

## **Collocative Syntagms in the Yorubá Language Usage**

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### **Abstract**

In order to process language fluently and idiomatically in fulfilling basic communication needs, collocations or language chunks must be mastered by native speakers and language learners. But much research focus has been on grammar with little on collocation, and the existing works on it have largely centred on the identification and classification of collocations in non-African languages. The study, which focuses on the description of the structures and types of collocations in the Yorùbá language usage, is based on the approach that classifies language chunks into free combinations, restricted co-occurrences and fixed collocates. This research observes that the Yorùbá language contains free lexical collocations, reduplications and idioms. The language also features restricted co-occurrences such as Verb+Noun, Verb+Adjective, Verb+Adverb and Verb+Verb collocations. The article draws attention to the bilingual effect of Yorùbá and English on the usage of Yorùbá collocation, culminating in some errors of interlingual transfer. The study discovers that collocation is language universal, but also specific according to the syntagmatic rules of each language. The article suggests the teaching of collocations in Yorùbá and other native languages in schools, and also recommends that anthological compilation of collocations in the language and other native languages be embarked upon.

### **Keywords**

Collocations, language chunks, teaching, classification, the Yorùbá language

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## Introduction

Human language, as a species-specific phenomenon, carries with it the presupposition of usage as the result of human competence in rule-governed stringing of utterances in intelligible forms. Order is imposed on the usage of sounds to become words, and on the usage of words to become phrases, and on the usage of phrases to become sentences. Crystal (1997) refers to this imposition as syntagms that show the way words collocate or combine to form selectional restricted structures. According to Okoro (2013), words do not just combine at random to form sentences; there are grammatical requirements of subjects to precede verbs, and verbs to precede complements, for instance, in English. More significantly, words, in their syntagmatic relations co-occur to the exclusion of other lexemes. Based on the morphological, syntactic and semantic imperatives, some words occur with some other words naturally, thereby culminating in the creation of “syntagms” in semantic term.

Crystal (1997) draws a line of demarcation between “normal” and “set” syntagms. The ability to generate sentences which are based on the “principles” and “parameters” of the speakers’ competence, hinges on the syntagmatic rules permissible in the language. Hence, ordinary utterances or sentences are based on the construct of “normal collocations”. But when linguistic unit go together regularly in predictable ways, they are referred to as “set syntagms”. Examples in English:

“tolerance”	With	“for”
“bread”	With	“winner”
“immune”	With	“to”
“tamper”	With	“with”
“brown”	With	“bread”
“break”	With	“down”

Stressing further on “set syntagms”, Crystal draws a line that a collocation can be fixed in an idiomatic way. In this case, the structure is to be learned as a whole and not as parts of a pattern. Okoro (2013: 86) gives examples of this in English as “Look down on”, “Do away with”, “Be tenable for”, “Make both ends meet”, etc..

As language is replete with collocation structures, and language users have mastered these structures intuitively, native speakers of Yorùbá use collocates as part of their semantic and syntactic intuition; collocation syntagms are acquired alongside other aspects of language. However, in discourse, it is possible to hear, among the Yorùbá speakers, expressions such as:

<i>Pa'lẹ̀</i>	<i>mọ́</i>	<i>tébù</i>	‘Clear the table’
Clear floor	Clean	table	

instead of:

<i>Pa'lẹ̀</i>	<i>tébù</i>	<i>mọ́</i>	‘Clear the table’
Clear floor	table	clean	

In Yorùbá discourse or conversation, the imperative verb phrase *Pa'lẹ̀* (Clear) does not collocate directly with the adjective *mọ́* (clean). However, it does directly with the noun *tébù* (table). Hence, it is only correct for *mọ́* (clean) to post-modify the noun *tébù* (table) and not otherwise. Hence, the correct form should be:

<i>Pa'lẹ̀</i>	<i>tébù</i>	<i>mọ́</i>
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Clear floor      table      clean      ‘Clear the table’

The same kind of error is noticed in the following sentence:

*Pa’lẹ́*      *mọ́*      *oúnjẹ*      *dáádì*      ‘Clear the table after daddy’s meal’  
 Clear floor      clean      meal      daddy

The sentence above is wrong because *mọ́* (clean) can only post-modify the noun phrase *oúnjẹ dáádì* (daddy’s meal) to have the correct version as:

*Pa’lẹ́*      *oúnjẹ*      *dáádì*      *mọ́*      ‘Clear the table after daddy’s meal’  
 Clear floor      meal      daddy      clean

Another possible error is:

*Alẹ́*      *tí*      *şú*      ‘It is night’  
 Night      is      dark

instead of:

*Alẹ́*      *tí*      *lẹ́*      ‘It is night’  
 Night      is      night

In normal Yorùbá discourse, *Alẹ́* (Night) does not collocate with *şú* (dark); but collocates with *lẹ́* (become night) to have:

*Alẹ́*      *tí*      *lẹ́*      ‘It is night’  
 Night      is      night

But we can have:

*Ilẹ́*      *tí*      *şú*      ‘It is dark’  
 Day      is      dark

It is not also impossible to hear:

*Ó*      *tẹ́*      *mí*      *mọ́’lẹ́*      *l’ẹ̀sẹ̀*      ‘He/She stepped on my leg/toe’  
 He/She      step      me      at ground/floor      at leg/toe

instead of:

*Ó*      *tẹ́*      *mí*      *l’ẹ̀sẹ̀*      *mọ́’lẹ́*      ‘He/She stepped on my leg/toe’  
 He/she      step      me      at leg/toe      at ground/floor

The flaw in the unacceptable structure above is the wrong placing of the prepositional phrase *mọ́’lẹ́* (at ground/floor); it can only post-modify the prepositional phrase *l’ẹ̀sẹ̀* (at leg/toe), and not the other way round, wherever they co-occur in a syntagm. The implication of all this is that the features of collocation in Yorùbá, like in other languages, reflect a special linguistic property that should be consciously learned and mastered as “chunks”.

In the literature, the studies on collocations in languages are generally scanty with the exception of English language. Hence, a work of this nature in Yorùbá is crucial to the interest of Yorùbá speakers, teachers, learners and language researchers generally. Consequently,

attempts will be made in this research to explore the structure of Yorùbá collocations, describe the different types of the Yorùbá collocates and classify the collocates into categories. The research will further identify and analyse observed errors of collocation, draw the attention of Yorùbá users, teachers and learners to these errors, as well as examine the bilingual effect of English language on the Yorùbá language usage.

## **1. Literature Review**

### **1.1. Collocation in Languages**

The existing works on collocation have largely been in the English language, hence, the studies reviewed in this study are mainly in the language. Halliday and Hassan (1967) view collocation from the perspective of lexical cohesion of texts, while Benson, Benson and Ilson (1986) consider it as fixed phrases. Technically, Crystal (1997) defines collocations in terms of semantic fields where words that relate together are grouped according to the way they belong to one another.

