The Semantic Expansion of 'Wife' and 'Husband' among the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria

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Although one of the existing studies on Nigerian or African kinship terms has argued that semantic expansion of such words constitutes an absurdity to the English society, none has argued for the necessity of a specialized dictionary to address the problem of absurdity to the English society, the custodian of the English language. This is important especially now that the language has become an invaluable legacy which non-native speakers of the language use to express their culture as well as the fact that the English people now accept the Greek and Hebrew world-views through Christianity. This paper provides additional evidence in support of semantic expansion of kingship terms like 'wife' and 'husband' not only in a Nigerian or an African language but also in Greek and Hebrew languages. The paper argues that if English is to play its role as an international language, it will be desirable if our lexicographers can publish a specialized dictionary that will take care of kinship terms, as it is the case in some other specialized dictionaries on the different professions such as medicine, nursing, linguistics and agriculture, to mention but a few, so as to guide against ambiguity or absurdity that may arise in language use in social interactions.

Keywords: culture, language, interpretation, society, specialized dictionary

One conclusion that can be drawn from studies conducted on kinship terms is that although kinship terms are products of a family relationship or a close feeling between people that develops as a result of common origins or attitudes, the cultural norms or world-views that guide the use vary from one ethnic group to another (Evans-Pritchard, 1948; Oyetade, 1995; Abiodún, 2000; Igboanusi, 2004; Ìkotún, 2009). For example, Igboanusi (2004, p. 223) claims that while the word 'mother' may be used to refer to any female friend or relation of one's own mother, one may have several 'mothers' in the Nigerian or African world-view but not in the English society because the use of such words may appear or sound ridiculous to the Englishspeaking society. As Igboanusi (Igboanusi, 2004, p. 223) rightly says, there are several Nigerian or African words that have semantic expansion or extended meanings when used in social interactions and the use of such words may sound unintelligible to the English society when English is used to express such Nigerian or African world-views or culture. In this paper also, our concern is on the semantic expansion or extended meanings of some kinship words in Yorubá, Greek and Hebrew and areas that will be covered will include:

 focus on the Yorubá words 'oko' (henceforth husband) and 'iyawo' (henceforth wife) and

- it will be shown that the extended meanings they have in Yorùbá, Greek and Hebrew may appear or sound ridiculous to non-African, non-Greek and non-Hebrew.
- 2. it will also be shown that any of the kinship terms or words, when used, must co-occur with any of the possessive pronoun qualifiers such as 'mi' (my), 'wa' (our), 're' (your (sgl)), 'yin' (your (pl)), 're' (his/her (sgl)) and 'won' (their/his/her (pl)) before the kinship words or terms can be better understood.
- 3. finally, it will be the submission of this researcher that if English is to be fully accepted as an international language, it is important that the English lexicographers with the assistance of culture translators must be prepared to re-work the dictionary entries to also include African, Greek and Hebrew worldviews or cultural aspects of word or language use that are devoid of current grammatical or conventional usage since English is now used to express cultural norms of several or almost all ethnic groups in the world today as well as the fact that the Christian culture is now shared or endorsed by the English-speaking Christians.

At least, four perspectives on semantics have been identified by linguists (Katz and Postal, 1964; Chomsky, 1965; Bierwisch, 1970; Halliday, 1985; Mey, 2001). But, the perspective of semantics we agree with and which is of interest to us in this paper is the one that recognizes the combination of the context of culture and the context of situation in language study (Malinowsky, 1923; Firth, 1962; Brown and Gilman, 1968; Fasold, 1990). Several studies that have been carried out in African and non-African languages attest to the fact that the knowledge of a language is a composite of the knowledge of structure and use in the socio-cultural context (Abiódún 1992; Oyètádé, 1995; Ìkộtún, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). Our position that the knowledge of a language is a function of the knowledge of structure and use in the socio-cultural context is further supported by Mey (2000), Igboanusi (2004) and Adegbite (2005). For example, Mey (2000, p. 7) says, among others, that not even the smallest utterance or a single word can be understood in isolation. She argues further that it is the user and his or her conditions of production and consumption of language that, in the final analysis, determine the way his or her words are understood. Studies carried out by Malinowsky (1923), Firth (1962) and Adégbité (2005, p. 54) too claim that two kinds of context are associated with contextual meaning namely, the context of culture and the context of situation. Similarly, Adégbité (2005, p. 54) argues that the conditions of meaning in a context of culture (or social context) must specify the conventional (socio-cultural) rules of behaviour which participants must share before they can effectively or successfully communicate with each other. Adégbité (2005, p. 54) further adds that the conditions of meaning in a situational context must also specify relevant features of immediate and wider experiences of the specific participants in addition to the conventional rules.

