Response-Comment Elements in Yorùbá Conversational Discourse
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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the pragmatic utility of a closed class of ostensibly bland and trivial expressions (referred to here as Response-Comment Elements – RCEs) in Yorùbá conversational discourse. These expressions have the dual role of commenting on ongoing talk and signalling its direction. The paper compares RCEs with English discourse markers and submits that like discourse markers, RCEs have discourse/contextual rather than semantic meaning, but unlike discourse markers, RCEs are produced (not by the current speaker) but by the other participant(s) in the ongoing conversation.

The paper’s general standpoint is twofold: i) that RCEs encode the producer’s disposition or attitude to the aspect of conversational discourse that they follow; and ii) that they signify to the addressee, the producer’s judgements about the validity or acceptability of the addressee’s contribution and/or the need for him or her to align with the RCE or to stress the linguistic element focused by the RCE.

Keywords: response-comment element, pragmatic correlate, discourse markers

1. INTRODUCTION

The application of discourse analysis to Yorùbá discourse is expected to add a new perspective to the understanding of the language and its usage in context, and also give the learner or analyst new tools with which to cater for certain pragmatic as well as discourse needs. Since the central aim of much language use is understanding or communication, then our focus as analysts should be to reinforce users’ or members’ interpretive skills especially as regards a few ‘nuggets’ of language that people typically employ to ‘say’ so much without necessarily ‘speaking’ that much. These nuggets – referred to in this paper as response-comment elements – constitute a small class of words in Yorùbá, having very limited (if any) content or conceptual meaning but exhibiting remarkable pragmatic force in context. As discourse analysis is a study of language in context, this paper will only consider each of the response-comment elements in a continuous stretch of language larger than a sentence. The reason for this is that the elements cannot be studied in isolation because of their peculiar feature of being dependent on context for their interpretation.

The Yorùbá language has quite a lot of expressions that can substitute for the ones studied in this paper, but the study will be restricted to the ones that have established idiomatic prominence and popularity. For instance, Àkìikà...
(corresponding roughly to English *Hear! Hear!*).) has several pragmatic correlates, e.g. *that’s a good point; well, you’re right about that; there’s some truth in that; I never thought of that*, etc. although unlike these forms, *Àkììkà* is culturally imbued with a certain degree of sagacity, and is generally regarded as ‘a linguistic property of elders.’ However, despite the similarity in their discourse value, this paper examines only the pragmatic functions of markers like *Àkììkà*.

Response-comment elements may be seen as another kind of discourse markers and, given their structural location, they may also be compared to the [Birmingham School] Feedback move, in which function the analyst needs to consider the interactive and functional position occupied by these presumably trivial forms. As ‘feedback’ they have the function of signalling to the current speaker the need to go on or to stop talking. As interactants at talk are continually looking forward to feedback, these elements allow speakers to know what the other person feels about their contribution.

From the foregoing, the paper hopes to demonstrate that RCEs convey two types of information: first, they display the speaker’s attitude to the entire (or segments of) ongoing talk; second, they determine the course of the discourse as it goes on (or if it should) through the connections between the utterances. However, as Trujillo Sáez (2003) remarks about discourse markers, the use of RCEs “is a choice of style” – confirming Blakemore’s (1992: 177) view that “every speaker must make some decision about what to make explicit and what to leave implicit, and … every speaker must make a decision about the extent to which he should use the linguistic form of his utterance to guide the interpretation process.”

The data used for this work was surreptitiously obtained while listening in to numerous conversations conducted by native speakers of Yorùbá, and to present a satisfactory analysis of the subject, the paper provides translations of all the conversational fragments and ensures that the translations are in alignment with Standard English.

2. DISCOURSE MARKERS

The question may be asked, why study discourse markers? Schiffrin (1987) hints that the analysis of discourse markers is part of the more general analysis of discourse coherence – how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meanings, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said. But although markers enhance the overall meaning of discourse, Schiffrin (p. 55) cautions that they are hardly the only devices by which discourse meaning is achieved. In other words, other linguistic devices can accomplish many of the discourse tasks performed by markers. In fact, in many instances of language use, the structure and meaning of [discourse] can be preserved even without markers. For instance, silence, laughter, coughing, gaze, etc can be deployed to carry out some of the functions performed by markers.
The types and classification of discourse markers have been rather problematic and examples abound, depending on what kind of markers the analyst is considering. To the text linguists (e.g. Halliday and Hasan (1976), Bolitho and Tomlinson (1980), Crewe (1990), Thornbury (1997), and Ceri Millward (2005), for instance, discourse markers can be:

