred eyes watch him.
(ST)'Our fathers say a child has two parents but he is brought up by a multitude'
(ED 2)

→A: *Hun…o need e looto. S'eri bi Olorun ba ti fi ota eni han 'yan [ko* le
(G) hun…he need it truth. You see if God should show enemy one [he cannot
(ST) 'Hun…He truly needs it. You see, if God shows you your enemy [he cannot'
Gb: [Ko le pani mo.
(G) He cannot kill you again
(ST) 'He cannot kill you'.

3. Prayer: Participants also relied heavily on prayers in this tier. They used prayers to commence their turns, buttress their points, and also to signal the conclusion of their turns.

Am: Adetipe
→A: *Ki Olorun gbawa*
(G) That God should save us
(ST) 'God should save us'.
(ED 2)

→O: *Awon omo kan wa…uhm…Olorun o ni je kaa b'iru won*
(G) Some child exist…uhm…God Neg allow us born kind them
(ST) 'Some children exist…Uhm… God forbid we have their kind'.
(ED 2)

→A: *Ki gov'ment wa…eh…Ki Olorun bawa gbe eni ti o maa bawa tun ilu se*
(G) that gov'ment us…eh…that God help us carry person Pf who will help us change our village
(ST) 'Government…eh…God should help appoint reformers'.
(ED 2)

4. Rhetorical Question: The use of rhetorical questions was also noticed. Participants used rhetorical questions (a kind of figure of speech) to make a point rather than to elicit an answer.

O: *Olorun da e lejo, o ni o nlo appeal, court ibo lo fe lo?*
(G) God judge you, you say you going appeal, court where do you go?
(ST) 'God judged you, you want to appeal, which court are you headed for?'
(ED 2)

→A: *Nibo la nba kinii lo?*
(G) Where we follow thing go?
(ST) 'Where are we headed?'
Gb: Hun! Kini ka ti se?
(G) Hun! What we do
(ST) 'What do we do?'
(ED 2)

5. Greeting: Although not a usual strategy on the programme, some audience members made use of greetings to start their turns and respond to the call for contribution.

Gb: Ha, Olabode
→O: Sa. E ku ise opolo sa.
(G) sir. Good work brain sir.
(ST) 'Sir. Keep up the good work sir.'
(ED 4)

An important data worth presenting are the unit types employed in this tier. The participants made use of the unit types as they found convenient. Thus lexical, phrasal, clausal and sentential unit types were distributed in large quantity throughout this tier.

4.1.3 Closing

This is usually the last tier in any conversation. This is also the point where interlocutors conclude the conversation. The closing tier on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* was handled haphazardly so much so that a clear distinction cannot be made between the business tier and the

closing. At times, the presenters concluded with the classic '*E se'* (Thank you) before moving on to another participant. As shown in the instance below:

C: (…) Mo nile, mo ni moto, ojo ola omo ni
(G) I have house, I have car, day tomorrow child is
(ST)'I have houses; I have cars, all in a bid to secure your child's future.'
→Gb: Hmmm…omo eni lola. E se pupo.
(G) Hmmm…child person tomorrow. You thank a lot
(ST) 'Hmmm… one's child is the future. Thanks a lot'.
(ED 1)

At other times, the only clue signaling the end of that conversation (or sequence) is the use of prayers that are linked to utterances previously made. Sometimes, a participant drawls on the final syllable or word to indicate their willingness to yield the turn. A strong signal, however, is silence which is employed by these participants to indicate that they no longer have further contributions.

4.2Data Analysis

In this section, the analysis of data collected on the programme is based on the Turn-Taking criteria discussed in chapter two of this work. These are Turn Allocation Component/Technique, Interruption/Overlapping, Adjacency Pairs, Back Channel Communication, Silence and Repair.

4.2.1 Turn Allocation Component/Technique

The first Turn Construction Unit (henceforth TCU) is usually an invitation made by the presenter(s); a current speaker selects next technique that allows a member of the audience to take over the floor. An attempt is made in the data presentation section to capture the different strategies with which the presenters made these invitations. These TCUs are also lexical, phrasal, clausal, or sentential. The action performed by these first

TCUs on Mìnìjòjọ̀ is to place an obligatory speakership role on the next speaker (This will be further discussed under Adjacency Pairs). There is, therefore, no occurrence of a situation where a selected member of the audience fails to supply an impressive contribution. Even when the responses supplied fall short of the presenters' expectations, repair mechanisms are employed.

The next TCU is usually the lengthy string of utterances supplied by the selected participant to express his views with the possibility of overlaps and interruptions from the first speaker (a presenter). The next speaker selects self-rule of Turn-Taking hardly ever applies because in this setting only the moderating presenter possesses the right to apportion speakership. However, in a situation where the moderating presenter fails to select the next speaker despite concluding signals from the current speaker, such speaker still continues. This occurs in the following instance:

M: *O better b'ose gbewa yen (0.3)*
(G) It better as he pf bring it so (0.3)
(ST) It's better he presented so
→M: *Won ni ijo tabaribi, ni ibi nwole.*
(G) They say day we see evil, evil enter ground
(ST) 'Evil ceases the day we encounter it'.
Am: Olokoko.
(ED)

The speaker M intends to end her turn after uttering 'yen' but the failure of the presenter to take over the floor obligated her to continue. Thus, she employs the current speaker continues rule of Turn-Taking.

From the foregoing, two of the three Turn-Taking rules were predominant on the programme. These are Rule 1- Current speaker selects next speaker and Rule 3- Current speaker continues. Turns were allocated based on these two rules. Rule 2 – Next speaker selects self- seems to be exempted in this setting.

The Turn-Taking sequence on the programme is typically the combination of two major TCUs i.e. the first TCU by the moderating presenter and the second TCU by the selected participants. There were exceptional cases where these sequences are elongated by overlaps and interruptions as well as back channel cues. In these situations, as much as twelve TCUs may appear in a sequence. The following sequence is a perfect example:

1 Gb: *Mummy*.
2 M: *E se Olotu. Won fe fi omo d'ore ni [ti o je*
(G) You thank presenter. They want use child for friendship [Pf will be
(ST) Thank you, presenter. Their friendship is a disadvantage to their children.
3 Am: *[But awon ti nsore [won tele*
(G) [but plural PF do friendship[them before
(ST) But they have been friends for long
4 Gb *[But s'oye ki won f'omo d'ore ni?*
(G)But should they use child for friendship?
(ST) But should their children be disadvantaged?
5 Am: *Baba ngba match pelu mama, o tun fe ki omo ti e [fe maa gba match*
(G) Father *cont* play match with mother, he also want his own son [want to play match
(ST) Their parents are having an affair, they also want their son to have an affair
6 Gb: *[ko continue*
(G) [he continue
(ST) He should continue
Won fe so di hereditary.
(G) They want turn it hereditary
(ST) They want to make it hereditary
7 M: *Ohun na ni mo so pe won nf'omo d'ore ni…So, ko lo=*
(G) That's why I say that they use child for friendship… So he go
(ST) That's why is said their children are disadvantaged… So he should
8 Am: *=ehn! A le fi ti won we tiwa o. Oyinbo le marry laaro, ko divorce lale.*
(G)= ehn! We can neg compare them. Whiteman can marry in morning, then divorce at night
(ST) =ehn! We can't compare them to us. Whitemen are masters at divorce
9 Gb*: Beeni*
(G) So it is
(ST) Yes
10 M: *Yes, o possible.*
(G) Yes, it possible
(ST) Yes, it's possible
11 Am: *Eyin le maa sope o maa fori ti ni*
(G) You will *cont*say she*cont*use head against it

(ST) You always encourage her to endure.
12 Gb: *Ha!*
Am: *Ha! Atun lo ba mummy. Mummy a ni 'a maa gbadura ni'.*
(G)Ha! She will go meet mummy. Mummy will say, we will pray
(ST) She will then meet her mum who will encourage her to keep praying
(ED 3)

The analysis of Turn Allocation Components/Techniques will not be complete without analyzing the Transition Relevance Places (henceforth TRP). As discussed in Chapter Two of this work, TRP helps to identify a TCU by adding recognizable boundaries. In other words, a TRP is a juncture that signifies the end of a TCU. The data recorded points to the moderating presenter as the interlocutor who determines the distribution of the TRPs. Apart from allocating turns to participants; the moderating presenter based on the topic being discussed recognizes when participants are done with their turns and resumes his turn. At instances where the selected interlocutor is refusing to give up his turn, the presenter through the use of nonverbal communication like removing gaze etc. signals to the current speaker that his turn should be completed. Unlike most Yorùbá conversations where the age of the interlocutor play very significant roles in determining the TRP, the TRP is not influenced by the ages of the interlocutor but rather the exalted position which the presenter occupies.

4.2.2 Interruption/ Overlapping

An interruption in conversation occurs when one speaker initiates talk when another is already speaking. An overlap, on the other hand, is an instance of simultaneous speech where another speaker other than the current speaker begins to speak at, or very close to the TRP (West & Zimmerman, 1983). The major distinction between these two is the place where they occur. While an interruption may occur more than two syllables from

the commencement of the first speaker's turn, an overlap takes place towards the TRP of the first speaker's unit type. In Conversation Analysis (CA) transcription, the symbol '=' is used to indicate an interruption while the symbol '[' is representative of an overlap. Unlike the typical Yorùbá setting where a younger interlocutor will have to seek permission before he interrupts an older interlocutor, this is not the case here. The right to interrupt an utterance is reserved for the presenters. Other participants do not possess such rights. Worthy of note is that the act of interruption was carried out by the presenters with so much caution and politeness so that such interruptions will not be taken as rudeness. The following examples are instances of interruptions on the programme:

B: *Iru okunrin wo ? =*
(G) Type man what
(ST) What type of man?
Am: *=Infact, okunrin yen lahun pe 'emi ni o je ki mummy e approve (...)'*
(G) =Infact, man that open voice that 'I refuse mummy yours approve
(ST) =Infact, the man will declare that' I prevented your mum from approving
B: *Kani emi l'omobinrin yen, maa travel lo*
(G) Assuming me girl child that, I will travel go
(ST) If I were the girl, I will travel
A: *Ohun to je ki nso beyen ni wipe =*
(G) Thing that make me say so is
(ST) I said that because =
Am: *=Meanwhile, if you see…er… ibi ti oye eyin dudu ti wa limited niyen*
(G) = Meanwhile, if you see…er… where wisdom you black is limited there
(ST) =Meanwhile, if you see…er…that is the limitation of black people's wisdom.

(EDITION 3)

There were also instances of overlaps where the moderating presenter is targeting the TRP and ended up producing overlapping utterances. For instance:

A: *O maa beta ki won tete lo si school yen [nitori omo yen*

(G) It will better that they quickly go to school that [because child that
(ST) It will be better to visit the school immediately because of the child
Am*:* *[Obi to ba wu lo maa se ohun to ye*
(G) [Parent pf like will do thing right
(ST) [A good parent will do the right thing

(ED 2)

In all, speakers avoided speaking together at the same time. Once a participant notices a case of interruption or overlap, he/she quickly withdraws and allows the presenter to take charge of the floor but not without a little tussle as to who prevails in securing the turn. To this end, instances of word repetition, word projections are not hard to find. For example:

W: *Ki se oju lasan, imule ti wo*
(G) Not eye ordinary, covenant pf enter
(ST) It's not ordinary, a covenant is involved
Am: *Hun Hun, won o so de bi pe boya won se mule o*
(G)Hun Hun, they neg say whether they pf swear
(ST)Not so, a covenant was not declared.
W: *Eyin na =*
(ST) You too=
Gb: *=Ehn, nkan to kan wa ni pe kan kawe tan*.
(G) = Ehn, thing that touch us is that they read finish
(ST)=We should be concerned with finishing their education
Gb*:[Ko se yin=*
(G)[it neg back
(ST)Apart from
W: [AArin, AArin baba yen ati iya yen, imule ti wo o.
(G) [middle middle father that and mother that, covenant *pf* enter *emph*
(ST)'Between the man and the woman, there is a covenant'.

(ED 3)

The above example shows lots of tussle for who secures the next turn but W, although a member of the audience, eventually succeeds by projecting the vowels at the beginning of her utterance.

It is important to note that the production of proverbial utterances usually result in overlapping situations both from other members of the audience and the presenters especially when the proverb is a popular one. For instance:

I: Yorùbá ni ‘Eni ba foju ana wo oku [ebora a bo laso
(G) Yorùbá say person use eye yesterday look corpse, monster will remove cloth
(ST) Living in the past has grave consequences
→Am: [ebora a bo laso
(G) [monster will remove cloth
(ED 1)

4.2.3 Adjacency Pairs

As stated in the Chapter two of this work, Adjacency Pairs (henceforth AP) usually consists of two utterances which are functionally related. These utterances are uttered by different speakers so much so that the first utterance requires a certain type or range of types of the second utterance. Typically, the first utterance is referred to as First Pair Part (henceforth FPP) while the second utterance is the Second Pair Part (henceforth SPP).

Mìnìjòjọ̀ displayed an array of AP. A significant AP type used on the programmes is the Question/Answer pair. As stated in the data presentation section, the Question/Answer pair is a common strategy used by the presenter to invite speakership after which a preferred obligatory response is then supplied by the selected speaker. For example:

→Gb: *Olori Jesu, se nkan ti Fidijokele so yen o jo ara won?*
(G) Olori Jesu, Q thing pf Fidijokele say so look alike
(ST) Olori Jesu, Is Fidijokele correct?
O: Mo fe ki obinrin yen ku oriire
(G)I want greet woman that good head
(ST) I want to congratulate that woman
(ED 4)

The Question/Answer pair is also used by the presenters to clarify participants' responses. For instance:

→Am: Erm…se ko nse pe o maa da ile yen ru patapata?
(G) Erm… Q is not that she will spoil house that all in all
(ST) Erm… Hope she will not spoil the home?
M: (…) ile oko ko dabi matimatis ti 40 pasent tin je passmark
(G) house husband not like mathematics that 40 percent is equal passmark
(ST) Marriage is not mathematics here 40 percent is the passmark

(ED 2)

Another noticeable AP is the greeting/greeting pair which is quite peculiar to Yorùbá conversation. It is important to note that the frequency of this type of AP is very minimal in this setting compared to other Yorùbá setting.

→Gb: *Alhaja wa alaso funfun, e pele ma*
(G) Alhaja ours owner-cloth white, you sorry ma.
(ST) Alhaja wearing white, well done ma
A: *Awa niyen.*
(G) We that
(ST) I am okay.
(ED 4)

Although extremely minimal, the compliment/acceptance pair is also in use. The basis for its use is usually a kind of digression from the major topic.

→Gb: *Gele yii ga ju*
(G) headgear this high too
(ST) This headgear is amazing
M: *E seun Atokun*
(G) you thank presenter
(ST) Thank you, Presenter.
(ED 3)

4.2.4 Back Channel Communication

The essence of back channel communication in Turn-Taking cannot be over-emphasized. It serves as an indication to the existence of engaged listenership. Like most Turn-Taking event, the data recorded on*Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* shows an abundance of this kind

of communication. The presenters especially employ non-verbal back channel cues after they hand over the floor to a participant.

Am: Counsellor
C: *Psychologically speaking, adolescent stage naturally je asiko to nira fun awon obi*
(G)Psychologcally speaking, adolescent stage naturally is period that hard for them parent
(ST) 'Psychologically speaking, adolescent stage, naturally, is a difficult period for parents'.
→Gb: Hmmm
C: (0.2) *laarin odun metala si nineteen years*
(G)Between year thirteen to nineteen years
(ST)'Between ages thirteen to nineteen years.'
→Am: Hun
C: *O dara ju, ki omo wa ni ikapa obi e*
(G) It good more, that child be in grip of parent him
(ST) 'It's good for a child to be under the guidance of his parents'.
→Gb: *Beeni*
(G) It so
(ST)'It is so.'
(ED 1)

The constant use of Hmmm, Hun, Beeni, by the presenters serves as a proof that they are engaged in the conversation even though they do not hold the floor at that moment. The first 'hmm' in Turn 3 is an example of a realization of the fact embedded in Turn 2 while the 'hun' (Turn 3) serves as an affirmation of the fact in Turn 4. Although these markers may not be real utterances in the actual sense, yet they are produced by an interlocutor engaged in the conversation. They also contribute in the free flow of the conversation. Hence, they are given the status of a turn.

