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A STUDY OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN THE NIGERIAN (YORÙBÁ) NOVELS: THE SIDE CODE

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Abstract

Non-verbal communication is a very important aspect of communication which plays a very crucial role in interpersonal relationship. Its role in the accentuation of verbal communication cannot be overemphasized. Existing literature has not given enough attention to side code as a form of non-verbal communication in the Yorùbá novel. This study fills the gap as it examines side codes, the contexts in which they occur in Yoruba novels with a view to establishing its communicative value. The study adopts semiotic theories of Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce. Four Yorùbá novels: *Ìrìnkèrindò Nínú Igbó Elégbèje and Ògbójú Ode Nínú Igbó Irúnmolè*. By D.O. Fagunwa, *Ojú rí* by Kola Oni and *Ṣaworoide* by Akinwumi Isola were purposively selected because they have elements of side code and were subjected to semiotic and textual analyses. Side code helps in cultural determinism in the codification of disaster, chaos, lopsidedness, disappointment, success, identification of prince and complementarity.

Key Words: Side code; Semiotics; Purposive sample; Yorùbá novels

Introduction

The concept of right and left is a form of non-verbal communication across the globe. The said concept is found in the culture of the people. While some cultures associate negative attributes and events with the left-hand side, some other ones associate them with the right-hand side and while some associate positive attributes with the right-hand side, other ones associate them with the left. This paper investigates the position of the Yoruba novelists in the positioning of attributes and events on the right and left sides.

Literature Review

Ajíkobi (1985) provided an insightful study into the concept of right and left. After making a universal survey, he examines the concept at the Yorùbá cultural, religious, trado-medical and political levels. At virtually every level, he avers that the right side is associated with good

things while the left side is associated with negative or bad things. He points out that "the Yorùbá even believe that God takes good out of the right-hand side than the left…" (p. 6). This may not be unconnected with why "traditional Yorùbá parents or guardians do everything possible to prevent or guard their children from the use of the left hand very early in life" (p. 9). The left hand, he adds is used for unclean purposes such as blowing of the nose, cleaning of the anus and removing dirty things, and that left-handed people are seen as social misfits and public nuisances in many societies of the world. He says that left handers are called 'Southpaw' in America and o*lówó òsì pondoro* which translates to 'inactive left-handed people' in Yorùbá society. Ajíkòbi (1985, pp. 13-14) expressed:

The Yorùbá go to the extent of attaching evils to the left five fingers and good to the right. It is believed that the five fingers on the right hand represent five kinds of good fortune or blessings thus: They are long life (aiku), money, (aje), wife (aya), children (omo) and victory (isegun) and the left five fingers represent death (iku), sickness (arun), fighting (ija), want of money (iponju) and loss ($\partial f \partial$).

By implication, good attributes are attached to the right-hand fingers while bad attributes are attached to the left-hand fingers.

Ajíkobi (1985:15) further adduces that during sexual intercourse, in Yorùbá society, the man uses his left hand to insert his penis in the woman's vagina; equally, the woman helps the man to insert his penis with her left hand into her vagina. This, he corroborates by this Yorùbá song:

Onípèékeré ò!	Oh ìpékeré seller!
Ebi ò lè pọmọ tí ń dóko'	An adulterous girl cannot feel hunger
Bó bá fộtún gbowó ò	After accepting money with her right hand
A a fòsì fokó móra	She draws the penis nearer to her with her left hand.

He equally believes that the sex of an unborn child is determined by either the left or the righthand side. After a sexual intercourse, the woman is asked to turn to her left side for a few seconds if she wants a female child and that if she wants a male child she is asked to turn to the right side. It is believed, especially by Yorùbá elders, that if such a woman should become pregnant, she would give birth to the sex that relates to the side to which she turns.

Ajíkobi (1985, pp. 21–22) attributed stumbling with the left foot as an ill omen signifying failure in any expedition undertaken by such a person while stumbling with the right foot signifies success and a good outcome in the expedition embarked upon by such a person. Therefore, if one is going out and one suddenly unconsciously dashes one's left foot against anything, it is advisable for such a person to go back home, sit down and ponder before planning to go out again, failure of which the journey may hit a brick wall.

