

THE STUDY OF ORAL TRADITION IN YORÙBÁ MOVIES

by

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Submitted in accordance for the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

AFRICAN LANGUAGES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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NOVEMBER 2013

DECLARATION

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I, Bayo Rasheed Omojola, declare that **The Study of Oral Tradition in Yoruba Movies** is my own work and that, by means of complete references, I have indicated all the sources that I have used or quoted.

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Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Conducting this study would not be possible without the support I got from different quarters. On this note, I owe a lot of gratitude to my supervisor, co-supervisor, and external examiners, the University of South Africa (UNISA), questionnaire respondents, colleagues and friends, research assistants and family members, and, above all, the Almighty God. All of them really deserve tremendous acknowledgement; their direct and/or indirect contributions have made this thesis possible. I mention their specific roles in the paragraphs below.

First, the bulk of my appreciation goes to my contact people at UNISA, particularly Professor Dave Mutasa and Professor Phaladi Sebate. Both persons that served as my supervisor and co-supervisor respectively showed enough patience and provided me with prompt responses to my academic needs as I worked on my research. Their invaluable guidance influenced my approach to the study of this writing. I really thank them for their efforts. In addition, I am indebted to Professor Inge Kosch for taking her time to respond to my educational needs, such as registration issues at UNISA. She is one of the wonderful scholars who created an enabling environment for my study. Also, I thank Mrs. Hleziphi Napaai, P S Malefo and others who provided helpful information to ensure that the study got to its final stage. In addition, I thank the external examiners whose identities remain hidden. I found their comment useful.

Second, I wish to show appreciation to UNISA for offering me its bursary which was meant for African students and for making its library services available to me at no cost.

Third, I thank the Morgan State University Library and other libraries for allowing me to use their reading materials.

Fourth, other people who had or have played a role in the course of my academic and job careers leading to this study deserve commendation. I thank all of them for their efforts. Because of limited space, I cannot mention all their names. I want to express my gratitude to Professors Olúdàré Ọlájubù (May his soul rest in peace!), Professor Wande Abimbọla, Professor Akínwùmí Ịṣọlá, Professor Bade Ajuwọn and Professor Babalọlá Yai for providing me with a strong foundation in Yorùbá oral tradition; and Professor

‘Sope Oyelaran, Professor Nike Lawal, Professor Oṛẹ Yusuf, Professor Yíwọlá Awóyalé, and Professor Ọládélé Awóbùlúyì for the encouragement which they gave me to do this study. Their instructions and/or advice have motivated me to get to this end.

Fifth and likewise, I wish to express my gratitude to the following scholars and/or helpers: Professor Mbare Ngom, Dr. Helen Harrison, Dr. Austin Nwagbara, Hon. Ayò Yusuf, Dr. Nathaniel Gbessegi, Mr. Tah Protus Tawang, Dr. Káyòdé Fànílọlá and his family, Dr. Olú Ẹkúndayò, Dr. Ernest Cole, Dr. Blessing Ogamba, Dr. Eunita Ochola, Dr. Akíntúndé Akínyemí, Bùsọlá Shada, Ọmọlayò Ògúnlọlá, Messers Rẹmí Balógun, Délé Àdígún, Táyò Ọjẹkalẹ, and Moses Mabayajoje, Dr. Bíọdún Ògúnwálé, Dr. Láídé Sheba, Prof. Manthias Diawara, Prof. Keyan Tomaselli, Prof. Níyì Òsúndáre, Prof. Bíọdún Jeyifo, Dr. Báyò Lawal-Ajíbádé, Dr. C. O. Ọdẹjọbí, Dr. Jonathan Fox, Dr. Gòkè Àlà mú, Dr. Marthias Krings, Prof. Rasheed Na’Allah, Prof. Gisela Böhm, Dr. Dominic Dipio, Dr. Jonathan Fox, Dr. Gabriel Tenabe, Dr. Abdoulaye Mbaye; Messers Fọlá Olúmídé, Pa Moses D. Oguma and family, Prof. Cherry Rhodes, Prof. Sherry Tucker, Prof. Rose Monroe, Prof. Alice Kimara, Mrs. Romila Nayyar, Professor Junita Wingo, Dr. Nathaniel Gbessegi, Dr. Genenive Dibua, Chief Olú Adéuyan, Dr. Gabriel Tenabe, Yeye-Aafin Moni Tenabe, Dr. Yomi Okunṣọwọ, Mr. Adesco Idowu, Hon. Àgbà-Akin Olú Akéréle, Hon. Àgbà-Akin Fọlá Olúmídé, Hon. Àgbà-Akin E.O. Ajétúnmọbí, Mr. Issa Sàkà (Ali), Prof. Adékúnlé Akínyemí, Hon. Alusiney Kalon, Mr. Akin Ògúndẹ̀jì, Hon. Femi Kuforiji, Dr. Henry Akinfe, Monsieur Mohammed Camara, Mr. Hammed Salami, Hon. Agba-Akin Remi Alawode, Dr. Olumayọwa Ogedengbe, and Dr. Williams Salifu (May his soul rest in peace!) and others for offering their support in one or more capacities –volunteering materials, information, advice and/or reading my drafts and giving suggestions. I am also indebted to Keffen Zeleke and Yonas Imer who helped me while I tried to create the charts for some of the analysis in Chapter 4.

Sixth, I wish to recognise the contribution of my research assistants and questionnaire respondents. Of particular mention are Maruf Omolola and Adams Ọmọlọlá who administered the research questionnaire in Nigeria. I am also grateful to Sadiat Ọmọlọlá for finding and shipping different movies to me and for being the second watcher and transcriber of the movies which I used in this study. Prince Amos Oyèbámijí Oyèlámi

rendered an invaluable transcribing support. To him, too, I am very grateful. I thank Messrs Kúnlé Ajíbádé, Ademola Adegbamigbe and another fellow journalist who responded to my research questionnaire. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Hon. Oluwaseyi Ogunyinka, Hon. Nurudeen Saliu, Hon. Adegboyega Dada, Hon. Idowu Akinleye, Dr. Sanusi Isa, Dr. Layo Ogunlola, Dr. Henry Akinfe, and Dr. Samuel Ogunbo, ,too, for their role. I also seize this opportunity to show appreciation to other respondents whose names are too numerous to mention here, especially 160 respondents in Nigeria. Other people who provided convenience for my research were Ganiyat (Òyìnbó) and her husband, Dr. Fatai Afólábí; their constant and timely communication was a relief to me. I really appreciate their pleasant spirit. I also thank Túndé Ìbítówà and Tayo Ojekale and their families for giving me constant encouragement, and Tòsìn Oyèró and Bòsede Olukemi Asiyanbi for handling the typing of the Yorùbá words in this writing. I should not forget to add that I appreciate my relationship with Pa Babátúndé A. Şàngókúnlé. Hardworking Pa Şàngókúnlé challenged me at the time I least expected; he dug into my past records one day and woke me up. Was I really sleeping? No -I was not. I just did not act on time –I was thinking whether it was necessary or not. His Royal Majesty Káyòdé Fágbenró; His Royal Majesty Adékúnlé Maroof Mágbagbéolá, His Royal Majesty Isaac Ilori Adebare Olowosoke Ogbooru Olodo I (part of my great-grandmother history with the first Olubuse of Ife), His Royal Majesty Oṃowonuola Oyeyode Oyesosin and my other close royal fathers and chiefs who have been of great inspiration to me in life. May all of them live long and continue to enjoy the mercy of God, love of human beings and the power that God has put in place for human services and development!

Seventh, I wish to thank the following people for cushioning me into a comfortable research experience: Patience, Oṃotáyò, Wónúolá, Fatimò, and Tawa Oṃololá, Káyòdé Abóláyò, Akeem Olátáyò, Rẹmí Àrẹ̀gò, A. Kallon, Josuah Àlào, Kàmòlì Oyèwólé, Muraina Azeez (MK), Adémólá Jimmy, Síkírù Kareem, Raimi Oseni, Josuah Afólábí and Thomascine; they maintained warm and encouraging conversations with me. I wish Thomascine is alive today to witness the acceptance of this thesis! May her soul rest in peace! I am also grateful to my brothers -Musitafa, Làsìsì, and Asunman - and to my nephew, Wàlìyù Oṃololá and cousins, such as Olayioye Lawal, Issa Adeloye

Lawal, Lasisi Sanusi, Raimi Oseni, Ahmed Lawal, and Muftau Lawal for their love. Likewise, I thank all other family members and friends whose names are too numerous to be listed in this section.

Above all, I thank God, the most important supporter of my life and education. While I was on this study, God gave me adequate comfort and resourceful people and institutions that enabled me to write and present this thesis for a final examination.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my father, Yusuf Olóyédé Àkànní Ọmọlọlá, who passed away when I was too young. The pleasant memories of him which many people do recall today, his love for fellow human beings and his transparent transactions with other people are great legacies for me.

SUMMARY

The study examines two selected Yorùbá movies, focuses on the oral tradition, feelings, and messages in them. Its purpose is to show that the classification or categorisation by previous scholars is not limited to Yorùbá movies; it is adaptable to other movies. Consequently, the study sets out to find an identity for Yorùbá movies and is able to accomplish its aim. It draws on copious examples of oral tradition genres in the selected movies, extract their examples from the movies, and use the extracts to make an argument that the unique way to identify Yorùbá movies is the Yorùbá oral tradition which frequents in the movies. In its attempt to find its focus, it highlights scholars' ideas of oral tradition worldwide and narrows the concept to the Yorùbá paradigm. The thesis contains information on research approach, theories, analysis, and findings. Finally, the study asserts its claim, proves it with evidence, and offers useful recommendations.

KEY TERMS

Yorùbá

Oral tradition

Culture

Chants

Actor(ess)

Genres

Modern or modernity

Movie(s)

Feeling

Message

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Dedication	vi
Summary	vii
Key terms	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Oral tradition in Yorùbá Society	4
1.3 Statement of the problem	6
1.4 Aim and objectives of the study	8
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Significance of the study	10
1.7 Rationale	15
1.8 Definition and/or explanation of terms	15
1.8.1 Culture	15
1.8.2 Oral	16
1.8.3 Oral tradition	16
1.8.4 Sociological approach or social perspective	16
1.8.5 Culture theory	17
1.8.6 Yorùbá movies	17

1.8.7 Nigerian movies	17
1.9 Brief theoretical framework	18
1.10 Scope and outline of the study	20
1.10.1 Chapter 1	20
1.10.2 Chapter 2	20
1.10.3 Chapter 3	21
1.10.4 Chapter 4	21
1.10.5 Chapter 5	21
1.10.6 Chapter 6	22
1.11 Delimitation	22
1.12 Conclusion	22
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 History of Yorùbá movies within the context of Nigeria	26
2.2.1 Beginning	26
2.2.2 Movie production and marketing (1903-1960)	30
2.2.3 Post-colonial movie production and marketing (October 1, 1960-date)	31
2.3 Yorùbá movies in particular	34
2.4 Religious Impact	36
2.5 Causes and role of technology in video production (1990's – date)	40
2.6 Definition of culture	41

2.7 Oral tradition ideologies	44
2.8 Conclusion	64

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction	65
3.2 Theoretical framework	65
3.2.1 Culture theory	66
3.2.2 Culture theory and sociological connection	68
3.2.3 Oral tradition paradigm	71
3.3 Research methods	77
3.3.1 Data collection	82
3.3.2 Selected movies	84
3.4 Conclusion	84

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction	86
4.2 Questionnaire, Tables and Charts in Research	86
4.3 Relevance of questionnaire in this study	88
4.4 Demographic aspects	88
4.4.1 Gender	88
4.4.2 Age range	90
4.4.3 Locations	91
4.4.4 Ethnic groups by population	93
4.5 Questions and responses	95

4.5.1 Question 1 and responses	95
4.5.2 Question 2 and responses	97
4.5.3 Question 3 and responses	99
4.5.4 Question 4 and responses	101
4.5.5 Question 5 and responses	102
4.5.6 Question 6 and responses	104
4.5.7 Question 7 and responses	105
4.5.8 Question 8 and responses	106
4.6 Synopsis of the movies	108
4.6.1 <i>Èjẹ̀ Méjì (Bloody two or Two bloods)</i>	108
4.6.2 <i>Máṣẹ̀kà (Don't do evil)</i>	112
4.7 Themes	113
4.7.1 <i>Èjẹ̀ Méjì (Bloody two or Two bloods)</i>	114
4.7.2 <i>Máṣẹ̀kà (Don't do evil)</i>	114
4.8 Settings and connection with oral tradition	115
4.8.1 <i>Èjẹ̀ Méjì (Bloody two or Two bloods)</i>	115
4.8.2 <i>Máṣẹ̀kà (Don't do evil)</i>	116
4.9 Oral tradition and connection with feelings and messages	116
4.9.1 Feeling of happiness	117
4.9.2 Feeling of anger	119
4.9.3 Feeling of greediness	119

4.9.4 Feeling of hatred	121
4.9.5 Feeling of love and likeness	122
4.9.6 Feeling of authority	128
4.9.7 Feeling of hope	131
4.9.8 Feeling of unity	132
4.9.9 Feeling of danger	134
4.9.10 Feeling of peace	139
4.9.11 Feeling of suspicion	140
4.9.12 Feeling of confidence	142
4.9.13 Feeling of regret	144
4.10 Oral tradition as a catalyst	145
4.11 Oral tradition as a weapon of defence	147
4.12 Oral tradition as agent of attack and protection	151
4.13 Oral tradition as a peace-mediation mechanism	155
4.14 Oral tradition as a means of entertainment	157
4.15 Oral tradition as a healing agent	157
4.16 Oral tradition as a descriptive tool	158
4.17 Oral tradition as an agent of warm reception	159
4.18 Oral tradition as an agent of rejection	163
4.19 Oral tradition as a means of correction	164
4.20 Oral tradition as a ritual code for supernatural elements	168

4.21 Oral tradition as a link to the spiritual realm	169
4.22 Oral tradition as a device for expressing appreciation	172
4.23 Conclusion	174
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION	
5.1 Introduction	175
5.2 Genres of oral tradition in selected Yorùbá movies	175
5.3 Harmony between oral tradition which expresses feelings and actions, events, places, actors and actresses, and themes in the Yorùbá movies	185
5.4 Impact of Oral tradition as shown in Yorùbá movies	186
5.5 Oral tradition as a salient feature of modern Yorùbá movies	187
5.6 Oral tradition as a marker of the identity of Yorùbá movies	189
5.7 Different genres of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies	191
5.8 Emotions invoked in oral traditions in Yorùbá movies	193
5.8.1 Oral tradition as a transmitter of the feelings of actors and actresses in Yorùbá movies	193
5.8.2 Link between feelings and social, physical, and spiritual aspects in Yorùbá movies	194
5.9 Messages conveyed by oral tradition in Yorùbá movies	201
5.10 Oral tradition in Yoruba movies adapting to modern issues	202
5.11 Consolidation	203
5.12 Conclusion	204

CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS AND FINAL TONE

6.1 Introduction	205
6.2 Research findings	205
6.3 Recommendations	206
6.5 Final tone	207
REFERENCES	208
APPENDIX (QUESTIONNAIRE)	217

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

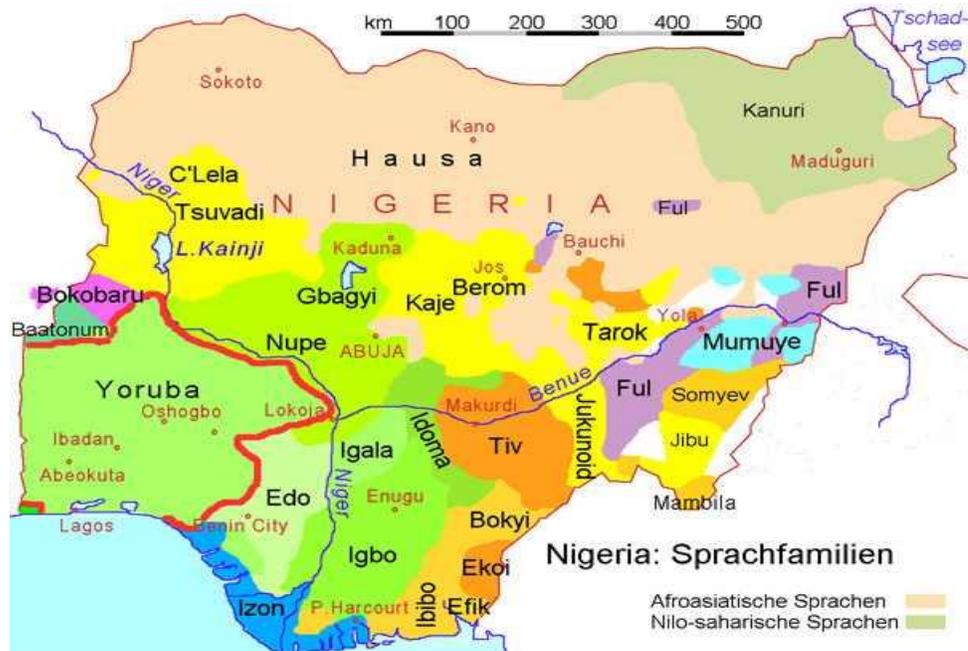
1.1 Background

Nigeria is a West African country with numerous languages and a corresponding number of peoples and traditions. According to Ethnologue (2013), “The number of individual languages listed for Nigeria is 529. Of these, 522 are living and 7 are extinct. Of the living 22 are institutional, 80 are developing, and 358 are vigorous, and 20 are in trouble, and 42 are dying.”

According to ‘Total fact about Nigeria’ (2013), the three major languages and traditions in the country are Yorùbá, Hausa, and Ìgbò. From the residual knowledge of the researcher of this study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies, the Yorùbá native speakers are mainly found in the geographical area known as the south-west of Nigeria. The whole country was once colonised by the Great Britain until October 1, 1960 when the former had her independence from the latter.

At independence, Nigeria had the Yorùbá territory as the Western Region. Other geographical demarcations in the country then were the Northern Region inhabited mainly by Haúsá/Fùlání and the Eastern Region by Ìgbò. Later, the Mid-West was added. Since then, Nigeria has had more states; now she has thirty-six states and one federal capital city in which various Nigerians and their peculiar traditions exist. Today, the Yorùbá people and their language and tradition are found in the following states: Lagos, Ògùn, Òyó, Òşun, Òhndó, Èkìtì, Kwàrà, and Èdó.

Image 1: The Map of the Yorùbá Area in Nigeria:



Source: <http://www.nationalia.cat/popup-imatge/1743>

In addition, Yorùbá communities are found in other West African countries, such as Benin Republic, Togo, partly Ghana, Sierra-Leone, Gambia, and Cote D'Ivoire and the Yorùbá culture has its impact on America, Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti, and Cuba –just to mention a few. The trans-Atlantic trade transported the Yorùbá and their culture or tradition to the diaspora, especially to the North America and South America.

During the colonial period, Great Britain's influence in Nigeria was overwhelming since the representatives of the Queen were to regulate and control the economy, politics, education, and other activities in the colony and in all connected territories. Then the seat of the British colonial office, which was subordinate to the main administrative office in Britain, was Lagos, which now remains Nigeria's first federal capital city and a part of the Yorùbáland. It was in Lagos that the first movie exhibition was shown to the public in August, 1903 at the Glover Hall. James (2007:18) claims that the colonial era witnessed the use

of the first debut of movies “as a propaganda weapon of the imperialist power” ... used to promote their own way ... to denigrate their enemies and boost their own image within the colonies.” In other words, the Yorùbá traditional values and similar values in Nigeria were not the concerns of the colonial masters.

As mentioned above, when the British government colonised Nigeria, it pursued its interest, promoted whatever that could make it exert its authority on Nigerians. The Institute of Diplomacy (2011) notes the magnitude of such an impact when it claims that the European-dominated countries “acquired a great deal of European culture, value, and technology. Now that the European hegemony has declined, previously existing cultures, traditions manifest themselves again, to some extent, adapted and hybridized with European ones.” Linked to the idea conveyed in this citation, Nigerian movies cannot exist without European culture. Many Nigerian movie actors and actresses like to blend some features of both cultures in the modern time. Great Britain used her movie productions to market British values and businesses in Nigeria, impressed on the Nigerian public that everything or idea which came from Britain was ideal, that it was the standard.

In a way, this act of the colonial masters was to make the natives of Nigeria see their own ways of life and activities as sub-standards. As part of the colony, the Yorùbá people began to absorb foreign ideas (English language and culture). Even today, the impact of the British culture or values is still found and felt in many aspects of the Yorùbá life and that of other people in Nigeria. For example, in education, health, language, religious practice, social interactions, entertainment, attitude, thoughts, business, technology, occupation, governance, and others, the pattern indicates foreign features, even though Nigeria is no longer legally and politically under the British rule.

Besides the British political influence, Christianity and Islam which spread to Nigeria have impacted on different aspects of the country. Hunwick (1992), for example, finds the influence of both religious groups and their religions on politics: “Since independence in 1960, the issue of regional or ethnic power

sharing in Nigeria has shifted to a contest between Muslims and Christians, with the part-Muslim, part-Christian Yorùbá of the southwest helping to hold the balance.” Based on his observation, it is clear that the values of those who are into traditional religions are invisible; only Christian and Islamic values are promoted in the country. The implication of the observation of Hunwick is that perhaps the native cultures or the traditions of the Nigerian peoples are subdued.

The Yorùbá traditional system of politics or governance, within the context of the Nigerian political system presented by the scholar, has been influenced. However, the same writer claims that the Yorùbá keep balance in the conflict between Christians and Muslims. In a situation, such as the one that Hunwick has mentioned, the Yorùbá, unavoidably, cannot do but absorb the traditions from both religions so as to keep the so-called balance. Even though the Yorùbá tradition predated Christian and Islamic ideas, the new experience that both religions deliver to the Yorùbá has the potential to mess up the Yorùbá tradition; that is, some parts of the Yorùbá tradition are likely to be subdued by the tradition of both religions, which may not conform to the local tradition.

1.2 Oral tradition in Yorùbá Society

In Yorùbá society, like in other African societies, oral tradition refers to inherited expressions connected with people, animals, trees and plants, river, hills, darkness, light, supernatural forces, individual and communal experiences, gods and goddesses, occupations and relationships. It also connects with feelings, such as love, pleasure, hatred. Besides, oral tradition contains communication relating to politics, heroes, justice, oppression, wealth, poverty, inspiration, morality, philosophy, calculation, pharmacology, entertainment, magic, physical appearance, religion, divination, and discovery. It also relates to dance, drumming, war or fighting, history, knowledge, arts, science, technology, land, air, visible objects, invisible objects, contract, negotiation, and other aspects of human beings and their environment.

The synonym for Yorùbá oral tradition is Yorùbá oral literature. The idea is clear in the explanation which Adéjùmò (2009:1) offers as follows: “Yorùbá oral literature is one of the major ways in which Yorùbá culture is transmitted and disseminated.” In other words, the inherited verbal expressions of the Yorùbá native speakers depict them as literary or creative people. Their works are intended to serve specific purposes in their communities. Yorùbá oral tradition includes proverbs, appellations, incantation, chants, and folktales. The bulk of the tradition falls under poetry, though not limited to hunters’ chant of the Ògún worshippers (*ijálá* and *irèmòjé*), bride’s chant (*ẹkún-iyàwó*), *ẹsẹ-ifá* by the followers of Òrúnmilà, appellation or praise name and poetry (*oríki*) and narratives (*itan*).

An important aspect of oral tradition is that some genres are not totally independent in all circumstances. For example, *oríki* can be recited or said independently in one situation and in another can be a part of another oral tradition of the Yorùbá. An individual person’s *oríki* can be recited to him or her, just to accord him or her recognition or honor during daily or occasional greetings, and the same *oríki* can be incorporated in *ẹkún-iyàwó*, the bride’s nuptial chant, which is more extensive than the brief appellation of a person or lineage.

The state of oral tradition in Yorùbá society cannot be compared or equated now to what it was before Europeans and Arabs came in contact with the Yorùbá even though in Yorùbá cities, towns, and villages, entertainers use Yorùbá verbal expressions which convey appellations and praise chants. The impact of modernity on Yorùbá tradition is captured as follows:

However, civilization and urbanization processes among the Yorùbá of southwestern Nigeria have culminated in cultural diversity and cultural integration which has led to cultural hybridity; and this has affected Yorùbá both negatively and positively. Some of the areas which are adversely affected are the Yorùbá language, literature and culture (op. cit.)

British colonial rule in Nigeria covered all Yorùbá geographical territory and the land of other ethnic nations in the country. Like it did to other cultures in Nigeria, colonisation promoted only British values at the expense of Yorùbá culture. The situation, therefore, has triggered considerable changes in the life of the Yorùbá. Educationally, socially, economically and culturally, European and other foreign sentiments are the foundations upon which Yorùbá activities are now built and judged in Yorùbá states. Today one of the changes which have befallen Yorùbá society relates to the Yorùbá language and culture which now dwindle. The situation has raised a serious concern among Yorùbá political leaders and scholars who do not want the language and culture to die. The problem is noted as follows: “Yorùbá culture and literature are also fast disappearing, whereas these aspects of Yorùbá life are supposed to be the people’s identity” (op. cit.).

1.3 Statement of the problem

The problem of the Yorùbá movies is the issue of identity: how to make it distinct or set it apart from other movies in Nigeria and the rest of the world, apart from just using the Yorùbá language and themes to recognize the movies. Broadly, the movies in the Yorùbá language are regarded as Yorùbá movies and other movies in the country are also named after their cultures or languages. The majority, with a few exceptions made outside the country, are made in Nigeria. However, outside Nigeria and among some Nigerians who are not aware of the Nigerian movie-makers’ rivalry or competition, the name Nollywood seems to be more prominent as an umbrella name for all the movies of all the ethnic people speaking different languages in Nigeria. Internally, the rivalry among different ethnic people of Nigeria, the struggle to out-shadow one another, has generated diverse identities for Nigerian movies. The Yorùbá movies are mostly in the Yorùbá language, and some, occasionally, are with few English interpretations, subliminally written on the screen. Consequently, at times the Yorùbá language movies have code-mixing, which involves using the structure of the native language to communicate. They also at times have code-meshing, which is the blending of the local language with English. Code-mixing and code-meshing are

common in the movies of other ethnic people in the country. The branding of ethnic movies remains a vogue. The Haúsá have two names for their movies. According to Oni (in Ògúnléyẹ, 2003:18), they have Kannywood for the movies which are made in Kánò and Kalliwood for the ones which are made in Kaduna. In the same work, Oni (2003) adds, “What is critical, however, is that it is the Ìgbò films and the ones in English language that are commonly referred to as Nollywood. The Yorùbá moviemakers do not seem to agree with such a name.” From the foregoing idea, movie identity is an issue in Nigeria, in general.

To create an identity for Yorùbá movies, some scholars have studied the movies. For example, Adésòkàn (2005) claims that social struggles are a major way to identify Yorùbá movies, and Àlà mú (1990) and Adélékè (1995) consider genre as a means of identifying the movies. Àlà mú groups them into the following types: “folkloric, historical, crime, and comic;” and Adélékè classifies Yorùbá movies as crime, mythical, sex or love, political, non-fiction, religious, comic, tragic, hooligan (in Ọdẹjọbí, 2004:9-10). Ọdẹjọbí (op. cit.) agrees to the genre approach and adds the following to the list: didactic, horror, ancient-based or mythical movies. The three scholars and others who may share their ideas seem to have overlooked a more common approach which can be used to characterize or identify Yorùbá movies. The genre classifications or identification formula that they have mentioned can be applicable to movies generally, that is, movies of any ethnic people or nation –not just Yorùbá movies. It does not matter what genres the scholars have created, the peculiar cultural communication of the actors and actresses in the Yorùbá movies is one unique way to pursue the identity of the Yorùbá movies. In any movie, the tradition of the people who are represented or depicted should play a prominent role; otherwise, the analysis or the identification of the movie may be done with an unsuitable parameter, which may consequently lead to an inaccurate account or submission on the movies. To address the need for a peculiar identity or parameter for recognizing any Yorùbá movies, this study has been carried out, with the intention focused on communication conveying actions, feelings, and messages in Yorùbá movies so

as to extract and use oral tradition as the stylus which makes Yorùbá movies distinct from the movies of other ethnic nations or cultures.

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

This study aims at finding out if certain expressions of the actors and actresses in the Yorùbá movies are rooted in or extracted from oral tradition and if they express the feelings and messages of the actors and actresses in the movies. This study is done in line with the idea of Hansen (2002) who explains the connection between feelings and an oral tradition:

Another benefit of communicating a legacy in the oral tradition encompasses the inclusion of emotion. Oral communication is a vehicle through which all the appropriate emotions and feelings deserving of expression are illuminated within the sentiments. The accuracy and emotion of oral tradition is a unique and one-of-a-kind opportunity to convey exactly the underlying tones of a legacy and why it is important and relevant to the family heritage.

The study, therefore, aims at linking the Yorùbá video movies and the Yorùbá oral tradition as inseparable entities. To establish the connection, this study focuses on the oral tradition as a means of communicating feelings and messages/themes -to hint that the major stylus to identify the Yorùbá movies is the Yorùbá oral tradition. In a nutshell, the major hypothesis is that if the traits of oral tradition and its corresponding feelings and messages feature overtly or covertly in the selected Yorùbá movies produced in the post-independent Nigeria, one can conclude that oral tradition, which was a major characteristic of the Yorùbá society in the pre-colonial era and which came into contact with foreign ideas during the colonial period, can be a marker of the Yorùbá movies today.

The study is sets out to find out if the Yorùbá oral tradition can be used to identify the Yorùbá movies of the 21st century, which are made in Nigeria where the

influence of modern or foreign ideas has been gaining ground ever since the country experienced colonialism and began her contact with other foreign religious ideas of Christianity and Islam.

To achieve its aim, this study has the following objectives:

- To classify and identify oral tradition which features in the selected Yorùbá movies
- To determine that oral tradition invokes different feelings in the Yorùbá movies
- To determine that oral tradition expressing feelings is connected with actions, events, places, actors and actresses, and themes in the Yorùbá movies
- To determine that the feelings that oral tradition expresses in the Yorùbá movies have causes and consequences
- To determine that modernity still permits the use of oral tradition in the Yorùbá movies

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the objectives listed in 1.2 above, this study will respond to the following research questions:

- Can oral tradition be used to identify Yorùbá movies?
- What oral tradition can be found in Yorùbá movies?
- Does the oral tradition convey the feelings of the actors and actresses in the Yorùbá movies?
- Are the feelings conveyed in the Yorùbá movies connected with particular actions, places, gender, occupation, image-making, morality, sacrifice, struggle, economy, health, politics, love, religion, conflict, and age that are a reflection of oral tradition of the Yorùbá?
- Does the oral tradition with feelings bear messages in the Yorùbá movies?
- Are the modern issues in the Yorùbá movies connected with oral tradition?

The purpose of the questions (of inquiry) listed above is to explore the Yorùbá movies to see if they have oral tradition and if they do with significant evidence, the research will conclude that oral tradition can be used to distinguish movies.

1.6 Significance of the study

Nigerian movies are popular in Africa and have made incursion into American, British, Caribbean, Asian, South American, and European markets. Now, numerous people watch them at homes in particular and other convenient places in general. Noting the widespread of the movies, Ìṣòlá (in Ògúnléyẹ, 2008:7) states:

The rate at which African movies, especially those from the Nigerian chapter are receiving global critical and economic attention is exponentially accelerating... As a matter of fact, African Video Film Arts Festival is a spectacular testimony to the value of the movies as cultural weapons.

With the Nigerian movie popularity, one would expect that the oral tradition of the Yorùbá could reach and prompt the audience to think that oral tradition is a common stylus of the movies.

Although Ìṣòlá (op. cit.) mentions that Nigerian movies attract global criticisms now, he does not specify that oral tradition in the movies receives a critical attention. Besides Ìṣòlá, other researchers of African movies, especially those who have written on Nigerian movies, and more particularly on the Yorùbá movies, have not really done much on oral tradition in the movies. Most of them have concentrated more on aspects such as history, movie makers, characterization, crimes, plots, themes, setting, selected movies, economics and technology, and audience. Some have expressed their opinions on movies and challenges to them. For examples, Adélékè (1995:1-186) is concerned about the audience's reception of Yorùbá films, Adésòkàn (2005:1-265) has written on the reconceptualization of democracy in African movies, and Ọdẹjọbí (2004:1-247)

has examined the depiction of criminal and crimes in Yorùbá, movies. In fact, in contrast to Nigeria literature on which numerous scholarly written texts have been published, an extensive study of oral tradition in connection with feelings expressed in Yorùbá movies is non-existent. Hence, this study is necessary because it fills a gap.

Another reason for this research is to verify the claim of Dípò (2008, in Ògúnléyẹ, 2008:71) that “Every artistic-cultural product has its own aesthetic and ethical logic which presents the people’s philosophy of life and can be used to appreciate the culture of a given people.” Truly speaking, Yorùbá society has its peculiar traditional culture which must have been a part of the setting for the production of movies in Nigeria. Another scholar, Ukat (in Ògúnléyẹ 2008:156) notes the connection between movies and traditional culture: “the enactment of ancient cultures on African screens serves a dual role of entertaining the audience as well as linking them, arguably in greater numbers, to their cultural ethos.” Dípò’s submission and Ukata’s observation indirectly prompted the need to show how oral tradition features to make Yorùbá movies distinct.

In addition, unlike Hollywood, Bollywood, and other globally-acknowledged movies which have had enough academic attention and still continue to have it, Yorùbá movies (as a type), like other Nigerian movies as a whole, has just got under a serious academic microscope in recent decades and still has many aspects which have been either partially touched or totally ignored. Since there are different aspects of Yorùbá oral tradition and since only little has been done scholarly on the subject, particularly in relation to movies, this study becomes relevant because it focuses on a major aspect of the Nigerian culture, oral tradition in Yorùbá movies. The total import is to establish the connection between oral tradition and Yorùbá movies.

Besides partial research on oral tradition in the Yorùbá movies, modernity seems to have its impact on the Yorùbá society. For instance, westernized idea of governance has taken over power from traditional rulers, the Ọba of the Yorùbáland, and foreign religions have relegated traditional beliefs, thoughts, and practices in the real Yorùbá society today. Scholars of Yorùbá oral tradition have noted the swat blow which modernity has placed on Yorùbá oral tradition. For example, one scholar states:

For almost half a century, Yorùbá traditional poetry has been losing its dominant position among the three types of literature that abound in the community (oral literature, written literature, and literature in foreign languages). The quality, performers, and users are steadily diminishing because youths pursue sleek footed foreign cultures, neglecting their own tradition (Oyèsakin, in Eruvbetine 1990:241).

Like Oyèsakin, Akínyemí (2009) notes the down-trodden phenomenon of oral literature, which is oral tradition in this study:

Contemporary Yorùbá society has, however, changed so drastically from what it used to be. The old social institutions that ensured the continuity of certain cultural practices have become irrelevant, and the discontinuation of ceremonies connected with them has also led to the death of the literature associated with them. Colonialism and the two foreign religions (Islam and Christianity) have also dealt a devastating blow to many aspects of Yorùbá culture. For instance, major social and religious ceremonies have been abandoned by their practitioners on their conversion to either Christianity or Islam.

In his article, Akínyemí (op. cit.) is preoccupied with the effort of Akínwùmílẹ̀ṣòlá to preserve “various Yorùbá genres” which the latter “incorporates” in his plays (*Şaworo-idẹ* and *Agogo È̀èwọ̀*) which eventually gained popularity as video movies. The actions in both –the book and the video- are delivered in the Yorùbá

language. Akínyemí's claim that colonialism and the intrusion of foreign religions have dealt a serious blow to Yorùbá oral genres is right. However, his writing seems to contain a contradiction of his initial idea because at another juncture he identifies oral literature's presence and connection with social vision in two video movies which he has analysed. This enigmatic situation of oral tradition, as presented in his writing, calls for further research. Hence, this study has more in-depth approach focusing on Yorùbá oral tradition in the light of modernity, feelings, and messages in the selected Yorùbá movies. In other words, the purpose of this research is to look at oral tradition as the stylus of Yorùbá movies by highlighting oral tradition and its uses in the selected movies.

Moreover, this study will be a point of reference. It is intended to help other researchers and scholars who want to know the impact of oral tradition on the Yorùbá movies. It is also done in order to provide assistance to the teachers of movies and traditions and to offer students and researchers who want to learn about Yorùbá movies; this study provides them with ideas about the role of oral tradition in the audio-visual productions of the Yorùbá.

Furthermore, the understanding of the society depicted in Yorùbá movies lies solely on the accurate interpretation based on reality. One way to interpret African movies is to understand African oral tradition and the role it plays. Trying to emphasize this idea, Russell (1998:7) observes: "Many of those who wish to find authentic means of interpreting African film point to the role of oral tradition in people's lives. They also discuss the importance of the individual's connection to the community and the past." Enahoro (1988:137) promotes culture, which, in the context of this study, is oral tradition: "The forces of ... culture of Africa are bound to give the cinema in Africa a different profile from that in other regions of the world." Since oral tradition is important in understanding African movies, this study has been done to identify oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies and to use the tradition to create an identity for Yorùbá movies in general.

Another reason for carrying out this study is to provide actors, actresses, and movie producers with a rare opportunity to re-examine their productions. Since this study focuses on oral tradition in the movies, its findings are also to let the Yorùbá movie producers and action role players know to what extent they are close to or far away from the tradition of the people they depict in their productions. With this opportunity, they can configure what improvement they need for their future movie productions.

The findings of this research will also draw the attention of the Nigerian governments- federal, state and local- to what perhaps might be an oversight in the tactics for promoting oral tradition through the media. It is germane to mention here that the governments in the south-west of Nigeria, where the traditional towns and cities of the Yorùbá are concentrated, have expressed their concern about the need to promote the Yorùbá language and culture:

To avoid such a fatal fate, all efforts must be geared towards preserving the culture and value of the Yorùbá. This was the position of the Governor of Èkìtì State, Dr. Káyòdé Fáyẹmí and his Òṣun State counterpart, Ògbéni Rauf Arẹgbẹṣọlá at the public presentation of two books written by Nigerian-born Harvard Professor, Kẹhìndé Olúpọ̀nà in Lagos on Thursday (Èkìtì State Government 2012).

Their idea includes oral tradition since it is a major part of the culture, or in another way, a repository of it. Consequently, by drawing attention to oral tradition in relation to Yorùbá movies, this study brings the past to merge with modern technology which Yorùbá movie makers now use to send communication out.

Finally, this research has been conducted to enable film watchers and researchers in different parts of the world to understand the Yorùbá in the light of their oral tradition or ways of life. With this understanding, film watchers will be able to perceive or understand the Yorùbá, based on Yorùbá tradition, and

researchers who are doing a comparative study of oral tradition in the Yorùbá movies and in the movies of other people or nations can draw an inspiration from the findings of this study, have a pattern from it, and fill the gap, which perhaps, this research shows.

1.7 Rationale

This study argues that the use of only social struggle, themes or language to classify the Yorùbá movies is inadequate because classification according to social struggle, themes and language is applicable to the movies of all people world-wide. For example, love and crime are in the movies of all nations and people, and such classification can be predominant and be used to recognize a movie, but the parameter does not actually distinguish the movies of a group of people or ethnic nation from another. To create a unique parameter that can withstand the test of time, this research draws attention to the traditional communication which, in this study, is known as Yorùbá tradition. With the detection of oral tradition devices or elements in the selected Yorùbá movies that are recently produced, the Yorùbá's peculiar ways of communicating their world-views, thoughts, feelings, and messages become distinct. Their peculiar language aesthetics and belief system aid their communication in the form of oral tradition.

1.8 Definition and/or explanation of terms

This study provides a definition and/or an explanation of each of the following operational term or concept: culture, oral, tradition, sociological approach, and culture theory, Yorùbá movies, and Nigerian movies.

1.8.1 Culture

In this study, the term culture refers to the different ways that the Yorùbá people have and use to do specific things like dressing, childbearing and rearing, singing, cooking, eating, greeting, entertainment, correcting, burial, naming, ruling,

punishing, chanting, defending and wadding-off. Also, it refers to their occupations, religious practices, verbal arts, and traditional objects.

1.8.2 Oral

As used in this study, the word “oral” means the spoken or verbal expression or transmission of a message or feeling by the words of the mouth.

1.8.3 Oral tradition

Oral tradition, as used in this study, covers the Yorùbá verbal chants (*ewi*), proverbs (*owe*), riddles (*àlọ àpamọ* and *àpagbè*), folktales and folklores (*àlọ onítàn*). The chants are classified as the masquerades’ chant (*iwi egúngún*), the bride’s nuptial chant (*ẹkún-iyàwó*), the Ifá literary corpus and song (*ẹsẹ-ifá àti iyèrẹ*), the hunters’ happy occasions or heroic deeds chant (*ìjálá*), the hunters’ funeral dirge or sad occasion chant (*ìrèmọjé*), praise-poetry or panegyric chant (*oríkì ìbílẹ, oríkì ìdílẹ, oríkì bọrọkìnín, oríkì orúkọ àmúwáyé, oríkì àdájẹ*), the chant with a wailing voice (*ràrà*), and idioms (*àkànlò-èdè*). Oral tradition also refers to the sound of the Yorùbá musical instruments like drums (*ilu*), rattles (*aro*), gong (*agogo*) and a gourd surrounded by a net of beads (*şẹkẹrẹ*).