Islam and Ivor (2011) observe that many definitions point to the nature of syntagmatic units as chunks or features of collocations in language. Pawley and Syder (1983), Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992), Lewis (1993) and Henriksen (2014) have also defined collocations as part of lexical chunks in languages. They technically refer to these chunks as formulaic sequences (FSs). Idioms, figurative expressions, pragmatic formulas, discourse markers and collocations all fall under FSs. But according to Henriksen:

“Collocations are frequently recurring two-to-three words syntagmatic units which can include both lexical and grammatical words e.g. verb + noun (pay tribute), adjective + noun (hot spice), preposition+noun (on guard) and adjective + preposition (immune to). Many of the studies on collocations have shown that even high-level learners seem to experience problems using and developing ... collocational knowledge” (Henriksen, 2014: 30).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that while the definitions of collocation by Halliday and Hassan (1967), and Crystal (1997) lay less emphasis on collocations as chunks, that of Benson, Benson and Ilson (1986) does not embrace non-fixed collocates. Even, Henriksen’s (2014: 30) definition, as lucid as it is, also excludes fixed collocates whose “frequently recurring words” could be more than two-to-three. Hence, the need for us to provide a more comprehensive definition. Therefore, in this research, we operationally define collocations as phrases or structures which string together, in either absolutely or relatively fixed manner, to function syntagmatically in semantic domains or fields.

In order to process language fluently and idiomatically in fulfilling basic communication needs, the FSs must be mastered by native speakers and language learners (Pawley and Syder, 1983; Wray, 2002). As Kuo (2009) further points out, the L1 users acquire their phrases or chunk language and develop the competence to reconstruct the language with phrases from exposure to the environment. Collocations as sub-sets of FSs are acquired by native speakers as part of semantic and syntactic competences which subsumes syntagmatic competence.

Boers, et al. (2006), Boers and Lindstromberg (2009) and Okoro (2013) opine that in the course of language reception and production, collocation competence is essential. In the stages of language acquisition, normal collocations are acquired alongside other grammatical aspects

of language. For instance, a study (Friday-Òtun, 2014: 249) reveals normal collocation in the Yorùbá usage of some six-year olds. Some of the collocates are:

rà'wé	(buy a book	: v+n)
kà'wé	(read a book	: v+n)
mò'wé	(intelligence	: v+n)
kọ'sé	(write down a work	: v+n)
mọ'sé	(know a craft intelligently	: n+v)
jìnà gan an	(far seriously	: adj+adv)
dùn mí gan an	(pains me seriously	: v+adv)
ṣì'wèrè	(become mad	: v+adj)

Children seem to handle these collocates with no difficulty because they have acquired them intuitively. But set collocates that require associate lexemes are mastered as they grow older. The set collocates have some complexities that may constitute big tasks among Yorùbá native speakers, especially the young adults and learners. For example, the Yorùbá collocate, “jù lọ” (more than) in the sentence below, can pose some difficulty of combination in discourse if not mastered well:

(i)

O	dàgbà	jù	lọ	
He/she	old	more	most	'He/She is eldest'

However, when comparing between two pronominals with one as a subject pronoun, and the other, as an object pronoun, e.g., between *Ó* (He/She) and *mi* (me), a caution must be taken not to construct a wrong sentence as follows:

(ii)

Ó	dàgbà	jù	lọ	mi	
He/she	old	more	than	me	He/She is older than me'

instead of:

(iii)

Ó	dàgbà	jù	mí	lọ	
He/she	old	more	me	than	'He/she is older than me'

Sentence (ii) is ungrammatical in Yorùbá because the collocate “jù lọ” (more than) has been wrongly separated. To an L2 learner of Yorùbá, there is the need for the conscious knowledge of the rule in comparative structure where the object pronoun must sandwich the collocation “ju lọ” (more than) whenever the syntagm is used in comparative form between two persons or things. However, this may not be so in other languages. Hence, pedagogical efforts are essential to master collocations in languages. In this vein, Walker (2011), who uses Birmingham corpus of a million collocates in his work on English, opines that collocations must be deliberately taught and learned as appropriate in discourse in each language.

## 1.2. Identification and Classification of Collocations in Languages

Various taxonomies which identify and classify different types of collocates have been proposed by researchers. We shall consider the identification criteria of Nesselhauf (2003 and Gyllstad (2007) because of their suitability to this work. Their first criterion is the basis of the probability of occurrence of constituent words in large language corpora. The second is the phraseological view which is based on a syntactic and semantic analysis of the collocation unit. Harmonising the two criteria for the purposes of this study, a distinction is made between

collocations which are idioms and those that are non-idioms. Taiwo (2004) also distinguishes between idioms and non-idioms collocation, and sees “phrasal verbs”, “free” and “restricted” classes of collocation as non-idioms, while identifying idioms as fixed syntactic elements that convey one semantic import. In line with this view, Cruse (1986) identifies an idiom based on lexical complexity of units that make up a single minimal semantic constituent. He expatiates further that idioms are inseparable constituents, while non-idioms are sequence of lexical items which habitually or normally co-occur. In this study, we use the term “collocation” to cover both idioms and non-idioms.

The issue of collocation classification is also germane to this research. In this regard, let us consider the classification criteria of Taiwo (2004). Using English lexis as data for classification, he considers three main groups of collocation, thus:

(a) Free combinations, such as:

run a risk	run out of time	run an errand
make a way	make an attempt	make out of time

(b) Restricted combinations, such as:

(i) adjective + noun	hardened criminal extenuating circumstances wonderful person beautiful girl
(ii) Adverb + verb	readily admit blindly follow totally unaware foolishly accept
(iii) verb + noun	renovate a house paint the room decorate the three buy a car
(iv) noun + verb	the brake screeched tension heightened the cloud drifted

(c) Multi-word expressions, such as:

(i) phrasal verbs	pull out give up put up with made up of
(ii) idioms	to take the bull by the horne to set the ball rolling to see the hand writing on the wall

Though this study is not concerned with English collocations, Taiwo’s (2004) classification criterion is largely suitable for this research.

### 1.3. Collocations in the Yorùbá language

Collocations are productive features in the Yorùbá language, and a good knowledge of collocation in the language is important because “when people have good ideas to express, they are often unable to do this successfully or effectively when they do not know the most important collocation of a key word that is central to what they want to say” (Okoro, 2013: 92). As earlier said, Yorùbá exhibits different types of collocates which native speakers use intuitively in discourse. However, many native speakers, teachers and learners are facing the task of knowing the appropriate Yorùbá collocation of key and associated words that are core to what they want to express. Hence, some resort to code alternation. This trend has contributed to the endangerment of the language because fewer people are willing to use and learn the language. The endangerment state of the Yorùbá language is reflected in what Fakoya (2008) describes as “perilous”. According to him, a language that is purportedly spoken by more than 22 million people, a figure that ordinarily should ensure its strength and survival for many years to come, is bedevilled with speakers who cannot perform purely in the language without using the crutches offered by the English language. Fakoya’s assertion may look somehow alarmist, but any right observer of the language will agree that there is an endangerment scenario because its educated speaker’s (who are in geometric progression) cannot express themselves without recourse or appeal to a foreign language.