Contrary to Ajíkòbí's (1985) conception about left and right, a Yorùbá proverb seems to affirm unity of the opposite:

Òtún wẹ òsì	The right-hand washes the left
Òsì wẹ òtún	The left-hand, too, washes the right
Lọwó fi í mó	This makes the hands clean

The proverb above indicates complementarity rather than opposition as posited by Ajíkòbí (1985). This shows that the left and the right-hand function to assist each other in the overall

success of parts of the human body. These are vehicles used in metaphorical expression. Cooperation is the tenor.

Ilésanmí (2004, p. 110) in discussing the binary theory of complementarity maintained:

But whatever would augur well for reconstruction, creation of new order cannot be said to be oppositional; they are rather complementary. I cannot imagine the combination of the negative and positive ends of an electric wire which provides electric light or functions for coolness in refrigerator or which ignites the vehicle for mobility as being oppositional, it is indeed complementary... The so called positive and negative electrons cannot move without a propelling initiation by Nature (God) since they cannot be said to have their own individual consciousness. It is what propels them to action that has its desire or goal achieved complementarily. What human beings call crises, produces changes which are often erroneously termed negative or positive. Negativity and positivity are relative or complementary, dependent on how they are managed.

A view at Ilésanmí's (2004), opinion above shows that left and right are complementary rather than opposing to each other as demonstrated by Ajíkòbí. Also, Ajíkòbí's (1985) work is a catalogue of the use of left and right which is based on formalism. However, semiotics is the theoretical concern in this study.

Theoretical Framework

Saussure emphasizes the social function of the sign; Pierce, on the other hand emphasizes its logical function. Both aspects are closely correlated and today, the two words 'semiology' and 'semiotics' refer to the same discipline with the Europeans using the former and the Americans using the latter. Pierce (1931–58, 1. 538) opines that "every thought is a sign". Contemporary semioticians study signs not in isolation but as part of semiotic sign systems (such as a medium or genre). They study how meanings are made, being concerned not only with communication but also with the construction and maintenance of reality. Today, both 'semiology' and 'semiotics' are regarded as semiotics.

Signification

Signification according to Saussure (1974:114) is the relationship between the two parts of the sign, which is the signifier and the signified. Barthes (1964:33) also agrees with Saussure that signification is not the 'thing', but the mental representation of the 'thing', which is the concept. He maintains that signification is the association of the signifier with the signified but points out that the association is arbitrary. Eco (1976, p. 8) explained that "a signification system is an autonomous semiotic construct that has an abstract mode of existence independent of any possible communicative act it makes possible". A synthesis of the authors' views above on signification shows that it is the outcome of the relationship between the signifier and the signified but it will be too hasty to jump to a conclusion that such a relationship is arbitrary as noted by Barthes. An examination of the three modes of the signification as postulated by Peirce and most commonly employed within a broadly Saussurean framework will shed more light on the relationship. They are symbol/symbolic, icon/iconic and index/indexical.

Symbolic Signification

According to Chandler (2006, p. 49), symbolic signification is a mode in which the signifier does not have any resemblance with the signified which is fundamentally arbitrary or purely conventional – that the relationship must be studied. Examples are language (alphabetical

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letters, punctuation marks, words, phrases and sentences), numbers, Morse code, traffic lights, national flags, etc. The symbolic signification does not have a natural link between the form and the thing represented, but only has a conventional link. The traffic sign of an inverted triangle is such symbol, as a matter of fact; it shares no natural link between its form and its meaning, 'give right of way'. The link between its form and meaning is purely conventional. The same may be said of military emblems, the naira sign \mathbf{N} , almost all flags and all languages. Thus, there is no natural connection between the Yorùbá word *sá lo* (run away) and its meaning. According to William et. al. (2004:90), the term *symbolic* as used in linguistics is understood in the sense that, by general consent, people have "agreed" upon the pairing of a particular form with a particular meaning. This sense of *symbolic* goes back to the original meaning of the Greek word *symbolon* 'a token of recognition' used between two guests or friends, e.g. a ring broken into two halves, which allowed them to identify each other after a long time by matching the two parts and checking whether they fit together. The two halves of the ring are inseparable, just like the form of a word and its meaning.