1.8.4 Sociological approach or social perspective

Another concept which is used in this study is “sociological approach” or “social perspective.” Both are used synonymously. In the context of this study, each refers to the sociology of the Yorùbá native speakers, particularly their socialization, ethics, axioms, social expectations, checks and balances, and communal and individual situational needs or exigencies informed by the Yorùbá settings, experience, and world views. It is used as the approach to the analysis of verbal interactions in Yorùbá movies. Also, it is used as a tool for analysing the Yorùbá oratory acts or traditional rhetoric exposing the feelings and messages in a way that brings to the fore the Yorùbá traditional ideas or values.

1.8.5 Culture theory

The concept “culture theory” in this study is the adaptation of the Birmingham culture theory and other cultural theories. Like the sociological approach mentioned under 1.5.4 above, it is a tool for detecting the identity of the Yorùbá movies. Specifically, it refers to the Yorùbá chants, folktales, riddles, songs, and other devices which help the Yorùbá to establish their connection with their ancestors, lineage, past generations, history, occupations, welfare, ideologies, experiences, issues, and developments in the contemporary world without losing contact with the Yorùbá roots or inherited expressions and socialisation and understanding parameters inherited from the past generations. This adaptation extends to the social stratifications of the Yorùbá that are depicted in the selected movies, the Yorùbá peculiar interactions and related opportunities, deviance, compromises, and other challenges –all viewed as part of the Yorùbá culture or oral tradition.

1.8.6 Yorùbá movies

The term or concept “Yorùbá movies” in this study refers to only the Nigerian commercial video productions of the Yorùbá actors and actresses. It does not include the Yorùbá celluloid films and those that are based on the Yorùbá world views but delivered in English. Although the term is limited to the video productions in the Yorùbá language and those with few English interpretations presented as subliminal messages on the screen, the main idea of this study connecting the Yorùbá oral tradition and the Yorùbá movies extends to all the Yorùbáa-based celluloid film and video movie productions in English and Yorùbá.

1.8.7 Nigerian movies

In this study, the term “Nigerian movies” has dual uses; one, it refers to the Yorùbá in the title of this study; two, in brief, it covers the movies of all languages and ethnic nations in Nigeria. At some points in this study, “Yorùbá movies” is a

synonym to “Nigerian movies” since it is a case study of the whole of the Nigerian movies.

1.9 A brief theoretical framework

This study uses the Yorùbá ideas of oral tradition and borrows some information from Western culture and sociological approaches. The conflation is necessary since the Yorùbá world view cannot be studied without Yorùbá parameters. The need to consider African factors and questions to ask while one is researching African movies is captured by Mhando (2008): “What I propose as an African approach to African cinema is that we need to make an attempt at looking at the ambiguities that are inscribed in the language of cinema as it relates to Africa ... Is this a film about Africa, is this Africa specific or general, we should ask? [*sic*]. Is there a context around identity?”

Besides Mhando, Stefanson (2010:10) states that “Ethnicity is one strong criterion of continuity in the making of identity.” In a simple language, ethnic peculiarities are criteria that can help a researcher to understand the features of any ethnic-connected movies. In the context of this study, ethnicity refers to Yorùbá and their peculiar oral tradition, which falls under what has been labeled as “oral art or oral literature” (Gerald, in Raselekoane 2010:8). In addition, Tomaselli (1995:1) agree with other South African scholars such as van Zyl, Prinsloo and Criticos that foreign approaches are inadequate for analyzing or studying African movies: “They can not account for ways in which African and Western/Eastern forms of expression have meshed, or for indigenous ways of knowing and making sense.” Mhando, Stefanson, Tomaselli and Eke, and others, whose observations have been noted above, have directed the attention of this researcher to an inward or native approach (Yorùbá in the context of this research), which means using what the people have as the criteria to recognize their productions and possessions to distinguish their materials from the materials of other people. Also, finding Western approaches to handle this study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies is imperative to give the study a global touch

since any academic research is incomplete without a reference to, at least, a globally-referred theory.

Among the Yorùbá, oral tradition has classifications or genres, such as masquerade chants (iwì egúngún or ẹ̀sà), hunter's funeral dirge (ìrèmòjé), hunter's happy-occasion chant (ìjálá), appellation or praise name and poetry (oríkì), Ifá literary corpus (odu-Ifá and iyẹ̀rẹ̀), proverbs (Òwe), incantation (ọ̀fọ̀), bride's nuptial chant (ẹ̀kún-ìyàwó), riddles (àlọ̀ àpamọ̀ and àpagbè) and folktales (àlọ̀ onítàn). Each of these Yorùbá oral tradition genres has its peculiarities. For example, Ifá literary corpus has its chanting tone or mode, and its content has a structure and a message. Also, it has its settings and situational needs. This idea of modes is captured clearly below:

Each genre has its distinctive style of vocalization or technique of vocalization or technique of vocal performance. Yorùbá traditional poetry in general is best classified not so much by the themes as much as the stylistic devices employed in recitals. There is a distinctive mode in which each genre should sound forth in a performance and an experienced listener to recitals of the various genres of Yorùbá vocal art can name almost immediately, from the sound of the recital, the particular style of vocalization being employed by a vocalizer of whose identity he is ignorant (Babalọ̀lá, in Ọ̀látúnjì 1984: 7).

The subject-matter or concern of all theorists associated with culture theory determines the boundaries of their discussions. Edgar and Sedgwick (2002:3), for example, note that those connected with Karl Marx idea, Marxism, investigate the structure of society through the dialectical connection between the economy and ideologies within the society and that those who operate in historicism, literary criticism or critical cultural theory “read texts in terms of social or historical factors.” This theory will enable the researcher to find the connection which oral tradition has with the socialisation structure and interactions of the Yorùbá in the selected Yorùbá movies.

Durkheim's perspective is also a tool of analysis in this study. According to Baker (2000:16), the sociologist Durkheim "searched for the constraining patterns of culture and social life which lies outside any given individual ... For example, the beliefs, values and norms of religions." The approach of this theorist is that a society should be studied based on its communally-inherited possessions, not on individually-created possessions. Studying the expressions in the selected Yorùbá movies will enable us to say whether or not oral tradition can be a tool to distinguish Yorùbá movies from the movies of other people.

1.10 Scope and outline of the study

In six chapters, this study provides the background information to the Yorùbá movies, tells the history of the movie within the context of the Nigerian movies, offers justification for the research, presents existing scholarly ideas about the Yorùbá oral tradition and movies, discusses certain theoretical ideas that can be applied to the analysis of the Yorùbá movies and oral tradition, defines or explains key operational terms or concepts, sets the limitation for the study, discusses its findings and offers suggestions for further research.

1.10.1 Chapter 1

As an introduction to the study, this chapter covers the background information which situates Yorùbá movies in the context of other movies in Nigeria. It also highlights the locations of the Yorùbá, contains the statement of the problem, states the aim and objectives of the study, mentions the significance of the study, rationalises the study, defines and/or explains keys terms or concepts in it, offers a brief theoretical framework, and provides the scope and the outline of the study.

1.10.2 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 is the literature review which prepares the ground for the research. The review presents the history of the Nigerian movies and historically situates

the Yorùbá movies within the Nigerian context. The chapter also examines different theories with a view to offering a triangulation approach to the study of the traditional communication in the selected Yorùbá movies. Its major aspect is the oral tradition, so it focuses on different genres and examples which illustrate them in the selected movies. It also highlights sociological approach and cultural or culture theory and bend the theory to the Yorùbá movie context. The purpose is to distill down a direction for the remaining chapters of the study.

1.10.3 Chapter 3

This chapter presents an elaborate theoretical framework and expanded methodology for investigating the problem which the study focuses. Specifically, it covers introduction and relevant theories which are Yorùbá ideas of oral tradition, culture theory, and sociological perspective. Also, it has a conclusion.

1.10.4 Chapter 4

The analysis of the movies is presented in this chapter. It covers different feelings, the oral tradition genres/expressions which generate them. Basically, it covers the feelings relating to actions, sadness/happiness/events/situational needs, themes, relationships, life, death/ triumph/ struggle/survival, wealth, spell, causes, consequences, family, and supernatural power which go with them, and the reactions which are their part or are subsequent to them. The chapter also covers the report of the questionnaire administered to cross-check the findings based on the movie analysis. The purpose of this chapter is to determine whether or not oral tradition features in each selected Yorùbá movies and can be used to identify them.

1.10.5 Chapter 5

This chapter contains a discussion and a general conclusion, summarises briefly the findings and argues that because oral tradition is always a part of the communication in Yorùbá movies. Rather than categorization based on themes,

a parameter that some scholars of the Yorùbá movies have used, oral tradition is a means of identifying Yorùbá movies.

1.10.6 Chapter 6

This chapter sums up the entire dissertation by highlighting the major elements of the thesis or idea. It also brings to the fore the weaknesses of the study and offers ideas for improvement. In addition, the chapter offers recommendations for further studies. Finally, the bibliography providing information about the secondary sources used in this study comes at the end of the chapter.

1.11 Delimitation

This main concern of the study is not the audience's personal reactions or feelings though it has made use of feedbacks from some members of the audience to find out if they have noted oral tradition in any Yorùbá movies that they that have watched and if the traditional communication can be used to identify Yorùbá movies. The study, based on movies and documentation-observation, does not cover any direct interview with movie actors and actresses regarding their use of oral tradition. It is based on images seen, actions noted and voices heard in the selected movies.

1.12 Conclusion

The production of Yorùbá movies started after Nigeria became an independent country. Before the country gained independence, Yorùbá culture was treated as a substandard entity to the culture of Britain which ruled over Nigeria in which the majority of the Yorùbá movie makers of today –actors, actresses, and technology operators originate or live. Then the British government used its movie production to propagate British values in all the colonies it governed directly or indirectly and to impress on the people of the colony that British ideas were superior.

This ethnocentrism imposed on the peoples of Nigeria made the people of south-western Nigeria to succumb to foreign ideas. Historical evidence states that movie viewing started in 1903 in Lagos, which is a part of the Yorùbá geographical territory. Clearly, Yorùbá native speakers of the era were the first to get exposed to foreign ideas, and as such they started losing their tradition and language.

After the world wars, awareness led to struggle for independence. Nigeria first had first autonomy in 1950s and had full independence on 1 October 1960. In 1959, the government of Western Region established the first television station in Africa. It was in Ibadan. The station laid the foundation for movie production in the country. Ever since the establishment of the first television station in Weastern Region, other television stations have emerged in other regions (now called states), and the country has a film school in Jos. It also has a censorship board for movies. Today movies are being produced in indigenous languages of the country even though movies are also being produced in English. However, the movies that are in the language of the colonial masters outnumber those in the local languages.

Of all the movies in the local languages, Yorùbá movies are the majority, number-wise. The issue of identity or label becomes an issue as different movies representing from different peoples in Nigeria becomes competitive. Northerners in the country call their movies Kannywood or Kadwood, the easterners' label for theirs is Nollywood, and Yorùbá refer to theirs as *Fììmù Yorùbá*, which translates into "Yorùbá movies." To outsiders, all the movies in Nigeria fall under the name "Nollywood" which is rated as third globally, in terms of its number of production yearly, next to Bollywood of Indian which ranks second to America's Hollywood.

As an introduction to the study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies, this chapter examines the history of Yorùbá movies in the context of Nigerian movie history, offers information about the involvement of Yorùbá movie production and oral tradition, presents some theoretical ideas that are used to analyse the selected

Yorùbá movies in relation to oral tradition. It contains the problem statement, aim, objectives, research questions, significance, scope, delimitation, rationale, and methodology of the study. Besides, it offers the definition of key terms in the study. Overall, it gives an overview of what the study covers and hints that oral tradition is a means by which Yorùbá movies can be identified.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Available literature on Nigerian movies associates the Yorùbá movies of Nigeria with the Yorùbá native speakers and grounds its history in the context of Nigerian movies generally. The record indicates that Yorùbá movies are delivered in the Yorùbá language, Haúsá movies in Haúsá language, and Ìgbò movies in Ìgbò language. The record also shows that Nigerian movies also exist in English. Occasionally, non-native speakers do feature in Yorùbá movies, whether they speak or do not speak Yorùbá. Usually, such an inclusion contributes to the messages that the movies convey to the audience. Furthermore, different scholars have expressed their ideas about the term “culture” or “tradition” and some have come up with theories which could be applied to the study of culture which, in context of this study, refers to oral tradition.

This chapter brings to the fore some historical ideas of movies in Nigeria and uses the historical information provided to situate the Yorùbá movies. It also delves into the global ideas of culture or tradition, highlights the Yorùbá concept of oral tradition as given by scholars and other writers, examines some theories of culture or tradition and bends the ideas of some scholars and theorists to provide some guidelines for analysing the selected movies. Some of the ideas are foreign while others are local. The inclusion of foreign theories is to satisfy the need of the academic society for which this study is intended. Besides, the need of the local community -those outside the realm of academic world- has prompted the yearning for highlighting the local parameter which may appear as a ‘local theory of oral tradition.’ Of course, no theory is accepted internationally at the beginning; it has to grow locally and extend beyond its territory of origin first. The partition here between the academic setting and others does not, in any way, mean that the academic readers are cut off from the “local parameters.”

Normally, academicians develop their ideas from their locality or through their 'local parameters' and the acquired knowledge from other sources.

2.2 History of Yorùbá movies within the context of Nigeria

This section covers the followings aspects: beginning, pre-colonial movie production and marketing, and post-colonial movie production and marketing.

2.2.1 Beginning

The history of Yorùbá movies is connected with the history of Nigerian movies and foreign movie importations. The main country in which Yorùbá movies have been made is Nigeria. The country was a colony of Britain until October 1, 1960 when she got her independence from the British government. During the colonial days, her exposure to movies started with the foreign ideas which her colonial master, Britain, had packaged and promoted in the colony. Nigeria's first contact with movies was in the early 20th century. It was at the Glover Hall in Lagos that Nigerians had the opportunity to attend the first film exhibition in August 1903. In 1904, a documentary film on the visit to England by the Aláké of Abèòkúta, a paramount Yorùbá king, was viewed. In 1933, the colonizer of Nigeria, Britain, began the First Film Censor Board, and in 1947 the Nigeria Film Office opened and was placed under the supervision of Mr. N. F. Spur, who served as the film officer in charge of exhibition. In 1948, the Cinematograph Laws of Nigeria was made, and in the same year the colonial government created Nigerian Film Unit. In 1954, Nigerian film Unit and Marketing Board Publicity Film Unit became a body. In 1955, the Film Unit of Eastern Region was established. In 1960, this unit became a division of the Ministry of Information. In the same year, the Northern Film Unit was created. In 1965, the Film Division of Eastern Nigeria joined Eastern Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. James (2007:18) who chronicles the history claims that the above dates fall under the foundation years of Nigerian movies. When Britain colonized Nigeria, she used her foreign movies for

propaganda purposes and to project a good image of Britain at the expense of Nigeria. The writer notes this situation:

Film made its debut in Nigeria during the colonial era as a propaganda weapon of the imperialist power. It was used only to promote their own way of life but also employed in the World War years to denigrate their enemies and boost their own image within the colonies. It served as a tool for promoting such values and virtues as would advance the objectives of the colonial rule, racial superiority, and imperialist propaganda. ... Ironically, however, while the colonial Film Censors Board ensured that the films that could undermine or destabilize the authority or image of the ruling colonial power did not find the commercial cinema houses (and if they did only in drastically edited form), movies that denigrated the image, personality or psyche of Africans or black man were readily available. (op. cit. 110)

From the foregoing, Nigerian ways of life, among which oral tradition belongs, did not have the fancy of the colonial masters; consequently, it did not receive its deserved attention. Then what happened after Nigerians started governing themselves? Different audio-visual establishments sprang up and locally-made experiences started featuring in their movie productions. At the initial stage, immediately after independence, the strong hold which colonial influence had on Nigerians still prevailed for many years. People working in television stations had been taught certain foreign patterns of operation, so they had to start experimenting with the reality of life in their country. This trend impacted on the locally produced movies.

Furthermore, in the same work James claims that the second phase of Nigerian movies falls in the period 1959 to 1992. According to him, on 31 October 1959, the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV), the first of its kind in Africa, was established in Ibadan. Other similar establishments in the country were ECBS (1960), Nigeria Television Authority located in Lagos by the Nigeria Federal Government (1962), RKTv (1962), Mid-West TV (1973), BON (1973), and

Plateau TV- first color transmitting television station in Nigeria (1974), NTA- an umbrella name for the television stations in Ibadan, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Sókótó, Kánò, Abá, Benin, Jos and Lagos. The stations that the Federal Government took over were Ibadan (April 1, 1976), NTA 7 in Lagos (1976), new NTA stations in Bauchi, Abèòkúta, Àbújá, Àkúrẹ̀, Calabar, Ìlọ̀rín, Katsina, Maiduguri, Uyo, Lókója, etc. (1977-1992), the beginning of state-owned TV stations (1979), Law to establish LTV 8 by Lagos State (1979), official commissioning of LTV 8 (1980), establishment of the NTA/TV College in Jos (1980), private TV stations's licences to ABG, DBN, AIT, Minaj, Galaxy, Channels, MiTV, clapperboard, etc. (1992). All these stations cover, among others, local events which they transmit to viewers at home.

To facilitate easy local production of movies, production studios sprang up from 1970 through 1980s. Some of these companies, as listed by James, included Solar Productions Ltd., Swift Studio Ltd., Niger Films Ltd., CineKraft, Mainframe Productions, Express Entertainment Ltd., Link Studios, Interpad International Film Producers and Distributors Ltd, Philip Trimnell Productions Ltd, Brickwall Communications Ltd., Ajo Productions Ltd., Nek-Video Links Ltd., Oyèdélé Nigeria Ltd., Mu-Mukson, Wẹ̀mímọ̀ Films, Digitrack Ltd., Even-Ezra Studios, Carvers Studios, Leo Studios, Klink Studios, Prime Television, Mahogany, etc. (op. cit. 18). With many movie companies in place, Nigerians now have several locally-made movies apart from television productions.

As previously stated, Nigerian tradition had little or no chance in the movies that were shown to Nigerians during the colonial era. Then the overall impression was that Nigerian culture was inferior or primitive, that it did not deserve to be featured or viewed in movies. However, after the establishment of the first television station (WNTV) in 1959, local theatre artistes like Herbert Ògundé, Moses Olájùmò (a.k.a. Bàba Sàlá), Ìṣòlá Ògúnṣọ́lá (a.k.a. Ishow Pepper), Ade Love, and Ayoş became household names because they thrilled their local audiences with performances which incorporated Nigerian tradition, especially Yorùbá tradition. Their Yorùbá theatrical performances became popular on television

stations which displayed creative ingenuity blended with familiar oral poetry genres, history, proverbs, folksongs, and folktales. Diawara (2010:169) makes a distinction between the Yorùbá movies and Nollywood:

Even in Nigeria Nollywood videos are not to be confused with the Yorùbá videos, which come from the long tradition of Yorùbá theater and film. These, mostly historical videos, derive their acting styles and narrative motifs from the treasures of filmed Yorùbá theater by producers, actors, directors such as Ọla Balógun, Dúró Ládíípò, Hubert Ọ̀gundé, Bàba Sàlá, Akínwùmí Ìṣòlá, and Bánkólé Bello.

These frontline Yorùbá artistes began celluloid film production which gained the attention of their target audience at home and abroad. For example, Ọ̀gundé's *Aiyé* was shown in countries like Ivory-Coast in which the population of Nigerians, especially the Yorùbá movie viewers, is significant.

The popularity of celluloid film production, however, had a setback; the Structural Adjustment Program which the Federal Government of Nigeria embarked upon 1980's affected the production of celluloid movies. Celluloid became too expensive; consequently, artistes and producers had to find an alternative means.

Due to the high cost of celluloid, video movie production, which is a relatively cheap business, has taken over; consequently, many homes can now afford the cost of accessing movies. In these cheap audio-visual productions, Nigerian languages and English have become movies' communication tools, and the talents of Nigerian actors and actresses are now being captured by movie cameras. In the country, the western film technology, that is video, has been used to capture human experiences, stories, and beliefs. The communication aspect remains the most essential tool in the task. For example, Diawara (2010:16) points out the connection which the Yorùbá movies have with the Yorùbá oral tradition:

The main characteristics of Yorùbá videos include not only the thematization of history and of tradition and an attempt to restore an old Yorùbá vision of the world, but also an acting style derived from theater and a reliance on Yorùbá oral traditions.

In the quotation above, Diawara mentions oral tradition as a component of Yorùbá movies, but he does not provide evidence of oral tradition found in Yorùbá movies. Also, he does not indicate that oral tradition is a means of identifying Yorùbá movies.

The issue of identity problem is not peculiar to Yorùbá movies; in other words, it is continental in Africa as Tall (2000:97) notes. Although the post-colonial era has given Nigerians an opportunity in the movie industry, the country now contends with the reality of her current situation- the efforts to allow modernity and/or foreign ideas and the struggle to identify with tradition. Today, foreign religious ideas, ways of life, languages, products, behaviors and tradition feature in Yorùbá movies. The admixture, perhaps, creates a confusion for young generations that have little or no idea about Yorùbá oral tradition and for adults who have been pitched between the two worlds and possibly are overwhelmed and beclouded by foreign culture.

2.2.2 Movie production and marketing (1903-1960)

As mentioned in this study, the colonial government which ruled Nigeria until October 1, 1960 allowed the importation of foreign movies which supported its mission in the country. Consequently, the colonial government had a strict control over what movies Nigerians would watch and how the movies would be distributed. The first movie shown in the country was premiered in August 1903 in the Glover Hall in Lagos. A writer identifies two major reasons for the movie productions which were allowed to get to Nigerians during the colonial era: mainly promotion of colonialism and partly social development (Mgbejume 39). This writer states that most movies were documentaries on health, agriculture,

education, and etcetera (Mgbejume, in Onazulike, 2007:12). Another early venue for showing movies in Nigeria was Hotel d'Europe which was used when the Glover Memorial Hall underwent renovation. Stanley Jones did show motion pictures. As Mgbejume points out, some of the colonial movies were "*Cinderella, The Great Fight, Jefferios and Fitssimons, and Egyptian Wonders*" (op. cit.). Also, in Lagos in 1910, Albuerto's Cinematograph began its business. When fire destroyed Glover Memorial Hall in 1919, the main place to watch movies was the Empire Hall Oil Mill Street (op. cit.:12-13).

To censor any movies going to British colonies, the Secretary of State for Colonies created Colonial Films Committee in 1921. This body made recommendations regulating the British movies that could be watched in the colonies. The Conference of the Colonial Governors' Committee approved the submissions for the colonial places in West Africa. Eventually, the Cinematograph Ordinance Number 20 of 1930 and the Colonial Board of Film Censors came into being (Ekwuazi and Nasidi, in Onazulike, 2007: 13).

An aggressive movie-showing started during the World War II in 1939 when the colonial government realized that movies could be used as its propaganda tools. The British Government established the Colonial Film Unit to promote its programmes. According to the writer, mobile vans were used to reach every nook and cranny of Nigeria so as to show movies promoting "the success of Britain, the defeat of Germany," and the needs of Britain from the colony. In 1947, the Federal Film Unit replaced the Colonial Film Unit (op. cit.:14).

It is important to mention here that Nigerians who got jobs with the Colonial Film Unit were trained to promote British values during the colonial era, and they did exactly what they were employed to do.

2.2.3 Post-colonial movie production and marketing (October 1, 1960-date)

Long after Nigeria got her independence on October 1, 1960, the colonial movie idea thrived in the country because Nigerians who worked with the Colonial Film

Unit were the ones who eventually inherited the operation in the subsequent Federal and regional film units; they carried along their British-favored orientation, perhaps, inadvertently. These natives were not debriefed; the Cinematograph Ordinance of 1933 was still on the eve of independence (Ughegbu and Okon, in Onazulike, 2007:15). To prove a non-departure posture, Adeiza (1995:15) notes that “Federal and States Film Unit ... continued in the mold of the colonialists by focusing on mostly documentary and newsreel films” He also mentions that few attempts at making feature films were made. Onazulike (2007, 15-16) provides the list: “*Bound for Lagos* (1962), *Child Bride* (1971), *Son of Africa* (1971), *Golden Women* (1971), *My Good Friend* (1975), *Countdown atKusini* (1977), and *Shehu Umar* (1977).” He adds that the feature films could not generate the amount of money the Federal film Unit invested on them.

Okon (in Onazulike, 2007:16) states that after independence, “the Federal and state governments became major producers and distributors of documentaries” and the distribution to the Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs, Nigerian High Commission abroad and foreign embassies was made through the Film Division of the Federal Ministry of Information. Also, Okon adds that the federal office which was in-charge of the movies produced locally also reached the local audience in villages and towns through the use of Mobile Cinema Vans and it used the same pattern of production and distribution network. Until indigenization era, Nigeria Federal and State Governments were not really concerned about the importation and distribution of feature movies. In addition, Okon mentions that Federal Government regulated the importation of feature movies by mainly Lebanese and Indians who were not interested in showing Nigerian movies, through the Customs and Excise, Ministry of Trade, and Board of Censors.

In 1972, the Federal Government of Nigeria enacted a decree which allowed only Nigerians to distribute movies throughout the country, thus putting an end to foreigners’ handling of feature movie distributions and exhibitions. However, clever Lebanese and Indians used Nigerians as their fronts to do their business

in theatres and to make profits. To address the loophole and to ensure that the country benefited economically, culturally, and politically through movies, the Nigerian National Council for Arts and Culture organized a seminar which led to the establishment of the National Film Corporation with Decree 61 of 1979 which was formed to develop movie industry in the country. The new establishment swallowed the Film Division of The Federal Ministry of Information and the National Film Distribution Company and inherited their assets. According to Okon, even though the Nigerian Film Corporation was decreed in 1979, its actual operation did not begin until February 1, 1982 (in Onazulike, 2007:18). With the decree in operation, the opposite happened; according to Mgbejume, the indigenization decree did not work because foreign owners of movie companies (AMPEGA, NDO, and CINE) used Nigerians as stooges on their boards and sold insignificant shares to “a few Nigerians” (in Onazulike, 2007:19).

The production of celluloid movies in post-independent Nigeria reduced in the late 1980's to one in 1992 (Haynes and Okome 1998). The writers added that “Only one celluloid film, Bánkólé Bello's *Òṣèlú* (1996) had been brought to the National Film and Video Censors Board since 1992.” According to them, the economic collapse in the country was one factor that resulted in the situation.

Although celluloid movie production seemed to be collapsing totally, a new trend came as a substitute: video-movie production which was cheaper and more accessible. Video- movie production which began in 1980s started gaining tremendous popularity in 1990's. The cheap cost of production, one might argue, made copious productions possible. They also claim that the Censors Board had “over 222 releases” for licensing in 1996 alone. The sum up the idea this way: “There has been an enormous boom in the production of dramatic features shot with video projectors and sold on video cassette, and sometimes also exhibited for paying audiences with video projectors or simply with video monitors.” Besides cassette, DVD and VCR are other storage facilities and are more common than the former today.

Regarding the marketing of Nigerian movies which come in foreign and national languages – English, Yorùbá, Hausa, Ìgbò, Itsekri, to mention a few, Haynes and Okome in their article “Evolving popular media: Nigeria video films” state that “Nowhere else in Africa has a domestic market been captured so successfully.” In Nigeria, several indigenous companies and actors and actresses work together to make video-movies. The sales go through different layers- wholesales, retails, and rentals. Beyond the claim of Haynes and Okome (1998) that Yorùbá (Nigerian) video-movies are popular in local markets today, they are a household name in other countries, especially in Africa. For example, the movies are popular in Ivory Coast in recent time. Business people buy those produced in Nigeria to market in this French-speaking country with many Yorùbá settlers. Yorùbá theatre groups in Ivory Coast, like their counterparts in Nigeria, have produced movies in the Yorùbá language. ECOWAS Ventures in 2009 produced *Ìdààmú Owú (The Trouble Ignited by Jealousy)* and Ola Majestic Film Production handled its marketing. In 1980’s, with sponsorships, *Jáiyésinmi (Let the World be at Peace)* and *Aiyé (The Witches)*, the celluloid movies by Hubert Ògundé were shown to Nigerians and to Ivory Coast citizens in Abidjan. Noting the widespread of Nigerian movies (Yorùbá movies included), a scholar writes: “Nigerian films have become a popular diet in the video studios and in the living rooms of many African town dwellers and beyond. It has traversed its national borders to become a booming money-making business in many African towns (Dípò, in Ògúnlẹyẹ, 2008:66).

2.3 Yorùbá movies in particular

Yorùbá television drama series from the likes of Hubert Ogunde, Lérè Pàímó, Oyin Adéjóbí, Kólá Ògúnmólá, Òjó Ládiípò (alias Bàba Mèró), Moses Adéjùmò (alias Bàba Sàlá), Adéyẹmí Afóláyan (alias Ade Love), Ìṣòlá Ògúnṣòlá (alias I-show-Pepper) and other popular Yorùbá travelling theater artistes were common before the real Yorùbá movies found their way into the Yorùbá society. Also, the

origin of Nigerian movies has been attributed to the Yorùbá movies (McCall, 2002:86) notes that the excursion of Nigeria into film production is the “outgrowth of the Yorùbá travelling theater.” The Yorùbá travelling theater is a popular drama (Barber and Ogundijo, in op. cit). The travelling theater groups came in contact with television in 1960’s, celluloid movie technology in 1980’s, and video tool in 1980’s, as well, and they began to make audio-visual productions of their theatrical performances.

Adélékè (1995:25) writes, “As far back as 1964, the practitioners of the Ògundé dramatic movement had begun to appear in documentary films. For examples, the Esso World Theater produced a 25-minute documentary which traces the development of Nigerian Arts from antiquity to 1964.” From this quotation, it is clear that Herbert Ògundé who is popularly known as the doyen of Nigerian theater, led the group which made the first documentary movie in 1964. Even though Adélékè does not provide the title and language used in the movies, the fact, that he mentions the involvement of a reputable Yorùbá actor and his group shows that Yorùbá have played a significant role in the production of Nigerian movies.

Over two decades after 1964, the relatively new trend, motion pictures, gradually began to nip in the bud the high frequency of drama or stage performances of the professional Yorùbá theater groups which liked to perform in schools, religious places, and town halls in different Yorùbá cities, towns, and big villages. According to Ọdẹjọbí (2004:6), the first home video-movie titled *Ekun*, which was in the Yorùbá language, was produced in 1985 by Àlàdé Arómírẹ and the first celluloid movie in the Yorùbá language, *Àjàní Ògún*, which was made in 1976 features Adéyẹmí Afọláyan and Dúró Ládíípọ. Ọdẹjọbí (2004) adds that since then more Yorùbá movies have been produced. In the appendix to her dissertation, she lists 142 Yorùbá video-movies produced between 1985 and 2000. Her figure for the period may not be accurate because she adds 18 other titles without their years of production. Clearly, her record suggests that some Yorùbá movie productions do not have any date of production. While this study is

not into evaluating the quality of movie productions in the Yorùbá language or the dissertation of Ọdẹ̀jọ́bí, the researcher suspects that piracy, producers' inadequate record, and Ọdẹ̀jọ́bí's negligence might have influenced the information which Ọdẹ̀jọ́bí has presented. Instead of Ọdẹ̀jọ́bí stating that she could not find the production dates for some Yorùbá movies in the list she has compiled, she just uses a question mark after each movie for which she has no year of production.

In 2006, according to Oni (in Ọ̀gúnlẹ̀yẹ, 2003:18), out of 1514 movies produced in Nigeria, those in Nigeria languages were 565 which was 37% and those in English were 637 which was 42%. Comparatively, Hausa movies were 252 or 17%, Edo movies were 56 or 4%, and Efik movies had 2 or 0.13% production output. As mentioned previously, the production of Yorùbá movies continues; so more Yorùbá video- movies must have been produced since 2006.

From the above statistics, Yorùbá movie production is leading numerically, especially among the movies in the Nigerian local languages. As it is leading, different factors, such as poor economy, affordable modern technology, and improvisation, influence its outputs. Other Nigerian movies are no exception.

2.4 Religious Impact

MetCalfe (2007:37) states that there is a connection between religion and human speech or communication: "Even in an audience of twenty people, there may be adherents of several religious attitudes and beliefs Religious beliefs are a matter of deep personal conviction and must be taken into account if a speaker is touch upon religious subject matter." Yorùbá oral tradition is a spoken expression, which can substitute speech in the context of this study. The substitution enables the researcher to check if Christian and Islamic ideas, which are predominant in Yorùbá society today and which now reflect in Yorùbá movies, have obliterated Yorùbá oral tradition from Yorùbá movies.

Nigerian has three major religious identities- Christian, Islamic, and traditional. While the first two identities have their origins in the Middle East, traditional identity is the conglomerate of African religions or spiritual beliefs of African origin. For example, among the Yorùbá of Nigeria and Benin Republic and in the Yorùbá diasporas, the belief that Yorùbá have 401 gods and goddesses translates to 401 religions that they have. For example, Ifá is a religion founded by Ọ̀rúnmìlà Àgbònrègún, the god of wisdom; and Ọ̀gún worship by Ọ̀gún or Lákáyé, the god of iron.

Before Christianity and Islam made their incursion into Nigeria, traditional worshipping was all over the place. Now both Islam and Christianity which began in the Middle-East have subdued significantly the Yorùbá traditional religion and imposed foreign values or ways of perception on many Nigerians. Today, only churches and mosques are prominent, so they play an important role at the national and state levels in the country.

The majority of people who bear Muslim or Christian names hardly want to be seen in connection with any items or practices associated with the Yorùbá traditional religions. Even those who bear traditional names connected with ancient African ways of worship are entangled in the euphoria of modernity which Christian or Muslim faiths have provided for them. Some religious practitioners condemn openly other religions which they consider as “ungodly.” In Nigeria, the evidence is the recent religious chaos unleashed on Nigerians by Boko Haram, which has defied the Nigeria Federal Government’s solution for peace. Certainly, for over one year now, the religious monster has claimed the lives of many people, destroyed properties worth of millions of naira, embarrassed and endangered the lives of innocent Nigerians, made business unsafe, restricted movements, and projected an image of a divided country.

Since movies are an avenue for documenting occurrences, the struggle between or among religions in Nigeria have had its impact on Nigerian movies. The clear implication is that the culture relating to both Islam and Christianity in Nigeria is

as big in Nigerian movies as it is in reality. Each of these foreign religions is no longer foreign to Africans; each has a deep root now and tries to overpower the others and to gain public acceptance spiritually, economically and politically. In the article "Religion in Nigerian Home Video Films, " a scholar states that "evidently there is a lot of religion in Nigerian movies" (Dípò, in Ògúnléyẹ, 2003: 68) and that "Some of the films are overtly religious in title while other are not" (op. cit.:70). At this point, this study is not to argue his submission about the connection between a title and a religion; rather, its task is to delve into the influence of oral tradition relating to Yorùbá religious beliefs and movies.

Now there is a common opposition to the Yorùbá traditional faith and cultural traits. Practising Christians and Muslims consider traditional worshippers as unbelievers or followers of satan and condemn many of the verbal expressions or artifacts belonging to the later. This occurrence gets into the artistic weaving or composition in movies because oral tradition reflects what takes place in societies. The connection between religions and movies has been noted; (Dípò in Ògúnléyẹ, 2003:73), who observes that Nigerian movies which are not overtly religious in nature, raises social questions which centre on religious issues. Corroborating the claim that conflict of faith or belief system exists in Nigerian movies, Dípò states: "The contest in these films is, therefore, between the traditional form of security: witchcraft and the new form represented by Christianity. Christianity, posited as an alternative force, is represented as a social panacea" (op. cit.:78). Like Christianity, Islam exerts a great influence on the lives of Africans. The language and values of Arabs become a common trend in the national life of Nigeria and manifest in many quarters of the nation. Quadghiri (2003) captures the high degree of the influence:

All these Islamic African states, kingdoms and dynasties made Arabic their cultural, educational, religious, and administrative language as well as the linguistic medium of their commercial transactions and official correspondence, and serve well the cause of spreading its learning and extending its use.

Although in the Nigerian setting, the dominance of Arabic influence is stronger in the northern part, it is becoming more prominent in the south-west, and because of the geo-political structure of Nigeria which favors the northern part in terms of state number, population and power dominance in the national psyche, Arabic expressions and culture, such as dressing and socialization are felt all over the country, though in a relative proportion, based on the population of Christians, Muslims and traditional African religion followers in each geographical location of the nation. In a multi-religious nation, such as Nigeria, one cannot rule out a conflict of interest and social disagreement based on faith. Ozuma (2004:651) realizes this fact when she states that “Religion, despite its concern with the spiritual, affects us socially, and religious rights thus remain an important topic in contemporary society.”

Since almost all religions have elements of oral tradition or genres and their adherents are expected to use these inherited verbal expressions and cultural peculiarities for praising their gods and goddesses or prophets and for socializing and for moral rectitude, the landslide, domineering incursion and captivating footsteps of both Islam and Christianity, no doubt, may be blinding the eyes of the old and new converts to the Yorùbá cultural practices. In this situation, the converts to a foreign religion may not be allowed to stick to their own traditional practices. Denigrating traditional religions, making calls to end their practices, or restricting the use of oral tradition relating to any ancestral practices are common among those who acceptor practise Islam and Christianity in Nigeria.

With the struggle of one religion over or against another and the importation of foreign ideas and communication relating to such religions and ideas, Nigerian society has become a place of different religious cultures, so foreign and traditional religious beliefs or cultures in Nigeria are bound to have their influences on movies that are produced in the country. Dyslva (2006:333) shares a similar thought on the impact of foreign cultures in Nigeria:

Transculturation in Nigeria, especially through the influence of Islamic and Christian religions in the north and the south respectively has assumed frightening proportions to the degree that locating the “authentic” Nigerian citizens has become more steadily problematic. For example, most Nigerians, including those that are regarded as custodians of culture- obas, emirs, obis, priest of local shrines, heads of traditional cults, herbalists, oral literary performers, and so on- are Arabs, Jewish, or Brazilian (or European or Asian) by name. The Nigerian situation is one which the nation unwittingly compromises its identity and allows itself to be harassed by a dilution in the so-called ‘universal’.

2.5 Causes and role of technology in video production (1990’s– date)

Since the celluloid technology, as previously mentioned in this study, gave way to home-video production technology, the necessity and the role of this new dimension deserve this researcher’s attention; it is necessary to delve into the development or reasons that prompted and sustained the use of video recording in Nigeria.

According to Owens-Ibie (1998), “a mixture of factors caused a shift to video.” This communication scholar identifies distressed economy, unrestricted importation of video films before economic downturn, the need to repudiate Nigerian cultural values (cheap way to so), the need to make money, and an avenue for comparison. Of all the factors, he considers the economic aspect as a major prompter. About the poor economic problem (economic restrictions or strict financial regulation) in Nigeria, he explains that when film producers could no longer afford the exorbitant production cost of their movies in foreign countries, they (producers) found solace in video technology which was simple and cheaper to acquire and use for making movies. Owens-Ibie adds that although the movie laboratory which the National Film Corporation (NFC) set up in Jos was not able to help the local movie industry to have a significant reduction in production cost, the first feature movie *Kulba Na Bana* the NFC was successfully made in June

1993. He also mentions that the urge to use cheap technology to maximize profit contributed to the shift by successful film makers like Ladi ladebo whose *Èwò* (*Taboo*) and *Vendo* “won Laurels at the first Nation Festival in 1992” to video technology. Another writer states that the film makers could survive in the depressed economic situation only by using video technology (Adeiza, in Owens-Ibie).

2.6 Definition of culture

In this study, the word “culture” is synonymous to “tradition” or “oral tradition.” The world has different cultures, representing different ethnic people and their world views. Consequently, different scholars and writers have expressed their ideas of what “culture” means or should be. Some base their definitions or views on other writers’ ideas, and others use their local knowledge to find a definition for the term and combine their local experiences with the ideas from other people. In a nutshell, as Edgar and Sedgwick (2002:1) note, the term has no single definition. Agreeing to the submission of Edgar and Sedgwick, this researcher will borrow some definitions and give some personal thoughts on them. The purpose is threefold: to present a clear view of culture generally, to premise oral tradition within the context of culture, and to lay the foundation for literature review on oral tradition. Now is the time to look at few definitions or ideas.

Approaching culture from historical perspective, two culture scholars in the United States, Danesi and Perron (1999:2) state that “The emergency of *Homo culturalis* onto the evolutionary scene can be traced originally to the development within the human species of an extremely large brain, average 1400 cc/85.4 cu. in., more than two million years ago.” The message from their idea is that culture is connected with human cognition -that what people’s brain identifies as their culture is their culture. In other words, people’s consciousness about certain things about themselves, about other people, or things that are common from one generation to another, means culture. These scholars associate cultures with

“ancient origin, ” so they claim that culture is connected with art, communication, language, tribes, interactions, individuals, and transmission:

“in the sense of individuals living together, thinking and planning consciously, transmitting skills, and systems of social relationships to each other through language, and the working together to modify the environment, has become the defining attribute of the human species” (op. cit., 1999:3).

The first world culture has been associated with the media by a United Kingdom-based scholar of culture: “Cultures are formed around the meanings people construct and share ... First World Cultures, in particular, are formed through televisual media experiences” (Lewis, in Danesi and Perron, 1999). With his thought, like Danesi and Perron, Lewis agrees that cultures are connected with people and their socialization or interactions and that cultures are transmitted. Connected with his idea is the involvement of language or communication in facilitating the transmission of cultures, for culture cannot be transmitted without a means of transmission. Lewis claims that there are four ideas about culture: that culture involves language, symbols, texts intended to create a human community; that it involves imaginations, that it is open and unstable; that within one culture there are different cultures; that “culture may operate through a wide variety of human social groupings and social practices.” This researcher agrees with Lewis that language is important in the transmission of culture. Oral tradition, which in the context of this study is a cultural tool, is conveyed through language which is used in human interactions in a community. To figure out how Lewis idea connects with this study, the researcher will find out if oral tradition can adapt to or accommodate the modern needs reflected in the selected movies.

