Jèdì Ò M’Akòwé (Hemorrhoid Respects Not Even the Educated Elite): A Sociolinguistic-Stylistic Analysis of the Language of Yorùbá Herbal Medicine Practitioners

Adésolá Olátéjú
University of Ìbadán, Ìbadán, Nigeria

1. Introduction

The Yorùbá traditional medicine practitioners deserve a scholarly attention for three reasons: their depth and dexterity of language use, their popularity among the people, and their relevance to the contemporary Yorùbá society as alternative health service providers. The prohibitive cost and declining potency of western drugs in the treatment of certain life threatening ailments have made herbal medicine a popular and essential part of our healthcare delivery system. While advertising their wares, the local herb dealers, through deft linguistic manipulations, tell people about the various health conditions that their local herbs can effectively control. They also tell people that serious ailments such as hypertension Òjè riá́ù, diabetes ̀àgbé, cancer jẹ̀jẹ̀lẹ̀ etc. are associated with affluence, while the less deadly ailments (low erection ̀dàkọ̀lẹ̀, venereal diseases ̀àtọ̀ṣí etc.) are common among the sexually incontinent. For hemorrhoid jèdị̀jèdị, it affects the rich and the poor alike. Hence, the stock expression jèdị̀ ọ̀ m’Akòwé¹ “hemorrhoid does not respect even the educated elite” by which they are known and identified. The happy news, they will impress on their audience, is that the medicines are potent and affordable.

The prohibitive cost of western drugs and their seeming declining potency have sensitized people to seek alternative therapy in the treatment of the above-mentioned health conditions. Today, a large number of hitherto obscure local herb dealers throng the major streets, road junctions, and market centers in big Yorùbá cities like Lagos, Ibadan etc. hawking their wares with microphones in their hands and loud speakers mounted on top of their cars. They are now very popular and constitute an essential part of our healthcare delivery system.

This paper therefore, attempts documentation and characterization of the language style employed in advertising Yoruba herbal medicines. The objective is to determine the kind of language used in hawking local herbs, whether the standard language (SL) or the literary language (LL). The paper also highlights the stylistic and communicative effects of the linguistic strategies, rhetorical devices, oral materials, and other pragmatic techniques employed in advertising/hawking Yoruba local medicines. The paper adopts sociolinguistic and stylistic methods for its analysis and interpretation.

¹ Jèdịjèdị is the Yorùbá word for hemorrhoid/ pile

2. Methodology

Locating the yorùbá herbal medicine hawkers is often problematic because they are itinerant hawkers. Their activity is also nocturnal, from around 8.00 pm to near mid-night. The reason is that nobody wants to associate or identify with them because of the absolute vulgarity of their language. Most of the buyers therefore, hide under the cover of darkness to make a purchase.

The data used for this study was recorded over a period of six months as efforts to get them sometimes proved futile. Armed with a portable tape recorder, I have had to set out many times at night, driving around the city of Ibadan looking for them. As soon as one was found, I would hang out at some reasonable distance away from him to avoid causing him unnecessary distraction or embarrassment, and then set my recorder at work. Many of them were recorded in Ibadan, Lagos, Òyò, Àgò-Iwòyè and other places whenever I travelled out of my base, Ibadan.

The data was then transcribed, collated and subjected to critical evaluation in terms of their material content and language style. Our evaluation of the data showed that virtually all of them hawk the same wares, with similar language patterns and advertising strategies. Some variations were however noticed in the variety of the Yorùbá dialects spoken by the hawkers. This depended on the dialect area or region a particular hawker came from. Nevertheless, we assume that whatever we say about one is true of the others. However, our illustrative examples were eclectically selected in order to present a fair representation of the hawkers.

3. Analysis

Petty trading is a fashionable economic activity among women in the traditional Yorùbá society. This, any way, is in addition to their motherly role and domestic responsibilities. A few of the items traded in include local foods- raw and cooked, and daily needs. These items are advertised through hawking, an indigenous form of advertising which Ọṣùndáre (2002) describes as ̀Ipolówó. Just like the modern forms of advertising on the electronic, print and other media, the essence of ̀Ipolówó (advertising) is to bring commodities being advertised to the consciousness and reach of the consumers. Through the instrumentality of language, the indigenous hawker goes around the neighborhood on foot, in the mornings and evenings, using affective language to tell how affordable, good, and nourishing (if it is food) her wares are. To her, advertisement is the medicine for business and language is its hallmark.