**Additive:** e.g. and, also, in addition, that is, similarly, on the other hand
**Adversative:** e.g. but, however, rather
**Causal:** e.g. therefore, as a result, because
**Temporal:** e.g. then, next, finally, first(ly), second(ly)
**Comparison:** e.g. in the same way, likewise
**Purpose:** e.g. for this purpose, with this in mind
**Exemplification:** e.g. for instance, for example, thus

To the discourse analysts (e.g. Schiffrin (1987)), discourse markers refer to the use of forms like: well, y’know, I mean, y’see, and all the items listed above: now, so, because, then, and, etc. All these forms are used in speech (and writing) to convey different discourse functions and attitudes: information management (e.g. the use of Oh), response (e.g. the use of Well), connectivity (e.g. the use of and, but, and or), information and participation (e.g. the use of y’know, y’see and I mean)

From these two ‘schools of discourse markers’ it is evident, as Parrot (2002: 203) points out, that ‘there is no universally agreed way of classifying discourse markers; nor is there an exhaustive inventory of them’ – a point that confirms Millward’s observation that discourse markers are fairly elusive as single word conjunctions and can easily become phrasal, or clausal conjunctions.

As Parrot points out, some of the different functions and uses of discourse markers are:

1. To ‘signpost’ logical relationships and sequences; in other words, discourse markers point out how bits of what we say and write relate to each other.
2. To ‘manage’ conversations; that is, to negotiate who speaks and when, to monitor and express involvement in the topic.
3. To influence how the listeners or readers react.
4. To express our attitude to what we say and write.

As will be shown in this paper, RCEs perform all these functions in Yorùbá conversational discourse, a fact that clearly underscores their classification as discourse markers. From these functions, it is to be noted that these linguistic forms (that is, discourse markers and RCEs) add to the structure and meaning of discourse although it has been stressed that they are not the only devices available for achieving this objective.

Many linguists present discourse markers out of context, in isolated sentences that bear no relation to each other, thereby not allowing [us] to clearly identify the form and function of these connectors within discourse. To many
discourse analysts, this can lead users of the language to believe that discourse markers within the same categories are interchangeable in a text, whereas subtle differences in meaning and the positioning of each marker mark a lot of distinction even within groups.

3. RESPONSE-COMMENT ELEMENTS AS DISCOURSE MARKERS

As suggested above, the question may also be asked, why study response-comment elements in Yorùbá? Speakers of Yorùbá pay great attention to what words do. A proverb, an idiom, a quip or a short expletive may mean the difference between proceeding on a journey and confining oneself to one’s residence. In Yorùbá conversational discourse, what people do with words may sometimes be absent from the surface structure of the words spoken, but the listener or addressee would not be in any doubt about the speaker’s intention or attitude, even in cases in which the speaker’s thought is not fully expressed. Elements such as Láilái, Níbo?, Ágbèdò and Èèwọ are enough indication of negative response to the hearer/addressee and – if accompanied with the appropriate facial expression – would also indicate to him or her to drop the issue contained in the segment of talk that evoked the element.

Thus, to function efficiently among a people who say a lot through the use of a few words, the Yorùbá learner (or anyone using it as a second language) needs to become informed and fully tutored in the art of using one element to concurrently respond to and comment on a given segment of discourse. What this means is not that without these response-comment elements the Yorùbá discourse is incomplete; rather, a good knowledge of these features will empower the user for greater performance in the language and offer him more competence to decode speaker attitude and meaning.

As will be seen in the paper, response-comment elements (RCEs) in Yorùbá conversational discourse function quite like discourse markers since they convey and exhibit all the functions and meanings identified with discourse markers. A point of difference between RCEs and discourse markers, however, is that whereas discourse markers are typically used by the current speaker, RCEs are basically the property of the listener, and are uttered in response to a segment of the [previous] speaker’s turn.

In fact, there are various discourse markers in Yorùbá that correspond to, and are used as, the established ones in English. For example, y’know (Yorùbá: sé o mọ), y’see (Y: sé o ri), Well (Y: ó ri bákan), and (Y: àti pé), Now (Y: t’ó bá jẹ bẹ) etc. It needs to be noted, however, that although all these Yorùbá forms of English markers exist in Yorùbá, the Yorùbá language possesses its own discourse markers, expressions which appear to be mere utterances but whose linguistic significance is entrenched in their conversational deployment and whose pragmatic meaning derives not from their surface structure but from the attitude or disposition the addressee infers.
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However, although English discourse markers are classified according to the four observations mentioned earlier, expressions used as discourse markers in Yorùbá have an additional criterion: the illocutionary force of the utterance being used to segment talk, e.g. the use of a proverb or an idiom, as seen below.