William et al. (2004, p. 91) further argued that symbolic signs are the exclusive prerogative of humans. In other words, other lower animals cannot make use of symbolic signs. The authors maintain that human beings have more communicative needs than pointing to things and replicating things. Also, man wants to talk about things which are more abstract in nature such as events in the past or future, objects which are distant from him, hopes about peace and a host of others. They believe that all these can only be achieved by means of symbols which humans all over the world have created for the purpose of communicating all possible thoughts.

According to Danesi (2004, pp. 31–33), a symbol stands for its referent in a conventional way. A cross figure can stand for the concept "Christianity"; white can stand for "cleanliness", "purity", "innocence", and dark for "uncleanness", "impurity" and "corruption". The author expresses that symbolism is more prevalent in mathematics and science than any other area of human endeavour pointing out that the science of geometry, as an example, has helped human beings solve engineering dilemmas since ancient times. Symbol equally plays a role in religious life - the Cross symbolizes Christ's death and all Christian beliefs. The Star of David represents Jewish teachings. People throughout the world have agreed on certain symbols to serve as a shorthand system for recording and recalling information. Every branch of science has its own information system - astronomy uses a set of ancient symbols to identify the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars; in mathematics, Greek letters and other symbols make up an abbreviated language. Specific kinds of symbols appear in such fields as linguistics, commerce, engineering, medicine, packaging and transportation. All the countries of the world have official or unofficial national symbols. A flag or an anthem may symbolize a nation. In Nigeria, for example, two horses facing each other and raising their forearms to carry an eagle is the symbol for the country. The United States is symbolized by Uncle Sam and the statue of Liberty. Canada is symbolized by the maple leaf while John Bull stands for England.

Commenting on the arbitrariness of symbolic signification, Johansen and Larsen (2002) declared:

Negatively symbolic signs are characterized by being arbitrary, unmotivated, i.e. neither connected to the object nor similar to it. In other words, it is not their own characteristics that make them signs, as with iconic signs; nor is there a natural bond between sign and object, as with indexical signs. Instead, symbolic signs are constructed or agreed upon to be used as signs for given purposes in the internal or external world, i.e. as conventional designations

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with a referentiality and a meaning that are determined by conventional usage (p. 43).

The authors above pinpoint that there is no relationship whatsoever between the symbolic sign and what it stands for. Language is a good example of symbolic sign. If we take the word *ewé* which translates to 'leaf' in English, we see that there is no bond or association in any form between the word and the object it represents. We may decide to give the same name to *igi* (tree). However, there must be a communal consensus. An illustration is given from Fágúnwà's *Ìrìnkèrindò Nínú Igbó Elégbèje* below:

Baálè fún èèbó ní obì àbàtà méfà, èèbó la méjì sí wéwé. Ó mú òkan, ó sì ní kí wón pín ìyókù kárí (p. 29)

Baálè gave six pieces of kola *acuminate* to the white man. The white man broke two into pieces, took one and asked them to share the rest among all.

In the text above, the present given to the white man (six pieces of kola *acuminate*), a particular kind of kolanut, is *àrokò*, a Yorùbá symbolic non-verbal communication. The kola is used to encode an offer of friendship by the Baálè to the Whiteman. Although both the object (kolanuts) and the number (six) presented are symbolic, they have a great tie with what they connote in Yorùbá socio-cultural context.

The side code is more important in this study. As mentioned earlier, Ajíkòbi (1985) argues that the side code concept is a global one and observes it from virtually every angle of human endeavour. In his investigation, left is associated with bad things while right is associated with good things. Ajikobi's argument seems linear and single sided as shall be seen in this study. Some of the novelists in this study have used the left side to communicate negative messages as shall be seen at present.