The audience members also make use of lots of these cues to indicate their undivided attention to the person holding the floor. Hence such expressions like hun hun (no), ehn (yes), ha (surprise) etc is heard at the background of the recording only that these expressions are not produced in uniformity. The famous *akiika* is not left out of these back channel utterances.

4.2.5Silence

The concept of silence in Turn-Taking is explicated in terms of where they occur. Hence we refer to pauses, gaps and lapses in conversations. The short pauses (intra-turn silence) in the recorded data could sometimes be indicative of the speaker trying to gather his thoughts as seen in the following example:

→B: *Eni suuru o (0.3) Oko to pase*
(G) You have patience emph Husband that command
(ST) 'Please be patient. The husband that commanded…'
Gb: Ehn
→B: *oko ni olori aya o (0.2) Oko mo ohun to nse o.*
(G) Husband is owner-head wife *emph* husband know thing is *cont* do*emph*
(ST) 'The husband is the head of the wife. The husband knows what he is doing'
(ED 2)

One very important use of silence (pause) by the participants is to indicate the end of their turn which is immediately understood by the presenters. At this point, the presenters take over the floor.

→K: *So ki man yen ko lo se atunse (0.5)*
(G) So let man that should go do correction
(ST) 'So let the man make corrections'
Gb: *Ok, won ni ko lo se atunse o.*
(G) Ok, they say should go do correction o
(ST) 'Okay, they said he should make corrections.'
Am: *Eegun, se bee ni?*
(G) Eegun, Q so it
(ST) 'Eegun, Is it so?'
(ED 6)

4.2.6Repair

The essence of repair in any conversation is to allow a speaker revise, rectify or reconstruct his utterances. Whether envisaged or not, errors are bound to occur in conversations. *Mìnìjòjò*'s many conversations are not exceptions. They also contain errors which are rectified through self-repair or other repair (Schegloff et al., 1977).

Errors in a media setting are quite costly. This is because viewers/listeners may be misinformed. Also the message been transmitted has to be as polite as possible to avoid inciting any viewer or listener. As such, presenters ensure that the content been transmitted is void of errors and any form of complication. Take for instance:

D: *Ko ni lo gbe elubo iya e*
(G) wont he go carry yam flour mother him
(ST) 'Won't he carry his mother's yam flour?'
→Am: *Iya e ko lo ni elubo o*
(G) Mother him not owner of yam flour *emph*
(ST) His mother is not the owner of the yam flour.
D: Ko ni lo gbe elubo han iya e
(G) Won't he go carry yam flour show mother his
(ST) 'Won't he show his mother the yam flour?'
Am: E maa so lede t'awon ile maa mo
(G) You *cont* say in language that them home will know
(ST) 'Please state it in explicit terms'

(EDITION 2)

Presenters on Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀ are very sensitive to errors and are quick to correct them even when they are the guilty party. Thus, the repair mechanism is very useful in these instances.

Am: *Iya Ekiti, mo lo si Ado l'ana*

(G) Iya Ekiti, I go to Ado yesterday

(ST) 'Iya Ekiti, I was in Ado yesterday'

Gb: *Ee ya si ile olounje?*

(G) You *neg* to house food-owner?

(ST) 'You did not visit a restaurant?'

Am: *Iro Iro o*

(G) Lie Lie emph

(ST) 'Not true'.

Gb: *Eeyan o gbodo ma jeun, ki gomina wa wole, owo temi na di sisan niyen*

(G) Person neg must eat, for governor to enter, money mine the turn payment so

(ST) 'You must eat if you know the governor will pay'.

((Laughter))

Am: Je ki won koko s'oro na

(G) Let them first talk so

(ST) 'Let him make his points'.

(ED 3)

In the above sequence, the source of the trouble is turn 2 where the second presenter is trying to draw an inference which is not quickly understood by the first presenter. He, however, performs a kind of self-repair in turn 4 to enable him throw more light on what he means by asking a question in turn 2. He is actually trying to refer to the news of the Ekiti governor patronizing local restaurants.

B: *Iru::: aare to mu a o mo.*
(G) Type sickness that catch him we *neg* know
(ST) 'We don't know the kind of sickness that afflicted him'
Gb: Hmmmn
B: *Boya ode ori ti mu u. E maa binu o.*
(G) Maybe trap head *pf* catch him. You *neg* angry *emph*
(ST) 'Maybe he is insane. Apologies'.
Gb: *Boya ayo ayoporo l'omu. A o mo*
(G) Maybe joy excessive catch him. We *neg* know
(ST) 'Maybe he is spoilt. We don't know'.

(ED 3)

In the above instance, the participant commits an error which may not augur well with certain viewers and so, he quickly apologizes in the same turn where the error occurs.

The presenter, however, supplies a better option in turn 4 and the participant shows his agreement with the option provided by repeating the utterance of the presenter. Although turn 3 may be said to be self-repair, the actual repair occurs in turn 4 where the presenter supplies the better utterance.

4.2.7 Non-Verbal Communication

Although CA has been accused of not capturing adequately non-verbal communication, this does not rule out the existence and the immense contributions which non-verbal communication is capable of in a conversation. Turn-Taking, specifically, may not be fully analysed if non-verbal communication is not put into consideration.

The presenters on *Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀* make use of lots of non-verbal cues. They nod or smile when they agree with a participant's utterance. Shake their heads when they disagree with a participant and thus indicate their readiness to interrupt. They sometimes point in addition to calling the name of the next speaker to take the floor. They shift from one position to another to show the location of the current speaker. At other times, they roll over their first fingers to signal the current speaker that his time is up. They also involve in a lot of gesticulations to add credence to their utterances.

Some male participants chosen to speak will clear their throats as a pointer to their readiness to speak. Others will move to the edges of their seat to show that they are in control and retreat into their seats once their turn expires. They also engage lots of gesticulations to drive home their points.

On the part of the audience, they supply lots of laughter on the programme. They shift their gaze to each participant chosen to speak. They clap, they nod, and they shake their

heads and move their bodies in disapproval. Some even roll their hands over their heads, a Yorùbá gesticulation for 'May it never happen'.

4.3General Discussion

This portion of the research will commence with an examination of how the interlocutors open the floor. In this setting (like a typical media setting), only the presenters are allowed to open the floor. This means that 100% of the openings are carried out by the presenters of the programme. At no time did any member of the audience break this norm. Only Sacks at al. (1974)'s rule of 'current speaker selects next technique' is applicable in the opening tier. It is also worthy of note how only one of the presenters handle inviting the members of the audience. Both presenters did not handle this task probably in a bid to avoid confusion. As such, the presenter who handles inviting the members of the audience is at liberty of inviting these participants how he thinks appropriate at a particular moment. The watchword is often politeness. This supports the view of Leech (1983) which propagates that politeness is a norm which has positive social consequences. To show politeness, the presenter employs the honorific pronouns of the Yorùbá language most of the time in addressing these participants. Even when the presenter does not employ the honorific pronoun (often an indication that there is a relationship between the presenter and the member of the audience that transcends the programme), he still remains polite.

To start a conversation with a participant, the presenter is not limited to a particular way of inviting a member of the audience. His methods of inviting these participants are usually unpredictable. As much as possible, he tries to be creative in inviting these

interlocutors to take the floor. Thus, his methods of calling on these speakers ranges from Address forms, Questions, Statements, Requests, Proverbs, Greetings, to Prayers. In most Yorùbá settings, it is believed that to commence a conversation, there must first be an exchange of greetings without which a smooth flow of communication may be impossible. Also, considering the notoriety of the Yorùbá race in greetings, greetings should be prominent on the programme. However, in this setting, it is not necessarily the case as the presenter uses greeting as an option in inviting the participants to take over the floor. In fact, the frequency of opening a conversation with a member of the audience through greeting is just 5.7%. Occupying about 42.1% of the opening, Questions seem to be the most preferred avenue by which the presenter invites the participants. Proverbs and Prayers occupy the least spot in the opening with 4.5% each. The use of proverbs and prayers in these conversations, no doubt, shows how the Yorùbá tradition influences the way these interlocutors take turn. This is a phenomenon that showcases the uniqueness of this type of Turn-Taking and differentiates it from Turn-Taking in other languages. This reinforces the claim of Cook (1989) which proves that Turn-Taking should be seen in the light of different conversations (languages).

Crucial to the analysis of Turn-Taking by Sacks et al. (1974) are the unit types. In the opening tier, the presenter employs the various unit types at his discretion. Majorly, names constitute the bulk of the lexical unit types employed and occupy about 21.6% of the unit types employed in this tier. The phrasal unit type has the least frequency with 11.4%. 29.5% and 37.5% are recorded for the clausal and sentential unit types respectively.

The business tier or the middle tier is where the selected member of the audience takes over the floor. Here, the selected member receives the attention (gaze) as he or she expresses his or her views on the issue of the day. Overall, most of the participants employ statements to supply their contributions but the use of proverbs in this tier is also abundant. Proverbs appear about 37 times in the 88 conversations analysed, majority of which occur in the middle tier. It is important to state how these interlocutors share a common knowledge of these proverbs. Often times when the first part of a proverb is supplied by the speaker holding the floor, majority of the audience are prompt in providing the other part of the proverb. This buttresses the submission of Abioye (2011) on how very important proverbs are to the Yorùbá people and how they learn proverbs as part of their oral tradition. In fact, the researcher may be forced to perceive proverbs as a type of adjacency pair in Yorùbá Turn-Taking since the supplier of the first part sometimes in expectation of a response leave out the provision of the second part to the listener thereby using the proverb as a 'current speaker selects next technique'. The only impediment is that not every speaker of the Yorùbá language is privy to the same repertoire of Yorùbá proverbs which are indeed very numerous. But when interlocutors share common knowledge of these proverbs, it provides a great avenue of sharing turns. Other prominent features of the middle tier are prayers, rhetorical questions and greetings. Also, in this tier, there are instances of 'current speaker continues' technique where the presenter fails to take over the floor from the participants despite signals to do so.

Abdul (2001) emphasizes the three tiers of a conversation and how very important it is to have a good start (opening), maintain the conversation (middle) and have a safe

landing (closing). Unfortunately, only a very few of the 88 conversations analysed have thorough endings. Once the selected speaker signaled the end of the contribution, the presenter often times moves to another speaker without commenting on what the previous speaker had said. All the same, some contributions attract 'thank you' from the presenters as a way of closing the conversation.

Concerning Turn Construction Units (also TCUs), the claims of Brockmeyer & Smieja (2006) seem to be correct. In actual fact, TCUs on the programme have the property of projectability so much so that it is possible to determine what unit type (lexical, phrasal, clausal, sentential) a speaker is about to produce right from the beginning and at what point it may likely end. Interlocutors on the programme recognise these ends/conclusions (Transition Relevance Places) through prosodic and grammatical boundaries as well as non-verbal cues (e.g. gaze, body movements) and are swift to take over at such Transition Relevance Places (also TRP). Silence is also an important tool on the programme with which interlocutors signal a TRP. Unlike other Yorùbá conversations where age determines the TRP, age does not play any significant role in this setting. Regardless of the age or social status of the member of the audience selected to speak, the presenters have the exalted right to interrupt even when the participant has not reached a TRP. The programme also negates the proposition of Olutayo (2013) that older interlocutors in a Yorùbá conversation can interrupt the current speaker because his age puts him at a vantage point in the conversation.

As stated in the data analysis and presentation section, only two rules of the three rules of Turn-Taking proposed by Sacks et al. (1974) are applicable on the programme. These

are ‘current speaker selects next technique’ and ‘current speaker continues technique’. The ‘next speaker self-selects technique’ does not occur here. A good explanation for this will be that it is a television setting where conversation is coordinated and to some degree, restricted.

A lot of interruptions and overlaps occur in the middle tier of the programme where the real issues on the programme are trashed out. The presenters interrupt the participants especially for the purpose of repair. An important finding, however, is that some members of the audience interrupt the presenters freely once they have the floor and they are not willing to give up their turns yet. It seems taking centre stage is an empowering factor which allows them to drag the floor with the presenters. There are also instances of overlaps especially when proverbs are uttered. This is because listeners are often tempted to join in the completion of the other part of the proverb. This, no doubt, is an important aspect of Yorùbá Turn-Taking which proves that overlaps may be expected once proverbs are about to be uttered.

Adjacency pairs on the programme include question/answer, greeting/greeting, and invitation/acceptance. Once the presenters produce the first pair part (fpp), the participants are under obligation to supply the other part. The second pair part (spp) proffered by the participants are usually preferred responses. According to Eggins and Slade (2007), these types of response in contrast to dispreferred responses are usually supportive and compliant. Even when these responses do not seem supportive or compliant enough, the speaker or the presenters employ repair mechanisms to right these utterances.

4.4Research's Contribution to Knowledge

This study has contributed to knowledge in the following ways:

i. This work has contributed to Conversation Analysis as an area of language study. More significantly, it presents the Conversation Analysis of an indigenous African language carried out by the native speaker of the language, a kind of deviation from Conversation Analysis done in English language which has for ages served as a blue-print for analysis in other languages.

ii. The culture of a people is said to affect the manner with which the people use their language. This is true with virtually all human language as it is usually difficult to separate the language from the culture of a people. Another contribution is that this work provides a literature that examines Yorùbá Turn-Taking especially the factors that influence how Yorùbá people take turns. The working of these factors in relation to Turn-Taking is a major achievement of this work.

iii. Apart from the Conversation Analysis and Turn-Taking contributions, this work also adds to the repertoire of media literature by presenting the workings of the media. The focus of this work is to examine how Yorùbá Turn-Taking works in a television setting knowing full well that the media setting has its peculiar attributes that distinguishes it from other settings. For example, older interlocutors may have the final say in other settings where the Yorùbá language is employed, this does not play out in the media. The professionalism that the media exhibits is represented in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0Preamble

After analysing 88 conversations of Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀, a Yorùbá discussion programme on Africa Independent Television (AIT), it is expedient to provide a concluding chapter that will guarantee that justice has indeed been done to the analysis of Turn-Taking in the Electronic Media. Thus, in this final chapter, the summary, overall conclusion and recommendations of this research are presented.

5.1Summary of Findings

Although there had been detours in this work on the History of the Electronic Media in Nigeria, The Emergence of Africa Independent Television and Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀, the essence of this research has been to examine Yorùbá conversation with special emphasis on Turn-Taking. Despite the fact that this work has used American English Turn-Taking as a blueprint for analysis (Sacks at al. (1974) carried out their research on American English Turn-Taking), the major focus of this work is Yorùbá Turn-Taking. Turn-Taking in Yorùbá has been viewed as a reflection of a people's culture, tradition and worldview. It is almost an impossible task to refer to Turn-Taking in Yorùbá without making reference to the Yorùbá people and how they engage in conversation with one another. Thus, issues like politeness, honorific pronouns, proverbs etc are provided prominent spots in Chapter Two of this work.. Hitherto, this research has employed 88 conversations from a Yorùbá programme (Mìnìjọ̀jọ̀) in an attempt to limit the scope of the work and ensure that a near perfect conclusion about Yorùbá Turn-Taking is drawn from the programme.

To arrive at a convincing conclusion about Yorùbá Turn-Taking, this research set out to provide answers to the following questions:

1. How relevant is the application of Turn-Taking rules to the success of any conversation?
2. Which conversation features are unique to the Yorùbá Turn-Taking process?
3. Does Yorùbá Turn-Taking in an electronic media setting present special principles that are absent from other settings?
4. What informs possible conversational behaviours among Yorùbá interlocutors?

The first question was to enable the researcher establish the relevance of Turn-Taking to any conversation. This research has attempted to prove that Turn-Taking is indeed very relevant since people cannot all speak at the same time. Even in monologues, one person still takes the floor and others listen, hopeful for their turns. So, to a very large extent, Turn-Taking is indeed very relevant in ensuring that interlocutors wait for their turns. Even when there are instances of interruptions or overlaps, Turn-Taking still instils 'discipline' in such conversations. Hence, the research focused on Conversation Analysis: A Historical Sketch, Conversation Analysis as a Field of Language Study, Theory of Turn-Taking, Review of Previous Works on Turn-Taking as well as the Criticisms of the Theory of Turn-Taking so as to present a balanced view.

