

Cultural Heritage as Vehicle for Knowledge Delivery: A Study of Some Selected Yoruba Proverbs

Dayo Akanmu¹, Joy Odewumi², Ngozi Dom-Anyanwu³
Lagos State University of Education Oto/Ijanikin

Abstract:

Yoruba Proverbs are treasured sayings imbued with demonstrated wisdom of ages. Existing studies still need to sufficiently establish its use for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth in pupils. This study examines the gap in learning and proficiency of the Nigerian indigenous languages among pupils to establish its usage for nurturing self-identification and self-worth. The sociological Hermeneutic theory is adopted to describe, explain, and interpret selected proverbs within the content usage in Yoruba. Ten data were purposively selected and subjected to stylistic and descriptive analysis. Findings revealed that proverbs are stylistically suitable to smoothen conversation and functional for knowledge delivery.

Keywords: learning, pupils, self-identification, self-worth, Yoruba proverbs

1. Introduction

Yoruba proverbs have been extensively employed by several scholars to address numerous academic issues. Unfortunately, and despite this, proverbs have not been sufficiently utilized to create a medium of awareness of the rich Yoruba culture for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth in pupils and, by extension, youths. There is no doubt that this has consequently created a monumental gap in learning and

¹ Department of Nigerian Languages Education, Lagos State University of Education Oto/Ijanikin, with a campus in Noforija, Epe, Lagos State, Nigeria, dayoakanmu2002@yahoo.com.

² Department of Nigerian Languages Education, Lagos State University of Education Oto/Ijanikin, with a campus in Noforija, Epe, Lagos State, Nigeria, odyjoy8@gmail.com.

³ Department of Nigerian Languages Education, Lagos State University of Education Oto/Ijanikin, with a campus in Noforija, Epe, Lagos State, Nigeria, ngozidom@gmail.com.

proficiency of this important aspect of the Nigerian indigenous languages, especially in the area of knowledge delivery.

In Yoruba Traditional Education (YTE), proverbs play a pivotal role in the delivery of knowledge, especially to pupils and youths. It should be stressed that from childhood to adulthood, it is expected that these groups of people listen and pay adequate attention to instructions given by the elders through the use of proverbs. Culturally, the proverb is believed to be a wise saying that traditionally belongs to elders, but it can also be used to train and pass across information to both pupils and youths in order for them to develop a sense of self-worth and self-identification as they grow in age; hence, the saying *láti kékeré n'Ìmòlè ti ñ k'ómọ rẹ lásọ*, means “it is from childhood that a Muslim faithful starts teaching his child the recitation of Quran.”

Also, in Yoruba Traditional Education, it is believed that pupils and youths today will definitely become tomorrow's elders. Hence, the proverb captures the saying that *eyin ló ñ d'àkùkọ* which can be interpreted as “children are the future of tomorrow.” However, if today's pupils and youths are not well trained in teaching and learning proverbs as it is presently in schools and in daily routine discourses, it is obvious that proverbs will soon go into extinction, and this important group of the society cannot be said to be custodians of the proverb as the elders assert in the proverb *Òrìṣà tí a bá ñ ṣe tí a kò fi han ọmọdé kò ní pẹ parun*, meaning “worship of the deity in which children are not carried along will soon go into extinction.” The scenario presented here is playing out today as teaching or using proverbs for knowledge delivery in classroom and routine discourses of pupils and youths is not visible. It is against this background that this paper sets out to examine the gap created because of the neglect of this important aspect of the Yoruba indigenous knowledge delivery in routine discourses and in teaching and learning environment with a view to proffering a possible way out.