4. RESPONSE-COMMENT ELEMENTS IN YORÙBÁ

One unique feature of RCEs is their location in discourse. Since they simultaneously respond to and comment on fragments of discourse, they usually come at the beginning of a turn. In most cases, the user of an RCE self-selects, a feature that is close to interrupting the current speaker. However, the injection of an RCE into an ongoing turn is not an indication that the self-selected speaker has much to say; the import of the RCE is either to terminate the current speaker’s train of thought or to signal to the ‘interrupted’ speaker to go on. An element such as K’á má ri with an accompanying finality of tone of voice clearly suggests that the proposal being defended or advanced by the interlocutor is unacceptable to the producer of the RCE. On the other hand, Àkììkà (spoken by an elderly person – see below) acknowledges and endorses a segment of the previous turn. Thus, in Yorùbá, RCEs are used to signal either the need to develop discourse or the need for the interrupted floor-holder to relinquish the issue contained in the turn. In other words, RCEs are used in Yorùbá discourse to signal speaker stance. In the following sections, we see how Yorùbá speakers use RCEs to signal stance.

4.1 FACE-SAVING ELEMENTS: ÒRọ NLÁ, ÀGBẹDó AND KÁ MÁ RI

Discourse or conversational elements regarded as face-saving are used by the producer (usually a third party in a conversation) to display his attitude to a segment of talk as well as indicate his recognition of character in the second (‘affected’) member. Among the Yorùbá, Òrọ nlá, Àgbẹdọ, Ká má ri and quite a large number of their pragmatic correlates are used by any of the participants at talk – except the ‘affected’ member; that is, whom the talk is about:

Fragment A

Ògá:

1. Ôgbẹni, kinni mo ngbọ nipa rẹ yì?
2. Wọn ní o ma nlu iyawo rẹ ní gbogbo igbà.

Ôrẹ Ogá:

3. Ôrọ nlá.

Ôsìsì:

4. Kií se bẹ̀ ẹ̀, Ôgá mi.

Ôgá:

5. Sè wipe iro ní wọn npa mọ ẹ̀?

Ôsìsì:

6. Iro ní.

Ôgá:

7. Ì dàá náà, báwò ló se ìjẹ̀ gàn?
In the fragment above, Ọrọ Ogá (a third party) employs the RCE Ọrọ nlá (at utterance 3) as an indirect way of attesting Ọsise’s character and breeding – roughly, that somebody like him couldn’t have done such a thing – probably the same conviction Ogá has about him, hence his curiosity. In this usage, not only Ọrọ nlá but also the other two RCEs as well as many other correlates can be used to express one’s skepticism about the topic of the talk (‘beating up one’s wife’). Of course, to justify the attestation in these RCEs, the affected member is culturally expected to refute the allegation (utterances 4 and 6) and also be prepared to give an account of the situation; otherwise he would lose face with those who think he is upstanding.

Any of these three RCEs may feature in discourse to express one’s feelings about any state of affairs: surprise, embarrassment or disappointment. While the use of the RCE may not really attest the ‘affected’ participant’s character or conduct, it may indicate these feelings in view of what one knows about the parties involved in the situation being discussed. Furthermore, whereas the ‘affected’ participant must be present in instances like Fragment A, he or she does not have to be involved in the next type of situation:

**Fragment B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baba Àdùkè:</th>
<th>1. Mo gbó wipé Àdùkè n'ùkọ rẹ n’iyọnụ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baba Òjó:</td>
<td>2. Ọsẹ ti o koja ni mo tile rii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. t'o nbá gbogbo aládugbọ ja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Ọn là ti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Ìṣẹ ni ó nta wọ̀le.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba Àdùkè:</td>
<td>6. Àdùkè ná?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iya Àdùkè:</td>
<td>→ 7. Ọrọ nlá.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(Translation)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Àdùkè’s father:</th>
<th>1. I hear Àdùkè is making her husband miserable.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ojo’s father:</td>
<td>2. Last week I saw her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. quarrelling with the neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. She was intractable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. and resisted all entreaties for peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àdùkè’s father:</td>
<td>6. Àdùkè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àdùkè’s mother:</td>
<td>7. (RCE of disbelief)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Iya Àdúkè’s production of Oro nlá at utterances 7 is far from being a rebuttal of the ‘charge’ against her daughter or a justification of her breeding; rather, the RCE expresses skepticism, embarrassment and disappointment, feelings that are in tune with her husband’s own disbelief (utterance 6) about their daughter’s shameless conduct.