Cultural Studies also has its perspective on the term “culture.” For example, Barker (2000) looks at culture from a cultural perspective and comes up with different dimensions; he sees culture as any of or a combination of the following aspects: representation, practices, articulation, power, identity, subjectivity,

language, and ideology. His broad view captures different aspects of culture. His idea of culture connects with language and representation. From his standpoint, it can be said that oral tradition cannot be disconnected from language, an idea to which Danesi and Perron (1999) have drawn the attention of this researcher.

Another gaze which has been used to offer the definition of culture is communication. In their book, Adler and Rodman (2012: 34-35) claim that getting a definition for culture is not easy, that “One early survey of scholarly literature revealed five hundred definitions, phrasings, and uses of the concepts.” Both present their idea of culture: For our purposes, here is the comprehensive definition of culture: “the language, values, beliefs, traditions, people share and learn.” The writers’ idea has goaded this researcher into studying the communication (oral tradition) in the selected Yorùbá movies.

From sociological point of view, Durkheim (in Grisworld, 2008) who compares modern social life to the early one and concludes that “There have been different occupations, different fields of knowledge, and expertise, different beliefs, and different life experiences ... compared this to an earlier, less differentiated social state.” The implication of Durkheim’s idea for the study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies is that this research has to talk about oral tradition covering the past and present times in Yorùbá society.

Anthropologically, culture is viewed as follows:

a source of illumination, not a veil of obscurity ..., every human community functions with a group consensus about meanings of the symbols used in the communications that substitute their social life, however variables their behavior and attitudes in other respects, because such a consensus is as necessary as for encoding and decoding messages in social communication in general as agreement about speech rules is to encoding and decoding in the linguistic mode” (LeVine, in Shweder and LeVine, 1984:67-69).

The vital points in the quotation on the anthropological idea of culture are that culture should provide knowledge about people, that it should mean people's agreement on how their community should operate and what meaning or understanding should be among them, what means of communication they should share, and what pattern of encoding and decoding they should identify with. Yorùbá anthropological perspective will enable this research to find any evidence of oral tradition in the selected movies.

From the stand-point of Playback Theater, culture, as presented by the founder and scholar of the theatre, is embedded in language and is spontaneous. Also, this perspective claims that "a metacommunicative frame surrounding both original and new will encapsulate both and give the occasion meaning" (Fox, 1994: 98). If this Playback Theater's view or definition of culture is adapted to this research, the implication is that it will enable the researcher to examine the spontaneous communication of the actors and actresses in the selected movies so as to find out if Yorùbá oral tradition is used in different situations or circumstances.

2.7 Oral tradition ideologies

Since the selected Yorùbá movies for this study are open to analysis through oral tradition, it is imperative to examine existing literature or ideas about oral tradition. The purpose is to provide detailed information on oral tradition and its context so as to know its roles in the selected movies.

To begin, oral tradition has numerous definitions which have been contributed by many writers and/or academicians. For example, Professor Hale (2003:91), in his attempt to signal the lack of clarity between "oral" and "written" writes, "The oral tradition is a field defined by what it is not- it is oral, not written." Hale bases his submission on his research of women's songs. Because he found that writing was storing traditional arts of the remote past to the extent that he could not distinguish between both entities, he jumps into a conclusion as follows:

Most of the songs are of oral origin. But there are traditions in Hassaniya Arabic from Mauretania and in Hausa from northern Nigeria where the barrier between written and oral is fuzzy. Sometimes a song start out in oral form, is written down, and is then reborn again later as a song, or vice versa. Songhay epics from Mali, Niger, and Benin were narrated originally in oral form, but we don't know to what extent the written chronicles from Timbuktu describing the same events helped to preserve the oral narrative tradition heard today. The long narrative by the fourteenth-century North African traveler Ibn Battuta started life as dictation to a scribe.

With his idea of oral tradition, Hale cannot be dislodged from his foreign background where writing tradition takes precedence over oral tradition. There is a clear boundary between actual oral and written forms of oral tradition in the Yorùbá setting. The former is verbalised while the latter is any documented oral literature or the one placed on the pages of paper. Besides, oral tradition has its footprint, even when placed on the pages of the paper. This study mentions some of the major ones.

Okpewho (1992), pitched between an academic environment and African tradition due to his formal education and research interest, recognises the connection between formal education and oral tradition. He states that 'certain techniques' that works in oral literature do not work in written literature and that there certain techniques in oral literature which survive in written literature. He bases his argument on the examination of the writing of some African writers with backgrounds of oral literature.

Besides Hale and Okpewho, Gbádégèsin (1997) draws a link between "oral" and "written." According to him,

When in the absence of, or as a complement to writing, the history of a people is (re)constructed through oral testimonies and cultural data supplied by individuals or groups, and this is also based on oral

transmission, we have an approach to historical knowledge which has been aptly termed oral tradition.

The definition Gbádéḡesin offers highlights the relevance of oral transmission as a reservoir or retainer of history among the Yorùbá. Furthermore, it shows that oral tradition is the method that “persists, endures, and stable.” He presents oral tradition as the griots’ chronicle of events, the sages’ myths, legends, cosmological people’s cultural ideas, and proverbs, the storytellers’ folktales and verbal artists’ riddles and adds that tongue twisters are the constituents of a people’s cultural data.

Although the griots are not only the repositories of oral tradition in Nigeria, other people, such as traditional rulers, elders, young people with local training, and even scholars of African studies might be the promoters of the tradition of their people today. This researcher’s observation and Gbádéḡesin’s idea of oral tradition among the Yorùbá can serve as an important gazing tool to form an idea about Yorùbá movies.

Coker and Coker (2008), both Nigerian university scholars, in their article “Folklore as Folklaw in Yorùbá Indigenous Epistemology, ” though focusing on social order through lore, succinctly capture the idea of Yorùbá oral tradition as follows:

Interestingly, one major reason why the bond of tradition in Yorùbá society remains relevant is the seeming interwoven nature of the elements associated with the same in the Yorùbá worldview. To expound a little, the notions of culture (àṣà); tradition, (iṣe); religion (ẹ̀sìn); character (ìwà); language (èdè); faith/belief (ìgbàgbọ) are interrelated elements of Yorùbá oral tradition. This point being made is that virtually all aspects of the Yorùbá are embedded in the indigenous folklore.”

While this researcher does not feel that religion and faith/belief should be separated from each other, the researcher finds the submission of both scholars

quite relevant to examine Yorùbá movies because the elements they have identified are parts of the general knowledge about the Yorùbá and their tradition; hence, checking the traits out in the selected Yorùbá movies will help this study to confirm or debunk its hypothesis – proposing the use of oral tradition as the identity of Yorùbá movies.

Traditionally, Yorùbá oral tradition often relates to many issues, such as child training, human rights, abuse, hard work, inheritance, patience and endurance, condemnation of crimes, philosophy for corrective measures or warnings, attitudes, authority, contract/agreement, theft, rape, tackling trespass, libel, and other civil matters, view of justice/injustice, and taboos.

In her explanation of oral tradition, Carthy (1994) states:

An acceptable definition of stories in the oral tradition are those which the people formulate, pick up, and carry along as part of their cultural freight. These stories are told habitually by the people. Folklore is said to be the oral tradition.

To Carthy, “Folklore is common to all people.” She cites few sources to draw attention to the forms of folklore:

Folklore ... includes forms from major and minor such as epics, myths, legends, fairytales, fables, proverbs, riddles, songs, jokes, insults, and toasts to nursery rhymes. Street vendors cries, and prayers can also be added to the list. Games, symbols, quilt designs, and festivals are interesting, non-verbal forms of folklore” (Dundes, in op. cit.).

Whatever classification Dundes, Cathy and others might have formed, their ideas have equivalents in the Yorùbá oral tradition. Such equivalents will be mentioned and fully explained in this research because they are the core elements in the Yorùbá’s ideas of tradition or culture. This submission does not exclude overlapping in the categorization when foreign conceptions are used to gaze the

Yorùbá's ideas. Also, the facts still remains that oral tradition has different forms and features in different countries.

Onuzulike (2007:1) has identified the following as forms of Nigerian oral tradition: "The corpus of songs, oral literature, festivals, rituals, and the traditional religion, performing arts, music, dance, and indeed the entire range of artifacts as constituting traditional oral performance of Nigerian culture." Although he has linked oral tradition to Nigerian movies, his concept of the oral tradition forms shows a duplication of forms and a lack of standard parameters to categorize different forms of Nigerian oral tradition. For instance, music should be grouped under performing arts because it is an art and a performance, and songs and music are interrelated.

Also, rituals and festivals might go together in one situation and might be different in another. Nonetheless, they are closer to each other and related, and as such they should be presented as one entity. In addition, oral literature involves traditional music/songs and verbal arts. Furthermore, it connects audience and artistes in a participatory way. In spite of the duplication of forms noted in the work of Onuzulike, his effort at identifying the traits is in the right direction because the elements he has mentioned are found in Yorùbá oral tradition. However, his classification of oral tradition seems to be weak because in the forms he has mentioned, he has included dance which should not be regarded as oral tradition. Although dance can be accompanied by oral tradition, it is not a genre of oral tradition. Oral tradition is "oral" because it is verbalised. Dance is not; it is the body's response or movement to sounds which are generated by musical instruments, chants, and songs.

Anthropologist Barber (1984:497), though paying attention to the composition of texts, in her article "Quotation in the Composition of Yorùbá Oral Texts", draws our attention to genres:

Research on verbal arts, or an instance of a genre, can be understood in terms of the way it is constituted as text. Research on oral verbal (*sic*) art usually proceeds by collecting a number of examples of a recognized, named genre (a particular kind of poem, song, dirge, chant, tale) and then examining them for “characteristics features’ they share.

Realizing the significance of cultural traits, Barber adds, “Within the broad of interpretable configurations of signs, certain kinds of texts are specifically demarcated and recognized as texts within the cultures that produce them.” In this study, the researcher shares this idea and finds that it relates directly to the current research. It helps the research to look for cultural or oral tradition evidence in Yorùbá movies. Although the researchers’ concern is not to examine what different forms or features verbal arts have in common, the researcher identifies with Barber in one way- locating verbal art in the selected data. While it is not the researcher’s intention to engage Barber in an academic argument, the researcher feels it is necessary to say that in the Yorùbá culture, dirge and chant are classified as poetry, and that tale may stand on its own or be woven into poetry. Proofs abound in the Yorùbá hunters’ poetry, which the Yorùbá know as *ijálá*, just to give an example.

Reflecting on the situation of African oral literature theory, in the article “Yorùbá Oríkì and Deconstructive Criticism, ” Barber blames the lack of appropriate African approach to analysing or doing criticism of African oral literature on the domination of western ideas or methods, which persist among educated Africans:

If there is no developed criticism of African oral literature Both the theory and the method of this mainstream criticism rest on a view of literature that derives from features characteristic only of written texts, not of oral ones. The fundamental but usually unacknowledged presumption of writtenness makes this criticism simply inappropriate to many kinds of oral literature.”

As tangible as Barber's observation seems to be, one may want to know if what other scholars offer as parameters for analysis grew out of vacuum and if any of their ideas can be helpful to studying Yorùbá movies

Definitely, every idea has a prompt or an inspiration drawn from somewhere or somebody. For example, as contained in the online version of *Encyclopedia Oral Tradition* (n.d.), the origin of oral tradition study is traced to Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, a Serbian scholar who lived from 1787 to 1864. This scholar described "salvage folklore in the cognate traditions of the southern Slavic regions which would later be gathered into Yugoslavia, and with the same admixture of romantic and nationalistic interests." This publication connects Vasily Radlov, a turcologist who lived from 1837 to 1918, with Karadzic's scholarly moment. Like the latter studies of folklore, the former studies people's song. Specifically, he studied the Kara Khirgiz in the part which later became the Soviet Union.

Another set of scholars came up to study oral tradition: Milman Parry and Albert Lord. Parry, who lived from 1902 to 1935, focused attention on finding an answer to the question relating to who Homeric was. He was preoccupied with working on reordering assumptions which ignited enquiries on the study of Homeric poems. His work under Anroine Meillet brought about his idea of "oral formulaic theory" (op. cit.) As the encyclopedia puts his definition of formula, it is "a certain fixed expression, used to convey an essential idea under the same metrical conditions." The publication goes further as follows: "Furthermore, the formulas would be not the individual and idiosyncratic devices of a particular artist, but the shared inheritance of a tradition of singers, and useful not so much for enabling a verbatim repetition of what would amount to a fixed (but written) text, as to make possible improvisational composition- in performance." As disclosed in the publication, when he became a junior professor at Harvard, he started focusing attention on oral traditions. On his two research attempts to Balkan region, he had with him Albert Bates Lord (1912-1991) who was his assistant. The research efforts led to the documentation on aluminum disks thousands of songs which led to an empirical submission on "composition of metrical narrative in performance,

including patterns and types of variation and other levels” that would serve as yardstick for analyzing oral texts. The positive implication of Parry approach is captured in this statement: “Parry’s theory showed how the tradition provided a rich, reinforcing context which optimized the noise-to-signal ratio and thus improved the quality of transmission.” He was the author of *The Singer of Tales* which was published in 1960. Although he died, his research effort signaled other scholars to work on oral traditions.

In addition, cited in the encyclopedia is Walter Ong who lived from 1912 to 2003. He is the author of *Orality and Literacy*. Mentored by the media theorist Marshall McLuhan, he was interested in culture, psychology, and rhetoric. Ong explains the difference between “oral and literate cultures.” His theory for analyzing oral tradition was integrated in nature.

The same source claims that John Miles Foley built upon the “formulaic system.” He gathered his oral data in Yugoslavia and wrote a number of papers on it. According to the source, Folley emphasized that “the dynamics of performers and audiences. His massive bibliographical enterprise accounted for the findings of scholars working in the separate linguistic fields (primarily Ancient Greek, Anglo-Saxon, and Serbo-Croatian) and more importantly, would stimulate conversation among these specialties.” He has a number of oral tradition publications to his credit.

The idea that one can draw from the historical narration about oral tradition is that there are different thoughts on how to study oral tradition. Even though the scholars whose names have been mentioned worked on specific traditional data, the aspects they used to approach the study of oral tradition signal to us that the environment and context are important in the analysis of any oral communication data. Besides, most of the western scholars whose works have been cited (except the likes of Barber) have limited themselves to non-African data. As previously cited, understanding the culture and using cultural traits of people whose culture is being studied can help a researcher to be accurate (Barber).

People may, by the way, ask what culture is and what theories relate to culture. To respond to the question, first, reference has to be made to the ideas of some scholars and/or theorists. In “Cultural meaning system,” D’Andrade (in Shweder & LeVine 1984:116) declares “culture as consisting of learned systems of meaning, communicated by means of national language and other symbol systems, having representational, directive, and effective functions, and capable of creating cultural entities and particular sense of reality.” This definition conveys an idea of people sharing common stylus or traits. The Yorùbá, whose movies are data for this study, is an example. In spite of differences among culture theorists, a common ground to them is noted:

There is a realm of discourse shared by culture theorists. Culture theory cuts across disciples. Dispute among culture theorists go on within a common, even if broad, framework of understandings- and I suspect most of the conferees would feel comfortable with Geertz’s own definition of culture as “an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life” (D’Andrade, in Shweder and LeVine, 1984:7).

Two anthropologists who studied 150 definitions of culture, noted that all the definitions came to two points that “(1) culture is a way of life based on some system of shared meanings; and (2) that it is passed on from generation to generation through this very system” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, in Danesi and Perron 1999:22). Building upon this observation, Danesi and Perron, refer to the system as “signifying order.” According to these scholars, “The signifying order is the aggregate of the signs (words, gestures, visual symbols, etc.), codes (language, art, etc.), and texts (conversations, compositions, etc) that a social group creates and utilizes in order to carry out its daily life routines and to plan activities for the future” (op. cit.). They, therefore, link every culture to its “early signifying order” and believe that the advancement of technology can not tamper

with the order. They add that human culture is “a way of life based on signifying order developed originally in a tribal context that is passed along through a signifying order from one generation to next” (op. cit. 22). Their observation and idea are crucial to this study- to detect if oral tradition can be used to identify Yorùbá movies.

According to Stromgren and Norden (1984:269-270) socio-cultural criticism “provides a means of using film to better understand the societies that produced them.” The approach, as the writers claimed, focuses on how films produced in specific societies reflect the societies. They linked this method to political criticism which is mainly concerned with ideology and to structuralism which, as they observe, “uses a society’s mythic structures to unlock the meanings of films” (op. cit.).

While tracing ideology is not the main concern of this research, the inclusion of it in the paradigm might be relevant since traditional verbal expressions of the Yorùbá can, overtly or covertly, convey traditional beliefs or ideologies of the Yorùbá native speakers. Also, these scholars of film shed light on socio-criticism: “The fundamental premise underlying this method is that films as well as other structural expressions will reflect to a certain degree not only the political structure of a given society but also various conventions of that society... manners of speech” (op. cit.).

Despite the relevance of this method, the scholar noted that researchers using it might not choose sufficient data to make generalization. If their submission is adapted to the Yorùbá film situation, one may want to drop the approach, but the reality remains that the Yorùbá are distinct ethnic group with traits and the films that are produced in the language are laced with Yorùbá expressions, though occasionally code switching is found in them.

Even when code switching happens in the Yorùbá movie, it does not last; it is just to show the impact of westernisation and new dimension which now co-exists

with the Yorùbá language in the modern Nigeria. The purpose of code switching in Yorùbá movies, perhaps, is the need to meet the expectation of audience who find English as a sign of modernity and to improve sales in a society where English has been a dominant language because of its use as a language for official transactions by government and schools.

Although only two samples of the Yorùbá movies have been used in this research, they are a representation of the entire movies. This study, concerned with the examination of verbal communication that reflects tradition, will help the researcher to find peculiarities and guide the researcher into determining whether or not oral tradition is common to Yorùbá movies and can be used as the marker of Yorùbá movies.

Understanding or recognizing the peculiarities of something can make one know what to look for as its representative or identity. For example, Okombo (1992:31) states:

The student of oral literature must strive to discern, systematize, and explicitly formulate the artistic perceptions of the community whose oral literature he/she is studying. Such a student must endeavor to develop an authentic set of the relevant set of theoretical principles to be used in the evaluation of the relevance body of literature.”

Okombo’s idea seems to be eclectic in a way and relevant because it points readers towards cultural perspective as a yardstick for doing this research. His idea perfectly works for this study because it prompts the researcher to think about the genres of Yorùbá oral tradition and the likely connection they may have with Yorùbá movies.

According to Valentine (2003), “When Gerry Philipsen, the father of The Speech Code Theory, conducted ethnographic studies to determine what meanings are shared within a culture, ” among his proposition was that “when there is a distinctive culture, there is to be found a distinctive speech code.” The import is

that a speech code community has a characteristic of a culture-bound activity. Since Yorùbá is a distinct culture, its code is distinct.

Like Okombo and Valentine, Ọlátúnjí (1984:190) stresses the need for researchers to consider the language background of any work of art, to arrive at an accurate description:

Literary studies are meaningful when they operate against the background of description of the language in which the work of art under consideration is written. An awareness of this saves the literary analysts from transferring into his descriptions categories derived from other languages and from coining ad-hoc ones.

Although Ọlátúnjí (1984) connects his thought with written text, this study uses the selected movies as a substitute for written materials and applies his idea and other culture-related ideas previously defined or explained to handle its analysis. Now, Russell's observation comes to our mind again: "Many of those who wish to find authentic means of interpreting African film point toward the role of oral tradition in people's lives." To this researcher, his observation is pertinent and useful; this study finds oral elements of the Yorùbá germane to analyzing the selected Yorùbá movies.

Now, this study will proceed to the explanation of distinct Yorùbá oral genres and cultural beliefs/objects passed from one generation to another. Presenting the cultural peculiarities of Yorùbá oral tradition in an explanatory way will assist it to handle the analysis of the selected Yorùbá movies and to draw a final conclusion regarding the identity of Yorùbá movies.

Yorùbá oral tradition is found in chants -like those for gods and goddesses, ancestors/deities, social events like funeral events, historical events, marriage, naming ceremony, proverbs, songs (for adults, children, women, men, boys, girls, occupations, hardworking people, personality/great achievers (hero, heroine, lazy people, chiefs/chieftaincy) royalty, celebration of success,

admission of lapses, punishment, atonement, call-to-service, communal decision, conflict, peace, etc.), folktales, riddles, philosophical expressions, dispute settlement, condemnation, commendation, and they revolve around different themes and have different structures and vocal rendition and purposes, and they are audience-based. Some of them are minor, and others are major. For example, proverbs can be found in the chants of masquerades and hunters. Praise poetry can be embedded in chants, and it can stand as a different entity. Suffice to say now that it necessary to mention and explain different forms of Yorùbá oral tradition and to provide examples. Tracing any of the above in any of the selected movies will point the researcher towards the identity of Yorùbá movies.

Yorùbá chants include *oríkì* (praise poetry), hunters' composition- *ijálá* for happy occasions, prowess, achievements and memory of hunting experiences and animals and *irèmòjé* (funeral dirge for late hunters). Both chants are peculiar to *Ògún*, the Yorùbá god of iron and are performed by hunters and other *Ògún* worshippers, including people who use iron, the symbol of *Ògún*. Among Ifá followers, *ẹṣẹ-Ifá* or *odù* is the chant for divination, and *iyẹṣẹ* the song which usually goes with it. Both are considered as Ifá literary corpus since they often go together. However, on some occasions, but not during divination, only songs can be chanted.

The Yorùbá native speakers are social. They like to be praised poetically and/or prosaically. To them, *oríkì* does the job in both ways, and it is a motivating factor, a reminder of the past, a connector of the past with the present, and a propeller to future elevation, greater deeds, and grandiose imagination. The rendition of *oríkì* is common and done by professional artistes and ordinary or lay people; it can take place at home, work, leisure, and social gatherings like wedding, naming ceremony, relationships, appreciation, graduation, reconciliation, chieftaincy installation, festivals, just to mention a few. Yorùbá *oríkì* is like the sculpture presenting the formation or image of an individual person, people, a place, or a thing. It is the picture or drawing made possible by spoken

expressions rather than colors and other written materials that artists use to present visible images. It is the verbal representation or conception of its subject. In fact, the Yorùbá culture provides *oríkì*, the Yorùbá word for praise name or praise poetry. Almost all creatures and/or things within the Yorùbá vicinity and beyond but within their perception and mode of rendition can be made artistic even when spoken prosaically. The significance of *oríkì* is summed up in the writing of Ọlátúnjí (1984:67), a Yorùbá scholar who has done extensive research and published works on the features of the Yorùbá oral poetry: “*Oríkì* is the most popular of Yorùbá oral poetic genres, a fact which is attested to by several collections.” Agreeing with this scholar, this researcher would add that irrespective of status, every individual is entitled to *oríkì*, either personal or lineage. Ọlátúnjí recognizes this fact, so he raises an objection against the observation of Finnegan who claims that *oríkì* seems “a stress on royal or aristocratic power” (in Ọlátúnjí, 1984:67). *Oríkì* has features, such as “incidence of nominalizations, preponderance of kinship terms, multiple references to historical and/or mythological events and fluidity of oblique structure and content (87). *Oríkì* features certain names, physical structures, occupations, religions, gods, goddesses, animals, and supernatural elements (visible and invisible).

Ẹkún-iyàwó (bride’s nuptial chant is performed by a new bride on the eve of and early in the morning of marriage. Young girls are trained by experienced women and more experienced girls in the art of nuptial chant until the last moment before their (young girls’ maturity) marriage. This traditional composition is crammed with lineage panegyrics or praise poetry, fear of unknown, farewell messages, experiences in the parents’ houses, and future challenges for a new-wife-to-be. The performance takes the bride to family members, friends, and passersby. As she chants, she sheds tears to indicate a mixed feeling – getting married and leaving her family for a new place that usually has its challenges. As a happy occasion, she recalls her experience with her friends and at the same time remembers her anticipated first experience of sexual encounter:

Nígbatí mò n jiyán bú’ni-bú’ni, èmi rẹ ni.

Nígbàtí mò n jẹ 'àgàn'niyàn, gàn'niyàn, èmi rẹ ni

Nígbàtí ìpàdé wá dorí-ẹní, ó wáá kèmi nìkan soṣo! (pẹlú ẹkún sísun)

Translation

When I was lambasting people, you and I were together.

When I was using a derogatory language on another person, you and I were together.

Now that I have to experience a sexual contact in a bed, I'm alone!
(sobs)

The chant above is a farewell message to her friends. As the bride chants the lines, she also adds the praise poetry (lineage lines) of her friend. With her chant, the bride displays affection for her friends and family friends, and she receives hugs, gifts (mostly money) and prayer for her welfare. A Yorùbá verbal artiste of any genre receives gifts for his or her performance.

Among the Yorùbá, brides with virginity are held in high esteem. The tradition places high premium on it, and the symbol of recognizing that a bride is a virgin is noticed in a gourd of fresh palm wine filled to the brim and boxes of matches filled to their capacity and presented to her family immediately after wedding and the first sex encounter in her husband's house. If a new wife is discovered to have had sex before marriage, disgrace follows her as the disclosure is symbolised by a the presentation of a palm-wine gourd partially filled with palm wine and charcoal and an empty match box that accompanies the "gift of appreciation," signaling to the family of the new wife that their daughter or family member or friend had gone against the tradition by losing her virginity before wedding.

Another important oral genre which has been a tradition of the Yorùbá for centuries is *ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* which can be translated as Ifá literary corpus. Olatúnjí (1984:115) calls it Ifá divination poetry. Like *ìjálá* is connected with Ògún (Yorùbá god of iron), so is *ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* connected with another god (Ifá Yorùbá god of wisdom). Among the Yorùbá, Ifẹ̀, otherwise known as Òrúnmìlà, is a frontline god; he has the key to the secret of every human being. He is believed to be the only god that witnessed the event of choosing destiny by human beings coming to the world. His representatives are *babaláwo*- those who have been trained in the ritual art of Ifá divination to tell people's past, present, and future and to make and prescribe necessary sacrifices for those who may need to make them.

Babaláwo (Ifá priest) recite *ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* (Ifa literary poetry) as they do divination or training. On occasions that demand references from Ifá, its priests or scholars do not hesitate to delve into the repertoire of Ifá verses or corpus to make their point. Of course, they have their paraphernalia like *iróké*, *iyerósùn*, *òpẹ̀lẹ̀*, and wooden trail which are divination objects. *Babaláwo* uses *iróké* to tap the edge of his divination bowl, makes the reading marks on *iyerósùn* (powdery substance), and uses *òpẹ̀lẹ̀* (a divination string). Ifá priests usually humble people who culturally get respect in a high context Yorùbá society. Their assistance is sought when people need help to make life better, sustain the momentum, or to wade off evil. *Ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* contains "information about Yorùbá mythology and cosmology" (op. cit.). *Ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* usually focuses on problems with the intention of solving them and/or teaching clients lessons when similar situations arise. It also contains names of the original priest, what he did or did not do, and the result. Related to *ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá* is "iyèrẹ̀," which is like a "song."

Besides *ẹ̀sẹ̀-ifá*, the Yorùbá have chants or poetry for their traditional gods and goddesses. Trained traditionalist and those who have the repertoire of the chants do recite the poetry or perform them when they refer to or worship their gods and goddesses. For example, Şàngó worshippers have Şàngó-pípè, a chant which they use to praise and to recognise the power of Şàngó, the Yorùbá god of fire; they also have a different chant for Òyọ̀-pípè, the god of wind, èşù-pípè for god

of trickster, *lwi* or *èsà* for the masquerade chant. In each chant homage is paid to the god or goddess (as it may be applicable). The chant may also include the mention of praises, expectation, value, food, sacrifice, and historical information. Of course, the worshippers of gods and goddesses have their paraphernalia.

Furthermore, vituperation, which conveys ill-intended message or messages directed at the audience, is, in most cases, nerve-wracking. Among the Yorùbá, vituperation has negative implication and is usually dreaded, for the Yorùbá believe that supernaturally empowered words release danger or destruction to its target. In most cases, it anger triggers it off. The Yorùbá use it to punish their enemies and to instill fear in the mind of people who might be acting against any social norms. The Yorùbá word for vituperation is *èpè*. Peaceful people hardly want to be around those who like to invoke the potentials of vituperation under the pretext of sudden anger.

In addition, traditional songs abound among the Yorùbá. Some of such songs are for jobs, others concern societal ills, and some are for males while some target females. Some songs are for children while others are intended for adults. Some songs are sung on specific occasions- happiness and sadness. In a nutshell, the Yorùbá has songs for all situations.

Also, several proverbs are found in the tradition of the Yorùbá. *Ọlátúnjí* (1984:170) identifies the significance of proverbs and the sources among the Yorùbá:

The Yorùbá value proverbs very highly, for they consider them to be the wisdom lore of the race. And because the proverbs are considered to be traditional and originate from the observation of natural phenomena and human relations, old and [sic] people are also regarded as a repository of proverbs.

Proverbs are considered as the communal property that every Yorùbá who speaks the language is free to use to express his or her thoughts and

observations. The Yorùbá believe in conciseness and pungent efficacy of proverbs so much that they are fond of saying: “Òwe ṣin ọ̀rọ̀; bí ọ̀rọ̀ bá sọ̀nù, ọ̀we la fi í wá a,” which literally means “A proverb summarises a message; when it is difficult for one to find words to express a message, a proverb helps.”

The use of proverbs goes with a ritual expression which characterises the Yorùbá’s customary way of giving respects to others. In most cases, when the Yorùbá, especially the young ones, want to lace their communication with proverbs, they do request permission for using proverbs. The common way of obtaining permission is to say as follows: “Tótó ẹ̀e bí ọ̀we o!” This expression means “permit me to add a proverb or proverbs” or “permit me for using a proverb or proverbs.” The expression can be said before releasing or immediately after saying a proverb or proverbs. The import from opening a verbal discourse with its ritual introduction in the tradition is to show the significance of respect for the elders and the entire community.

Different proverbs address different issues or topics. For example, proverbs can target young children, adult, women, men, laziness, respect, responsibility, faithfulness, warning, tactfulness, hard-work, good deed, condemnation, unity, determination, decision-making, suspicion, arrogance, praise, correction, just to mention a few. The features of *owe* include prescriptive function, choice/alternative, parallelism, lexical repetition/contrast, and terseness (Ọ̀látúnjí, 1984:175).

Ọ̀fọ̀ (incantation) is another Yorùbá oral genre. This verbal art is intended to influence natural and supernatural power to act in favor of the chanter and against any perceived enemies of the former. *Ọ̀fọ̀*, like other traditional genres, belongs to the Yorùbá community and has been in existence since the days of the Yorùbá ancestors though it is possible to have modern trends creeping into some of *ọ̀fọ̀* due to man’s innovation and need for accommodating modern needs. For example, “*Níjọ̀ Gbági-Dùgbẹ̀ bá jáde, igi Ọ̀gùnpa ni í fi bọnu*”, which can be literally translated as “The day the commercial bus known as *Gbági-to-*

Dùgbè is driven out, its destination is *Ògùnpa*.” There were no commercial buses in the Yorùbáland before the whites had contact with the area. *Ọfọ* has magical intonation: “*ọfọ* is the verbal aspect of the magical act among the Yorùbá... rites may deal with set of actions that accompany the incantations, and the magic object, charms, or medicines can, and do occur independently at times” (Ọlátúnjí, 2004: 140). To be found in *ọfọ* are magical intention and the themes concern evil, love, desires, treatment or cure, punishment infliction, and mythological events (op. cit. 151). The expressions in *ọfọ* can feature wordplay, personal identity, repetition, problem statement, assertions, application or prayer, and symbolism.

Besides incantation, the Yorùbá also have several proverbs which they use when their situations demand the expressions. “Proverbs occur informally in day-to-day verbal communication, their reference being a person or situation known to both the audience and the uses before they are uttered” (op. cit.169). Proverbs are the expressions used for rhetorical, appreciative, aesthetical and regulatory purposes. They mold behavior, inculcate discipline, and give encouragement. They signal unity, confidence, disappointment, and alternative directions. They praise the spirit of hard- work, condemn social vices, express messages subtly and succinctly, hit the nail on the head, declare intention, and express beliefs. The Yorùbá word for proverb is “*owe*.” One’s ability to comprehend and use proverbs shows one’s maturity and intelligence among the Yorùbá. “The Yorùbá value proverbs very highly for they are considered to be the lore of the race and because the proverbs are considered to be traditional and originate from the observation of natural phenomena and human relations, old people are also regarded as a repository of proverbs (op. cit. 170). Like Ọlátúnjí, it is agreed that “*owe*” may include praises (social charter), respect for elders, responsibility, warning, interdependence, hard-work, laziness, tactfulness, faithfulness, and carefulness. The Yorùbá proverbs can be recognized by their prescriptive function, choice, parallel sentences, lexical repetition/contrast and terseness (op. cit. 175). To the Yorùbá, proverbs are the means of summarising an elaborate message on which they do not want to waste their time. They believe in

conciseness and pungent efficacy of proverbs, so they are fond of saying that “Òwe ṣin ọ̀rọ̀; bí ọ̀rọ̀ bá sọ̀nù, ọ̀we la fi í wá a,” which literally means “A proverb serves as a horse on which a message rides; when we are in dire need of words, we use proverbs to capture our thoughts.” When a young person uses proverbs in the presence of old or older people, the Yorùbá culture expects him or her to say, “Tótó ẹ̀e bí ọ̀we,” an expression which means “With your permission, I want to use a proverb.”

Another Yorùbá genre is riddle, which is known as “àlọ́,” and classified as either “àlọ́ àpamọ́,” riddles involving question and answer, and “àlọ́ àpagbè” which has questioning (or the starter) and the audience’s participatory response for the composition. Àlọ́ àpamọ́ is usually short and àpagbè somehow long. The Yorùbá riddles, irrespective of classes, are for entertainment and mental skills-testing and development mechanism of young people, especially children who are mostly the target audience. Àjàyí ((1990:501) testifies to this claim: “Riddles are used among the Yorùbá not only as a form of amusement, but also as a means of education and even as a serious test of imaginative powers.”

Àlọ́, according to Ọlátúnjí (1984:181), features questions, metaphors, incongruity (contraction), sequential sentences, nominal concordial sentences, and sparing use of connectives. The linguistic aspect of riddles in general gets the attention of Obote in spite of the diversity which, according to him, exists in different cultural riddles: “The riddle displays features that cut across ethno-linguistic barriers. If the literary value of a linguistic item lies in how language is manipulated and stylized, it follows then that the riddle offers great potential for a purely literary analysis” (in Okombo and Nandawa, 1992:94). Usually, àlọ́ takes place in the evening when people have returned from work, usually before or after dinner, before going to bed at night. Most people prefer to sit down in their houses or outside, especially when the moon is bright. In the modern time, àlọ́ takes place during the day, among the educated people and learners of Western education, especially in classrooms. Riddles are also for relaxation, apart from other values which Ọlátúnjí and Àjàyí have noted about them.

A major question now arises: how will the traits of oral tradition genres mentioned above help the research to make a claim? The answer is simple: The knowledge will help the researcher to identify any aspects that relate to oral tradition and the role which they play in the selected movies. It will also help the study to link the genres of oral tradition to specific settings, actors, actresses, delivery, and any assist the study to identify possible changes (feelings), and if any, bring to the fore any influence on modernity. Finally, it will link the oral genres and traditional physical objects to the actions in the movies. If the study is able to accomplish all or the majority of these- being able to identify any of the elements in relation to the actions in the selected movies, then there will be a justification for the claim of the study that oral tradition features in the Nigerian Yorùbá movies, irrespective of the challenges of the modern days, and this thought will then keep the researcher's eyes open to future researches which may make the researcher to come up with different ideas as new situations and evidence emerge. As a reminder, the hypothesis is that, no matter the quantity of oral tradition, it is a strong, unavoidable cultural factor or device for identifying every Yorùbá movie.

2.8 Conclusion

Literature on the history of Yorùbá movies reveals within the context of Nigerian movies and shows that the Yorùbá contribute to the development of Nigerian movies in their country. It traces the movies to the colonial masters and government whose direction to govern came from the Britain. Also, literature shows that after independence, the landscape of movies gradually changed in Nigeria. Economic impact and religious coloring began to shape movie productions. Now video technology has become a new trend in the production of movies and the country has ethnic video movies as celluloid movie production is no longer common. The ideas of oral tradition provided in this chapter shed lights on Yorùbá oral society and its ideas of oral tradition.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To achieve the aim of finding an identity peculiar for the selected Yorùbá movies in particular and Yorùbá movies in general, a discussion of the theoretical framework for the study becomes imperative to make the reader understand the guidelines used for analyzing the data for this study. In every academic research, theory is crucial. Lewis (2002:33) who studies the ideas of cultural analysts claims that a theory is used “to identify, clarify and speculate over specific cultural sites and issues” and defines theory as “a form of conceptualization in language” that enables researchers to “produce understanding, judgement, and worthwhile action.”

Based on Lewis’s idea, the researcher has chosen for this study cultural theory and oral tradition paradigm. The combination helps the study to examine feelings, situations, exigencies, role players, and themes in the selected movies. This chapter provides a brief history of culture theory, highlights its vital principles or ideas, and shows its advantages and limitations. In addition, it mentions the connection between culture theory and sociological approach. Furthermore, it refers to some names and ideas connected with oral tradition paradigm –foreign and local to Yorùbá. Besides, this chapter shares information on the methods which the researcher used to conduct the study. Specifically, it mentions the data which were selected for the study and provides the rationale for the selection. Furthermore, it talks about the research data collection and analysis techniques.

3.2 Theoretical framework

To guide the study, the researcher has selected culture theory and oral tradition paradigm as an African perspective. This section, therefore, provides ideas about the theories and their benefits for the study.

3.2.1 Culture theory

Culture theory, according to Edgar and Sedgwick (2002:3), “starts from the self-proclaimed assertion of a plurality of meanings associated with the word ‘culture.’” The idea of the writers is that different versions of culture theory exist and each has an entity to which it binds. According to the scholars, all culture theorists cling to the word “culture” and use it as their common identity. Culture theory is offered from the perspectives of different disciplines, such as philosophy, anthropology, sociology, economics, politics, metaphysics, and language. Lewis (2012) testifies to the use of cultural theory (culture theory) in many disciplines: “Cultural theory has been explored in many different academic fields.” The import or sense from its applicability in different disciplines is that the theory is adaptable to different fields or disciplines. From the arguments of Edgar and Sedgwick (op. cit.:1), Plato who lived from 428 to 347 BC dealt with questions targeting human identity, human relations, human relations nature, human politics, ethics, and aesthetics.

The subject-matter or concern of all theorists associated with culture determines the boundaries of their discussions. The writers note, for example, that those connected with Karl Marx idea, Marxism, investigate the structure of society through the dialectical connection between the economy and ideologies within the society and that those who operate in historicism, literary criticism or critical cultural theory “read texts in terms of social or historical factors” (op. cit.:4).

Cultural Studies has been traced to three sources: Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart from late 1950s to early 1960s and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Studies which was formed in 1964. The two directors at the centre, Hoggart and Stuart Hall came up with multidisciplinary approaches to the study of culture. Among their approaches were feminism, semiotics and Marxism. “The exponents of cultural studies sought to situate cultural products explicitly in relation to political structures and social hierarchies, such as race, class and gender,” Edgar and Sedgwick (2002:100) state. Also, they assert the implication

of cultural approaches, that the data to be studied “could be the material and symbolic products encountered in all strata and sections of society” (op. cit.). Their thought tallies with the approach of those considered as the key scholars or founding fathers of cultural studies whose work is referenced next. Barker (2000:38) state that even though Hoggart, Thompson, and Williams’ ideas differ. The three scholars “stress on the ‘ordinariness’ of culture, and the active, creative, capacity of common people to construct shared meaningful practices.” Richard Hoggart, through his study of working class culture in 1957, has bestowed the legacy of “the meanings and practices of ordinary people as they seek to live their lives and make their own history. On his part, Edward Thompson, through his 1963 study of the English-working class which concentrated on the “lives, experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and practices of the working people” theorized as follows:

Class happens when some men [sic], as result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs (in Barker, 2000:39).

Barker adds that Raymond Williams, in his 1965 work, classified culture into three levels: time and space culture, recorded culture, period culture. Also, Williams adds that there is also the factor connecting lived culture and the period cultures, the culture of the selective tradition. Williams is said to have provided the following guidelines for the exploration of culture which is oral tradition in this research on Yorùbá movies:

- Institutions of artistic or cultural production
- Formations or schools, movements, and factions of cultural productions
- Identification and forms of culture
- The reproduction
- The organization in terms of a ‘realized signifying system’

(Barker, 2000:40).

Williams's approach can be applied to the study of oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies by relating any detected evidence of oral tradition to any specific institution or authority that uses it. Also, it can be applied by distinguishing the identifying the situation which prompts oral tradition and by classifying each selected traditional expression in the data into a genre it belongs to, finding evidence of reproduction, and showing how it fits into the organization of the message it conveys. Williams's approach is capable of helping the researcher to relate oral tradition to any one or more of the time, place, situation and context in the selected Yorùbá movies. This can be done by following the actions in the movies, selecting traditional verbal expressions, placing them within their genres, relating them to occurrences, and mentioning the functions they perform.