To differentiate the unique features of Yorùbá Turn-Taking, the researcher highlighted such characteristics as Politeness, Greetings, Honorific Pronouns, Proverbs and Prayers

as factors that influence the Yorùbá Turn-Taking mechanism. Although these factors may also be present in other languages (e.g. African languages), this research attempted to present how these factors work peculiarly in Yorùbá Turn-Taking.

Using Sacks et al's *A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking*and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) as the basic thereotical framework, the researcher used the components of these theories to analyse 88 conversations from a Yorùbá television programme. These components include Turn Allocation Components, Adjacency Pairs, Interruptions/Overlaps, Repair, Silence, Back Channel Communication and Non-Verbal Communication. The findings in this setting are subsequently placed against the background of other Yorùbá Turn-Taking scenarios. It was quite revealing how the age or social status of the interlocutor may not matter so much in this setting unlike other settings. Another very important finding is that Proverbs form Adjacency Pairs in Yorùbá conversations. Once the person holding the floor gives the First Pair Part, in most cases the listener suddenly turns the speaker by supplying the Second Pair Part. In other scenarios, the Second Pair Part forms an overlapping statement.

In the long run, the Yorùbá culture was discovered to be a major influence on how Turn-Taking specifically plays out among Yorùbá interlocutors in the media. Not only does the Yorùbá culture affect this people's lifestyle, the way they converse and take turns is also reflective of their culture and tradition. In Other words, the researcher discovered that the Yorùbá culture is what informs the conversational behavior of the Yorùbá people

5.2Conclusion

Turn-Taking is an important aspect of any conversation because it helps to ensure that order is maintained at all times. As such, interlocutors try as much as possible to speak one person at a time so much so that even when there are instances of interruptions and overlaps, they quickly revert to the status quo of one interlocutor holding the floor at a particular period. In fact, one of the many roles played by the presenters of the programme is to guarantee that one speaker takes the floor at a time. This is assumed to be beneficial to viewers at home who may be following closely on the issue of the day.

The concept of Turn-Taking is not a mere linguistic exercise undertaken only for the promotion of inter personal relationships, it is obviously a prominent type of social organization, one whose instances are implicated in a wide range of other activities (Sacks at al., 1974). Whatever sphere of life, Turn-Taking is very relevant. Turns are valued, sought and avoided (Sacks et al op.cit:12). Most individuals place value on turns because it is through this distribution network that people are put into certain positions and allowed to perform properly without the fear of rejection. Turn-Taking really calls for respect from those either exercising or waiting to exercise it.

People seek turns in order to achieve certain goals. These goals may be political, educational, or social. This being the case, people clamour for allocation or rotation of positions in an attempt to play their own part in the scheme of things. In fact, the rotational system of sharing political offices in Nigeria is a clear case of Turn-Taking.

Socially, people change names to take the turn of being someone else and sometimes they even role-shift their sex in order to taste the other side of their womanhood.

Transgendered human beings and hermaphrodites are typical examples of those who take turn of being either male or female depending on their choices. A polygamous or polyandrous relationship is another typically example of Turn-Taking where spouses take turns in playing their marital role.

Turns are equally avoided particularly where their assumption can cause either chaos or an unpleasant disposition to those assuming them or pain to those relinquishing them. In situations where leaders avoid or fail to give turns to others, certain unpleasant things like forceful ejection, coups, resentment etc may occur.

Another obvious example is a meeting where turns are taken and distributed based on participants' social positions and functions. Participants, as well, take turns under a prescribed code of conducts. The chairman of the occasion, for example, is bestowed with the responsibility of ensuring that every member exercises his right to contribute to the proceedings as he finds necessary. To achieve that, either the chairman nominates the next person to speak or a member signifies his intention to comment on an on-going discussion by coming through the chairman. It is because members respect this Turn-Takingarrangement that meetings are transacted peacefully. Anything short of it will surely invite disruption of proceedings and sometimes lead to chaos.

Debates, interviews and other public functions are not exempted in this kind of setup. Debates and interviews especially are controlled by a chairman/moderator who ensures turns are properly distributed and allocated. In debates, for example, the moderator determines who speaks, when, in what order and for what length of time (the timing in debates are actually monitored by a time keeper). Interviews, on their own part, have a

rather rigid pattern. Turns in them are also pre-allocated. It is the chairman or anchor that has the first turn as well as the last turn. He also determines when the members of the panel speak and in what order. It is also his duty to determine when the interviewee responds and within what time frame. Instances where questions are distributed among the panel members abound so as to ensure equal distribution of turns.

Public functions or ceremonies have a slight variation in terms of control of contributions. While the chairman is the general director of the affairs of the day, the masters of ceremonies (M.C.) acts as the visible guide. It is he that controls the crowd more often than the chairman who usually acts from the background. It is also he that allocates and announces the order of events. A disruption of this order may produce grave consequences.

In market scenes, however, how buyers and sellers conduct the transaction is reminiscent of Turn-Taking arrangement. Though the relationship between the buyer and the seller is purely business, the exchange is typical of what might be called a 'ritualized turn distribution' (Abdul 2001). Unlike the occasion discussed above, there is no hard and fast rule as to who commences the talk here. It is situational as well as bi-directional. However, if the transaction is to succeed, neither the buyer nor the seller can afford to violate the Turn-Taking norm.

Even nature buttresses the importance of Turn-Taking. The day alternates the night, the sun alternates the moon, and seasons come and go. The days of the week, the months of the year come in succession. Life comes before death. Twins are born one after the other. Babies learn to crawl before they walk. God Himself created the heavens before

the earth on different days. Also, the gradual attainment of educational qualification is a turn by turn process comprising of different steps. It is not achieved at a turn. All these are evidences of the way societal activities are governed by the Turn-Taking system. The examples stated above are just few instances where the Turn-Taking system is shown to be relevant. Virtually all activities, situations or occasions that humans engage in are regulated by the Turn-Taking mechanism.

The importance of Turn-Taking to any conversation cannot be overemphasised. As long as conversation is the focus, Turn-Taking will always be a cogent and relevant issue since only Turn-Taking ensures order in any conversation. It is expedient, therefore, that a speaker (whether first language speaker or second language speaker) of any language understands how turns are allocated, when it is obligatory to speak, what responses are required, when to interrupt, how to interrupt, what non-verbal gestures are acceptable, what silence implies at a particular point, what relevant back channel cues to employ and ultimately, how to repair verbal 'mishaps'. Once equipped with these conversation essentials, the acceptance of a speaker into a lingual community becomes facile.

5.3Recommendation

It has become a stark reality that most indigenous languages are threatened with extinction in the face of modernity. It is therefore recommended that more researches should be carried out on indigenous languages. Researches in Yorùbá conversation especially cannot be exhausted or contained in one single literature. Hence, there is need to explore many more possibilities especially in the area of Turn-Taking. Non-Verbal

Communication in Turn-Taking, for example, is a very researchable area which can further expose the workings of Turn-Taking in face to face interactions.

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APPENDIX
MÌNÌJỌ̀JỌ̀ TRANSCRIPT

EDITION ONE (DISPUTE IN THE HOME)

Am: Councilor, ẹ jẹ́ káa kọ́kọ́ lọsí ọ̀dọ̀ yín ná

C: ((…))

Am: Hmmmh

C: Ẹ mọ ohun tí o ṣẹlẹ̀ (0.3) Bí Fáráò ṣe l'ágbára tó yẹn, Agbára ògùn ni. Ó ti sọ allow, ó só di allowance. Ọlọ́run ní sùúrù (0.2). Ẹ mọ̀pé Ọlọ́run á máa wò yàn báyi, ání 'I dey laugh'. Oò lówó, oò lóògùn, o ní wọ́n kó'yán ẹ kéré. K'òlówó tó obìrin yẹn=

Am: =Kò dè wá fiṣe o

C: Kò ńṣe ìyàwó ló ńwolẹ́ lóru lóru. K'awá so pé bóyá owó tó ní tàbí ipò t'ówà. Kòtún mọ̀hùn ara è. Mo lè ní kó fi sílẹ̀ o ((…)) Ó yẹ kí t'ọkọ t'ayà mọ èèwọ̀ ara wọn.

Am: Ehnnn, Ìyá Èkìtì

I: Ọkùnrin yẹn…er..er…Obìnrin yẹn, t'óbá badà sí'nú ilé yẹn, 'tit for tat' ni. Wọ́n á jọ máa na ara wọn. Ìnà t'ójẹ́ wípé ànà pa ni. The best thing ni wípé ki obìnrin yẹn dúró sí àyè ara è. T'óbá badà lọ, Yorùbá ní: "Ẹni bá f'ojú àná wo òkú, =ẹbọra á bọ l'áṣo".

Am: =ẹbọra á bọ l'áṣo

I: Àjùlọ ju ẹni lọ. Kó rọra joko s'áyè ara ẹ̀ nítorí ìyà ló ńbá ti bẹ̀ bọ̀, ÌYÀ GIDI. Nítorí Ọlọ́run ti fi ẹni tí okùnrin yẹn jẹ̀ hàán. And I don't know why, bi kí ènìyàn rí iná ni, kí ó fẹ́ ki ọrùn ara ẹ̀ bọ. Kó rọra dúró s'áyè ara ẹ̀.

Am: Ehn, Mẹṣan, níbo l'ẹní kóti bẹ̀rẹ̀. Ṣé ó ṣẹ̀ máa lọ fẹ́ ẹlòmíì lẹ́yìn ọdún mẹ́fà ..er.. àbí ọdún mẹ́jọ

M: (…) T'óbá jẹ́ ìyàwó onísu lọ́kà ni, á ti mọ̀hùn ara wà pé agbérawa wolé. T'óbá jẹ ẹni t'ólè fi ìwà pamọ́, àá ní t'óbá fẹ́'yàwó tán wọ́n á lè fẹjọ́ [ẹ sùn

Am: [Ẹẹ̀ ti ríbi t'ójẹ́ wípé ìyàwó á fiwà ẹ̀ pamọ́? Ọkọ á fiwà ẹ̀ pamọ́, t'ínú ìyẹn á máa dùn. Ṣùgbọ́n t'óbá tóbíi ọdún kan, (...) pressure á máa dé lótun lósì. Pressure yẹn lè wá láti anywhere. Wọ́n á ní aláfisùn, aláfisùn á dási, ó máa sun. Obìrin yẹn ó ti gokè, ó ti sò, ó ti rí àgádágodo ọkùnrin yẹn bayi. Oṣù méjì tí ọkùnrin yẹn á bá padà wá, á ti rù.(laughter) (...) Ó lè bu omi múmu tán, kó lọ l'étí. (...) So before this thing, wọ́n máa kó ọ̀rọ̀ wọn tọ Jésù lọ gbẹ̀yìn ni.Kí lẹ ṣọ yìí?

M: Ẹ jẹ́ kí okùnrin yẹn máa kó bò. Ìdájọ́ Ọlọ́run ló dé bayi.

Am: Emmm Nukasi, nígbà t'abá ní kó padà ẹ mọ̀ wípé Ikú ńdẹ̀dẹ̀, dẹ̀dẹ̀ ńdikú.

N: Ọkọ tí ó ti ńbá ìyàwó jà , tí wọ́n dawọ́pọ̀ lú, ó ní ǹkan tí ó fi ńwá ìyàwó è . Kòsí lúlù tódàbí ti ẹ̀ (laughter). Óní ǹkan tì ìyàwó ẹ̀ fi ńwu. Òwun lóyé. Tí ò bá ní ìdí, á ti lọ fẹ́ ẹlòmîì. Àmọ́ ónídi tó fi ńwa.

Am: (Refrains from eye contact and nodding)

Am: Mummy wa, ṣé ẹ rò pé inù ilé yẹn ṣile tòrò?

M: Níbo? (…) Ọjọ́ kan ni wọ́n máa lu ara wọn pa. Àwọn ọ̀rẹ́ ò ní sí níbẹ̀.

Am: Ẹ jẹ́ ká lọ sí ọwọ́ èyìn l'ọ́dọ̀ àwọn 'backbenchers'.Àwọn 'backbenchers' ló l'ágbára jù ní parliament.(laughter) Baba Ijebu.

BI: Tí ọmọ obìrin yẹn bá padà, kò sí ohun tó máa ṣe.(0.3) Ó múmi rántí ọ̀rọ̀ kan, tọkọ tayà. Ọlọ́run ló mọ ibi tán ti mú rawọn.Tí tọkọ tayà yí bá ńjà, t'abá bèrè pé kílóṣelẹ̀, wọ́n á ká mọ́ ara wọn, wọ́n á kiss ara wọn. Ọkọ á ní my darling ó yá wá lọ wẹ̀. Ẹ̀ẹ̀ ri a pá l'ójú ọ̀tuń, a pá l´ójú òsì. Ọmọlúàbí lọmọbìnrin yẹn. Àwọn ọ̀rẹ́ ló kọ. Ọkùnrin yẹn ló ṣè gbéraga. (...)Ìyàwó dẹ̀ré, wọ́n kọ n'íta, ó fun ní beating. T'óbá wọlé, wọ́n á jọ máa mọ̀hùn ara wọn.

Am: Ọ̀gágbì, Kí lẹ wí?

Ọ: Ejò àti akàn, wọn kìí ṣe ọ̀rẹ́. Tí ejò bá wọ ihò akàn , reverse ni ó máa bọ́ síta. Reverse GIDI. Ṣé ẹ wá ri, ènìyàn méjì, ó sàn ju ènìyàn kan lọ. T'ẹ́nì kán bá ṣubú,ẹnì kejì á gbe dìde. Ọkùnrin tí o ńlu ìyàwó ẹ̀, number 1, kò da. Àwọn kan á ti ẹ̀ ní, orí onítọ̀nhún ò pé. Ó wá mú ìyàwó è, o lùú. Sùgbọ́n àwọn area kan wa t'óyẹ káa tan m ọ̀lẹ̀ sí. Tí okùnrin bá ńlù ìyàwó ẹ̀, ǹkan míì á máa wà níbẹ̀.

Am: Ehn (0.2) níbi tí ọ̀rọ̀ gbé dúró yi, ó dàbí a ti fi àwọn ǹkankan sílẹ̀. Ó yẹ kí òhun náà ti mọ̀ pé ọ̀nà tí wọ́n mú mi gbà yí, ṣé kò ńse pé o máa da'le yi rú pátápátá ? Madam. (selects her through eye contact)

M: Olórin kan s'ọpé: 'ọ̀rọ̀ lọ́kọ láya, ayé ẹ má ma dási'. Ilé ọkọ kòdàbí Mathematics tí 40% jẹ́ passmark. Tí ó bá jẹ́ ó ńlu obìnrin y ẹn nìgbà courtship wà láarin wọn, kò lè fẹ́ okùnrin yẹn. Kò dẹ torí bẹ́ẹ̀ kó proud ní'jó kan. Kí ìyàwó tó yan àwọn teacher, ọkọ ti nì àwọn lecturers. Ibi tí àwọn lecturers ti ọkọ dé yi, ibẹ̀ ló dé yi. (...) Ǹkan tí mo fẹ́ sọ fún obìnrin yẹn ni pé (0.3) (...) Tí obìnrin bá ti wọ menopause ti ẹ̀ ti ba. Ijọ́ tí okùnrin bá tó kú ni kiní ẹ tó kú.Níṣe ní ko badà joko. Ìrìn àjò kan wa láaarin wọn tó jẹ́ wípé blood is thicker than water.

Am: Ṣé kí obìnrin yẹn wá padà? Baba Onìdó.

O: T'Ọ́lọ́run bá ti ní ibẹ̀ l'ọmọ ẹ wà (...) Obìnrin tó bá gbọ́wọ́ sókè na ọkọ è, ọ̀la ọmọ ẹ̀ ló ńfi ṣeré.

Am: Ṣé ọkọ ṣìlè máa na lọ?

O: Ọkọ gan ò gbudọ̀ try e. Ó máa lu t'ayé ẹ̀ pani.

Am: Ọdẹ.