But then, the three RCEs are not always interchangeable. Often, Ká má ri and Ágbedo pronounce condemnation on an event that the RCE producer finds preposterous:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fragment C} \\
\text{Ìyàwó:} & \quad 1. \text{Ti a bá ti lo ódun kan pọ bi ọkọ ati aya} \\
& \quad 2. \text{a wùn mi lati lọ gbe pelú awọn obi mi fun bi osù méjì kan.} \\
\text{Ọkọ:} & \quad \rightarrow 3. \text{Ká má ri.} \\
\text{Ìyàwó:} & \quad 4. \text{Onitèmi ...} \\
\text{Ọkọ:} & \quad \rightarrow 5. \text{Ká má ri!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(Translation):\]

Wife: 1. When we have lived three years together as husband and wife  
2. I would like to go and stay with my parents for about two months  
Husband: 3. (RCE condemning a proposal)  
Wife: 4. Sweetheart  
Husband: 5. (RCE vehemently condemning the proposal)

A third party at talk like this (e.g. the father-n-law) would not have responded with Oro nlá but more probably with Ágbedo (which is somehow stronger in effect than Ká má ri and also indicates an abomination) to underscore the proposal’s absurdity.

4.2 MARKERS OF NEGATIVE STANCE: O Je’BII, ÁGUNLÁ, Ó NPę

Each of these three RCEs expresses the speaker’s indifference but the negative stance encoded in them varies. For instance, it can be said that O je’bii expresses a type of negative stance commonly associated with casual conversation or with the speaker’s view that the interlocutor ought to have accomplished a reported situation much sooner. The same marker (that is, O je’bii) has pronominal variants depending on the person of the speaker. For the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular, the RCE is as it is: O je’bii. For the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person plural, it changes to Ë je’bii or Èyìn je’bii. For the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular (masculine and feminine) the marker is Òún je’bii, and for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person plural, Awọn je’bii or Wọn je’bii. O je’bii has no pronominal variant for the 1\textsuperscript{st} person singular or plural, since it is not customary for one to condemn one’s actions by the use of such a device as this. However,
although in Yorùbá the conceptual meaning of the expression (and all its pronominal variants) is he/she/they/you are guilty, as a marker of indifference or negative stance, its general conversational connotation is I am not impressed.

Àgunlá and Ō npẹ also signal negative stance but do not share the conversational connotation of O je’bii. If put on a scale, the indifference expressed in these two RCEs is much higher than that in O je’bii, a fact that underscores the distributional relevance of the three markers. Look at the fragments below.

**Fragment A**

Máyọwá:
1. Òní ni ojọ ibí mi.
3. Ā dára ki nwá ikan se pełú ọrọ iyawó bayi.
4. O yẹ ki emi paapaa ti ni iyawó n’ile
5. ābí kinni iwọ rò?

7. O kò bá dúro ogójì ọdún míran.

*(Translation):*

Máyọwá: 1. Today is my birthday.
2. I’m forty today.
3. I’d better start thinking about getting married.
4. It’s time I had my own wife.
5. What d’you think?

Káyọde: 6. *(Negative stance marker ~ I’m not impressed.)*
7. Why not hold on for another forty years?

**Fragment B**

Àdùkẹ:
1. Ọrọ ọkọ mi ti sú mi.
2. Gbogbo ọmọ ọdọ ti a ngbà ni ó nfún l’óyún.
3. Àfi bí àfise.
4. Orí mi ti fẹrẹ dárú bayĩ.

Iyá Àdùkẹ: ➙ 5. Águnlá.
6. Ojọ kinni àná,
7. njẹ o kò sọ pé ènù mi nrùn?

*(Translation):*

Àdùkẹ:
1. I’m fed up with my husband.
2. He’s always impregnating our housemaids.
3. He must be under a spell.
4. It’s driving me crazy.

Àdùkẹ’s mother: 5. *(Negative stance marker ~ That’s not my business.)*
6. The other day (when I tried to dissuade you from marrying him)
7. Did you take my counsel?
In a lot of Yorùbá conversational discourse, the earlier speaker hardly finds it necessary to continue the existing topic as soon as his or her interlocutor utters certain RCEs, examples of which we have just seen. In the conversational fragments above, the Yorùbá consider it unwise not to heed the hint of indifference encoded in the RCEs. If the interrupted speaker wishes to talk further, it would be either to justify the issue attacked by the RCE or to change the topic at hand completely.