Doubtlessly, the features of collocation constitute an aspect of the Yorùbá language that deserves research attention for the benefit of its speakers, learners and stakeholders. Roughly, the type of collocates in the language are as follows:

#### (a) Free combination of lexical classes

Free combination of lexical classes is a type of collocation that allows the mixture of word classes without any restriction. Examples are:

fón ká síbẹ̀	(scatter inside it)
tú jú ká	(be of good cheer)
palẹ̀ mọ̀	(clear things out)
tejú mọ̀	(stare at)
mó’jú kúrò	(withdraw attention)
mú nńkan jẹ	(enjoy something)
şàtún şe	(make correction)

#### (b) Restricted Combinations

This type of collocation limits the combination of lexical classes to particular types; restricted chunks could be a combination of n+n, v+n, v+adj, and so on. Most of them in Yorùbá reflect bi-lexical phrases. Examples are:

(i)	Verb + Noun	rà’we	(buy a book)
		kọ’rúko	(write a name)
		pa’riwo	(make a noise)
		mọ’wẹ̀	(‘know book’ be intelligent)
(ii)	Verb + Adjective	ya wẹ̀rẹ̀	(become mad)
		di pupa	(turn red)
		şı wẹ̀rẹ̀	(become mad)
		d’àgbéjùúlẹ̀	(become dumped)
		d’òdẹ̀	(become stupid)
		d’odi	(became deaf)

(iii)	Verb + Adverb		sáré tete rìn gbẹ̀ndẹ̀kẹ múra gidí múra sílẹ	(run fast) (walk psychedelically) (be prepared seriously) (be ready)
(iv)	Reduplicative (repetitive) expression	(n+n)		láwẹ́ láwẹ́ (page by page)
		(n+n)		lẹ̀sẹ́ lẹ̀sẹ́ (verse by verse)
		(adv+adv)		lọ̀wọ́ lọ̀wọ́ (now, now)
		(adv+adv)		lọ̀gán lọ̀gán (quick,quick)
(v)	Serial Verbs	V+V	sun je gbé mì gbá mú mu je	(roast to eat) (swallow) (hold) (take and eat)

### (c) Idioms

According to Okoro (2013: 89), idioms are “fixed groups of words with special meanings that are different from the meaning of individual words that make them up”. Examples in Yorubá are:

kọ etí ikún sí	(to turn a deaf ear to)
sọ ojú abẹ ní ìkó	(to call a spade, a spade)
jeun sókè	(to look good)
şàşẹ régèé	(to overdo something)

Without suggesting that the nature of collocations in English and Yorubá is similar in all respects, the classification of Taiwo (2004), who works on English collocation, is relevant. Through this approach, the researchers are able to capture most of the types of collocation observed in Yorubá. However, two types of collocations are found in Yorubá, but not in English-serial verbs (verb+verb) combination and reduplicative collocation. Therefore, our taxonomisation strategy in this research will be data based. That is, the nature and structure of the corpus will dictate the form the analysis will take.

## 2. Sociolinguistic Profile of the Yorubá Language

As stated by Pulleyblank, (1991), Yorubá language is traced to the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo. The language is one of the major languages spoken in Nigeria. It is widely spoken in seven states: Lagos, Ògùn, Òndó, Òyó, Òşun, Èkìtì and Kwara. It is also spoken in Delta, Edo and the Western part of Kogi State. The speakers of Yorubá in these three states are lesser in number than those in the seven states mentioned earlier. The language is made of several dialects, including Àkókó clusters, Ìtsẹ̀kírì and Igàlà as part of Yoruboid languages.

According to Center for World Languages/Language Materials Project, (2011), Yorubá is spoken by around thirty million (30,000,000) people in Nigeria as a first language. The number rises to thirty two million (32,000,000) if we also include the second language speakers (Oyètádé (2011: 1-2).

Different researchers like Fáfúnwá (2008), Adétùgbò (1982), Adéyínká (2000), and Oyètádé (2011) have shown that Yorubá language is equally spoken in some West African countries like Benin Republic, Togo, Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire. Other places include Cuba, Brazil, Haiti



and Trinidad in Southern part of America. The wide spread of the language has brought about variants in the way the language is spoken in all the areas mentioned above, and it has led to the increase in numbers of its dialects. But the language exhibits a dialect that is accorded more social status than the other dialects; it is referred to as the Standard Yorùbá. This standard form is the language of education, judiciary, administration and media. It connects all other dialects of the language in that it is mutually intelligible to all speakers. Hence, the Standard Yorùbá is used as data in this study.

The authors of this article who have been engaged in teaching and research in the area of Yorùbá linguistics, semantics and discourse analysis, are Yorùbá speakers by birth from the North Central and South Western zones of Nigeria, respectively. To be precise, they speak Èkìtì Kwara and Ibarapa dialects, respectively. The Yorùbá users, in this work, comprise native speakers; they include both the first language speakers and the second language learners. The first language users are those who acquire the language from birth, and those who, in addition to acquiring the language from birth, are equally studying the language at various tertiary institutions. The second language learners are those who, either acquire the language as an additional language while living among the L1 speakers, or have the interest of learning it as a second language.

However, English being the cynosure of general, economic and official communication in Nigeria enjoys positive attitude, greater prestige and pride of usage, with Nigerian languages suffering inequality and continuous reduction into inconsequential domains. Though Yorùbá is a regional lingua franca (Ogunsiji, 2001), it is facing a serious threat from the English language. A study of this nature, therefore, constitutes a way of promoting and developing the language.

### **3. Procedure for Data Collection**

A research of this nature requires a close study of all types of collocation in the Yorùbá language. Over 200 collocations (non-idioms and idioms) were collected from diverse sources, using the Standard Yorùbá as the benchmark. Such sources are spoken and written forms in both formal and informal settings through the electronic and print media, live conversations, Yorùbá literary texts, selected Yorùbá student examination scripts and personal introspection by the authors as L1 speakers of the language. The list of these sources is attached as appendix.

The study was conducted intensively within a period of 10 months. As speakers and teachers of the language, the researchers seized the opportunity of examining some Yorùbá students to randomly select 19 answer scripts for study to extract some collocations. The selection was done from the 2014/2015's first semester examinations across two Yorùbá courses, namely, LIY 205: Mofoloji Yorùbá (Yorùbá Morphology); and LIY 405: Awon Ariyanjiyan tó N Lo ní Abala Síntásì (Issues in Syntax).

All the data were first presented before the analysis. Each Yorùbá chunk was presented with its structure glossed. The lexical class combination of each chunk informs its groupings. The last part of the analysis is devoted to the discussion of its findings and the implications of the collocations that were erroneously used by speakers, as observed by the researchers during the process of data collection. Furthermore, the errors identified were explained. Importantly too, the findings of this research are related to the findings of earlier research, especially on English collocation in Nigerian usage. We would like to point out that the collections are far from being

exhaustive. In fact, features of collocations are massively productive in the Yorubá language to the extent that the features should attract an anthological research.

#### 4. Data Presentation

This section is concerned with the presentation of data. The lists presented here were randomly selected from the total data collected and attached as appendix.

A rigorous study of the data revealed four major types of chunks out of which random selections were made to illustrate the collocates in proportion to the total number of data (collocations) collected. For instance, under the first identified class, ten (10) was randomly chosen; for the second category, which has four sub-divisions, five (5) per sub-division was similarly selected, while under the third and the fourth taxonomies, five, (5) and ten (10), respectively, were chosen. They are presented below. The full list of collocations is in the appendix.