Unlike petty trading which is female dominated, Hawking of herbal medicines is a predominantly male activity. Coming from the same traditional background as the female petty traders, the Yorùbá herbal medicine hawker also regards advertising as very crucial to the survival of his trade, and language a critical part thereof. It is for this reason that he heavily decks his language with many traditional/oral materials, stylistic, rhetorical and other devices in order to strike the right cord in the buyers. These devices are here discussed.

3.1. Traditional/Oral Materials

The traditional oral materials usually employed include songs, proverbs, praise poetry (oríkì) and incantations (ọfọ). Most of the herbal medicine hawkers recorded would naturally start and possibly, end the day with songs. Songs, (Olùkọjú 1978) maintains, naturally have inherent beauty and therapeutic appeal. With a song such as below, the hawker announces his presence as well as the various medicines he has for sale.

Akerékorọ ti dé o
Akerékorọ té è le è mọ ré è o
Té è le è mọ...
Here is the Ake Ake /ch152:0133+6103  
O Te Te /ch152:0133+6103  
O Te Te /ch96:0130+6658  
The sentence pattern of O Yoruba poetic form that is “cultic and mythical in expectations” (O Oluánjí 1984:139, Ilesanmí 2004). The above sentences which have Adverbial + ní +Verb Phrase structure are positive assertions that express the usualness and the timeless truth of actions predicated of the subjects (the horse’s penis, wall-peg, he-goat) mentioned in the excerpt. This expression proves the efficacy of his medicine in curing poor erectile or dysfunctional conditions in male. Though Vulgar, an average Yoruba person is conversant with the social and magical realities of incantation, the belief is that the herbal preparation will cure an erectile problem.

One thing that is amazing about the herbal medicine dealer is his fantastic knowledge of the various health conditions for which he claims to have herbal remedies. In his description of the ailments and will cure an erectile problem.

A good illustrative example is Alhaji Bábá, a herbal seller’s cognomen, a description of himself as:

Émi Àlààjì Bábá, Alala-kù-lala; Èggë- pön- pön- pön

I, Alhaji ‘the Father’, The-sex-maniac; One-with-an-intricate-sexual-power.

The above is Alhaji Bábá’s cognomen. It also serves as his business or trade slogan. Here is another catch phrase:

Òògùn Àlààjì Bábá, Alala-kù-lala

The medicine of Alhaji the ‘Father’, The-sex-maniac
The descriptive epithets- Alala-ka-ìlala and Egere- pòn- pòn- pòn which are idiophones and features of Yoruba praise poetry express the sexual prowess and vibrancy of the herbal practitioner. This strategy convinces his customers that his medicines will work fine for them the way it has done for him.

In the expressions below, which are nominalizations, users of his pile medicines are described as having a superb energy as far as sexual ability is concerned. For instance, the medicine will empower them and become:

\[ \text{Ó-gbórí - ìyá- taka -sọmọ} \]

\[ \text{Ó-wà-lórí-ọmọ-wọ́yá-mọjó- mọjó} \]

Similarly, a woman that suffers from leucorrhea is derisively described in nominalization as:

\[ \text{Ọko-đúró-gba-nńkan-rẹ} \]
Husband-stop-and take-back-your-thing.

This nominalization describes a health condition whereby the vaginal of a woman throws back the sperm after having an intercourse. Sometimes, the medicines are described as:

\[ \text{Akéré-kòrò} \text{ (literal: small and bitter): to mean ‘small and strong/poignant’}. \]
\[ \text{Abijà-wara} \text{ (one-that-fights-instantly): to mean ‘a quick-action medicine’} \]

Through nominalizations\(^2\) such as the above, the hawker conveys the inherent therapeutic effects of the medicine.

Proverbs and prayerful expressions constitute parts of the traditional materials the herbal hawker uses in advertising his products. Like a psychologist and counselor, he uses the appropriate material to advise, warn and even pray as a way of attracting buyers. For example, a person who wants to share medicine with another person or beg to have a free share from another person’s purchase is promptly advised with the proverb:

\[ \text{Gbà-mu ọ tan’ba,oko aто́rọje Kan kí tóbi.} \]
The quantity of a medicine received by begging is never enough for a total cure of malaria; the farm of ‘one-who-begs-for-food’ is never big.