2. Views on Proverbs

There are several views on the proverb due to its phenomenality and universality. Generally speaking, proverbs can be described as a short, recognized expression of the folk full of wisdom, morals, and philosophies,

worldviews in a metaphorical, predetermined, and memorisable form, transmitted from generation to generation. In other words, proverbs are made up of short expressions like idioms, whose meaning cannot be correctly determined from the individual words that are characteristically metaphorical, predetermined, and figurative (Bolaji & Akanmu, 2017). Yoruba proverbs are perceived as the “horse of speech” and are often used to unravel complex discussions or resolve entanglement in communication. Yoruba proverbs are primarily deployed to establish truism in the discharge of moral instructions or to be factual and blunt against any social ills.

A Yoruba proverb is perceived as a traditional phenomenon and cultural endowment of a people’s collective wisdom exclusively preserved and transmitted from one generation to another (Lawal, 1992; Friday-Otun et al., 2017). This view is about the orality and preservation of proverbs and how proverbs are verbally communicated and transmitted from one generation to another. Similarly, to show that African proverbs are the same in terms of orality when expressing views on Igbo proverbs, Chidoka (2021) describes proverbs as traditional materials taken from the Igbo world, proverbs full of accumulated experiences and which show numerous facets of a people’s culture that are transmitted from generation to generation. Mbah (2023) shares the same view by portraying proverbs as a form of oral communication within the socio-cultural notions in which thoughts and experiences based on people’s cultural and social orientations, philosophies, moral values, psychological makeup, and worldviews are communicated.

Corroborating this view and in an attempt to describe the nature of the proverbs, Osoba (2014), quoted in Adetoro (2019), distinguishes the proverbs from the verbal arts because of their shortness, sense, and expressiveness. He believes that their shortness connotes brevity; hence, the Yoruba proverb that says, “half a word is spoken to a wise man, and when it gets into his ‘inside,’ it becomes a whole.” He further posits that the ‘sense’ in his established tripartite in Yoruba proverbs is derived from the total meaning. The allusive nature of proverbs enhances the need for a deep comprehension to grasp the intended message. On the expressiveness, he asserts that Yoruba proverbs are enhanced by the convoluted use of figurative expressions like metaphors, similes, personifications, symbols,

and euphemisms, adding poetic effect to statements and illustrate the art of speech making.

The trio of Nwachukwu-Agbada (2002), Osakwe (1999) and Olatunji (1970) established the pedagogical importance of proverbs in African society as traditional material and vital means of communication used by scholars and artists to educate. In their views, proverbs are considered to be social licences for praises of what is considered as good qualities and condemnations of awful practices in the society. Summarily, this position implies instructional, cognitive, and corrective purposes of proverbs, which consequently enhances the proper guidance and enforcement of social control in the society.

Apart from the aforementioned, several other studies have been conducted on Yoruba proverbs. Among them are Olateju (1999), Idowu (1997), Olatunji (1984; 1970), Adeleke (2009), Owomoyela (2005), Agbaje (2005) and Ojoade (1983). Each proverb is a source of entertainment, moral instruction, historical record, or philosophy and therapy. As unique as these works are in Yoruba studies, little or no attention has been given to the pedagogical use of proverbs to achieve the communicative competence of pupils and youths in routine communication as well as in the teaching and learning environment.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theory adopted for this study is Friedrich Schleiermacher's Sociological Hermeneutic Theory (1768-1834). Originally, the theory was used to interpret Biblical, wisdom literature, and philosophical texts. This theory gained prominence between 1960 and 1970 because of its ability to interpret and understand social events through the analysis of their meanings for the participants in the events. It is in tandem with the belief of Friedrich Schleiermacher, the proponent and father of the Sociological Hermeneutic Theory, that in order to comprehend the work of another author, an interpreter must familiarize himself with the historical context in which such an author published his thoughts. This theory is adopted because it can emphasize the importance of both content and form of proverbs within any given social behaviour and it is a means to explain and interpret proverbs

according to their usage in the Yoruba language and culture. In this study the theory is primarily oriented towards the comprehension of the meanings of the selected proverbs in point of their content, form, historical context, and social events referred to, which the interpreter should be culturally familiar with.