(a) Free combinations of lexical classes:

CLT 23	Bu Use	enu mouth	àtẹ́ slight	lù at	‘to ridicule’
CLT 27	so put	orí head	ko’dò at down		‘be crest fallen’
CLT 32	pa kill	ojú eye	dé close		‘close the eyes’
CLT 36	gbé put	ọkàn heart	lé on		‘depend on’
CLT 39	fi put	eti ear	si to		‘listen to’
CLT 52	ba make	ọkàn heart	jé spoil		‘be grieved’
CLT 60	dá create	wàhàlà trouble	sí’lẹ́ on ground		‘cause trouble’
CLT 62	dá create	ìsòro problem	sí’lẹ́ on ground		‘create a problem’
CLT 63	dá create	rúgúdù chaos	sí’lẹ́ on ground		‘bring about chaos’
CLT 78	mú take	enu mouth	mọ́ close		‘shut up’

(b) Restricted Combinations

*Verb + Noun*

CLT 64	kọ́ build	ilé house			‘build a house’
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CLT 68	şe do	ìwé book	‘produce a textbook’
CLT 72	ra buy	ìwé book	‘buy a book’
CLT 74	gbá kick	ilè floor	‘sweep the floor’
CLT 88	bó put-off	aşo cloth	‘put off one’s clothes’

*Verb + Adjective*

CLT 1	ya become	wèrè madness	‘become mad’
CLT 5	di become	òdè stupid	‘become stupid’
CLT 115	mú take	funfun white	‘take the white’
CLT 116	gbé carry	dúdú black	‘date the dark complexioned’
CLT 119	mú pick	kan one	‘to choose one’

*Verb + Adverb*

CLT 120	sáré run	tete quickly	‘run fast’
CLT 121	rìn walk	şìòşìò sluggishly	‘dawdle’
CLT 123	múra brace-up	gidigidi very well	‘rehearse, or prepare very well/seriously’
CLT 127	şe do	kía quick	‘make it snappy’
CLT 129	mú sharp	gan-an very	‘of a knife-very sharp’

*Adjective + Adverb*

CLT 127	gbóná hot	girigiri tightly	‘very hot’
CLT 130	ga tall	fíofío high high	‘very high’
CLT 131	gùn long	gbàlàjà at full length	‘very long’

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CLT 133	tutù cold	rinrin very	“very cold”
CLT 134	gbóná hot	lala very	“very hot”

*Serial Verb (Verb + Verb)*

CLT 138	sun roast	jẹ eat	‘roast to eat’
CLT 139	sọ peck	jẹ eat	‘grab to eat’
CLT 141	gbé carry	mi swallow	‘take up to dwelled’
CLT 143	Fó marsh	mu drink	‘marsh into liquid form to drink’
CLT 148	Bá Join	jẹ eat	‘eat with’

(c) Reduplicative Collocations

CLT 154	wére irrational	were irrational	(adj+adj)	‘irrational behaviour’
CLT 166	kánmọ quick	kánmọ quick	(adj+adj)	‘very quick’
CLT 167	kíá quick	kíá quick	(adj+adj)	‘speedy’
CLT 168	pátá total	pátá total	(n+n)	‘totally’
CLT 169	díẹ little	díẹ little	(adj+adj)	‘little by little; in instalments’

(d) Idioms

CLT 182	So tie	agbéjé caution	m’ówó at hand	‘be careful’					
CLT 184	Yan choose	ẹkọ pap	ni at	ibi place	ti where	àgbọ̀n basket	ti has	ga high	‘embark on what you cannot cope with’
CLT 185	Na stretch	owó hand	sí towards	‘give someone something’					
CLT 187	Fi use	imú nose	fin’lẹ sniff ground	‘investigate’					
CLT 189	Wọ enter	àjà ceiling	‘for a monarch to die’						

CLT 199	Fẹ blow	owó hand									'steal or pilfering'
CLT 200	Yá fast	ìdí buttocks									'be promiscuous'
CLT 207	Tutó Spit	sókè up	Fi use	ojú face	gbà receive	á it					'be very angry'
CLT 212	Fi use	Ìdodo Navel	kó hange		igbó bush						'do something that one regrets later'
CLT 216	Sọ Hit	ojú Face	abẹ Blade	ní at	ìkó knock						'be frank and candid'
CLT 217	Pọ̀n omi fetch water		si inú to inside	apèrẹ̀ basket							'embark on a futile mission'

## 5. Analysis of Data

Four major Yorùbá collocations which are identified and classified are analysed in this research. They are free combinations of lexical classes; restricted co-occurrence of lexical categories; reduplicative collocations; and idioms.

The first class identified, which combines lexical categories without restriction, depicts the co-occurrence of lexical classes among verbs (v), nouns (n), adjectives (adj) and prepositions (prep) in various orders of combination. For instance, CLT 23: *bu enu àté lù* 'to ridicule' is a combination of v+n+n+prep; CLT 27: *so orí ko odò* is a collocation of v+n+prep+n; and CLT 39: *fì etí sí* allows the co-occurrence of v+n+prep. Similarly, CLT 32: *pa ojú dé* 'close the eyes', joins v+n+v together; CLT 36: *gbé okan lé* 'depend upon' combines v+n+prep; CLT 178: *mú enu mó* 'shut up' permits the combination of v+n+v; CLT 52: *ba okàn jé* 'grieve' allows the collocation of v+n+v; CLT 60: *dá wàhàlà sí'lè* 'cause trouble' is a co-occurrence of v+n+prep+n; CLT 62: *dá ìsoro sí'lè* 'create a problem' collocates v+n+prep+n; while CLT 63: *dá rúgúdù sí'lè* 'bring about chaos' is a collocation of v+n+prep+n. It is clear that the lexical categories that feature under this type of collocation mainly are verbs, nouns and prepositions.

The second class of collocation identified in the language – restricted combination of lexical categories – is divided into the four following sub-groups:

(i)	Verb + Noun	CLT 64	<i>kó ilé</i>	'build a house'
		CLT 68	<i>se iwé</i>	'produce a textbook'
		CLT 72	<i>ra ìwe</i>	'buy a book'
		CLT 74	<i>gbá ilè</i>	'sweep the floor'
		CLT 88	<i>bó aso</i>	'put off someone's clothes'
(ii)	Verb+Adjective	CLT 1	<i>ya were</i>	'become mad'
		CLT 5	<i>dì òdè</i>	'become stupid'
		CLT 115	<i>mú funfun</i>	'take the white'
		CLT 116	<i>gbé dúdú</i>	'date the dark complexioned'
		CLT 119	<i>mú kan</i>	'choose one'
(iii)	Adjective+Adverb	CLT 130	<i>ga fíofío</i>	'very high'
		CLT 131	<i>gùn gbàlajà</i>	'very long'

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		CLT 133	<i>tutù rinrin</i>	‘very cold’
		CLT 134	<i>gboná lala</i>	‘very hot’
		CLT 137	<i>gbona girigiri</i>	‘very hot’
(iv)	Verb+Verb (Serial verbs)	CLT 138	<i>sun je</i>	‘roast to eat’
		CLT 139	<i>so je</i>	‘grab to eat’
		CLT 141	<i>gbé mi</i>	‘take up to swallow’
		CLT 143	<i>fó mu</i>	‘marsh into liquid form to drink’
		CLT 148	<i>bá je</i>	‘eat with’

As revealed in the foregoing collocations, the lexical co-occurrences are restricted to Verb+Noun, Verb+Adjective, Adjective+Adverb and Verb+Verb (serial verbs).

