

CHAPTER 7

Hate Speech Between the Yorùbá and its Neighbours: An Exposition of Inter-Tribal Yoruba Proverbs

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Abstract

The thrust of this work is to examine the role of oral literature, most especially proverbs in the dissemination and propagation of hate speech among ethnic tribes in Nigeria. The aim of this study is to highlight the root causes of hate speech among ethnic groups using oral data sources. The theoretical framework for this research is the theory of sociology of literature and the model adopted under this theory is the mirror image approach. Data for this research were gathered from primary sources which include traditional chiefs, religious leaders, artisans and government workers in Ilorin and Malete, both in Kwara State and Ibadan in Oyo State, Nigeria; and secondary sources such as published texts on Yoruba proverbs. Through this work, it has been discovered

that the primary causes of Yoruba's proverbial hate speech are inter-tribal rivalry, historical animosity, farmers-herders clashes, climate change and environmental degradation, and majority cum minority tribes discourse. It was also discovered that hate speech in Nigeria could be classified into traditional and modern hate speech, while oral-sourced hate speech is traditional hate speech, and online and social media-sourced hate speech is modern hate speech. Evidence of this is obvious in that Yoruba people have different names, that is, exonyms which are termed derogatory by the speakers of these languages. For example, the Hausa are known as Gambari, Fulani as Àdàlò, Ogu as Egun, Ebira as Igbara, Nupe as Tapa, and the Ijaw as Òkòlò. In conclusion, it is discovered that social media is not the architect of hate speeches among rival tribes in Nigeria; it is just an amplifier as evidence from oral sources shows that hate speech is as old as human existence.

Key Words- Proverb; Inter-tribal; Yoruba; Hate-speech; Ethnonym

Introduction

Yoruba is one of the three major linguistic groups in Nigeria, the other two being Igbo and Hausa. It has been observed by scholars such as Olaniyi (2007) and Adeleke (2020) that the relationship between Yoruba people and other ethnic groups in Nigeria predates the coming of the Portuguese explorers and the British colonialists. There are justifications of early connection and relationship between Yoruba people and other ethnicities in Nigeria such as Nupe, Jukun, Benin, Itsekiri, Olukumi, and Igala. Some ethnic groups such as Bini, Itsekiri, Olukumi and Igala share historical affinities with Yoruba race. Olaniyi (2007, p. 204) gives credence to this assertion when he explains that:

From the earliest dawn of its history, Yorubaland was a scene of cultural pluralism and diversity. The annals of Yoruba history are not without some record of early connections with other groups such as Benin, Igala, Jukun, Nupe, Borgu, Kanuri and Hausa. Oral traditions connected Yoruba with these groups.

This researcher observes that through social contacts which include enslavement, colonialism, trade, religion, etc., two languages that are not genetically or typologically related can have some form of commonality and relationship.

The researcher's choice of data gathering mechanism is Yoruba proverbs and proverbial expressions that are related to the hate speech of different tribes in Nigeria. This is because though research works abound on Yoruba proverbs as well as on hate speech, little or no work, to the best of this researcher's knowledge, has been carried out on Yorùbá proverbs.

Literature Review

Yoruba proverbs have been used to examine gender and gender perspectives in Yoruba people's politics and governance, justice and the judicial system, conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms etc. Rattray in Hamzat (2011, p. 178) explains that:

Proverb encapsulates the worldview of a people and serves as a means of arousing, defining, manifesting and establishing the expectations and consciousness of a people. It consists of people's thought which are

expressed in words and are expected to be recognized at once as something which they know very well and which all their instinct, their thoughts and tradition tell them to be true to their own nature.

Otukoko (2023, p.1) explains the importance of using oral source data such as proverbs, most especially in African societies. He explains that “such forms of oral literature such as songs (Orin), proverbs (Òwe), praise names (Oriki) and poems (Àròfò) have, therefore, become part and parcel of traditional sources of history”.

The research findings of Ezinwa and Independence (2022) show that the primary sources of hate speech in Nigeria are tribal and political rivalries. They assert that “findings indicated that hate speeches in Nigeria were usually a product of ethnic, political and religious divides. However, ethnic and political differences were found to be the dominant instigators of hate speech in the country”.

This researcher observes that the focus of many researchers of hate speech is on online hate speech with little attention paid to oral arts as sources of hate speech through which inter-tribal hate speech can be analysed. Adeleke (2020, p. 10) calls the attention of researchers to the presence of hate speech in African societies, long before the arrival of the Europeans. He asserts that:

The occurrence of hate speech has always been with us.
They (researchers) may wish to look into the plethora of
Yoruba indigenous sayings, which may constitute hate

speech. The most serious issue is that many individuals from different ethnic groups use hate speech without knowing that they flourish in it. Hate speech occurs in every domain of human endeavour.