Similarly, the ignorant and the stingy are cautioned with this proverb:

\[ \text{Arojú owó kí i sẹsọ, o bẹ́ to dún owó lo pa á.} \]
A stingy person never adorns himself; it takes money to make a tasty soup.

Apart from the proverbs that are already well known, the hawker creates new ones meet the exigency of his needs. Here are examples of such new proverbs:

\[ \text{Bí ẹmì rẹ̀ ọ́ bá bọ̀, o ọ̀ ọ̀ tun ʃoʃọ̀ mí-iìn to tun lèrè.} \]
If you are alive, you can still make it again.

\[ \text{Jàgùdà ọ́ m’Olorun a mà ájí àpò owó kan mèlòmíràn lọwọ́.} \]
A robber who cares not about God could snatch money up to a pound from a person.

\(^2\) Nominalization is a vital linguistic strategy for coining new words in the Yoruba language, and is extensively used in Yoruba praise poetry. See Olatunji (1984) pp.87-90
Proverbs like the above are his creations. They emphasize the need to take good care of one’s health and to note the fact that we make money only when we are alive.

Also in the course of advertising, the herbal dealer employs prayerful expressions such as the one below to appeal to the buyers:

Olorun ma je a sofo emi tomoto mo, ko luko lu o ni ko lu yin
tomoto mo; nitori omo la fi n si ye
May God save our souls, and those of our children; terrible
things/ailments will not hit you, and your siblings. Children are the reason we work.

People are fascinated by prayers; and it is often said that prayers, no matter how little or short, are more desirable than curses. With prayerful expressions such as the above, people patronize him believing that prayers aid potency.

3.2. Stylistic/Rhetorical Devices

The Yoruba practitioner of herbal medicine employs varieties of strategies in hawking his wares. Listing is one of such strategies. This involves compilations of nominals, nominal phrases or sequence of short sentences to indicate varieties of diseases for which he has herbal remedies. Since the advertising is done extemporaneously, his address or speech does not follow a particular order, and does not have the benefit of critical examination or editing which a written speech, poetry, or radio/television advertising has. Here, for example, the list of such diseases/ailments (underlined) seems endless:

Ewe alaboso in tea, fun jedije, ede, eyin ribor, ogba in, abo fun arrant, in
to ma a n oroyam, ait in to n atayawu, atogba ...

Ours is a combination of leaves and herbs for hemorrhoid/pile, back pain, stomach ulcer or for intestinal worms and the stomach that aches and the stomach that pains ...

The herbal practitioner is an itinerant hawker, moving from one town place to another. He tells his audience the towns and cities where he has hawked his medicines to assure them of his popularity and availability at any time and anywhere. Names of such towns and cities (underlined) are listed or compiled thus:

Ee ti ma a salabapade wa kaakiri, boya ngboro ilu Eko,
ingboro ilu Ibadan, nigboro ilu Ilorin, nigboro ilu Ijebu tabi
ngboro ilu Owu ...

You will probably have been seeing us in such places as the city of Lagos, the city of Ibadan, at the city of Ilorin, at the city of Ijebu or the city of Owu ...

Piling up of sequence of sentences is also quite common. In the example below, the problems that any woman with hemorrhoid has to contend with are piled up in a sequence thus:

... o di ko ma a se nkan oshu ko ma a du du, / o di ko ma a se
nkan oshu ko ma a sejọ, / o di ko ma a se nkan oshu ko ma a
rún, / o di ko ma a se nkan oshu ko máa wá daadaa

Four sentences are piled up here.
...her menstrual blood becomes black/ her menstrual blood becomes irregular/ her menstrual blood will begin to smell/her menstrual blood will not flow very well.

The stylistic function of listing/compiling as used here is that it enables the hawker to list or mention almost ad infinitum the varieties of ailments, their symptoms and the medicines that cure them. This padding strategy provides the buyers with comprehensive information about the hawker and his wares.

Repetition is another major device in local herb hawking. It is the most dominant strategy through which most of the other devices are kept alive as the same messages or information are being passed repeatedly. Because of its stylistic significance, patterned repetition, similar to the type characteristic of D.O Fagunwa’s writings (Bamgbọṣe, 1974), forms a significant aspect of the language style of herbal medicine advertising. For example, to show how powerful a particular medicine is, he reels out the multitude of ailments his medicine can cure, using a: {prep (fun) + NP} Structural pattern: e.g.