4. Methodology

The data relevant to this study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. The primary source comes from personal observation, consultation with the community elders, and interviews with some primary school teachers and pupils, to ascertain the extent to which proverbs are used in teaching and learning environments. The secondary source was taken from the published texts of Odùgbèmi (2014), Aládèjobí (1999), Bada (1985) and Delana (1983). Thirty proverbs were collected, but only ten were purposively selected for stylistic and descriptive analysis.

5. Analysis

The following proverbs were considered for analysis:

Proverb 1.

Èni tí kò kìnì kú ilé pàdánù kú àbò (Odùgbèmi 2014)

(One that fails to greet one when he comes in forfeits one's response to the greeting)

The proverb emphasizes the Yoruba culture of greetings, which is unique and cherished by the people as one of the attributes of *Ọmọlúàbí* (a person with a high level of good pedigree). Literally, it means "to deliberately disregard someone on the ground or at home when coming in without greeting the person." The latter will assume that the former is uncultured, so he will not respond by saying, "You are welcome." In line with the meaning-based theory adopted for this paper, this proverb can be interpreted connotatively to mean "when one fails to do the needful, one should not expect a positive reward." A proverb is used to inculcate moral lessons, especially respect, in traditional education for children and youths. Yoruba people consider greeting a significant way of life, but unfortunately,

as observed today, this is not replicated in teaching and learning environments among the youths and in most of the primary schools in Nigeria. It should also be stressed that in the 1960s and 1970s and early 1980s, traditional materials like proverbs and idioms were part of the cultural heritage used for knowledge delivery during assembly and in the classroom. These are no longer practiced today in the assembly, classrooms, and routine discourses among the youths. The implication of this is that awareness of the rich Yoruba cultural heritage for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth in pupils and youths is gradually eroding, and this is not good for the growth and development of the contemporary society.

Proverb 2.

Ọmọdé gbón, àgbà gbón

La fi dálẹ̀ Ifẹ̀ (Odùgbèmi, 2014)

(It is through the display of mutual

Elders and the youths that Ife land was founded)

The above proverb emphasizes the Yoruba culture of greetings, which is unique and cherished by the people as one of the attributes of Ọmọlúàbí. Stylistically speaking, the above proverb is metaphorical and typical of most of the Yoruba proverbs that reflect a particular aspect of mythological history. One can really comprehend the meaning through the analysis of its descriptive nature. This is because meaning cannot be predicted from the individual elements in the proverb without studying the historical context. Historically, this proverb establishes the general belief that Ile Ife is the cradle of the Yoruba race, and it took the wisdom of both the children and elders to find it. The proverb can be interpreted to mean collective helpful responsibility needed for nation-building. This type of proverb is suitable for historical and pedagogical purposes in teaching and learning environments because it can broaden the historical knowledge of pupils and the youth, especially now that most schools do not take the teaching of history as a subject very seriously. It will also boost their courage and confidence, having realized that their efforts are also required in the collective process of nation-building.

Proverb 3.

Bòmòdé bá mọwọ wẹ

Yóò bá àgbà jẹun (Aládẹjọbí1999)

(A child who knows how to wash his hands
will dine and wine with the elders)

The above proverb is also metaphorical, irrespective of the context of usage. The *àgbà* (elder) and *òmòdé* (child) are metaphors; while *òmòdé* (child) represents inexperience, or immaturity, *àgbà* stands for wisdom, or experience, or maturity. It can be said that if a child knows how to wash his hands clean, he can eat on the same plate as the elders. However, it goes beyond this in terms of meaning. It should also be stressed that connotatively, the elder in the proverb represents wisdom and humility, and that is why it is culturally believed that only the elders are the repositories of proverbs, the reason a child or youth must acknowledge the elders before uttering a proverb (Adéléké, 2009). A child or youth fond of doing this is embraced and allowed to keep company with the elders. It is as a result of this display of humility, respect, and wisdom on the part of the child that the proverb emerged – *bòmòdé bá mọwọ wẹ á bágba jẹun* meaning that if a child is wise and humble, he would always be in the company of elders and be regarded as a child that behaves like elder (*òmò àgbà*). A proverb of this type is short and easy to memorize, and it is expected to be used at the primary school level and in routine discourses of the youths, especially now that traditional education in most homes is dying. It should also be noted that no educational program stands apart from the society which created it. Education in Yoruba should be exclusively based on the ideals and values of the Yoruba society.