Ọ: (0.2) Gbogbo ohun t'óbá ńs ẹlẹ laaarin lọ́kọ láya kí wọ́n máa ro bí iṣu bí iṣu. Òhun ló d'ífá fún lọ́kọ láya kan, tí wọ́n lọ kó ẹyin ìsàba ìkokò. Aládìyẹ bá ńkígbe . BÁ NGB'ẸYIN MÌ O.Ìyàwó lọ pọn omi. Kó tó dé, ọkọ ti jẹ ẹyin mẹ́ta. Ìyàwó ní gbogbo ohun táasè pátá l'ayé máa gbọ́. Olóri ẹbí ní ki wọn k'ẹ́jọ́ wá. Ẹni tó ni ẹyin dẹ̀ wà níbẹ̀. Ọkọ ní bi iṣu bí iṣu ni ki ìyàwó ro. Ni ìyàwó bá ro bí iṣu. Ni olórí ẹbí bá parí ẹ̀. Ni ìyàwó ba badà s'ọ́dọ̀ ọkọ ẹ̀.

Am: Kí ni Counsellor wa ti wí?

C: Psychologically, ẹni tó bá ní moon disorder, tó bá ní ẹ̀fọ́rí (...) Ó máa ńfa depression . Ìfẹ́ gbígbóná l'ówà láaarin wọn. Ki.. ki...=wọn ṣóra

Am: =Al... al.. alright. Ẹ jẹ́ ki Aafa sọ̀rọ̀.

A: Tí obìnrin ò bá ti bí'mọ, kò tí ni ibùjóko. Nínú Ìsìlámù, ìyàwó ò gbudọ̀ na ọkọ. Ọkọ ò sì gbudọ̀ na ìyàwó.

Am: Èègùn, níṣẹjúkan.

E: Er...Kó má badà ṣí bẹ̀.

EDITION TWO

(BOARDING SCHOOL SAGA)

Am: Ẹ jẹ́ káa mu ní pápàpá nítorí aní alejò lórí ètò. Councillor wa.

C: Kí wọ́n ti è dúpẹ́ pé ó mu wálé ná. Ó dè sọfún ìyá k'ótó badà. Óní am'óku o,=ẹrù é wọ́

Am: =ẹrù é wọ́

Gb: =ẹrù é wọ́

C: Óní òkè lè ńwò, eè wò ìsàlè. T'áwọn bàbá wa bá máa sọ, wọ́n ní ojú mẹ́rin ló ńbímọ

=igba ojú ló ńwo

Gb: =igba ojú ló ńwo

Am: hmmm

C: Area boy is negligence of the [parents

Gb: [family

C: (...) À fi tí a bá yípadà torípé ((smile)) (0.2) Kí Ọlọ́run kí ó gbà wá

Gb: Àmin

C: (...) Mo ní'lé, mo ní mótò, ọjọ́ ọ̀la ọmọ ni

Gb; hmmm. Ọmọ ẹni [lọ̀la. Ẹṣé púpọ̀.

Am: [Ìyá Èkìtì. Èkìtì kete

Gb: Kete Èkìtì

Ek: Bàbá ní kó málọ, ìyá ní k'ólọ. Ọkọ ti di méjì nínú ilé o. Ọmọ tí ó bá da ni ti ìyá.

Am: Ehn (0.2) ìyá yẹn fẹ́ fi ìdí ńkankan múlẹ̀ ni. Pé tí ilé ìwé yẹn ò bá ṣe àkíyèsí, pé bayi bayi ni ọmọ wa ńmú wálé o. Ọmọ tiwa ò wá bímọ́ o sùgbọ́n ẹ = lọ

Gb: =ẹ lọ ṣe atúnṣe

Ek: Tí wọ́n bá fa gbùrù, gbùrù á fa'gbó. Ẹni ti ẹ ńfẹ́jọ́ sùn, ṣé ẹ mọ̀ bóyá òhun gan ní sponsor.

Gb: Hmmm...ni school

Ek: Wọ́n tí ní tórí bá ti bàjé, ẹṣẹ̀ ò sunwọ̀n. Àfi kí ìyá yẹn gba ohun tí ọkọ ẹ ṣọ. T'óbá wu management, kí wọ́n go around láti mọ ohun tí ó ńṣẹlẹ̀.

Am: Lóǹdó, tí wọ́n bári pé ọmọ ò wá sí school mọ́, wọ́n máa bèrè ìbéèrè àbí?

L: Ṣé nínú àwọn ọmọ 45 tí ńjóko ní class ni wọ́n máa bèrè pé ọmọ kan ò wá?

Gb: Ìyẹn kọ́ là ńsọ

L: Ọ̀gá ti bèrè yín l'ẹ́kan wípé ṣé private ni àbí public.

Gb: Wọ́n ní boarding, BOARDING. Ó lórúkọ àmọ́ a ò s'ọrukọ́ ẹ. Ó wà láarín méjèejì.

L: Onílaakaye l'óma sìn'kú ológbọ́n. Tí okùnrin bá na ìyàwó ẹ̀, onílaakaye á ní ó bawí ni nítori ní ilẹ̀ Yorùbá ilé ọkọ, ilé ẹ̀kọ́ ni. Ohun t'óbá rí l'óma fi na ìyàwó ẹ̀

Gb: Ó dẹ̀ gbudọ̀ commit battery?

Am: Ìyàwó ẹ̀ jẹ́ ọmọ t'óma kọ́?

Gb: Ó yà mí l'ẹ́nu.

L: Ilé ẹ̀kọ́ ni wọ́n pee

Gb:Wọ́n ní tí obìnrin bá sẹ̀ ọ́, ṣónṣó ìgbálẹ̀ ni ko fi nàá, kì í ṣe odindin ìgbalẹ̀ o.

L: Kò sí pankẹ́rẹ́ láyé ìgbàyẹn ni

Gb: (...)

L: Ẹ́ní sùúrù (0.2) Ọkọ tó pàṣẹ pé àwọn máa mú ọmọ wọn kúrò ní ilé ìwé

Gb: Ehn

L: Ọkọ l'olorí aya. Ọkọ mọ ohun tórí. Ó fẹ́ mu ọmọ lọ sí ibi tí ẹnu átika ni. Ìyá tóní k'ọ́mọ má padà sibẹ̀ àbí kí wọ́n lọ ṣọ fún ilé ìwé. Kì í ṣe pé ìyá ọmọ mọ ohun tí ó ń ṣe. Ọgbọ́n obìnrin ni nítori àwọn obìnrin t'ẹ́rí yìí kòsíbi tí bíbélì ti pè wọ́n ní ènìyàn

Gb: ((laugh))

L: Kí wọ́n lọ kàá. Àwọn t'óyẹ kó ka bíbélì rèé. Ohun ìlò ẹlẹgé l'Ọ́lọ́run pè wọ́n. O sì quálify wọn lólùrànlọ́wọ́. They are just television tí ò gbodọ̀ jábọ́ lulẹ̀. So, Kí obìnrin s'òrò kí ìwọ ọkùnrin wá sọpé 'my wife says','this is what my wife has said'. Irọ́ lò ńpa tọn 'ra ẹ̀. Wa gba ìmọ̀ràn lọ́wọ́ ẹ̀ gẹ́gẹ́ bí olùrànlọ́wọ́. Wa ronú ẹ́ ginlẹ̀ =

Gb: Bóyá ó ṣe é tẹ̀lé [àbí kòṣe tẹ̀lé

L: [wa fi ti ẹ... ẹ HEN

Ọ̀rọ́ wọ, ọ̀rọ́ paper ni. Ó fú yẹ́. Ìwọ l'omọ bí o ṣe máa ṣé. Ilé ìwé ti wọ́ =

Am:= Ọlọ́run má jẹ ko lála kála lálẹ́yi o ((laugh))

L: S'eri school authority le maa mo nkan nkan nipa e. 'Tori ko s'eni to maa da school s'ile, k'oba ilke iwe ara e je.Ki iyawo yen gba imoran oko e.Ki won fi oro Olorun ati emi Olorun fi ba omo won soro. Ki won je ki o lo si ibi ti aye e ma ti dara.

Am: Adetipe

A: Ki Olorun ki o gba wa. Ti won ba mu omo yen kuro nibe. School ton ba ma mu lo nko?

Am: Se e mope midterm lomo naa se tan

A: Mo mo

Am: Ohun lo wa se nile

A: Se e mope omo primary ti wa ninu cult nisinyi?

Am: Ni cult? Magistrate court abi?

((LAUGHTER))

A: YES

Am: Cult abi? O mop e Ijesha ni won fiso

Gb: Boya ile ejo

A: Eko t'aba ko omo n'ile lo le yo omo. Eko ti won ko n'ile lo yo omo yen nisinyi. Kiise boya agbara obi abi anybody.

Gb: O ye ki won ti maa ko ni =ilana Olorun

A: =ilana Olorun

Gb: Pe ti anybody ba fun e ni'kan, fi han mi k'oto lo o. Abi b'oje owo na ni. K'oto na o. Boya iru iyen ti wa lara omo yen [tele

A: [ohun to sele gan niyen

Gb: Iba ma fi han

A: Ki Government wa… Ki Olorun b'awa gbe eni ti o maa bawa tun ilu wa se sibe

Gb: Hmmh! Ki Olorun bawa tun ilu se

A: Gbogbo oro ti wa l'amaa to l'olorun lorun…O sa maa daa. Mummy wa se e ti ni PVC

Am: Tani o ni PVC?

((Murmurings))

M: E so ni kan kan

Am: E maa je ko sun yin o.

Gb: O ya e so tiyin iya wa. ((Pointing))

I: E se Atokun. Won ni omo to ba ma je Asamu, won ni [kekere lo ti maa s'enu samu samu.

Gb: [kekere lo ti maa nse'nu samu samu.

I: Omo yen omo daadaa ni. Ti o ba je omo daadaa, ko ni gbe wa sile fun obi e. Igba to ba ti e ti ri pe oju ohun se bakan bakan lo maa bere pe ki lo nhappen.Nkan to kan wa nibe nipe obirin yen, o ye ko gba imoran =oko e.

Am: =Nkan ta nso nipe ojo meji, Friday mo weekend l'omo wa si'le. Kii se eyi ti eeyan le sare change school.

I: Ko se nkan kan sa. A joko si'le for… er...the rest of the term

Gb: Ile iwe o maa won po

I; Eh! S'eri t'oba bada si school yen=

Gb: =won o gba

I: Won a tun wa initiate e gidi gan t'oje wipe ohun gan o ti e ni gbe nkan kan wale mo. O beta b'ose gbewa yen. Won ni ijo t'aba ri'bi ni ibi nwole.Won ti ri ibi ni'jo yen, koya a wole. Ki won wa school mii fun.

Am: Olokoko

O: SA::: E se sir. Oju oni ti wa. Ile la ti nkeso rode. T'oba ti di pe omo nko elubo wa s'ile, ti eyin obi si nfoju ri, oro ti wo niyen.Loro sewe [eni ti

Gb: Eni ti now alare dake

O: Omo to lo lakaye e, toni nkan to ni nkan ton gbe le mi lowo re, o feran awon obi e ni o. Awon omo kan wa, Olorun o nije ka bi iru won. Nigba to ti ri beyen, omo yen o lo si ile iwe yen mo nitori ko si ogbon ti won fe dasi. Olorun da e lejo , oni o n lo appeal, court ibo lo fe lo? Ki won wa ogbon dasi. Ki won wa ile iwe miiWon kan le fi ranwon lowo n'ile iwe yen pe ari nkan bayi bayi

Gb: E maa se iwwadi fun ra yin.

O: Tori o le lo di ija. Ki won se omo lese. T'oba se Eko lo tin lo si school, ki won wa school fun l'Oyo. University wa l'Okuku.

Gb: Ehn ehn, o wa l'Okuku

O: Ah! Small London. Ki lo fe ke? Ti o si wahala

((Laughter))

Gb: Secondary ti e l'omo yi wa

O: S'eri bayi. Secondary wa l'Okuku

Gb: Musimi nyoju bi emo ninu isha.

M: O ye ki adupe lowo iya e. Most especially, lowo iya t'obi gan. Ti o ba je ti iya to fa mora. Omo yen gan o ni so funiya e. Ati lekun mori pe iya buruku l'ohun ni. Ki awon ob mu omo won l'ore. Koni gbe elubo fun iya e.

Am: Iya e kolo ni elubo o

M; koni je ki iya kori

Am: E maa so lede tawon tile maa mo.

M: koni gbe han, han, han, koto di wipe o ko elubo je sugbon ka dupe lowo Eledumare pe omo yen omo daadaa ni.

Gb: Aroye Ibadan , ni soki

A: Ti eyan ba kewu, ogbodo ko ti naijiria mo. Ti eyan ba kawe, ogbodo ko ti naijiria mo.

Gb: E salaye iyen daadaa o.

A: Bi won se lo kewu nil u mi, kii se ti naijiria. Orisirisi oyinbo lo njade l'ojoojumo. Gbogbo obi koni o ni opportunity lati mu omo kuro ni school. A sa dupe pe omo yen gboro. Omo yen ni won maa tun ba soro pe ti won ba ti fi lo e, maa se o. Won l'aje nse e, O nsa lo Kafanchan, ibo l'aje o si. Ile la ti nkeso rode; Charity begins at home. Ile la ti maa ko.

Gb: O daa. Akewi

Ak: E seun Atokun. A ti b'omi fun obo o le o.

Gb: Bawo la se maa mo?

A: Bawo La se maa gba ife pada. Obo kan wa to dabi eniyan. Am: Ah! Inaki niyen

A: Ohun to je kin so be ni wipe=

Am: =Meanwhile, if you see… ibi ti o ye eyin eeyan dudu ti wa limited niyen o. Oyinbo maa introduce banana si ni. Ko ni fun ni eyokan o. A fun ni meji ki banana maa baa jabo. Very simple!

((Laughter and Applause))

A ti gba ife bada lowo obo niyen.

A: Ohun to je ki n koko ro be ni wipe aanu gbogbo alakowe pata nsemi pelu igbe aye ta ngbe nisinyi. Sebi loju omo ta now yi, ta ngbe osuba fun yin aa lo ti njiyan? Ha! Nibo la nba kini yi lo bayi?

Gb: Kini ka se bayi?

A: Nigba ti won so fun iya pe iku nbo, to wan so pe iru aso kilowo? Se o fe baku jiyan ni? O le wu ki omo yi ki o bad. Loje ki ni ati bomi fun obo o le. Bawo lase maa [gba ife lowo e

Gb: [gba cup lowo e

Am: Ki ohun o to wa mu idea oni banana wa

Gb: Eegun

Am: Wa koko bere pe ki lo nje boarding school

E: oro meji ni mo fe sosi school e. Ki NDLEA ma so school naa

Gb: Aafa

A: During Open day, obirin yen a discuss pelu awon teachers. Ko remain ni school yen pelu awon Quality Assurance teachers, e rip e omo yen a change.

Am: Counsellor

C: Psychologically, adolescent stage naturally o je asiko to nira fun awon obi. Laarin odun metala si 19 years, o dara ju ki omo wa ni ikapa oni e. ki won maa wo imwole ati ijade e. Nigba yan la le fun ni eko pe. Ti won o ba manage adolescent stage yi, o le lead si juvenile delinquency.

EDITION THREE

(ARRANGED MARRIAGE)

Am: Councillor. Eje ka mu ni p aa paa paa

C: Ti iya eyan bag be yan s'epe, ki gbogbo olori ijo aye yi ki won maa gbadura fun. A fi ti o ba wu Olorun

Gb: Hmmm!

C: Olorun lo so fun wa ninu Bibeli pe bowo fun baba ati iya re (…)Ki ojo re ki o le pe. S'ebi ohun na l'eso. Oni ohun ti iya eyan gbodo se fun yan. Koye ki eyan disagree pelu e. Eni t'oba ri ibi ti obinrin ti bimo ri.

Gb: Hun

C: Kofi ogbogbon se. To ba je pastor ni abi aafa, ohun kohun ni kofi gba adura si. Olorun a de si ona rere.

Am: Iya Ekiti (0.2) Mo l'osi Ado lana

Gb: E ya si ile olounje?