However, before Adégbité (2005, p. 54), Igboanusi (2004, p. 223) argues that in semantic expansion, English words are made to acquire extended meanings. According to him, African writers often reflect African contexts in the use of certain English items so that such items now acquire extended meanings in the novel. He says that semantic expansion is, therefore, a good source of difficulty for the non-African reader. One of the examples of language use that inform Igboanusi's (2004, p. 223) position is the use of the word 'mother' or 'mothers' among Africans. As already shown in the introductory section of this paper, while the word 'mother' may be used to refer to any female friend or relation of one's own mother, one may have other senses of the word 'mother' in the Nigerian or African world-view but not in the English society. Although Igboanusi's (2004) position is very valid, it can be further argued that the extended meanings from 'mother' or 'mothers' can be better or correctly

drawn when such words are used in conjunction with possessive pronoun qualifiers in social interactions. For example, it is not unlikely that there is a difference between the word 'mother' and the noun phrase 'my mother'. While the use of the word 'mother' may not necessarily refer to the speaker's biological mother, the use of the noun phrase 'my mother' by the speaker may. So, what may be a source of ambiguity to the non-African is the use of the noun phrase 'my mother' when the use does not refer to the speaker's biological mother but to any female person even when the addressee is still a baby girl. Therefore, to address the issue of cultural misunderstandings in culturedependent language use, a specialized dictionary with the translators' commentary is suggested. However, in this paper, in further support of Igboanusi's (2004) claim, extended meanings of 'wife' and 'husband' in Yorubá, Hebrew and Greek, especially when they are used with possessive pronoun qualifiers, are examined.

Method

Data collection

The Yoruba data for this descriptive work were drawn from four sources. Some data were taken from some Yoruba drama books. The drama books entitled *Ìyawó Aláréde* and *Orogún Odájú* were written by Eso-Olúborodé (1993) and Tela (2008) respectively. Some data were drawn from some Yoruba plays that were shown or staged on DSTV Yoruba Channel 157. Participant observation was also considered to complement the data drawn from Yoruba drama books and DSTV Yoruba Channel 157 programmes. participant observation used in this paper involved the presence and participation of the researcher in linguistic interactions with native speakers of Yorubá on the focus of this paper. The Yorubá native speakers comprised some Yorubá sub-ethnic group members namely, Egbá, Ìjeṣa, Ekiti, Akúré, Ondó, Akókó, ljebú, Oyo and Ekó. The research covered a period of three years namely 2013, 2014 and 2015 and the conversations were recorded without the knowledge of the co-participants. It will also be recalled that participant observation guarantees natural language use or unguided language use in social interactions. The data that will be considered for Hebrew and Greek were drawn from the New World Translation version of the Holy Bible. The data that will be analyzed were drawn from Psalms 45: 14-15, Revelation 14: 3-4, 2 Corinthians 11: 2 and Isaiah 54: 5. Our choice of examples from Hebrew and Greek languages is meant to confirm our position that the use of kinship terms is almost a global phenomenon especially with the spread of Christianity.

Results and Discussion

The findings and the analysis of this research are shown in sub-sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 below. The different senses the words 'wife' and 'husband' can have when used among the Yorubá people are presented in sub-sections 4.1 and 4.2. The information used in these sub-sections was drawn from participant observation. However, as the discussion progresses, the excerpts that were drawn from some Yorubá textbooks and recorded speeches in support of the information from participant observation by the researcher will be used. The discussion on the data drawn from the New World Translation version of the Holy Bible will form the focus of 4.3 sub-section.

4.1 The semantic expansion or meanings of 'wife' in Yorubá

In Figure 1 below, the various uses or meanings of the word 'wife' among the Yorubá people are presented. In English, however, the word 'wife' is semantically realized as [+female, +woman, +married].

Again, four excerpts that explicate evidence of language use in support of the information drawn from participant observation shown in the figure above are

presented. Two of the data were taken from a Yoruba textbook while the remaining two were drawn from recorded speeches. For example, the information in the introductory section to language use in the data shown below exemplifies a discussion between a real wife and a real husband.

(Nínú ilé Odéjobí, òré Bàbá ode, Won sese jeun òsán tán ni. Odéjobí àti ìyàwó rè, Àdùfé, wà léhìnkùlé, wón ń najú. Odéjobí ló bèrè òrò...)