The theoretical approaches of the three key cultural theorists apply to this research because Yorùbá movies are watched by people of different status or levels, especially in Yorùbá society, people whose common language, familiar objects, aesthetics, beliefs and values make them susceptible to watching the movies. The conveyance of the traditional peculiarities in the oral expressions used in Yorùbá movies as the focus of this study makes the approach appropriate since this study will pay attention to the communication of every actor or actress in the movies, regardless of status conferred by age, gender, occupation, religion, occupation, and so on. However, the approach may exclude non-traditional expressions, such as gestures, postures, traditional objects; thus the exclusion may ignore certain ideas which may contribute to the discussion on the story, actions, and reflections in the selected data.

3.2.2 Culture theory and sociological connection

Culture is the representation of human society. The study of human society is sociology which August Comte, a French philosopher, coined around 1830. Three major names which are connected with the foundation of sociological

approach to the study of human society are Karl Marx, who lived from 1818 to 1883; Emile Durkheim, whose life span was from 1858 to 1917, and Max Weber, who lived from 1864 to 1920. Bringing their views on the study of human society into this research becomes necessary since oral tradition has connection with Yorùbá society.

Karl Marx, a political, economic and social analyst and philosopher viewed human as labourers whose consciousness depends on the material world through labour (Edgar and Sedgwick:152-153). He explores the relations between the producers -that is, the labourers and their owners. To him, the forces of labour determine the economy and classes in which people are placed. It also determines the exploiters and the exploited. Through his idea, he hints that domination means the ideas of those who dominate others; for examples, the members of the ruling class use religion, war, and traditional expressions, to persuade or coerce other people to do their wish. In many instances, such as love, war, and greediness in the selected movies, Yorùbá oral tradition, such as proverbs, idioms, incantations, creeps into the conversations or dialogues of the actors and/or actresses.

Edgar and Sedgwick (2002:153) also note “that Marx writes little explicitly about art and culture ..., that he saw art as having a problematic relationship to the economy.” Even though the economic dominance of one class over another is the major concern of any one using a Marxist approach to analyze data, Marx’s idea helps the researcher to explore the possibility of Yorùbá oral tradition playing a major role in the traits of dominance in the Yorùbá movies selected for this study. The hierarchical structure of the Yorùbá’s traditional system of government and struggle of one town over another village in *Èjè Méjì* point towards dominance and involves the language which conveys the idea. In other words, where instances of dominance exist in the selected Yorùbá movies, the researcher is helped to find the connection between it and oral tradition, to show if oral tradition construes dominance which is peculiar to the Yorùbá worldview. Edgar and Sedgwick identify a missing aspect in the idea of Marx’s approach:

“Marx then cannot account for the fact that modern humanity continues to derive pleasure and insight from this art” (op. cit.:156). Marx, as they say, seems to have undervalued art because he has omitted the entertainment aspect of art. Even though he has not talked about entertainment, the fact that he has mentioned it briefly means that his idea is useful for this study. With Marx approach, this study examines entertainment in the selected Yorùbá movies to find if oral tradition for entertainment, such as ìjálá, is used for entertainment in any of the selected data. Any evidence of oral tradition in connection with entertainments in the movies helps this study to establish its hypothesis.

According to Barker (2000:16), the sociologist Durkheim “searched for the constraining patterns of culture and social life which lies outside any given individual ... For example, the beliefs, values and norms of religions.” The approach of this theorist is that a society should be studied based on its communal or inherited possessions, not on individual belongings. Applied to this study, the approach helps the researcher to examine the Yorùbá oral tradition genres in the expressions of the actors and actresses in the selected movies. In other words, Durkheim’s approach makes this researcher look at oral tradition. The disadvantage of using the theorist’s idea in this study, however, is that it excludes somehow the personal expressions of a role player.

As Danesi and Perron (1999:30) state, “the great sociologist Max Weber remarked, leadership in early tribal cultures tended to emerge typically from within kingship units, because their communal activities revolve around the family with the most power and ability to withstand opposition within the tribe.” Danesi and Perron extend the meaning of Weber’s kingship or family to generations and their inherited rights. From this perspective, oral tradition is an inherited right in Yorùbá society. Based on the idea contained in Weber’s approach and the addition which Danesi and Perron have made, it can be said Weber’s approach helps this study to examine the communication of the leaders in the Yorùbá movies to see if oral tradition is a means of transmitting their feelings and messages. Beyond the idea of leadership, the approach also helps the

researcher to examine the communication of the masses – commoners- to see if they also render oral tradition to express their feelings and messages. After all, oral tradition is not an individual person’s property; it belongs to its community. As suitable as Weber’s approach is, the problem it has lies in its specification of one status, “kinship” which implies only the royals and chiefs” in the Yorùbá context. Among the Yorùbá, every member of a community, irrespective of his or her status, is entitled to use oral tradition since it is a communal property.

3.2.3 Oral tradition paradigm

Besides using cultural theory, this study also taps and uses ideas from oral tradition theory. Scholars have stressed the need for focusing on oral tradition in the study of African movies. For example, Diawara (1986: 408) states:

Films use the material of oral literature to reflect the ideology of the time, not of the oral tradition where an oral narrative advocates a return to law and order, the film version desires a new order to replace old stagnating one. Thus a griot is not viewed the same way in Sembene’s film as the oral tradition.

In the quotation above, Diawara seems to think that the use of oral literature is to capture the present situation or event. To him, oral literature differs from oral tradition. He believes that oral tradition returns people “to law and order” when in actuality fact oral tradition is capable of doing two extreme things – good or bad. The fact that he has hinted on the relevance of oral tradition in different times suggests that the verbal arts can be used to accommodate new needs; thus his writing portrays him as an advocate projecting oral tradition as an essential tool in African movies. Yorùbá movies are a major part of African movies today.

Russell (1998) notes the general view promoting oral tradition paradigm as an acceptable way to study African film:

Many of those who wish to find authentic means of interpreting African film point to the role of oral tradition in people's life. They also discuss the importance of the individual's connection to the community and the past.

To discuss oral tradition theory, this study on Yorùbá oral tradition in relation to movies responds to the following questions: what is oral tradition theory, who are the theorists, what are the varieties of oral tradition, and what ideas exist about oral tradition theory?

Few names are prominent in the discussion of oral tradition. For example, Milman Parry and Albert Lord made their contribution to the discussion on oral tradition theory. Parry, who lived from 1902 to 1935, focused attention on finding an answer to the question relating to the personality of Homeric. He was preoccupied with working on reordering assumptions which ignited enquiries on the study of Homeric poems. His work under Anroine Meillet brought about his idea which is known as "oral formulaic theory." As *Opentopia Encyclopedia* puts his definition of formulaic theory, it is "a certain fixed expression, used to convey an essential idea under the same metrical conditions." The publication goes further as follows: "Furthermore, the formulas would be not the individual and idiosyncratic devices of a particular artist, but the shared inheritance of a tradition of singers, and useful not so much for enabling a verbatim repetition of what would amount to a fixed (but written) text, as to make possible improvisational composition- in performance." As disclosed in the publication, when he became a junior professor at Harvard, he started focusing attention on oral traditions. His research efforts led to the documentation, on aluminum disks thousands, of songs which resulted in an empirical submission on "composition of metrical narrative in performance, including patterns and types of variation and other levels" that would serve as yardstick for analyzing oral texts.

The implication of Parry's theory is conveyed in this statement: "Parry's theory showed how the tradition provided a rich, reinforcing context which optimized the noise-to-signal ratio and thus improved the quality of transmission." He was the

author of *The Singer of Tales* which was published in 1960. Although he died, his research effort signaled other scholars to work on oral traditions. The theory indicates an approach to enhancing the commitment of oral performance into memory. For the purpose of our study, we will try to find if there are samples of repetitious expressions which fall under oral tradition. The disadvantage of this approach is that it limits researchers to finding only mnemonic devices in oral tradition, thus giving the impression that the devices are the only means to recognize oral tradition in Yorùbá movies.

Other theorists that come to mind now are Walter Ong and Jans Vansina. Contributing to scholarships on oral tradition, Ong (1982:11, in Foley 1988:95) focuses his attention on psychodynamic nature of oral tradition, connects oral tradition with technology-generated communications. His idea is that rhetoric or other communication delivered through technology relating to printing, computer word processing, and scripting productions that are available today have beneath them oral culture, that oral (non-written) and literate (written culture) are interdependent. He labels traditional communication devoid of writing as “primary orality” and calls technology communication as “secondary orality.” His thought suggests that even though modernity comes with technology to store information in a way that is different from memorization, the one that is known to be common with people in a traditional setting where writing is not a culture. Drawing inferences from Homeric Question and Parry’s writing, he concludes that writing is an attempt to restructure the consciousness of human beings (writers). His argument seems to make sense. Among the Yoruba today, unlike in the past (say over thirty years ago) when cultural events with rendition of oral tradition was common in many Yoruba towns and cities and many families associated themselves with them in spite of their Islamic and Christian religions, the situation now is the condemnation of the cultural expressions relating to gods and goddesses. In spite of this unfortunate situation, unavoidably, the oral tradition that many people have rejected religiously and publicly often get into their communication. The connection of Ong’s idea with the situation in the Yoruba

oral tradition can not be ruled out since the actors and actresses in Yoruba movies often communicate mainly in their local language, use the traditional expressions of their people as they base their movies on Yoruba experiences. This development attests to the statement of Ong (1982:11): 'Still to varying degrees many cultures and subcultures, even in a high-technology ambiance, preserve much of the mind-set of primary orality.'

Another scholar that has given an idea to the study of oral tradition has approached it from historical perspective. He is Jans Vansina. In the translated version of his work by Wright (1965:7), Vansina is reported to have identified the following components or elements of oral tradition: facts or events (proto-testimony), observer, chain of transmission, final informant, recorder, and earliest account. These components are presented as a sequence of a chain component to reflect the flow of oral tradition from one person to another and from one generation to another. Littlejohn (1975:36-37) that has also referred to the above components of Vansina captures the Vansina's theory of oral tradition:

Vansina's theory is that oral traditions are historical sources of a special nature. He deals with characteristics of oral tradition, especially the transmission by words of mouth, the relationship between each successive testimony and the tradition itself. He analyzes the characteristic features, the form and content of the ceremony. Next he enumerates various ways in which deliberate falsification may occur. Next, he goes on to an explanation of how testimonies originate and how the weight to be attached to any one testimony may be established by comparing it with others. Finally, he discusses historical information that can be obtained from oral tradition with the aid of auxiliary source material.

Even though our study is not probing into Yorùbá history or the process of oral tradition retention, Vansina's theory has an aspect that helps it to trace transmitted verbal expressions and their distinct classifications, as they are used in the selected data. The aspect is the need to identify oral tradition.

The theories mentioned above are the products of foreign scholars. In spite of the contributions that foreign theorists have added to the discussion of oral literature or oral tradition generally, some African scholars have found their ideas or guidelines inadequate to study African materials. Parts of those who have criticised foreign theories and come up with an African approach proposal are Tomaselli, Shepperson and Eke who have stated as follows:

Western-based criticism tends to separate the visible world of actual behavior from the invisible spiritual realm. It can be hard for those from the West, in the absence of a sound understanding of the ontological referents in African languages, to establish whether non-Westernized Africans are in fact distinguishing the material from the spiritual (in Harrow 1999: 65)

Noting the inadequacy of foreign theories, the scholars, therefore, offer an African world view or approach to the study of African movies. They propose what we label here as “African ontological approach.” They sum up ontology this way: “Things are encountered as existents before we attain knowledge of them. Ontology is, therefore, involved with the interpretation of what we encounter in our maturation into the world during our lives” (op. cit.: 46). They claim that their approach took off from phenomenological interpretations associated with Martin Heidegger, on one hand, and Hannah Arendt’s project, on the other. According to the Tomaselli, Shepperson and Eke, Heidegger and Arendt are preoccupied with “things we are doing” in a way that bring the past to the present. Finnegan (1970) emphasizes the need to pay attention to function and form in the study of folktales. Her approach works only when the people’s parameter or cultural gaze is understood.

Looking at the African ontological approach, one can say that besides identifying inherited verbal expressions and showing their connection with spirituality, the approach also helps a researcher to make of oral tradition connection with political roles, struggles, beliefs, economy, discipline, family affairs, public image, therapy, judgement, entertainment, expectations, feelings, understanding, and

other aspects of Africans. In a nutshell, it is an approach which enables researchers to use local parameters to study any local materials or issues that are of African origins.

For this research, Yorùbá ontological approach, which has been derived from African ontological theory, involves identifying different Yorùbá inherited expressions, classifying them, explaining them, using them to connect people with feelings, ideas, beliefs, efforts, thoughts, families, occupations, neighborhood, friendship, love, enmity, supernatural factors, entertainment, frictions, understanding, misunderstanding, social-economic concerns, health needs, freedom, security or defence measures, ancestors, image, perceptions, and actions. This approach can make people study any objects in relation to its society, and/or people. It is a suitable approach to the study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies since it helps this study to share the knowledge about Yorùbá cultural expressions transmitted from one generation to another and to show how such expressions connect with the feelings of the actors and actions in the selected data.

The idea of Tomaselli, Shepperson and Eke has offered scholars an approach to study African tradition; their African ontological approach is bendable and suitable because it allows scholars of African studies to connect the past to the present in a way that fits African settings. In other words, it encourages researchers to use African gaze instead of foreign approaches to examine or study subjects relating to Africa.

Suouleymane Cisse's response to an interview on the movie *Yeleen* supports the sentiment: "This, I hope, paves the way to uncovering the deeper meaning. It is possible for Malians who have heard the songs of the secret rituals on the radio to understand the film more than the uninitiated Westerner spectator (in Ukadike 2002:22). In other words, an African gaze sees things in an African way. As a society rooted in oral tradition in spite of its modernity characterized by written

literacy, Yorùbá generally are like Confucius. In the 6th Century, he said, “I’m a transmitter, not an inventor” (Gabriel, in Pines & Willermen 1989:40).

The connection between the transmitted expressions based on current developments will surface in this study. In the modern time, Yorùbá setting is filled with Yorùbá ideas and Western perspectives. The situation is so critical that Yorùbá political, social, and educational leaders and other concerned natives have entertained the fear that Yorùbá language and culture are on the path to extinction. Glendhill and Williams (2000:38) states:

The importance of visual culture corresponds to the importance of multiculturalism, or identity politics, where the struggle to bring diverse potentially incompatible identities into being entails an effort to give visual representation.

The depiction of Yorùbá in Yorùbá movies of the recent time provides an opportunity for this researcher to focus attention on Yorùbá oral tradition and to approach its analysis from the Yorùbá world view supported with some aspects of the oral tradition paradigms foreign theorists have introduced to scholarship.

This study will examine Yorùbá communities depicted in the movies, describe them based on the Yorùbá traditional values by finding any evidence of Yorùbá oral tradition and connecting them with role players, their feelings, actions and messages. Over all, the approach will lead to a conclusion that Yorùbá oral tradition is an essential tool that makes Yorùbá movies distinct from the movies of other peoples.

3.3 Research methodology

This study relates to a particular ethnic nation and culture -its audiovisual representation and identity. To handle the study, therefore, different tools have

been be used. One tool is qualitative analysis. According to Alasuutari (1995:7), qualitative analysis is a method which can prompt “reasoning and argumentation that is not based on statistical relations between ‘variables’ by which certain objects or observation units are described.” He adds that this method does not concern itself about the frequency or the odds of an item being considered, that rather with every item a researcher chooses and uses a method which fits into a discussion.

Considering Alasuutari’s idea about qualitative analysis, this study of oral tradition in the Nigerian movies will find sample expressions which can be classified as the oral tradition of the Yorùbá. In other words, using this method, the priority of this study is to get any evidence of the oral tradition genres and sample expressions in the Yorùbá movies.

Qualitative method has two phases. Alasuutari labels the phases as “the purification of observation and unriddling.” For making qualitative method fit for this study, the researcher selected Yorùbá movies and described their contents and messages in a way which reflects Yorùbá setting, social strata, events, actions, ideas, and values. In revealing all these, the study highlights Yorùbá oral tradition in a way to lead the reader to the identity of Yorùbá movies.

The qualitative method is both advantageous and disadvantageous. One advantage is that it lumps all the data “as a totality, ” as Alasuutari states, “they are thought to shed light on the structure of a singular logical whole.” In the context of this study, the Yorùbá movies are seen as an entity upon which oral tradition serves as a measuring parameter. Two, the method does not overstress the researcher; it just works the researcher into identifying the Yorùbá oral tradition evidence and into placing evidence under a genre it belongs. Another advantage is that it makes the researcher to relate an oral tradition expression to the Yorùbá social, economic, conflicting and cultural situations depicted and the messages conveyed in the movies. This advantage ties with what Alasuutari says “One has to be able to explain all reliable pieces of information known to

belong to the figure or mystery being solved in such a way that they are not in contradiction with the interpretation presented” (11). In spite of its advantages, qualitative analysis has some issues. One, the reader of this research may not know how many times each genre of oral tradition is used in each movie. Two, the reader may not know the number of expressions under each genre in each movie. With the method, the researcher is not bound to give the frequency or number of any identified oral tradition. Three, the method may not allow the researcher to say which of the selected movies has more genres than the other and which genre is more frequent and how frequent it is.

Qualitative analysis cannot be done without an object to focus on. As a result, this study will involve the observation –viewing of the Yorùbá movies. Rubin, et al. (2010:222-224) explains observational research this way: “Instead, we observe people in their typical or natural social settings and describe the actions (i. e. behaviors) or messages of the individuals, groups or media studied.” These writers (op. cit.) classify observational research into five, namely, ethnography, which is about “social norms and events as they occur;” participant observation, which expects a researcher to be an insider; unobtrusive observation, which “is used when researchers want to study communication in a natural setting yet choose not become participants in the group or organization;” network analysis, which is “the study of behavioral interactions among large numbers of people;” and verbal and nonverbal coding, which means “Researchers have devised a variety of schemes of code verbal behavior (such as self-disclosure) and nonverbal behavior (for example, kinesics and facial expression).”

Of the Rubin’s five ways of conducting observation, this study will use ethnography observation because it is about a particular ethnic nation or its cultural representation. It also uses unobtrusive observation approach so as to avoid being bias in its analysis of and submissions on the role of oral tradition in the argument about the relationship between oral tradition and the Yorùbá movies. Furthermore, it uses verbal coding since its major concern has to do with the oral aspect of the Yorùbá tradition. The study avoids network observation

since its major concern is not the organizational structure of the Yorùbá society. Besides, it avoids using participant observation approach because the researcher is neither an actor nor an actress; the researcher is just a movie viewer who reports what he has seen.

This study also uses description and analysis of the oral communication and the actions in the Yorùbá movies in a way that which shows how the Yorùbá oral tradition is involved in relations to actors, actresses, actions, situations, and messages. Qualitative research permits a researcher to describe items or objects in a way which leads to a reasonable conclusion or totality. This study also uses content analysis method. The Writing Center at Colorado University (2009) defines content analysis as “a research tool to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within the texts or sets of texts. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are part.” According to the same source, texts include “any occurrence of communicative language... and texts in a single study may also represent a variety of different types of occurrences.” Adapting Bereson’s 1952 work to its writing, the Writing Center connects content analysis to recorded communication which, in the scope of this research, refers to the Yorùbá movies of Nigeria origin. A descriptive content analysis is another tool that is applicable to this research. With it, the Yorùbá movies provide actions and spoken expressions and cultural artifacts as contents for analysis. Neuendorf (2002:53) claims that those who use descriptive content analysis tool “describe a particular message in pool in almost archival fashion.” The writer also adds that the researchers using the tool “limit their conclusions to the content being studied” that they may make inferences but they are opened to the criticisms from scientists. The advantage of the tool for this study is the access to the existing materials and the opportunity to work with it to arrive at a conclusion.

Since the movies transmit messages to the audience through spoken and unspoken expressions that are somehow peculiar to the Yorùbá situations, using this method is quite appropriate because it enables the research to focus on oral tradition elements in the selected movies, though the study does not intend quantifying the elements.

Coding is said to be an essential part of content analysis; it involves breaking a whole entity into its units or components and attaching a coding system that will help researchers to arrive at their conclusions (West and Turner, 2009, in Onuzulike, 2007:73). For example, content analysis is useful for working on communications (“pictorial and musical, as well as oral and written”) focused to draw certain conclusions (Carney, in op cit.). How useful is content analysis to this study? The connection between coding and content analysis has a space in this study. Besides helping to identify the cultural environments and worldviews of the Yorùbá in their movies, it also helps in specifying the oral tradition genres used in them. In addition, it assists in bringing to the fore the intentions and feelings of those who use oral tradition and the patterns of oral communication in the movies. This method also enables the researcher to pay attention to the connection between individuals and the community property- oral tradition. A shortcoming of the method, as the Writing Center indicates, is that “content analysis coding for explicit concepts may not reveal any significant differences.”

Since this research has a questionnaire to uncover information which helps the researcher to check an alternative view regarding the Yorùbá oral tradition, movies, and identity, quantitative research is another tool this study has incorporated. Quantitative research has been described as being “characterized by a focus on numerical data and statistical analysis with emphasis on producing objective, reliable, valid data” (Hewson, in Jupp, 2006:237). Even though this research accounts for the number of those who have responded to the questions in the questionnaire, quantitative analysis is used minimally. Its purpose is just to see if the data the researcher has observed can generate a conclusion which points towards the same direction, regarding the identity of the Yorùbá movies.

Why does this study involve different research methods? Triangulation, the combination of methods, helps the researcher to approach the study with diverse tools which relate to the study. It helps the researcher to select the items of study (Yorùbá movies) and decided what to look for in them -oral tradition genres and sample expressions, ideas or messages, and feelings; also, it helps the researcher to describe how oral tradition works in the selected movies.

3.3.1 Data collection

Since this research involves three observational methods mentioned under “research method” above, the objects to observe and to analyze are two selected Yorùbá movies produced in Nigeria. Besides Nigeria, Yorùbá movies are being produced and viewed in other countries now. For example, when this researcher travelled to Cote D’Ivoire about four years ago, he watched two Yorùbá movies which some Nigerian actors and actresses residing in Cote D’Ivoire (Ivory Coast) made and marketed in the country, and since then the researcher has been monitoring the development of Yorùbá movies in the country. For those already viewed, their productions reflected the same Yorùbá world views and expressions typical of those made in Nigeria. For convenience, this study has selected for analysis two recent Yorùbá video movies made in Nigeria since Nigeria remains the ancestral home of the Yorùbá and the main production center of the Yorùbá movies.

The idea of “recent Yorùbá movies” in this context means the Yorùbá video movies produced within the period 1996-2012. The reason for selecting from this period is that the researcher the period is close to 2013 and as such can be helpful to show the if oral tradition is still popular, has a space in Yorùbá movies, and can be used as a prominent feature to characterize the selected Yorùbá movies in particular and Yorùbá movies in general.

In a way, a period-based categorization for the selected movies may suggest that the data selected for this study is based on probability sampling which Rubin et

al. (2010:201) define as a data gathering method which “allows us to generalize from the sample being observed to the entire population from which the sample is chosen.” In a way, probability sampling is suitable as the data selection method for this study since a cluster sample is used. A cluster sample is one way in which probability sampling is done. As Rubin defines, a cluster sample is used when researchers “find it impractical or impossible to compile a list of every member in a population but can obtain lists of, say, housing units on campus.” For this research, the 1900-2012 period signifies a unit of the Yorùbá production, so the two Yorùbá movies used for the study are recent somehow. Even though documentation is being done today, no research has an accurate number of the Yorùbá movies produced so far in Nigeria and in other countries due to known and unknown producers. This observation signals an idea for further research.

Besides observing or watching the selected Yorùbá movies, the researcher has also had document observations. Various secondary sources such as books, newspapers, journals, magazines, and theses, dissertations, and presentations on movies have been read to inform this study and to shape its main argument. For the materials mentioned above, the researcher of his study accessed them from different libraries and data bases.

As an effort to cross-check the findings in this study, the researcher has used a questionnaire on oral tradition in connection with Yorùbá movies to explore other viewer’s idea about the Yorùbá movies to establish its identity. The questions used are as follows:

In what period or years were the Yorùbá movies you watched recently made?

1980-1989 or 1990-2012?

What evidence have you noted in the Yorùbá movies to show that they contain oral tradition?

Does any genre (type of) of oral tradition invoke any feelings in one movie you

watched? What kind of feelings, if any? Please give your reason briefly.

Would you say the Yorùbá movies today has no identity? Why?

Using an alternative means is to see if what the researcher has found tallies with the other viewers' ideas. Although the use of the questionnaire above will lead to statistical information number-wise, quantitative

3.3.2 Selected movies

For analysis, the following five Yorùbá movies have been selected and studied as the representatives of the Yorùbá movies otherwise presented as a case study for Nigerian movies:

Yorùbá Title	English Equivalent
i. <i>Máṣẹ̀kà (2006)</i>	<i>Don't do evil</i>
ii. <i>Èjẹ̀ Méjì (2009)</i>	<i>Two Bloods (Bloody two)</i>

Their selection, as explained in 1.7 above, has been done with probability sampling, specifically clustering sampling. Also, it has been done to cover the recent period of 2000-2012 since the interest is to find what is current (today) to characterise the Yorùbá movies today.

3.3 Conclusion

With culture theory, oral tradition paradigm, and Yorùbá ontological approach (an offshoot of African ontological approach), this study will be able to focus on the communication in the selected movies, purposely to extract any evidence of oral tradition, relate it to the actions, actors, actresses, and any invoked feelings and messages in the selected movies. In a way, the conflation of the theories chosen for this study will enable the researcher to expose the value of oral tradition as it

reflects in the movies and as this will help the researcher to place a face on Yorùbá movies in general.

By identifying different types of oral tradition and their functions as conveyors of messages and feelings in the selected modern data, the study will achieve what Littlejohn (1975:49) has emphasized about tradition: “For tradition to be remembered in a society, that tradition must have value in that society.” The value this study targets is the use of oral tradition as a tool for identifying Yorùbá movies and the means for reach the conclusion is guided by the theories we have chosen.

About the methods of approaching this study, probability sampling of recent movies within the period which is close to the time of this study, questionnaire, movie viewing, and secondary sources have been the tools to gather information. The methods of analysis adopted are quantitative and qualitative approaches. This chapter defines the methods and show to what extent they are used in the study.

Overall, the chapter provides information on the theories and how they are useful for this study. It also reveals the methods used to approach the study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the questionnaire, administration method, data collection, and chart types. Besides, it presents and analyses the tables and the charts which reflect the responses of the people who responded to the questionnaire. Robbins (2005:44) says that tables display exact data or numbers to the questionnaire. Before analysing questions 1 to 8, it presents and analyses the demographical aspects of respondents: gender, age range, location, ethnic group or population, responses, and questionnaire administration issues. Also, the chapter analyses the selected movies; It focuses on selected expressions which are mainly Yorùbá oral tradition. Each expression is identified according to the genre, and its use or connection with its situation or context, user and audience is explained. Finally, the chapter draws a conclusion that oral tradition is common to the movies, so it can be concluded that oral tradition is a stylus or means of identifying Yorùbá movies.

4.2 Questionnaire, Tables and Charts in Research

Writing about varieties of data-collection methods, Sapsford (2007:109) states:

The first decision is whether to use an interviewer-administered schedule or a questionnaire which respondents complete themselves. The decision may effectively be made for you by the nature of the questions you wish to ask. If they are complex –difficult to understand in themselves, or numerous and exacting –then it will be necessary to use an interviewer.

From the quotation above, it is clear that a questionnaire can be helpful if the questions are not complex. The questionnaire for this study of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies contained eight simple questions which focused on the movies in

relation to oral tradition. Initially, the researcher conceived the idea of using oral interview but abandoned its implementation too early after realizing the advantages of administering a questionnaire instead of using an oral or a structured interview, either face-to-face and/or by telephone. The benefits of this method are emphasized as follows: “The biggest advantages of self-completion questionnaires over structure interviews are their cheapness and the saving of researcher’s time, allowing much larger sample” (op. cit.)

This research used 12 tables to present the responses to the questionnaire. Of 12 tables, only 8 tables focus on oral tradition and Yorùbá movies; others were on demographic features of the respondents. Robins (2005:44) captures the usefulness of tables in research when he says that tables display exact data or numbers in research. Nicole and Pexman 2010:3) state: “The table is an important medium for presenting the results of statistical analyses or for summarizing large amounts of textual information” In this study, some tables are used to summarize the number of responses to each aspect of the research questionnaire. It has facilitated easy reading and smooth transition to analysis and inferences.

Besides, using tables, this researcher has also incorporated 12 pie charts (also known as pie graphs) to illustrate the percentages involved with each variable the questionnaire touched. A pie chart is defined this way:

A pie graph (or pie chart) is a specialized graph used in statistics. The independent variable is plotted around a circle in either a clockwise direction or a counterclockwise direction. The dependent variable (usually a percentage) is rendered as an arc whose measure is proportional to the magnitude of the quantity. Each arc is depicted by constructing radial lines from its ends to the center of the circle, creating a wedge-shaped "slice. (Rouse, 2011)

The usefulness of a graph, which in the context of the research is a pie chart, is captured in the following words of Robins (2005:11): “readers can decode the quantitative information from it more quickly and easily.

4.3 Relevance of questionnaire in this study

The questionnaire contains questions which have prompted the answers and made the researcher to take a position on whether or not Yorùbá oral tradition could serve as the identity of Yorùbá movies after watching the two selected movies. Also, as it has been mentioned in 4.2 above, the method was affordable and time-saving for the researcher. Each of two research assistants in Nigeria received a copy and a direction for administering the questionnaire to the target audience -people who watched Yorùbá movies. One assistant who was a teacher was able to gather 100 responses within a week. The other, a student in a university who was able to gather 60 responses in two weeks promised that he would work to administer the remaining 40 copies of the questionnaire. However, the researcher told him to worry no more, that enough responses were already available for overall computation and analysis.

4.4 Demographic aspects

The demographic aspects include gender, age range, locations, and ethnic groups and population.

4.4.1 Gender

Table 1: Gender:

Male	78	46.4%
Female	90	53.6%
Total	168	100%

Table I above provides the gender and the corresponding population figures which were involved in this study. The term population, as used in this study, resonates with Dorofeev and Grant (2006:10) whose idea is that a target sample represents a large population because it is not possible to reach the entire members of the population. The graphic image below is used to illustrate what the table presents though in a different way

Chart 1: Gender

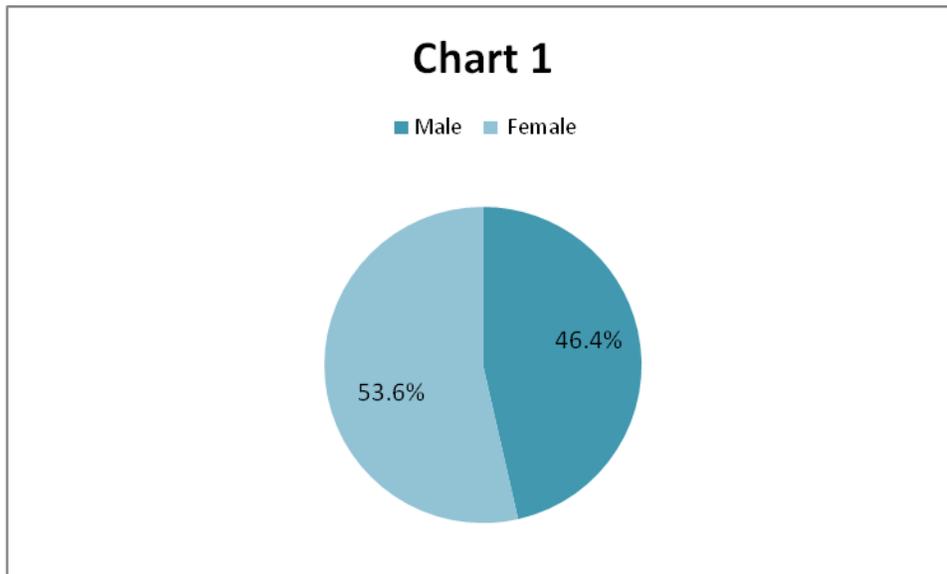


Chart 1 above illustrates the percentage of each gender on which the questionnaire for this study was administered. Of 168 people who responded to the questionnaire, 78 who constituted 46.4% were men and 90 who formed 53.6% were women. The gender selection was not predetermined. The questionnaire copies were just distributed to any available people that could write and had possibly watched Yorùbá movies. The connection between the disparity in the population of both genders and the reason for the gap cannot be made in this study since it is not the priority of the research.

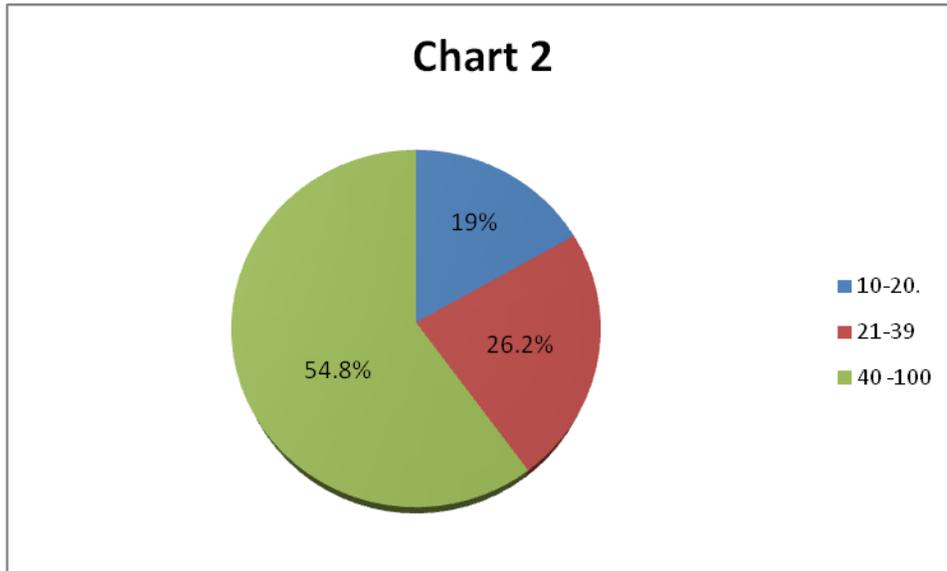
4.4.2 Age range

The age range is between 10 to 40 years plus and is divided into groups.

Table 2: Age Range by Years:

10-20	32	19%
21-39	44	26.2%
40 +	92	54.8%
Total	168	100%

To avoid doubt about the level of Yorùbá cultural understanding, only respondents that could speak the language, identify the traditional features in Yorùbá communication and were of age to comments on Yorùbá movies were the target of the questionnaire. In Yorùbá communities, especially in the traditional settings, children are usually aware of cultural expressions at a young age since “oríkì ” (praise name and chant) has always been a part of the culture to motivate Yorùbá native speakers individually and collectively. Table 1 above provides three age ranges that were involved in the administration of the questionnaire for this study, namely, 20-20 years, 21-39 years, and 40 years plus. The table also indicates the number on each range. The majority of the people that responded ranged from 21 to 39 years. The population of the people within this age range, according to the chart below, is 26.2% of the total population of 168 respondents. Next or second in rank (the highest) were those who were within the age range of 40 years and above, which the chart represents as 54.8%, and the remaining people were within the age range of 10-20 years, which translates into 19% of the total population that was surveyed.

Chart 2: Age range

Although Table 2 and Chart 2 show the ranges, they do not reveal which of the two locations (Nigerian and United States) has the majority of the age range and which has the least. Also, they do not provide any reason why one age range is more than the other.

4.4.3 Locations

Even though Yorùbá movies are watched in different countries, the questionnaire copies were distributed in only two countries –Nigeria and United States. Two research assistants based in Nigeria handled the distribution and the collection of the questionnaire in Nigeria while the researcher made electronic contacts, distributed the questionnaire, and took responses from the target respondents in the United States of America.

Table 3 below shows that of the 168 respondents, 160 people were in Nigeria and only 8 respondents were in the United States. Underneath the table is Chart 2 which gives a graphic representation of the percentage location-wise.

Table 3: Location by country

Nigeria	160	95.2%
United States	8	4.8
Total	168	100%

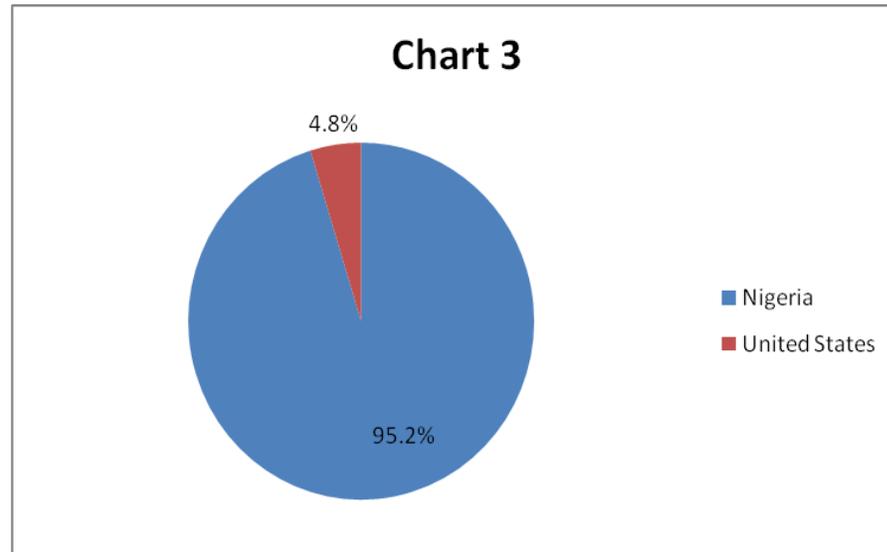
Chart 3: Location by country

Chart 3 shows that of 168, only 160 respondents were based in Nigeria. The figure, as the pie chart bears, is 95.2% of all the respondents in Nigeria. The remaining 4.8% refers to those in America. A question that may arise now is why is it that the figure of the respondents in Nigeria is overwhelming or far more than the figure for the respondents in the United States of America? Three answers or possibilities are available: one, Nigeria is the country in which the majority of the Yorùbá live. Two, the country is the main location for the production, marketing, and consumption of Yorùbá movies, and three, the presence of Hollywood productions overwhelms Nigerian movies; thus the patronage of or interest in Yoruba movies is low.

4.4.4 Ethnic groups by population

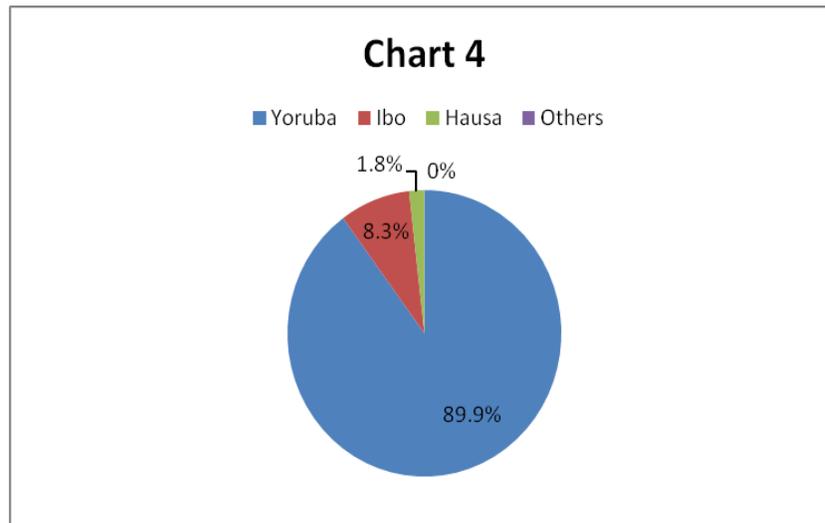
Table 4: Ethnic Group of Population Surveyed

Yorùbá	151	89.9%
Ibo (Igbo)	14	8.3%
Hausa	3	1.8%

Others	0	0%
Total	168	100%

Nigeria has 529 languages; thus the country's ethnic people are more than the figure. However, the major languages in the country are the Ibo, the Haúsá, and the Yorùbá. The Table 4 above shows that of the 168 respondents to the questionnaire above, the Yorùbá formed the majority with 151 respondents, followed by the Ibo with 14 respondents and Haúsá with 3 respondents. None of the remaining ethnic peoples in Nigeria had and responded to the questionnaire. From the result, undeniably, the Haúsá and the Ibo who responded might be bilingual, if not multi-lingual, though their ability to speak or understand different languages did not reflect in the questionnaire to which they responded.

Chart 4: Ethnic People



According to Chart 4, 89.9% of 168 respondents were Yorùbá, Ibo ranked next with 8.3% and Haúsá respondents were third with 1.8%. No other ethnic people responded to the questionnaire, so 0% in the chart represents them.

4.5 Questions and responses

Besides demographic features about the questionnaire, eight questions which directly touched on Yorùbá movies and oral tradition were included. The purpose of the questions, as once stated in Chapter 3, was to find an alternative way of measuring whether or not the Yorùbá oral tradition could be used as the identity of the Yorùbá movies. What would the questionnaire be an alternative way to? It was intended to be an alternative way to the selected Yorùbá movies. Both were intended to provide an answer to the question “What can be used to identify Yorùbá movies?”