Proverb 4.

À n gba òròmòdiẹ lówọ ikú

Ó ní wọn ò jẹ k'oun lọ sórí àkítàn lọ jẹun (Aládẹjọbí, 1999)

(We are trying to save a chicken from death, and it complains
That it is not allowed to go to the refuse ground to pick up rubbish)

The above proverbs are always used to warn, caution, and counsel an adamant or stubborn person who chooses to face some imminent danger, despite wise counsel. Literally, for the chick, the imminent danger ahead is the hawk, whose strength is too big for the chick to contend with, when meeting on the refuse ground. Again, both the chick and the hawk search for food on the refuse ground, but ironically, while the chick looks for seeds, the hawk searches for chicks and the like. Stylistically speaking, this is a case of personification and metaphor where a chick (a metaphor for a human being) is made to complain like a human being whose utterance is comprehensible. Refuse ground, on the other hand, is a metaphor for danger or death. The figurative usage is meant to give concreteness and vividness to the proverb, interpreted as meaning “complaint against life-saving counsel is perilously consequential.” The proverb is used to rebuke someone who grumbles because he is not allowed to do certain things considered dangerous by those who prevented him from doing them. Looking at the proverb from its stylistic import and meaning, it can be said that it is simple, brief, memorable, and valuable enough to be part of the proverbs capable of inculcating moral lessons in pupils and, by extension, in youths in everyday communication.

Proverb 5.

Ìgbà kù tó ló bí òrére

Ayé ò tó ló bí òpá ibon (Délàná, 1983)

(No season goes on endlessly

Life is not as straight as the barrel of gun)

This is another instance of a figurative proverb where the word *igba* (season) is personified as a human being with legs to walk or travel around and compared with the expression *orere* (endless enterprise) through the use of a simile to portray realism and straightforwardness. Indeed, time flies and never comes back. It should be stressed here that all the figurative ingredients in the proverb make it entertaining without taking away the underlying meaning and moral lesson that “one should grab every opportunity to be useful and successful in life because nothing is permanent in life except change.” Despite the figurative import of the proverb, and as

stated in the theory adopted for this paper, meanings are easily derived through careful study of the form and content of the proverb. It should also be established that captivating traditional material with instructive and insightful moral lessons is good for delivering knowledge to pupils and the youth. If it is perfectly delivered and comprehended, it will go a long way in creating awareness for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth in pupils and, by extension, in many of our youths who cannot speak and write in good Yoruba orthography.

Proverb 6.

Tí ajá bá lẹni lẹyìn yóò pa ọbọ (Bada, 1985)

(If a dog gets good backing it will easily kill a monkey)

The proverb is not about animals (dog and monkey); it is metaphorically used to depict a dog as an individual incapacitated to subdue his predicament (monkey), whose strength, sneakiness, and intrigues could be too much for him to withstand. No matter how powerful a monkey is, it cannot survive amid many hungry dogs. Here, the emphasis is on the aid, support, and reinforcement one can receive from people around him when confronted with difficulties beyond his capacity. The moral lesson here is that nothing is impossible for someone who benefits from the support of people. This proverb is also simple, brief, and straightforward enough to comprehend, mainly through a careful study of its form and content. This view is corroborated by some of the teachers and pupils interviewed for this study. Pupils and youths can benefit immensely from the moral lessons of the proverbs with captivating structure and content, and they can attain perfect proficiency and fluency if appropriately impacted on by such proverbs.