Another type of collocation discovered in the study is known as reduplicative expressions. Some of them are:

CLT 166	kánmó quick	kánmó quick	(adj+adj)	‘very quick’
CLT 167	kíá quick	kíá quick	(adj+adj)	‘speedy’
CLT 168	pátá total	pátá total	(adv+adv)	‘totally’
CLT 169	díè little	díè Little	(adj+adj)	‘little by little; in instalments’

This class reveals lexical items that reproduce themselves; they reproduce themselves with, at times, a change in the tone(s) of the lexical reduplicates. For example, while CLTs 166, 167 and 168 reduplicate their tones without any change, CLTs 156 and 169 show some changes in their tone reduplication. Though the structures above consist mainly of adj+adj combinations, CLT 168: *pátá pátá* ‘totally’, exhibits an adv+adv collocation. Also, CLT 11 (see appendix): *láwé láwé* ‘page by page’ and CLT 12 *lése lése* ‘verse by verse’ reflect n+n combinations.

Fixed syntagms, generally known as idioms, represent the fourth class of collocation in this research. According to Cruse (1986), an idiom consists of a lexically complex unit made up of a single semantic constituent. As revealed in the data, (see appendix), all the idioms are syntagmatic structures whose meanings deviate from the semantic features that make them up. Let us consider the following idioms

the four lexical items collocate:

CLT 182	So	agbéjẹ	mọ	owọ	‘be careful’
	tie	caution	at	hand	

the eight lexical items collocate:

CLT 184	Yan	èkọ	ní	ibi	àgbòn	ti	ga	‘embark on what you cannot cope with’
	choose	pap	at	where	basket	is	high	

the three lexical items collocate:

CLT 185	Na	ọwọ	sí	‘give someone something’
	stretch	hand	to	

the four lexical items collocate:									
CLT 187	Fi	imu	fin	ile				'investigate'	
	put	nose	sniff	ground					
the two lexical items collocate:									
CLT 189	Wọ	ajà						'for a monarch to die'	
	enter	ceiling							
the two lexical items collocate:									
CLT 199	Fẹ	ọwọ						'steal or pilfering'	
	blow	hand							
the two lexical items collocates:									
CLT 200	Yá	ìdí						'be promiscuous'	
	fasten	buttocks							
the eight lexical items collocate:									
CLT 207	Tu	itọ	si	ókè	fi	ojú	gbà	á	'be very angry'
	put	spit	at	up	use	face	collect	it	
the four lexical items collocate:									
CLT 212	Fi	ìdodo	kọ	igbó					'do something that one regrets later'
	use	navel cord	hang	bush					
the five lexical items collocate:									
CLT 216	Sọ	ojú	abẹ	ní	ìkó				'be frank and candid'
	hit	face	knife	at	knock				
the five lexical items collocate:									
CLT 217	Pọn omi	si inú	apèrẹ					'embark on a futile mission'	

As can be seen in the structures above, all the collocates or idioms above are fixed with each of them constituting a single semantic constituent.

## 6. Discussion and Implications of the Research

This study has focused on Yorùbá collocations and observed lexical combinations among nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, as well as grammatical or functional co-occurrences involving prepositions and conjunctions. This implies that competence in the use of collocations is important in the knowledge of lexical, semantic and grammatical features of the Yorùbá language. Both lexical and functional collocations are found in Yorùbá, and according to Boers, et al. (2006), Gyllstad (2007) and Pei (2008), lexical and functional collocations are found in all languages. This infers that collocation is a universal language phenomenon. Furthermore, it has been established that though L1 speakers acquire collocation knowledge (Dechert, 1983; Lorenz, 1999; Durrant, 2008), some of the speakers (Yorùbá speakers in this case) are handicapped by inappropriate lexical selection. The situation is even more complex with L2 speakers of the language. By implication, collocation errors are imminent, even among L1 speakers. The collocation errors analysed below confirm this phenomenon. The wrong collocations, among the errors discovered during the collection of data, are presented in their sentence contexts and explained as follows:

CLT 183	Ìyanu	ló	<i>jeun</i>	<i>pèlú</i>	<i>síbí</i>	yín
	Iyanu	was one	eat something	with	spoon	you
	'Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon'					

CLT 183 was observed at a home domain from a 21 year-old university girl, who uses both Yorùbá and English languages. On that day, the mother came home late hungry and settled to eat rice. She reached unto her spoon which was nowhere to be found. She called upon the speaker of CLT 183, who was inside the room, to ask her about the where about of the spoon. The girl responded by uttering (CLT 183). It is observed that the speaker transferred the English form to Yorùbá usage, underlining the bilingual effect of interlingual transfer on the speaker. Hence, an interlingual error of collocation occurred here.

The problem with CLT 183 is the italicised collocation *jeun pelu sibi* (eat something with spoon). While it is correct to ‘eat something with spoon’ in English, it is wrong in Yorùbá to *jeun pelu sibi* (eat something with spoon). The verb *jeun* (eat something) does not collocate with the preposition *pélú* (with). The right collocation is:

<i>fi</i>	<i>sibi</i>	<i>jeun</i>	
use	spoon	eat something	‘use spoon to eat’

But if *sibi yín* (your spoon), is used in a possessive form as above, the possessive *yín* (your), must post- modify the noun *sibi* (spoon) to have:

<i>síbí</i>	<i>yín</i>	
spoon	your	‘your spoon’

The correct form is:

Ìyanu	ni	ó/ló	fi	şíbí	yín	jeun.
Iyanu	was	one	use	spoon	your	eat something
‘Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon’						

CLT 186	Sùbérù	lo	gbá	mi	oju	ninu	kílààsì
	Sùbérù	was one	Slap	me	face	inside	Class
‘Suberu was the one who slapped me in the face in the class’							

CLT 186 was observed in a primary school environment. The researcher, on one of the visits to the primary school, was discussing with the Headmistress of the school when the speaker of 186 emerged from a classroom crying. When interrogated by the Headmistress, the pupil uttered CLT 186. It was discovered that the speaker of CLT 186 was of a non-Yoruba language stock, known as Igala, spoken in Kogi State of Nigeria. The pupil has grown among the Yorùbá speakers.

The flaw in CLT 186 is the omission of the preposition *ní* (at) between *mi* (me) and *oju* (face). The phenomenon is referred to in this research as an error of omission of collocation element. In describing an action like a slap at a spot in the body, the preposition *ní* (at) should be used. Hence, in CLT 186, the preposition *ní* (at), should be between *mi* (me) and the part of the body slapped, i. e., face, ear, mouth, leg, etc. to have the correct form as:

Sùbérù	ni	ó (ló)	gbá	mi	ní	ojú	nínú	kílààsì
Sùbérù	was	one	slap	me	at	face	inside	class
‘Sùbérù was the one who slapped me in the face inside the class’								

CLT 192	Mercy	mu	gààrí	pèlú	kúlí	lánàán
	Mercy	drink	gààrí	with	Kúlí	at yesterday
‘Mercy used <i>kuli</i> to take <i>gaari</i> as a meal yesterday’						



In the sentence above, *gààrí* in Yorùbá, is a fried cassava paste that can be soaked in water and taken with *kúlí* (fried groundnut paste) as a meal. It is normal to use *kuli* to take the *gaari*. It is wrong to say *mu gaari pelu kuli* (take *gaari* with *kuli*). Instead, it is *fí kuli mu gaari* (use *kuli* to take *gaari*).