In *Ojú rí*, Ògúngbèmí's auto accident has been signaled by his dashing his left foot against an object:

Ó ní kí òun bá òun kó súgà láti Agbeni lọ Ìtaagún ní Ajéròmí. Àwon dúnàádúrà, owó tó sì gbà láti san fún òun té òun lórùn ni òun bá tèlé e. Ibi tí àwon ti fé kó sínú mótò òun báyìí, *òun fesè òsì kọ débi pé sòkòtò ànkàrá aláwò búlúù tí òun wò sì fàya peregede lábé*. Ara rọra fu òun, òun sì fé padà sùgbón okùnrin dúdú òhún ní kò séwu. (p.6)

He offers him to transport some sugar from Agbeni to Itaagún in Ajéròmí. They haggle and the sum he agrees to pay him suits him which makes him to follow him. As they are about to enter into his car, *he dashes his left foot against an object to the extent that the blue-coloured pair of trousers which he puts on tears completely underneath.* He becomes suspicious and wants to turn back but the dark-complexioned man insists there is no cause for alarm.

Ògúngbèmí, a bus driver, agrees to transport some sugar for a passenger. At the point of entry into the bus, he observes a sign $-\partial un fese \partial si ko$ (he dashes his left foot against an object). Although he does not deliberately dash his left foot against an object in the text as seen, yet he rightly becomes suspicious because of his knowledge of the culture and the likely consequences of such a sign -ará rora fu oun (he becomes slightly suspicious that the journey may turn awry). Ògúngbèmí disregards the symbol and follows the passenger who assures him of a safe trip. He, however, ends up in a ghastly motor accident that costs him his bus and also incapacitates him physically. The act of dashing the left foot against an object by Ògúngbemí

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portrayed in the text is a symbolic signification of disaster as manifested in the ghastly auto crash and the injury sustained therein.

Also, in *Ìrìnkèrindò Nínú Igbó Elégbèje*, the author makes use of left side to discuss a strange community:

A rí ònà kékeré kan báyi *tí ó yà bá apá òsì lọ*. Nwón kọ àkólé kan sí ìyànà náà... ìlú àwọn Èdìdàré níbití Òmùgòdiméjì ti nṣe ọba wọn'. (p.38)

We see a small road *that leads to the left hand-side*. They place a signboard at the junction of the road... 'The town of Èdidàré where Òmùgòdiméjì is their king'

The author's description of the lifestyles of the people of Èdidàré, headed by Òmùgòdiméjì shows something contrary to the entire culture of the Yorùbá people. This may not be unconnected with where the community is situated – $ti \circ ya bá apa \delta si lo$ (that leads to the lefthand side). The left-sidedness is a symbolic signification of lopsidedness and chaos in the behaviour exuded by the inhabitants of Edidàré community.

In *Ògbójú ode Nínú Igbó Irúnmole,* Àkàrà Oògùn dashes his left foot against an object before he enters into the cave of a weird creature that captures him:

Dídìde ti mo dìde, *esè òsì ni mo fi kọ*, esè ìyá mi ni, ìgbàkígbà tí mo bá ti fi esè náà kọ sí nìkan kan, nìkan náà kò ní dára... ibi tí mo ti ń se èyí ni mo déédé rí i tí enìkan dì mí ní ọwó òtún mú tí ó sì lộ mi ní apá séyìn tí ó gbá mi ní etí. (p. 21)

As I rise to go, *I dash my left foot against an object*, it is my mother's leg, anytime I dash that foot against an object on any particular thing, it would turn out negative... As I'm doing this I suddenly see someone who holds my right hand, turns my arm to my back and slaps me.

In the text above, dashing the left foot against an object is the signifier to the character; the signified concept is a negative outcome of his journey in the forest. Truly, the character is later apprehended by a gnome who beats and chains him up in a cave. A sign is a recognizable association of a signifier with a particular signified. The same signifier (dashing the left foot against an object) could stand for a different signified (and thus be a different sign). If, for instance, someone had promised Àkàrà Oògùn, some money and on his way to collect the money he dashed his left foot against an object, then the same signifier would signify disappointment.