Odéiobí:

Olódùmarè, íbo lojú Re wà? Ìwo l'Oba adédàá, Oba asedàá. Ìwo nikan soso l'Oba asekanmáku Àwon tí kò mò Ó kò moyi Re. Gbogbo ohun tí O se ló gún régé... (Tèlà, 2008, p. 23)

Translation

(In Odéjobi's house, a friend to Bàbá Ode, They have just had lunch. Odéjobi and his wife Àdufé are at the back of his house. Odéjobi starts to speak...)

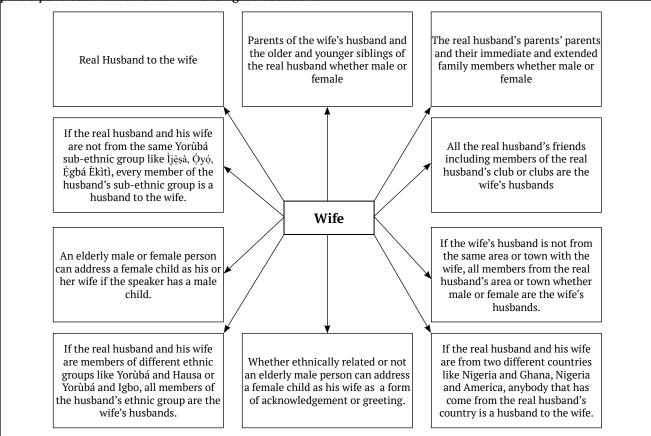


Figure 1. The Various Uses of the word 'Wife' among the Yorubá People.

THE SEMANTIC EXPANSION OF 'WIFE' AND 'HUSBAND'

Odéjobí: Olódúmarè, where is your face?

You're the King, Creator; the King,

Maker of all.

You are the only King who never

leaves a thing unfinished.

Those who do not know You do not

know Your worth.

Everything You do is perfect.

In the excerpt below also, a man that has more than a wife is shown in the introductory section of the excerpt as well as in line 1 of the excerpt.

(Ilé Bàbá ode, àwon ìyàwó rè ti tójú gbogbo eran tó pa bo láti òru. Won ti gúnyán félé foko won je...)

Bàbá Ode: (ó ń pe ìyàwó rè àgbà, Osúnwenú...)

Osúnwenú, Osúnwenú o.

Sé etí re di ni tabí o ń gbó agbóya? Bóyá o sì ń kà mí lóhun? (Tèla, 2008,

p. 17)

Translation

(Bàbá Ode's house, where his wives have been busy preparing all the game he brought home from his night hunting. They have also prepared a sumptuous pounded yam meal for him...)

Bàbá Ode: (Calling his most senior wife,

Osúnwenú...)

Òsúnwenú, Òsúnwenú...

Are you deaf?

Or you deliberately refuse to respond? Or are you counting the number of

times I call you?

Among the Yorùbá people, a female relative can address a lady that is married to her relative as her wife as shown in lines 2 and 3 of the data below.

Female relative: (*In company of the father-in-law*,

taking notice of the presence of a

young woman and greeting).

Pèlé o, sisí mi.

Father-in-law: Ìyàwó e mà nìyen Female relative:Ìyàwó mi, pèlé o.

Sé àlàáfíà ni?

Bride: E pèlé mà. Àlàáfíà ni. Father-in-law: Ìyàwó Ṣolá, omo re ni...

Translation

Female relative: Hello, my dear. Father-in-law: That is your wife.

Female relative: My wife, you are welcome.

Hope all is well.
Bride: Hello ma. All is well.

Father-in-law: She is Solá's wife, your son...

7,7

It is also possible for a man to address his friend's wife as his wife as shown in line 4 of the data below.

Friend A: Kémi wù mí lómo, mo fé fé e.

Friend B: Kémi èwo?

Friend A: Èyí tó sèsè jáde ilé-ìwé gíga. Friend B: Ah! Má dé bè rárá; ìyàwó wa ni o.

Ìyàwó omo egbé e wa ni.

Translation

Friend A: Kémi is so beautiful, I will like

to marry her.

Friend B: Which Kémi?

Friend A: The one who recently finished

from the university.

Friend A: Do not even go there; she is

our wife. She is the wife of one of our members.

4.2 The semantic expansion or meanings of 'husband' in Yorùbá

The different senses which the word 'husband' in Figure 2 connotes are also presented in this subsection. The word 'husband' in English is [+male, +man, +married].

Two excerpts and one data in support of the information in Figure 2 above are presented as follows. For example, as shown in lines 1 and 4 in the excerpt below, a female person can address another female person as 'okò mi' (my husband).

Mojèrè: Ògá dérébà, e dákun, tí a bá dé Òfà, mo

fé ra búrédì dání fún ará ilé. N ó ti mú

owó sí tòsí.