Now, although the three RCEs here signal indifference and general negative stance, they are not interchangeable. Àgunlá, for instance, is more common in the speech of the elderly members of society while Ò npẹ and O je’bii feature more significantly in the speech pattern of the younger members. Moreover, Àgunlá and Ò npẹ are very often used as prefatory elements to the speaker’s indifference – hence Iya Àdúkè’s utterances (at 6–7) – or, in fact, a ‘pointer’ to teasing. Although O je’bii can also be prefatory, its distributional relevance is determined by its conversational content. It is loaded not so much with indifference as with sarcasm (see utterances 6 and 7 in Fragment C). We would then observe that although the three RCEs are markers of negative stance, the indifference they express varies; this variation affects their conversational distribution.

However, on account of the socially contrived conceptual meaning encoded in these RCEs, O je’bii is largely prefatory to the producer’s reminder of a cultural practice and his evaluation or judgment of the interlocutor’s account: how stupid/childish/senseless, etc. since the action being reported is culturally expected. On the other hand, Ò npẹ and Àgunlá (while they can also function like O je’bii) are more often prefatory both to the producer’s general
indifference and to his or her perception of the situation as not being part of his own brief. Compare the following fragments:

**Fragment D**

Ojó:
1. Ìgbàtí mo rí baba iyáwó mi
2. mo dobále gbälaja
3. mo ki won k’aarọ
4. mo bëèrè…

Àlàbí: 5. O jë’bii.
6. Ni ojó miran, ńse ni ki o gbé ìgbájú fun baba iyawo rè
7. ki o tún sọ fun pé k’ó dobále k’ó tó kí è.

*(Translation):*

Ojó: 1. When I saw my father-in-law this morning
2. I prostrated myself before him
3. I greeted him
4. I asked him…
Àlàbí: 5. *(Negative stance marker)*
6. Next time, slap him instead
7. and ask him to prostrate himself to greet you.

**Fragment E**

Akin: 1. Njẹ o gbà’dúrà ki o tó jeun ti arábirin yen gbé fun ò?
Báyọ: 2. Kí lo rí?
Akin: 3. Sé kò lè ti fí ọgùn ifẹ s’ìnú rè?
5. Gbogbo è, ajẹpo.

*(Translation):*

Akin: 1. Did you pray before eating the food that lady brought you?
Báyọ: 2. Why?
Akin: 3. Couldn’t she have put some love potion in it?
Báyọ: 4. *(Negative stance marker ~ Who cares?)*
5. It’s all food to me.

At D: 6–7, Àlàbí ingeniously intimates to Ojó that contrary conduct would have been disrespectful to the father-in-law – since culturally a man is expected to prostrate himself before his father- (or mother-) in-law. Notice that although Àgunlá could have replaced *Ó npe* in Fragment E, Báyọ’s indifference (E: 4) is less intense than Iya Aduke’s invoked remonstrance at B: 5 although she too could have employed *Ó npe* to display her attitude.

In sum, on account of their pragmatic deployment, the three RCEs discussed in this section may be seen as indexing speakers’ negative disposition and
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judgment but they have certain distinguishing characteristics – features of usage that confine them to particular contexts or segments of conversational discourse.

4.3 CONVERSATIONAL SPURS AND MARKERS OF CONCURRENCE: ÀKÍ̀IKÀ, WÈÈRÈ, ỌRÒ NÌ YEN, MÒ NGBÁDÜN Ē, ÌYÈN (TÚN) NKọ?

When they feature in conversations, these RCEs imbue the current speaker with some impetus to hold the floor a while longer, perhaps because the hearer seems to benefit from the details of the turn. The elements are, however, not without some unique conversational and sociolinguistic features that do not allow for them to be deployed interchangeably. First, let us consider some of them in context:

Fragment A

Baba Èlẹran: 1. Mo gbọ wipe ijo ba ò fẹ se titty ọ̀lodá ni gbgbọ Nigeria.
    2. Lẹhin na, won ò fẹ se kọta si gbgbọ adugbo ti òjọ ti ńyọ ọmọ ọmọ lenu.
    3. O dábí ëni pé ijo wa ti ntaí dídìè.
Baba Èlẹran: 5. Kòdà, ikànni ìwọn kòmìsàìà sọ wipẹ tì óunjá bá le òwole ëńkẹjì
    6. Ọun a fa’na si gbgbọ agbègbè tì ó si wa ninu òkùnkùn.
Iya Aláta: 7. Ìyèn (tún) nkọ?
Baba Èlẹran: 8. Èyí t’ó rú mí l’ójú biì gbọ èòsìsẹ ni lati san ówó orí bi ìdá méwa ówó osù ọmọ
    ọmọ…
Iya Aláta: 9. Ha, wèèrè.