Now, a shift to the result of the responses follows below.

4.5.1 Question 1 and responses

Question 1: Do you watch Yorùbá movies?

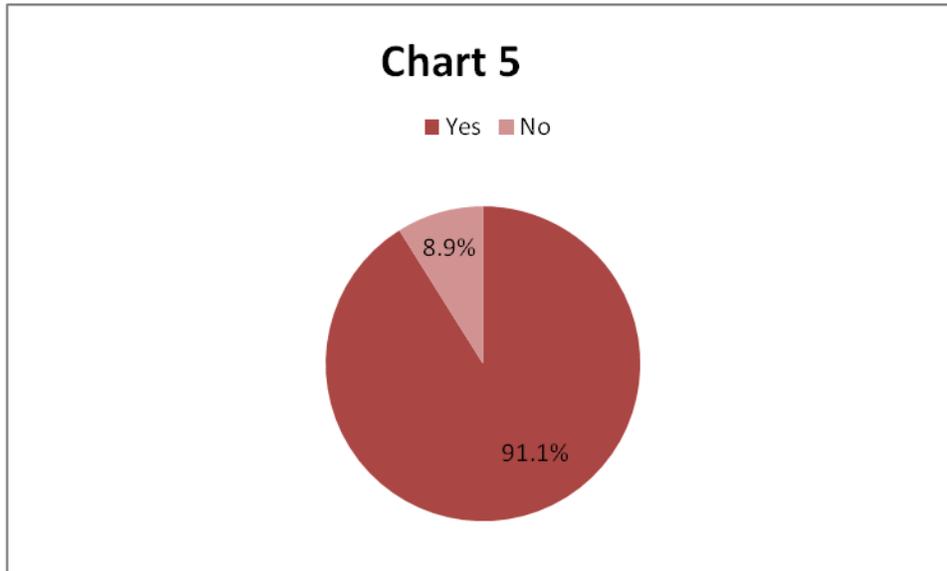
a. Yes b. No

This is a simple question which requires either “yes” or “no” so that the researcher could know if the respondents were watchers of Yorùbá movies. Saying yes would impress on the researcher and the readers an aura of credible information, for only the people who knew about the movies could be trusted with their responses. Also, saying “No” would tell the researcher to stop wasting time to find out about the Yorùbá movies from a person who would not watch the movies. Other responses from someone who did not watch the Yorùbá movies could not provide any reliable information on the movies.

Table 5: Watching Yorùbá Movies

Statement 1	Yes	No	Total
Respondents	153 (91.1%)	15 (8.9%)	168 (100%)

As Table 5 above indicates, of the 168 (people) who gave their responses to Question 1, 153 said “Yes” while only 15 said “No.”

Chart 5: Movie watchers

As Chart 5 above shows, 153 people who claimed they did watch Yorùbá movies constitute 91.1% of the total respondents and 15 who had not watched the movies are represented on the chart by 8.9%. The majority of those who responded were Yorùbá movie watchers. This is a plus for the study because the respondents would give responses based on their understanding and knowledge of the Yorùbá movies.

4.5.2 Question 2 and responses

Question 2: What type of Yorùbá movies do you like to watch?

- a. political b. social c. war d. supernatural**
- e. religious f. musical g. all of the above h. others specify:-----**

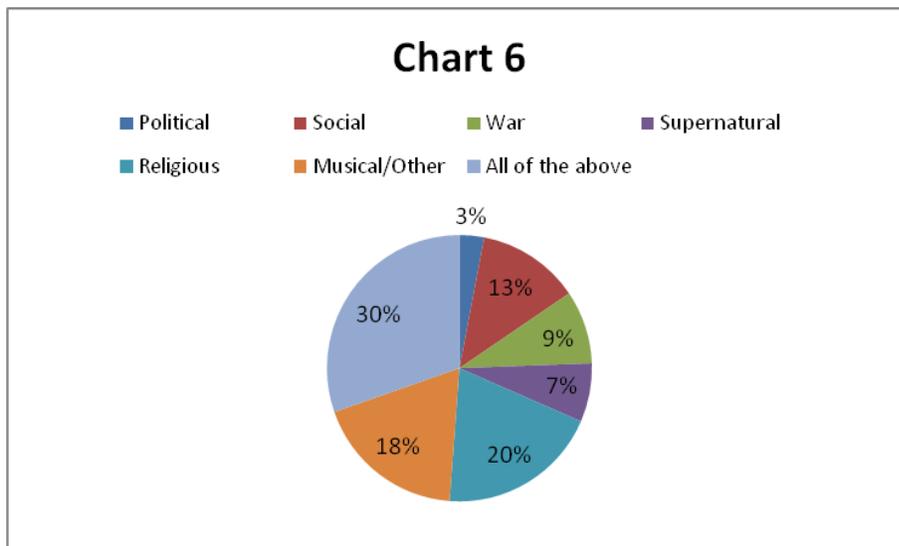
Question 2 was intended to have a general idea of how the respondents would classify Yorùbá movies and to see if their classifications would have connection with the Yorùbá oral tradition in the selected movies for this study. Table 6 below offers the number of people who responded to each option which can be an answer.

Table 6: Yorùbá Movie Types/Number of Watchers

Statement 2	Political	Social	War	Supernatural	Religious	Musical /Others	All of the above	Total
Respondents	5	21	15	12	33	31	51	168
Percentage	2.98%	12.50%	8.93%	7.14%	19.64%	18.45%	31.36%	100%

The table above shows that 5 respondents claimed they had watched political movies, 21 said their choice were the social type, 15 said they preferred war movies, 12 said they liked any movies with supernatural elements, 33 gave preference to religious movies, 31 voted for musical/other movies, and 51 said they watched all the classifications in the table above. In all, 168 responded to Question 2. The chart below presents their distribution percentage-wise.

Chart 6: Question and responses



As shown in Chart 6 above, 3% represents the people who admitted that they watched political movies in Yorùbá, 13% were those who watched social movies, 9% were those who viewed war movies, 7% were the watchers of supernatural forces, 20% were those who said that they watched religious movies, 18%

claimed they viewed musical/other movies, and 30% accepted they had watched all the types of movies.

4.5.3 Question 3 and responses

Question 3: Have you ever watched any Yorùbá movie which does not have any evidence of Yorùbá oral tradition?

a. Yes

b. No

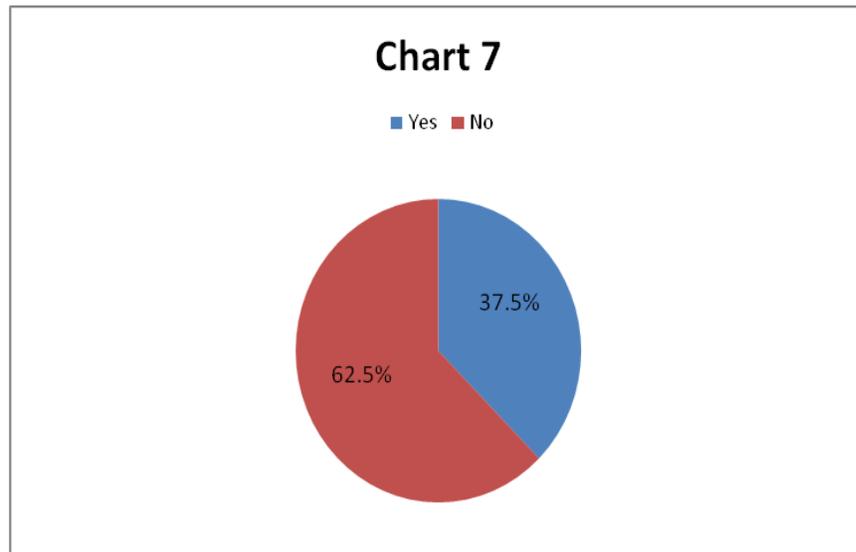
The core of this study is oral tradition in relation to the Yorùbá movies; hence, question 3 was included to obtain the opinions of 168 respondents on whether or not they had watched any Yorùbá with oral tradition.

Table 7: Yorùbá Movies with or without Oral Tradition

	Yes	No	Total
Number of Respondents	63	105	168
Percentage	37.5%	62.5%	100%

The table above shows that 63 (37.5%) chose “yes”, that they had watched Yorùbá movies that did not have oral tradition while 105 (62.5%) chose “no”, meaning they had never found any Yorùbá movies without oral tradition evidence.

The pie chart below converts the figures in the table above into percentages to illustrate the size of each of the two positions the respondents took.

Chart 7: With or without oral tradition

As the chart above shows, 62.5% of 168 respondents to question 3 believed that Yorùbá movies could not be without oral tradition. On the other hand, 37% of 168 respondents chose the position indicating that they had watched Yorùbá movies that had no oral tradition. Even though both sides differed in opinions, the fact that those who said that they had not watched any Yorùbá movies without Yorùbá oral tradition formed the majority suggests that Yorùbá movies cannot be without oral tradition. Even though the questionnaire never asked if all respondents had watched all the Yorùbá movies that had been produced, the probability was that the 37.5%, who claimed that they did not find oral tradition in the movies they had watched, might not consider certain expressions as oral tradition. Even though there is no evidence to prove this position about the minority, the actors and actresses in any peculiar traditional Yorùbá setting cannot communicate without a proverb to summarize an issue and *oríkì* to motivate a person or people. The suggestion is that there could be oversight on the part of the minority. Also, the minority never said they had never watched a Yorùbá movie with oral tradition. In other words, it could be inferred from the response to question 3 that oral tradition is common to the majority of the Yorùbá movies, if not all. Question 3 leads to question 4.

4.5.4 Question 4 and responses

Question: Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition is used in Yorùbá movies to express feelings, such as love, likeness, hatred, suspicion, taste, greediness, satisfaction, dissatisfaction?

a. Agree b. Disagree

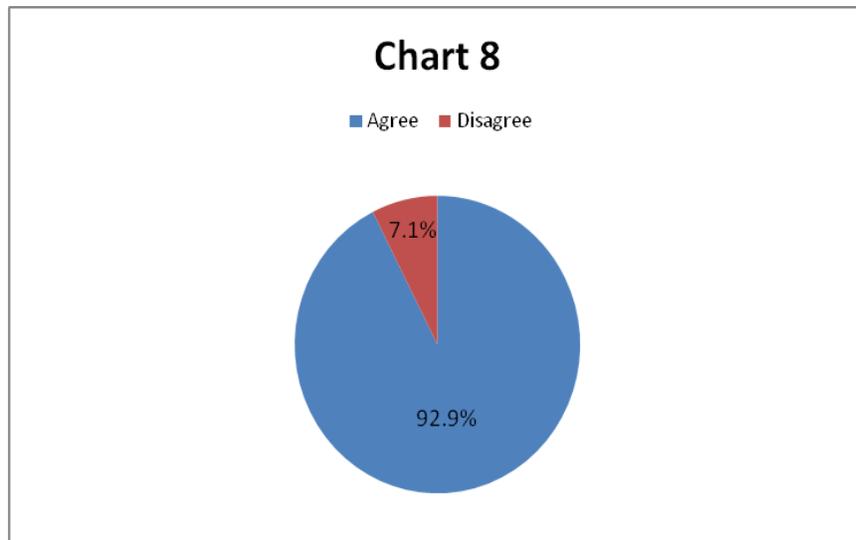
Since the expression of feelings is a part of communication and since oral tradition conveys feelings and messages in Yorùbá communities, question 4 was asked to explore the opinions of the 168 respondents to the questionnaire. The question expected each respondent to either agree or disagree on whether or not oral tradition was used to convey feelings in the movies they had watched. The result is tabulated below.

Table 8: Yorùbá Movies with/without Feelings

Statement 4	Agree	Disagree	Total
Respondents	156	12	168
Percentage	92.9	7.1	100%

As shown in Table 8 above, of 168 people, 92.9% of the respondents agreed that oral tradition was used in the movies they had watched and that it expressed feelings, but 7.1% of them disagreed. This number representing the minority in this context brings to mind the number of the minority in the answer to question 3 and the suggestion presented under the question. That the number indicating the minority in the table above is less than what has been presented in 4.5.3 above shows that oral tradition is vital to Yorùbá movies and seems to suggest that perhaps the respondents who now constitute the minority had an oversight in detecting oral tradition in the movies they had watched.

To illustrate in percentages the result presented in the table above, Chart 8 is given below.



As the chart above shows, those who agreed that feelings and oral tradition were connected in the Yorùbá movies they had watched were 92.9% of the total number of 168 respondents while those who disagreed constituted 7.1% of the total respondents. In other words, the overwhelming majority believed that the oral tradition in the Yorùbá movies conveyed feelings. The use of oral tradition implies here is that it conveys messages as well.

4.5.5 Question 5 and responses

Question 5: Would you agree or disagree that the actors and actresses in Yorùbá movies like to use oral tradition to send out messages?

a. Agree b. Disagree

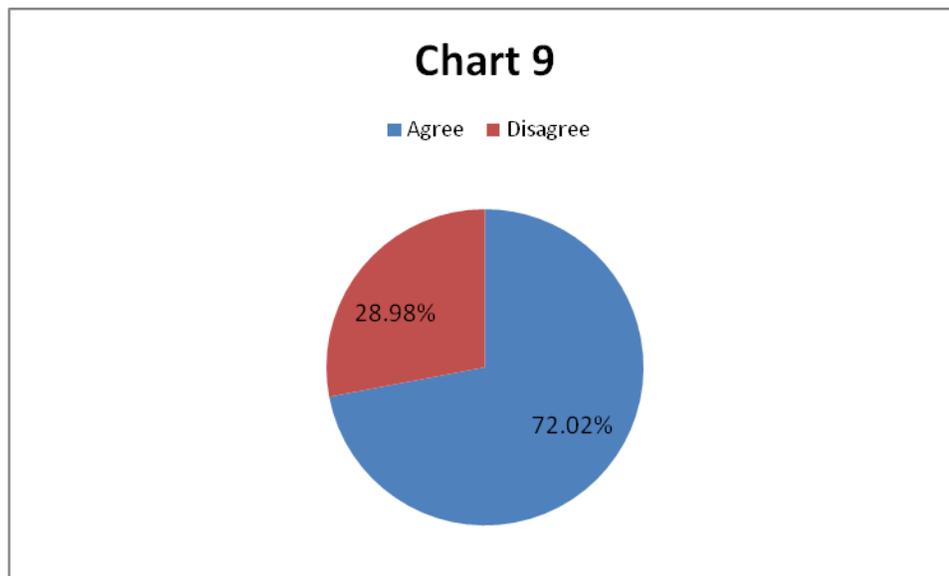
Every movie has a message or messages to deliver to its viewers. Those who communicate the messages are mainly actors and actresses around whom actions in movies revolve. Usually, they employ different means such as verbal and nonverbal mechanisms to transmit their messages. Among the Yorùbá, oral tradition is one means of passing messages. In an attempt to find the identity of

Yorùbá movies, through two research assistants, the researcher gave question 5 to 168 respondents to know if the respondents would agree that the actors and actresses featuring in Yorùbá movies were using oral tradition to transmit messages in the movies. Table 7 below displays the result of their responses, and Chart 9, which follows this explanation, converts the figure for each answer in Table 7 into a percentage.

Table 9: Oral Tradition as Tool to Send Messages

Statements 5	Agree	Disagree	Total
Respondents	121	47	168
Total	72.02%	27.98%	100%

Chart 9 below converts the figure for each answer in Table 7 into a percentage.



The chart above shows that 72.02% of 168 respondents to the questionnaire of this study agreed that Yorùbá movie actors and actresses liked to use oral tradition to send out messages. The remaining 28.98% did not agree.

4.5.6 Question 6 and responses

Question 6: Would you agree that movies without Yorùbá oral tradition make Yorùbá movies fit into Yorùbá world-views?

a. agree b. disagree

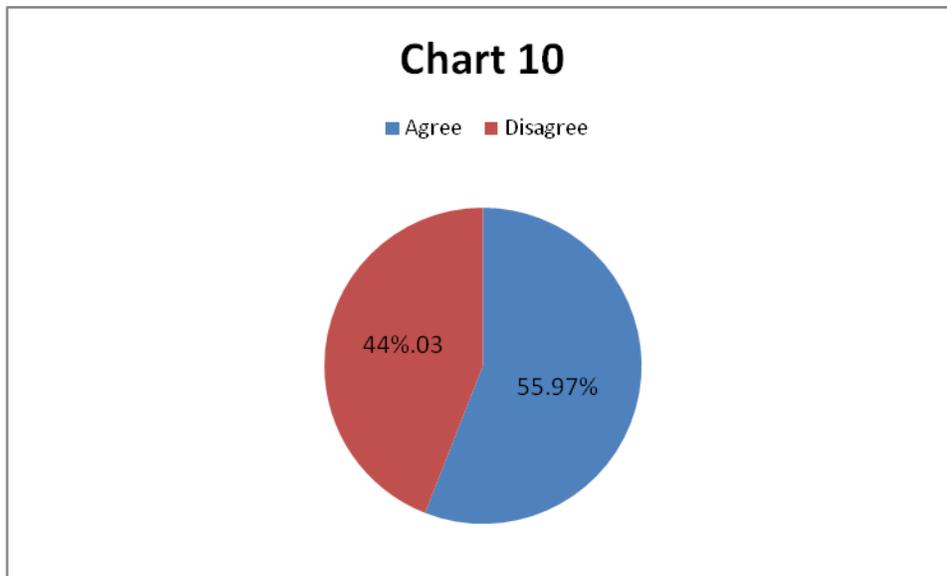
Question 6 was asked to establish if the Yorùbá movies without Yorùbá oral tradition would be regarded as the real representatives of the Yorùbá world-view. Table 10 below shows the number of respondents who agreed and those who disagreed.

Table 10: Yorùbá Movies/Oral Tradition/ Yorùbá World Views

	Agree	Disagree	Total
Respondents	70	89	159
Percentage	44.03%	55.97%	100%

As shown above, only 159 people who responded to question 6. Of the number, 89 which is 55.97%, disagreed; they said that Yorùbá movies without oral tradition would not fit the Yorùbá world views. However, 70, which is 44.03%, said that Yorùbá movies without oral tradition were the real representation of the Yorùbá world-views. Even though the gap is not much, compared to the results for questions 1 to 5, the majority in Table 10 still suggests a strong link between Yorùbá oral tradition and Yorùbá movies. While the questionnaire does not provide any information as to why a large number of respondents disagreed, modern religious domination among the Yorùbá and the condemnation of the Yorùbá traditional religious practices which harbor many genres of oral tradition might have influenced those who disagreed. While this cannot be proved, also it cannot be denied either because most Yorùbá now are Christians and Muslims whose adopted religions frown at the Yorùbá a traditional and religious practices.

Chart 10 illustrates in percentage the number of those who agree and those who disagree.



As illustrated in Chart 10 above, those who disagreed were 44%, and those who agreed were 56%.

4.5.7 Question 7 and responses

Question 7: Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition distinguishes Yorùbá movies from the movies of other peoples?

a. agree b. disagree

The aim of this study, from the beginning to the end, has been to find an identity for the Yorùbá movies, so question 7 becomes imperative to sample the opinions of the respondents. The purpose of the sampling was to see if the respondents' thoughts about an identity would tally with the idea(s) from the two selected movies analyzed in this study. The result of the responses to question 7 is in Table 7 on the next page.

Table 11: Yorùbá Movies and Other Movies

	Agree	Disagree	Total
Respondents	133	35	168
Percentage	79.17%	20.83%	100%

As the table above shows, 79.17% of 168 respondents agreed that Yorùbá oral tradition was a means to distinguish Yorùbá movies from other movies while only 20.83% disagreed, claiming Yorùbá tradition could not be the stylus of the movies. Chart 11 below presents the percentages of the two figures representing those who agreed and those who disagreed.

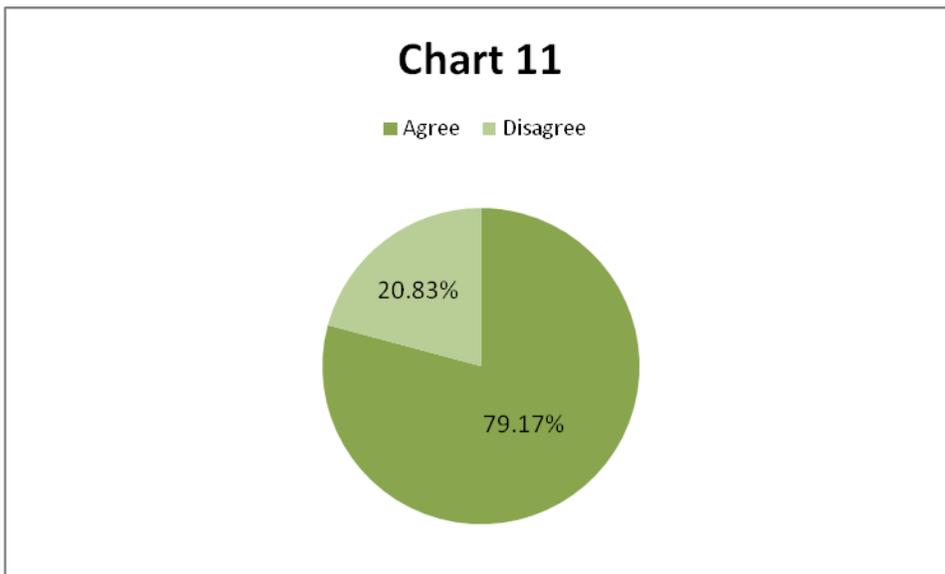


Chart 11 indicates that of 168 people, 79% agreed that Yorùbá oral tradition made Yorùbá movies different from the movies of other people, but 21% disagreed to the idea.

4.5.8 Question 8 and responses

Question 8: Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition is a way to identify Yorùbá movies?

- a. agree b. disagree

To wind up, question 8 was asked to make the respondents sum up their opinions about the identity of Yorùbá movies. Only 166 people answered the question. The result of their responses is in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Oral Tradition as Identity of Yorùbá Movies

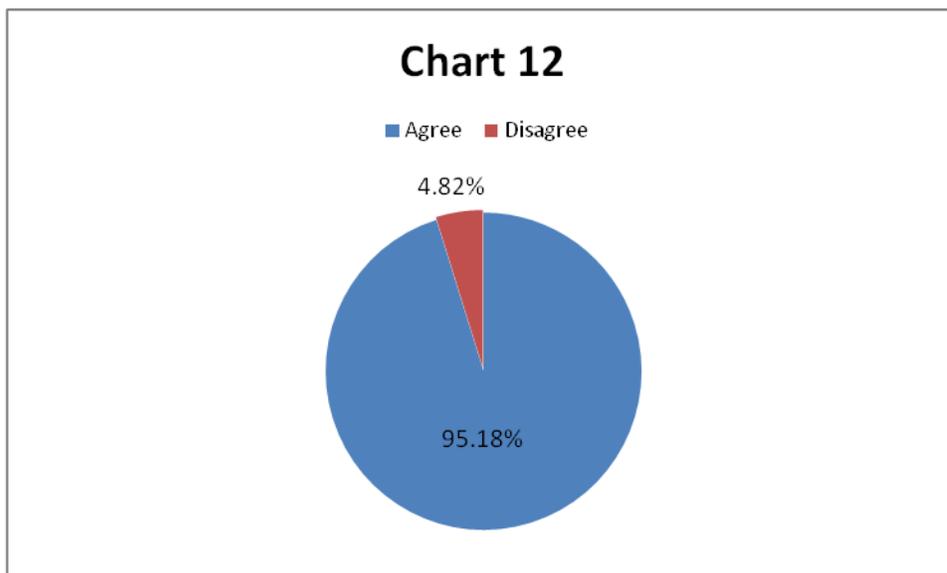
	Agree	Disagree	Total
Respondents	158	8	166
Percentage	95.18%	4.82	100%

If you disagree, state one identify which fits Yorùbá movies.

Response: *They are full of sex film.

Of 166 respondents, 95.18% agreed that Yorùbá oral tradition was a way which could identify Yorùbá movies. 4.82% disagreed. Those who disagreed identified sex as the identity of the movies; this is noted below the table above. Those who claim that sex is the stylus to identify Yorùbá movies have a question to answer. Is every Yorùbá movie about sex? Definitely, the answer is no.

Chart 12 below illustrates in percentage the figures in Table 12. The illustration follows.



As Chart 12 shows, 95.18% of the respondents agreed that oral tradition was way to recognize Yorùbá movies while only 5% disagreed.

The computation of the raw data, that is the results of questionnaire presented and analysed above, indicates that even though the responses of the minority group of the respondents disagreed at some points, the overwhelming voices of the majority identified with oral tradition as the stylus of the Yorùbá movies. This association of Yorùbá oral tradition with Yorùbá movies needs confirmation or denial through another means. The alternative way to know if oral tradition can be used to identify Yorùbá movies is an analysis of the selected five movies, so the analysis or alternative method now follows.

4.6 Synopsis of the movies

The two movies analysed in this study have their peculiar stories.

4.6.1 Èjẹ̀ Méjì (*Bloody two or Two bloods*)

The DVD movie by Dee Tee Productions (2009) presents the story of two intimate friends, Ológundúdú and Ìkọ̀lábà, who share many things in common; for example, both are warriors, intimate friends and sworn enemies, town residents, defenders, supernatural power users, and formidable men. Besides, each has one child and likes his child.

Their story starts in the king's palace in which they are mandated by the king to attack two villages, Kotẹ̀yẹ̀mu and Olókòtó, which refuse to pay tributes. After the king has ordered them to go and fight, both go home to invoke the spirits of his supernatural elements before going to the war front. They fight gallantly, defeat their enemies and bring home slaves and property. Upon their return, they organize a traditional celebration for their victory.

While Ológundúdú and Ìkọ̀lábà are away in the war front, Ìbídùn, the daughter of Ìkọ̀lábà who has fallen in love with Abísógun, the son of Ológundúdú, has also

extended her love to another man, Láyòṣunú, a wealthy prince; however, Ìbídùn shows more interest in Abísógun than Láyòṣunú whose two friends, Àjàyí and Òjọ́, support. Àjàyí and Òjọ́, who know about the romantic activity of Ìbídùn and Abísógun, inform their friend about it and advise him to bribe Ìbídùn's mother with money so that he can have the support of Ìbídùn's mother to succeed in his effort at convincing Ìbídùn to be his wife.

Láyòṣunú follows his friends' advice and it bears a good result for him. Ìbídùn's mother insists that her daughter should marry the wealthy prince so that she and the family can benefit from his wealth. Ìbídùn, who is deeply committed to her relationship with Abísógun, resists the mother's wish for a long time.

Before he gains the support of the mother, Láyòṣunú is disgraced. One day, in the presence of Àjàyí and Òjọ́, Ìbídùn tells Láyòṣunú that she can never marry him because she has Abísógun. Láyòṣunú cannot believe his ears. As he and she talk about the issue, Abísógun and his friend appear from a different direction. As Ìbídùn sets her eyes on them, Ìbídùn calls Abísógun and walks away from Láyòṣunú and steps towards the former. The public disgrace by a woman makes Òjọ́ and Àjàyí to mock Láyòṣunú who becomes helpless and gets confused in the situation.

Due to the disgrace, mocked and angry Láyòṣunú scolds his friends and warns them never to come to his house any more, accusing them of creating the bad situation for him.

Later, Láyòṣunú goes to his friends and begs them so that they can help him with more advice on what to do to make sure he becomes Ìbídùn's husband since the bribe he has been giving to Ìbídùn's mother has not had any positive influence on Ìbídùn. The friends forgive him of his rejection and offer him another advice. Even though they tell him what is next for him to do, they also alert him of the risk involved in it since Abísógun is a child of a supernaturally powerful person.

As Láyòṣunú plans ahead, Abísógun keeps making progress in the heart of Ìbídùn. One day, Abísógun spends the night with Ìbídùn. As he and Ìbídùn are about to have a sexual intercourse, they remember that they have to remove their protective charms, so they put the off their necks and keep them where their potency can not be affected. In the night, while Ìbídùn is asleep, Abísógun, who has dreamt that Láyòṣunú and Láyòṣunú's friends attacked him with matchets, wakes up and wants to go home to tell his father about the dream. Before leaving the room, he thinks of telling his lover that he he is ready to go, but he does not want to disturb the lover who is fast asleep.

On his way, Abísógun remembers he has forgotten his charm and the warning his father has once gave him about it. To avoid being a victim of danger, he decides to return to Ìbídùn's room to pick it up his the charm that can protect him. As he walks towards the house of Ìbídùn's father, the dream becomes a reality. Láyòṣunú and his friends waylay and attack him with matchets. Abísógun sustains several injuries and becomes helpless as he bleeds while crawling away.

Abísógun crawls to the house of Ìbídùn's father where he gives up the ghost in the presence of Ìkọ̀lábà and his daughter. At this point, Abísógun's father, Ológundúdú, who is on his visit, believes that his friend has killed his son because Ológundúdú holds Abísógun's charm.

To avoid chaos as a result of the looming problem between both friends, the king and his chiefs intervene in the conflict between the two friends. They persuade Ológundúdú that his friend could not have been the one who killed Abísógun. Then Ìkọ̀lábà breaks the news that Ìbídùn got pregnant before Abísógun passed away. Hearing that his son had impregnated Ìbídùn, Ológundúdú relaxes his angry mood and accepts the settlement that the king and chiefs want. However, Ológundúdú tells his friend to ensure that nothing tampers with the pregnancy. He considers the pregnancy as a compensation for the loss of his son.

Unfortunately, Ìbídùn's mother, who has received bribes, now supports Láyòǹnú. She gives an abortion concoction to her daughter after using a supernatural power on her to make her love Láyòǹnú. Later, Ológundúdú eavesdrops a discussion by two women that a clandestine marriage has been planned for Ìbídùn. Ológundúdú asks his friend, but the friend says it is not true. However, his wife says in presence of Ológundúdú that it is true.

The development makes Ológundúdú to tell his friend to be prepared for an attack. After Ológundúdú goes away, Ìbídùn collapses and dies due to the abortion concoction her mother made her to drink. Ìkọ̀lábà thinks Ológundúdú, who once threatens him with an attack, is responsible for her daughter's death. He gets angry and decides to fight back. Ìkọ̀lábà and Ológundúdú engage each other in a battle. The soldiers on each side die and both warriors face and inflict harmful magical spells on each other until they collapse and struggle to survive.

At the juncture, their children's apparitions and accounts bring peace. The children's accounts of the circumstances surrounding their death make both friends realise their wrong accusations and actions. Though it is too late for both friends because they can not retrieve the harm they have inflicted on each other, they lament that they have used dangerous charms on each other. To reunite as friends who forgive each other, they hold each other's hand and transform themselves into sculptures. The king and the town's people who arrive at the spot agree to be worshipping the sculptures as additional gods. The movie ends with a warning that women should always support their husbands.

4.6.2 *Máṣẹ̀kà (Don't do evil)*

The movie *Máṣẹ̀kà* (2006) by Àṣírí Video Mart Mama Òkìkí Nigeria Limited revolves around a young man, Ṣeéńí Awóyẹ́mí, who is committed to a love affair which brings him face-to-face with the mother and uncle of Àíná, his lover. Both the mother and uncle of Àíná like and want Ṣeéńí to marry Àíná because of his good behavior and generosity.

After Àiná's mother leaves the meeting to which she has invited Şeéńí, she is knocked down outside by a hit-and-run car. The shocking alarm which is raised by the people who have witnessed the accident draws the attention of Àiná, her uncle, and Şeéńí who are in the house. All of them rush out and find Àiná's mother who remains unconscious on the road. They carry Àiná's mother in a car and convey her to a hospital.

With the help of Şeéńí, who sells his car to raise money for the woman's treatment and takes time off his work, Àiná's mother survives after her surgery, and she shows appreciation by thanking Şeéńí on the day she leaves the hospital.

On getting back to his work, Şeéńí's ordeal begins. He is issued a dismissal letter because of his failure to attend an important board meeting and for keeping off the work for two weeks instead of one day. Attending to the health need of his would-be-mother-in-law exposes him to more disappointments. After losing his job, he takes his dismissal letter to Àiná's home and finds another setback; Àiná's mother holds Àiná's hand and tries to hand it over to Chief Ọládélé in the presence of Chief Ọládélé's sister. Bewildered, Şeéńí wants to know why an introduction involving his would-be wife and another man takes place. Before Şeéńí can seek an answer to his question, the voice of Àiná's voice drowns his. She calls him a technician for the electricity in the house, forces him out, and chases him away. She tells him to leave her premises forever. Since then, his relationship with Àiná has been dwindling. He no longer receives favorable comments about the relationship. Even when he tells Àiná's mother about Àiná's pregnancy by him, the mother denies it until a priest reveals the truth. She calls him bad names to show that he is a rejected lover.

The weight of his losses and cheating quickens his speed to his father, an Ifá priest who promises to avenge the evil done to his son. Few days after Àiná gives birth to a baby girl in a hospital, as her uncle and mother and sister-in-law

jubilate around, a nurse breaks the news that Àiná has not survived the process of childbirth; she has passed away.

Before her death, Àiná is made pregnant by Şeéní, but Àiná's pregnancy is tricked into the hand of Chief Ọládélé who has Àiná as his junior or second wife and Fúnmiláyò as the first or senior wife. The unsuspecting chief takes care of the pregnancy until a priest let him know he is not the biological father of Ẹni-itàn, Àiná's baby.

When Ẹni-itàn grows up, she becomes an educated person, works, dates men and experiences a peculiar disaster. Adéwọlé, Sojí and a third person who attempt to have a sexual intercourse with Ẹni-itàn, because of their love for her, die one after another, as each attempts to have a sexual intercourse with her.

With the help of Yẹmisi, her friend, Ẹni-itàn who gets worried and confused has an opportunity to meet a diviner who reveals to her that her terrible experiences are connected with her history. The priest also tells her that the man he takes as his father is not her biological father. Ẹni-itàn does not believe the revelation until she challenges Chief Ọládélé who can not continue to pretend that he is the biological father of Ẹni-itàn.

The whole truth comes to light when Àiná's mother and Chief Ọládélé meet in the house of the priest -diviner. It is then that Àiná's mother confesses that she planned against Şeéní who had impregnated her daughter because she wanted money from Chief Ọládélé since Şeéní had no money. Chief Ọládélé, too, says how he found out the truth and how he suffered due to his marriage with Ẹni-itàn's mother. The revelation and confessions end the movie.

4.7 Themes in the movies

The analysed movies contain some themes which are presented in the subsections which follow this introduction.

4.7.1 *Èjẹ Méjì (Bloody two or Two Bloods)*

The movie *Èjẹ Méjì* (2009) contains the theme of greediness, love, defence, friendship, peace, and rivalry. Greediness surfaces in Ìbídùn's mother; she is interested in the money she gets from Láyòḡnú who wants her daughter to be his wife at all cost. The theme of love is demonstrated in the life of Ìbídùn who dates two men at a time. She promises Abísògun her genuine love and deceives Láyòḡnú until she can no longer escape from Láyòḡnú who receives the backing of her mother. Also, the theme of defence is found in the role Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà play; the king mandates both to attack two villages which refuse to pay tribute. The attack is an attempt to defend the authority of the king and the superiority of a town over villages. Another theme which reflects in the movie is friendship. This theme is demonstrated by different role players (actors and actresses). For example, Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà are friends who see each other regularly. Also, Láyòḡnú, Òjò, and Àjàyí are friends; Òjò, and Àjàyí help Láyòḡnú to plan against Abísògun. The friends visit one another and work towards a common goal. Besides, Ìbídùn and Àṣàkẹ are friends; Àṣàkẹ is with Ìbídùn when she visits Láyòḡnú, and she advises her to avoid dating two men at a time. Àṣàkẹ's reaction demonstrates what a sincere friend does. In addition, two women who are friends do a side talk and let Ológundúdú know that Ìbídùn's pregnancy has been terminated and that her mother has planned a secret wedding for her in another town. With many friends sharing information and advice, it can be said that friendship is one of the themes in the movie.

4.7.2 *Máṣẹkà (Don't Do Evil)*

The glaring themes in *Máṣẹkà* (2006) are love, greediness, deceit, cheating and nemesis.

In the movie, love is tied to money and presented as something that one can get easily if one has money and lose if one lacks it. When Şeéní takes care of Àiná and her mother, he is considered as good person who fits to marry Àiná.

However, when he has no car, job and money, Àiná's mother prefers Chief Ọládélé, a wealthy man, to Şeení. Besides, the love which revolves around Àiná, her daughter, Ẹni-itàn, is also entangled in her own love experience which results in death of three fiancés and makes her get solution from a priest who is versed in Ifá chant, a Yorùbá oral tradition.

On the theme of greediness, Àiná's mother is a good illustration. As a mother, she is more interested in money than in the compatibility of her daughter with a man. She allows her daughter to marry Ọládélé because of his wealth. Even when her daughter reminds her of all the good deeds and support which their family got from Şeení in the past, the mother tells her to shut up her mouth; she encourages her to dress gorgeously because of Ọládélé, which means she wants her to look beautiful to entice and trap Ọládélé. Perhaps, asking the daughter to dress gorgeously is a bait to extort money from Ọládélé, the new man in the daughter's life.

4.8 Settings and connection with oral tradition

The selected movies demonstrate time, locations, and circumstances for the oral tradition which reflects in them.

4.8.1 Ẹjẹ Méjì (*Bloody two or Two bloods*)

In the movie *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, oral tradition is used in difficult situations. For example, when Ológundúdú, and his friend Ìkọlàbà engage each other in a physical and verbal combat at the outskirts of their town, they use incantations to attack each other. Besides the leading warriors, their soldiers use incantations as they fight. In addition, in the king's palace where decisions are taken, proverbs are used. For example, the king, who appears angry at the rudeness of the towns which refuse to pay tributes, starts his briefing somehow with this proverb after he has invited the two leading warriors:

Şe wọn ni: "Tibí kò bá wọ,

Tibí kò bá tẹ,
 Ẹni tá a bá níwájú ti tó baba fún ni.”

Translation:

They [people] say that if there is no misunderstanding in a family,
 If there is no face-off in a family,
 Whoever that is older than us qualifies to be our father.

Besides, to settle conflicts, proverbs are used in the palace, at home, and in the war front. This happens when the king and his chiefs plan to send attackers to the obdurate villagers. Also, it occurs in many instances when the issue of love is discussed in the movie. Finally, oral tradition is prominent when Ológundúdú and Ìkòlábà engage each other in a combat.

4.8.2 *Máṣèkà (Don't do evil)*

In *Máṣèkà*, in the house of Ìbídùn's mother, oral tradition is used to communicate when the love relationship revolving around the personality of Àiná is discussed. The oral tradition genres in the selected movies include proverbs, praise poetry, Ifá chant. Ogun chant and incantations.

4.9 Oral tradition and connection with feelings and messages

Naturally, people are endowed with the ability to respond to environments, information, people, other creatures, interactions, experiences, issues and observations. This natural tendency of human beings cuts across cultures though cultural differences and personal peculiarities are factors which make people differ in the way they respond to the same stimuli. People's responses expose their feelings.

Josephs (2000:815) defines feeling as “a mode of relating to one's external and internal world.” If critically interpreted, the inclusion of internal and external world in the definition implies that certain internal factors influence the people to react

by showing their feelings. It seems that there is no argument against this thinking; it is possible for someone who has been thinking about an unpleasant experience to transfer the thought to a different environment and act on the internal thought in a way which will make another person wonder why the person reacts aggressively to a simple joke or comment.

Planalp (1999:87), who tries to show how feelings connect people with their audience, states that people “often do express emotion when conditions are optimal to reach an audience.” This scholar makes the claim after stating that not every emotion is verbalized. His idea about people expressing their emotion or feeling radiates with many actors and actresses who use oral tradition for different purposes in the selected movies.

Connected with every feeling is one’s interest in a topic. The extent of one’s commitment to it determines how glaring the feeling will be visible to one’s audience. Metcalfe (2007:287) states: “You can share your feelings more deeply if you have a personal involvement or interest in the issue.” The feelings are transmitted through oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies and these exemplify the degree of seriousness of the users in some circumstances which are noted in some of the analysis below.

4.9.1 Feeling of happiness

In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, at the sight of Òjó and Àjàyí who are on a visit to Prince Láyòṣunú to tell him about the love relationship between Ìbídùn and Abísógun, Prince Láyòṣunú, who does not know the mission of the visit, smiles and begins to chant *oríkì*, the personal praise poetry of his friends:

Òjó, Olúkùlòyè!

Igbe kíké nişẹ ẹyẹ lóko.

Òjó kò sí níle;

Omọ adię dàgbà!

Translation:

Òjó, Olúkùlòyè!

The job of a bird is to shout on the farm.

Òjó is not at home;

The chicken survives.

Láyòḡnú turns to Àjàyí and says his oríkì to him:

Àjàyí !

Àjàyí Ògídí-Olú,

Oníkànga-à-jí-pḡn.

Ò-bomi-òsùrù-wedàá.

Àjàyí tí n wẹ́ lódò tí gbogbo ọmọ́ge n yọ'wo ọṣẹ́.

Tó ní: "Àjàyí, tẹ̀mi ni o mú;

Ògídí-Olú, tẹ̀mi ni o ṣẹ́."

Translation:

Àjàyí !

Àjàyí, Ògídí-Olú,

The owner of a well in which water is fetched early in the morning.

He-who-scoops-plenty-water-in-a-fast-manner-to clean dirties.

Àjàyí who takes shower at a river and makes young women to compete

And makes each to say as follows: "Àjàyí, have mine [my soap/love];

Ògídí-Olú, have mine [my soap/love]."