In the investigation of this researcher concerning the left-hand side position of the bride beside the groom, Olájuwón¹ explained that the culture dates back to the pre-colonial Yorubá life when war or any form of attack may break out anytime. The husband, she asserted, would hold the weapon with which the wife was protected with the right hand while the wife was on the lefthand side of the husband.

Contrarily, Fálétí (1972:34) asserts that "*Qba oko ní í fowó òtún mú ìrùkèrè, owó òsì l'oba gidi í firùkèrè sí*" (It is the king who is a rustic that holds the horse-tail with his right hand; an important king holds the horse-tail with his left hand). This assertion is peculiar to the Òyó kingdom and may not be unconnected with the Òyó proverb which says: "*Ají-şe-bí-Òyó là á rí, Òyó ò ní í şe bí i baba enìkóòkan*" (People copy Òyó's attitudes, the Òyó do not copy anyone). The act of holding the horse-tail with the left hand by the Òyó king may portray arrogance on the part of the Òyó and also to set a pace which other kings in the Yorùbáland may follow.

However, during ceremonial periods when a king appears in state in his full regalia especially with his lead or bead staff ($\partial p \dot{a} \partial j \dot{e} t a b \dot{i} \partial p \dot{a} \tilde{i} l \dot{e} k \dot{e}$), it becomes expedient that he holds the horse-tail with his left hand because the staff is held with the right hand.

Also, among biological organs, the heart has been noted to be one of the most important organs in the body. Macdonald (2009:95) maintains that the heart "is usually felt to be on the left side because the left heart (left ventricle) is stronger as it pumps to all body parts". This may not be unconnected with why warriors shoot their enemies, aiming at the left side of the chest where the heart is situated so as to hasten their death, noting the delicate nature of the heart. The location of the heart on the left side by the Supreme Being is undoubtedly natural which may force an analyst to pitch his tent with the side; contrastively, human beings' innovation is based on culture and conventions which may not be easily invalidated by anyone because it is a communal property.

On the other hand, something positive is done in relation to the right hand-side. In *Saworoide*, during the coronation anniversary of Lápité, the winners in the dancing competition are placed on the right-hand side.

Ògá àwọn onísé àsà bộ síwájú. Ó bá àwọn ọmọdé náà sòrò. Ó ní "E kókộ pàtéwó fún ara yín. Gbogbo yín lẹ se dáadáa, gbogbo yín ni ẹ ó sì gba èbùn... gbogbo yín *e tò sí ọwộ òtún mi* kí ẹ máa gba èbùn yín o". (pp.98-99)

The head of the culture workers comes forward. He speaks with the children. He says, "Firstly clap for yourselves. All of you did very well; all of you will collect prizes... All of you should *line up on my right-hand side* and collect your prizes.

The head of the culture workers separates the children who know how to dance very well from those who do not. He makes these good dancers to line $up - e t \delta si \phi w \phi \phi t un mi$ (line up on my right-hand side) for their various prizes. The positioning of winners on a right-hand side is truly significant in the text. It is a symbolic signification of success as manifested in the competition.

Right-hand side is also associated with royalty. In Saworoide, Amawomárò tutors Arésèjábàtá:

Òtún ni kí o máa tẹ fìlà sí o. Òtún lọmọ ọba á tệ é sí. Ó ti dára báyìí. Hệnén-ện. Bí ijó bá pò, tó bá yè, kí o tún rọra tún un se. Ó yá máa wá lọ. (p.100)

You should be tilting your cap to the right-hand side. The right-hand side is where the prince tilts his cap. It is good like this. That's alright. If it slips due to serious dancing, gently put it right. Now be on your way.

Amawomárò tries to teach the young prince, Arésèjábàtá, one of the norms that sets him aside from other members of the society – $\dot{Q}tún$ ni kí o máa tẹ fìlà sí o (you should be tilting your cap to the right-hand side). Amawomárò provides an explanation – $\dot{Q}tún$ lomo oba á tệ é sí (the right-hand side is where the prince tilts his cap). This is a symbolic signification which distinguishes the prince from a non-prince in the Yorùbá society.