(Translation):

Butcher: 1. I hear the government plans to pave all the roads across Nigeria.
    2. Afterwards, they will construct drainages in all the areas frequently affected by floods.
    3. It seems our government is waking up to its responsibilities.
Greengrocer: 4. (RCE of concurrence)
Butcher: 5. Moreover, one of the commissioners has promised that if voted in for a second term
    6. he would ensure there’s electricity in areas still in the dark.
Greengrocer: 7. (RCE of concurrence)
Butcher: 8. What baffles me in all of this is that the governor requests that workers pay tax that’s about a tenth of their
    monthly salaries
Greengrocer: 9. (RCE of negative concurrence)
Butcher: 10. That quite baffles me.
The situation described in the fragment above is that of government’s disregard for public needs, hence Iya Aláta’s marker of concurrence (Ọrọ ni yen – at utterance 4) when informed of government’s readiness to execute its ordinary duties. This element is deployed against the backdrop of other things that the government might have been involved in recently (or over time) apparently not in the interests of the public. In other words, Ọrọ ni yen in this context roughly means that ‘the people would rather that promising situation than the earlier hopeless state of affairs.’

At utterance (7), tún emphasizes this desire to have the better life, or the ‘birth’ of the alignment between government’s plans and the people’s expectations. Now, although the RCE is cast in the form of a question, Baba Èlèran need not answer it since it is merely a rhetorical conversational element.

Wèèrè (at utterance 9) has a dual function: it justifies Baba Èlèran’s bafflement and also comments on the governor’s irrationality – requesting a monthly 10% tax from every worker in the state. On account of this kind of function, therefore, it is easy for the analyst to see that the occurrence of Wèèrè in conversations signposts absurd character traits, untoward pronouncements or ill-advised decisions. In Yorùbá, the RCE directly suggests to one’s interlocutor a total rejection of the discourse segment.

Although they are also frequently deployed as elements of concurrence, Àkíìkà and Mò ngbáđùn è reveal sociolinguistic features not found in Wèèrè, Ọrọ ni yen and Ìyẹn (tún) nkọ?. Compare the following fragments:

**Fragment B**

Baba Àgbà: 1. Ti gbogbo nkan bá d’ojú rú
2. t’ó dàbí ènípè kò s’ògbọn mọ
3. ti sókòtò gàn fẹ maa jábọ n’ídi ọmọkùnrin
4. ọlọgbọn á b’ojú w’èhin
5. lati mọ bóya ogun idilé ni
6. tabí wàhálà ọgbálódé.

Àlejò: →7. Àkíìkà.
Baba Àgbà: 8. Èni t’ó ba f’ojú kékerè wo iyọnu
9. yio maa ìọ̀ lati aapọ̀n de aapọ̀n ni.

Àlejò: →10. Àkíìkà.

(Translation):

Grandfather: 1. When life is fouled up,
2. and your wits back up on you,
3. and the man in you is totally perplexed,
4. wisdom requires that you make some reflection
5. to decide if your problem is an ancestral yoke
6. or a modern phenomenon.

Guest: 7. *(Conversational spur)*
Grandfather: 8. One who ignores a predicament
9. will certainly go from crisis to crisis.

Guest: 10. *(Conversational spur)*
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Fragment C

Busolá: 1. Mo ti fẹ so ọrọ kan fun ọ lati bi ojọ méta.
Busolá: 3. O d’igbá t’ósù yi bá pari ki ntó le ọsọ pátó
        4. amọ o dàbi ẹnipe nkan osù mi fẹ maa se ségesège.
Kunle: 5. Àkíìkà.

(Translation):

Busola: 1. For a few days now, I have been looking forward to telling you something.
Kunle: 2. (Conversational spur)
Busola: 3. Maybe I’ll be more certain by the end of this month
        4. but I reckon that my menses are getting too slow in coming.
Kunle: 5. (Sarcastic conversational spur – how smart of you!)

From fragments B and C, we see the social situations that engender the deployment of Àkíìkà and Mọ ngbádùn ẹ. In the first place, the tenor of the ongoing discourse is the primary catalyst for the use of either element – suggesting that Àkíìkà is more frequent in formal/serious spoken discourse while Mọ ngbádùn ẹ features more prominently in casual or non-formal exchanges. Thus, what with the sagacious context set up by Baba Agba’s witticisms, Àkíìkà – not Mọ ngbádùn ẹ – is the response-comment element of choice.