The source of the error in CLT 192 is similar to that of CLT 183. CLT 192 was observed from a Yorùbá girl, a student of University of Ilorin speaking in the university domain. She made utterance while discussing with her friend at the balcony of a lecture room. The word *pèlú* (with) was again misused here. Although it is correct to say that Mercy took *gààrí* with *kúlí* as a meal in English, it is erroneous to translate the utterance to Yorùbá directly. This was what the speaker did, and it confirms the occurrence of an error emanating from interlingual transfer (from L2 to L1).

The correct form of the sentence is:

Mási	Fi	kúlí	mu	gààrí	lánàn
Mercy	use	<i>kuli</i>	drink	<i>gaari</i>	yesterday
‘Mercy used <i>kuli</i> to take <i>gaari</i> as a meal yesterday’					

CLT 201	Bolu!	Pa	ilẹ̀	mó	ounje	dádì
	Bolu!	Clear floor	clean	food	daddy	
	‘Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal’					

The wrong utterance above was recorded at the home of one of the researchers. After the researcher finished taking his meal, the older son directed one of his younger sisters to clear the table, and made the utterance. The problem with CLT 201 is in the usage of *Pa’lẹ̀* (Clear floor or table) and *mó* (clean) following each other directly. Instead, *ounje dádì* (daddy’s food or meal) should come in-between the verb phrase *P’alẹ̀* (Clear floor or table) and *mo* (clean), to have the correct form as:

Bólú!	P’alẹ̀	ounje	dádì	mó
Bolu!	Clear ground/floor	food	daddy	clean
‘Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal’				

However, it is correct to say:

<i>Bolu!</i>	<i>P’alẹ̀</i>	<i>mó</i>
Bolu!	Clear ground/floor	clean
‘Bolu! Clear the table’		

Here, the object to clear from the table i.e, *ounje dadi* (daddy’s meal) is covert. But the moment the item or object to clear is mentioned, *mó* (clean) cannot pre-modify the object; instead, *mó* (clean) should post-modify *ounje dadi* (daddy’s meal). It is clear that the speaker is yet to master the rule of collocation needed to construct the correct form of the sentence in this context. The speaker over-generalised the rule of keeping together the phrase *Pa’lẹ̀ mó* (Clear the table). This is an error of over-generalisation.

CLT 204	Ó	tẹ̀	mí	<i>mó’lẹ̀</i>	<i>l’ésẹ̀</i>
	She	step	me	at ground	at toe
‘She stepped on my toe’					

The wrong utterance above, which was made by a commuter in a bus, was witnessed by one of the researchers while on board a vehicle. The speaker pushed the commuter who stepped on the toe of the speaker, while at the same time, uttering CLT 204. The statement is faulted because it is wrong for the preposition phrase *mó'lè* (at ground) to precede *l'ésè* (at the toe) in Yorùbá. It should be the other way round. This feature is considered in this research as the error of swapping collocation element. Hence, the swapping should be reversed to have the correct form as:

	Ó	tè	mí	l'ésè	m'ólè
	She	step	me	at toe	at ground
	‘She stepped on my toe’				
CLT 208	Dàmólá	ş'éré	<i>pèlú</i>	ajá	
	Dàmólá	make play	with	dog	
	‘Damola played with the dog’				

In Yorùbá, the verb *s'ere* (play) do not collocate directly with the preposition *pèlú* (with), especially in a structure like CLT 208. Hence, *s'ere* and *pèlú* cannot collocate directly. Instead, of *pèlú* (with), the preposition *bá* (join) is allowed, but with the active verb moving to the end of the sentence. The preposition *bá* (join) collocates with the object *aja* (dog) to have the correct form as:

Dàmólá	bá	aja	şéré
Dàmólá	join	dog	play
‘Dàmólá played with the dog’			

CLT 208 above was observed from one of two school peers playing in a primary school environment. Their point of discussion centred on Damola who had a wound from dog’s bite on her leg. The speaker was informing his peer about the cause of the wound on Dàmólá’s leg. The flaw in the utterance is the wrong use of *pèlú* (with). In English, it is correct to say that Damola played with a dog but wrong to use *pèlú* (with) in like manner in Yorùbá. This is another case of negative transfer of English usage to Yorùbá. The verb *bá* (join), as used above, is the appropriate form.

From the foregoing, four main collocation errors have been discovered:

- (i) Interlingual error: This is a situation where the features of L2 (English) negatively affect the features of L1 (Yorùbá). CLT 183, CLT 192 and CLT 208 are concerned with interlingual errors.
- (ii) Error of over-generalisation: This error is found in CLT 201.
- (iii) Error of collocation swapping: Here, collocation elements are wrongly inter-changed within sentence. This feature is observed in CLT 204.
- (iv) Omission of collocation element: In this case, collocation items are omitted. This phenomenon is revealed in CLT 186.

Earlier studies on error of collocation in Nigerian English Usage (Taiwo, 2004; Okoro, 2013) confirm errors (i), (ii) and (iv) above. But error (iii) seems peculiar to this study. Hence, features of collocation are universal, and as well language dependent. In other words, this work

and earlier studies on collocation, have shown that while collocations in languages manifest some universal phenomena, there are constrained features of collocation that are language specific or language dependent (Lewis, 1993; Nesselhauf, 2003; Okoro, 2013; Hericksen, 2014). By implication, users, teachers and learners of languages should pay attention to the general, as well as the peculiar features of collocation in any specific language under study.

## Conclusion

This work has enlarged our understanding of the definition, identification and classification of Yorùbá collocative syntagms. Collocations as they relate to the Yorùbá language have been defined as the structural or syntagmatic combinations of certain words to the exclusion of others. Four types of collocations are identified and classified in the language. They are chunks of free lexical categories, restricted lexical classes, reduplicative expressions and idioms. The free lexical classes are concerned with lexical and grammatical categories that could be varied; restricted collocations are chunks which consist of syntagms that are limited in the combinations of lexical categories, i. e., verb + noun, verb + adjective, adjective + adverb; reduplicative expressions are lexical items that repeat or co-occur with themselves as chunks; and idioms are collocates that are fixed.

This article has enumerated some implications of the study on Yorùbá usage because linguistic competence in collocation is part and parcel of the lexical, semantic and grammatical knowledge of the language. Significantly, the study has made us to realise the bilingual effect of collocation on Yorùbá users, which has resulted in interlingual transfer. This has negatively impacted on the Yorùbá language users and learners, thereby leading to instances of error of mis-collocation among the users and learners. The resultant function of this underscores the need for the study of peculiar features of collocation in each language to avoid errors. This is against the background that errors of collocation are bound to affect the fluency, use or performance of the users and learners in any language. Since collocation is universal in languages, the teaching of this aspect in Yorùbá and other native languages should be introduced in schools. Then, collocations in the Yorùbá and other indigenous language should be comprehensively compiled for documentation for the benefit of users, teachers, researchers and students.