Dérébà: Tí e bá ti mò pé e kò ní dá wa dúró. Sé

e mo pé alé ti lé.

Ìyá-àgbà: Okò mi, ò bá sì ti ra búrédì re ní Ìlorin...

(Èṣó-Olúbóròdé, 1993, p. 7)

Translation

Mojèrè: Mr driver, please, when we get to Offa,

I will like to buy bread for the people at home. I would have brought out the money (before we get to the bread

seller's stand).

Driver: If you know you won't waste our time.

It is already night.

Ìyá-àgbà: My husband, you ought to have

bought the bread way back in Ilorin.

REUBEN OLÚWÁFEMI ÌKOTÚN

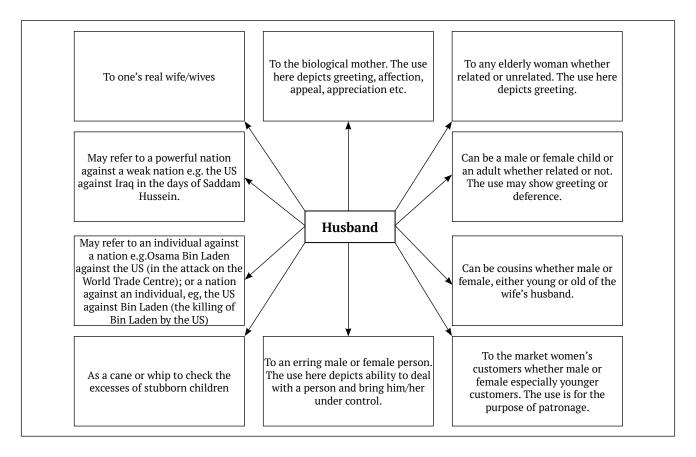


Figure 2. The Various Uses of the word 'Husband' among the Yorùbá People.

However, in the excerpt below, language use by Àdùfé, a woman, shows a discussion between a real wife and her husband as shown in line 1 of the excerpt. The phrase 'baálé mi' can also be realized as 'okò mi' (my husband).

Àdùfé: Baálé mi, ó tó rò, ó ye ní síso.

Sùgbón irú ìpè wo la á se Féni tí ìkòokò pa ìyá rè je? Se béè ló pa tirè légàn ni?

Èdùmàrè kó kó wa mò ón se. (Tèlà,

2008, p. 25)

Translation

Àdùfé: My husband, it is worth ruminating

over, it is enough a topic for discussion. What manner of consolation do you offer someone whose mother was

killed by a lion?

Do you maintain your own mother

was killed in a similar way?

May the Almighty God direct our ways.

The information drawn from participant observation in Figure 2 that if the husband is not from the same area or town with the wife, all members from the real husband's area/town are the wife's husband is supported by the data drawn from the recorded speeches shown below.

Speaker A: Hìn pèlé n'íbe é o. Speaker B: E pèlé o. Ìjèsà ni yín?

Speaker A: Ìjèsà ni mèrè.

Speaker B: Ah, eyin oko mi niyen!

Speaker A: Ìjësà lo̞ko̞ yín?

Speaker B: Béèni...

Translation

Speaker A: (Greeting in Ìjësà dialect)

Hello, here.

Speaker B: Greetings.

Are you an Ìjesà person? I am an Ìjèsà person.

Speaker A I am an Ìjèsa person. Speaker B: Ah, you (pl) are my husband!

Speaker A: Is your husband ljesa?

Speaker B: Yes...

However, the various uses which a good Yorùbá dictionary should have for the word 'wife' do not mean that the Yorùbá culture encourages wifeswapping or that the 'wife' plays wifely duties to any of the 'men' whether male or female, young or old

apart from the real husband that the English society understands. The Yorùbá culture simply encourages oneness, harmonious communal living, love and good neighbourliness. This means that the information in the two figures above should be divided into two categories. The information in the first category deals with the real 'wife' or 'wives' and the real 'husband' which usage can easily be understood or be intelligible to the English society. The information in the second category may be a source of confusion to the English society because the use is culture-dependent.