Some authors have not followed the convention of putting positive things on their right-hand side and negative things on their left. This is seen in $Oj\acute{u}$ rí.

Bàba Fádípè gbó òrò wọn délè. Ó wá gbé òpèlè rè síta, ó sòrò wúyewúye sí owó eyo kan, ó sì kó àti owó eyo àti eegun eran kan fún Rúùtù pé kí ó di

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Bàbá Fádípè listens to their story till the end. He then brings out his $\partial p \dot{e} l \dot{e}$; he speaks quietly to a cowry, and he now gives both the cowry and a piece of bone to Ruth to hold each of them in each of her hands. Baba casts his $\partial p \dot{e} l \dot{e}$ divination on the ground twice; *he asks Ruth to put down the item inside her left fist which turns out to be the cowry*. Bàbá Fádípè smiles and congratulates them.

In Ifá divination, Abímbólá (1977: vii) explains the meaning and process of casting lots with a cowry and a piece of bone after an Ifá priest has conducted his investigation. Casting lots is to make the Ifá priest have a deeper knowledge of the investigaton and also to determine a particular person or thing that Ifá is speaking about. He points out that cowry stands for a positive thing while a piece of bone represents a negative thing. Bàbá Fádípè deviates from the conventional concept of left and right – $\delta ni ki Rúùtù so ohun ti \delta bá wà ni owó osì rè silè, ló bá di owó eyo (he asks Ruth to put down the item inside her left hand which turns out to be the cowry). Owó eyo (cowry) which signifies positive, in a conventional pattern, ought to be on the right-hand side. However, divination and choice of selection of items clasped in the hand/palm in casting lots might have been dictated by the oracle beyond the visible customs.$

Some authors in some instances have allowed both the right and the left to work together to achieve success. In *Saworoide:*

Gbogbo àwọn èrò ń garùn, wón fẹ fi ojú ara wọn rí ìsèlè hlá náà. Àwọn tó jókòó ti dìde dúrò. Àwọn onílù dùndún ti gbé ìlú kó èjìká, wón ti mú òpá lówó danindanin. Àyánníyì, náà ti ká apá agbádá sókè, ó n fi owó òsì ra osán saworoide, ó fi owó òtún gbá òpá mú gírí. (p.184)

All the people in the crowd are stretching their necks; they want to witness the great event. Those who sat down have stood up. The dùndún drummers have hung their drums on their shoulders and held their drumstick tightly. Àyánníyì also has folded up the arm of his *agbádá* dress. *He is using his left hand to rub the strings of leather of brass bells and the right hand to hold the drumstick*.

In the final ousting of the military dictator, Làgàta, the drummer, Àyánníyí, makes use of his two hands – $\delta n fi \rho w \rho \partial si ra \rho sán saworoíde, \delta fi \rho w \rho \partial si na gi a saworoíde, o fi o w hands - \delta n fi o w hands of leather of brassbells and the right hand to hold the drumstick) in the communication of the message to the hearing of the military dictator which causes headache that finally results to his death. The binary principle is at work here as this indicates that the left and right are rather complementary and both work together for positive reconstruction of the society$

Conclusion

This study unravels the code of right and left. Most times negative events do occur at the lefthand side. For instance, dashing the left foot against an object results in a car crash inflicting a permanent damage on the victim; events that are strange and run contrary to the Yoruba culture occur in a community on the left side. Contrarily, pleasant events occur on the righthand side. For instance, winners in competitions are lined up on the right-hand side; princes tilt their caps on the right-hand side. It is also uncovered that some novelists are not aware (or do not care) about the right and left-sidedness while some apply both the right and the left for positive output and reconstruction of the society.

Notes

1. Mrs. Omótáyò Olújùwón (Ìya Tópé Agbèbí) is a Yorùbá traditional midwife, one of my respondents who lives at number 2, Ikogbe street, Ibà, Lagos was interviewed on 18th of March, 2009.

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