He chants the *oríkì* of both to make them happy and to welcome them to his home. Also, he wants to show that he, too, is happy at seeing them, but the

friends arrive with a different mood; they are not happy that Abísógun is dating their friend's fiancée.

4.9.2 Feeling of anger

In *Èjè Méjì*, Láyòṣunú's return sparks off a feeling of anger in his friends, Àjàyí and Òjó. Láyòṣunú once told them to stay away from him because they mocked him instead of showing empathy when, in public, Ìbídùn disgraced and abandoned him for Abísógun, his rival. Oatley et al, (2006:245) state that "The role of anger in aggressive societies is that it fires people to perform deeds of which they would otherwise be incapable." To capture their own anger and aggression because of Láyòṣunú's intolerable behavior, Àjàyí, with mild indignation on his face and in his voice, uses this proverb to convey his message Láyòṣunú:

Ewúré wa ò p'óun ò sọmọ iyá àgùntàn.

Àgùntàn ló ní'yàá òun ò bímọ dúdú.

Translation:

Our goat never refuses to be a sibling of the sheep.

It is the sheep who says that his mother never has a dark-in-complexion kid.

Even though the proverb is said at the time Láyòṣunú attempts a reconciliation effort so that he can re-unite with his friends, the friends' anger reflects in their initial reluctance or lukewarm attitude when Láyòṣunú arrives at the place where they are. Àjàyí's proverb summarises the unpleasant relationship and invokes a feeling of anger which they have against their friend, Láyòṣunú, who once told them to stay away from him.

4.9.3 Feeling of greediness

Oral tradition is used to convey a feeling of greediness or selfishness in the selected movies. For example, in *Èjè Méjì*, Ìbídùn's mother encourages his

daughter to marry wealthy Prince Láyòḍnú so that she and her family can have access to wealth. She feels that the marriage is a rare opportunity to make her comfortable financially:

Nígbà tá a bá r'ésèḗ wèrè tá ò bù ú soògùn,

Nígbà wo la ó rí tọlọgbón?

Translation:

When we fail to take advantage of a fool,

When (how) are we going to take advantage provided by a wise person?

The proverb conveys a feeling that Ìbídùn's mother wants to cheat Láyòḍnú who has money to spend over a woman that he admires and wants to marry. In the movie, *Èjè Méjì*, Láyòḍnú follows his friends' advice; he spends money to bribe Ìbídùn's mother so that he can succeed in making Ìbídùn his wife after prompting her to terminate her relationship with Abísógun.

Another example of greediness surfaces as Àjàyí and Òjó eat their food in the same plate. This happens in *Èjè Méjì*. Contrary to the Yorùbá food-eating culture which expects people to choose the nearest meat to them when they eat, Òjó picks up a piece of meat which falls on Àjàyí's side of the plate. Unable to tolerate this uncultured way of eating, Àjàyí raises an alarm against the behavior. In response, Òjó uses a proverb to play down Àjàyí's mild complaint:

Orí là á fi mēran láwo.

Translation:

It is our destiny which helps us to choose juicy and tender meat.

The proverb suggests that Òjó is lucky -that is why he has chosen the fleshy, delicious meat to eat, and that his friend should just take the occurrence as something that is natural, not artificial. In a way, he wants his friend to know that

his choice of a good piece has been done inadvertently and should not attract any complaint.

In *Máṣèkà*, the greediness of Aina's mother is sensed by Awóṣeéńí who uses a proverb to capture it: "God sees the person that shoots a shaft into the air and hides under the mortal if people don't see him or her." The incident happens after Awóṣeéńí has spent lot of money on Aina and her mother. After losing his source of income and money, Aina's mother makes her daughter to abandon Awóṣeéńí by getting along with a rich chief.

4.9.4 Feeling of hatred

Oral tradition is also a means of conveying hatred which targets people, human actions, objects and environments. In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, for example, as Àṣàké warns her friend to desist from dating two men at a time, another young woman who eavesdrops what they say to each other utters a proverb showing her disdain for the behavior of the duo; she lumps both in the same immoral category:

Irú ìrí nìborùn;

Irú tilé ni toko.

Translation:

A wrapper and a head-tie look alike;

The one at home is exactly like the one on the farm.

The proverb means that the third woman detests polyandry, the act of a woman dating or marrying two men. Also, it implies that both friends are birds of the same feather, two friends acting in a nasty way. The interrupter's message for the duo is that they should fix their abnormal behavior so that they can fit into their society. Fixing it means they have to stop their sexual promiscuity or moral decadence. The woman who says the proverb to them does not care about

Àṣàkẹ's position; rather, she feels that since both are together discussing an immoral issue, they, more than likely, engaged in the same issue.

To show their hatred for the action of Ìbídùn's mother who plans secretly to offer the hand of her daughter in marriage to Láyòḍnú in a far-away town after the death of Abísógun, Àwẹlé and her friend raise a concern about the situation in their village, and when asked who the issue revolves around, Àwẹlé's response goes as follows:

Ohun tó jọ'hun là á fi í wé'hun;

Èèpo èpà ló jọ pọsí ẹlírí.

Translation:

Things that are comparable are what we can compare.

The shell of a groundnut looks exactly like the coffin of the smallest rat.

She uses the simile to launch her friend into her idea that Ibidun's mother has committed a wrong act against Abísógun's father. When both friends understand each other, they express their hatred for the behavior and action of Ìbídùn's mother. The gossipers want to keep their secret discussion to themselves, but unknown to them, Abísógun's father has eavedropped what they said.

The feeling of hatred is also found in *Máṣẹkà*. When Awóṣeéńí senses it from Aina's mother, he says, "Èni ta o fé, ààlò kò ràn án, " which means "No amount of appease changes the mindset of a person who does not like us." This implies that no amount of caring and respect from Awóṣeéńí to Aina's mother can make the mother develop a favorable attitude towards him.

4.9.5 Feeling of love and likeness

Among the Yorùbá, love and likeness are part of the culture. In the movie, *Èjẹ Méji*, oral tradition is used to express love and likeness in different circumstances. For example, when Abísógun and Ìbídùn meet under a tree by a

walking path in the bush around the outskirts of their town, they try to admire each other and make a deep commitment to their love relationship; Ìbídùn smiles and recites Abísógun's *oríkì orílẹ̀*, a Yorùbá oral poetry which links Abísógun to his lineage. She uses the chant to extol the lineage's past heroic deeds and to spur Abísógun into engaging himself in a more romantic affair with her. Below is the extract from her rendition:

Ífẹ́ ló so wá pọ̀ ló dùn mọ̀ràn-ìn, mọ̀ràn-ìn, mọ̀ràn-ìn.

Olú-Òjé tún so wá pọ̀ níhàa 'bikan.

Ọkọ mi, Olú-Òjé!

Ọmọ Arótí-wẹ-bí-òjò!

Ọmọ ẹyẹ mu'mi sasa l'Ojee'le

Translation:

It's love which binds us together pleasantly.

Also, Olú-Òjé lineage binds us together in another way.

My husband, Olú-Òjé!

The offspring of the one who has much wine like rain liquid!

The offspring of the bird which drinks water fast in Ojee'le.

The *oríkì* has an impact on its target person. Abísógun is attracted by Ìbídùn's marvelous rendition of the chant; he is surprised at the display of Ìbídùn's pleasant mastery of oral tradition. He is also subdued by the love-radiating look which Ìbídùn casts on him as she recites *oríkì* with her sonorous voice while both relax comfortably and romantically under a tree with green leaves which symbolizes the freshness of their youthful love. The tree is situated on a serene landscape in the outskirts of their town.

Recognising the impact, both lovers, in their traditional *àdirẹ* dresses (in blue dye), hold each other's hands in a way symbolising their anticipated marriage

when no formal introduction of the relationships has been done. Even the two persons (Àjàyí and Òjó) who hide in the bush to watch both lovers and to eavesdrop to pick what the lovers say to each other cannot resist the effect of *oríkì* to concretize a love relationship. In an imitating way, silently, the “spies” mimic the two lover’s romantic mood as *oríkì* rolls out of Ìbídùn’s mouth and as Abísógun’s look suggests that he finds Ìbídùn to be an irresistible lover; in their hiding, the spying friends smile and embrace each other as they watch what the two lovers say and do under the tree.

In their own case, Àjàyí and Òjó are friends who like each other and feel the impact of *oríkì* as they spy for Láyòṣunú, their friend, a wealthy prince who is also interested in marrying Ìbídùn, a beautiful woman who prefers Abísógun to Láyòṣunú and keeps dating Láyòṣunú because of her mother’s wish. In the same movie, to show appreciation to his father for his strong likeness, Abísógun recites his father’s lineage *oríkì* to him, and this seems to make the father comfortable.

Another oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies is proverbs. The Yorùbá word for proverbs is *owe*. In Èjè Méjì, Abísógun uses two proverbs to break the love relationship to his curious father who becomes suspicious of it. During the father-to-child meeting over the issue, Abísógun, who wonders why his father is eager to know about it:

Èni à ñ gbéyàwó bọ wá bá kì í ga’rùn-ún wòran.

Translation:

A bridegroom expecting his wife does not stretch his neck to catch a glimpse; he is the center of attraction that other people should venture to see.

Abísógun uses the proverb above to make his father know that, as a parent, a father will definitely have information from his son who is in a love relationship

with a woman. He says it to his father so that the father will not continue to think that he is being kept in darkness on the affair. Abísógun adds another proverb:

Òrò tá a ní baba ó má gbọ;

Baba náà ni yóò parí rẹ.

Translation:

The word [issue or problem] which we do not want a father to hear about,

It is the father who will settle it.

By using the proverb above, Abísógun cleverly asks for his father's support; in a way, he calls his father's attention to a parental responsibility in a Yorùbá marriage process. Culturally, when a young person chooses to marry a woman, it is his father who takes the lead by contacting the family of the bride-to-be. The contact is to ask the parents and family of the woman to allow her to marry his son; it is a major step in the Yorùbá traditional marriage.

Besides Abísógun, his father also uses proverbial expressions as they talk about the affair. For example, when the father expresses his concern about how the relationship between the young lovers will not damage his friendship with the father of Ìbídùn if Ìbídùn betrays Abísógun, the young man assures his father that Ìbídùn will never betray him because they love each other deeply. This response makes the father, who is more experienced about life, to use this proverb to answer him:

Ojú là á rí;

Kò sẹni tó mọkùn.

Translation:

It is the face that we can see;

Nobody knows the inner thought [of a person].

The proverb is to caution Abísógun not to repose too much trust in a woman of his dream. The expression is also to make Abísógun prepare for any love disappointment in the future. Later in the movie, the warning proverb which Abísógun's father says to his son at the beginning of the relationship becomes not just a mirror of possibility but also of reality to come to pass as Ìbídùn's double-dealing love adventure unfolds and results in a conflict between the two men who are rivals over her love life.

The prince who cannot withstand the rivalry is incited by his friends (spies). He becomes bellicose and hires his friends to waylay and attack Abísógun. The friends carry out an attack, use sharp cutlasses to perpetrate their evil act on Abísógun. They attack Abísógun as he returns home after making love to Ìbídùn in her father's home. Ìbídùn's abnormal, uncultured love mission, and dilemma; the greediness of her inconsiderate and diabolical mother, and forgetfulness on the part of Abísógun lead to his death in the hands of his attackers. The brutal killing of Abísógun leads to a subsequent pandemonium between the fathers of both warriors and parents.

Also, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, Ìbídùn uses a proverb which shows the degree of friendship between her and her mother; she does not want to do what will displease the mother who wants her to marry Láyòṣnú instead of Abísógun:

Bí kò bá nídíí,

Obìnrin kì í jẹ̀ Kúmólú.

Translation:

If there is no reason,

A woman does not bear the name Death-has-taken-the leader.

The proverb suggests that Ìbídùn wants to respect her greedy mother's wish by marrying the wealthy prince that the mother prefers to the poor man whom she

loves genuinely and fervidly. She utters the proverb to justify her involvement with Láyòṣnú whom her mother imposes on her verbally and diabolically.

After the death of Abísógun, Láyòṣnú who meets his supporter, Ìbídùn's mother whom he has bribed with money. He intensifies his effort at marrying Ìbídùn. When Ìbídùn's mother cautions him to be patient because it is too early to hurry up the process of his marriage with Ìbídùn since his rival has just passed away, Láyòṣnú, who becomes impatient, gives this reply:

Ẹmó ń lọ,

Àfè ń lọ;

Ẹni kádísàa.

Kín ni ń bẹ nínú isà ọhún tí à ń dí i?

Translation:

The rat, known as *ẹmó*, escapes,

The rat, known as *àfè*, escapes,

Yet you are saying we should block the hole.

What else is in the whole that we are trying to block there?

The expression is a proverb which implies that if Ìbídùn's mother has a different excuse, she should say it since the only excuse preventing him from marrying Ìbídùn is no longer a problem. By the use of the proverb, Láyòṣnú means Abísógun is no longer alive to compete with him over Ìbídùn's love. The proverb shows how his greediness for Ìbídùn's love blocks his sense of reasoning and prevents him from realising that his act of inhumanity to another man. It takes time before Ìbídùn's mother can convince him that he needs to be patient to avoid being suspected in the killing of Abísógun. Also, after Abísógun's death, when Láyòṣnú has a free time to interact with Ìbídùn, Ìbídùn expresses her doubt about men's promise of love. Láyòṣnú, on whose laps Ìbídùn sits and smiles and talks, uses a proverb to praise Ìbídùn:

lyò o mọ̀yì ara rẹ̀ ló̀bẹ̀.

Translation:

The salt does not know its value in a stew.

Hyperbolically, the proverb is to make Ìbídùn feel that he loves her deeply.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, as Ẹ̀ni-ìtàn, Àìná's daughter, talks to Adéwọ̀lé about their love relationship, Ẹ̀ni-ìtàn tells Adéwọ̀lé she truly loves him as much as he loves her. Before saying so, her response to Adéwọ̀lé's declaration of his sincere love for her is as follows:

Ẹ̀nu dùn-ún ròfọ̀;

Agada ọ̀wọ̀ ẹ̀e é bẹ̀ran.

Translation:

A mouth is easy to explain how the cooking of spinach is done;

It is easy to cut meat with a bare hand.

She uses the proverb to tell Adéwọ̀lé that not many people keep to their promise of love. This prompt can make Adéwọ̀lé cautious and remember to keep his promise.

4.9.6 Feeling of authority

Power or authority comes in different forms and is wrapped up in Yorùbá oral tradition to assert it, draw attention to it, or enforce it on other people, to make them do certain things, whether or not they are pleased with it. Those who assert and exert their authority do so because they feel they are powerful to make other people obey their commands or bear the brunt which befits people who show any resistance. Authority can also be used among Yorùbá in certain circumstances. The institution of Ọ̀ba, the kingship of the Yorùbá, is hereditary and connotes power or authority over a town or a city, with or without its subsidiaries. The traditional authority or power extends to chiefs, whose responsibility is to serve or

assist the king in different administrative capacities, such as physical, domestic, bilateral, and spiritual or religious territories that are peculiar to the Yorùbá tradition.

Besides kings, chiefs, warriors, and family leaders, exceptional and distinguished Yorùbá cherish the culture which elevates them and make them feel important. No wonder, this may be a reason why every being has a lineage *oríkì* which its members admires traditionally. In a way, internally, an average Yorùbá person likes to trace his or her family to a line of authority in any form which is politically, religiously, super-naturally or socially inclined.

To illustrate the feeling of power in the selected movies, *Èjẹ̀ Méjì* provides several examples. When the king of a town invites Ìkọ̀lábà and Ológundúdú, the two major warriors to his palace, to brief them about the flagrant refusal of the people of Olókòtó and Koteyeemu to pay their tributes when the king sent Chief Ọ̀tún to them to remind them of their responsibility, the king, who appears angry at the rudeness, starts his briefing somehow with this proverb after he has invited Ológundúdú and his friend to the palace:

Şe wọ̀n ní: Tibi kò bá wọ̀,
 Tibí kò bá tẹ̀,
 Ẹni tá a bá níwájú ti tó baba fún ni.

Translation:

They [people] say that if there is no misunderstanding in a family,
 If there is no face-off in a family,
 Whoever that is older than us qualifies to be our father.

With the proverb, one can say that the king considers himself as the most powerful ruler in his territory and expects respects from the two villages which refuse to pay tributes. It also implies that the king uses the proverb to incite the warriors by making them see how belittled they, their townsmen, and their king

by the two villages. In other words, the expression is to show how important it is for the royal majesty and his competent, agile, and formidable warriors to use force to fix the rudeness and impenitent behavior of the villagers who should be obedient to the constituted authority in the territory. Ológundúdú, one of the warriors, confirms that king is the only one with an overwhelming power to control the territory; he uses the following extract from the Ifá chant below to deliver the idea:

Àràbà ni bàbá.

Àràbà ni bàbá.

Ẹni a bá níwájú ti tó baba ẹni í ẹ

Dífá fún Àràrà, baba Eríwo;

Ẹni a bá níwájú ti tó baba,

Kábíyèsí.

Translation:

Àràbà is the father.

Àràbà is the father.

Whoever that is older than us qualifies to be our father

Divined for Àràrà, the father of Eríwo.

Whoever that is older than us qualifies to be a father.

The oral tradition above implies that the king is the sole authority over other people and that the villagers are supposed to obey him if there is no abnormal situation.

In another movie, *Máşèkà*, oral tradition is used to convey a feeling of power or authority. For example, when Àìná's mother tries to persuade Àìná's uncle to get him interested in the love relationship between Şeéní and Àìná; she wants the uncle to feel that he is important and has a final say on the relationship. In a way,

she concedes the power of Àinà's father to him since Àinà's father is no longer alive. The oral tradition that Àinà's mother uses to invoke the feeling is the proverb below:

A kì í fá'rí léyìn olórí.

Translation:

We don't cut a person's hair while he is away.

The import is that Àinà's mother wants the uncle to feel that she cannot allow Şeéńí to marry her daughter without the approval or blessing of the uncle. Yorùbá culture demands that a woman gives the power of making a final decision on children to the children's fathers or the grown-up males in a family. In Àinà's case, the uncle is the father-symbol who has the sole authority to approve or sanction the marriage proposal between the two young persons.

4.9. 7 Feeling of hope

Oral tradition conveys people's feelings of hope. In *Máşèkà*, after Şeéńí has been cheated by Àinà's mother and Àinà, he hopes that nemesis will catch up with them, that there is an overseer who knows what has happened secretly regarding his rejection by Àinà's mother. To show that he has hope for justice in the future, he says a proverb to signal a warning to Àinà's mother who remains unperturbed:

Ayídó borí tó ta ọfà sókè,

B'ọba ayé kò rí i,

Ọba ọrun ní wò ó.

Translation:

The one who shoots an arrow upward and rushes under a mortal for protection,

If the earthly god does not see him,

The heavenly god is looking at him.

Şeéńí's proverb captures Àiná's mother who has been telling lies to defend her actions. He believes that truth will eventually come out one day, no matter how perfect Àiná's mother is at hiding it.

In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, the use of Ifá literary corpus to unravel the mystery in the life of Èni-Ìtàn injects in her a sense of hope or freedom. Also, Aina's uncle uses the proverb "The child who knows how to wash his or her hand clean will eat in the same plate with an adult" to raise the hope that Awóşeéńí will be his good son-in-law.

4.9.8 Feeling of unity

In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, when Prince Láyòńú needs help from his friends, Àjàyí and Òjó so that he can succeed in marrying Ìbídùn who has been caught in an open display of love promise to Abísógun, he utters the proverb below to charge his friends to unite with him so that he and they can find a solution that will end the rivalry which seems to be engulfing and denying him of a total access to the heart of Ìbídùn:

Àilàşọ lórùn-un Pààkà:

Ó tó àpérò fún gbogbo ọmọ eríwo.

Translation:

The lack of a dress on the Pààkà masquerade:

It should be a serious concern to all cult members.

Traditionally, the masquerade, known as *egúngún* in the Yorùbá language, is a god of beauty and uncountable, colorful dresses. It is not expected to lack a dress. The proverb implies that if the prince is disgraced in the love rivalry, then his friends who come to him should consider the issue theirs and a matter of concern to all people connected with him. The oral tradition above is to invoke in

the mind of his audience a sense of unity in an effort to handle the disappointing situation in which Láyòṣunú who wants to marry the woman at all cost has found himself because of Abísógun's challenging involvement.

Also, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, when the father of Abísógun discloses to his friend, the father of Ìbídùn, that both children are dating each other, Ìbídùn's father joyfully uses a proverb to declare the relationship as an attempt expected to keep the union of friendship:

Ibi a fẹ́ẹ̀ gbin obì síí;

Igi ti hù níbẹ̀;

Ká tún'bẹ̀ ẹ̀ se ni.

Translation:

The spot we target to plant a cocoa tree;

The tree has germinated there by itself.

What is left to do is care for the spot.

The word "cocoa" symbolises the two lovers who have taken a step which their parents expect though the parents never say to them any word to the effect. In other words, both fathers approve the relationship of the young lovers and need to work together to ensure the relationship is actualised. To back up Ìkọ̀lábà's proverb asking for support for the love relationship, Ológundúdú jokingly adds this proverb:

Bídi kèrègbè ò bá ti jò,

Ẹ̀mu kò ní dá.

Translation:

If the bottom of a gourd is not broken,

Palm-wine will not leak out.

The import from the proverb is that if both friends unite to nourish their own relationship, their children's relationship will never suffer any setback; rather, it will be actualised.

In *Máṣèkà*, the chanting of Ifá literary corpus in the presence of Aina's family suggests Ifá to be a rallying point at which people solve their problems or have ideas about their lives and what they can do to make improvement. In a way, the chant is a unifying factor which helps people to find a common solution.

4.9.9 Feeling of danger

Oral tradition is also used in the selected movies to signal danger. In *Èjẹ Méjì*, when Òjò, Àjàyí and Prince Láyòṅú meet to discuss the rivalry between Prince Láyòṅú and Abísógun and to find a solution in favor of Láyòṅú, Àjàyí uses a proverb to invoke a feeling of possible danger lying ahead of them:

Béwúré ẹni bá wọ'lé alágídí

Bí a kò bá padà sẹyìn;

Ìyà tí kó jẹ ewúré ẹni,

Yóò padà wáá j'ẹni.

Translation:

If our goat enters the house of a stubborn person,

If we do not step backward -if we enter with it,

The punishment which is meant for the goat

May be inflicted on one.

The proverb implies that the pain that the three of them have against Abísógun may end up in a catastrophe if they are not careful because Abísógun is a son of a very powerful warrior who can inflict pains on the enemies of his son. Another proverb is used when Ìbídùn and Àṣàké visit Prince Láyòṅú in his house. While

talking to Láyòṣunú, Ìbídùn blinks her eyes pretentiously and cleverly to downplay her relationship with Abísógun, his rival. Then, Láyòṣunú who envisages a serious danger ahead responds with a proverb:

Wọ̀n l'ójú kan làdàá í ní.

Àdà tó ti lójú méjì;

Èyún-ùn ti di idà.

Idà sì rẹ́ é,

Ogun ni wọ̀n fi í jà.

Translation:

They (people) say that a cutlass has one cutting edge.

The cutlass with two edges,

It has become a sword.

And this sword,

It is a weapon of war.

Also, the proverb conveys the feeling of fear which Láyòṣunú entertains about how Ìbídùn's triangular love involves him and Abísógun –that is, two-competing-men-over-one-woman. It is a subtle way to make Ìbídùn take a firm decision by choosing only one man, and in this case, Láyòṣunú wants her to choose him and abandon Abísógun. The sword in the proverb is a metaphor for a woman who loves two men at a time and creates tensions for and harmful conflicts between both men. Ìbídùn is the dangerous sword which portends danger or calamity in this context.

Apart from Àjàyí and Láyòṣunú who use proverbs to convey the feelings of danger, Àṣàké, Ìbídùn's friend, uses two proverbs to invoke a sense of loss and shame which constitute danger as well. For example, she says to her friend:

Şé iwọ ò mò pé téyàn bá léku méjì,
Yòò pòfo ni.

Translation:

Don't you know that if a person chases two rats at a time
The person will lose both.

With the proverb, Àşàké warns Ìbídùn about the possibility of making a mistake which will result in losing the opportunity to marry either of the men. Another useful proverb goes as follows:

Bí wọn bá sù ní bú ẹtù,
Orí yòò máa ta awó o o o.

Translation:

If they (people) scold a turtle,
A Guinean fowl will feel the hurt in its head.

With her second proverb, Àşàké also envisages that she will share in the blame and shame which will befall her friend who loves two men at a time.

In the same movie, while sensing the magnitude of the calamity which will befall the villagers who refuse to pay their tribute or tax, Ológundúdú says this proverb:

Àjà tó jìn níyẹwù
Ẹni tí yòò kó bá ní ní wá.

Translation:

The roof which sinks in the inner room,
It just wants someone to inflict harm on someone.

The expression contains metaphor, the roof that refers to the village head and elders who have made a costly error by refusing to pay tribute to the town under

which the village is. The metaphorical proverb, therefore, suggests that the action of the villagers will spell doom for the people of the village; that is, the village elders just want to endanger the lives of their people. Ológundúdú also uses another proverb:

Ìgànná tó yára è ló ní kẹwúrẹ ó wá sun lóri òun.

Translation:

The wall which falls apart has invited a goat to sleep on it.

The proverb is used to justify an attack on the two villages; Ológundúdú seems to be holding the villagers responsible for any anticipated loss of lives and property in the villages.

In attempt to make Láyòṣnú feel a sense of danger after the death of Abísógun, Ìbídùn's mother resists his urgent move to speed up his marriage process with Ìbídùn; she use the proverb below:

Bá ba ni ká fikánjú ré'dà lórí ìkó,

Ó ẹ ẹ ẹ kó pa'ni lára.

Translation:

If we remove a sword hurriedly from the hanger,

There is a possibility that it can harm us.

The proverb is to caution Láyòṣnú so that he will not be linked to Abísógun's death, an idea Láyòṣnú seems to understand well.

Another incident which brings about a proverb signaling danger occurs after Ìbídùn dies. Her father believes that Ológundúdú is the person who has killed his daughter, so he tells the king and chiefs in the palace that he is going to take a serious action against his friend who seems to overlook his power:

Ó ti fojú àná wo Kúdeṭi.

Ẹni bá fojú àná wo Kúdeṭì,
 Ó fẹ́ẹ́ bómì lọ.
 Ó fi fojú àná wo òkú.
 Ẹni fojú àná wòkú;
 Ẹbọra ti ẹ́e tán láti bọ ọ lása,
 Ẹbọra ni ó bọ ọ lása.

Translation:

He has taken Kúdeṭì River for granted;
 And whosoever takes Kúdeṭì for granted,
 The person is ready to get drown in the river.
 He has taken death for granted;
 Death is ready to kill him.

The message in the proverb is that Ìkọ̀làbà is ready to destroy Ológundúdú ; that is, Ìkọ̀làbà will get rid of him.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, Ẹni-ìtàn's grandmother, while advising Sojí who is in love with her grand-child, notes that if a person does not act on time, the person may encounter a problem in the process.

Bèyàn bá pẹ́ lórí imí,
 Esin-kéesin a bá a níbẹ́.

Translation:

If a person stays too long in a toilet,
 It is possible that infectious flies will catch up with him/her at the place.

The grand-mother's proverb prompts Sojí to say that he really loves Ẹni-ìtàn and that his family will show up in the grand-mother's home to make a formal request

for Ẹni-itàn to be his wife. After their discussion about the relationship, Sojí and Ẹni-itàn leave the grand-mother's home for Sojí's.

4.9.10 Feeling of peace

The need for peace is one of the messages which oral tradition transmits in the selected Yorùbá movies. In *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, for example, when Láyòṅnú realises his mistake and attempts to apologize to his friends, Àjàyí and Òjó, whom he once got angry at and asked to stay away from him, he uses two proverbs to invoke a feeling of peace. One of his proverbs goes as follows:

Sebí dídùn ló dùn là n bọrẹẹ jẹfọ́;

Tilé oge tó oge é jẹ.

Translation:

Certainly, we just share spinach stew with a friend due to its delicacy.

We have sufficient, decent, and delicious stew to eat at home.

The proverb, in a simple language, means that Láyòṅnú knows that when his friends eat his food, it is not that they do not have anything to eat in their homes; rather, it is because they like him and wish to be with him. With the expression, he conveys his feeling to have peace with his friend and at the same time tries to invoke in the friends the need for them, too, to allow peace to return so that the three of them can continue with their relationship by reviving its cordiality which has disappeared due to his action in the past.

Also, in *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, the hunters' chant which is known as *ijálá* in Yorùbá, is used to convey a human's feeling about peace. After Ológundúdú and Ìkọlábà and their soldiers have defeated the two villages which the king sent them to attack militarily, both and their soldiers organised a celebration at the Ògún shrine. During the celebration, one of their *ijálá* songs is reproduced below:

Ògún, má má jẹ a rí soso (2ce)

Ẹni pe soso a rí soso.

Ògún, má má jẹ a rí soso (3ce)

Translation:

Ògún, don't let's encounter trouble. (2ce)

Whoever invites trouble will encounter it.

Ògún, don't let's encounter trouble. (3ce)

The hunters chant the song to stress the need for peace for all of them and at the same time to send a message out that only those who look for trouble will lose peace. In other words, peace is highlighted as a necessity for human existence even when they have to destabilise other people.

In *Máṣèkà*, the feeling of peace is found in proverbs and Ifá literary corpus. For example, in an ironic way, when Awóṣeéńí says, “Ayídó borí tó tafà sókè, bọba ayé kò rí i, Ọba ọrun ní wò ó, ” which means “God sees a person who shoots a shaft in the air and hides under a mortal, ” his intention is to give himself a palliative treatment by taking solace in the judgement of God. The proverb offers him some relief from the stressful thought the disappointment has caused him.

4.9.11 Feeling of suspicion

Oral tradition can be used to communicate suspicion and possibilities. The claim is evident in *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, especially at the point where Ìbídùn's mother makes an attempt at influencing another change in the thinking of her daughter who is already pregnant for Abísógun before he passes away. The mother is concerned about the pregnancy; she does not want it. When Ìbídùn's mother invites her to a corner outside the house to talk about the situation, Ìbídùn asks her mother loudly why she does not want to talk to her in the house. The mother quickly uses her hand to cup Ìbídùn's mouth to prevent her voice from attracting the attention of Ìbídùn's father who perhaps sleeps at the time. Then she says to Ìbídùn:

Etí ọba nílé,
 Etí ọba lóko,
 Èyàn ní jẹ bẹẹ.

Translation:

The king's ear is at home.

The king's ear is on the farm.

It's the human being.

Ìbídùn's mother suspects her husband may eavesdrop what she wants to tell her daughter. Since the mother wants her daughter to use a drug to abort the pregnancy that the daughter carries for Abísógun, the mother does not want her own husband, who sleeps and snores in the house, to have any wind of the her dangerous plan. It can be inferred that she suspects that if her husband wakes up and hears what she wants to do, he will not subscribe to the idea of terminating the pregnancy because of his closeness to and friendship with Abísógun's father. Even she does not tell her daughter the implication of the drug until the daughter has drunk it! This is still a part of her suspicion even though if she tells the daughter before drinking the drug, the daughter has been under a spell to obey her mother ; in other words, the daughter has lost her power of resistance.

Also, in *Máṣẹ̀kà*, the feeling of suspicion is invoked where Awóṣeéńí “Ayídó borí tó tafà sókè, bọba ayé kò rí i, Ọba ọrun ní wò ó,” which means “God sees a person who shoots a shaft in the air and hides under a mortal.” Awóṣeéńí uses the proverb because he suspects that Aina's mother is behind the disappointment he has gotten from Aina and her mother.

4.9.12 Feeling of confidence

In *Ẹ̀jẹ̀ Méjì*, when the king declares the war against the two villages which have disobeyed his order, Ológundúdú, a warrior, uses a proverb to respond to the declaration:

Elu ò lóhun méjì;

Arọ̀ ni baba wọ̀n ní dá.

Translation:

Elu tree does not perform two tasks;

It only dying that it does.

The proverb conveys the message that Ológundúdú is confident to go to the war front, that he has no job other than fighting militarily. Also, to convey his confidence about the war, after dressing in his war regalia and calling on supernatural forces, he uses a proverb:

Ìràwé ì í dá'jọ̀ ilẹ̀ ó sùn'nà.

Translation:

Dried leave that detaches itself from a tree encounters no delay while falling on the ground.

The proverb implies that since he has prepared for the war, he will not tolerate anything to stop him from fighting. By using the proverb, he seems to be very confident of himself as a warrior who will fight and win against enemies.

In the same movie, Ìbídùn uses this proverb when she declares to Prince Láyọ̀nú that she can no longer continue a love relationship with him:

Ẹ̀ní bá jẹ̀un gbì ní kú gbì.

Translation:

Whoever that eats poison dies of poison.

The proverb implies that Ìbídùn is confident that she has not done any wrong by pulling out of the relationship with Láyòṣnú and that no nemesis will catch up with her due to her action. To demonstrate her confidence further, she walks away from Láyòṣnú who feels embarrassed and disappointed as she goes towards Abísógun, his rival.

Another display of confidence occurs after Ìbídùn gets to the spot where Abísógun and his friend stand. To show that no one can win Ìbídùn from him, Abísógun utters coyly the following proverb:

Bólóde ò kú,

Òde rẹ ò le hu gbéégì.

Translation:

If a court-yard owner remains alive,

His court-yard can never grow stubborn grass (weeds).

With the oral tradition above, Abísógun expresses his confidence that, as long as he lives, he is sure nobody can snatch away her lover; he seems to be sure of his big space, uncontested one in the heart of Ìbídùn. Luckily for him, Ìbídùn prefers him to Láyòṣnú. Perhaps, the break-away which Abísógun and his friend have witnessed emboldens Abísógun to feel very confident to use the proverb. Another example of confidence comes up when Ìkọ̀làbà recites his *oríkì bọ̀rọ̀kinní*, the kind of praise poetry for important figures in the Yorùbá society. Feeling confident that he is formidable enough to deal with after Ológundúdú who has shown that he is satisfied that Ìbídùn is also dead like Abísógun, Ìkọ̀làbà who is ready to go and prepare to fight with his friend says to himself:

Emi, Ìkọ̀làbà

Tí mo ránṣẹ̀ pogun

Tí mo dúró dogun.
 Jìgan nì togun;
 Èrù jẹ̀jẹ̀ ní gbogbo ilẹ̀kíẹ̀!

Translation:

I, Ìkọ̀làbà

Who ask for war

And wait for war.

Activeness is what takes to withstand war;

The dreaded one all over any land!

Ìkọ̀làbà uses the *oríkì* to spur himself into the preparation for the fighting against his friend and to show his confidence at dealing with his friend in a way which will frighten him. Ìkọ̀làbà seems to have derived confidence from his past actions against his enemies or from those he had dealt with in the past and has the hope of achieving the same success when he engages his friend in a duel.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, Chief Ọ̀ládélé's use of the proverb "We don't get angry when we have two things at a time" suggests that she feels confident that Fúnmiláyò will listen to her news and tolerate a co-rival who will soon join her in the matrimonial home of the chief.

4.9.13 Feeling of regret

As ordinary verbal expressions can be used to express regrets, oral tradition can be used to do the same thing. The evidence of this claim about oral tradition can be found in the selected movies. One example reflects in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì* when Láyòṣunú tries to tell his friends, Àjàyí and Ọ̀jó, that he regrets his mistake or rudeness to them:

Kò sí bọmọdẹ ó ti mọ̀rírí í jẹ tó

Tí kò ní rá a lówó.

Translation:

No matter how a child is perfect at eating any grilled-corn food

That his hand will not become messy due to it.

The proverb conveys to Láyòṣnú's friends his regret about his past action which, he feels, has not helped him. In a way, the proverb seems to be telling the friends that Láyòṣnú realises that he is not as smart as he thought himself to be when he got angry and told them to keep distance from him. In *Máṣẹkà*, Àiná's mother regrets her action against Şeéńí who has helped the family but is denied the opportunity to marry Àiná:

Ẹni kòkó ẹ̀ yè

N ló máa lórin lójà.

Translation:

Whoever that has cocoa trees which grow and bear fruit

Is the one who sings at the market.

In the story, Àiná passes away during her child delivery. This occurrence saddens her mother, so she laments and thinks about her action of snatching Àiná from Şeéńí so that Chief could marry her.

4.10 Oral tradition as a catalyst

In *Ẹ̀jẹ̀ Méjì*, oral tradition can be a means of influencing what another person should do contrary to the person's wish. When Ìbídùn refuses to follow her mother's advice regarding the choice of a life partner, the mother invokes the power of supernatural forces; she says an incantation to make Ìbídùn change her mind.

Ayé ló ní ko má le è yẹ ohùn ẹnu mi o.

Àpadà ló ní má le è pohùn mi dà.

Takésé bá yìí ní í ẹ lówùjọ òwú,

Ọrò tí òkété bá bá ilẹ sọ,

Òhun nilẹ ñ gbọ o o o.

5

Gbogbo èyí tí mo wí lóní yìí,

Ó ti di àşẹ!

Ohùn ẹnu mi,

Ó ti di ègún

Gbogbo ọrò tí mo ti ñ bá Ìbídùn-ún sọ lórí Láyọ́nú,

10

Òhun ni kó máa gbọ o.

Tó, tó tó

Kó ẹ bẹẹ.

Torí ohun tí àwíşẹ ayé bá ti rí,

Òhun máa ni ègbà ọrun gbà.

15

Translation:

Dodging charm has mandated you not to dodge my command.

Changing leave has mandated you not to change what I say.

Akese always has the final say in the midst of cotton.

Whatever command òkété (rat) issues to the ground,

Is what the land obeys.

5

All I may say to must be obeyed!

My voice has become curse.

All I have been telling Ìbídùn regarding Láyòṣnú

Are what Ìbídùn should accept.

15

May it be so, may it be so, may it be so!

Because what the one with the power to make things happen on earth

says

Is what the one in heaven accepts.

The action of Ìbídùn's mother overpowers and makes her daughter yield to the romantic adventure of Láyòṣnú whom she had once rejected and disgraced in public. The opposite is the case after the power of the charm and incantation begin to work Ibidun; instead of chasing Láyòṣnú, away, she displays a great romantic desire for him.

Also, in *Máṣèkà*, there is also a trait of oral tradition as catalyst. For example, proverbs prompt actions or reveal actions. Besides, Ifá literary corpus, which is chanted where Aina seeks help to solve her problem of lovers dying one after another, makes Aina invite her father and grandmother to the house of the Ifá priest. Also, it makes Aina's mother to confess her sin and explain what made her do what she did.

4.11 Oral tradition as a weapon of defence

To defend their acts or intentions, the native speakers of the Yorùbá language like to use different genres of oral tradition, such as proverbs, idioms and chants. The selected movies have evidence of oral tradition.

Proverbs are common to the selected movies. The traditional expressions serve different purposes, but mainly they drive home the points of the actors and actresses who use them. For example, in *Èjè Méjì*, when Abísógun's father suspects that his son is in a clandestine relationship with Ìbídùn, Ológundúdú 's

daughter, Abísógun uses a proverb to confirm that there is a love affair between him and Ìbídùn:

Òrò tá a ní baba ó má gbó,

A jẹ pé baba náà ni yóò parí rẹ nù-un.

Translation:

The issue we hide for the father;

The same father will solve it.

The proverb above is a subtle mechanism which Abísógun adopts to answer his father's challenging. The father wants him to open up; the father wants to be involved in the affair, to make him play a positive role by taking necessary steps which will ensure the relationship leads to a marriage between the two –Ìbídùn and him.

Responding to the disclosure, Abísógun's father uses a proverb to caution his son:

Ojú là á rí;

Kò sẹ'ni tó mọ ikùn.

Translation:

It is only the face we see;

No one knows the unspoken thoughts of another person.

The proverb is a warning that the woman whom Abísógun wants to marry may betray him and that Abísógun should be careful about what he does or plans about the relationship since betrayal is a possibility in human relationships.

When Ológundúdú responds to the king's briefing about the awkward refusal of Olókòtó and Koteyeemu to pay tributes like other villages, he uses a proverb in

the King's palace to draw attention to why power seems to be slipping away from the town:

Ìgànná tó yara rẹ́ ló ní kẹ́ran ó wásùn'hún.

Translation:

A wall which collapses invites goats to come and sleep on it.

The proverb implies that if a king asserts and exerts its authority, no village will be rude to him, but if he is lenient, more rudeness will come from the villagers. The overall idea which one can derive from the proverb is the king feels terribly slighted because of the disrespect of the villagers and is prompted to feel committed to defending his status and authority against the villagers.

During the love demonstration between Ìbídùn and Abísógun under a tree, as Abídógun makes a sexual-intercourse suggestion to Ìbídùn, a proverb to express a feeling of self defence rolls out of Ìbídùn's mouth:

Ìfẹ́ a fádìẹ́ ò dénú;

Ibi ká pa á jẹ́ lásán ló mọ́.

Translation:

We do not really like the chicken;

All we care about is to kill and eat it.

Ìbídùn uses the proverb to discourage Abísógun, her lover who seems to be charged with his sexual urge and wants to have a sexual intercourse with her. In a way, the proverb conveys Ìbídùn's attempt at protecting herself from the act. To show her seriousness, she frowns her face and reinforces her rejection Abísógun's request for sex. The proverb is not a physical defence; it is a verbal defence to make Abísógun think that if he is not careful he will offend his lover. Since he does not want to hurt her feeling, the proverb has an effect on him; he gives up his sexual urge by accepting Ìbídùn's suggestion that any sexual

connection can happen once the fathers of both return from the war assignment that has taken their father away.