However, Kunle’s initial deployment of Mọ ngbádùn ẹ (at C: 2) is an indication of a relaxed, friendly and casual tenor; in this case, a setting between two lovers, with the lady trying to inform the man about the funny state she is in. Thus, at C: 5, Àkíìkà does not indicate any sagacity (as identified in Fragment B) but instead is a way of intimating it to the lady that she is talking bunkum. Among the Yorùbá, Àkíìkà used in this sarcastic manner pointedly demonstrates the user’s disapproval of the issue at hand and its continued topicality. But, very often, Mọ ngbádùn ẹ is pre-modified by a short expression, e.g. Eheen (produced like a long vowel sound and with a long, falling intonation) uttered by the speaker to signal the resumption of an earlier [segment of] discourse. This deployment of Mọ ngbádùn ẹ re-focuses the topic before now, giving the earlier speaker another opportunity to resume his or her turn. It is not common in Yorùbá to pre-modify Àkíìkà in this manner.

The observations above point up the distributional distinctions between sarcastic and sagacious Àkíìkà, with the former identified with the younger folk and the latter a ‘prerogative’ of the elderly. In view of the normal conversational deployment of Àkíìkà and Mọ ngbádùn ẹ, the analyst would observe that whereas Àkíìkà suggests to the speaker that he is making [a lot of] sense, Mọ ngbádùn ẹ simply encourages the other person to start (or to continue) speaking ‘because I’m enjoying the conversation.’

In sum, as in other RCEs, the application of Àkíìkà and Mọ ngbádùn ẹ in Yorùbá conversation directly draws the hearer’s attention to the interlocutor’s
attitude regarding the contents of the current turn, an attitude that may mean for
the speaker to go on talking, modify his speech or to abandon it altogether.

4.4 ELEMENTS INDEXING ENVISIONED OUTCOME: Ô TÀN, Île Mọ, Mi Ô Sọ?

On learning about an incident (especially one with rather untoward
consequences), the Yorùbá commonly feel somehow elated and vindicated,
expressing this attitude with any of the three RCEs above – or any other
pragmatically suitable expression. Usually, the element used serves as a preface
to the speaker’s observation, remonstrance or warning – even if all these were
not expressed in any linguistic form prior to the catastrophe:

Fragment A

Oníròhin: 1. Ìróhin t’ó tẹ wa ọwọ l’àipe fì yé wa wipé awọn ológun
ti d’oju ijọba bo’le
2. ọwọ si ti pa ogunlọgo awọn èniyàn ni ilu Abuja.

Gani: 3. Ô tàn.
4. A wí wí wí, a sọ sọ sọ;
5. iro ni.

(Translation)

Newscaster: 1. News just coming in reveals that there has been a
coup
2. and that numerous people have been killed in Abuja.

Gani: 3. (RCE of predicted/expected outcome)
4. We protested constantly
5. but to no avail.
6. Why would any set of people think only of themselves?

The three RCEs in this section are interchangeable in this context as they all
carry the meaning of expected or predicted outcome. As said earlier, even where
the speaker had not made any prediction, the marker, Mi ô sọ?, can still be used
– since he or she might have envisioned a tragic upshot.

It should be noted that Ô tàn as well as other RCEs imbued with the function
of indexing (predicted or expected) outcome has an interrogative variant which
has the same pragmatic force as the declarative form: Kò tàn?, Île o mọ (bayì)?
and Mi ô sọ?. Sometimes, for reinforcement, the two forms are used in the same
speaking turn. Such combined usages are: Ô tàn àbí kò tàn?, Île mọ àbí ô mọ?
and Mo sọ àbí mi ô sọ?, all of which suggest the speaker’s foresight and
circumspection.
4.5 Markers of Rebuff: Láí (or L’áyé), Èèwọ (or Èèwọ Òrìsà), Ó d’ayé àtúnwá

Proposals, suggestions and other ideas ‘confronted’ with RCEs such as Láí (or L’áyé), Èèwọ and Ó d’ayé àtúnwá are generally regarded in Yorùbá discourse as having misfired and therefore unacceptable to the producer of any of these items. With a common denominator of absolute refusal, these three elements differ according to the sociolinguistic stimuli they respond to. Láí (or Láíláí; or L’áyél’áyé) and Ó d’ayé àtúnwá both have a less serious tenor (compared with Èèwọ) and are usually induced by secular matters – perhaps because of their literal morphological meanings: L’áyé is a contraction of ni aiye (= in this world), while its social significance is basically negative (that is, not in this world), although its social significance is basically negative (that is, not in this world), while Ó d’ayé àtúnwá literally means ((maybe) in the next world). Èèwọ, on the other hand, is most often used to invoke spiritual or metaphysical intervention or strength; or to imply that an act, utterance or idea is not socially endorsed because it flouts the spiritual or ethical expectations of the community, or because the gods – e.g. Òrìsà – forbid it (Èèwọ Òrìsà).

