



Metaphor as an Ideological-Conveying Process in Panegyrics: The Ifè and Òyó Ethnic Groups of Yorùbá in Perspective

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Abstract

Panegyrics, as a genre of oral literature, play a significant role in the social, historical and political systems of the Yorùbá people. Through the recitation of praise songs, panegyric reciters often seek to create awareness about the hegemonic status of the individuals or entities being praised. However, the ideologies expressed through the use of metaphor in these panegyrics are usually subtle and covert, thereby enabling the subtle manipulation of the praised individual(s). To uncover the subtle ways metaphors are constructed in panegyrics to serve various purposes, including the maintenance of unequal power relations, this paper examines the use of metaphor as a strategic linguistic device for conveying ideological messages in the panegyrics of the Ifè and Òyó ethnic groups within the broader Yorùbá cultural context. It therefore evaluates how metaphor is employed in Yorùbá panegyrics to communicate ideological content in Ifè and Òyó panegyrics. By shedding light on the covert ways metaphors are constructed in the panegyrics, the paper offers insights into how language can be strategically employed to maintain and perpetuate unequal power structures within a society. It also highlights the versatility of metaphor as a rhetorical device, capable of conveying complex ideological messages in a subtle and aesthetically pleasing manner, as evident in the Yorùbá panegyric genre.

Keywords: Metaphor, Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology and Panegyrics

Introduction

Linguistic investigations have been carried out by myriads of scholars. Among the scholars, Halliday views language as an instrument fundamentally meant to perform ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. Through the ideational function, the experience of

speakers about the world and its phenomena is revealed while how the insertion of speakers' attitudes and evaluations about the phenomenon's effects on speakers and listeners is embodied in the interpersonal function of language. Fowler (1991) and Fairclough (1995) observe that the two functions can only be realistic through the instrumentality of the textual function as the latter avails speakers and listeners the ability to produce texts that are expected to be understood by both of them during linguistic interactions. Panegyrics fit into this role among Yorùbá speakers in the southwest of Nigeria. In the social, historical and political systems of the Yorùbá ethnic groups, particularly Ifè and Òyó groups, a series of panegyric genres exists and reciters of the panegyrics exploit them in the form of praise songs to create awareness about the hegemonic status of whom they praise.

These are recited on many occasions to evoke awe and respect. Such could be used to make the praised act in an unusual manner, too. Nonetheless, the ideologies expressed through metaphors to achieve the manipulative power in the panegyrics are usually hidden, thereby making the exploitation subtle to the affected individual(s). Hence, there is a need for a study like this to shed more light on the aesthetic use of metaphor in the Òyó and Ifè Ethnic panegyrics and to uncover the covert ways metaphors are constructed in panegyrics for various purposes in the Yorùbá discourse and social systems. It is against the background that this paper sets out to systematically study the metaphorical properties of Ifè and Òyó panegyrics to unveil their ideological underpinnings. By extension, the study intends to

- i. examine how metaphor is employed in Yorùbá panegyrics of Ifè and Òyó to convey ideological messages.
- ii. investigate the cultural and historical context that informs the use of metaphor in Yorùbá (Ifè and Òyó) panegyrics.
- iii. discuss the effectiveness of metaphor as a tool for ideological conveyance in Yorùbá (Ifè and Òyó) panegyrics for language, power and cultural expression.

Several researches have been carried out to foreground the effectiveness of metaphor in social interactions. For example, Omoniwa (1992) highlights the historical divide between linguistics and literary studies, and the subsequent convergence in the 1950s as linguists and anthropologists studied metaphors in oral literature. Adopting Haley's psycholinguistic model, Omoniwa analyses Soyinka's poetry to reveal the mechanism of poetic language, patterns of metaphorical configuration, and the functional relationship between language and society, particularly in the context of hegemony. The work finally establishes the "inextricably functional relationship" upon which language and society are built, as in the instance of hegemony which the current study sets out to explore. Okpe (2012) also views metaphor as a conceptual means of understanding the world, reflecting linguistic and cultural communities. Analyzing Soyinka's works based on an eclectic model of *Iconic Model, Conceptual of Metaphoric Mapping* (CMMM) and *Great Chain Metaphor*, Okpe establishes that metaphor is a means of creating new realities and tendencies inherent in human thought and experience.

The work demonstrates the inextricable relationship between metaphor, thought and experience, highlighting the boundless nature of realities that can be created through metaphor.

Omotola (2013), confirms that Yorùbá society relies on oral literature as one of the major ways their culture is transmitted and disseminated, using poetic forms like “hunters’ chants . . . (*Ijala* and *Iremoje*), bride’s chant *ekun iyawo*) . . . appellation or praise name and poetry (*Oriki*) and narratives (*itan*)” (Omotola 2013:5). To create an identity for Yorùbá movies, their producers focus their intention on communicating actions, feelings and messages that convey those properties of Yorùbá oral tradition. Omotola therefore evaluates this position, using an eclectic framework of *Culture Theory* and *Oral Tradition Model* through which he ascertains that oral traditions in the selected Yorùbá movies carry messages in the form of feelings. He also notes that it is difficult to divorce the oral tradition of Yorùbá people from supernatural forces – a factor that distinguishes Yorùbá movies from movies from other ethnic people or nations. In the case of panegyrics, those supernatural forces serve as metaphorical sources to produce expected feelings in the praised subjects or those to whom the panegyric of the praised person is directed. Okpeh (2016) observes that Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory while widening the scope of metaphor usage, fails to account for the ideological potential of metaphorical language. Okpeh critically analyses metaphors in Nigerian Pentecostal Christian Discourse to determine their ideological underpinnings. The research identifies four key ideologies associated with the Nigerian Pentecostal movement: the militarist ideology, the materialistic ideology, the retributive ideology and the ideology of rebirth. The research concludes that within the context of Nigerian Pentecostalism, metaphor usage is a social practice with ideological implications that define the identity and image of Nigerian Pentecostal Christianity, as well as the nature of power relations between the clergy and their congregation.

The contributions of Omoniwa (1992), Okpe (2012), Omotola (2013) and Okpe (2016) are unarguably relevant and beneficial to this research based on metaphorical evaluation, textual coherence of rhetorical devices and message carriage processes movies. This research, in turn, pushes the examination of the nature of metaphor as an ideology-conveying process beyond the scope of an individual experience. It, therefore, studies metaphor in wider and real-Ifè situations that are contextualised in the panegyric of Ifè and Òyó ethnics of Yorùbá descent by emphasising the aesthetic and covert ways metaphor is constructed in the panegyric to convey ideologies for various purposes such as maintaining unequal power relations.

Metaphor: An Overview

The possibility of providing an all-encompassing definition of metaphor seems somewhat challenging despite an etymological description of it. As Hawkes (1979:1) identifies, the word metaphor originates from a Greek word “*metaphora*” – a derivation of “*meta*” and “*pherein*,” meaning “over” and “to carry” respectively. This morphological breakdown of Hawkes’ (ibid.) suggests a phenomenon through which aspects of a particular object are carried over

to another object in a bid to make the latter appear as or reflect the former. Ortony, Reynolds and Arter (1978:5) consider a description of this kind traditional. To them, a view of metaphor as “merely the direct substitution of a non-literal phrase for a literal phrase that had exactly the same meaning” does not provide an in-depth explanation of metaphor. Therefore, they state that “metaphor is constructed on the principles of analogy and seems to be concerned primarily with the comparison of similarities between two or more objects.”

Categorically, Charteris-Black (2004:2) maintains that “metaphor holds together within one single meaning to different missing parts of different contexts of meaning” which is more than dealing with simple transfer of words, “but with a commerce between thoughts, that is a transaction between contexts.” The implication of this, as Imre (2010: 76) suggests, is that “the separation of metaphors from everyday language becomes impossible” because “metaphor is very close to the nature of language itself (and) it . . . evolves over time . . . (as) a reflection of the processes of human thinking . . . (and) the product of these processes” which allow it “to share this duality, since ‘metaphor’ can refer both to a cognitive process and to the words that are the outcome of this process” (Charteris-Black 2004:3).

Meanwhile, Imre (2010: 72 and 76) recognises that metaphors are products of vagueness and elusiveness, emphasising that

any explanation relies heavily on the physical – and in this way on the metaphorical –, as our thinking is basically metaphorical; this led to the conclusion that metaphors could be only explained based on other metaphors (and the) pervasiveness of metaphors in human understanding can be best characterized by the phenomenon whereby a target domain is structured and understood with reference to another (more basic) source domain (for) physical experience shapes our understanding.

Following Imre’s (ibid.) position, it seems reasonable to envisage that the source domain is a background means for structuring and understanding the target domain which underlines the essence of metaphor as a word or phrase that undergoes a change or extension of meaning. Therefore, words used in panegyrics are presumed not to be haphazardly constructed since they are meant to reflect some change and meaning extension for the realisation of some ideological manipulation or hegemonic influence.

Critical Discourse Analysis

As a methodological tool for discourse studies, Baker and Ellece (2011:26) describe Critical Discourse Analysis (hence, CDA) as an “approach to the analysis of discourse which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that ideologies and power relations are expressed through language.” They add that the goal of a discourse analyst is specifically to evaluate issues of inequality and ultimately bring to the fore who benefits from the

inequality practices in the course of carrying out the analysis. To Locke (2004:24-25), the description of CDA has to begin from severing the word, ‘critical’ from its common meanings or what he calls “an underlying commonality among ‘criticalists’” of “‘critical literacy,’ ‘critical theory,’ ‘critical approaches,’ ‘critical applied linguistics.’” According to Kincheloe and McLaren (1994: 139-140), a unique critical orientation that CDA portrays should support the idea that

- i. all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are socially and historically situated.
- ii. facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription.
- iii. the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption.
- iv. language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness).
- v. certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterises contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary or inevitable.
- vi. oppression has many faces and that focusing on only one at the expense of others (e.g. class oppression versus racism) often elides the interconnections among them.
- vii. mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression.

From these features, Locke (ibid.: 39) categorically mentions that “CDA is concerned with the ways in which the power relations produced by discourse are maintained and/or challenged through texts and the practices which effect their production, reception and dissemination.” Wodak (2001:11) has established this, stating that “CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.” Meanwhile, these ways are usually cryptic and CDA, by effect, is concerned to make bear, according to Locke (ibid.: 40), “the *opacity* of texts and utterances – the discursive constructions or stories that are embedded in texts as information that is readily available to consciousness” by methodically dealing with this opacity.

Metaphor as Part of Critical Discourse Analysis

This study is focused on the concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) in relation to the essence of metaphor. It has maintained the importance of metaphor in

conceptualising the world through a series of lexical patterns that shape ideologies and social practices. Surprisingly, the two traditions of CDA and metaphor, as Goatly (2007: 2) confirms, “have until recently, remained pure and unadulterated by each other.” On this note, research interests on the relationship between CDA and metaphor alongside recent studies are considered worthwhile exercises.