In *Máṣèkà*, Èni-ìtàn's grandmother uses a proverb to speak to Sojí whom she encourages to speed up his action at marrying, Èni-ìtàn. To make sure the relationship is safeguarded, the grand-mother says:

Şé ohun tá a bá fi sílẹ̀

Òhun lewúrẹ́ẹ̀ gbé.

Translation:

Whatever we leave carelessly

Is what a goat eats.

The proverb is to forewarn the young man to avoid leaving his fiancé in a situation whereby she can be snatched away by another man. It implies that any lateness to marry Èni-ìtàn may not be good for the man if he does not act appropriately on time.

In *Máṣèkà*, when Şeéní returns to Àiná's mother to find out his offence that made Àiná's mother to chase him away when Chief was with her, Àiná's mother uses a proverb to introduce her defence:

Bí ọmọ́dẹ̀ bá ń gé igi nígbóó

Àgbà níí mọ́ ibi tí yóò wó sí.

Translation:

When a child is felling a tree in the bush,

Only the adults will know on what side the tree will fall.

After saying the proverb, she adds that she found out from a spiritualist that her daughter, Àiná, and Şeéní are not destined to marry each other. The proverb

helps her to prepare the mind of Şeéní for the answer which she has made-up to defend her greedy action.

4.12 Oral tradition as an agent of attack and protection

In difficult situations, to escape from or deal with enemies, any relevant incantation can be used positively or negatively. Incantations tap from the power of supernatural forces to help a person using it to inflict punishment on his or her target or to recover from certain punishments inflicted by enemies. To the target person, the use is negative, especially when the intention delivers negative effects, and it is positive when it helps a person to achieve a specific purpose which does not turn the person to be the victim of it.

In *Èjẹ Méji*, when Ìkọ̀làbà and Ológundúdú fight, both use incantations to attack each other; also, each uses incantations to protect or rescue himself from the other's physical and verbal attacks. For example, at the place where they fight in the bush, Ológundúdú, who has used a charm to fly from his room with supernatural elements arrives and is dressed in his traditional military regalia. At the sight of Ìkọ̀làbà, who is also dressed fully in his traditional war dress, he begins to utter the following incantation against his enemy:

Mo ti sọ fún ọ pé,

Kurakuta tó l'óun ó balẹ,

Ilé ni ó sun.

Àjẹ ò ní jowó ire.

Ẹyẹ wọn ò ní í jẹlẹkẹ.

5

Ojú mọ,

Ìró kì í balẹ kó má ró gbẹdun, gbẹdun, gbẹdun;

Ọrun n pè ọ;

Kó lọ ró gbẹdun, gbẹdun, gbẹdun.

Ọrun n pè ọ;

10

Kó lọ ró gbèdun, gbèdun, gbèdun l'óde ọrun báyií.

Translation:

I have told you that

A light object which boasts that it will fall on the ground,

It will fall down and be unable to move on the ground.

Witches will not eat money pleasantly.

Their birds will not eat beads.

5

It's day time.

No sound is without echoes.

Heaven is calling you,

Go and fall down with the echoes of your death in heaven.

Heaven is calling you;

10

Go and fall down with the echoes of your death in heaven now.

As Ológundúdú utters the last line of the incantation above, he whips Ìkọ̀làbà with a harmful charm which makes Ìkọ̀làbà to stagger acrobatically and helplessly as he groans painfully to recover his strength. However, Ìkọ̀làbà does not give up the ghost in spite of the suffering which the incantation and the charm have inflicted upon him; he struggles for his survival as he chants this counter-offensive incantation:

Mo méwúré ẹ̀bọ̀ lóníí.

Ẹ̀ jẹ́ ó jẹ́ o.

Mo mágùntàn ẹ̀bọ̀ Ọ̀sanyìn.

Àgbàtán nigbàá gbọ̀pẹ̀.

Ẹ dọ̀yì bò mí,
Ké ẹ gbóhùn awo o o o!

Translation:

I have offered a goat as a sacrifice today.
Please accept my offer.
I have offered sheep as sacrifice to Òsanyìn (god).
A climbing rope circles around a palm tree.
Come and surround me with your protection;
Listen to the cult member.

As Ìkọ̀lábà says the last line of the incantation above, he quickly flips a dangerous charm out of his pocket and uses it to hit Ológundúdú who feels instantly the effect of the whip; he groans painfully after the charm touches his body and struggles around to avoid falling down. While struggling and groaning, he begins another incantation:

Ikú ò gbọ̀dọ̀ palẹ̀;
Ilẹ̀ ni o tẹ̀
Ògbólògbọ̀ àjẹ̀ ò gbọ̀dọ̀ mumi erun
Bíjì bá jà,
ń ẹ̀ ní gbára jọ.
Àtọ̀lẹ̀dọ̀lẹ̀ ni tàdán.
Ìwọ̀, o ò ní lọ.

5

Translation:

Death can never kill the ground;
He has to walk on the ground.

A merciless and bold witch can never drink poisonous water.

If a whirlwind blows,

It blows in a circular form.

5

A bat's womb is always with an endless retinue of fetus [endless suffering and death is implied unlike the actual meaning which is endless blessings]

The incantation above helps Ológundúdú to free himself from the dangerous super-natural attack which subjects him to pain and restlessness as they engage in their dangerous fighting. Lines 1 and 2 above imply that Ológundúdú sees himself as a person who has the power to avoid death because Death needs him to stay alive. Also, in line 3, he likens himself to poisonous water which witches cannot contaminate. Lines 4 and 5 also show how powerful he considers himself to be to withstand, without any repercussions, his enemy's devastating attack during the fighting. Over all, he uses the incantation as a protective mechanism to stay alive and to be free from the harm that Ìkọ̀lábà has inflicted on him via a supernatural charm and incantations.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, oral tradition is used to signal the need for protection against danger. After the death of two lovers of Ẹ̀ni-ìtàn, her friend who feels concerned about the situation suspects that there is likely something sinister and hidden regarding Ẹ̀ni-ìtàn's experience or personality. The friend thinks that Ẹ̀ni-ìtàn may have more terrible experiences if no solution is found on time. To express her view, the friend uses the proverb below:

Bíná ò bá tán láṣọ,

Ẹ̀jẹ̀ kò ní í tán léèkáná.

Translation:

If lies remain in dresses,

Then the blood flows in the finger nails.

The speaker uses the proverb to convince her friend to seek spiritual help so as to know the cause of her ordeal and to avoid such a disaster in the future. The expression conveys a feeling of security. To find protection, Ẹni-itàn agrees to go out to find a spiritual helper.

4.13 Oral tradition as a peace-mediation mechanism

Oral tradition is used to express peace or mediate it among the Yorùbá native-speakers. The evidence of oral tradition for the purpose can be found in the selected movies. As an example, *Ẹjẹ Méjì* contains Yorùbá traditional expressions which are genres of oral tradition geared towards the attainment of peace. Proverbs constitute one genre which relates to peace in the movie. To make his friend see the reason they should forgive him and return to good terms with him, Láyòṣnú says as follows:

Bá a bá pe'rí ajá,

A ó pe'rí ìkòkò tá a fi sè é.

Translation:

If we are committed to getting rid of a dog's meat;

We are ready to destroy, too, the pot in which it has been cooked.

In the proverb, Láyòṣnú presents himself as the rejected “dog meat” and his friends as “the pot” which has connection with or has been used to cook the “meat.” In other words, he wants his friends to know that the quarrel, which has separated them from him, does not remove from each of them the mess from Ìbídùn's misbehavior. He wants them to realize that it is only by being at peace that they, as friends, can fight back their enemy to restore their respect and dignity. He adds that any isolation will work against their peace and efforts at preventing a disgrace –losing Ìbídùn to Abísógun. As a part of peace-mediation effort, Àjàyí reminds Láyòṣnú of his ungrateful remark after teaching him a plan

to follow in dealing with Ìbídùn-related issue, and Òjó uses a proverb to caution Àjàyí :

Ojú tọ̀ré mi.

Ojú ò tì mí.

Onítọ̀hún ni ò lójú tì.

Translation:

My friend is disgraced;

I am not disgraced.

Whoever says so is the person that is disgraced but lacks the feeling of shame.

The proverb above is intended to prompt Àjàyí to forgive Láyọ̀ṣnú and let peace reign in a friendship relationship. Luckily, after their conversation on their disagreement, the three friends reach a peace deal; they decide to work towards a common goal –ensuring that only Láyọ̀ṣnú is entitled to marry Ìbídùn. Similar to the situation between Láyọ̀ṣnú on one side and his friends on the other is the conflict which the death of Abísógun pitches between Ìkọ̀lábà, who has witnessed the death of Abísógun, and Ológundúdú, who feels bitter and is ready to fight back because he has lost his only child and thinks that his friend is responsible for the death. To pacify Ológundúdú, Chief Ọ̀tún uses this proverb:

Àdà ọ̀dún kan yín

Ó ti kúrò lájẹ̀jì ọ̀wọ̀.

Translation:

The cutlass which you have used for one year,

It is no longer strange to the hand.

The proverb implies that both Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà have been friends for years and, as such, should not doubt each other's sincerity and good intention. Òtún says this proverb to calm down angry Ológundúdú who feels the loss of his son and promises to attack his friend. It is a way to make Ológundúdú pursue peace with his friend instead of going violent on him.

4.14 Oral tradition as a means of entertainment

In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, different instances of entertainment are connected to oral tradition. For example, at the celebration of the war victory at the shrine of Ògún, Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà gather people who chant *ijálá* and dance jubilantly. As they chant the genre to give thanks to Ògún, the soldiers shoot in the air, and their happy mood pervades the atmosphere. The chant is accompanied by dancing and narration that make the audience feel satisfied since cultural thoughts unfold as the chanting progresses. Also, Ìbídùn chants the oríkì of Abísógun to make him feel comfortable as she shows her affection for him while they talk about their love for each other. Among the Yorùbá, oríkì is used to entertain people.

4.15 Oral tradition as a healing agent

Oral tradition also aids healing or comfort. In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, Èni-itàn's confusion makes her cry profusely after two men die mysteriously in their attempt to have sexual-intercourse with her. As she thinks and cries about this experience, she laments that nobody else in the family cares anymore about her, that the entire family members have taken the experience as her destiny. Yẹ̀misí, her friend who offers her advice to get help from a herbalist, also gives her an encouraging thought. Specifically, she raises her hope with the proverb below:

Bégùn-ún ò bá dé'bi hùn-ùn-ùn, kò ní í yọ.

Translation:

If a thorn in the flesh does not make a person to groan,

It is not ready to get out of the flesh.

The proverb relates to the situation of agony in which Ẹni-ìtàn feels helpless and sad. It implies that Ẹni-ìtàn's time to get relieved from the problem is at hand or is about to click. The utterance is to invoke a feeling of healing or possible rescue in Ẹni-ìtàn's life.

In *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, the warriors use incantations to wade off painful any harmful supernatural attack or harm which they have inflicted on each other as they fight after accusing each other of being a child's killer.

4.16 Oral tradition as a descriptive tool

Oral tradition can describe human beings, animals, objects, experiences, places, and works. In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, as the *Ífá* priest to whom *Yẹ́mísí* leads Ẹni-ìtàn casts his divination objects, chants a few line of *Ífá* literary corpus:

Èkíníní, awo ní ẹ̀ ẹ̀.

Èkejì, awo ní í ẹ̀.

Èkẹ̀ta, awo ní í ẹ̀.

Èmi lẹ̀gbẹ̀rì. (He casts his cowry cells and verbalizes a sound of surprise).

Anìkànjido,

5

Igbó lẹ̀ran rẹ̀ í gbé sí.

A díá fún Olutifeefe

Tí n fọ́jọ́júmọ̀ ẹ̀' dájọ̀ asebi.

Translation:

First, it is a cult member.

Second, it is a cult member.

Third, it is a cult member.

I am the novice.

A selfish person

5

Loses his meat to the bush

Divines for Olutifeefe

Who, on daily basis, issues punishment to the evil doer.

The Ifá chant above summarises the life experience of Ẹni-ìtàn. “First, Second, and Third” can be said to be the fiancés whom she has lost though only two is the actual losses before going to the priest. Also, “A selfish person” in the oral tradition above can be said to be a reference to Ẹni-ìtàn’s grandmother whose greediness for money makes her cheat Ẹeéńí who has spent so much money on Ẹni-ìtàn’s mother, Àiná, before losing her to Chief who eventually marries her in spite of Ẹeéńí pregnancy. The action of Àiná’s mother makes Ẹeéńí lose all he has invested in the relationship with Àiná: money, car, job and lover.

Ẹeéńí’s father, a priest, promises to invoke his super-natural power and inflict pandemonium on the path of Àiná’s family so as to avenge the terrible experience Àiná and her mother have inflicted on his son; consequently, the cause of the calamity described in the Ifá chant above sums up the experience of Ẹni-ìtàn.

Also, in *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, Ìbídùn uses *oríkì*, a praise chant which contains the description of the occupation or bravery that characterises the lineage of Abísógun. The chant describes Abísógun’s ancestors as brave people who in the past withstood a dangerous war situation and adapted to the need of their time.

4.17 Oral tradition as an agent of warm reception

Traditionally, Yorùbá like to welcome people to their fold when they know such people will not create any problem for them or when they know that such people have positive contributions to make to their lives. The selected movies reflect this aspect of Yorùbá culture. In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, to show that Ẹeéńí who dates Àiná is

welcomed by the family and that he recognised as a part of it, Àiná's mother, at a meeting in which the formal acceptance of Şeéńí is made, uses this proverb:

Òdú ni i,
Kì í şe àimọ olóko.

Translation:

It is òdú vegetable;
It is not strange to the farmer.

The message in the proverb is that Şeéńí is not new to the family because he has been helping the family since he and Àiná have been dating each other. Àiná's mother, who presents the formal introduction, intends to invoke a feeling of acceptance on the part of Àiná's uncle in the room where their meeting is being held. In the Yorùbá culture, traditionally, future in-laws need to recognise a man before he can marry a woman; therefore, this formal introduction, is appropriate. The proverb offers a feeling of acceptance in the mind of both the uncle and the future son-in-law, Şeéńí. After listening to the pleasant introduction, Şeéńí feels comfortable that the family appreciates his involvement in a relationship with Àiná. On his part, to show that she recognises Şeéńí, appreciates his contributions and accepts him fully into the family, Àiná's uncle uses the proverb below:

Èyàn yinni yinni kẹni sẹmî.
Bọmọ ẹni bá dára, ká wí;
A à ní fi şe aya.

Translation:

A person who shows appreciation wants more.
If one's child is beautiful, one should say it out.
After all, one will not marry the child.

The proverb applies to Şeéńí who is considered as a responsible person who has been very helpful to the family. The message of welcome, recognition, and appreciation which the proverb conveys makes Şeéńí feel that the family is comfortable to have him as a son-in-law; that is, he is now free to marry her lover, Àíná. To summarise his feeling of acceptance of Şeéńí as a son-in-law, Àíná's uncle utters another proverb:

Ọmọ yíí şèèyàn.

Ó mọwọ ọ wẹ.

Bó bá wáá mọwọ wẹ ní kọ,

Yóò bágbà jẹun.

Translation:

This child is a good person.

He knows how to wash his hand.

If he knows how to wash his hand,

Then he has to eat with adults.

The proverb implies that Şeéńí's behavior is acceptable to the uncle, so Şeéńí will always be welcomed by the family.

In the same *Máşèkà*, after Chief and his sister break the news to Fúnmiláyọ that he has impregnated a woman and that the pregnancy of one person can bring good luck to another who wants to get pregnant, Fúnmiláyọ, who has never been pregnant, is surprised at the news, but she hides her shock. She smiles and uses a proverb which conveys a feeling that she accepts what her husband has done:

Nńkan ẹni kì í di méjì,

Kínú ó bí ni.

Translation:

When one has two opportunities,

One does not get angry.

In other words, she accepts to share her husband with a co-wife.

Another form of reception in the movie *Máṣẹ̀kà* is the proverb that Chief Ọládélé says to his daughter:

Eré orí igi ni gbogbo rẹ...

Translation:

It's a game (play) on a tree.

Chief says the proverb to his daughter, Ẹni-ìtàn, after asking her about Adéwọlé, her fiancé. She is surprised that her father has been paying attention to her relationship with the boy. Although Chief does not complete the proverb, the way it is said among the Yorùbá, the fact that he tells his daughter and smiles means that he is ready to welcome the young man who got into his daughter's life. Also, after Adéwọlé passes away, Sojí, another young man, comes into Ẹni-ìtàn's life as her fiance, Àiná's mother, who is now a grandmother to Ẹni-ìtàn, sends for Sojí. She wants Sojí to know she is aware that he is dating her grandchild. To express her feeling of protection of her grand-child, she utters this proverb:

Ojú làgbàlagbà á yá,

Kì í yá'nu.

Ṣùgbọ̀n nígbà mǐràn,

A yájú

A tún yánu.

Translation:

An adult is usually bold,

He or she does not speak too soon.

However, at times

He/She is bold

And he/she speaks too soon.

The proverb implies that the grandmother is aware that both Sojí and Ẹni-itàn are dating each other and that she cannot pretend about it. It also implies that she welcomes the relationship. She, therefore, encourages Sojí to take a step towards their introduction and marriage. In a clear way, she has accepted Sojí as a husband to her grand-daughter.

4.18 Oral tradition as an agent of rejection

In *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, when Ìyálóde and Ọtún arrive in the palace to break the news that an imminent pandemonium is about to befall the town, the King of Oteda wonders what trouble will be. Ìyálóde responds with this proverb:

À n kì í,

À n sà á,

Ẹ ní ẹ ò mẹ'ni ó kú.

Translation:

We are praising the person.

We are commending the person.

You still claim that you don't the person that has passed away.

The proverb is used to reject the king's pretense as if he does not know that Ológundúdú and Ìkọ̀làbà are entangled in a serious conflict which can destabilise the peace of the town. Another feeling of rejection echoes in the words of Chief Ọtún:

Wọ̀n ní ibi erin méjì bá gbé jà,

Kóóko ibè ò ní í gbé'rí.

Translation:

Where two elephants fight,

The grasses on it will never grow again.

The proverb is used to call on the king to kick against the idea of two strong warriors and their promise to deal with each other. The warriors see each other as his child killer. Ìyálóde thinks that if both powerful warriors are allowed to engage each other in a fight, their town will be doomed.

In *Máṣèkà*, when Àiná's mother does not want Àiná to keep talking about Şeéni who once helped the mother by selling his car to pay the hospital bill of the mother, Àiná's mother uses a proverb to reject Àiná's positive thinking about Şeéni:

Àfiséyìn téégún fişo.

Translation:

Backward-flinging is how a masquerade does its dress.

With the proverb, Àiná's mother suggests to her daughter that Şeéni is now an irrelevant person in the daughter's life.

4.19 Oral tradition as a means of correction

In the selected movies, oral tradition is used to draw attention to corrections. For example, in *Èjè Méjì*, Àşàké uses proverbs to tell Ìbídùn to hold herself responsible for her future; no matter what advice she may get from people, she needs to take decisions on personal issues without any confusion. For example, she says to Ìbídùn:

Alátişe ni o o, Ìbídùn

Tó sì gbọdọ màtişe ara rẹ.

Translation:

You are the individual person

Who should know how to handle your affairs.

Another proverb from Àṣàkẹ uses goes as follows:

Abáni d́́a kan kò sì ní í bá ni dé'bẹ.

Bẹẹ ni abánidébẹ kan kò í bá'ni tán an.

Translation:

Whoever that pushes one in trouble will not stay with one.

Whoever that stays with one at the time of trouble will not help us to finish it.

The proverb prompts Àṣàkẹ to use her senses to figure out what she wants to do instead of relying on her mother for advice; otherwise, she will live to regret her action.

Also, Àṣàkẹ adds another proverb:

Bá a ti ẹ̀ l'á wí;

Èyàn kì í yan àna rẹ̀ l'òdì o o o.

Translation:

It is our responsibility to say what want we will do;

A human-being shouldn't be his or her in-law's enemy.

The proverb above offers Àṣàkẹ an opportunity to use her initiative to find solution to her problem. Realising the prompt, Ìbídùn makes a statement:

Bó bá kọ wá'jú sí mi kí n tá;

Bó bá kẹ̀yìn sí'mi,

Kí n ta á.

Bó bá kèmi

Bó bá kèmi nì'kan,

Kí n téré ara mi pa.

Translation:

If it shows me its front,

I should play it.

If it shows me its back,

I should play it.

But if it is alone,

I should have a new thought.

The proverb above invokes a feeling of self-awareness and the need for a personal correction on the part of Ìbídùn.

Another correctional approach is introduced through a proverb which another friend of Ìbídùn utters when Ìbídùn continues to weep profusely while mourning the death of Abísógun:

Ó yẹ ẹranko gbogbo láti joku ẹkun.

Àmọ kò tọ sájá.

Translation:

It is a befitting act for all animals to eat the remains of a leopard.

But it does not befit a dog.

The friend takes side with Ìbídùn who feels hurt at her mother's statement that she should think of marrying Láyọ́nú after the death of Abísógun. In a way, the proverb can be interpreted to mean that if Ìbídùn will marry a person after her

fiancé has passed away, she should consider a suitor other than Láyòṣunú who rivaled Abísógun to death. Another attempt at making a correction is captured in the proverb below:

Bí irungbòṣun tí gùn tó un,

Ayé ló bá ìpéḥpéjú.

Translation:

As long as the bear is,

In age, it is younger than the eye lashes.

With the expression, Ìbídùn's mother implies that she is more experienced than her daughter and knows how to handle the situation a way that will make her reluctant daughter to marry Láyòṣunú who has been a generous cash-giver to the mother.

In *Máṣèkà*, Şeéní uses a proverb to counter the lie which Àiná's mother offers for her action that has led to the relationship between Chief Ọládélé and Àiná and to his (Şeéní's) rejection:

Ẹni tí a kò fẹ́,

Ààlò kò ràn án.

Translation:

The person we do not like,

There is nothing that he or she can do to please us.

The import from the proverb is that Şeéní realises that whatever he does to make Àiná's mother know why Àiná should marry him, the hatred which the mother has for him will not let her care to make Àiná marry him. In other words, he seems to have decided to give up the hope of marrying Àiná since his lover's mother has her own excuses to thwart his attempts -another suitor whom she has permitted

to get into the life of her daughter and the money she benefits from the new lover.

4.20 Oral tradition as a ritual code for supernatural elements

Communicating with supernatural elements has its language among the Yorùbá native speakers. Incantation is one major language or means of tapping the power of supernatural forces to perform certain tasks, such as protecting self, creating opportunities, maintaining peace, fomenting trouble, and wadding off evil beings or devilish actions. It can be used for making or marring people's progress. It can be used positively or negatively. Some of the actors and actresses in the selected data use the oral tradition for different purposes.

In *Èjẹ Méjì*, to get the support of supernatural elements when Ìkọ̀làbà is ready to go to the king-assigned war, he uses the incantation below to invoke the power of the elements in order to have their support:

Èyin irúnmoṣè, ẹ̀ dídè!

Èmi Ìkọ̀làbà n lọ̀ sógun.

Ogun yá!

Ogun Ọ̀ba yá!

Akòko Olúfẹ̀ n ló fẹ̀nu sọgi.

5

Ènu awo nìbà.

Ènu awo nìbà làṣẹ̀.

Akòko Olúfẹ̀ n ló fẹ̀nu sọgi.

Ènu awo nìbà!

Ènu awo nìbà làṣẹ̀.

10

Translation:

All deities, rise up!

I, Ìkọ̀lábà, am ready to go to the war front.

It's time for war!

It's time for the King-initiated war!

It is Olufe's bird which pecks at the tree.

5

Only the initiated person has the mouth to command other people.

Only the initiated person has the mouth to command other people.

It is Olufe's bird which pecks at the tree.

Only the initiated person has the mouth to command other people!

Only the initiated person has the mouth to command other people! 10

In *Máṣèkà*, the invocation of Ifá is a spiritual code intended to get power from Ifá and use the power to the benefits of Ifá clients.

4.21 Oral tradition as a link to the spiritual realm

The Yorùbá's belief in the power of gods, goddesses, ancestors and other supernatural forces are embedded in their traditional, verbal expressions. Such expressions are found in Yorùbá movies. In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, for example, when Ológundúdú invites his friend to come to his Ògún festival (Ògún is the god of iron among the Yorùbá), he utters this traditional religious expression:

Ọ̀dẹ̀ náà ló mojú Ògún

Translation:

Only the hunter understands Ògún.

The expression is an extract from *ìjálá*, the hunters' chant. It means that there is a spiritual link between Ògún (the god of iron and hunters) and its worshippers. This expression invokes a sense of spiritual connection and binding which Ìkọ̀lábà and his friend have with the god. It is to spur the friend to feel a sense of

commitment to the god and to show up on the appointed day at Ológundúdú 's shrine where the god is to be worshipped.

Also, in *Ẹ̀jẹ̀ Méjì*, while preparing to go to the war to which the king has sent Ìkọ̀làbà and Ológundúdú, Ìkọ̀làbà recites oríkì, the praise poetry of some gods, to connect with them and to solicit their support so that he can triumph at the war front:

Lákáyé ò!

Ọ̀sìnmoḻẹ̀!

Ọ̀lómì-ń-lé-fẹ̀jẹ̀-wẹ̀!

Ọ̀lášọ̀-ń-lé-fimọ̀kímọ̀-bora!

Kóókọ-odò-tí-í-rú-minimini,

5

N de!

Kó o wá rè é lànà.

Ìwọ Olúkòso ò ò ò!

Àyà-iná, Àkàkà-yẹ̀rìyẹ̀rì!

Eégún ńlá tí í yọ'ná lẹnu;

10

Ọ̀rìṣà tí í bológbò lẹ̀rù,

Sángiri-làgiri,

Ọ̀-làgiri-kàkà-figba-ẹ̀dún-bò.

Ogun yá.

Ẹ̀ ò de!

15

Laaníporóyè ò ò ò ò!

...

Translation:

God of iron who is all over the world,

He that is worshipped at the shrine.

He who has water at home but prefers to bathe himself with blood!

He who has dresses at home but dresses himself in any palm fronds!

The river-side weed which germinates in countless numbers. 5

Get up!

Go and clear obstacles on the path.

You, the god of thunder!

Scorching-fire, the fire which gives off sparks!

The colossal masquerade whose mouth emits fire; 10

The god who frightens the cat!

One who cracks the wall and breaks it!

He who forcefully breaks the wall and inserts in it two hundred
thunderbolts!

It is time to go to war,

Get up! 15

God of trickster!

...

In the lines above, Ìkọ̀làbà praises Ògún, the god of iron; Şàngó, the god of thunder and lightning, and Èşù, the god of trickster. They are some of the spiritual or supernatural elements whose spiritual power Ìkọ̀làbà invokes when he is about to step out of his house and go to the war that he and his friend have been mandated to wage. With the *oríkì* or praise poetry of the gods, Ìkọ̀làbà conveys a sense of spiritual connection with the super-natural forces, to have an

assurance that he has the backing of the spiritual authorities that are in the environment. It is to appease them as well.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, the link to the spiritual realm is facilitated by the Ifá literary corpus which the priest chants. The use of “Ifá Olókun, bo bá ti rí ni o wí, ” which means “Ifá, the owner of the sea, say the exact thing” implies a contact between the unknown and the known or between an ordinary person and supernatural power.

4.22 Oral tradition as a device for expressing appreciation

In the selected movies, oral tradition becomes a mechanism for appreciating what other people do. Those who benefit from other people’s actions or consider other people to be valuable use different genres of oral tradition to show appreciation. For example, in *Ẹ̀jẹ̀ Méjì*, both Abísógun and his father use oral tradition to appreciate each other’s position or contribution. After his father offers him advice on how to handle his love relationship with Ìbídùn, Abísógun thanks him and recites his father’s oríkì orílẹ̀, the praise-poetry of their lineage. He blends it with ìjálá, the hunters’ chant for happy occasions.

Oríkì orílẹ̀ (lineage praise poetry)

Òjò-ń-petu

Ọmọ Arótí-wẹ-bí-òjò

Translation:

Òjò-ń-petu

The offspring of He-who-showers-himself-with-wine-as-if-it-is-water [drink].

Ìjálá (hunters’ chant)

Ẹ kọ mi lédè;

Mo mèdè.

Ẹ kọ mi nísámúsámú;

Mo mẹnú-ún jẹ bí ọmọ ọdẹ.

Translation:

You taught me the language;

I understand the language.

You taught me how to chant;

I know how to chant as a hunter's child.

Abísógun chants the oríkì to draw his father's attention and to show appreciation of the valuable advice he has got from his father regarding how to handle his love experience with Ìbídùn. To show that the lesson his father has given remains with him, Abísógun adds the hunters' chant above to the lineage praise poetry. The poetic expression means that he, Abídogun, understands very well what the father says and that he will do exactly what the father expects of him. In a way, he uses the lines to say that he is in no way different from his father, that he, too, is clever and knows how to handle a delicate or doubtful love terrain if it Ìbídùn disappoints her.

After Abísógun offers a verbal appreciation to his father, the father, in turn, extracts an expression from the hunters' chant to appreciate reasoning and collaboration:

Bí baba bá roko,

Tí kò bá mú;

Ọmọ rẹ ni ó tún un ro.

B'ọmọ bá roko,

Tí kò bá mú;

Baba rẹ ni ó tún un ro.

Translation:

If the father does not cut the weeds perfectly,

It is his child that will work to make it look perfect.

If the child does not cut the weeds perfectly,

It is his father that will work to make it look perfect.

The collaborative and supportive idea which exists between the father and son regarding the issue is what the father appreciates in his child.

In *Máṣèkà*, the towns people use proverbs which convey a sense of appreciation.

4.23 Conclusion

Among the Yorùbá people, oral tradition is a medium for communicating feelings and/or sending messages to one's audience. The result of the questionnaire which was administered indicates that the majority of the people claim that Yorùbá movies cannot do without oral tradition; they agree that oral tradition is the marker of Yorùbá movies. Their position tallies with the outcome of the analysis of the selected movies because the selected movies reflect different genres of oral tradition. Even though the analysed movies do not have an equal number of the oral tradition genres and equal quantity of each genre which is common to them, the movies demonstrate that oral tradition is an unavoidable part of the Yorùbá culture; it features indifferent situations or contexts and settings in the movies, and it helps the users to make their points or drive home their messages and convey their feelings. In addition, it contributes to the building of the themes and fits the settings in the movies. Over all, oral tradition is an essential marker of the selected data.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In a discursive way, this chapter revisits the aim and objectives that are presented in Chapter 1 and the data that is analysed in Chapter 4. It also presents findings that are drawn from the movies. Its purpose is twofold: to present a critical view on the study and to use its findings to assert that Yorùbá oral tradition is a characteristic feature for identifying Yorùbá movies.

The research, from the beginning to the end, has been to establish whether or not oral tradition is a means for distinguishing Yorùbá movies easily from other movies. Specifically, the intention has been to pick up any Yorùbá oral tradition in the selected movies and argue that it can be used as one marker of the identity of Yorùbá movies. The discussion of oral tradition, its salient functions and ramifications which are established in Yorùbá movies is presented below.

5.2 Genres of oral tradition in selected Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the oral tradition, which features in the selected Yorùbá movies, varies genre-wise. Diawara (2010:16) asserts that besides themes and effort to revisit the past, Yorùbá movies rely on oral tradition. His claim or assertion has a testimony in the selected movies, *Eje méjì* and *Máṣèkà* which contain different genres of the Yorùbá oral tradition. The use of different genres of oral tradition in the movies reminds one of common expressions in the Yorùbá's intrapersonal, interpersonal, group, and cultural communication experiences. The oral tradition genres that are found in the movies include proverbs, incantations, and Ifa chant, Ogun chant, and praise poetry.

The movies incorporate numerous proverbs to send out vital messages that express the feelings of the actors and actresses. The use of proverbs in the daily

life of the Yorùbá makes proverbs cultural or traditional, and the inclusion of them as a communication device in the movies indicates that, no matter what influence modern ideas and media technology may have on the Yorùbá and their ways of life, proverbs remain unavoidable and essential in Şeéńí their movies. Yorùbá proverbs are one essential aspect of the Yorùbá oral tradition. Qlátúnjí (1984:170) identifies the significance of proverbs and the sources among the Yorùbá:

The Yorùbá value proverbs very highly, for they consider them to be the wisdom lore of the race. And because the proverbs are considered to be traditional and originate from the observation of natural phenomena and human relations, old and aged people are also regarded as a repository of proverbs.

Kazeem (2010:4), states that “proverbs are very useful, as they are axiomatically symbolic of formal logic in an African culture ... Most specifically, proverbs express reality.” The usefulness of proverbs is evident in the selected movies, as they sum up ideas to make them logical and convey specific messages to whomever they are intended. Among the Yorùbá, when two people communicate, and one adds a proverb, the proverb condenses the message and prompts the listener to decode and understand it. The Yorùbá have a proverb which stresses the conciseness of proverbs: “Owe lesin oro; boro ba sonu, owe laa fi i wa a, ” which means “The proverb is the horse on which a word or message rides to get delivered on time.” As Kazeem (op cit.) claims, proverbs present logical thoughts and reality.

The selected movies have proverbs which support the idea and demonstrate that the expressions are cultural to the Yorùbá communication. This connection reminds one of a statement by Barker (2000) that culture is a way for signaling an identity. Copious examples of proverbs that exist in the selected movies illustrate the idea of logical thoughts and reality in the presentation of feelings and messages.

An article, 'The concept of 'social reality' (2011), states that social reality is a complex term and that it "is a powerful shorthand for describing this mutual consciousness of mutual agreement about a social situation." If the idea in the article is related to the proverbs in the Yorùbá movies, it suggests that the awareness which is triggered or messages which are sent by the encoders of the proverbs reach the target audience who try to decode and interpret the messages capsuled in the proverbs the way the encoders expect. While the interpretation of the messages are supposed to be the same at both ends – encoder and decoder, the reservation exists that only the interlocutors with adequate knowledge of any Yorùbá proverbs can arrive at the same meaning; anyone who lacks the knowledge of Yorùbá proverbs can not understand the messages sent to him or her when proverbs are used.

In the movies, proverbs are used and in almost all the cases both the speakers and the listeners seem to be on the same page, as they have effective communication –understand each other or one another. To prove that Yorùbá proverbs are a traditional way of recognizing Yorùbá movies, few examples of proverbs from the selected movies suffice at the point. In *Èjẹ Méjì*, when Láyòṣunú returns and attempts to appease his friends, Àjàyí and Òjó whom he had once told to stay away from him because their mockery against him when, Ìbídun disgraced and abandoned him for Abísógun, his rival, Àjàyí who is angry at Láyòṣunú because of his intolerable behavior, uses the proverb below:

Ewúrẹ wa ò p'oun ò sọmọ iyá àgùntàn.

Àgùntàn ló ní'yàá òun ò bímọ dúdú.

Translation:

Our goat never refuses to be a sibling of the sheep.

It is the sheep who says that his mother never has a dark-in-complexion kid.

The proverb expresses the reality of the relationship of two cordial friends on one side and one friend who decides to stay aloof -one friend that refused at a point to get along with his two friends. The logical presentation is done through the metaphorical use of two domestic animals “goat” and “sheep” which are supposed to live under the same room, but one rejects the other. Ajayi, the user of the proverb implies that he and Ojo sincerely and really want to help Láyòṣunú, who shuns them during his public disgrace by his lover. The expression, as used in the movie, orchestrates the traditional Yorùbá way of communicating with proverbs, using human experiences about animals to illustrate human situations.

Another proverb in the movie is the one Ìbídùn’s mother uses when she emphasises the need for his daughter to act smartly by choosing Láyòṣunú, a wealthy suitor, instead of Abísógun, a poor man.

Nígbà ta a bá r’èsèṣẹ̀ wèrè tá ò bù ú ṣòògùn,

Nígbà wo la ó rí tọ̀lọ̀gbọ̀n?

Translation:

When we fail to take advantage of a fool,

When (how) are we going to take advantage provided by a wise person?

The use of the proverb in the circumstance illustrates the world view of anyone who wants to cheat another person. Ìbídùn’s mother encourages her daughter to marry the wealthy man so that her entire family can gain access to money and live comfortably. While the Yorùbá culture discourages cheating, the Yorùbá also have a proverb that people can use to capture their smart act –negative or positive. It is this traditional expression which has penetrated the movie.

Another proverb is the one used when Òjó displays a behavior which contradicts the Yorùbá cultural way of eating by picking up a piece of meat which he should not take as he eats with his friend, Àjàyí, who reminds him to remember the

Yorùbá eating culture. To downplay Àjàyí's mild complaint, Òjó's response goes as follows:

Orí là á fi í mẹran láwo.

Translation:

It is our destiny which helps us to choose juicy and tender pieces of meat.

He utters the proverb to cover up what appears as anti-culture or a shameful act.

When Abísógun is surprised at the questioning his father subjects him to because he has not told the father he is dating a lover who is daughter of his father's friend, Abísógun uses the proverb below:

Ẹni à n gbéyàwó bọ wá bá kì í ga'rùn-ún wòran.

Translation:

A bridegroom expecting his wife does not stretch his neck to catch a glimpse.

It is a tradition among the Yorùbá to use the proverb when someone is hiding something for another. Anyone who wants another person to reveal any hidden object or information can use the proverb to show that no matter how long something is hidden, any person who should be kept informed will eventually know about it. The proverb is a traditional way of telling people not to keep essential information or secrets from the people that are close to them.

In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, several proverbs are used. For example, when Adéwọ̀lé says how truly he loves Ẹni-itàn, Àìná's daughter, the response he gets for his declaration of sincere love is as follows:

Ẹnu dùn-ún ròfọ;

Agada ọwọ ẹ é bẹran.

Translation:

A mouth is easy to explain how the cooking of spinach is done;

It is easy to cut meat with a bare hand.

Ẹni-itàn uses the proverb to tell Adéwólé that a promise is easier said than it is done. This prompt is to challenge Adéwólé to remember to keep his promise.

Another example of a proverb in *Máṣèkà* goes as follows:

A kì í fa'rí léyìn olórí.

Translation:

We don't cut a person's hair while the person is absent.

Àìná's mother utters the proverb to show her respect for her brother-in-law, Àìná's uncle to make him feel that he has a final say on and should give an approval to Àìná's choice of husband.

Also, in the same movie, the proverb below is used:

Ayídó borí tó ta ọfà sókè,

B'ọba ayé kò rí i,

Ọba ọrun n wò ó.

Translation:

The one who shoots an arrow upward and hides under a mortal for protection,

If the earthly god does not see him,

The heavenly god is looking at him.

Şeéní uses the proverb to register his hope at the time of his disappointment when Àìná's mother denies him of the opportunity to marry the woman he loves, on whom he has sacrificed so much money and time. Since he does not see any positive change in the attitude of Àìná's mother towards him, he realises he does

not need to waste his time to appease her. Consequently, he hopes for justice. His hope resonates with the idea of Ashworth (2007) which goes as follows:

Regain control of your thoughts and plan for the next encounter. A stressmaster is always looking to find ways to regain control of his or her thoughts. This is the first step to making that leap from feeling out of control to being in control of your life.

Over all, both movies incorporate copious proverbs which are commonly used in the traditional settings and/or in the daily interactions of the Yorùba. The evidence of proverbs in the selected movies illustrates how valuable oral tradition is in the lives of the people and their movies. It will be a complete odd to have a Yorùbá movie without proverbs even though the use of English and inclusion of other foreign languages pose a threat to the Yorùbá language today and may remain so in the years ahead. The only concern is that the governments in the Yorùbáland today have not really done enough work to promote the Yorùbá language even though they often claim that they promote it. The majority of the states that the Yorùbá people have as their geographical territory are yet to make Yorùbá their official language and reflect its enforcement in their business communications.

Apart from proverbs, incantations can be found in Yorùbá movies. The use of incantations at the times of needs that require supernatural influences and/or help of nature is also common among the Yorùbá. Orimoogunje (2003:96) draws attention to the value of incantation among the Yorùbá: "In conclusion, in the social context and functions, the members of the Yorùbá society are active users of verbal arts." What this scholar calls "verbal arts" is what this study labels as "oral tradition." Several incantations are used in the movie *Èjè Méji*, particularly when Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà prepare for the war they king has mandated them to wage. Both warriors say different incantations to gain the support of supernatural elements. They and their soldiers also use incantations on their enemies. For fear of being attacked by supernatural elements, people often

distance themselves from the place where incantations are being used, especially at the time of conflicts and when they do not know how to defend themselves with counter incantations.

Oriloye (2010:40) states that people keep distance because they do not want “to be smeared with their effects.” With his claim, Oriloye seems to have forgotten that incantations are not meant to perpetrate only harmful effects; there are incantations which are used to make people sound healthy in life and to be successful in their endeavors. The effects of incantations on other people are rampant in the movie. For example, when Ìkólàbà who has recited several incantations in preparation for the war meets his wife as he steps out, the wife becomes the first victim; she collapses immediately she sees her husband and dies, even though the husband does not touch her physically. The potency of his juju and the oral tradition -incantations he has already said before stepping out of the house, no doubt, is the cause of the woman’s death. Even though this can not be proved empirically, the Yorùbá world view accepts that certain verbal expressions, which are incantatory in nature, are very powerful and can effect changes, do the desires of those who utter them. This idea truly reflects in *Èjè Méji* as Ìbídùn’s mother dies just because his husband meets her while going to fight his enemy. The occurrence prompts the husband to be more charged with his determination to destroy his enemy, accusing the enemy of contributing to the death of his wife and daughter.