On account of these literal meanings, the three RCEs are not totally interchangeable. For instance, in a situation like Fragment A below, it is unlikely that Baba Kẹmi would use Èèwọ to turn down his daughter’s desire to go swimming; however, Ó d’ayé àtúnwá would equally be an inappropriate response to Àremú’s prankish urge (in Fragment B) to carry a sacrifice away from a crossroads:

**Fragment A**

Kẹmi: 1. Baba mi, mo fẹ ọ̀dọ̀ s’odo lati ṣe peji awon ọrẹ mi.

Baba Kẹmi: ➔ 2. Láíláí.

3. Sé ninú otútù yí?

*(Translation)*:

Kẹmi: 1. Dad, I’d like to go swimming with my friends.

Father: 2. *(RCE of rebuff)*

3. In spite of this cold weather?

**Fragment B**

Àremú: 1. Ó dàbí ki ngbè èbò yì kùró ni oríta

2. ki nṣi lọ̀ yìi dà s’ìnú  ikòkò ọ̀bẹ̀ Iya Ràfìù.

Baba Àremú: ➔ 3. Èèwọ Òrìsà.

4. Sé o fẹ di àdètẹ̀ ni?
Àrẹ: 1. I feel an urge to carry this sacrifice away from the crossroads. 2. and throw it into Iya Rafiu’s soup.

Baba Àrẹ: 3. (RCE of rebuff) 4. (If you touch the sacrifice) you’ll become a leper.

These two fragments illustrate the secular/spiritual distinction between the response elements and their situational distribution in Yorùbá. As pointed out earlier, once the context bears on the supernatural, Èèwọ (or Èèwọ Oríṣa) is the appropriate element of rebuff, whereas the speaker has Láí (or Láíláí; or L’áyél’áyé) and Ó d’áyé àtúnwá to respond to ordinary, day-to-day issues. However, certain situations that require the exertion or application of physical strength – though secular – may spur on the use of the metaphysical marker, Èèwọ. Consider the following fragment:

Fragment C

Èrò: 1. Dẹ̀rẹ́bà, o nsùn ní?
Dẹ̀rẹ́bà: 2. Èèwọ.
3. Èmi pẹ̀pẹ̀yiṣẹ́.
4. Òrun ti wa jẹ?

(Translation):

Passenger: 1. Driver, are you falling asleep?
Driver: 2. (RCE of rebuff) 3. I’m the Duck; 4. no sleep for me.

Because the situation is not exceptionally different from most other natural or human conditions, either of the other two RCEs could have been used by Dẹ̀rẹ́bà at utterance 2; however, he uses Èèwọ to invoke supernatural support to stay awake, reinforcing it with his alias, the Duck (utterance 3) an animal which, in Yorùbá belief, hardly sleeps.

5. CONCLUSION

The sections above have been concerned with the various response-comment elements in Yorùbá and their deployment in conversational discourse. It should be pointed out that these elements feature mainly in spoken interaction as they are used to respond to issues in the immediately occurring speaking turn. On their own, nearly all of these discourse elements have no conceptual meanings but once they are located in particular communicative environments, they acquire pragmatic weight. It is this pragmatic weight that the user depends on.
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for communicative force and as soon as any of these elements is uttered, the hearer understands the speaker’s stance concerning that stage of ongoing talk. Moreover, whereas in English similar expressions (called discourse markers) are used by the current-turn assignee, in Yorùbá it is the hearer that has the prerogative of using the ones discussed in this paper. On the whole, like English discourse markers, response-comment elements in Yorùbá have the communicative purpose of deciding the direction, expansion or termination of conversations.

6. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR YORÙBÁ AND OTHER NIGERIAN LANGUAGES

A study such as this has the primary aim of sensitizing linguists to the need to develop our languages. With the current trend of globalization, many languages will become less interesting to linguists, not the least Nigerian languages, with the corresponding neglect of much of their cultural and ecological heritage.

Thus, there should be a revival of interest in Nigeria's major and minor languages and such a revival should include studies of the huge pragmatic significance of seemingly trivial forms such as are examined in this paper. With that kind of reorientation, maybe another ‘population’ of speakers will emerge who would like to see the world through their own (rather than other people’s) cultural eyes.

In sum, this paper has brought to light the pragmatic implications of some apparently meaningless details of Yorùbá conversational discourse, bringing to light how these elements help to shape the direction of talk as well as display speaker attitude.

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