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001:2), the aim of CDA is “to investigate critically social inequality, as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use.” Accordingly, works within CDA examine and “uncover ideology, in so far as it is expressed and influenced by language and discourse” (Goatly *ibid.* 3). In order to achieve this feat, such works rely greatly on the provisions of Systemic Functional Linguistics model of interpersonal, ideational and textual metafunctions of discourse. Further, Chilton (2005:23) recognises that to produce meaning through properties of any discourse, a cognitive approach is required, since discourse is

produced and interpreted by human individuals interacting with one another . . . if language use (discourse) is, as the tenets of CDA assert, connected to the ‘construction’ of knowledge about social objects, identities, processes, etc., then that construction can only be taking place in the minds of individuals (who interact).

On this basis, Charteris-Black (2004: 28) concludes that “metaphor is . . . central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming coherent view of reality.” Metaphor then becomes a means for achieving critical discourse analytical ends. Hart (2008:92) substantiates this in the idea that “CDA . . . has been concerned with ideological and mystifacatory structure.” The ideology that CDA also evaluates is “a systematically organised presentation of reality” (Hodge and Kress 1993:15). In a nutshell, the ideological relevance of metaphors qualifies them to be defined as “significant part of what one takes as reality” (Chilton and Lakoff 1995:56), much more than they “can contribute to a situation where they privilege one understanding of reality over others” (Chilton 1996:74).

Guo (2013: 476) simplifies Chilton’s view from Charteris-Black’s (2004) standpoint “that the choice of metaphor is governed by both individual and social resources. The former comprises mainly cognition, emotion, pragmatic and linguistic knowledge while the latter refers to ideological outlook, historical and cultural knowledge.” Although metaphors combine both language and discourse features, the cognitive and social realities embedded in them qualify them to function maximally side-by-side with the tenets of CDA within a socio-cognitive domain of discourse. The emphasis is that metaphor is socially and cognitively important to achieving social reality construction. In essence, Guo adds that

conceptualization of the world relies greatly on metaphor . . . (because) metaphors are socially motivated. Different metaphors may correspond to different interests and perspectives and may have different ideological loadings. When we see the world with a particular metaphor, it forms basis of our action. Therefore, once a new metaphor comes into being in our conceptual system, our perception of the world and behavior will change accordingly.

The implication of the social and cognitive function of metaphor is that it creates power through the construction of similarities. Guo (ibid.) essentially notes that with that power, it is possible for people to interpret social reality according to their ideology and the “interpretation is one of many possibilities (through which) dominant groups may take advantage of their social resources and make their metaphors prevailing ones. So, acceptance of their metaphors means approval of their construction power.” Beyond that, Guo (ibid.) believes that the more people begin to accept their metaphors, the more “individual cognition will turn into social cognition . . . the metaphor would become the subconscious, which people can hardly feel, let alone challenge.”

Ifè and Òyó Yorùbá panegyrics, along this line, seem to have been structurally and cohesively composed, using such metaphors. Most of the panegyrics constitute a great deal of cultural values and ideologies which are entrenched in metaphors and handed down to generations in history, particularly during (but not exclusively to) public engagements. It might not be surprising then to find panegyric reciters or bards rely on the metaphors constantly, unconsciously, and automatically; at the same time exploit them so well that the target listeners find it hard to resist them, but rather react automatically to the dictate of the reciters.

Metaphor versus Culture in Panegyric Performance

Culture is believed to be central to every panegyric performance. The reason, according to Hudson (1980:73), is that “Many of properties of language . . . are also property of culture in general and . . . meaning is best studied in relation to culture.” He adds that culture is “something that everybody has . . . some ‘property’ of a community, especially those which might distinguish it from other communities.” From an anthropological stand, he defines this to be “‘material culture’ – the artefacts of the community such as its pottery, its vehicles or its clothing.” Beyond the physical, Kluckhohn (1951: 86), describing the property, has stated that “Culture consists patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values.” The point is that, though elements of culture are presumed to be mostly material, a lot about individual communities’ cultures reside in their peoples’ sub-consciousness and become, to a great extent, noticeable in the way they conceptualise the world and their behavioural disposition to it.

Specifically, Omotola (2013:15) mentions that “the term culture refers to the different ways that the Yorùbá people have and use to do specific things like dressing, childbearing and rearing, singing, cooking, eating, greeting, entertainment, (conducting) burial, naming, ruling, punishing, chanting, defending and wadding-off.” Incidentally, these form latent instances for panegyric performances among the people. The parties involved in the performances, too, usually have relative experiences and share some common ground knowledge about them for anticipatory mappings when they are worked upon as metaphorical source domains in “their occupations, religious practices, verbal arts, and traditional objects” (ibid.). Accordingly, the totality of cultural embodiment is contained in language. Thus, to Schmidt (2002:2), “the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that culture and language are interrelated, has been generally accepted as such” and Ibileye (1998:2) buttresses Sapir’s position that “the languages of the world are radically different one from another according as the cultures of their speakers differ.”

A language like Yorùbá invariably becomes distinguished as the people’s culture dictates, thereby making the “group of people living in (such) a social, historical, and physical environment make sense of their experiences in a more or less unified manner” (Kovecses 2010a:740). Several properties of language then come to play for the group to make sense. Among such is metaphor which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that native speakers of the world languages use greatly in their communication about the world. Kovecses (2010b) maintains that the role of metaphor in language use underscores the fact that there is a relationship between it and culture – a relationship that is necessary to be found out and appreciated. In essence, the differences in the world cultures according to the languages people speak do not affect the possibility of having some metaphors that are universally relevant. Kovecses (ibid.: 199) justifies that though

the languages belong to very different language families and represent different cultures of the world, . . . we can suggest that by some miracle all these languages developed the same conceptual metaphors for happiness, time, purpose, etc. . . . consider the possibility that languages borrowed from each other . . . and argue that there may be some universal basis for the same metaphors to develop in the diverse languages.

Lakoff and Tuner (1989: xi) have also categorically affirmed the universality of metaphor in the assertion that “Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically . . . It is omnipresent: metaphor suffuses our thoughts . . . It is accessible to everyone” as in metaphors of Ifẹ̀, death, time and so on. Despite this, there are metaphors that are culture specific. Schmidt (2002:2) therefore clarifies that

The cultural variation is at its highest on the level of source domains chosen for the metaphorical mappings. But as the metaphors can be used in different languages, they cannot be classified as culture specific. However, they do not function as universal constructs, as the set of metaphors differ in each language.

Whether metaphor operates as a universal or specific property of culture, its functional role to achieving discursive goals maximally is what is central in every communicative act, particularly when the act depends largely on a “conceptual framework within which significant subject matters are discussed in a culture and when they function as latent norms of conduct” Kovecses (2010a: 4). In such an instance, the metaphorical implication of a text is culture specific on the basis that what constitute norms in one culture may not be regarded as norms in another culture. Discourse in this respect can “be regarded as ideologies” (ibid.) which, according to van Dijk (1998:8) is “*the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group*. This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organise the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for *them* and to act accordingly.”

Goatly (2007:1) postulates that the ideological construct of cultural norms and means by which human activities within a culture are organised stimulate imbalance social structure and is subsequently responsible for

the material and symbolic interests of the group . . . power order over other groups (or resistance against domination by other groups which) may have a central role and hence function as a major condition or purpose for the development of ideologies . . . in the service of power.

Incidentally, the efficacy of metaphor, as an essential tool for understanding the world through panegyrics and individual players in the arts in the Yorùbá culture, subtly creates a series of context for manipulation of ideologies either to exert or resist power.

Ideology and Power Relations through Metaphors in Panegyrics

According to Odebunmi (2010:227), ideology is a system that conveys “certain tendencies, which have been imbibed, and thus become integrated into humans, are exposed and expressed in the course of human interaction.” He adds that ideology is characterised by knowledge. Thus, it “directs members’ model design and to some degree the way they produce and understand discourse.” Childs and Fowler (2006:114) describe ideology as “the system of ideas used by the ruling group in society to justify its dominance.” They further state that

this is closely bound up with the idea of class, and the dominant class in the society employs it to hold on to power, promoting that what is good for them is good for the rest of the society. Childs and Fowler (ibid.) add that society in turn usually absorbs the system of ideas linguistically presented in the ideology under the influence of some constantly reinforced perceptions, assumptions, values and ideas, thereby making ideology people's "normal consciousness." Therborn (1980:1) states that ideology "is the medium through which this consciousness and meaningfulness operate," which "includes both everyday notions and 'experience' and elaborate intellectual doctrines, both the 'consciousness' of social actors and the institutionalized thought-systems and discourses of a given society."

Meanwhile, the creation of the consciousness is somewhat deceptive because, from a classical Marxist viewpoint, Goatly (2007:1) considers "ideology as 'false consciousness,' a misleading representation, the superstructure overlaying and distorting a material reality." He emphasises that Gramsci (1971), who develops the Marxist concept of ideology, is of the opinion that the false-consciousness phenomenon accounts for the emergence of power play through covert management of people's minds by constructing a consensus about a social order that benefits those in power. Thus, the realisation of dominance greatly "depends upon the naturalisation of ideology as common-sense, and thereby make ideology latent or hidden" (Goatly ibid.), particularly in metaphors that pervade Yorùbá panegyrics. The reality of the power play, as Therborn (1980:95) has elucidated, is established in some ideological domination typology of

- i. *Accommodation*: which reflects a kind of acquiescence in which the rulers are obeyed because the ruled are constituted to regard other features in the world as more salient to them than both their present subordination and the possibility of an alternative regime.
- ii. *The Sense of Inevitability*: which refers to obedience through ignorance of any alternative.
- iii. *Deference*: which is an effect of enunciations of what is good about the present rulers who are conceived as possessing superior qualities necessary for ruling.
- iv. *Resignation*: which connotes a more profoundly pessimistic view of possibilities of change.

Incidentally, these types of ideological domination are easily and maximally promoted through the recitation of Ifẹ̀ and Ọ̀yọ̀ Yorùbá panegyrics.

Theoretical Framework

This research adopts an eclectic theoretical framework of Van Dijk's (1993) *Socio-cognitive Model* and Fauconnier and Turner's (1998) *Blending Theory*, which are relevant to Critical Discourse Analysis. The Socio-cognitive Model focuses on the relationships between

discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality, explaining the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance. It emphasises that power play can occur through resistance and challenge of existing power, using discourse and social properties. The model enables an examination of social role representations in the minds of social actors, through which the reproduction of dominance and equality is carried out in discourse. The Blending Theory expands on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, treating metaphor as a cognitive organization of mental spaces rather than a one-way process of conceptualising one domain in terms of another. The model is built upon a four-space model which includes two input spaces, equivalent to the two metaphorical domains of source and target in conceptual metaphor theory: a generic space, representing the conceptual structure that connects the two *input spaces*; and the *blend space*, where the generated product from the inputs forms a unit of interaction. It aims to account for experiences that are ignored or not accounted for in the conceptual metaphor theory's two-domain method. Combining these frameworks, the research aims to build an approach that can justify theoretically the reasons why certain cognitively influenced ideological interpretations of discursive events in the form of metaphors that are embedded in the Ifè and Ọyọ (Yorùbá) panegyrics can be made. This approach allows for a detailed examination of the power play and social inequality reproduced or challenged through the use of metaphors in the panegyrics.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The Conceptual Integration network proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) is adopted for analytical procedure in this work. This network is, basically, a mental operation through which new meaning as well as conceptual compressions for memory and manipulation of some other variously assumed levels of meaning can be realised. Although the network has a multifarious application effect on different human phenomena, it accommodates treating metaphors beyond a one-way process of conceptualising one domain of experience in terms of another by building a four-space model. The model includes two input spaces, equivalent to the two metaphorical domains of source and target in conceptual metaphor theory; a generic space, representing the conceptual structure that connects the two *input spaces*; and the *blend space*, where the generated product from the inputs forms a unit of interaction.