Proverb 7.

Ajá tí yóò sọ̀nù

Kò ní gbọ̀ fẹ̀rẹ̀ ọlọ́dẹ̀ (Through personal observation)

(The dog that will be lost

Will never hear the hunter's whistle)

Literally, the proverb means, “A dog that will get lost will not listen to the whistle of the hunter.” It is another proverb with a metaphorical nature stylistically used to create imagery in the hearts of listeners or readers. From the above, it is evident that human beings are contextually represented as *ajá* (dog) and (ode) to illustrate a universal truth. Metaphor is a veritable ingredient for the composition of a proverb because of its involvement in the transfer of meaning through figurative use, as shown in the above proverb. This proverb can be interpreted to mean “a person who is deliberately ready to follow the path of destruction will not listen to a wise counsel or advice.” Naturally, dogs are created to be sensitive. However, occasionally, there are a few stubborn ones, just as there are stubborn human beings who will not listen to advice, especially when it is evident that danger is imminent and looming. It can be said that a proverb of this nature exhibits specific entertainment value based on its figurative trait, mainly when it is used in a context to spice up a statement. This proverb is also suitable for knowledge delivery in the classroom and in routine communication between pupils and youths to warn against stubbornness and disobedience.

Proverb 8.

Bí a bá n jà

Bí i ká kú kó (Badà, 1985).

(If we are fighting,

We should not wish ourselves death)

The above proverb is brief and straightforward because it is devoid of the use of any animal in a metaphorical manner. Although there is a stylistic import in the composition of the proverb, especially in the second line, where certain words would have made it more explicable if not deleted, it is comprehensible enough for those proficient in the language. The second line should have been presented as *bí kí á ro ikú sí ara wa kó* (not to the extent of wishing our death). However, if it were so presented, it would have defeated one of the purposes of using proverbs, which is encrypting, especially when the speaker does not want the third party to decode the message of the proverb. The proverb means, “If we are fighting, it is not a mortal combat.” The proverb can mean, “fight is inevitable, but it should not

be to the extent of wishing one's detractor's death." The proverb is used whenever one's detractor is suffering or experiencing a horrible situation and needs attention or help from his counterpart. It is a proverb that expresses love and affection as moral lessons and should be considered a pedagogical tool for teaching, especially now that the country is witnessing religious bigotry and ethnic divide among the youths as a result of the outcome of the just concluded gubernatorial and presidential elections.

Proverb 9.

Ilé ẹni ni a ti ń jẹ

Èkúté onídodo (Through personal observation)

(It is in one's house that one eats

A rat with big navel)

Literally, the proverb means "it is in one's house that one eats a rat with an unusual navel." The proverb, like the previous ones, is metaphorical. It sounds funny, excites laughter, and is entertaining, especially when one remembers that the rat to be eaten, whether a bush or a house rat, is too small in size and significance to have a big navel. It is not what one can be publicly proud of in the midst of those who eat chicken, goat, and beef daily. In other words, it is demeaning, shameful, and ridiculous for one to publicize the eating of a rat with a big navel. It portrays one being in abject poverty. However, the proverb connotatively can mean "you don't put your dirty details out there" or "you don't wash your dirty linen outside," depending on the context of usage. The proverb can be used to tell someone that a family secret should not be exposed to the outside world, especially if it is not pleasant. This proverb can be uttered to the addressee who is about to reveal the particular family secret in the presence of another person whose knowledge of the proverb is shallow to caution the former and prevent the latter from decoding the message. An instance of this nature expresses one of the most critical functions and purposes of the proverb in routine discourses, worthy of use for teaching pupils and youths.

Proverb 10.