Ki í sè Ọọgùn iyàgbẹ́ ni tiwa, ó wa- fun jeđiđi, fun ẹyìn ríro, tài fun aràn.
Our medicine is not for running stool; it is for hemorrhoid/pile, for back pain for intestinal worms.

Sometimes, this pattern is varied, using the relative clause pattern: {NP + ì ...} e.g.

... inú tó mā ń rooyà, inú tó ń kùn, inú tó ń kùn, tài ọpá ẹyìn tó ń dùn ni.

...the stomach that pains, the stomach that constipates, the stomach that rumbles or the spinal chord that pains/troubles one.

It also could be in the form of: {bi ...clause} structural pattern:

...bèèyàn bá ń yàgbẹ́ ẹjẹ́, bèèyàn bá ń yàgbẹ́ asúlé, bènu ńdí bá ń tààyàn, bènu ìdì bá ń roòyà.

...if a person has traces of blood in the stool, if a person stools repeatedly, if the anus becomes burning, if the anus becomes painful.

Here, the hawker piles up bí ...clauses to show the different ways in which jeđiđi (hemorrhoid/pile) manifests in a victim. His knowledge of the various manifestations of the disease as displayed above instills confidence in the buyers and thereby encouraging them to give the medicine a trial.

The use of expressive imagery through repetition also forms part of the language style of herbal medicine advertising. Rather than use a direct expression, he prefers an expressive imagery. For instance, the idea that a medicine is not restricted to any particular group of people is expressed thus:

Ọmọdé n lọ ó, ọgbà n lọ ó, Obìnrin n lọ ó, Ojùnrin n lọ ó.

The young use it, the elderly use, women use, and men use it.

Here, the different categories of people that can use the medicine are itemized for emphasis by piling up sentences having the habitual structural pattern:

NP ìN (H.T.M) VP.

The simple message is that there is no restriction as the medicines are for people of all ages and sexes.

At times in addition, the repetition is stylized in form of permutation. The items or nominals being repeated are permuted within the sentence structure as in the example below:
Here, a man's erectile problem is expressed euphemistically as "for a man and a woman to sleep together, only for the man's thing to droop when..."

Ours (medicine) is made from leaves and herbs; herbs and leaves that we are very sure of.

Here, the ingredients used in the preparation of his medicines, leaves (ewé) and herbs (egbò) are permuted, not for symmetry alone, but to show that his medicines are original herbal preparations.

Below is another instance of a stylized repetition in which idiophones are permuted to give sound effect to the expression of farting as a symptom of hemorrhoid:

Ewé àtegbò ni tiwa, egbó òtewé, to dájú pónnble

The anus will be making a kind of staccato noise, sounding ceaselessly.

Repetition, as Olatunji (1984:25) observes, is emphasis, and a feature of poetry. This being the case, the use of repetition is maximized in herbal medicine advertising to emphasize and intensify the subject matter of advertisement. Besides, whatever stylistic or poetic effect the language of local herb advertising has is indeed attributable to the stylized pattern of its language, repetition especially. The hyperbolic nature of the language of herbal medicine advertising must be pointed out here. The hyperbole lies in the multiplicity of ailments his medicine can purportedly cure because of its powers, which are unlimited. Likewise, the very many symptomatic manifestations of hemorrhoid are inexhaustible. This is one of the ploys to trap an unwary buyer.

The hawker of Yorùbá herbal medicine is naturally a humorist, and through this, he draws attention to himself and his herbal wares. One of the sources of humor in herbal medicine advertising is taboo, especially those that relate to sex. Taboo refers to the social custom whereby direct references to certain objects, actions or persons are forbidden. Rather, people talk about such things in a roundabout manner or euphemism. The herbal hawker sometimes keeps to this cultural norm, for example, the man’s genitals (penis) is euphemistically referred to as nikan olómókùnrin (a-thing-of-the-man), a woman’s private part (vaginal) as nikan olómòbírin (a –thing-of-the-woman) or ojú ara (lit: the-eye–of-the-body). Euphemism is a source of humor in herbal advertising as evident in the example below where the hawker euphemistically expresses sex and sexuality thus:

Kí tokoʃtayà ó sùn pọ, kí nìkan olómókùnrin dòrikóò, ìbèpè tó pọn sì wà nítòsi.

For a man and a woman to sleep together, only for the man’s thing to droop when actually there is a ripe pawpaw close by.