Hence, a text containing each of the metaphors is copiously introduced above each of the graphic networks (in both the Yorùbá and English languages) with the text part, which contains the asterisked source metaphor, underlined. The analysis is subsequently presented in line with the provision of the network by directly projecting from source (foods, animals, Ifè, property, trouble, people, plants, deities, legendary humans, natural phenomena, inanimate objects, kinship terminologies, references to epithets or historical allusions) to target (a Yorùbá ethnic group/its member(s)), using cosmological experience features of the individual domains. This occurs within a range of some fixed mappings. The mappings are captured in a network of **Space 1** and **Space 2** where each ethnic group/its member(s) and any

of the listed metaphor sources are fixed into. A blend of the group/its member(s) and the metaphor source in each panegyric is thereafter fused into **Generic Space**, with **Blended Space** containing the idea of an abstract view that produces a general goal of the intended meaning. The direction in which each idea moves from the input spaces (that is, **Space 1** and **Space 2**) through the **Generic Space** is conspicuously traced by a set of interconnected arrows on the network. The analyses of the metaphors are subsequently interpreted under the individual graphic networks.

Historical Contexts of Ifè and Òyó Ethnic Groups of Yorùbá

Ifè

Ifè people are located in the ancient Yorùbá city of Ilé-Ifè in Òṣun State, southwest Nigeria. Ilé-Ifè is the heart of both the realities and myths about the etymology of Yorùbá people. Although it could be stated that Ilé-Ifè had been peopled earlier than the emergence of Odùduwà as the progenitor of the people, the histories surrounding the personality of Odùduwà overshadow anything that could be mentioned in that regard. The reason, according to Alade (2015:64), is that “. . . there had existed the myth about Olódùmarè (God) sending some heavenly beings to come and establish Ifè on earth . . . Odùduwà had to be . . . the leader of the heavenly beings that came from heaven to earth with a chain.” Where they descended was Ilé-Ifè. Thus, it is claimed that other Yorùbá kingdoms emerged from Ilé-Ifè, the reason Ilé-Ifè, usually in an expression, is referred to as *Ifè o'ndáyé, ibi ojùmọ ti mọ wá* (which means *Ifè, the point of creation where civilisation originated*) (ibid.).

Òyó

History has it that Òrànmíyàn the grandson of Odùduwà founded Òyó, which became a dominant Yorùbá military and political empire, in company of “his conquering hordes (which covers . . . his route from Ilé-Ifè northwards to the banks of the Niger, whence he turned westward to the borders of the Baribas, and then to the ancient Òyó (Eyeo) which he founded, and where he settled, and from whence he spread southwards towards the coast . . .” (Johnson 1921). However, a Jihad led by Uthman Dan Fodio’s invasion into the Nupe Kingdom and his latter advance into Òyó lands brought about the destruction of Òyó-Ilé, the royal seat of the Òyó Empire. Consequently, Òyó-Ilé was abandoned, and Òyó people retreated south to the present city of Òyó (formerly known as “Àgọ d'Òyó” or “Òyó Àtìbà”).

In the following scales of conceptual integration networks, the data that are presented are extensively analysed. In order to ensure lucidity in presenting and analysing them, the data

(that is, metaphors) are arranged systematically as occurred in the panegyrics of the Ifè and Òyó (Yorùbá) ethnic groups.

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IFÈ

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Text 1

Èmí ki wọn n'Ífè Oòyèlagbò

Ó d'ilé Ìyanràn t'ójúmó ti í mò wáyé . . .

***Èrù jẹjẹ n'Ífè Oòrè**

E f'igbá nlá wọn owó ò mi kò mi

Translation

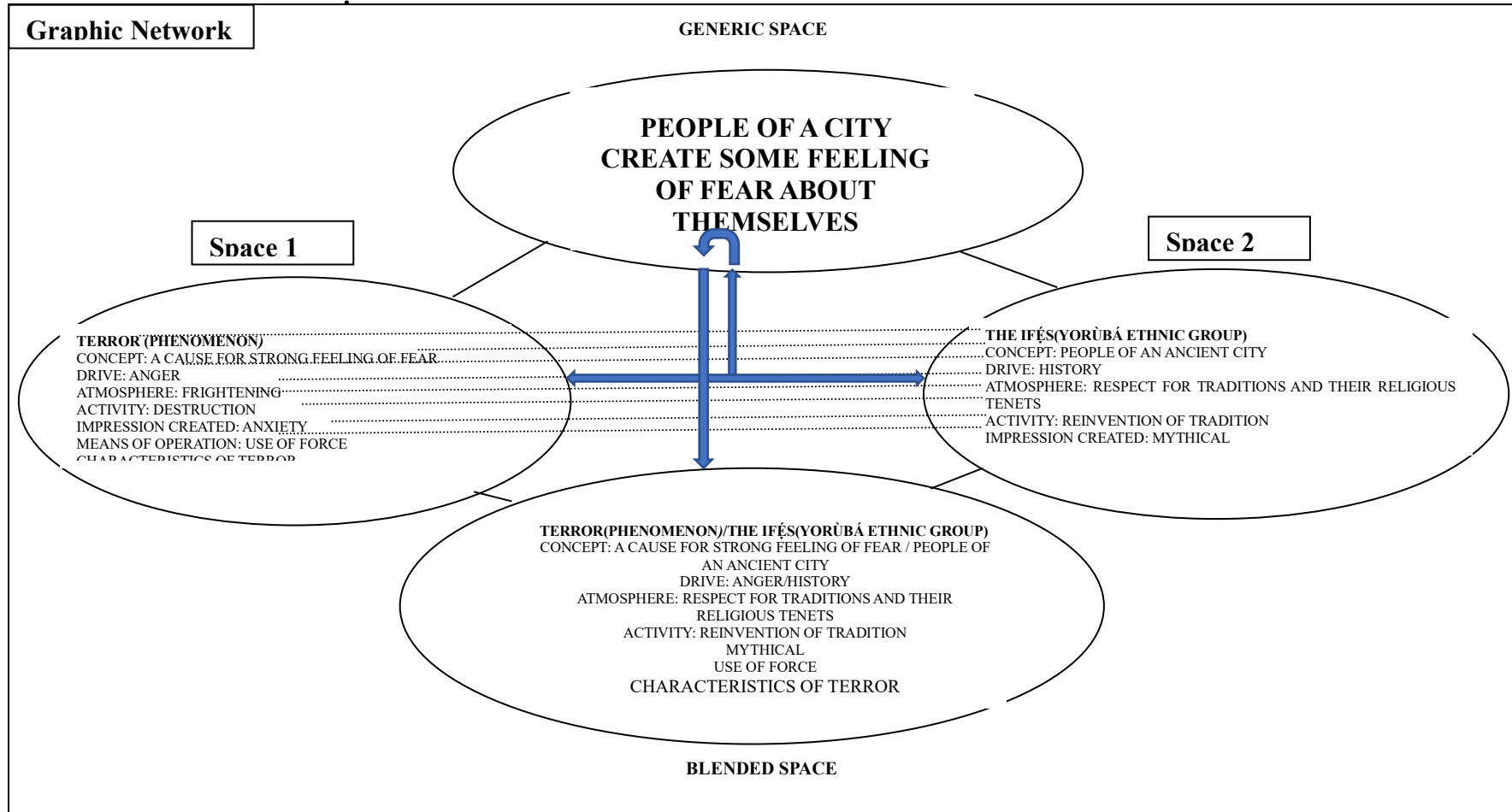
I salute you the people of Ifè Oòyèlagbò (Oòyèlagbò means daybreak)

At the harbour of Ìyanràn where the day usually breaks . . .

***The dreadful terror at Ifè Oòrè**

People should give me my allotted share of money in a big calabash bowl

***The Ifès are a terror**



From **Graphic Network 1**, two domains of *phenomenon* and *Yorùbá ethnic group* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (terror) to target domain (the Ifès) within a range of some fixed mappings:

PHENOMENON

YORÙBÁ ETHNIC GROUP

• “phenomenon” (terror)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Yorùbá ethnic group” (the Ifès)
• “a cause for strong feeling of fear”	<i>maps onto</i>	“people of an ancient city”
• “anger”	<i>maps onto</i>	“history”
• “fright”	<i>maps onto</i>	“respect for traditions and religious tenets”
• “destruction”	<i>maps onto</i>	“reinvention of tradition”
• “anxiety”	<i>maps onto</i>	“myths”
• “use of force”	<i>maps onto</i>	“invocation of the gods.”

A blend of both *terror* and *the Ifès*, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea that *the people of a city create some feeling of fear about themselves*, with an emergent interpretation of “threatening” in the **Blended Space**. Therefore the *Ifès*, who are generally known as people of an ancient city through their history, respect for traditions and religious tenets; and their reinvention of tradition through myths and invocation of gods, are compared with the phenomenon of *terror*, which produces a strong feeling of fear through anger, fright, destruction, anxiety and use of force, to create an extraordinary reality about the people. The metaphor is consequently exploited to excite tension and intimidation. Hence, through the **terror metaphor**, associated features such as “a cause for strong feeling of fear,” “terrible anger,” “fright,” “destruction,” “anxiety” and “use of force” are used to project the *Ifès* as elements of threat.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* A phenomenon of a great symbolic effect of fear.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A container of threat.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Sustenance of the social realities about the origin of the Yorùbás.