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## APPENDIX: DATA (COLLOCATIONS) COLLECTED AND THEIR SOURCES

For ease of reference, the collocations are numbered, i.e., Collocate 1 (CLT 1)

### SPOKEN DISCOURSE (Electronic Media)

CLT 1:	ya wèrè	(become mad)
CLT 2:	di pupa	(turn red)
CLT 3:	ṣi wèrè	(become mad)
CLT 4:	d’agbéjùúlè	(become dumped)
CLT 5:	d’òdè	(become stupid)
CLT 6:	d’odi	(became deaf)
CLT 7:	sáré tete	(run fast)
CLT 8:	rìn gbendèkẹ	(walk psychedelically)
CLT 9:	múra gidì	(be prepared seriously)
CLT 10:	múra sílẹ	(be ready)
CLT 11:	láwẹ láwẹ	(page by page)
CLT 12:	lẹsẹ lẹsẹ	(verse by verse)
CLT 13:	lówó lówó	(now, now)
CLT 14:	lógán lógán	(quick, quick)
CLT 15:	sun je	(roast to eat)
CLT 16:	gbé mì	(swallow)
CLT 17:	gbá mú	(hold)
CLT 18:	mu je	(take and eat)
CLT 19:	rà’we	(buy a book)
CLT 20:	kọ’rúko	(write a name)
CLT 21:	pa’riwo	(make a noise)
CLT 22:	mò’wé	(‘know book’ be intelligent)
CLT 23:	bu ẹnu àtẹ̀ lù	(to ridicule)
CLT 24:	di ìgbò̀ lù	(to clash with)
CLT 25:	dá ojú̀ tì	(to disgrace)
CLT 26:	dá orí̀ kọ̀ odò̀	(to be crestfallen)
CLT 27:	sọ̀ orí̀ kọ̀’dò̀	(to be crest fallen)
CLT 28:	pa’tan dé	(close one’s lap)
CLT 29:	peṅu dé	(close one’s mouth)
CLT 30:	peṣedé	(close one’s leg)

### PERSONAL INTROSPECTION (By the Researchers)

CLT 31:	palẹ̀ mó	(clear the floor)
CLT 32:	pa ojú̀ dé	(to close the eyes)
CLT 33:	fi ọ̀kàn tẹ̀	(bank upon)
CLT 34:	fi ara balẹ̀	(to be-calm)
CLT 35:	fi ara rọ̀	(to lean on)
CLT 36:	gbé ọ̀kàn lé	(to depend on)
CLT 37:	mú itijù̀ kúrò̀	(to put shame off)
CLT 38:	gbé itijù̀ tì	(to put shame off)
CLT 39:	fi etí sí	(to listen to)
CLT 40:	fi ọ̀kàn sí	(to pay attention)
CLT 41:	fi àyà sí	(to pay attention)
CLT 41:	fi àyà rán	(to endure)
CLT 42:	fi ọ̀kàn tán	(to trust in)
CLT 43:	fi ojú̀ sí	(to watch closely)
CLT 44:	mú ẹnu mó	(to shut up)
CLT 45:	mú ẹnu lé	(to begin to speak)
CLT 46:	mú ọ̀kàn lé	(to depend upon)
CLT 47:	mú ara dúró̀	(to be self-controlled)
CLT 48:	mú ọ̀kàn le	(be courageous)

CLT 49:	fa ojú ro	(to frown)
CLT 50:	ba ojú jé	(to look displeased)
CLT 51:	ba ẹnu jé	(to pout)

### WRITTEN DISCOURSE (Print Media)

CLT 52:	ba ọkàn jé	(to grieve)
CLT 53:	bà nínú jé	(to sadden)
CLT 54:	bà lẹkàn jé	(to sadden)
CLT 55:	bà lójú jé	(to cause to lose face)
CLT 56:	bà lẹwọ jé	(to hurt someone’s hand)
CLT 57:	bà lẹsẹ jé	(to injure someone’s in the leg)
CLT 58:	bà láṣọ jé	(to spoil someone’s garment)
CLT 59:	bà aṣọ jé	(to damage a garment)
CLT 60:	dá wàhálà sílẹ	(cause trouble)
CLT 61:	dá ìjà sílẹ	(to start a quarrel)
CLT 62:	dá isòro sílẹ	(to create a problem)
CLT 63:	dá rúgúdù sílẹ	(to bring about chaos)
CLT 64:	kó ilé	(to build a house)

### WRITTEN (Examination Scripts)

CLT 65:	kó ilẹ	(to cultivate the land)
CLT 66:	kọ oko	(to cultivate the land)
CLT 67:	kọ ìwé	(to write a text)
CLT 68:	ṣe ìwé	(to produce a textbook)
CLT 69:	kọ iṣẹ	(to refuse going on an errand)
CLT 70:	kó iṣẹ	(learn a vocation)
CLT 71:	kọ ojú sí	(to face somewhere)
CLT 72:	ra ìwé	(to buy a book)
CLT 73:	gba ilé	(to rent a room/apartment/house)
CLT 74:	gbá ilẹ	(to sweep the floor)
CLT 75:	ta ìwé	(to sell a book)
CLT 76:	mọ ìwé	(to be intelligent)
CLT 77:	mọ ilé	(to build a house through a bricklayer)
CLT 78:	ka ìwé	(to study/read)
CLT 79:	gba ìwé	(to collect a book)
CLT 80:	gbé ìwé	(to steal/take a book)
CLT 81:	mú ìwé	(to take a book)
CLT 82:	mu omi	(to drink water)
CLT 83:	gba ijó	(to dance)
CLT 84:	gba kọrọ	(take a corner)
CLT 85:	mú ijó	(to dance)
CLT 86:	mú ijó jó	(to dance a dance)
CLT 87:	bọ ojú	(to wash the face)
CLT 88:	bọ aṣọ	(to put off one’s clothe)
CLT 89:	bọ ẹnu	(to be able feed a mouth)
CLT 90:	wá owó	(to seek for money)
CLT 91:	wọ aṣọ	(to put on one’s clothes)
CLT 92:	wọ ilé	(to enter the house)
CLT 93:	wá ìdí	(to search or investigate)
CLT 94:	ká aṣọ	(to remove the clothes, e.g. on the washing line)
CLT 95:	ká aṣọ	(to fold the clothe)
CLT 96:	ká ojú	(to put away the face off something)
CLT 97:	ká esẹ	(to bring to, or to come to an end)
CLT 98:	yọ ọwọ	(stretch forth the hand)
CLT 99:	yọ ọwọ	(to give up impact/contribution)
CLT 100:	ye ara	(stay away)

CLT 102:	mọ ilé	(know the location of a house)
CLT 103:	wa ọkò	(drive a vehicle)
CLT 104:	fón ká síbè	(scatter inside it)
CLT 105:	tú jú ká	(be of good cheer)
CLT 106:	palẹ̀ mọ	(clear things out)
CLT 107:	tejú mọ	(stare at)
CLT 108:	mó'jú kúrò	(withdraw attention)
CLT 109:	mú nnkan jẹ	(enjoy something)
CLT 110:	ṣàtún ṣe	(make correction)
CLT 111:	ya wèrè	(to become mad)
CLT 112: ṣì	wèrè	(to become mad)
CLT 113:	di ọ̀dẹ̀	(to become stupid)
CLT 114:	di pupa	(to become red)