Am: Iro iro o

Gb: Eeyan o gbudo ma jeun ki gomina o wole, owo temi na di asanpo

((laugh))

Am: je ki won koko s'oro

I: Ki Omo yen gbo ohun ti iya e so o sugbone ko fun iya e ni condition kan. Ko ni tohun ba dohun, eyin o se padasi o. Nkan ti iya ba le san pada ni ko gba lowo ana. Ko s fun iya pe ti oju ogun bale, ohun bad abo nile. Ki won jo agree.

Gb: Ti omokunrin yan o ba change o. Emi a pada sile o.

((Next Speaker selected through eye contact))

B: (…) mi ti ri eni to ti ri Olorun ri

Gb: Hun

B; Sugbon (…) Talo ti ri esu ri? Ko na wosoke. Obinrin ri esu face to face nitori awon ni esu tan je. O fun l'eso. Se o le tan e je? Atigba yen iwa bi esu bi seu ti won fi tan won je yen, kii kuro l'okan won. Ogbon ati oro tutu l'Olorun fi nab obinrin lo Iru okunrin wo=

Am: Infact okunrin yen lahun pee mi o ni je ki mummy approve awon to mu wa yen.

B: Ka ni emi ni omobinrin yen, maa travel lo. Ma de lo fe elomi. Ko maa s'epe. Nigba ti mob a ti wale akoko, ti mow a fun ni Pathfinder fairly used to daa. Oko ti mo fe lo ni kin fun e le leyi o. Se e mo wipe obinrin like bribe?

Gb: Beeni

B: Awon naa ti maa gbowo gbowo lowo oko afesona, =baba gan

Gb: = Ki baba o to mo

B: = Ha

Gb: = Ohun ti o ni mu emi e o gun ni won maa gbe le lowo

B: Obinrin o le ku're. Won buru o

((laugh))

Orin kan soos lo nko fun gbogbo okunrin to wa laye yi

Gb: Iru orin wo?

B: A ti gbe baba rele

((Laugh))

E wo o. Ki omobinrin yen lo fe eni to ba wu.Ti oko ba se fe, ko fe. Ti yen o ba se e fe, ko wa oko mii.

((selects next speaker by pointing first))

Gb: Aroye Ibadan

A: Ko si ohun t'oni ki arabinrin yen maa fe eni to wu.

Am: Igba ti iya o approve nko? O de need blessing mama e.

A: Hun! O need e looto. S'eri bi olorun ba ti fi ota eni han eyan [ko le

Gb: [ko le pani mo

A: lati 28 titi de 35. Olorun ma dawa duro o. Ti go-slow bamu eyan fun wakati meji, eeyan maa mo bi aye seri o.

Gb: Ha ha!

A: Ka to wa nipe odun meje.

Gb: Hun

A; Ti o de sepe e lahun fun. Iya e gan ti betray e. Ohun na a fi'su sina, a maa wa obe. A t'oya lo. Sebi ki oyun ti de ni? Ha! Nigbamii eeyan a maa fi suuru ko ohun ti o ba fe. Kos a ma lo agidi titi ti o maa fi bi iketa. Afi tiyen ba le fe ni class 4.

Gb: Ti yen ba ti le fe ni class 4 abi?

Am; Adetipe

Ad: E se Olootu. Won fe fi omo d'ore ni =ti won

Am: = won ti ns'ore won =tele o

Gb: =but s'oye ki won fi omo d'ore ni?

Am: baba ngba match pelu mama, o tun fe ki omo ti e [fe ma gba match

Gb: [ko continue. Won fe so di hereditary

M: Ohun na ni mo se so pe won f'omo d'ore ni. Ti abiyamo ba s'epe fun omo e lori ona ti ko to, ko le se because o fe da irin ajo omobinrin yen je ni. Irin ajo ti e ti baje already. Blessing melo lo nfun marriage nilu oyinbo, se marriage won o wa successful= ni

Am: =Ehn, A le fi ti won we tiwa o. Oyinbo le marry laaro, ko divorce l'ale.

Gb: Beeni

M: Yes, o possible

Am; Eyin le maa sope o ma foriti. Oko yen le ma se gentle ma sugbon ojo to bati gbe wole bayi

Gb: Ha!

Am: Ha! A tun lo ba mummy, eyin le de timi si kini yi. Iya a ni, oko mi a maa gba a dura ni. E je ka lo si owo osi

W: ((Singing)) Pataki lobinrin e ma toju wa. S'eri iya yen(…) imule ti le wa laarin won. B'ose wa yen, bose wa yen, at age 28, omobinrin yen ti npe nile. Imule ti wa laarin baba yen ati iya yen. Kii se oju lasan. O ti wo imule.

Am: Hm hun! Won o so debi pe boya won se imule

Gb: nkan to kan wa nipe kan fi nkan [ko seyin =

W: [AArin, AArin =baba yen ati iya yenti wo imule. The best bet, iya ti le je nkan ti iye e a fi si, boya ko sneek kuro nile, boya o ma lo gboyun wale. Kos aa wa ona to fi maa ja. To ba lo s'ilu oyinbo (…)

Am: ok. Balogun

B; Olorun o ni fi iya se t'awa o. Nkan meji la fi nmo oloshi:bata ati aso orun e. Iya yen o nani omo o.

Am: Sugbon ohun lo toju won dagba

B: S'eri eniyan le toju omo. Sebi eyin na ti toju adiye ri. Nkan t'iya fe fi won se, lo tin fi won se lowo yen. Owo lo need. Eyan to ba fowo tomo, afe ki igbesi aye o dara.

Am: Ara e na nip e o fe ki omo ohun lo si ilu oyinbo ni

B: Ti eeyan ba fun mi ni 20,000 lati ilu oyinbo, mom o ise to nse lohun ni? Mo ti ri eni to fun mi 25,000 to je pe nise ni mo npe sa. Leyin osu meta, o so pe o tito

((Laughter))

B: Ooto ni now. Nigab ti mom o ise ti o nse. Iya yen ni kaa bawi ki omo e lo ba omo to ns'aare. Iru aare to mu a o mo. Boya ode ori ti mu, e ma binu o

Gb: Boya ayo ayoporo

B: Boya ayo ayoporo l'omu. A o mo. Koda keeyan maa gboro si iya e lenu sugbon agidi a maa tun nkan se nigba mii.

EDITION FOUR

(SECRETS IN THE HOME)

Gb: Tani ko da l'ejo? Councillor Semiu

C: O maa t'ebi ka

Gb: Omii gbona l'ejo. K'eyan ro daadaa koto daa o.

C: Gbogbo ohun t'eyan ba nse, koro pe bi won ba se sohun (…)

Gb: Ekiti Kete

E: Okunrin yen o to okunrin daadaa. Oju ti nitori o ti ni iyawo meji. Ohun to se o daa rara. (…)

Gb: Hun, Adupe iyen o. Baba

B: T'oba l'emi ati ba oko e gbele , ko ma ba gbe.

Gb: Oko lo ti e sa kuro nile. Iyawo o ti e lo si'bi Kankan.

B: Nkan t'ole lo atun to le pada wa

((Laughter))

Gb: Hen, Olabode

O: Sa! E ku ise opolo sa. S'eri okunrin yen o serious. O ti se asise nla. Iyawo e o binu. Iyawo wa se asise kekere, O wa nbinu. O so fun k'olo take care responsibility. Challenge gidi lobinrin yen fun yen.

Gb: Ko de nse Mushin Bus stop. Challenge ni. Ko de se ti Ibadan.

((Laughter))

O: Atokun, Ko te pa mo ise e. Ki ohun na kole

Gb: Soun

S: Okunrin yen ti ri bi t'ofe salo

Gb: E sure

S: ha, mo sure o. Ti o ba ni ibi tofe salo ni, koni kuro nile e.

Gb: O de le je odo iyawo kekere yen.

S: Ibe na ni. Eeyan gidi lobinrin yen. O de ni agboro dun to daa. Ti obirin yen o ba ni Olorun a kan daku nijo naming . Oruko wo lofi koi le na. T'oba je surname oko yen ni,

eni t'oleru l'oleru. Ati iya ati property, oko lo ni gbogbo e. Ko tepa mo'se bada wa s'ile madam.

Gb: Ode Akewi

O: Ko ye ki baba salo. Oju kan tii ni. Kog be suuru je.

Gb: Aroye Ibadan

A: Arabinrin yen ti kole pamo tele. O ti fe pari e. Awodi fe lo ibara

Gb: Ategun wa fe si nidi fere

A: Arakunrin yen ni o fun ra. Se eniyan maa nbinu kole ni? O di 1-1. O si sese ko score goal meji papo ko di 3-0. Aya tife goke tele, o wa ni

Gb: Kuumo ana re ha sori. Fidijokele

F: Emi nro pe ki lo nse man yen gan. Nigba to je awon ore ile ni won nko, to je pe o lo ngbe obirin. O ye ko kole. Ewo obirin yen now.

Gb: O show e ni stuff t'owa made of.

F: Ori e de pe. O je omo ton ko. Ohun to ye ko se lo se yen. Oko to salo, o maa to sa bada.

Gb: Olori Jesu. Se nakn ti Fidijokele so yen o jo ara won?

O: Infact, mo fe ki obinrin yen pe o ku oriire. Tori o je eniyan le wo awokose e.

Gb: Hmm

O: Iwa to wu yen, iwa to daa ni. Ti awa toku le ko ogbon ninu e. Nitori opolopo obinrin ni owu jije po fun. =And then

Gb: = But oro yi Aroye Ibadan so lekan yen pe ko ma se pe ohun na ti =kole pamo

O: =obinrin yen, OBinrin yen

Gb: Se ooto ko ni o so?

O: Mi o ko oro won danu sugbon bi ase nro nkan yi obinrin yen o kole yen tele. Eko to da lari ko lara obinrin yen. Toba je elomii, o maa baye gbogbo won je ni.

Gb: Lokun

L: Owo o t'owo la ndi sa kisa.

Gb: Hun

L: Towo ba to owo ni inu shaka nii wa.Okunrin yen lama bawi

EDITION FIVE

(RAPE VICTIM)

Am: E je ka fi opolo gbe…Niceman

N: Hmm… [Ibi ti e ti bere ni emi na maa ti bere

Gb: [Mi si nu, mi si ta

N: Nipa t'oro elepo de yen, nise ni oro Naijiria dabi igba ti won gbe obo kale ti won wo agbada fun, ti won wag be kale. Won ni ko maa jaye alabata(…) S'eri omobinrin yen o nsun ojo ibi siwasju ni. Ko sigba ti Maku o ni ku. Ojo kini ana (…) O lo baa won obi e, won ni problem e niyen ko lo maa ran. Awon parents yen naa lotun joko sibi wedding yen.

Gb: Beeni

N: Ojo wedding yen loye ko ju igbarun si. Pe: Kini? Iya to fi je oun nko? Ki gbogbo won jade. Igbe ti yen ti wa fail, to titun ka mora. To wa nbere wipe se ki oun s'oro yi. Se o need kan sofun pe ko s'oro? A sa ni oruko ti omo yen nje ni school. Abi oruko baba e lo nje ni? Ki won dress fun omo, ki ohun naa dress ati awon parents e. Ko so fun oko t'ofe. Iyen ti mo genesis e. Lose to nbo, oko mi, o maa gbe mi de ibi bayi o. Omo yi maa de ile baba e. Iwo le maa sokale ninu moto o sugbon a maa de'be (…) emi ti ni oko temi o, omo tiyin ti mo bi fun yin re. O ya baba, e gbe wole. A di nkan ti ara adugbo maa dasi. Itiju yen maa pare lojo yen.

Gb: Eni ta nwi yi ti pada si ilu oyinbo o

N: Hen, sebi won ncommunicate. Ibeyen naa ni won maa ti fi phone pe. Ti won maa fi si speaker. Ohun to ba fe so, a maa so lati beyen. Ara ye a gbo.

Am: Ok…em…Mrs Adetipe

A: Yes sa. S'eri emi ba dupe lowo Olorun o. Pe ki o mu omo lo. Emi o ti lowo sip e ki o mu omo lo. (…)Idi nipe ti o ba ri oko yen mo nko? And iru omo tobi yen to ba je okunrin yen tun lori fun loyun nko? Ti okunrin ba salo nko? Sugbon mob a dupe lowo Olorun pe o ri oko yen. Oko de mo mistake e. O de ti accept pe, yes, o de nse ojuse e fun. So, ko si ni suuru. T'oba ya = oko yen

Gb: =ko si maa ni suuru si.

Am: Ko sim aa gba owo to fi nranse yen?

A: Beeni. Later, ti omo yen ba dagba. Omo fun ra e lo maa fi'ra e han.

Gb: Hun!

A: Tori nisinyi to ba fi omo yen han. O le paa omo yen o. YES, o le paa omo yen. O le ro pe o fe ba marriage ohun je ni so it's beta ki won si dake (…) boya iyen naa ti loyun.

Gb: A ti e ti fidi e mule boya iyen naa ti lyun.

Am: Diakoni

D: Okunrin ti koko se mistake akoko naa.

Gb: Hun, o se!

D: Mistake akoko ni wipe nigba ti o ti gbo ebe akoko yen na. Igba to bimo, o ye ko je ki awon obi=

Am: =Nigbati…er…Okunrin yen koko fi ipa balo. Se ko pariwo sita nigbayen?

Gb: O so fun awon obi ti e. won ni ki won fi pamo. Won o mope o ma loyun ninu.

D: Nigba ti o loyun, ti o wa lo ba obi oko. Nigba ti o wa bimo, se koye ko gbe omo na lo si odo obi oko. Nigba to de lati ilu oyinbo, ki lode ti o gba number ile ibi to de si?

Am: Nibi toro de yi, kini ko se?

D: Ko ni owo to ma fi lo si ilu oyinbo. Ko maa toju omo ni. Nigba to je oruko kan ni baba ati ono nje, ni jo kan, won a pade. Eni ku ati eni to sonu. Eeyan kan a pade ara.

Am: E je kalo si odo awon obinrin. Erm…Iya l'Ekiti. Bi won se ns'oro yen, o dabi ko fe gba inu yin lo.

Gb: Ati Counsellor na.

Am: A mbo lodo Counsellor. E je kalo si Ekiti.

I: Ailesoro ibere oriburuku.

Gb: Ailesoro

I: Ibere oriburuku GBA. Se eru aburo e lo nba ni? Ojo ti oko ti de loye ko mu lo. T'oba ma daru ko daru. Omo e ni mo mu de yi. Ailesoro lo ba de ibi to de yi. Ojo to ba ti de: Omo,baba e ni, Baba, omo e ni. T'oba fe continue, ko continue.

Gb: Ti iyawo ba wa je omo sister e nko?

I: Obinrin yen lo nda to omo yen. Ti aburo bama sunkun ko sunkun. Won ni ti ipinle ba ti baje, kini olododo le se? T'oba maa tuka, ki onikaluku, wa ona siwaju.

Am: Baba Ijebu

B: Atokun, e ku ise opolo. Eni to ba domi siwaju, o maa te'le tutu. Gbogbo nkan t'oba sele, suuru lama fi se. Immediately lo yen ko fi omo e han.

Am: Eri wedding mi ti awon bouncers ma duro dede.

B: Oko yen o le deny.

Am: O lo si wedding. Ko mo pe okunrin yen loko

B: Ohun ta nso ni pe o ti npe ju. O ye kofi omo han baba e.

Am: Edepe

E: Adupe lowo yin o. A o ni fosi logba o (…) S'eri eyi ta nfa lowo yi. Kadupe lowo Olorun pe okunrin yen ri jaje. O si rowo fi logba. Elomii ni yawo kan, elomii meji. Ti okunrin o ba ri jaje, a ti sofun iyawo tile pe mo ma ni omo nita o. Ki obirnrin yen soro. Kosi ohun ti o se. O ye ki o pe okunrin yen, ati iya iyawo. Daju daju omo yi ti dagba

Gb: Beeni.

E: Otooto oro o ni kama so ohun o. Ti a ba mu oga NEPA wa sibiyi.Gbogbo bi o se sina, ni o so.

Am: E ni suuru o. Kilo mu oro NEPA wa si inu oro yi

((Laughter))

E: Ok o. E je ki omo ko mo baba e. ki o ma ba di wahala leyi wa ola.

Am: Aunty mi, se ki o soro b'ose ri okunrin yen ni.