Mo bùkú owó, mo bùkú ọmọ

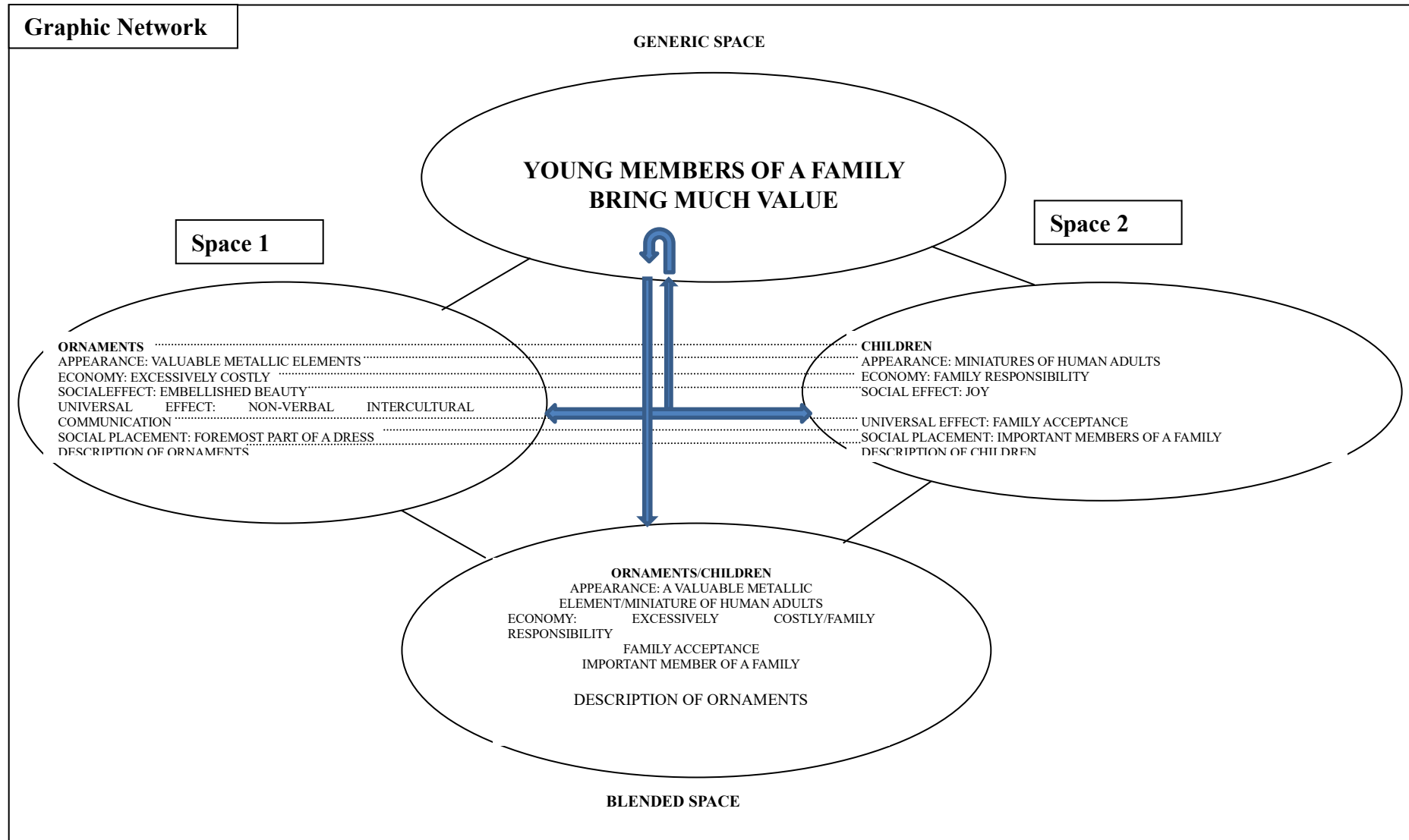
I'm extremely wealthy and surrounded by multitude of children

*Mo somo *wáárá léyìn orùn*

*I wear a *necklace of children*

(iv) *Unequal Power Element*: Issuance of threat through an acclaimed terror nomenclature.

***Children are ornaments**



Interpretation

Graphic Network 2 shows that two domains of *object* and *human* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (ornaments) to target domain (children) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>OBJECT</i>		<i>HUMAN</i>
• “object” (ornaments)	<i>maps onto</i>	“human” (children)
• “valuable metallic elements”	<i>maps onto</i>	“miniatures of human adults”
• “expensiveness”	<i>maps onto</i>	“increased responsibility”
• “embellished beauty”	<i>maps onto</i>	“joy”
• “non-verbal intercultural communication”	<i>maps onto</i>	“usual family acceptance”
• “being foremost parts of a dress”	<i>maps onto</i>	“being an important member of a family.”

A blend of both *ornaments* and *children*, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea that *young members of a family usually bring much value*. The resultant interpretation of this in the **Blended Space** is that of “wealth.” Therefore, *children*, who are young humans and whose arrival to families brings joy and increased responsibilities for the adults in the families, are regarded as *ornaments*, which are “the foremost parts of human dress,” “valuable metallic elements,” “symbols of embellished beauty,” and universally known for “expensiveness,” to bring to fore the abstract view that makes the general goal of the text. As such, the **ornament metaphor** is exploited to describe how valuable children are to Yorúbás in general and the Ifè people in particular.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* Valuable metallic beauty elements.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* Revelation of unique means, aside money and property, through which Yorúbás acquire wealth.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Yorùbás’ general disposition to procreation.

Text 3

Metaphor as an Ideological-Conveying Process in Panegyrics: The Ifẹ̀ and Ọ̀yọ̀ Ethnic Groups of Yorùbá in Perspective

Ọmọ ọ ajíbówó tí n pe ẹlòmíràn lólẹ

Ọmọ ọ olówónṣẹ̀báyẹ kówó o ̀silẹ́ ó tó gbòde

***Orí a serú nilé e baba enitóbúiyínlomo**

Àbùtẹ̀ní n'Ifẹ̀ Ọ̀nì

Translation

The offspring of the one who inherits money and considers others lazy

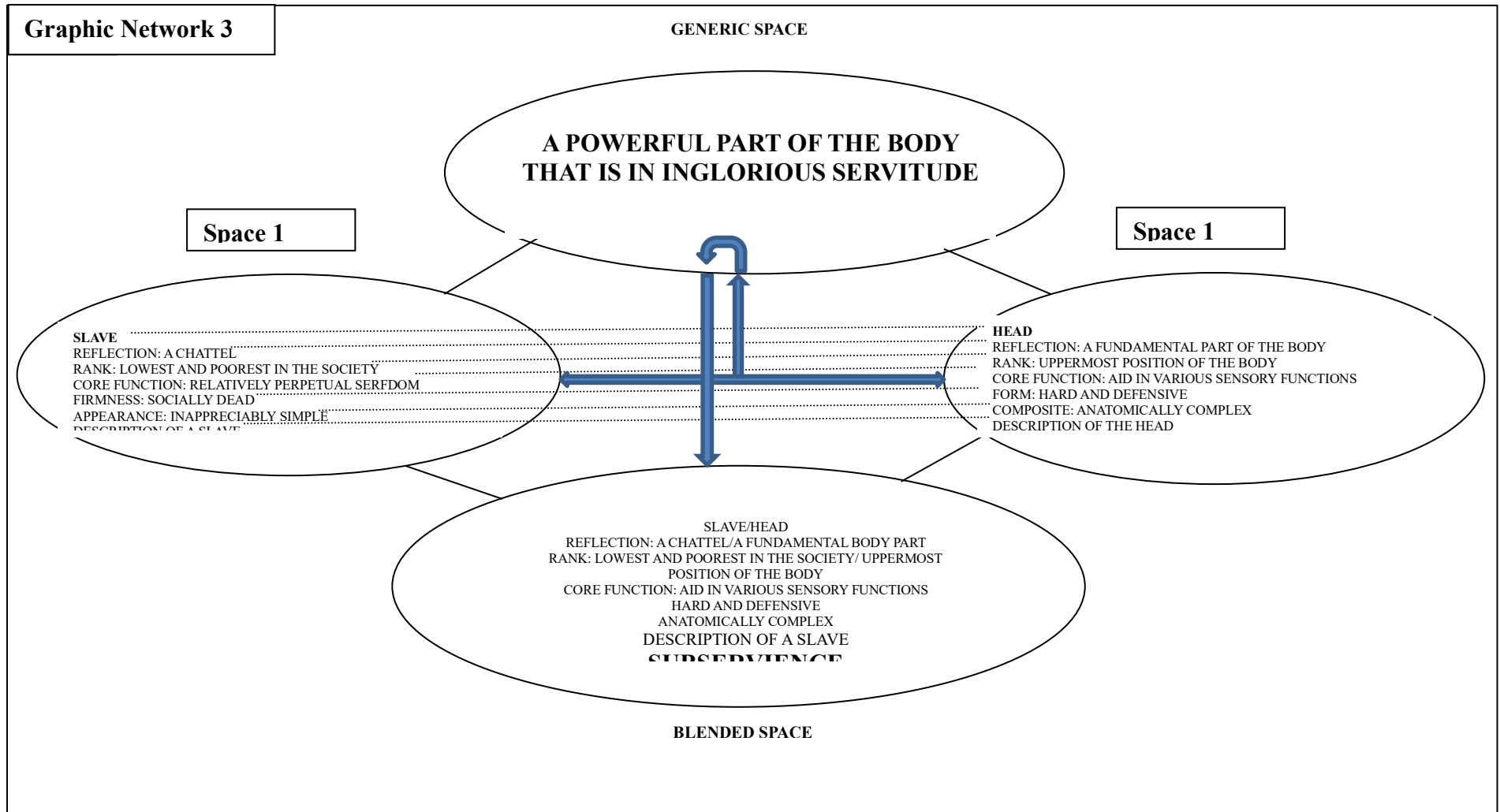
The offspring of the one who was already rich in traditional currency before the introduction of shilling coins

***Heads are always slaves at your ancestral home**

Àbùtẹ̀ní of Ifẹ̀ Ọ̀nì

(iv) *Unequal Power Element*: Essentiality of children and their prioritisation over material wealth for Yorùbá societal survival and continuity.

***Head is a slave**



Interpretation

Graphic Network 3 indicates that two domains of *state of being* and *part of the body* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (slave) to target domain (head) within a range of some fixed mappings:

STATE OF BEING

- “state of being” (slave)
- “chattel”
- “lowest and poorest social status”
- “relatively perpetual serfdom”
- “socially dead firmness”

maps onto
maps onto
maps onto
maps onto
maps onto

PART OF THE BODY

“part of the body” (head)
“fundamental part of the body”
“uppermost position of the body”
“aid in various sensory functions”
“anatomical complexity.”

A blend of both *slave* and *head*, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea that *a fundamentally powerful part of the body is in inglorious servitude*. Subsequently, there is an emergent interpretation of “subservience” in **Blended Space**. Hence, the *head*, which is a fundamental part and in the uppermost position of the body, made of an anatomical complexity and aiding in the various sensory functions, is described from a *slave* standpoint of a “chattel,” the “lowest and poorest social status,” “a relatively perpetual serfdom” and “socially dead firmness” to achieve the general goal of intended meaning of **slave metaphor**. Consequently, the metaphor is exploited to produce a mental picture that a group of people who had once been powerful have been made to run errands for another group of people.

- Functional Categorisation:** (i) *Ideological Pattern:* An individual who is completely subservient to a dominating influence.
- (ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A means of depicting the condition of a subdued people.
- (iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Preference of the **head (Ori)** to the status of a superior and supernatural being – an individual’s Creator.
- (iv) *Unequal Power Element:* Concretisation of the ideology that the *Ifès* have completely subjugated their adversaries.