Here, a man’s erectile problem is expressed euphemistically as dòrikóò (drop-head-down) and a woman’s availability for coitus is described as ìbèpè tó pọn (a ripe pawpaw) that is ready to be eaten. All this produces comic effects.

Instances also abound when the hawker throws caution to the wind, breaching the norms at will and lapsing into obscenity. Today, vulgarity is a hallmark of his language. For instance, apart from making direct references to man’s genitals and woman’s private part repeatedly in the course of advertising, sexual acts are flagrantly expressed without any reservation:

Omojé ni lo ògùn wa, agbèlagba n ìọ̀ ò. Egboògi Alhají Baba to dájú,

Alála-ku-lála, Òdumáre jẹ o rèníkan ku lepón. Òkì-ọjìjì, ègèẹ̀-pónn-póò. O o ré i ti kíi olómókùnrin rè o mà a yó òdò, òdò. O o ré i ti kíi olómókùnrin rè o mà a se bìrìpàpà, bìrìpàpà. Ìwò òlómókùnrin, o o gbó́n dí i óbìrin rùkè -wùkè. O o ya kàfinìlà mò́wàwó è ìwọ́, o o mà a kàń àn gbón-ọ̀n, gbón-ọ̀n; o o mà a gbó “mo ti dáke bùródá ‘Joñùn pè è rí níkan lò lòniì ?”
The young use our medicines, likewise the elderly. The herbal medicines of the Alhaji Baba, strong and potent; may God provide for you someone to have sex with. Thrusting it so hard and suddenly. You will notice the-man’s thing rising (the pant); the man’s thing will be whirling and whirling, and whirling. You will shake the woman’s buttock vigorously. You will thus become a carpenter on your wife, you will then continue to strike her; striking her very hard. You will then hear her gasping for breadth, then simmering down. You will then hear her say, “I am quiet, brother; have you used something to enhance your performance today?”

The above, though an extreme instance of profanity, so obscene; but his audience seem to enjoy it, chuckling at the vulgarity as they walk along. Some people who are dissatisfied with the taboo call him names: raw, stupid, crude, rubbish and similar expressions to castigate him. Fakayé (2004) contends that people can be quite hypocritical about sex. In her study of sex and sexuality in Túbosón Òlândapo’s poetry, she claims that sex is always an interesting topic people enjoy listening to, but which they are not prepared to talk about except in the privacy of their room, obviously because of its personal nature. The local herb hawk therefore, becomes the conduit pipe through which obscenities are expressed. As morally offensive as it is, it serves as a veritable source of humor, (sexual humor) in herbal medicine advertising.

Simile is another source of humor. It is usually drawn from various facets of life and is mostly used in drawing up images and imageries of Jedijeji and its debilitating effects on humans. For example, the smell of the farting of a woman suffering from irregular menstruation as a result of hemorrhoid is compared to the smell of a dead dog (ọ nrun bí ọkú aja) or the water from the burnt skin of a dead cow (ọ nrun bí Omi pọmọ). A hemorrhoid-free woman is sexually active, and the twitching of her fingers in sexual excitement during intercourse is compared to when a sharp blade has just slashed through her fingers (yo o ma a jọka bí igbà ti bìêeëdi bà bu ú lọwọ).

One unique thing about similes in herbal medicine advertising is the use of verbal idiophones to create vivid imageries. For example, the sound produced by the fart of a person infected by hemorrhoid is compared to the menacing sound of Sunny Ade’s guitar (ọ n dun tun-un tun-un bí jìta Sunny Adé). It is also likened to the staccato sound of Kollington’s bá Fuji drum (ọ n dun pàta poto, poto pata bí igbà í Kollington bás n lu bata). The anus of a hemorrhoid victim makes a noise that is compared to the noise made when a tailor tears a cloth into two pieces (dun pre-e-e-e-e-e-e-re, bí igbà ti telọ ba faṣọya). A woman that has hemorrhoid/pile also suffers from leucorrhea (eda) which causes the man’s sperm to be thrown back after intercourse. The way the man’s sperm is melted and thrown back in such a circumstance is compared to the rapid melting of a candle light (Ghogbo mmkan olomokunrin yoo ma a yo greeeere re bí ina abẹlaj). Apart from creating vivid images and imageries, the verbal idiophones add to the intensity of sound and vision. This is in addition to their comic effects.