### **WRITTEN (Yorùbá Literary Texts)**

CLT 115:	mú funfun	(to take the white)
CLT 116:	gbé dúdú	(to date the dark complexioned)
CLT 117:	gbé pupa	(to date the fair complexioned)
CLT 118:	yàn kan	(to choose one)
CLT 119:	mú kan	(to choose one)
CLT 120:	sáré tete	(to run fast)
CLT 121:	rìn ṣìṣìṣì	(to dawdle)
CLT 122:	múra dáadáa	(to dress up)
CLT 123:	múra gidigidi	(to rehearse or to prepare very well/seriously)
CLT 124:	wò bàìbàì	(to gaze unsteadily)
CLT 125:	ríran bàìbàì	(to see faintly)
CLT 126:	jẹun wéréwéré	(to eat fast)
CLT 127:	ṣe kíá	(make it snappy)
CLT 128:	mú gan an	(grip something)
CLT 129:	mú gan an	(of a knife-very sharp; about the sun's heat-intense)
CLT 130:	Ga fiófió	(very high)
CLT 131:	gùn gbàlàjà	(very long)
CLT 132:	gùn táṣọ́lò	(of a person-tall admirably)
CLT 133:	tutù rinrin	(very cold)
CLT 134:	gbóná lala	(very hot)
CLT 135:	gbóná fẹlifẹlì	(very hot)
CLT 136:	gbóná janjan	(very hot)
CLT 137:	gbóná girigiri	(very hot)
CLT 138:	sun jẹ	(to roast to eat)
CLT 139:	sọ jẹ	(to grab to eat)
CLT 140:	ṣà jẹ	(to pick up to eat)
CLT 141:	gbé mi	(to take up to dwelled)
CLT 142:	gbé jẹ	(to take up to eat)
CLT 143:	fọ mu	(to mash into liquid form to drink)
CLT 144:	tú jẹ	(to unfold a pack to eat)
CLT 145:	bá lọ	(to accompany)
CLT 146:	bá rẹ	(to love; or to unite)
CLT 147:	gbá mú	(to get a hold on somebody or something)
CLT 148:	bá jẹ	(to eat with)
CLT 149:	bá mu	(to drink with)
CLT 150:	bá sùn	(to sleep with)
CLT 151:	bá gbé	(to live with)
CLT 152:	jéjẹ jẹjẹ	(bad condition)
CLT 153:	díro díro	(untidy situation)
CLT 154:	wére wère	(irrational behaviour)
CLT 155:	pála pàla	(absurd behaviour)
CLT 156:	bóti bòti	(strange behaviour)
CLT 157:	pọnmọ pọnmọ	(unusual experience)
CLT 158:	wọgọ wọgọ	(having a crooked shape)

CLT 159:	wólọ wólọ	(having a twisted shape)
CLT 160:	kánmọ kánmọ	(untoward act)
CLT 161:	jágba jágba	(irresponsible act)
CLT 162:	báṣa báṣa	(unseemly act)
CLT 163:	ráda ráda	(indecorous act)
CLT 164:	pála pála	(undignified act)
CLT 165:	réde réde	(unbecoming act)
CLT 166:	kánmọ kánmọ	(very quick)
CLT 167:	kíá kíá	(speedy)
CLT 168:	pátá pátá	(totally)
CLT 169:	díẹ díẹ	(little by little; instalments)
CLT 170:	fà jade	(to pull out)
CLT 171:	gbà iyànjú	(to make effort)
CLT 172:	gbà ní mọràṅ	(to give advice to)
CLT 173:	bá pàdé	(come across)
CLT 174:	fi ojú tẹmbẹlú	(to look down upon)
CLT 175:	yọrí sí ayọ	(to result in joy)
CLT 176:	já si ìyanu	(to result in wonder)
CLT 177:	ti ojú bọ	(to pry)
CLT 178:	mú ẹnu mọ	(to keep quiet)
CLT 179:	mú ọkàn le	(to take heart)
CLT 180:	mú ara dúró	(to show restraint)
CLT 181:	mú ojú kúrò	(show forbearance)

### LIVE DISCOURSE (Participant Observation)

CLT 182:	So agbẹjẹ m’ówọ	(to be careful)
CLT 183:	Iyanu lo jeun pẹlú sfbí yin	(Iyanu was the one who ate with your spoon)
CLT 184:	Yan ẹkọ nfi ti agbọn ti ga	(to embark on what you cannot cope with)
CLT 185:	Na ọwọ sí	(to give someone something)
CLT 186:	Sùbèrù lo gbá mi ójú ninu kilasi	(Suberu was the one who slapped me in the class)
CLT 187:	Fi imú finlẹ	(to investigate)
CLT 188:	Já’sẹ	(to die)
CLT 189:	Wàjà	(for a monarch to die)
CLT 190:	Ta téru nípàá	(to die)
CLT 191:	Gbé ẹmí mì	(to die)
CLT 192:	Mási mu gààrí pelu kuli lánàán	(Mercy took <i>gaari</i> with <i>kuli</i> )
CLT 193:	Kí òkètẹ ẹni bórù	(to escape)
CLT 194:	Fi irù fọnná	(to get into trouble)
CLT 195:	Fi orí já ilẹ agbọn	(to get into trouble)
CLT 196:	Fi ẹnu fẹra	(to adopt a remedy that is ineffective)
CLT 197:	Dá ọwọ tẹ ilẹ	(to defecate)
CLT 198:	Di ikàsi	(to become stale)
CLT 199:	Féwọ	(to steal)
CLT 200:	Yadí	(to be promiscuous)
CLT 201:	Bóólú! Palẹ mọ óunjẹ dádi	(Bolu! Clear the table after daddy’s meal)
CLT 202:	Tẹ ọkà nírù mólẹ	(to enter into danger)
CLT 203:	Fi àáké kọrí	(to be obstinate)
CLT 204:	E wòó! Ó tẹ mí mólẹ lẹsẹ	(Look! He stepped on my leg)
CLT 205:	Forí ọkà homú	(to play with a dangerous thing)
CLT 206:	Fárigá	(to be furious)
CLT 207:	Tutọ sókẹ fojú gbàá	(to be very angry)
CLT 208:	Dàmólá sérẹ pẹlú ajá, ajá bùú je	(Damola played with the dog, and the dog bite her)
CLT 209:	Di agbàdo inú ìgò	(to become unassailable)
CLT 210:	Di ológbò inú òkẹ	(to be fair outside but terrible inside)
CLT 211:	Fi ẹran ha ìkokò lẹnu	(to make way for the enemy)
CLT 212:	Fi idodo kọgbó	(to do something that one regrets later)
CLT 213:	Ki ọwọ pálábá ségi	(for one’s game to be up)
CLT 214:	Dádi, Bólá gbá mi níṣẹẹ	(Daddy boxed me)



CLT 215:	Pàrọwà fún	(to appeal to)
CLT 216:	Sọ ojú abẹ níkòó	(to be frank and candid)
CLT 217:	Pọnmì sínú apèrẹ	(to embark on a futile mission)
CLT 218:	Fídí rẹmì	(to fail woefully)
CLT 219:	Gbówó wọgbó	(to waste resources)
CLT 220:	Àkàrà tú sépo	(for a secret to become exposed)
CLT 221:	Fakọyọ	(to do brilliantly)
CLT 222:	Lù lógo ẹnu	(to cause to talk on an issue)
CLT 223:	Kó iyán ẹni kéré	(to treat one with slight)
CLT 224:	Gba ẹ̀yìn ba ẹ̀bọ̀ jẹ	(to betray)