Text 4

A kì í rọba fín lálède Òyọ

Aláàfín ọmọ ajowúyọkọlẹnu; abikùn tòòòtò lẹhìn

*Páńdukú mì gboro tìtì

... *Bẹmbé n ró lẹhìn àgbàrà

*Aláàfín is a kettledrum

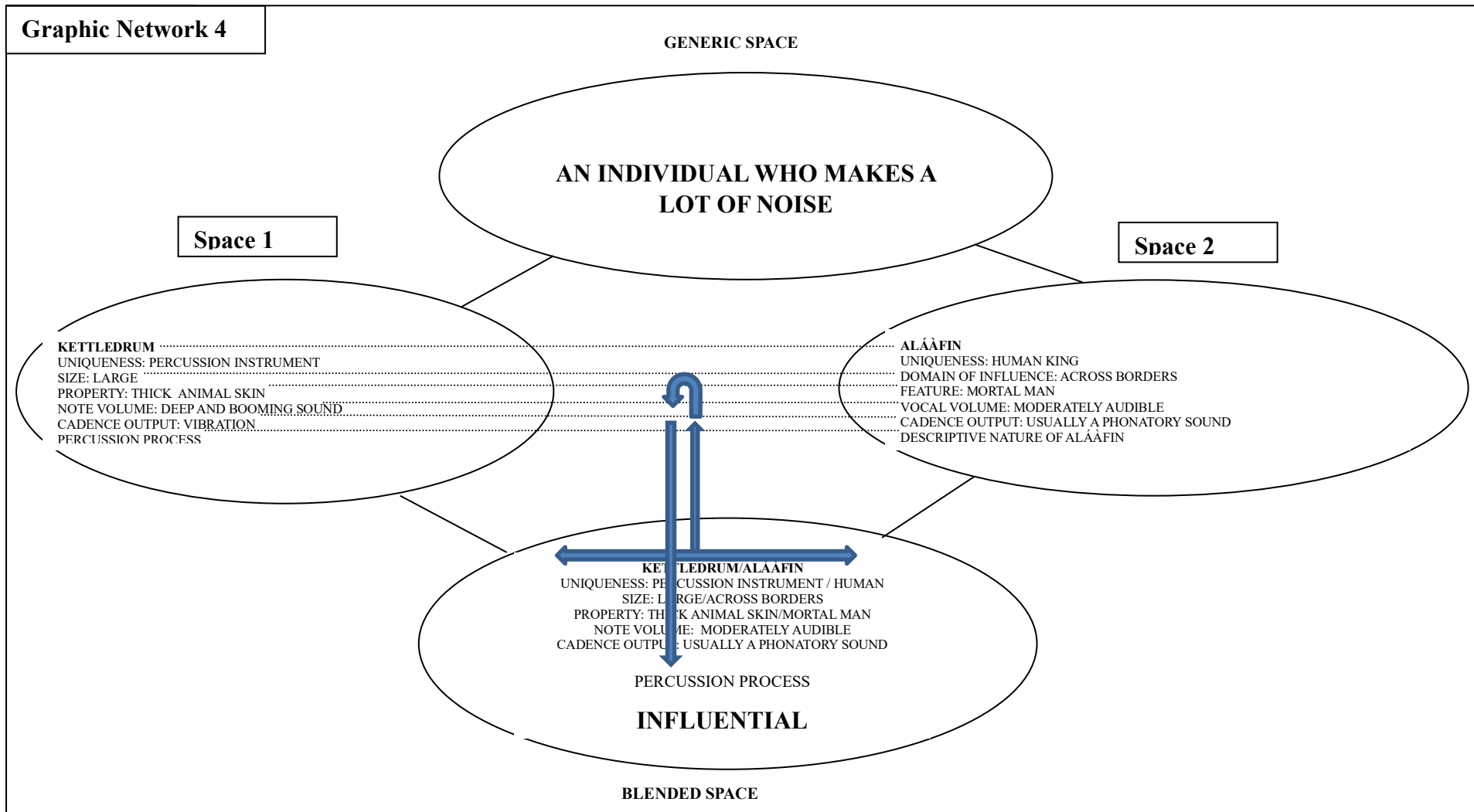
Translation

The monarch must not be dishonoured in the city of Òyọ

Aláàfín the offspring of the jealous one who always whines at her husband

*The kettledrum that makes the city streets vibrate vehemently

... *Kettledrum is earsplitting behind the stockade



Interpretation

In **Graphic Network 4**, two domains of *kettledrum* and *Aláàfin* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (*kettledrum*) to target domain (the Head of Òyó Empire) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>KETTLEDRUM</i>		<i>ALÁÀFIN</i>
• “percussion instrument” (<i>kettledrum</i>)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Aláàfin” (the Head of Òyó Empire)
• “size”	<i>maps onto</i>	“domain of influence”
• “property”	<i>maps onto</i>	“human feature/make up”
• “note volume”	<i>maps onto</i>	“vocal volume”
• “vibration”	<i>maps onto</i>	“phonatory sound.”

A blend of both *kettledrum*, and *Aláàfin*, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea of *an individual who makes a lot of noise*, with an emergent interpretation that *Aláàfin* is “influential” in **Blended Space**. Thus, *Aláàfin*, who is human with a domain of authority as the Head of Òyó Empire whose vocal influence is merely phonatory, is featured from the stance of a *kettledrum*, a percussion instrument of a large size which produces a high musical note volume and vibration. The essence of the metaphor is to affirm the authority of *Aláàfin* of Òyó and to create some trembling effect about him on both his subjects and adversaries.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern:* A large percussion instrument.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A juxtaposition of booming sound and a king’s authoritative influence.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Corporality of the *Aláàfin*’s power.

(iv) *Unequal Power Element:* The intimidating influence of the *Aláàfin* on his subjects and adversaries much more as the human hearts vibrate at the beating of a *kettledrum*.

Text 5

Ajìsè bí Òyó làáári, Òyó ò kú ú ní sè bí i baba ẹ̀nikòòkan

Pínísín lomo o *erin tí ñ folá a yagi

Òyó lóni kárìn káşánpá; lóni kágbésè kó yè è yàn

Òkò Àlàkẹ̀ ọmọ ọ afòpóràlú

Bí won ò bá m' *erin se won ò gb' *óhùn erin ni?

Translation

It is possible to find those who imitate Òyó; Òyó will never imitate the father of anyone

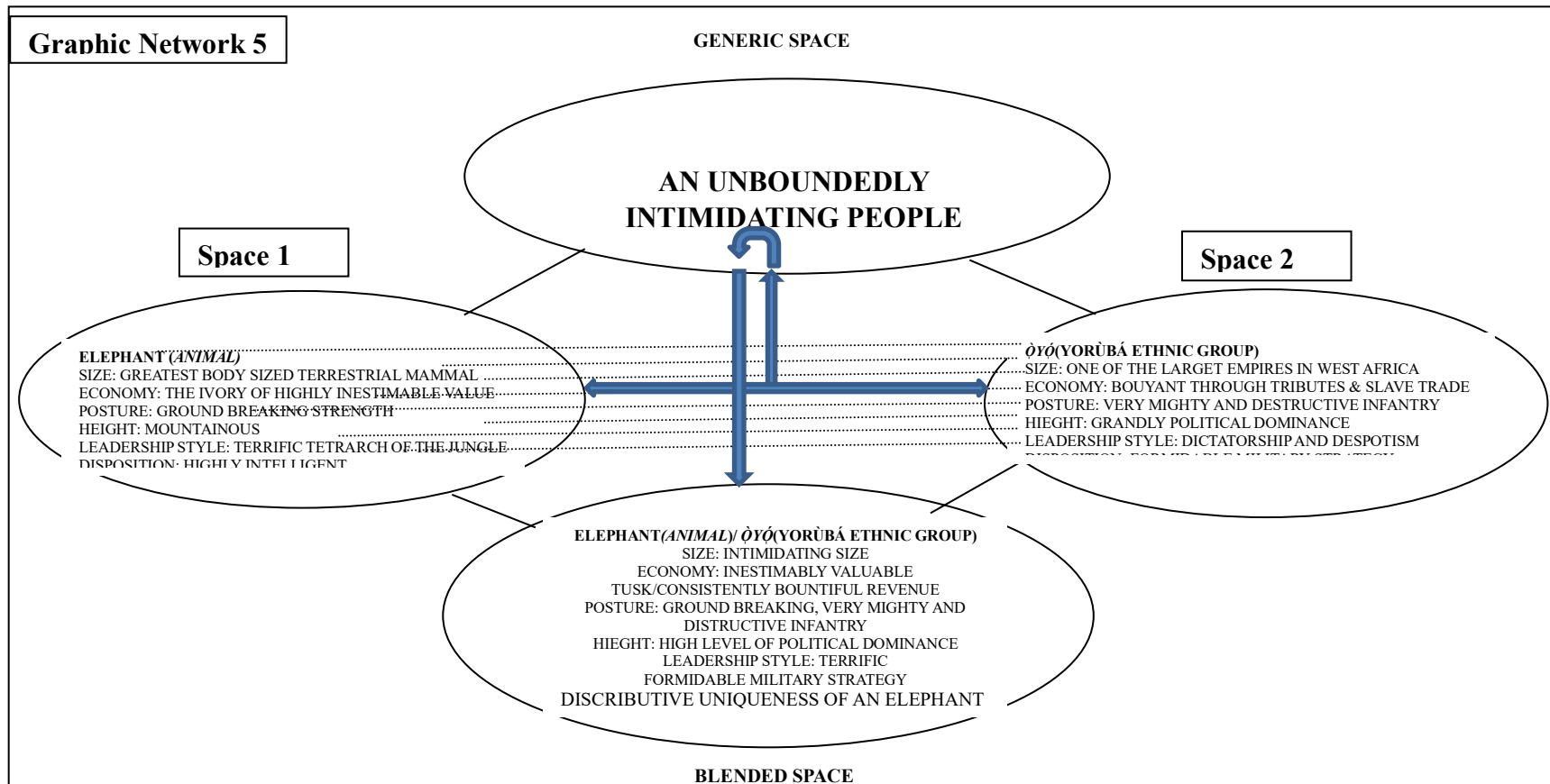
The offspring of the *elephant that always tears down trees with gaiety at babyhood

Walking shoulder high belongs to Òyó; Walking befittingly belongs to Òyó

Àlàkẹ̀, the stone, The offspring of the one who buys a whole city with a pillar

If they don't know the *elephant, don't they hear *its trumpeting?

***Òyó is an elephant**



From the **Graphic Network 5**, two domains of *animal* and *Yorùbá ethnic group* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (elephant) to target domain (Ọ̀yọ́) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>ANIMAL</i>		<i>YORÙBÁ ETHNIC GROUP</i>
• “animal” (elephant)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Yorùbá ethnic group” (Ọ̀yọ́)
• “body”	<i>maps onto</i>	“empire”
• “ivory”	<i>maps onto</i>	“tributes and slave trade”
• “feet”	<i>maps onto</i>	“infantry”
• “physique”	<i>maps onto</i>	“dominance”
• “terror”	<i>maps onto</i>	“governance style”
• “intelligence”	<i>maps onto</i>	“military strategy.”

A blend of both *elephant* and Ọ̀yọ́, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea of *an unboundedly intimidating people*, with an emergent interpretation of “self-glorification” in the **Blended Space**. Thus, Ọ̀yọ́, an empire that was a recipient of a wide range of tributes, slavery, infantry, a domineering governance style and a militaristic strategy, is projected in the likeness of the body, general physique and exceptional instinct of an *elephant* to substantiate an embedded abstract quality about the empire and the individuals who are of Ọ̀yọ́ descent. The **animal metaphor** is therefore exploited to excite fear and intimidation. By extension, the fearsome strength, physical features and size of an **elephant** help in creating a vivid image of the extent of the economic buoyancy, political dominance, despotic rule and military strength of the Ọ̀yọ́ Empire, which consequently produces the intended excitement about the Ọ̀yọ́s.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* An animal of a great symbolic effect of a great size, high economic value, bravery and intelligence.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A means of achieving self-glorification.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Sustenance of the social realities about the wealth, political prowess and military strength of Ọ̀yọ́ people.