A: Koni right a ti soro nibi wedding yen but after the wedding o ma ape okunrin yen. Taba ni kawo, lady yen naa lo koko bimo fun. Girl yen ti se mistake. Ko ma wa wo owo to nsend o. Owo ti ohun gangan ti nna lati ojo ti o ti bi omo yen, ko koko wo o. Mo maar o owo yen. Ko tete lo mu omo fun olomo. Iya e ti mo be o ti bimo, baba e ti mo iya oko gan ti mo pe oti bimo, so, ki o da omo pada.

EDITION SIX

(FATHER AND STEP DAUGHTER DILEMMA)

Gb: Iya wa ((Gaze selection)) Lataro e kan nse ha ni. Bawo lo se maa se

I: E se Atokun. Oro yi o ti e le rarara.

((Laughter))

Gb: Mo mo pe ti oro yi ba de odo yin o ti di irorun niwaju tiyin.

I: Nigbati mom o pe bale ile ti nwa omo lati ijo yin ko ri

Gb: Lara iya

I: Lara iya. O bade ri lara omo. Kii ku se ohun lo bi omo. Se e mop e ati baba ati iya kii se iya kan lo biwon.

Gb: Beeni

I: So, otooto ni. Ibi ti Olorun ti sope irin ajo ti e ti maa bere niyen. O maa pee bi ni, pe ki won sofun yen. Patapata, a yari pe ohun o se mo.Nkan ti a ti e fe ko sele naa niyen. Koni ohun o se mo, iyen iya omo. A lo joko si egbe kan.

Gb: Se ti omo ba deliver tan abi?

I: ko mo to deliver. Because a maa ronu. Because o le lo ni hypertension, ko wa loku lojiji. So, a de ti fe iku e. patapata a ni mi o se mo.

Gb: Omo e a wa take over

I: YE:::S

((HaaaH))

Eni ha. Se iya kan lojo bi ohun ati oko ni?

Gb: Olorun lo kan mu mo iya, omo gangan ni iyawo e

I; Beeni, omo gangan ni iyawo e. B'ose ri niyen.

Gb: E laya ni tiyin. Ti e ba so tan, bawo le se ma se ti e ba nlo?

I: Tim aa yan lo, ti maa yan bo.ha ha, iyanu sele niyen.

Gb: A ma fun yin ni contract bi won se nyanu oro niyen.

((Laughter))

Gb: Ekiti Kete. Iya olojo ibi. Ki Ekiti to tesiwaju, e je ka tete kii, ki oluwa e o to gbagbe. Tori awon Ekiti.. ehn…mo respect won gan o. Pupo ju. Happy birthday to Mrs Falade Yemi a.k.a Iya Ekiti Mìnìjòjò.

((Audience sing Happy birthday song))

IE: Otin buruku ni okunrin yen mu.

Gb: Otin buruku ni.

IE: o ti mu brukutu mo ogogori. Olorun ma je ki eeyan si otin mu o. AH! Olorun maje ki eedi diyan.

Gb: Eedi ni o

IE: T'oba je were gan ni o fun loyun. O beta. To wa je omo iyawo e ni otin yen pamo. O ti ni intention yen tele.

Gb: Beeni, intentionally lo se e.

IE: O ti fe se nkan to se yen. O kan momo lo mu otin ni. O ti ri omo yen losan ko to lo mu otin loru ojo yen. Ika de ni.

Gb: O le blame omo yen to wo nightie to dangerous? Kii se gbogbo okunrin lo le ni amumora bi iru awa yi

((Huuuuuun!))

Iru awa yi maa nmoju kuro.

IE: To ba se okunrin yen lobi omo yen nko? Omo yen is more or less omo e. Kosi bi omo eeyan sele dagba to laye, omo eni naa ni

Gb: Omo e ni. Bi omo naa o ti e nse biological daughter e, omo e ni.

IE: ha, okunrin yen o ku die kato o

Gb: Boya nkankan ndamu opolo e.

IE: O possible. Nkan to ye ko se, kii se ko lo ba iya omo gan. Kolo baa won eniyan Olorun pe ki won ba ohun be pe asise ni.

Gb: To ba je musulumi ni, ki o wa awon onikoko ati aafa. Toba de je kiristieni ni, ki o wa awon Counsellor lo.

IE: Beeni. E be ti won maa be obinrin yen nip e ki o sin Olorun tori t'oba fe react, o le lo siwa wu.

Gb: Se igba ti omo yen ba bimo tan ni ki won lo ba ni tori won nbeere. Se pe ki won ni suuru ko deliver ni (…)

IE: ko maa se ni medicine after death o. Ko ya lo bayi. Tori toba ti bimo tan, iya a m'okan. A le ba toju omo e. Abi omo yen maa ni ohun oni iya ni.

Gb: To ba nrope oko ohun lo fun omo yin loyun o, inu a tundun pe ohun ti di grandma o.

IE: Beeni. Ona miran t'ole gbe gba tori oro yi o buru gan. Ti okunrin yen bati be iyawo e, ki obinrin yen naa sunmo Olorun ki won wa ile oto ti won maa fi omo yen si.

Gb: Won ti fi s'ile oto.

IE: T'oba ti =

Gb: =Iya e si nwa, ko ti rii ati oko e.

IE: Ki obinrin yen gba fun Olorun. Nkan eeyan o ndi meji, ki inu biyan.

Gb: Councillor Semiu. E je kin so Egba, Ekiti ti mo so tito. E ke ki npada wale.BO ti e je pidgin Ekiti ni mon so.

C: Ni gbogbo agbaye, Nigeria nikan ni ofin o si.

Gb: OFI WA o. Ofin kan wa ninu iwe ko sise. Asiko ayipada ti de bayi o gbudo sise.

C: Ti eeyan bag be owo, Olorun gan o fe iku elese [afii k'oronu p'iwada.

Gb: [Afi k'oronu p'iwada. Hmn

C: Ni Rome, ibi ti Christian ti wa, won mo implication e. Ti eeyan bad an wo ni [Saudi Arabia

Gb: [Saudi Arabia

C: O mo ijiya e. Sugbon o ti mop e kosi ohun ti ohun o le se, ti ohun o le se gbe.

GB: Se igi to se leni kan ge yi

C: Atokun, owe ni mo pa fun yin. Ohun ti mo ntry lati so fun yin nipe ofin wa sugbon a o muse.

Gb: Se ki n ni kan ge, kan ge?

C: Mi o ni kan ge. Ohun ti mon so nipe. E je ki gbogbo wa wo. Muslim l'eyin, Christian la won. E je wo nkan to de ti adura o fi gba.

GB: E maa so pea dura o gba o. Councillor Semiu, I beg to disagree. Adura ngba.

C: (…)

Gb: Adura ngba E MAA JE KA SO PE ADURA O GBA. Adura ngba. Ti adura o ba gba, a o le joko sibi ki a maa se nkan ta nse yi. Olorun o gb'ogun ti wa. Awa naa ko si

ogun n'ilu wa. Ohun ta ngbadura si, ti o ti bosi, Olorun o dari adura yen si ifokan bale= na

C : =Atokun, Atokun

Gb: Hun

C: Arun to soro wo ju ni ki eeyan maa tan ra e je. Ni arun to se woju lo ni o. A nton raw a je ni. Eyin gan gan fun ra yin e wo o. Eku o ke bi eku, eye ke bi eye (…)

Gb: Ohun naa la se ni kaa change. Ohun la se ni ka change iwa= wa

C: Gbogbo wa pata pata, gbogbo wa pata pata la mo conscience wa. Abi?

Gb: Beeni

C: Eni to ba se dada ninu wa, o mo. Ti ohun na bafi siro ara e wo, to ri pe se ohun ti ohun se yen dara

Gb: L'omokunrin yen?

C: L'omokunrin yen (…) ko n bere lowo pastor abi imam pe se won le gba. Ti won ba le convince mi pe bo se sele si Anobi re o, o le mu inu mi ro. Eni to bad an iru e wo, maa da seria fun.

Gb: Eni suuru na. Gbogbo ohun te so yen, mo si gba yen die. Sugbon e je ka fi ibi kan wo o. Ohun to sele yi, ti omokunrin yi se yi. Se o seyin Olorun?

C: Olorun o mo si. Ti a ba ti se iru nkan bayi la maa nyi soro Olorun. T'aba ti nkan to ku die kato la maa nni ko seyin Olohun. Se eti de oke olumo ri?

Gb: Daadaa

C: E ti de bar beach ri?

Gb: Beeni

C: Ti omo yin ba beere pe: Daddy, Baba Gboin, se e ti d'orun ri? Ki le maa ti so?

Gb: Maa so pe mi o de'be ri ni.

C: E maa b'oro yin lo.

Gb: Emi mop e kosi ohun to nsele laye ti o seyin Olorun. Bi eeyan gba bi o gba. Kosi ohun to nsele laye tos'eyin Olorun. O ni imo nipa gbogbo ohun to ba nsele laye yi

C: Ki lo nsele? (…)

Gb: E ni suuru (…) Adura to ye k'ama gba nip e ohun to maaa sele siwa ti a o ni le kappa, ki Olorun ma je ko sele si wa. Adura maa ntu nkan se ni. Bi nkan ba ti nbaje, ti eniyan ba ngba adura, Olohun o tunse. Hmmm, Aroye Ibadan

A: Ohun to wa ninu eni ni otin maa npa mo.

Gb: Boya o ti now omo yip e igba ti mo sese fe mummy e , bo de seri re o.

A: Nigba ti o tin di odun merin, marun, maje ti won ti bi'mo, o ye ki won ti maa wo pe kini solution. To ba je civil case, criminal case ni, awon olopa a to pinpin e sugbon civil case, won a ni e lo yanju e. E ti ese ile wo. Ti won ba wadi e daadaa, coup ni.

Gb: 7 + 13 kini?

A: 20

Gb: O dabi pe omo yen 7 years old lowa nigba yen.

A: S'eri coup ni. Okunrin yen plan coup ni. Tori ti ko ban se coup. Ko daran mo. O yan iyawo soldier la le, o tun sin ni gbere. O ni mistake ni lo sele to fi loyun. O wa lo gbe pamo. E wa jo nwa. Labe ofin, o gbe omo pamo niyen o.

Gb: Hun

A: S'eri pe ti ko ba sora, Esu to lo ti o lo fi sise yen, Esu yen a titi ti, a ti pa. Tori ti omo yen ba ku ki lo fe so? Boya in the process, omo yen nlabour, o wa ku. A wa ni=

Gb: =O beta ko so fun.

A: Kini yen a wa di meji. A wa di p emo fun omo e loyun o. A tun wa di pe o ti shofun omo o. Nigba to fe obirin yen, o fe n'ife pe emi ni mo bimo yi. O de nbato. Se emo pe agreement ni.

Gb: Beeni.

A: Ori omo ni npe omo waye. =Omo yen de mu, OMO yen de mu ni mu baba.

Gb: = (…)

Nitori awon to ba wa ninu shoes yen, aa fi yo won o. To ba se be eyi ti o ni ooto ati ododo (…) won a ni last born mummy wa ni. Ohun lo si bi.

A: Omo yen de mu

Gb: =Ohun lo si bi. To bat un wa lo je second hand family. Ti e o ni mo ohun to nsele.

A: To rip e omo yen mu nimu baba lomo yen se agree lati ba keep secret. Tori e ba ti pay awon mejeeji ki omo so. Ki won da si wahala. Boya ibe ni won ti ma mo boya e mu u lo si hospital. E yo oyun fun. Nkan kan

Gb: Ha! Ijoba o fe gboyen o.

A: hun hun, ti ole ba rape omo kan, se awon a fi sile ko doyun ni.

Gb: Ile eni la tin je ekute o ni dodo.

A: Pe ki nma tu asiri baba mi ni omo yen o se so nkan kan. Kosi ohun to maa se. Asiri tu TU U. Pipe awon eeyan gan nise nii da wahala.

Gb: Ko lo so fun ra e?

A; Ki o pe iya e. Iya a pariwo. Ko si ohun ti o maa se.

Gb: Adetipe

Ad: Ko le da lo sa. Omo yen gan, o ni emi ti o da. Enikan gbe e pamo lati ijo yin. O wa wa nibikan. Ohun gan wicked. To o ba wicked, lati ojo yi won gbe e pamo. Osu kini, osu keji, osu keta. Ohun gan like okunrin ni jo

((Laughter))

Ad: Ohun na de la sile. Kani o ti ilekun yara e nigba to de.

Gb: O wa lati odo iya agba ni.

Ad: Ko de wa le pariwo?

Gb: Ariwo ki lo fe pa?

Ade: Mo mope ipa obinrin kole ka t'okunrin.

Gb: Adetipe, Olorun maje kaa ri nkan toju ti wa lo. Ka so pe baba to ki omo e m'ole ati omo to ki iya m'ole, kani pe Olorun o nimo nipa e ni?

Ad: Ko tete lo pe awon family nitori o tun le gori e. O ngbe egun ayeraye lori ara e niyen.

Gb: Mosinmi

M: E se. Pupo ninu igbesi aye ti omo yen ngbe. Kii se igbesi aye to daa rara. O ye ki omo yen gan ja fita fita nigbati baba yen ti mu otin yo. Sugbon imoran ti emi fe gba won ni wipe ki won gbiyanju. Emi o fe ki won so ki omo yen o to bi'mo. Ki won je ki o bi'mo naa. Nitori eti meji meta lo maa gbo oro yen. Boya lati enu iya yen. Won a de gba lowe pe o o mo nkan to maa se. Oyun yen gbodo jabo ni. So life omo yen o dangerous so ki omo yen bi omo naa. To bami mo tan ki won lo ba iya yi soro. Ki iya yi jo o nitori

Olorun ki o gba omo yen bi omo ti o bi. Boya won maa mu travel ni, boya won maa mu lo sibi kan ni o ti o maa fi bere new life ti e.

Gb: Ti baba yen o ni fi ri so ju mo?

M: Ti baba yen o ni fi ri soju mo. Beeni. Ki iya yen ati oko yen de si maa ba ife won lo.

Ki won maa fe ra won lo. Titi ti Olorun maa fi da iya yen lohun. O ti sele o ti sele.

(EDITION SEVEN)

(TROUBLESOME WIFE)

Gb: Se ese obinrin yi lo da ni tooto? Amoran wo lani fun omo kunrin yi. Counsellor Semiu. Action ni gbogbo wa o.

C: Atokun, eni ti o ba ti marry. Irin ajo e ku eyookan. Amo melo melo ni okunrin ti irin ajo daru nigba to marry? Awon bachelor mii wa to daa fun nigba ti o ti marry. Nigba to wa marry nko?

Gb: Se ka sope ese obinrin yen ni o daa ni?

C: Ile aye =

Gb: =ka so wipe o buru f'oko ni. Se o maa so pe ese ohun ni o ba ile aye re je?

C: Awon onigbago maa nso wipe gbe agbelebu re, [o wuwo bi k'owuwo

Gb: [o wuwo bi k'owuwo

C: Agbelebu e niyen

Gb: Iya Ekiti

I: Okunrin yen

Gb: Hun

I: Eyin lo nwo, Ko wo waju. Ko ri waju o. Nitori ariwo ti obinrin yen pa ko pa lasan. O mo nkan to ri. Ariwo to npa yen ki alaafia le joba ni. Nitori ti wahala ba dele, apa okunrin o le kaa. Emi ni mo daa toyi, emi ni mod aa toyi, osi lo kunrin mii fi nwo (…) tori t o.eniyan o ba to ri isu jepo, a tori epo je isu o.

Gb: Baba

B: Ti okunrin o ba ni suuru, ko le fe iyawo.

Gb: Se pe ti eniyan o ba ni suuru

B: ko le fe'yawo.

Gb: Hmm, ko le fe'yawo

B: Ko si ara ti eniyan fe da. Amo ti o ba je eni to ni suuru, ari dede fun.

Gb: Ti won ba fe fun eniyan nise lawujo, won a bere pe se o ni'yawo n'le. Won ni eleyi o ni… iyawo gan ni. Gbogbo aye l'omo pe iwa ti o wu l loni koni yo o wu lola. To ba se nkan loni, to ba so pe ohun o ni se be e lola. To tun di osu keta, eyi toni ohun o ni se mo yen, a tun ti improve le lori. Sebi o ni o ni se kiniyi mo ni? Ani: E sa maa binu.