Also, in the movie, Abísógun uses incantations against his enemies who waylay him as he returns to his lover’s home where he intends to pick up the charm he has forgotten after all night romantic experience in the lover’s bed. Although his enemies who plan to kill him use dangerous weapons to inflict wounds on him, he manages to crawl away and reach the lover’s home before he gives up his ghost. The fact that he is able to escape shows that his incantations have aided him to escape from the instant death the three attackers planned for him.

Furthermore, at the time when Ìkólàbà and Ológundúdú meet each other face-to-face, both use different incantations to attack each other and to free each other from the harmful effect of each other's charms and verbal attacks. In the end, they harm and render each other powerless as they make each other taste a motionless, painful, and groaning experience.

In addition, Ifá literary corpus is another oral tradition genre which can be found in Yorùbá movies. In *Máṣèkà*, for example, Ṣeéńí's father is an Ifá priest who is consulted to render help to a woman who experiences frequent death of her lovers in sequence. Each lover or would-be husband dies as he attempts to have a sexual intercourse with the young woman. By reciting Ifá literary corpus and using Ifá paraphernalia, Ṣeéńí's father is able to divine and tell his clients the hidden aspects of their lives, which have caused them to experience suffering or death. In other words, the Yorùbá world view of seeking spiritual help traditionally, through Ifa, surfaces in the movie.

Olson and Nkiwane (2006:2) testify to the role of Ifa: "The Yorùbá believe in the power called Ifa. Ifá is God's angel chosen to possess an infinite source of knowledge." The testimony to the power of Ifa, as the scholars claim, is found where Ṣeéńí's father reveals the past misdeeds of the grandmother who chased away her daughter's lover, denied him of an opportunity to marry the woman he loved, and gave a different man the impression that the womb of another man was his. The priest attributes the death of each lover of the innocent granddaughter to Àíná's mother. In other words, through the priest of Ifá who recites Ifá literary corpus to do divination, the priest of Ifá knows his grand-daughter that somebody else has claimed as his, the fake father reveals the truth that he is not the actual father, Aina knows the truth regarding her biological father, and the chief knows why he suffers at a point in his life, as Ifá unfolds what appears as mysterious a death.

Besides, Ifá literary corpus which may be found in Yorùbá movies, *oríkì* is another oral tradition genre which can feature in them. In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, Ìkólàbà recites

oríkì, the praise poetry of some gods, so that he can have their favor over his enemy. Yorùbá believe that oríkì can spur its target persons to smooth, speedy, and effective actions. Also, they believe that *oríkì* can recall one's lineage history and construct one's history by patching together occurrences, positive or negative things in one's life.

Olomo (2003) offers the significance of *oríkì* this way: "The purpose of oríkì is to commemorate our strengths and weaknesses. Oríkìs and the rituals they accompany set the stage for our progression through sociological changes and announce our biological transitions." Also, in the movie, *Abísógun* shows appreciation for his father's concern for him regarding his love relationship with Ìbídùn; he chants the oríkì of his lineage to his father. The father is happy at the rendition showing his advice to his son is appreciated. Even though under a normal circumstance, only family members that are older than one and any people of age who are professional artistes are popularly known to be the traditional reciters of one's or lineage's *oríkì* to one person or group, the rendition of oríkì by a child to his father testifies to the traditional way of appreciation among the Yorùbá. In addition, Ìbídùn recites *Abísógun's* lineage *oríkì* to spur him into more romantic engagement when they meet under a tree and talk about their love for each other. Usually, the Yorùbá like listening to their *oríkì* and often compensate the reciter, for *oríkì* always or usually makes them happy. The same experience reflects in the movie as *Abísógun* looks at his lover admiringly and smiles as the lover dishes out *oríkì* for him. This Yorùbá traditional way of communicating historical connections and traits finds its space in the movie.

5.3 Harmony between oral tradition which expresses feelings and actions, events, places, actors and actresses, and themes in the Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the oral tradition which expresses feelings connects with actions, events, places, actors and actresses, and themes in the Yorùbá movies. Every oral tradition which is found in the movies invokes a predominant feeling in

its user and/or target person(s). Also, it corroborates this researcher's idea of using oral tradition as the marker or identity of the Yorùbá movies. D'Andred (in Schweder and LeVin, 1984:16) who focuses on culture considers culture as the real representation of its people. Operating from the purview of D'Andred, one can say that the inclusion of oral tradition to express the feelings of the actors and actresses and to convey the messages and themes in the movies, unequivocally, validates the hypothesis of this study –that Yorùbá oral tradition can be found in Yorùbá movies and be used as the stylus for identifying them among the movies of other peoples or nations.

The feelings which the Yorùbá oral tradition transports to its target audience or makes the users experience are connected with the actions events, actors and actresses, and themes in the movies. The evidence which are provided from the movies to illustrate the claim is found in Chapter 4. For example, in *Èjẹ Méjì*, Ìbídùn's mother uses a proverb which reveals her greediness:

Nígbà tá a bá r'èsèẹ wèrè tá ò bù ú soògùn,
Nígbà wo la ó rí ọlọgbón?

Translation:

When we fail to take advantage of a fool,
When (how) are we going to take advantage provided by a wise person?

Using such a proverb can reveal a speaker greediness.

Besides the evidence of oral tradition which expresses the feeling of greediness, the movie also contains *oríkì*, praise poetry, which invokes a sense of deep love or likeness or appreciation of love. For example, Ìbídùn chants Abísógun's *oríkì* as she and he talk about their love relationship and pledge their commitment to it. As she chants the lineage poem, she coquettishly looks at him, and he smiles as he is engrossed in the decoding of the chant which his lover renders with a sonorous voice. Abísógun's response to Ìbídùn's happy rendition pervades the

love atmosphere both lovers experience under a green leave and under the brightness of the day. Also, in *Máṣèkà*, as Ẹni-itàn, Àiná's daughter, talks to Adéwólé about their love relationship, Ẹni-itàn tells Adéwólé that she truly loves him as much as he loves her. Before saying so, her response to Adéwólé's declaration of his sincere love for her is as follows:

Ẹnu dùn-ún ròfó;

Agada ọwọ ẹ é bẹran.

Translation:

A mouth is easy to explain how the cooking of spinach is done;

It is easy to cut meat with a bare hand.

She uses the proverb to tell Adéwólé that not many people keep to their promise of love. The oral tradition prompt can make Adéwólé cautious and remember to keep his promise. The examples above suggest that the Yorùbá oral tradition is an essential tool to communicate about intimate relationships in the Yorùbá movies.

5.4 The Impact of Oral tradition as shown in Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the feelings associated with the oral tradition used in the selected movies have causes and effects. This finding confirms the idea of Berkowitz (2000:13) who agrees with certain investigators that feelings do not come without their reasons and consequences.

In both movies selected for this study, actors and actresses have what prompt them to use oral tradition, and the use of it has or suggests an effect or effects in each situation. For example, in *Ẹjẹ Méji*, that Ológundúdú, and Ìkòlàbà suspects each other as the killer of his child makes both to use dangerous and protective incantations which have different implications –suffering, regret, and death or transformation.

Suspicion makes both friends and notable warriors to engage each other in a conflict which ends up in a physical and verbal fighting. The potency of their charms and incantations on each other affect their movements -subject them to painful experiences and struggle for survival. In the process the ghosts of their children appear and tell them the fighting is worthless as no child got killed through any of the friends. Then each admits he has inflicted harmful objects on the other, that there is no remedy to prevent death. After the ghosts disappear, both friends hold each other's one hand, both friends transformed themselves into two sculptures which the townspeople accept as their additional gods that deserve to be worshipped. Before their death or transformation, each recites powerful incantations to escape from the attacks of the other or to overcome being subdued by him, and the effect is that each regains his energy and becomes more aggressive in the use of destructive incantations and charms.

In *Máṣèkà*, the feelings that are expressed also have their causes and consequences. The Yorùbá cultural norm of giving men the final say in the marriage of their daughters makes Aina's mother to use a proverb, which is an oral tradition, to transfer a release authority to Aina's uncle whom she has invited to the introduction of the man who wants to marry her daughter. The uncle is pleased with the recognition of his status in the family, so he seizes the opportunity to accept Ṣeéńí Awóyẹmí as a suitor for niece, Aina, whose father is no longer alive. The proverb Aina's mother uses is "Won ni a ki i fari lcyin olori, " which means "We do not cut a person's hair while he is away, " and the effect is the happiness of the uncle and his support for the proposed union of the two young lovers.

5.5 Oral tradition as a salient feature of modern Yorùbá movies

The selected movies display elements of modern times even though the observation of Seibert (2010) that many Nigerian languages are dying implies the death of culture or oral tradition as well. The survival of oral tradition reflects in how it is used to accommodate modern situations or needs in the Yorùbá

movies. For example, in *Máṣèkà*, Ẹni-ìtàn, who has imbibed western education and dresses in the western way is convinced to meet an Ifá priest to find a solution to the problem she faces; every lover that attempts to have a sexual intercourse with her dies. The appearance of Ẹni-ìtàn in the house of an Ifá priest is to find a solution to her problem and that is what prompts the Ifá priest to chant the Ifá literary corpus which the divination object signals to him. The priest's explanation of the literary corpus and the connection it has with Ẹni-ìtàn's past regarding how her grandmother weaved a lie to make Aina transfer the pregnancy that belonged to one man to another helps Ẹni-ìtàn to know the truth about her biological father and to feel relieved from her frequent disappointments.

In the incident which involves the representative of modernity and the representative of a traditional practice the movie, Ifa literary corpus is alive. The incident demonstrates the reality of many Yorùbá today; when they face serious situations which their modern religions can not solve, they will not hesitate to tap from the local knowledge which can help them to find solutions. Ifá is one great source of knowledge and solutions. Ọláòpá (2013) highlights the importance of Ifá in the lives of the Yorùbá:

The first is Ifá as a body of knowledge and wisdom incorporated into the Ifá literary corpus established on historical, cosmological and mythological bases, and Ifá as a divinatory process that feeds on his body of wisdom.

Also, in *Ẹjẹ Méjì*, Abísógun and Ìbídùn who represent modernity because of their youthful age use oral tradition to communicate. Even though appear in their traditional dresses instead of foreign ones and they use only their local language instead of English which most of the modern-day youths in the Yorùbáland prefer to speak or mix with their language, they still behave like modern-day youths. For example, Ìbídùn is like a city girl who may not hesitate to have two or more boyfriends, dating them at a time, acting cleverly to hide her love activities, and thinking that only one that satisfies her in all ramifications will be her final choice.

This kind of behavior is like going to buy an orange at a market of many sellers of the fruit. The buyer who wants the best moves from one seller to another to examine the oranges and feels their different prices and qualities before settling down to do business with only one. Usually, such a buyer buys from a seller whose orange looks convincing and is open to a final negotiation which the buyer and the seller have to make before the sales transaction can be effected. Ìbídùn chants the oríkì of their lineage, and Abísógun uses a proverb to alert his father that he knows that the father will eventually know about the clandestine love later. The question that his father asks him makes him to use the proverb. If the father has not shown him that he is suspicious of the relationship between him and Ìbídùn, the proverb would have not been used. The proverb goads him into disclosing to his father that he is deeply in love with Ìbídùn.

Over all, oral tradition and modernity merge in Yorùbá movies. The report in Chapter 4.5.3 states that while “37.5% of the respondents chose ‘yes’, that they had watched Yorùbá movies that did not have oral tradition 62.5% chose ‘no’, meaning they had never found any Yorùbá movies without oral tradition. That the majority of the modern day watchers of Yorùbá movies link Yorùbá movies of today to oral tradition implies that in spite of modernity, oral tradition in modern Yorùbá movies become imperative for the majority of Yorùbá watchers in particular, for them to enjoy the movies.

5.6 Oral tradition as a marker of the identity of Yorùbá movies

This study finds that oral tradition can be used to identify Yorùbá movies. The evidence that the study has drawn from the two selected Yorùbá movies, as presented in Chapter 4, substantiates its claim. Thus, the finding confirms the idea of Tomaselli (1995:1) that concurs with the view of other South African scholars, such as van Zyl (1989) and Prinsloo and Criticos (1991) that foreign approaches are inadequate for analysing or studying African movies: “They cannot account for ways in which African and Western/Eastern forms of expression have meshed, or for indigenous ways of knowing and making sense.”

Without resistance, one is persuaded by the argument that no analysis can be done successfully without knowing the characteristics or identity of an object. Knowing the features of an object is what can help an analyst to do a good job, and only an analyst that can find them can specify the identity of the object. The copious evidence of oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies, as presented in Chapter 4, represents a major feature and confirms the claim of the study, that Yorùbá movies, irrespective of the mission or inclination of their makers, are made distinct by the oral tradition of the people. The fact that the study is able to pull out different genres, at least two or more from each of the selected movies - and illustrate each with examples, establishes the claim.

In the study, the choice of oral tradition as a yardstick for identifying Yorùbá oral tradition contrasts with the ideas of other scholars who use different criteria for identifying Yorùbá movies. This observation reminds one of the point in Chapter 3, section 1.3 of this study that Adésòkàn (2005) claims that social struggles are a major way for identifying Yorùbá movies, and Àlà mú (1990) and Adélékè (1995) consider genre as a means of identifying the movies; Àlà mú groups them into the following types: “folkloric, historical, crime, and comic;” and Adélékè classifies Yorùbá movies as crime, mythical, sex or love, political, non-fiction, religious, comic, tragic, hooligan (in Ọdẹjọbí, 2004:9-10). Ọdẹjọbí (op. cit.) agrees to the genre approach and adds the following to the list: didactic, horror, ancient-based or mythical movies.

The three scholars and others who may share their ideas seem to have overlooked a more common approach which can be used to characterise or identify Yorùbá movies. The genre classifications or identification formula that they have mentioned are applicable to the movies of any ethnic people or nation –not just Yorùbá movies. It does not matter what genres the scholars have created, the peculiar cultural communication of the actors and actresses in the Yorùbá movies is one unique way to pursue the identity of the Yorùbá movies. In any Yorùbá movie, the tradition of the people who are represented or depicted should play a prominent role; otherwise, the analysis or the identification of the

movie may be done with an unsuitable parameter, which may consequently lead to an inaccurate account or submission on the movies.

While the study focuses on the communication conveying actions, feelings, and messages in Yorùbá movies so as to extract and use oral tradition as the stylus which makes Yorùbá movies distinct from the movies of other ethnic nations or cultures, previous efforts at identifying Yorùbá movies focus on actions or lessons, thus the scholars who use the criteria seem to have forgotten that the peculiar communication of the Yorùbá is not peculiar to other movies. Yorùbá oral tradition which is peculiar to only the Yorùbá and feature in their movies constitutes a strong element to make the movies distinct from other movies.

The claim of the study resonates with the idea of Olatúnjì (1984:190) who states that “Literary studies are meaningful when they operate against the background of description of the language in which the work of art under consideration is written.” In this study Yorùbá movies are the substitute for the scholar’s “literary studies.” Also, the finding in the selected movies which indicate that oral tradition is the identity marker of Yorùbá movies boils down to result the of the questionnaire which was administered. As contained in Chapter 4.5.3 of this research report, the result of the questionnaire was that 37.5% chose “yes,” that they had watched Yorùbá movies that did not have oral tradition while 62.5% chose “no”, that they had never found or watched any Yorùbá movies without oral tradition evidence. In other words, both findings in the selected movies and information which came from those who watched different Yorùbá movies confirm that oral tradition is one easy means or way to identify Yorùbá movies.

5.7 Different genres of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies

The study also finds that different genres of oral tradition can be found in Yorùbá movies. The examples that the study draws from the selected movies for its analysis have been presented in Chapter 4. They include Ifá literary corpus, proverbs, and incantations in *Èjè Méjì* and hunters’ chant and proverbs in

Máṣèkà. They are the proofs to establish the choice of oral tradition as the unique criterion for identifying Yorùbá movies. Okombo (1992:31) highlights the uniqueness of oral tradition:

The student of oral literature must strive to discern, systematize, and explicitly formulate the artistic perceptions of the community whose oral literature he/she is studying. Such a student must endeavor to develop an authentic set of the relevant set of theoretical principles to be used in the evaluation of the relevance body of literature.

His idea supports the idea of this study –using oral tradition as a means of recognising Yorùbá movies. Besides the evidence from the selected movies which established oral tradition as the identity of Yorùbá movies, Chapter 4.5.7 of this research states that 79.7% of the 168 respondents to the research questionnaire agree that oral tradition is the stylus of Yorùbá movies while 20.83 disagree. Even though the question which has prompted the answer does not ask about different genres, one can say that genres can have implied messages, based on one’s knowledge of Yoruba culture or tradition which allows one to blend one or more oral tradition genres while one converses with other Yorùbá language speakers or when one finds himself or her self in situations that accommodate such blending.

Although each analysed movie has more than one genre, each has its prominent genres. In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, incantations, proverbs, and praise poetry are more prominent than hunters’ chant; traditional prayer; and praise poetry. To be specific, 59 proverbs, 14 praise poems -personal and lineage, 12 incantations, 3 funeral dirges, 7 traditional prayers, 4 short extracts from hunters’ chants, and 2 extracts from Ifá literary corpus are used in the movie. Also, in *Máṣèkà*, the use of proverbs, for example, is prominent. Other genres that are found in it are Ifá literary corpus, traditional prayer, incantation, and verbal curses. To be specific, 35 proverbs, 4 incantations, 2 Ifá literary extracts, 2 traditional prayers, and 1 curse are incorporated. Proverbs are the most prominent in the movie. In spite of

the observation made above, the research finds that the use of proverbs among the Yorùbá reflects in their movies. In other words, it will not be out of place to say that every Yorùbá movie contains significant proverbs. Even if it is only proverbs that are used, it can be concluded that Yorùbá oral tradition is strong to distinguish Yorùbá movies from the movies of other people and nations. The finding suggests that no matter how many oral tradition genres may be used in Yorùbá movies, one is usually more prominent than the others. Comparatively, while proverbs are prominent in both movies, *Èjẹ̀ Méjì* contains more incantations than the other movie does. The import is that while two or more Yoruba movies may use the same genre(s) of Yoruba oral tradition, one movie may have more quantity of one or more genres than the other or others have .

5.8 Emotions invoked in oral traditions in Yorùbá movies

Different ideas connected with the oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies suggest the role of feelings or emotions as captured by the Yorùbá oral tradition in the movies.

5.8.1 Oral tradition as a transmitter of the feelings of actors and actresses in Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the actors and actresses in the selected movies use oral tradition to transmit their feelings. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, at the time of happiness, Ìbídùn smiles as she chants the praise poetry of her lover, and Abísógun radiates with a romantic look and joy. Also, in the movie, when Abísógun, a male actor, is waylaid and attacked by his enemies, he becomes furious; consequently, he uses incantations as a means of fighting against the enemies. In the same movie, while both Ológundúdú and Ìkólàbà, male actors, face each other in a duel, both get angry and use incantations to attack each other. Also, in *Máṣẹ̀kà*, Aina's mother uses a proverb to goad Aina's uncle into accepting a leading role during the introduction of Şeéní who wants to marry Aina. The proverb makes the uncle feel comfortable and take charge of his

responsibility as the family head. In addition, to express his feeling of disappointment at his rejection by Aina's mother who no longer wants to see him around his daughter, Şeńń uses a proverb to alert Aina's mother that the situation is clear to him, that he is no longer accommodated or accepted, that God knows what is hidden about the negative treatment he receives from his would-be mother-in-law.

Apart from the evidence cited above, the result of the research questionnaire shows that oral tradition is a way of expressing feelings in Yorùbá movies. The result, as presented in Chapter 4.5.4, corroborates the finding in the selected movies that oral tradition expresses feelings. According to the result of the questionnaire, of 168 respondents, 92.9% agree that oral tradition is used in the movies they have watched and that it expresses feelings while 7.1% of them disagree. Since the majority of them agree and the evidence from the selected movies says the same thing, the point is clear that oral tradition in Yorùbá movies conveys feelings. In addition, the report in Chapter 4.5.3 which states that "37.5% of the respondents chose 'yes', that they watched Yorùbá movies that did not have oral tradition, while 105 (62.5%) chose 'no', meaning they had never found any Yorùbá movies without oral tradition is the evidence that supports the claim inferred from the selected Yorùbá movies that oral tradition expresses feelings.

5.8.2 Link between feelings and social, physical, and spiritual aspects in Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the feelings transmitted through oral tradition in the selected Yorùbá movies connect with the actions, places, genders, occupation, image-making, morality, sacrifice, economy, health, politics, love, religion, conflict, and age in the movies. Each movie contains proofs which support the claim. Few proofs from each suffice to establish the claim.

Èjẹ̀ Méjì

Actions

In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, when the two warriors prepare for war, they get angry and each enters his power room and say preparatory incantations. Also, they recite incantations to attack each other when they meet to avenge the death of each other's child, which each erroneously attributes to the other. The incantations they say while preparing for war conveys the feeling of confidence to go and win the war. Also, Abísógun uses incantations where he wants to defend himself against a sudden attack by his enemies. A friend of Láyòṣnú uses the proverb "Orí là á fi ñ mēran láwo," which means "Our destiny helps us to choose pieces of juicy, tender meat while we eat in a plate of food." He uses the proverb to defend his greedy behavior which is against the Yorùbá culture of making a choice while eating in the same plate with other people. In other words, the feeling of greediness is associated with the choice of piece which should be for a different person. The wrong action is captured in the proverb, though in a defensive way.

In *Máṣèkà*, to perform his role as a diviner or Ifá priest, Awoseeni's father chants the praise poetry of Ifá. The poetry is also known as Ifá literary corpus. His action of making revelation to his clients is made possible by the ora tradition associated with Ifá or Orunmila, the god of wisdom among the Yorùbá.

Places

Different places are connected with the use of oral tradition and the feelings which go with it. In *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, the feeling of anger which pervades the war front where the two warriors attack each other is demonstrated in the persistent verbalisation of incantations which suggests serious fighting. Also, at the shrine Ogun, god of iron, traditional soldiers dance, jubilate, and chant hunters' chant for happy occasion because they have defeated their enemies and returned with their booties of war. Another place where oral tradition is used to convey a feeling is on the way, the point where enemies meet Abísógun on the bush path,

to attack him. In his defence, Abísógun who is angered and feel confidence of his traditional, supernatural power his father has given to him begins to show his anger and confidence by saying incantations which he intended can subdue the enemies who attack him with dangerous weapons. In *Máṣèkà*, Ifa chant or corpus is rendered in the consultation room of the Ifá priest. The use of proverb by Chief Ọládélé's sister to appeal to Fúnmiláyò to accept the second wife his husband wants to bring home takes places in the home of the husband. It is the house in which both the chief and his senior wife live.

Gender

The study finds that the use of oral tradition is not limited to any specific gender, acting-wise; both male and female role players in the Yorùbá movies use oral tradition. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, while each male warlord uses incantations to deal with his enemy, Ìkọ̀làbà's wife uses an incantation to coerce his daughter into accepting Láyòṣunú as her husband. Also, in *Máṣèkà*, the king uses proverbs, to make his audience reason with him and Iyálọ́já, a female chief, uses proverbs to spur the king and other chiefs into action.

Occupation

The study also reveals that an oral tradition expressing feelings can be connected with an occupation, though not every oral tradition is occupation-bond. As shown in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, the hunters' chant during the jubilation expressing the feeling of happiness at the victory over the enemies suggests war as an occupation of the warriors. It also brings to mind the discussion of the two leading warriors while they talk about gun and hunting when one, Ìkọ̀làbà cleans his gun. The point here is that the feeling of happiness is connected with hunting occupation. In *Máṣèkà*, only the Ifá priest chants Ifá literary corpus. His work is to do divination and take care of his clients.

Image-making

The study finds that oral tradition can be used to polish people's images and make them or their audience members have a feeling of satisfaction or happiness. The oral tradition which is mainly used for the purpose is *oríkì*, the praise poetry of the Yorùbá. An example is found in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì* where Ìbídùn chants the *oríkì* of Abísógun's lineage. The chant is filled with the heroic deeds of his ancestors. As Ìbídùn chants it, at a point, smiling Abísógun says that he is motivated by the chant, so he appreciates his lover's mnemonic power for preserving history and for using a melodious voice to deliver the *oríkì*. In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, to make Fúnmiláyò feel at ease and look important, Chief Ọládélé uses the proverb "We don't have two things at a time and get angry." The proverb is to cajole the targeted person into accepting the new development in the family.

Morality

The study also finds that the use of oral tradition in Yorùbá movies can connect with morality. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, the feeling of greediness which echoes in the proverb "Orí là á fi ń mẹ́ran láwo, " which means "Our destiny helps us to choose juicy and tender meat" suggests a subtle way for covering a behavior which is morally wrong and shameful. The friend who utters the proverb has taken a piece of meat which somebody else should take as both eat their food in the same plate. Yorùbá eating culture limits eaters to the meat that is close to their side of the plate; anything other than that is the demonstration of greediness. In *Máṣẹ̀kà*, Èni-Ìtàn's uncle uses the proverb "A child that knows how to wash his or her hands will eat in the same plate with an adult" when Awóṣeéńí is introduced to him. The proverb describes Awóṣeéńí as a person who behaves properly and deserves to marry Aina.

Sacrifice

Another finding is that oral tradition expressing feelings may convey a sense of sacrifice. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, when Ikolaba and Ológundúdú recite

incantations in their supernatural power rooms, they pay homage to their supernatural forces to seek assistance so that they can win the war the king has asked them to wage. The incantations and *oríkì* are the sacrifice to the gods and goddesses whose power they invoke. By saying the chants dedicated to the forces, they charge the gods and goddesses to be happy and to help them at war. Also, the recitation makes charges the reciters to have a feeling of courage to go and fight. Also, the use of hunters' chant is another form of sacrifice. The mention of Ogun and his panegyric are to make Ogun, the god of iron, feel happy and appreciated. Also, in *Máṣèkà*, the involvement of Ifá priest and literary corpus suggest the need for sacrifice to make Èni-Ìtàn get over her problem. Among the Yorùbá, Ifá literary corpus often leads to the prescription of sacrifice to gods and goddesses and other supernatural elements in order to seek their favor.

Struggle

The study finds that oral tradition helps to convey feelings at the times of struggles in the selected movies. For example, in *Èjè Méjì*, the feeling of unease which grips each fighter reflects in his choice of incantations. Also, the feeling of jealousy which Abísógun has is captured in the proverb: “Bóbìnrin ò bá jowú, ọ̀bẹ̀ kì í dùn,” which means “If a woman does not jealous, the stew can never have a palatable taste.” In *Máṣèkà*, Ifá chant by the priest chronicles the life struggle of the clients.

Economy

The study finds that oral tradition which conveys feelings sometimes have connection with economic issues in Yorùbá movies. For example, in *Èjè Méjì*, Ìbídùn's mother uses incantations and proverbs to demonstrate her interest in amassing wealth through her daughter's marriage. One proverb which expresses her greediness is as follows:

Nígbà tá a bá r'ẹ̀sẹ̀ẹ̀ wẹ̀rẹ̀ tá ò bù ú sògùn,

Nígbà wo la ó rí tọ̀lọ̀gbọ̀n?

Meaning:

If we see the footprint of a foolish person but do not take advantage of it,

When are we going to see wise person's and use it?

The proverb implies that only a foolish person is easy to cheat. In the context, Láyòḍonú, who is madly in love and ready to spend any amount of money to get the support of Ìbídùn's mother to make Ìbídùn agree to marry him, is the one regarded as a fool. Also, the incantation which she says while holding "àfòṣe," the charm that makes a command mandatory on its target persons, shows her greedy and desperate feeling to have money.

In Mą̀ṣẹ̀kà, the Ifá priest learns from the Ifá divination and chant, so he relays to the clients (same people with him) the economic trouble which Chief Ọ̀ládélé has experienced because of his marriage to Aina who was pregnant for another man but gave the child in the pregnancy to the wealthy chief. Also, the Ifá priest reveals the secret of Aina's mother, that she made her daughter to jilt Ẹ́eńí, a committed lover, because of her greediness for money. In *Mą̀ṣẹ̀kà*,

Politics or authority

The study shows that oral tradition is used to express a feeling of authority in Yorùbá movies. In *Ẹ̀jẹ̀ Méjì*, when Chief Ọ̀tun gives a report regarding how aggressive the people of Olokoto and Kotẹ̀yẹ̀mu are, he sums them up in a proverb:

Aja wọ̀n ń sín wín;

Kó mojú olówó rẹ̀ mọ̀.

Translation:

Their dog is mentally deranged;

It attacks its master.

The proverb above invokes in the target audience the feeling of disappointment and desire to punish the offenders. The proverb injects a sense of politics involving the commander and the commanded and punishment. In the movie, a big town rules over small ones and expect tax from the small ones. The failure of the small ones to pay their dues means an invitation letter to war. The presentation of politics in the movie resonates with the true-to-life political dispensation in which leaders emerge to enforce laws, parliaments meet to make law for the public to follow, and courts do their legal tasks to take care of violators

In *Máṣèkà*, the Ifá priest chants Ifá literary corpus and capitalises on it to mandate Aina's mother and Aina's husband to confess that they know about the biological father of Aina. The oral tradition coerces both to say the truth that they have hidden for many years.

Love

The study finds that, in Yorùbá movies, the feeling of love is conveyed through oral tradition. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, the deep love Abísógun has for his lover generates a proverb which suggests that he does not feel comfortable but agrees that any rivalry is intended to make the relationship with Ìbídùn stronger than what it is: "Bóbìnrin ò bá jowú, ọ̀bè kì í dùn," which means "If a woman does not jealous, the stew can never be delicious." Also, the movie, *Ìbídùn* chants Abísógun's lineage panegyric to demonstrate her deep love and to entice her lover into a romantic feeling and satisfaction. *Máṣèkà*, too, contains oral expressions which connect with love. For example, Èni-itàn's proverb "A mouth is easy to explain how the cooking of spinach is done/It is easy to cut meat with a bare hand" shows her clever way of showing that she wants her lover to be serious about his promise of love to her. Her feeling is that she does not trust a man until he sticks to and fulfill his promises. The proverb indicates that she doubts Adéwálé's promise but wants him to prove what he has promised. She utters the proverb to invoke in her lover a sense of more commitment. Her use of the expression confirms what Scheub (1985:1) says: "African oral tradition distills

human experiences, shaping them into rememberable, readily retrievable images of broad applicability with extraordinary potential for eliciting emotional responses.”

5.9 Messages conveyed by oral tradition in Yorùbá movies

The study finds that the oral tradition in the selected movies bears messages. For example, in *Èjẹ̀ Méjì*, Àjàyí uses the proverb below to invoke a feeling of possible danger lying ahead of them:

Béwúré ẹ̀ni bá wọ̀lé aláǵídí

Bí a kò bá padà sẹ̀yìn;

Ìyà tí kó jẹ̀ ewúré ẹ̀ni,

Yóò padà wáá j'ẹ̀ni.

Translation:

If our goat enters a stubborn person's house,

If we do not step backward -if we enter with it,

The punishment which is meant for the goat

May be inflicted on us.

The message in the proverb is that as the three friends plot against Abísógun, they need to take caution so that they will not fail in the implementation of their plan against their enemy who whose father is warrior with supernatural power. It is to remind them that should they fail, they will be punished severely. Also, Àṣàkẹ́'s proverb, “Don't you know that if a person chases two rats at a time/He or she will lose both, ” which invokes a feeling of loss or danger conveys a message of warning – that if Ìbídùn does not stick to one man, she will be the loser in the end. Besides, it means that it is not good for a woman to act like a prostitute who will never have a permanent man in her life. In addition, it conveys the message that a shameful or abnormal act has its repercussion.

In *Máṣèkà*, Èni-itàn's grandmother, while advising Sojí who is in love with her grand-child, notes that if a person does not act on time, the person may encounter a problem in the process.

Beèyàn bá pẹ́ lórí imí,

Esin-kéesin a bá a níbẹ́.

Translation:

If a person stays too long in a toilet,

It is possible infectious flies will find him/her here.

The grand-mother's proverb prompts Sojí to say that he really loves Èni-itàn and that his family will show up in the grand-mother's home to make a formal request for Èni-itàn to be his wife. The message in the oral tradition which implies that Sojí's lack of action may get him rivals and make him become a loser invokes can prompt a feeling of urgency for action or fear of being overtaken by another man. Perhaps Èni-itàn's grandmother says the proverb because of her past experience regarding the marriage of her daughter, the mother of Èni-itàn who was forced to abandon her real lover, Awoseeni.

In addition, the finding which indicates that oral tradition conveys the messages of the actors and actresses in the selected movies is supported by the view of the majority of the respondents to the research questionnaire. 72.02% of 168 the respondents agree that Yorùbá movie actors and actresses like to use oral tradition to send out messages. Only 28.98% disagree.

5.10 Oral tradition in Yoruba movies adapting to modern issues

The study finds that oral tradition is applicable or adaptable to modern issues or needs. For example, in *Máṣèkà*, educated Awóṣeéńí who does a white collar job uses proverbs to express his mind when Aina's mother disappoints him. In the same movie, Èni-itan's friend who is educated uses a proverb to warn her friend to find a solution to her frequent loss of lovers to death. Besides *Máṣèkà*, *Èjẹ*

méji contains oral tradition which connects with modern situations or needs. The movie, though conveys pure tradition, is a production of the modern time. Its production year suggests that it is modern. The use of proverbs in the movie, therefore, proves that there is a connection of tradition with the modern communication device. The use of the modern device sounds as the capture oral tradition in its original or transformed form and seems to be a kind of innovation to keep tradition alive in the modern time. Rhakonen (1989) claims that “Through innovation a tradition is made to adjust to a changing environment, where survival is dependent on change and adaptation.” The survival of the Yorùbá oral tradition today lies in the use of modern technology; it is the means of preserving the Yorùbá language and culture which seem to have been relegated to the background because of foreign ideas and language(s) among the Yorùbá.

5.11 Consolidation

According to the analysis of the data –research questionnaire and two selected Yorùbá movies, oral tradition is a marker or means of identifying Yorùbá movies. The majority of the respondents to the research questionnaire have agreed that oral tradition exists in Yorùbá movies, conveys messages and invokes feelings. Evidence from the selected movies supports the findings from the questionnaire. That the majority of the respondents agree that oral tradition is a major feature of Yorùbá movies implies that the movies depict Yorùbá culture or tradition. Among the Yorùbá, oral tradition comes in different forms and one or more genres may be used in the same situation or for the same purpose. For example, hunters may weave proverbs into their chant. Besides the respondents’ view, this research has demonstrated that different genres of oral tradition and varying quantity can be found in Yorùbá movies. Examples from the selected movies are the proofs that support the claim that Yorùbá movies exhibit different genres of Yorùbá oral tradition.

5.12 Conclusion

The study establishes its aim that Yorùbá oral tradition is common in Yorùbá movies and can identify them. The evidence from the selected movies makes the assertion sounds credible. The study also confirms its objectives because it contains several evidence of oral tradition transmitting feelings and conveying messages. The evidence fulfilling the aim and objectives of the research include different chants such as hunters' chant, *ijálá*; proverbs, *owe*; incantations; *ofò*; and praise poetry or panegyric; *oríkì*. The finding of different genres and the prominence of one or more in the selected movies suggests that even though different genres may be found in every Yorùbá movies, one is usually more prominent than the others. Also, the findings reveal that the different genres of Yorùbá oral tradition in the selected movies convey feelings, and the feelings transmitted relate to the actors and actresses, places, and other relate aspects which have been mentioned in this chapter. The study also shows that oral tradition has connection with the spiritual realms or supernatural forces. The use of Yorùbá oral tradition gives Yorùbá movies Yorùbá coloring or identity; thus oral tradition is the stylus for distinguishing Yorùbá movies from the movies of other ethnic people or nations.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This study was aimed at exploring and establishing a unique identity that could be used to distinguish Yorùbá movies from other movies, particularly the mother-tongue-based ones. The research project stated its objectives and drew questions that would guide or help the researcher to arrive at the research goal. The research focus was on two selected recent Yorùbá movies. The two movies, together with responses to a questionnaire, were used as the data for the research analysis. The study made some discoveries about the connection between the Yorùbá oral tradition and Yorùbá movies; consequently, its used its discoveries or evidence which it obtained from the selected data, available literature on movies and theory, and the researcher's residual knowledge. Its anchor came out vividly that the unique means of identifying Yorùbá movies would be the traditional expressions – the oral tradition of the Yorùbá.

6.2 Research Findings

Generally, the findings of the study show that the communication in Yorùbá movies in the modern time retains Yorùbá tradition, that no matter what changes might have taken place in the Yorùbá culture or lives which are depicted in Yorùbá movies, oral tradition remains essential in communicating ideas and feelings. The use of different genres of Yorùbá oral tradition to achieve the two duties that have just been mentioned, as the research has found, serve as a good illustration to establish the claim or assertion of this research that oral tradition could make Yorùbá movies distinct from other movies.

The findings also show that even though the parameters that previous scholars like Adélékè (1995), Alamu (1990) and Ọdẹjọbí (2004) have offered are quite relevant in talking about the Yorùbá movies and identities of the movies, they are

generic because they are not particular to only the Yorùbá movies. One would expect a unique identity for the movies of a nation or ethnic group. In other words, the previous ideas, such as using themes or language to categorise or identify Yorùbá movies, sounds weak since the approaches can be used to identify other movies. The findings, therefore show, that the use of language or theme alone is inadequate. This discovery opens an argument for this study and goads it into and supports its conclusion that the Yorùbá oral tradition is the unique stylus of Yorùbá movies.

Also, the findings show that while different genres of the Yorùbá oral tradition can be found in Yorùbá movies, it is rare to have them used in equal proportion. In other words, the study has found that while other genres may be found in Yorùbá movies, one or two can be prominent or more prominent than others. For example, while proverbs and Ifá chant are more prominent in *Máṣèkà*, incantation is more prominent in *Èjè Méjì*.

The study has also found that both the analysed data and the result of questionnaire create the same impression or deliver the same idea about Yorùbá movies. Overall, the study has realised its aim and objectives by proving with evidence that Yorùbá oral tradition is the stylus or marker of Yorùbá movies.

6.3 Recommendations

For further research, the recommendations below are necessary. It is hoped that they will add values to the study of this nature and to language maintainance and development.

- A. Future research should involve actors and actresses.
- B. More Yorùbá movies should be used as data.
- C. Balancing of supporting materials or evidence should occur.
- D. Only the movies with dates of productions should be used as the data for analysis.

- E. Yorùbá movies that have produced in Ivory-Coast and other countries (if they have any productions in others) should be used as data to ensure a cross-fertilisation of ideas.
- F. Besides written questionnaire, future research should add oral interview.
- G. The study should promote the preservation of oral tradition in indigenous languages and language revalorization in Nigeria and other African countries.

Taking care of the recommendations above will contribute immensely to the value of the study of this nature and help other researchers, movie makers and government establishments to make improvement in their efforts on cultural or traditional communication. In addition, it will spur scholars to study the movie productions in other languages and relate them to the oral tradition in the movies.

6.4 Final Tone

Yorùbá movies are available on the Nigerian markets and the markets of other countries, particularly in Africa and in the diaspora where the Yorùbá culture and people have found a space or settled. The movies incorporate different genres of Yorùbá oral tradition. The tradition helps actors and actresses to transmit their messages and feelings. It also helps in the construction of themes that are found in the movies. The tradition also connects with different aspects of the people depicted in the movies. In a nutshell, Yorùbá oral tradition is inevitable in Yorùbá movies. It is impossible to find a Yorùbá movie which does not have Yorùbá oral tradition. If this unique expression or communication is common to all Yorùbá movies, the conclusion of this study holds a sway that oral tradition is the stylus of Yorùbá movies, and the claim makes previous parameters sound inadequate to distinguish the movies from the movies of other people.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire for Independent Research: Yorùbá Movies

Listed below are questions to have your opinion about Yorùbá movies. For an answer to each question, please **underline** the option that best represents your view and return this questionnaire to the distributor of it.

First indicate your gender: Male

Female

Age Range: 10-20 years

21 -39

40 -100+

Ethnicity: Yorùbá Hausa Ibo Others (Specify): -----

1. Do you watch Yorùbá movies?

- a. Yes b. No

2. Which type of Yorùbá movies do you like to watch?

- a. Political b. Social c. war d. supernatural e. religious

- f. Musical g. all of the above h. others (specify) -----

3. Have you ever watched any Yorùbá movie which does not have an evidence of Yorùbá oral tradition?

- a. Yes b. No

4. Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition is used in Yorùbá movies to express feelings, such as love, likeness, hatred, suspicion, taste, greediness, satisfaction, dissatisfaction?

- a. Agree b. Disagree

5. Would you agree or disagree that the actors and actresses in Yorùbá movies like to use oral tradition to send out messages?
 - a. Agree
 - b. Disagree

6. Would you agree that Yorùbá movies without Yorùbá oral tradition make Yorùbá movies fit into Yorùbá world-views?
 - a. Agree
 - b. Disagree

7. Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition distinguishes Yorùbá movies from the movies of other peoples?
 - a. Agree
 - b. Disagree

8. Would you agree or disagree that Yorùbá oral tradition is a way to identify Yorùbá movies?
 - a. Agree
 - b. Disagree

If you choose b under Question 8, please state one identity that you think fits all Yorùbá movies.