Text 6

**Òkò Àlàké omo afòpóràlú. . .*

Translation

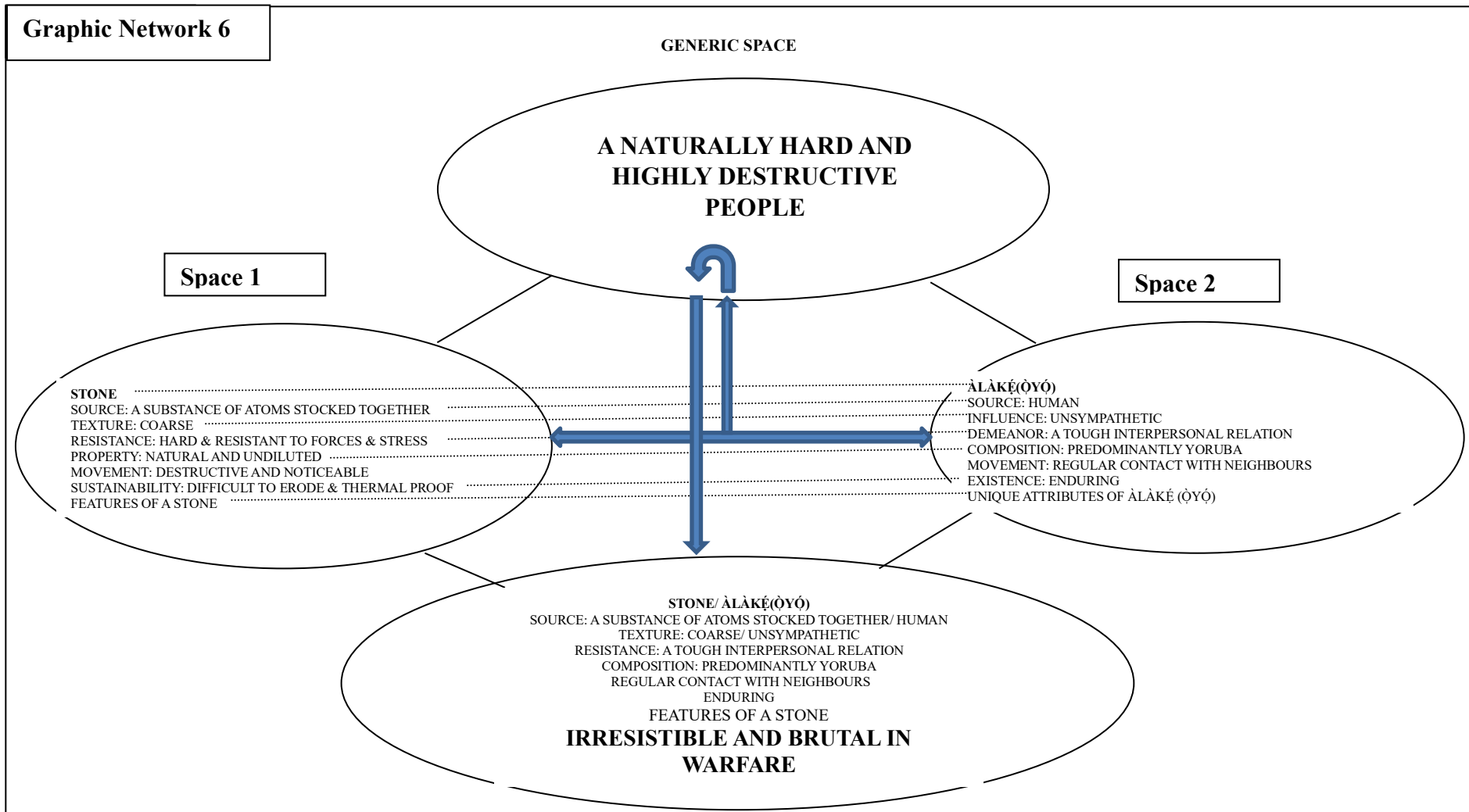
**Oko omo o Atakàjàrodò*

*Àlàké, *the stone, The offspring of the one who buys a whole city with a pillar. . .*

*The *stone, the offspring of 'Atakàjàrodò.'*

(iv) *Unequal Power Element*: Declaration of status differentiation through a conferment of the physical features of an elephant – the largest terrestrial being – on a people.

**Àlàké/Òyó is a stone*



In **Graphic Network 6**, two domains of *object* and *Yorùbá name/ethnic group* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (stone) to target domain (Àlàkẹ́/Ọ̀yọ́) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>OBJECT</i>		<i>YORÙBÁ NAME/ETHNIC GROUP</i>
• “object” (stone)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Yorùbá name/ethnic group” (Àlàkẹ́ (Ọ̀yọ́))
• “mineral”	<i>maps onto</i>	“man”
• “hardness”	<i>maps onto</i>	“behaviour”
• “property”	<i>maps onto</i>	“a people”
• “hitting”	<i>maps onto</i>	“attack”
• “rigidity”	<i>maps onto</i>	“demeanor.”

A blend of both *stone* and (Ọ̀yọ́), when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea of *a naturally hard and highly destructive people*, with an emergent interpretation that (Ọ̀yọ́) is “irresistible and brutal in warfare” in the **Blended Space**. The description is concretised in viewing Ọ̀yọ́ people (with the appellation, Àlàkẹ́), who are human and unique in their behaviour, attack and demeanor, through the structural make-up and destructive usefulness of a stone, which includes mineral resource, hardness, rigidity and damaging/hitting object. This creates a pictorial experience about the abstract view of the **stone metaphor** to produce a general goal of the text, which is to instill fear and intimidation on potential enemies of the (Ọ̀yọ́) people.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* An object of high rigidity.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A means of forecasting a devastating experience.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Concretisation of socio-military realities, using derivational ideas about an object of weapon within the Yorùbá cosmological context.

(iv) *Unequal Power Element:* Affirmation of Ọ̀yọ́’s exceptional ruggedness and brutality.

Text 7

Títiri méje n làákómọ Olúkúewu . . .

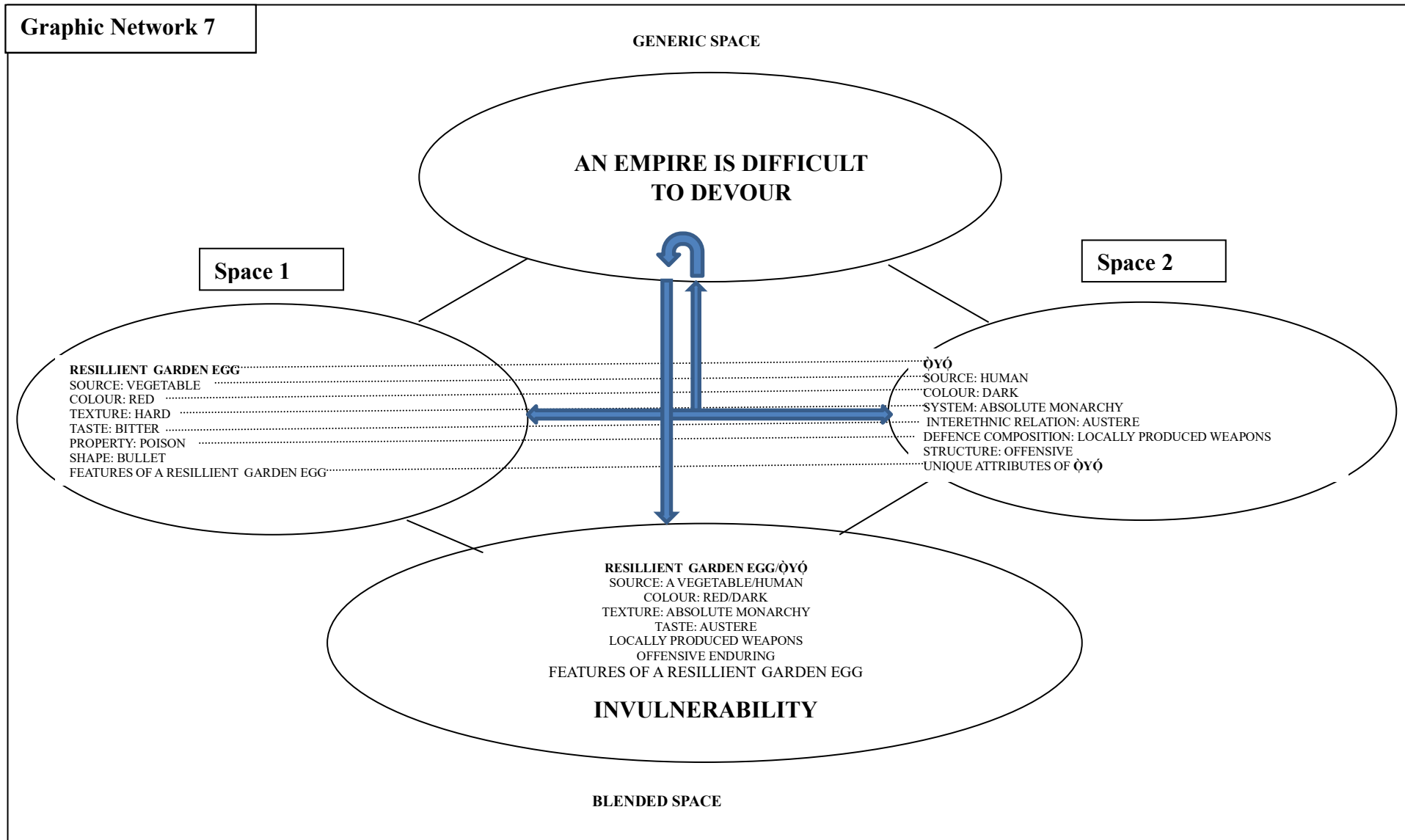
**Ikàn tiiri ikàn wèwù èjẹ̀*

Translation

The offspring of Olúkúewu who is eulogised as sevenfold-steadfastness . . .

**Garden egg is steadfast and eventually wears a bloody garment*

***Ọ̀yọ́ is a resilient garden egg**



In **Graphic Network 7**, two domains of *object* and *Yorùbá name/ethnic group* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (resilient garden egg) to target domain (Ọ̀yọ́) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>OBJECT</i>		<i>YORÙBÁ NAME/ETHNIC GROUP</i>
• “object” (resilient garden egg)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Yorùbá name/ethnic group” (Ọ̀yọ́)
• “vegetable”	<i>maps onto</i>	“human”
• “red colour”	<i>maps onto</i>	“dark complexion”
• “hard texture”	<i>maps onto</i>	“absolute monarchy”
• “bitter taste”	<i>maps onto</i>	“austere external relationship”
• “poison”	<i>maps onto</i>	“locally produced weapons”
• “bullet”	<i>maps into</i>	“offensive structure.”