B: E se. Ki Olorun maa tan wa. (…) A mo ti owo ba ti de, ti gbogbo nkan ti de, okunrin yen o gbodo le danu.Nigba ti o si owo ti won jo nmanage, obinrin o ni si wa wu. Honestly, jeje ni omo oko nlo ni. Koda ko koju bo yara o ni yara, e le rii mbe. Sugbon to ba ya, ani je ki nkuro n'ile e wa mo pe nkan se e. Ti o ba wonu ile, ti elomiran de, ti Olohun f'alubarika si. Ki omobinrin yen ni suuru o.

Gb: Hun, Adetipe

A: E se sa. Ese obirin ta nso, ese obinrin naa daa.

Gb: Bii pe okunrin naa o le se rara.

A: Ti o ban se, to daa fun, ese obinrin yen daa ni.

Gb: Ese obinrin yen daa ni. Hmmm.

S: Ninu gbogbo wa ko si ese ti o daa sugbon ese obinrin lo daa ju sa.

((Murmurings))

Gb: Bee naa ni obinrin legbe.

A: Gbogbo obinrin lo legbe. Egbe daadaa wa, egbe buruku wa.

Gb: Beeni.

A: ti okunrin ba ti study obirin. To nse nkan to fe fun, to ntoju obirin yen, Eleda to da yen, Olorun to da yen, a maar on oko yen lowo. To ban fi ya je obinrin yen, ko si bo sele se. O ku Olorun o ku Eleda e. S'eri, gbogbo wa nmanage ara wa, ati okunrin ati obinrin taa fe rawa, a jo nmanage ara wa ni. Ko si eni ti irawo e o daa. Ko si eni to daa tan.

Gb: Gbogbo wa la ku si'bi kan.

A: Beeni. Se e wa ri okunrin yen, ko lo gba iyawo e pada. Obinrin yen naa o nmanage e ni. Ohun naa ti maa fi'ya je. Oni nkan to maa ti se fun obinrin yen ti Eleda e fi maa fi'ya je toyen. Ki won gba pada, ki won study e. Boya o like ki won ra nkan fun ni, boya o like ki won jo jade ni, ki o maa ke gege. (…) Ti o ba tile gbo ti e, ona a la fun. Ko moju kuro, ko le tegbe. Suuru la fi nse ile aye o. Eni ti o ba ni suuru o le saye o. Ko manage e. Kan jo maa manage ara won. Kaye won ko le daa.

Gb: The nice! Niceman

N: Daddy mi maa nsoro kan. O ni ti won ba ni omokunrin yen gentle. Omo okunrin yen maa daa o. Ani ohun o ngbagbo. A ni ti o ba ti gbe obinrin sile fun odun meta, ti won ba ti ja. O gentle looto.

Gb: Won ti e ni ti okunrin ba lohun fe fe'yawo laye atijo, won ni ko mu ewure ko maa sin. Ti o ba ti n na. Won mo pe ko ti ready lati fe iyawo niyen.

N: Mo ba omokunrin yen yo. Mo de ba omobinrin yen yo. Won tete realise mistake won l'asiko Bo je idobale, Bo je ebe adugbo (…) Sasa aje ni won npe ni iyalode.

((Laughter))

Ko lo be iya iyawo e gangangan ati baba iyawo ki won bere si ni be iyawo tori awon yen lo ma aba f'enu si ko le tete wa. To ba de ti dele, to ba je mummy lo to si, to ba de ma pe loruko. Gbogbo igba sa ko ni won maa maa wa legbe ara won. Towo ba wa, a lo maa take care e. Nkan meji na maa fi ntake care obinrin: iro ati change die. Ti meji yen ba tip e, kosi obinrin ti eniyan o le take care. Olohun gba be

((Laughter))

Gb: Ko ye ko pe meta?

N: Ki wa ni keta? Oga mi lo je.

Gb: Se iyen o wa important.

N: O wa important looto. Tori ti o ba siyen na yoo rorun.

Gb: Ode Akewi

O: E seun Atokun. (…) Oju ta fi fe'yawo ko la fi nse oko e o. (..) Iru awon obinrin bee o le fi oju to fi fe fi se oko e. Imoran tie mi fe gba arakunrin yen nipe ogbodo se ise okunrin ko maa ba ba tie je.

Gb: Hmm, ko ma aba ba ti e je. Nusi

Nu: (…) Okunrin ti iyawo wa ni'le e yen, lo wa ni obinrin yen buru. Ko si eni to buru o. Ni se ni a nmanage ara wa. Ko si eni ti o ni were

Gb: NIse ni a n treat ara wa.

Nu: beeni, nise ni a ntreat ara wa. (…) okunrin yen ni o mo management. K'olo ko bi won se nmanage obinrin. To ba fe mii na, o maa ko eru e sita. Tori iwa tiyen gan maa wu, Ko tii mo. Ko ya gentle mo eyi to ti fe yen. Boya tuntun yen gbogbo television ile lo maa fo danu. Iyawo naa ni yen o. ohun gan to ko eru obinrin jade, se ohun gan o ni were

Gb: O ni were.

Nu: Sugbon ohun to maa se re o. Ko yak o awon eeyan e, awon baba e, awon iya e, awon broda e, ko ko won leyin ki won lo si ile iyawo e. Ki won bebe, ko mu iyawo e leyin.

EDITION EIGHT

(MECCA TRIP)

Am: Oro ni o de le yi o. Counsellor e je ka koko mu lodo yin. E o ni s'oko wo o.

((Laughter))

Ti e ba wo oko nisinyi. Boya e ri eeyan kan ti o joko niwaju. Awon kan wa wa leyin to je wipe gbogbo won tin sun. E sora o. Eni to wa ni waju yen kan le disguise.

C: Ki Olorun maa so gbogbo wa.

Am: Se ba'min.

C: Arabinrin yi. Ohun t mo le pe ko ye mi. Se ka ni omo naijiria ni eni yi ni, tori bi o ba je be. Akoko na, o jebi lodo temi. Baba iya, omo o lejo ko maa laala. Iyawo ni mon so o.

Gb: Beeni. Ko nje ti baba t'omo ko maa laala.

C: Aye igba kan ni ta ba maa ka banki to wa ladugbo, o le ma ju merin lo. Sugbon nisinyi ko si adugbo kan ti o ni ni bank ti o le maa da owo e sinu bank. De bi wipe …o ye kohun naa ti mo pe ija lo maa kehin e. Olorun tun wa se ni ona iyanu gege bi majemu, wipe odun yi o o maa lo si Mecca. Oloju omo ti e maa fun lowo, nibi ti oro gbe de yi, ti o maa so fun baba e. E sakiyesi, ti omo ba tip e 15: Can you borrow me N100 now? E ri'mi a ni: Daddy, I don't have money.

((Chuckles))

Talk less o tun wa ri iru e, o tun wa dele, (…) ka ti e ni oko yaa'yan ni. (…) gege bi pe a trust ara wa.

Gb: Obinrin to fi ori kunkun lo si Mecca, se Olorun le gba Mecca yen lowo e?

A: ((Selected through dialect)) Woman yen, ki Olohun so ni. O ti fi inu buruku, o ti fi le ra e kuro nidi eru e tori obinrin toba maa pe ni'le oko a ni iteriba fun oko. Owo yen o de jo okunrin yen loju. Eeyan le ni okunrin yen na owo. O ye ki obinrin yen mop e asiko a ti lo Mecca e o ti to.

Gb: Ko i ti to. Iwo naa fe travel. O fe d'Alhaja kiakia (…) ma delay Mecca e.

A: Bo ti delay e, ko si eni to le delay e nitori akole wa. Bope boya o maa lo. Ko si igba ti o ni lo. (…) Ti Alhaji yen ba ronu pe kii se owo mi ni obinrin yi kolo Mecca. Ko si ogbon e ija maa maa waye. Ki Alhaji wa alaanu ti e s'odo. Ki yen naa duro ti baba alanu ti e.

Gb: Ki Alhaji maa sanu e?

Am: Dari ese wa jiwa bi ati ndari ese ji awon ti o se wa. Baba'jesha

B: Sugbon o, oro to wa nibe yi (…) Ti eja ba so lodo, a mo oye to to.

Am: Beeni

B: Tori okunrin yen, Alhaji, o feran iyawo e.

Gb: Hmmm

B: O feran o. Ooto oro ni o. Ki se oro awada re o. O feran e. Ohun to mo idi ti o se fe ki iyawo e losi Mecca. O mo idi.

Gb: Idi wo lomo. Se idi araba ni abi idi osi.

((Laughter))

B: O ti bere niyen. Kiise idi iyen ni mon so. O mo reason, o mo reason.

Am: Je ki oloro so ro

Gb: Tori ki oro todi ongbufo. We shall be looking into everyone's reason. A maa wo idi onikaluku. People here with small small reason. Awon towa ni'bi pelu idi kekeke. And people here with big big reason, ati awon to wa ni'bi pelu idi nlanla.

((Laughter))

We shall look into your reason. Aa wo idi yin.

Gb: E te si waju

B: Iwo lomo. Mi o mo nipa iyen. Idi ti mo so' pe (0.2)

((Laughter))

Idi ti mo fi sope Alhaji o feran iyawo e ohun nipe…nigba to ti e wa gb'owo lowo (0.2)

Gb: Iyawo e.

B: hun hun, obinrin yen sope ohun jade ohun ri okunrin ti ohun o mo ri o. O fun ohun lowo kan o.

Am: O sope ohun maa fun ohun lowo kan.

Gb: Oko e ni kogbudo gba. Igba to gba owo naa ko je ki oko e mo mo pe, igba ti o san owo naa, ko je ki oko e mo. Igba t'owa san tan lowa fi receipt han wipe ohun ti san owo o. Ohun tin lo Mecca.

B: oko de ni ko gbodo lo.

Gb: O ni ohun maa lo.

B: O fi han oko e. Oko o saa le jade nitori o fi han ohun. O ni sugbon ko ma lo. O ni to ba tilo, ko ma bada s'ile ohun.

Gb: obinrin yen ni owo naa a waste

B: E ba je ko waste. Ohun ti mo fi ni okunrin yen si feran e niyen. Amo ki Alhaji dari ji. Dari ese wa ji wa gege bi a ti ndari ese ji awon to nse wa. O wa ninu Alukurani be naa. Peteru beere lowo Jesu pe igba melo ni kaa dari ese ji awon to nse wa. O ni kiise igba meje o. O ni igba adorin meje. Se eeyan le s'eeyan nigba adorin meje?

Gb: Hun

B: Ni'jokan?

Gb: Ni'jokan?

B: Beeni ni'jokan?

Gb: Ah, o poju.

B: O ni iro. Ko see se. So, ki Alhaji ko gb'ebe e. Ko gba bada s'ile. Sugbon ko so fun pe Mecca t'olo yen o sim aa tun lo o. A wa mu owo lapo ara e, a wa fi ran lo.

Gb: Mummy wa ni soki. Ka le se ni papapaa.

M: E se Atokun. S'eri woman yen mo dalebi gan ni o because numba 1, alainitelorun ni. Alainitelorun lomo'binrin yen. Oko lolori aya. Nkan to ba so fun oko lo gbudo ba fe. Oko ni ko ni suuru. O le ni idi pataki to fi so pe ko ma lo lodun yen.

Am: But ma, nigba ti oko nna owo yen diedie kilode ti o fi je ki'yawo e mop e owo yi mo ma ti nya lo o?

Gb: Eeyan sa mo time ti won f nsanwo Mecca?

Am: Se e mo oro obinrin. Obinrin yen ti le ti set mind e. O ti wa lori emi e. Boya laarin awon ore ohun nikan ni o ti loni. Oko wa ni ko dawo. O wat un ri eni to fe ran lowo. Obinrin o nro nkan lemeji o. I am very sorry o. Obinrin niyen. Eni lojo yin o. A honour yin o but won kii ro nkan lemeji. Won maa ti take decision yen tan, ko se e maa wo pe okay.

M: Se e mo pe eyin okunrin e ni nkankan. A sope e je ka fi danwo. O le ma na owo yen sugbon a sope ma so fun pe mo tin a owo yen. Kolo' bi Kankan. Ko se wa lo gba owo yen lowo enikan. O si maa pada sodo eni to ti gb'owo yen. Ko de daa. Ti a ba ti fe oko kan, e je ka duro lori ese wa. Kiise pe ki a sese tun maa fe oko ka.

Gb: Aroye Ibadan.

A: Ko si desperation lori oro Mecca lilo o tori pe Mecca maa npe yan. O de ni gbogbo awon protocol ti o gbodo lakoja k'oto di'pe o lo si Mecca. Ile gbodo daa. Ona gbodo daa. T'oba je'ni ti nperan odun, o gbodo dun ara'le ni 'nu sile. Kii se pe se aa nlo Hajj. De bi wipe o maa w aka gongo nitori pe o lo Mecca. Ti o ba je'ni ti nfowo le. O gbodo yan'ju gbogbo e.

Gb: Ehn

A: T'aye e o ba ti yo [Olorun mo

Gb: [Kii se dandan

A: Arabinrin yi ti wa desperate ju.(…) Awon baba wa ni: eni to to eran pa, o koja eni to ni eran t'oro re e je ka jo faa. Ki eeyan to le ko 2 million si owo oko e, a je oko to responsible. To lowo lowo. Elomii o le ri N5000 ya tori won mo'pe koni da pada. Won a koko wo pe se o le da N10,000 pada ki won o to le ya'yan lowo. Ki eeyan wa to le ko 2million si owo oko e, kii se oko radarada. Oko ti o to ti'le to, ti o le da owo yen pada. Ti obinrin ba ngbadura pe Oloore mi gbe komi. Aale lo nwi o, awa laa funra. Ewo ni oloore kan to koja egbegberun olore? O si loko n'le.

Am: Se pe ti adura yen ba tin lo, ki a (gestures by tapping Gb)

A: Obinrin yen lo fi owo ara e fafakufa. Leekan eni o so wipe, e ba mi wo kini mo se to badi o. O maa pe n'ta. Eyin wo lo fi s'enu, Alhaja wo loje nigba ti ile re daru? Se awon ti'le won baje ni won lo si Hajj ni?

EDITION NINE

(IRRESPONSIBLE FATHER)

Gb: Councillor Semiu

C: Olorun o ni da oro gbogbo wa ru.

Gb: Amin

C: Eni eleni o ni gba'se gbogbo wa se.

Gb: Amin o, Amin Saati.

C: Gb'omu f'omo, gb'omo f'omu

Gb: K'omo saa ti m'omu ni.

C: Arakunrin yi o fi (0.2) ijo t'alaye ti d'aye Olohun o dawa bakanna.

Gb: Hun

C: Won ni we are equally born but we are not equally talented.

Gb: Beeni

C; (0.2)

Gb: And we are not equally rich

C: rich. B Olohun ti da lati ijo to ti da ile aye niyen (…) Won ni eni ti o ba tun gba kadara

Gb: A gba kodoRO

C: Akoko, obikobi to ba bi omo ti o ba to, ijiya wa fun lodo Olohun oba. Ti o bat un wa ni emi gigun, ati ri idunnu lojo aye e ma soro. E le ri ninu mate yin to je area boy ((pointing at Gb))

Gb: Won wa won o po ni.

C: Ton ba wa beere pe ki lo faa.

Gb: (…) Ti won ba sope eeyan area boy, oniwa buruku ni won maa kaa si.

C: Negligency lo faa.

Gb: E ma maa fi ede Egba wa yen soro mo.

((Laughter))

C: Awon ara Egba na ngbo programme yi. Imoran mi nipe (…) eni ti iwo ba ni'pa lati ran lowo

Gb: Ohun na ni enikeji re. Se apole e ni won nso o (…)

C: Imoran mi nipe ti arakunrin yi ba ni iranlowo tole se fun iya e, gege bi o se so wipe ohun o fe (…) to ba ni iranlowo lati se fun iya omo yi, ohun le ma y'oju. Dandan ko ni ko y'oju o. Iyawo e lo nse fun ati awon omo yen. Olohun a de san lesan rere.

((Amin))

Gb: But ko ma y'oju si be?

C: Ko ma y'oju sibe o.

Gb: Ko ma debe rarara?

C: Ko ma debe rara. Imoran mi ni.