Another way in which humor is achieved is mimicry. In the example below for instance, the hawker equates the intensity of farting of a jedijeji victim to what happens in a mosque or church:

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3 Sunday Adeníyi a.k.a. Sunny Ade is a popular Nigerian Juju musician. He is a highly reputed guitarist.

4 Kolawólé Àýíná a.k.a. Kollington is a reputed Nigerian Fuji musician, reputed for the use of the báá drum in his Fuji music.
Bełomirán bá dé Mošalăși, Asálatu kan, iso kan; salamọ kan isọ mejig. O ma a gbo: Álau mo n sei; paa-a; Álau mo -n-mo di; pu-ú; Láhi lái ada pu uu!

Some fellows when they get to the mosque, it is one shout of Ash-alait, one farting; two Ash-alaitis, two fartings. Láhi láaa, puuuuh!

In the church as well, the intensity of farting of a jëdijëdị victim is equated to shouts of Halleluiah:

Bełomirán bá dénú sóssi lojó Sannđe, Aleluya repẹte, iso repẹte. Sàamù kan, iso kan. Sàamù méji, isọ méji. O ó ma a gbo: “mo wá wá; pr-re rrrrrrrrrrrr-ẹ; agbañčele ẹ; pra-rrrrrrrrrrrr-ra

Some fellows when they get to the church on Sunday, it is plenty Halleluiah, plenty of fartings. Then you will hear: I did come– prẹ-rrrrrrrrrrrr, all your expectations - Pr-rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr-ra

The mimetic representation, through idiophones, paints a graphic imagery of the shame a victim or sufferer of jëdijëdị faces in a public place such as the mosque or the church. The description is pejorative, and intended to call the attention of his audience to the need to cure themselves of all symptoms of hemorrhoid. The solution cannot be far fetched; it lies in buying his herbal medicine for total cure.

Code mixing is another source of humor, and is described by Web and Kembo-Sure (2000:91-92) as “the alternating use of two or more languages within the same conversation... by a bilingual speaker”. The hawkers code-mixes the English language, Yorùbá and Pidgin, like in this example:

Bełomirán bá òdọ̀ iyawọ̀ ẹ, ọjìbọ́ ní ó ma a só bi ọpẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ, “are you there? Dysentery dey worry me kẹ”

Some fellow when he gets to his wife, all he does is speak English like the ọpẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ, (the pepper-eating bird); “are you there? Dysentery dey worry me, of course”.

This example, no doubt, is a tacit reference to the educated elite. Jëdijëdị is said to be a respecter of no one irrespective of age, sex, social class or status. The main target of herbal medicine advertising, more than anyone else, perhaps is the educated elite (the Alikọwọ). He eats candies and a lot of sugar in his tea and is therefore, likely to be the greatest victim. Hence, the advertising slogan Jëdijëdị o m’Ako is a pragmatic approach to woo him, albeit, a caution, before jëdijëdị sniffs the best out of him.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we made an attempt to describe and characterize the language style of the Yorùbá herbal medicine practitioners. We were able to establish that the language style of the Yorùbá herbal advertising consists mainly in the use of stylistic and rhetorical devices such as repetition, simile, idiophone, euphemism, taboo expressions and code-mixing. These are complemented by traditional oral materials like song, Yoruba praise poetry (oríkì), incantation (ọfọ), and proverbs. Through these devices, the hawkers emphasized and intensified the subject-matter of his advertising, conjuring appropriate images and imageries considered expedient for the promotion of his trade/business.

As to the type of language used, whether the standard language (SL) or the literary/poetic language, (LL), the study discovered that the language of local herb advertising remains very close to the
language of everyday usage. As Olateju (1998) contends, a differentia specifica exists between the SL and the LL. While the essence of SL lies in effective communication, the essence of LL is aesthetics. In other to communicate effectively therefore, with the prospective buyers of his product, the local herb hawker has always tried to strike a critical balance in his use of language. Hence, he has tried to avoid such devices as idioms, metaphors and other linguistic manipulations that push communication to the background, or that such devices have been sparingly used.

The paper noted that the language of herbal advertising though manifests a heavy presence of poetic features, it is still not appropriate to describe it as poetry because it is not. Contrary to the opinion held in earlier studies, the paper concluded that the Yoruba local medicine practitioner is not a poet but a language artist of a sort who decks his advertising with many poetic devices that give impetus, vivid imagery, and communicative effects to language, which is considered the sole of his business.

References