A blend of both *resilient garden egg* and Ọ̀yọ́, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an *idea that an empire is difficult to devour*, with an emergent interpretation that Ọ̀yọ́ is “invulnerable” in the **Blended Space**. This implies that Ọ̀yọ́ people, who are a Yorùbá ethnic group, Africans and known for their absolute monarchical rule, austere relationship with subdued ethnic groups and possessing locally produced weapons with which they could make offensive moves against their enemies, are introduced as a resilient garden egg, which is a red vegetable produce of a hard texture, bitter taste, poisonous substance and a bullet shape, to generate the general goal of the text. Thus, the metaphor is exploited to create an impression of a highly fortified empire that can cause much devastation to any enemy who dares to attack it.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* A hard textured and poisonous agricultural produce.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A process of projecting Ọ̀yọ́’s high level of immunity to external forces.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Sustenance of the social realities about the wealth, political prowess and military strength of Ọ̀yọ́ people.

(iv) *Unequal Power Element:* Enunciation of Ọ̀yọ́’s interminable capacity to confound their adversaries despite all damnable advances.

Text 8

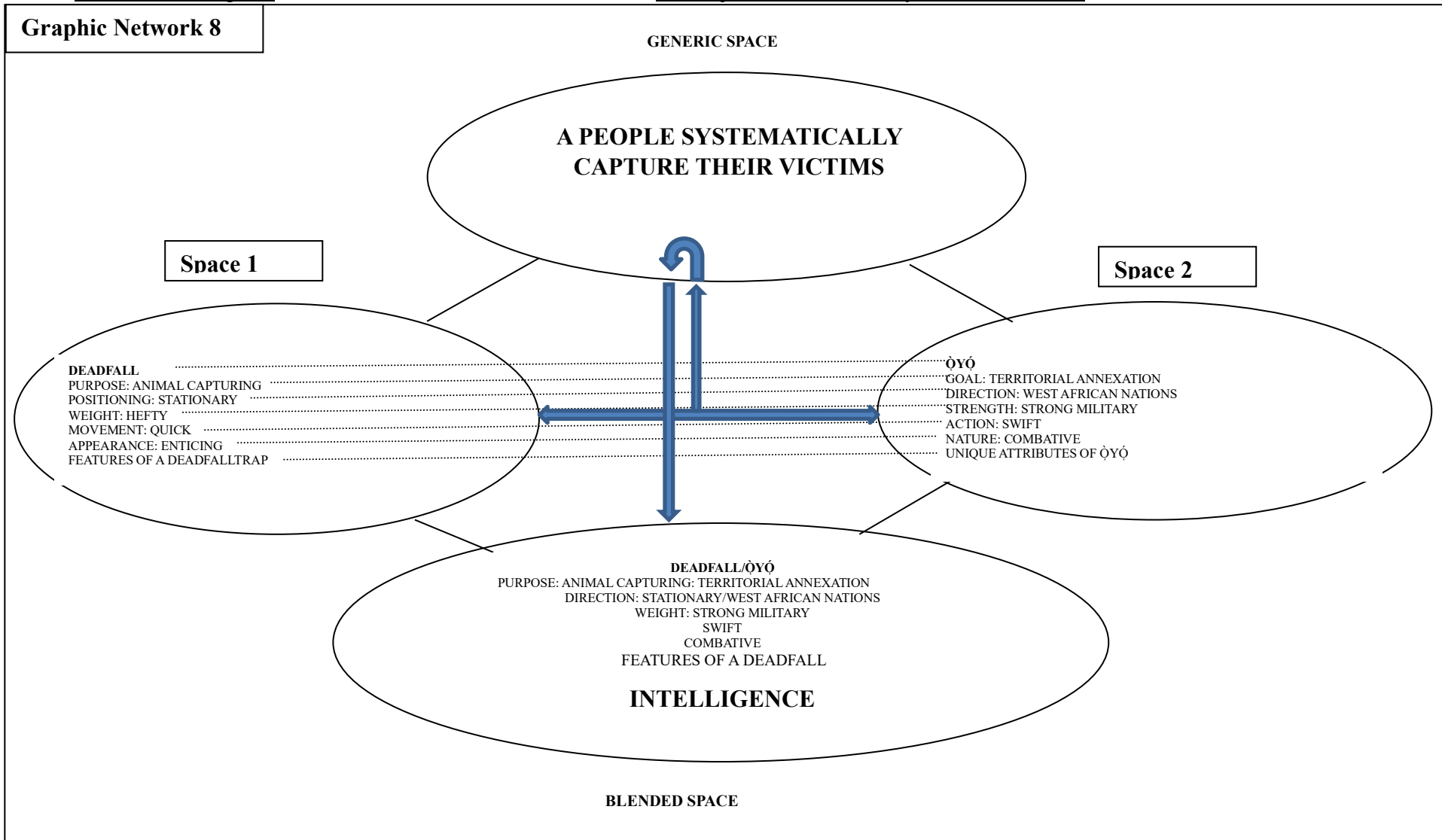
Títiiri méje n là á kọmọ Olúkúewu . . .

**Ìkòókòtó tiiri ó peku*

Translation

The offspring of Olúkúewu who is eulogised as sevenfold-steadfastness . . .

**A deadfall becomes steadfast and kills a rat*



In **Graphic Network 8**, two domains of *object* and *Yorùbá name/ethnic group* are identified with a direct projection from source domain (deadfall) to target domain (Ọ̀yọ́) within a range of some fixed mappings:

<i>OBJECT</i>		<i>YORÙBÁ NAME/ETHNIC GROUP</i>
• “object” (deadfall)	<i>maps onto</i>	“Yorùbá name/ethnic group” (Ọ̀yọ́)
• “animal capturing purpose”	<i>maps onto</i>	“territory capturing goal”
• “stationary positioning”	<i>maps onto</i>	“West African nations”
• “quick movement”	<i>maps onto</i>	“swift action”
• “enticing appearance”	<i>maps onto</i>	“militaristic display.”

A blend of both *deadfall* and Ọ̀yọ́, when fused into the **Generic Space**, produces an idea of *a naturally hard and highly destructive people*, with an emergent interpretation that Ọ̀yọ́ is “intelligence” in the **Generic Space**. Hence, Ọ̀yọ́ *people*, who are desperate to capture territories of nearby peoples of West Africa through swift actions and militaristic prowess, are matched into the characteristics of a *deadfall*, which is usually strategically stationed to swiftly capture a prey. The **deadfall metaphor** is therefore exploited to reflect how tactical and enduring the (Ọ̀yọ́) people could be at war.

Functional Categorisation: (i) *Ideological Pattern Adopted:* A trap that is constructed to kill or disable an animal by its weight.

(ii) *Metaphorical Function:* A tool for demonstrating Ọ̀yọ́ people’s combative intelligence.

(iii) *Metaphorical Relation with the Yorùbá Social Practice:* Confirmation of the historical narratives about the various Ọ̀yọ́ conquests during the Old Ọ̀yọ́ Empire.

(iv) *Unequal Power Element:* The highly marked victor-vanquished relationship that is displayed in a deadfall-rat context.

Discussions

Ifè

It is claimed that other Yorùbá kingdoms emerged from Ilé-Ifè, the reason why Ilé-Ifè is usually referred to as *Ifè o ñ dáyé, ibi ojúmó ti mó wá* (which means *Ifè, the place of creation; the daybreak point*). Interestingly, this idea is concessively upheld by most of the other ethnic groups of Yorùbá descent. Hence, the metaphors in **Texts 1, 2 and 3** emphasise the idea, “*Oòyèlagbò,*” (*that is, the break of a new day*) which is a parallel version of “*t’ójúmó,*” meaning the place where “*the day . . . breaks*” to suggest creation and beginning of Ifè. On this basis, the people of Ifè, as citizens of the city, are presumed to operate on a higher plane above members of other Yorùbá ethnic groups.

The **terror metaphor** in **Text 1**, with the features of “a cause for strong feeling of fear,” “terrible anger,” “fright,” “destruction,” “anxiety” and “use of force,” projects the *Ifès* as elements of threat. The subsequent use of **ornament** (which has the features of “valuable metallic elements of expensiveness,” “embellished beauty,” “non-verbal intercultural communication” and “being foremost parts of a dress”) in **Text 2** and **the head** (which, though the “uppermost position of the body,” is reduced to a “lowest and poorest social status” and a “relatively perpetual serfdom”) in **Text 3** portray a total subjugation of the people’s captives. One of the ways this is brought about is the relative increase in the population of the *Ifès* through uncontrolled procreation. The three metaphors of **terror**, **head** and **ornaments** consequently project the *Ifès* as intimidating (“*Aṣòroókòlójú,*” meaning, the one who is difficult to confront), domineering (“*ṣerú,*” meaning “*enslaved*”) and ostentatious (“*omọ o arábájá owó remọ,*” meaning, “*The offspring of the one who pampers children with containers full of currency*”/“*Mo ṣomọ wáará léyìn orùn,*” meaning, “*I wear a chain of children on my neck*”). The metaphors, in line with the people’s ideologies, are therefore exploited to incite tension and intimidation, to publicise the *Ifès*’ successful conquest and total subjugation of their adversaries, and to showcase the inestimable value of having many children to achieving formidability.

Òyó

The panegyric of Òyó promotes the dominant, military and political realities about the old Òyó Empire. The descendants of the legendary Òyó ancestors also pride themselves of such realities. In essence, **Text 4** emphasises that “*A kii rọba fín lálède Òyó,*” meaning, “*The monarch is not dishonoured in the city of Òyó.*” To foreground this, the **kettledrum metaphor** (with the features of a large size, thick animal skin, deep and booming sound, and vibration) is exploited, giving that “***Pandukú*** *mì gboro tìtì . . . ***Bèmbé*** ñ ró léhìn àgbàrà,*” that is, “*The **kettledrum** . . . makes the city streets vibrate vehemently. . . **kettledrum** is earsplitting behind the stockade.*” Consequently, the Alààfin of Òyó, a very influential and powerful king, is projected as a **kettledrum** to incite fear and great awe about him among his subjects and adversaries.

In **Texts 5, 6, 7 and 8**, **animal**, **object** and **plant** metaphors are used to describe the Òyó as an empire. In **Text 5**, the fearsome strength and size of an **elephant** is employed to create a vivid image of the extent of economic buoyancy, political dominance, despotic rule and military strength

of the empire with the idea that “*Bí wọn ò bá m’erin, ẹ wọn ò gb’òhùn erin ni?*” that is, “*If they don’t know the **elephant**, don’t they hear its **trumpeting**?*” In the same vein, the **stone**, a primitively destructive weapon is paired with Òyó (as an empire) in **Text 6** while the **resilient garden egg** and **deadfall** metaphors are used to project a picture that the empire is dangerously invulnerable and enduringly tactical in dealing with its adversaries since “*Ikàn tiiri ikàn wẹwù èjẹ*,” meaning, “*A **garden egg** is steadfast and eventually wears a **bloody garment***” and “*Ìkòókòtó tiiri ó peku*,” that is, “*A **deadfall** becomes steadfast and kills a **rat**,*” with “*ẹwù èjẹ*” (**bloody garment**) and “**eku**” (**rat**) respectively suggesting how deadly the Òyós are, and how helpless their adversary could be. Thus, through the metaphors, the Òyós demonstrate the popularity of *the Aláàfin of Òyó* and create much trembling effect about him, home and abroad. They also project Òyó as a highly fortified empire with much enduring, tactical and destructive military in order to create fear and intimidation in potential enemies.