Gb: Hmmm, Adetipe

A: S'eri

Gb: Gege bi ogbon obinrin

A: Gege bi ogbon obinrin temi o. T'eba wo aye ode oni o, awon baba omo lo poju. Atise ojuse okunrin, obinrin lo nfori ko bukata ju.

Gb: Hmm, Hmm

A: ((Chuckle)) S'eri =

Gb: =Se e ti wa ni okunrin Kankan o wulo mo laye ode oni?

A: Oloju yin sa. Awa la nse bukata ju. Diedie le ngba n'be

Gb: Tori eyin na funra yin e ti colonise the whole world. Gbogbo orin t'owa laye yi ti eeyan fi npon obi le, eyin leni eyi to poju n'be. eYOOkan so le compose fun wa. ((singing)) Baba nrele o, ile lo lo tarara. Mama o, Mama o, Oluwa da mama si fun wa. Opo sugbon eyookan te compose fun wa, Baba nrele o, ile lo lo tarara.

A: Olohun a da gbogbo wa si

Gb: Amin

A: S'eri oga yen, o ni fe omo yen. Oga le mi fe ba soro

Gb: Oga naa lo nbere oro lowo wa wipe se ki oun se? Pe kii se oko iya omo yi lo mu wa kose lodo ohun (…) Odun kan seyin loye ko ti se freedom, graduation ta nso yi ti baba e nfi eni doni, ola d'ola.

A: S’eri oga yen, ko arrangement, ko se adura fun. O fey o oro yen lara iya e ni

Gb: Boya nkan to fi fi sile niyen.

A: Ojo yen lo nduro de. Ki man yen ko gbadura fun. Ti baba e ba setan, ki won se general something. Oko iya e to nse iranlowo fun, ko wgba shop fun, ko de warn e pe ko ma sofun baba e o. Ijo ti baba e ba ready, ko s’adura fun nitori adura iya ati baba se pataki. Ko ma neglect baba to bi lomo.

Gb: Niceman, se oro yi naa le gbe GSM dani fun

((Laughter))

N: O totju sun mi. S’eri awon obinrin awon lo nda oju ilu ru. Se bi ohun lo ko oko.

Gb: Eh hen, e maa je ka lo si’bi yen tori a mo ohun to fa to fi ko oko. Kii se obinrin nikan lo nko oko o. Won sa ti ko ra won. Won o de fi’di yen han w ape ohun to fa re ti baba ati iya e fi ko’ra won. E fara bale Niceman nitori nigba ti eti de fila yin beyen, a gbodo s’alaye oro fun yin daadaa. Ohun naa le se wa lori phone lataro. Lori oro oloro tie e mo bose je.

((Laughter))

So, won o fi idi yen mule fun wa. Ko so pe eni bai lojebi, eni bai lojare laarin iya ati baba omo yi. Imoran ni oga omo yi nbeere. Looto baba omo yi lo mu wa sugbon ko se nkan kan to je bi eto lori omo yi. Oko iya e lowa se. ohun ati iya ni won de jo nwa. To je wipe nkan to ba ti need, oko iya e nse fun

N: Iyen step father e

Gb: Ehn, kii se stepcase father e o.

((Laughter))

N: Ese. S’eri ojo freedom yen nonsense ni

((HAAAA))

Gb: E je o soro o

N: Omo to bam aa gba adura lenu oga ko di dandan ko di ojo freedom. S’eri ko si eni ti won maa ko ati owo ati obi siwaju e to maa sepe laye (…) O le pe iya ati baba e ki won se freedom fun ninu yara.Ko di dandan ki won pe gbogbo eeyan.(…) Obinrin taba feran [lomo e nwun ni.

Gb: [Lomo e nwu ni. Ooto deni.

EDITION TEN AIRED

(EXTRA-MARITAL AFFAIR)

Gb: Eyi taa so tele. Councillor Semiu, amoran wo ni ka fun omobinrin yi?

C: Gege bii eleran ara (0.2)

Gb: Lai se elegungun ara.

C: Toba::: je eni t'omonuro, won ni t'eeyan ba monu ro, a mo ope da

Gb: Hun

C: (0.2) Eeyan te ti jowa lopolopo odun, ti Olorun o f'asesi (…) Ka so pe boya Olorun o da won lohun nigbayen. Taba ni ka dale ka tun sa, a maa sope arakunrin yin ti bada wa s'agbere. Paul apostle so pe ki enikeni maa se agbere. Ohun lo fi so wipe ki onikaluku ni aya ti e

Gb: Ekiti Kete. Iya olojo ibi. Ki Ekiti to tesiwaju, e je ka tete kii, ki oluwa e o to gbagbe. Tori awon Ekiti.. ehn…mo respect won gan o. Pupo ju. Happy birthday to Mrs Falade Yemi a.k.a Iya Ekiti Mìnìjòjò.

((Audience sing Happy birthday song))

IE: Otin buruku ni okunrin yen mu.

Gb: Otin buruku ni.

IE: o ti mu brukutu mo ogogori. Olorun ma je ki eeyan si otin mu o. AH! Olorun maje ki eedi diyan.

Gb: Eedi ni o

IE: T'oba je were gan ni o fun loyun. O beta. To wa je omo iyawo e ni otin yen pamo. O ti ni intention yen tele.

Gb: Beeni, intentionally lo se e.

IE: O ti fe se nkan to se yen. O kan momo lo mu otin ni. O ti ri omo yen losan ko to lo mu otin loru ojo yen. Ika de ni.

Gb: O le blame omo yen to wo nightie to dangerous? Kii se gbogbo okunrin lo le ni amumora bi iru awa yi

((Huuuuuun!))

Iru awa yi maa nmoju kuro.

IE: To ba se okunrin yen lobi omo yen nko? Omo yen is more or less omo e. Kosi bi omo eeyan sele dagba to laye, omo eni naa ni

Gb: Omo e ni. Bi omo naa o ti e nse biological daughter e, omo e ni.

IE: ha, okunrin yen o ku die kato o

Gb: Boya nkankan ndamu opolo e.

IE: O possible. Nkan to ye ko se, kii se ko lo ba iya omo gan. Kolo baa won eniyan Olorun pe ki won ba ohun be pe asise ni.

Gb: To ba je musulumi ni, ki o wa awon onikoko ati aafa. Toba de je kiristieni ni, ki o wa awon Counsellor lo.

IE: Beeni. E be ti won maa be obinrin yen nip e ki o sin Olorun tori t'oba fe react, o le lo siwa wu.

Gb: Se igba ti omo yen ba bimo tan ni ki won lo ba ni tori won nbeere. Se pe ki won ni suuru ko deliver ni (…)

IE: ko maa se ni medicine after death o. Ko ya lo bayi. Tori toba ti bimo tan, iya a m'okan. A le ba toju omo e. Abi omo yen maa ni ohun oni iya ni.

Gb: To ba nrope oko ohun lo fun omo yin loyun o, inu a tundun pe ohun ti di grandma o.

IE: Beeni. Ona miran t'ole gbe gba tori oro yi o buru gan. Ti okunrin yen bati be iyawo e, ki obinrin yen naa sunmo Olorun ki won wa ile oto ti won maa fi omo yen si.

Gb: Won ti fi s'ile oto.

IE: T'oba ti =

Gb: =Iya e si nwa, ko ti rii ati oko e.

IE: Ki obinrin yen gba fun Olorun. Nkan eeyan o ndi meji, ki inu biyan.

Gb: Councillor Semiu. E je kin so Egba, Ekiti ti mo so tito. E ke ki npada wale.BO ti e je pidgin Ekiti ni mon so.

C: Ni gbogbo agbaye, Nigeria nikan ni ofin o si.

Gb: OFI WA o. Ofin kan wa ninu iwe ko sise. Asiko ayipada ti de bayi o gbudo sise.

C: Ti eeyan bag be owo, Olorun gan o fe iku elese [afii k'oronu p'iwada.

Gb: [Afi k'oronu p'iwada. Hmn

C: Ni Rome, ibi ti Christian ti wa, won mo implication e. Ti eeyan bad an wo ni [Saudi Arabia

Gb: [Saudi Arabia

C: O mo ijiya e. Sugbon o ti mop e kosi ohun ti ohun o le se, ti ohun o le se gbe.

GB: Se igi to se leni kan ge yi

C: Atokun, owe ni mo pa fun yin. Ohun ti mo ntry lati so fun yin nipe ofin wa sugbon a o muse.

Gb: Se ki n ni kan ge, kan ge?

C: Mi o ni kan ge. Ohun ti mon so nipe. E je ki gbogbo wa wo. Muslim l'eyin, Christian la won. E je wo nkan to de ti adura o fi gba.

GB: E maa so pea dura o gba o. Councillor Semiu, I beg to disagree. Adura ngba.

C: (…)

Gb: Adura ngba E MAA JE KA SO PE ADURA O GBA. Adura ngba. Ti adura o ba gba, a o le joko sibi ki a maa se nkan ta nse yi. Olorun o gb'ogun ti wa. Awa naa ko si ogun n'ilu wa. Ohun ta ngbadura si, ti o ti bosi, Olorun o dari adura yen si ifokan bale= na

C : =Atokun, Atokun

Gb: Hun

C: Arun to soro wo ju ni ki eeyan maa tan ra e je. Ni arun to se woju lo ni o. A nton raw a je ni. Eyin gan gan fun ra yin e wo o. Eku o ke bi eku, eye ke bi eye (…)

Gb: Ohun naa la se ni kaa change. Ohun la se ni ka change iwa= wa

C: Gbogbo wa pata pata, gbogbo wa pata pata la mo conscience wa. Abi?

Gb: Beeni

C: Eni to ba se dada ninu wa, o mo. Ti ohun na bafi siro ara e wo, to ri pe se ohun ti ohun se yen dara

Gb: L'omokunrin yen?

C: L'omokunrin yen (…) ko n bere lowo pastor abi imam pe se won le gba. Ti won ba le convince mi pe bo se sele si Anobi re o, o le mu inu mi ro. Eni to bad an iru e wo, maa da seria fun.

Gb: Eni suuru na. Gbogbo ohun te so yen, mo si gba yen die. Sugbon e je ka fi ibi kan wo o. Ohun to sele yi, ti omokunrin yi se yi. Se o seyin Olorun?

C: Olorun o mo si. Ti a ba ti se iru nkan bayi la maa nyi soro Olorun. T'aba ti nkan to ku die kato la maa nni ko seyin Olohun. Se eti de oke olumo ri?

Gb: Daadaa

C: E ti de bar beach ri?

Gb: Beeni

C: Ti omo yin ba beere pe: Daddy, Baba Gboin, se e ti d'orun ri? Ki le maa ti so?

Gb: Maa so pe mi o de'be ri ni.

C: E maa b'oro yin lo.

Gb: Emi mop e kosi ohun to nsele laye ti o seyin Olorun. Bi eeyan gba bi o gba. Kosi ohun to nsele laye tos'eyin Olorun. O ni imo nipa gbogbo ohun to ba nsele laye yi

C: Ki lo nsele? (…)

Gb: E ni suuru (…) Adura to ye k'ama gba nip e ohun to maaa sele siwa ti a o ni le kappa, ki Olorun ma je ko sele si wa. Adura maa ntu nkan se ni. Bi nkan ba ti nbaje, ti eniyan ba ngba adura, Olohun o tunse. Hmmm, Aroye Ibadan

A: Ohun to wa ninu eni ni otin maa npa mo.

Gb: Boya o ti now omo yip e igba ti mo sese fe mummy e , bo de seri re o.

A: Nigba ti o tin di odun merin, marun, maje ti won ti bi'mo, o ye ki won ti maa wo pe kini solution. To ba je civil case, criminal case ni, awon olopa a to pinpin e sugbon civil case, won a ni e lo yanju e. E ti ese ile wo. Ti won ba wadi e daadaa, coup ni.

Gb: 7 + 13 kini?

A: 20

Gb: O dabi pe omo yen 7 years old lowa nigba yen.

A: S'eri coup ni. Okunrin yen plan coup ni. Tori ti ko ban se coup. Ko daran mo. O yan iyawo soldier la le, o tun sin ni gbere. O ni mistake ni lo sele to fi loyun. O wa lo gbe pamo. E wa jo nwa. Labe ofin, o gbe omo pamo niyen o.

Gb: Hun

A: S'eri pe ti ko ba sora, Esu to lo ti o lo fi sise yen, Esu yen a titi ti, a ti pa. Tori ti omo yen ba ku ki lo fe so? Boya in the process, omo yen nlabour, o wa ku. A wa ni=

Gb: =O beta ko so fun.

A: Kini yen a wa di meji. A wa di p emo fun omo e loyun o. A tun wa di pe o ti shofun omo o. Nigba to fe obirin yen, o fe n'ife pe emi ni mo bimo yi. O de nbato. Se emo pe agreement ni.

Gb: Beeni.

A: Ori omo ni npe omo waye. =Omo yen de mu, OMO yen de mu ni mu baba.

Gb: = (…)

Nitori awon to ba wa ninu shoes yen, aa fi yo won o. To ba se be eyi ti o ni ooto ati ododo (…) won a ni last born mummy wa ni. Ohun lo si bi.

A: Omo yen de mu

Gb: =Ohun lo si bi. To bat un wa lo je second hand family. Ti e o ni mo ohun to nsele.

A: To rip e omo yen mu nimu baba lomo yen se agree lati ba keep secret. Tori e ba ti pay awon mejeeji ki omo so. Ki won da si wahala. Boya ibe ni won ti ma mo boya e mu u lo si hospital. E yo oyun fun. Nkan kan

Gb: Ha! Ijoba o fe gboyen o.

A: hun hun, ti ole ba rape omo kan, se awon a fi sile ko doyun ni.

Gb: Ile eni la tin je ekute o ni dodo.

A: Pe ki nma tu asiri baba mi ni omo yen o se so nkan kan. Kosi ohun to maa se. Asiri tu TU U. Pipe awon eeyan gan nise nii da wahala.

Gb: Ko lo so fun ra e?

A; Ki o pe iya e. Iya a pariwo. Ko si ohun ti o maa se.

Gb: Adetipe

Ad: Ko le da lo sa. Omo yen gan, o ni emi ti o da. Enikan gbe e pamo lati ijo yin. O wa wa nibikan. Ohun gan wicked. To o ba wicked, lati ojo yi won gbe e pamo. Osu kini, osu keji, osu keta. Ohun gan like okunrin ni jo

((Laughter))

Ad: Ohun na de la sile. Kani o ti ilekun yara e nigba to de.

Gb: O wa lati odo iya agba ni.

Ad: Ko de wa le pariwo?

Gb: Ariwo ki lo fe pa?

Ade: Mo mope ipa obinrin kole ka t'okunrin.

Gb: Adetipe, Olorun maje kaa ri nkan toju ti wa lo. Ka so pe baba to ki omo e m'ole ati omo to ki iya m'ole, kani pe Olorun o nimo nipa e ni?

Ad: Ko tete lo pe awon family nitori o tun le gori e. O ngbe egun ayeraye lori ara e niyen.

Gb: Mosinmi

M: E se. Pupo ninu igbesi aye ti omo yen ngbe. Kii se igbesi aye to daa rara. O ye ki omo yen gan ja fita fita nigbati baba yen ti mu otin yo. Sugbon imoran ti emi fe gba won ni wipe ki won gbiyanju. Emi o fe ki won so ki omo yen o to bi'mo. Ki won je ki o bi'mo naa. Nitori eti meji meta lo maa gbo oro yen. Boya lati enu iya yen. Won a de gba lowe pe o o mo nkan to maa se. Oyun yen gbodo jabo ni. So life omo yen o dangerous so ki omo yen bi omo naa. To bami mo tan ki won lo ba iya yi soro. Ki iya yi jo o nitori Olorun ki o gba omo yen bi omo ti o bi. Boya won maa mu travel ni, boya won maa mu lo sibi kan ni o ti o maa fi bere new life ti e.

Gb: Ti baba yen o ni fi ri so ju mo?

M: Ti baba yen o ni fi ri soju mo. Beeni. Ki iya yen ati oko yen de si maa ba ife won lo.

Ki won maa fe ra won lo. Titi ti Olorun maa fi da iya yen lohun. O ti sele o ti sele.