Afasé-gbèjò ń tan ara rẹ jẹ (Delano, 1983)

(He who tries to fetch rain-water with
A sieve is deceiving himself)

This proverb is meant to caution someone trying to embark on something beyond his capability or an unrewarding adventure. The proverb is simple, short, and self-explanatory to those proficient in the language. Here, its simplicity and brevity should be considered suitable for conversation in routine discourses and for teaching at the elementary level, where pupils develop an interest in fascinating and stimulating utterances like the above. Literally speaking, *Asé* (sieve) is a perforated house utensil used to sieve ground grain/foodstuff and cannot be used to collect liquids. However, using it to collect rainwater is comparable to someone trying to embark on the impossibility, and such a person may be seen as abnormal. The proverb can be interpreted as *an exercise in futility*. It is used to mock or ridicule someone who is trying to do something that is beyond their capacity or seeking a position they can never get.

It can be deduced from the foregoing that in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, Yoruba proverbs, idioms, and other meaningful sayings were used in the classroom as part of the traditional education to deliver knowledge to pupils. Instances of Yoruba proverbs and idioms imbued with moral lessons abound in J.F. Odunjo's collection of poems and works of other earlier Yoruba writers. It has been revealed that today, Yoruba proverbs (embodiment of moral lessons) have not been explored and taken seriously as a vehicle for knowledge delivery at the primary school level and, by extension, in our contemporary society's teaching and learning environment. This paper has revealed that Yoruba proverbs are stylistically suitable for smoothing conversation in routine discourses and functional for knowledge delivery to pupils and youths in teaching and learning situations. It has also been revealed that most Yoruba proverbs are figurative or metaphorical, and this figurative use gives them concreteness and vividness. It has been established that most of the Yoruba proverbs that are simple, brief, and memorisable are valuable and capable of inculcating moral lessons. At the same time, their stylistic import has the capacity to trigger laughter and entertainment in a way that creates awareness of the rich Yoruba cultural heritage for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth in both

pupils and youths. The study of this phenomenon also revealed that one of the major functions of the proverb is to conceal information from non-initiates. Here, non-initiates are non-speakers or speakers poorly trained in the Yoruba proverbs. The study equally emphasized the possibility of achieving proficiency in the language and, by extension, in Yoruba proverbs if they are introduced early to pupils at the primary school level, just as it is done in traditional education where it is believed that no educational program can disregard the society which created it.

Conclusion

This paper is on Yoruba proverbs, a cultural heritage used to deliver knowledge. The paper has examined the entertaining and pedagogical values of proverbs used in routine discourses and classroom situations at the elementary level. The study of this phenomenon has revealed that they can serve instructional, cognitive, and social purposes as it was in the traditional Yoruba setting where the elders, custodians of the cultural heritage, used proverbs for teaching the young ones the social values of life. Although it has been established that the figurative and stylistic imports of Yoruba proverbs induced amusement, their function goes beyond their entertaining value, as they implement social control in society. It has also been stressed that some of the features (patriotism, humility, prudence, futility, discipline, and good pedigree) embedded in the selected proverbs have the capacity to trigger awareness of the rich Yoruba cultural heritage for nurturing self-identification and a sense of self-worth, otherwise missing in pupils and the youths of today, if they are used in teaching at the primary school level.

Based on the discoveries in this paper, it can be concluded that the use of Yoruba proverbs in communication and teaching at the primary school level underscores the versatility and resourcefulness of the socio-cultural heritage acquired by the Yoruba through proverbs. This phenomenon has been used in the traditional setting to teach children proficiency and moral lessons; since now they are lacking among the young generations, it is only reasonable to go back to the basics and ensure that Yoruba proverbs with insightful and instructive moral lessons are well entrenched in the curriculum at the primary school level and in the routine

communication of youths. In the long run, this will mould responsible and egalitarian youths who will be proud of their identity and cultural heritage.