Yorùbá Systems of Ideology

From the foregoing, several systems of ideas that form the bases for social representations that are shared among Yorùbá in southwest Nigeria can be identified through the metaphors the selected panegyrics contain. The systems of ideas include the following.

a. *Creation Myths*

The idea about creation is central to the origin of Yorùbá. The idea, though jealously handed down from one generation to the other, is mythical in the sense that Ilé-Ífẹ was told to be the spot where God created man and from there everyone regardless of their colour or race dispersed all over the earth. This position is substantiated in **Text 1** that “*Èmí kí wọn n’Ífẹ Oòyèlagbò/Ódilẹ̀ Ìyanràn t’òjúmó ti i mó wáyé*,” meaning *I salute you the people of ‘Ífẹ Oòyèlagbò (Ífẹ, the daybreak)/At the harbour of Ìyanràn (a city) where the day usually breaks.*” The word, **Oòyèlagbò**, typifies the dawn of the universe. This is emphatically alluded to in the subsequent lines of the Ífẹ panegyric that “*Şebí ẹ̀ mò pé adiyẹ̀ ẹ̀lẹ̀sẹ̀ márùn ún ló d’erupẹ̀ s’áyé lójó t’ómi b’òde àgbáyé jẹ/T’óşe wipe gbogbo ilẹ̀ ló jẹ̀ kíkì omi*,” meaning “*You remember that it was a five-foot hen that poured dust on earth on the day water destroyed the whole universe/That the whole earth was flooded.*”

The idea was supported in the myth that Òrúnmìlà, one of the Yorùbá deities, descended from heaven, using a chain, and poured some sand on the surface of the water that covered the entire world as in Genesis 1:2. A hen, he came down with, later spread the sand. The spread sand eventually became the ground on the earth surface. The event at a point metamorphosed into the name, “*Ilẹ̀ ẹ̀ fẹ̀*,” meaning “*the ground became spread or wide.*” This eventually morphologically transformed into the city name, Ilé-Ífẹ. This idea is consequently promoted to generate a thought that the people are naturally above others, particularly as demonstrated in the metaphor in **Text 3** that **heads** (that is, others) are their **slaves**, since it is claimed that the latter have had their roots in Ilé-Ífẹ.

b. Kingship and Kingdoms

The idea of governance that is peculiar to the Yorùbá nation is a monarchical system of government. Each town, city or kingdom is ruled by a monarch called *oba*. The monarch is therefore the political and divine head of each kingdom. He ascends the throne after undergoing a series of spiritual processes that are essential parts of his coronation ceremonies. At the completion of the ceremonies, the enthroned king is presumed to have been so supernaturally empowered that he has to be referred to as “*Aláṣẹ̀ Èkejì Òriṣà*,” *a second-in-command to the gods* or “*Kábíyèsí*,” that is, *the one whose decisions cannot be questioned*. He therefore enjoys the absolute power of life or death, although under some checks and balances. Among the Yorùbá ethnic groups in the south-west of Nigeria, the Old Òyó Empire, with the Aláàfin as its Head, had the most politically significant and centrally organised administration. Some of the metaphors that are used in the selected panegyrics to depict the despotic nature of the past Yorùbá kings include “*Páńdukú mì ’gboro títì . . . Bẹ̀mbé n rọ*,” meaning “*The kettledrum that makes the city streets vibrate vehemently. . . kettledrum is earsplitting*” in Text 4, “. . . *omo o erin tí n fóláá yagi . . . Bí wọn ò bá m’erin ẹ́ wọn ò gb’òhùn erin ni?*” that is “. . . *The offspring of the elephant that always tears down trees with gaiety at babyhood . . . If they don’t know the elephant, don’t they hear its trumpeting?*” in Text 5, “*Òkò Àlàkẹ́ omọ afòpóràlú*,” meaning “*Àlàkẹ́ and the stone*” in Text 6. Hence, “*A kì í rọba fín lálẹ̀de Òyó*,” meaning that “*The monarch must not be dishonoured in the city of Òyó*” (Text 4). All this demonstrates the despotic nature of kingship and kingdoms in the Yorùbá social system.

c. Divinity of Orí (the Head)

Orí, which means “**head**,” biologically, shelters very sensitive body organs like the brain, the eyes, and the mouth; and at the same time, controls the entire body. However, in the cosmological and metaphysical world of the Yorùbá people, *Orí* is assumed to have more importance than being a bodily organ. It is conceptualised as a symbol for a superior and supernatural being – an individual’s creator whom the Yorùbá refer to as *Elédàá*. It is believed that it is the *Elédàá*, that is, the **head** that created humankind; no one created the **head**. Therefore, one’s head is one’s creator. Yorùbás also project another metaphorical essence of the word *Orí*(*head*) as *Ìpín* or *Àyànmá* which means “*destiny*.” Therefore, the metaphor in Text 3, “*Orí a serú ní’lé e baba ẹnít’ó bí i yín lomọ*,” that is, “*Heads are always slaves in your ancestral’s home*” signifies that it is not only that some individuals have been subjugated, such individuals’ creators and destinies, too have been manipulated to benefit or enrich another group of people. In the Yorùbá social context, such subdued heads have failed their bearers. To avoid this, Yorùbás believe that every individual should regularly reverence and make sacrifices to their *Orí* (*head*).

d. Human Predication of Prestigious Animals, Useful Objects, Productive Plants and Supernatural Beings

Yorùbás recognise animals and their individual physical and behavioural characteristics in their cosmological world. Therefore, through their close contact and keen observation of the animals domestically or in the wild, they create different perceptions of attitude, experiences or dispositions

about themselves, using animal metaphors. Examples of such metaphors from the selected panegyrics are in

Text 5: *Pinísín lomo o erin ti n f'olá á yagi . . . /Bí wọn ò bá m'erin se wọn ò gb'óhùn erin ni? (The offspring of (the) elephant that usually tears down trees with gaiety at babyhood . . . /If they don't know the elephant, don't they hear its trumpeting?)* for promotion of honour, self-gratification and incitation of fear and intimidation about a human entity, using **animal (elephant) metaphor**.

In the case of objects, there are metaphors like omo wáará léyìn orùn (*a necklace of children*) as a source of wealth in **Text 2**, Pándukú/Bèmbé (*Kettledrum*) to incite trepidation in **Text 4**, Òkò (*Stone*) for being irresistible and brutal in warfare in **Text 6** and Ìkóókòótó (*A deadfall*) for tactical and enduring attributes in **Text 8**.

Since the Yorùbá nation in southwest Nigeria is located in a forest region with medicinal plants of tropical varieties, the people have rich flora experiences and, at will, associate themselves with the principal timbers as well as varieties of vegetables from the people's worldview in their conversations. Some plant-related metaphors are consequently found in the selected panegyrics under study. For instance, Ikàn (*tiiri*)/(stringy) Garden egg is exploited to prove the invulnerability of the fortified Old Òyó Empire in **Text 7**.

Incidentally, many Yorùbás are aware of the uniqueness of the ideologies in the panegyrics of the Yorùbá ethnic groups. The knowledge a member of each group has about the group's panegyric consequently affords such a member a high level of boldness, ascendancy and sense of belonging when reciting the panegyric, as he or she arrogates the unique features in the panegyric to himself or herself. Other people who also have shared knowledge about the ideologies usually praise members of the ethnic groups, regardless of their class – high or low –, using their panegyric to influence the recipients' actions to their favour.

Findings

This study has examined metaphor as an ideological conveying process in panegyrics from the perspective of Ifè and Òyó (Yorùbá) ethnic groups. Consequently, the following findings are established.

- i. Metaphor is employed in the panegyrics to convey ideological messages through a process through emotional descriptions, perception of attitudes and dispositions about individuals which are symbolically portrayed, using accessible vivid images and symbols like ornaments, terror, head, kettledrum, elephant, stone garden egg and deadfall.

- ii. The cultural and historical contexts that inform the use of metaphor in Yorùbá (Ifè and Òyó) panegyrics include:
 - a. **creation myths** (as in *Ifè o'ṅdáyé, ibi ojúmó ti mó wá/Ifè, the place of creation; the daybreak point*).
 - b. **kingship and kingdoms** (for example, *Aláàfin . . . *Páńdukú mì gboro tìtì/Aláàfin . . . *The kettledrum that makes the city streets vibrate vehemently*).
 - c. **divinity of man** (like *analogising Ori/the Head to the Creator*) and **human predication of prestigious animals, useful objects, productive plants and supernatural beings** (as in “. . . *omọ ọ *erin/. . . The offspring of the *elephant*”).
- iii. The effectiveness of metaphor as a tool for ideological conveyance in Yorùbá (Ifè and Òyó) panegyrics for language, power and cultural expression is reflected in the following functions:
 - a. a means of achieving “new” realities that reflect the intended messages in the world view of Yorùbás. Such “new” realities are *intimidation, self-gratification, extensive display of wealth, social dominance and ascendancy, horror, etc.*
 - b. a container for achieving critical ends like *threat (in Text 1)*.
- iv. This research also discovers that metaphors in Yorùbá panegyrics relate with the Yorùbá social practices through maintenance, sustenance and transfer of social realities and values of the people from one generation to another.
- v. The study finds that Yorùbás maintain unequal power relation through metaphors in their panegyrics in the aspects of
 - a. deification of Yorùbá traditional rulers to project and create awareness about the rulers as individuals who presumably operate on a supernatural and immortal plane like demigods in order to reflect reverence and class difference between them and the ruled as in *A kì í r'óba fín lálède Òyó; Aláàfin . . . *Páńdukú mì gboro tìtì; . . . *Bèmbé ń ró léhìn àgbàrà/The monarch must not be dishonoured in the city of Òyó; Aláàfin . . . *The kettledrum that makes the city streets vibrate vehemently/. . . *Kettledrum is earsplitting behind the stockade*. Therefore, the honour that is due to the *Aláàfin* – who is projected in the form of a *kettledrum* that causes *the city streets to vibrate vehemently* – is not negotiable.
 - b. intimidation upon which individuals or groups of individuals are conferred with great symbolic effects of extreme bravery, wildness, fearsomeness, beauty, intelligence, emotional descriptions, general works of nature or sets of human imagery; and legendary humans, using *Èrù jẹ̀jẹ̀ (a dreadful terror), erin (an elephant), Òkò (a stone)* and so on.

Conclusion

This research has studied the relationship between critical discourse analysis and the exploitation of metaphors in Yorùbá panegyric recitations in southwest Nigeria. According to the findings of the study panegyric is used as a constant flow of discourse to achieve the provocation of awe and manipulation of thoughts, behaviour and action. Ifè and Òyó (Yorùbá) panegyrics are systematically constructed to reflect the people's ideological views, emotional descriptions and perceptions about individuals and phenomena. Through the use of metaphors, the panegyrics provide the powerless with opportunities to subtly challenge unequal power relations in social practices. Panegyrics have been instrumental in upholding, challenging and transferring social realities from one generation to another. However, the culture of panegyric is facing the threat of extinction due to the influence of modernisation, western culture and the lack of government policies to promote indigenous languages and their values in Nigeria. To sustain the culture, the study recommends that Yorùbá parents use the language at home, incorporate family panegyrics to positively influence children's behavior and the government make Yorùbá a compulsory subject in schools. Additionally, corporate organisations and individuals are encouraged to sponsor programmes that promote the panegyric recitation culture.

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