4.3. The uses of 'Wife' and 'Husband' among Greek and Hebrew

It is not only in Yorùbá or African languages that reference is made to culture for word or language interpretation. As already shown in the introductory section of this paper, what is true of African languages is also true of some other world languages. Some of these world languages include Greek¹ and Hebrew². Our discussion below highlights how 'wife' and 'husband' are used in Greek and Hebrew . Earlier, it was mentioned that our data would be drawn from the New World Translation version of the Holy Bible. The data include information drawn from Psalms 45: 14-15, Revelation 14: 3-4, 2 Corinthians 11: 2 and Isaiah 54: 5. For example, the study draws our readers' attention to the word 'virgins' in Psalms 45: 14-15 and Revelation 14: 3-4. In Psalms, it is stated:

In woven apparel she will be brought to the king. The virgins in her train as her companions are being brought in to you. They will be brought with rejoicing and joyfulness. They will enter into the palace of the king.

The book of Revelation also says (see also 2 Corinthians 11: 2):

And they are singing as if a new song before the throne and before the four living creatures and the elders; and no one was able to master that song but the hundred and forty-four thousand, who have been brought from the earth. These are the ones that did not defile themselves with women; in fact, they are virgins. These are the ones that keep following the Lamb no matter where he goes. These were bought from among mankind as first fruits to God and to the

The use of the word 'virgins' as shown in the verses above may be a source of inappropriateness to the owners of the English language because the word, as contained in the English dictionary, can be semantically realized as [+human -sex i.e a human being who has not had any sexual relationship with any person]. But, by our knowledge of the Bible, the list of those who will be followers of Christ will include people like Peter, John and several others who married and gave birth to children (Mark 1: 30; John 10: 16). Similarly, in English society, the word 'husband' connotes a man who is married to a wife or wives and the wife or wives must be female and not male. But, what is true of the English society is at variance with what is true of Greek and Hebrew societies as shown in 2 Corinthians 11: 2 and Isaiah 54: 5 below.

For I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, for I personally promised you in marriage to one husband that I might present you as a chaste virgin to the Christ (2 Corinthians 11: 2).

For your Grand Maker is your husbandly owner, Jehovah of armies being his name; and the Holy One of Israel is your Repurchaser. The God of the whole earth he will be called (Isaiah 54: 5).

In Corinthians also, it is stated that Christ is the 'husband' of the Church and the Church comprises both male and female worshippers while the nation of Israel is given unto God as a wife and the nation too consists of male and female. It can be argued that the way the English people see the world around them is different from the way the Yorùbá, Greek and Hebrew people see the world around them. Therefore, since English is now used to express several cultural systems that are not native to it and since the English people now accept the Greek and Hebrew world-views through Christianity, it may be necessary for the language to incorporate the non-native cultural systems into its linguistic analysis. Our position is in tandem with an earlier study carried out by Akíndélé and Adégbìté (2000, p. 46) in which they claim that:

There is no gainsaying the fact that English has become a Nigerian language. The language has become an invaluable legacy of the British which has provided Nigerians with yet another means of expressing their culture.

Our argument here is that it is not only Nigerians that use English to express their culture; citizens of other countries also use it. It is even reported in

¹ Information in the books of Matthew to Revelation was written in Greek.

² Information in the books of Genesis to Malachi was written in Hebrew.

some Nigerian dailies or Newspapers that the use of English is now a serious threat to the survival of many indigenous languages that are used in British colonies (The Nation of May 17, 2016, p. 4 and July 24, 2016, p. 50; The Sunday Tribune of April 10, 2013, p. 22; The Nigerian Tribune of October 9, 2014, p. 27 and March 6, 2016, p. 3&10). However, one question that has not been addressed in this paper is: are there other ways through which kin address each other or one another among the Yorùbá of Southwestern Nigeria? The answer to this question can form the focus of another paper.

Conclusion

Attempts have been made in this paper to provide evidence in support of semantic expansion of the use of 'wife' and 'husband' not only in a Nigerian or an African language, but also in Greek and Hebrew languages. It has been argued that the use of 'wife' and 'husband' by Yorubá, Greek and Hebrew people indicates that the way the Yorubá, Greek and Hebrew see the world around them is different from the way the English society sees the world around it. It is also our position in this paper that the various uses which a good Yorubá, Greek or Hebrew dictionary should have do not mean that the Yorubá, Greek or Hebrew culture encourages wife-swapping or that the 'wife' plays wifely duties to any of the 'men' whether male or female, young or old apart from the real husband that the English society understands. Our conclusion, therefore, is that English lexicographers with the assistance of culture translators should publish a specialized dictionary that will take care of kinship terms as it is the case in other specialized dictionaries on the different professions like medicine, linguistics and agriculture, to mention but a few. This suggestion is necessary especially now that the English language has become an invaluable legacy which non-native speakers of the language use to express their culture as well as the fact that many English people now accept the Greek and Hebrew world-views through Christianity.

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THE SEMANTIC EXPANSION OF 'WIFE' AND 'HUSBAND'

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