In the context of the traditional education decline, it is a matter of urgency for government policy-makers to decide upon the use of indigenous proverbs as compulsory at the elementary level to promote effective proficiency of the Yoruba language. This will consequently strengthen our dying traditional education. No educational programme can stand apart from the society which created it, therefore, education in Yoruba should be absolutely based on the ideals and values of the Yoruba society.

References:

- Adeleke, Duro. 2019. "The Foolery of Man Beyond the Theatrical World: Perspectives from an Indigenous African Literary Critic." Inaugural Lecture. University of Ibadan.
- Adeleke, Duro. 2009. "Yoruba Proverbs as Historical Records." *Proverbium* 26: 19-48.
- Adeleke, Duro. 1999. *Patronage of Yoruba Literature: Perspectives in Language Teaching in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Power House Press and Publisher.
- Adetoro, Bola. 2019. "A Study of Proverb Categorisation in Yoruba and Chinese Cultures." *Journal of Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria* 9(3): 92-111.
- Agbaje, John. 2005. "The Place of Yoruba Proverbs in the Understanding of Yoruba Philosophy and Education." *International Journal of African American Studies* 1(5): 48-54.
- Akanmu, Oladayo & Ezekiel, Bolaji. 2017. "A Study of Proverbs in Yoruba Traditional Religion." *Opanbata, LASU Journal of African Studies* 5: 115-126.
- Aladejobi, Gbade. 1999. *Àwọn Òwè àti Àkànlò-Èdè Yorùbá*. Ikeja-Lagos: Mega-Esperence Nigeria Ltd.
- Bada, Sanmi. 1985. *Òwè Yorùbá àti Íṣẹ̀dálẹ̀ wọ̀n*. Ibadan: University Press Limited.
- Chidoka, Cletus. 2021. "Igbo Philosophy: A Miscellany of Igbo Proverbs and Cultural Pedagogies." *Journal of African Studies and Sustainable Development* 4(4): 213-224.
- Delana, Isaac. 1983. *Òwè Lẹ̀sin Ọ̀rọ̀: Yoruba Proverbs: Their Meaning and Usage*. Ibadan: University Press Limited.
- Friday-Otun, Joseph and Olatubosun, Christopher. 2017. "Commiserating through Proverbs among the Yoruba: A Pragmatic Act Analysis." *Journal of Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria* 8(3): 51-74.
- Lawal, Raman. 1992. "Aspect of Pragmatic Theory." Unpublished paper. March 4, 1992. Institute of Education University.

- Mbah, Charity 2023. "Pragmatic Analysis of Some Selected Igbo Proverbs and Their Sexiest Undertones". *ISEAKOZI: Journal of Nigerian Languages and Linguistics*, Maiden Edition: 200-212.
- Odugbemi, Olusegun. 2014. *Òwè àtí Ọrọ̀ àwọn Àgbà Ní Ilẹ̀ Yorùbá*. Lagos: Tolly-Day Commercial Enterprise.
- Ojoade, Joseph. 1983. "African Sexual Proverbs: Some Yoruba Examples." *Folklore* 94(2): 201-210.
- Olateju, Adesola. 1999 "The Language of Myth: The Yoruba Example." *African Culture and Mythology*. Eds. Ifie Khen, and Adelugba Ade. Ibadan: End Time Printing Press.
- Olatunji, Olatunde. 1984. *Features of Yoruba Oral Poetry*. Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
- Omoera, Osakue Stevenson & Inegbeboh, B.O. 2013. "Context of Usage and Aesthetics of Selected Proverbs in Southern Nigeria." *Journal of Language, Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa*. 4(1): 1-30. Available at <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/jolte/article/viewFile/88210/77856> United States International University-Africa, Nairobi, KENYA.
- Osoba, Joseph Babasola. 2014. "The Nature, Form and Functions of Yoruba Proverbs: A Socio-Pragmatic Perspective." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 19(2): 44-56. doi 10.9790/0837-19244456.
- Owomoyela, Oladele. 2005. *Yoruba Proverbs*. Nebraska: University Press Ltd.