The aim of this researcher is to explore Yoruba proverbs to analyse hate speech among ethnic groups in Nigeria to fill an existing gap in research as most data for research on hate speech in Nigeria has been sourced from social media platforms, radio, television and newspaper sources, with little to no research relying on oral sources, most especially proverbs as the source of data.

Research Methodology

The data for this research work were gathered through direct and indirect sources. Indirect sources include proverbs gathered through the audio-visual such as Yoruba home videos and recorded conversations from selected radio stations in Ilorin and Ibadan. Direct sources include conversations with native speakers of Yoruba language in Ilorin and Maletè (Ibadan) in Kwara and Oyo States respectively, Nigeria. Furthermore, relevant texts on Yoruba proverbs were consulted for data gathering. Examples of such books are Delano's (1983) *Òwè Lẹ̀şin Ọ̀rọ̀ Yoruba Proverbs - Their Meaning and Usage*; Owomoyela's (2006) *Yoruba Proverbs*, and Olaoye's (2012) *Principles and Concepts of Yoruba Language and 1,122 Yorùbá proverbs*.

Theoretical Framework

The theory adopted for this work is sociological theory of literature. Adeyemi (2006) explains that the theory of sociology is a combination of two distinct disciplines - sociology and literature. While sociology entails what concern man and his environment, literature, on the other hand, is used to educate and entertain man about his society.

Proponents of this theory opine that literature mirrors what is happening in the society. Ògúnsínà (2006, p.112) explains the connection between literature and society when he asserts that “Literature is part and product of society and its nature is essentially social. It has no independence from man. For it is produced by people living together, it is a structure of words and ideas which are shared and understood by the members of a community”.

What this means is that literature in its entirety is about man concerning his society. Proponents of this theory believe that literature mirrors what occurs in society; for this reason, Ògúnlólá (2014) buttresses this point when he opines that “the theory (sociology of literature) postulates that there is a very close link between literature and society. It is, therefore, essential to have a deep knowledge of the social life, economy, history and the entire lifestyle of a society to fully understand society”.

Data Presentation

Twenty Yoruba proverbs that relate to Agatu, Ebara, Fulani, Hausa, Ijaw, Nupe and Ogu ethnic groups which, according to this researcher, can be linked or classified as hate speech or hate expressions will be presented for analysis using

the Mirror Image Approach of sociology of literature theory. Yorùba proverbs to be examined are:

SN	Proverb	Meaning	Affected Tribe
i	<i>Kí Gàmbàrí tó ó ru náṃò dé ilẹ̀ yì; ẹ̀ran ni àwọn babańlá wa fi ń jẹun.</i>	‘before the Hausa man brought beef to our shore, our forefathers have been eating meat’	Hausa
ii	<i>A ní ki Gàmbàrí tàkìtì ó ní ilẹ̀ le; ẹ̀ a fẹ̀ kó tàtáyè tẹ̀lẹ̀ ni?</i>	‘A Hausa man is asked to summersault and he is complaining that the ground is hard, who cares if he survives’	Hausa
iii	<i>Gàmbàrí jẹ̀ díẹ̀ lóbi kẹ́yín tó pón.</i>	‘Hausa man has eaten a lot of Kolanut before his teeth becomes brownish in colour’	Hausa
iv	<i>Ibi tí Gambari ti ń jẹ̀ obì bọ̀ kó</i>	‘The Hausa man has been eating	Hausa

	tó pòn léyín ònà jìn	kolanut for a long time before his teeth becomes brownish”.	
v	Ìran Hausa ní í jẹ gòrò; eyín a pòn kankan	‘it is the lineage of the Hausa that eats kolanut; their teeth are disgustingly red’	Hausa
vi	Kàkà ká dọ̀bálẹ̀ fún Gàmbàrí; ká rọ̀jú ká kú	‘rather than prostrate in obeisance to a Hausa person; one should rather die’	Hausa
vii	Gàmbàrí ò ní pé òun ò ta Mápó; Ọmọ Olúyọ̀lé ni ò ní gbà	An Hausa man will not hesitate to sell the Mapo hall; It is the offsprings of Oluyole that will not allow him.	Hausa
viii	<i>È ní bá gbóúnjẹ lówó Fúlàní; ni yóó pe màálù ní bọ̀dá.</i>	‘it is only an individual that is	Fulani

		being fed by the Fulani that will call their cow an elder brother’	
ix	Màlùù tó jẹ èbù ló ní ká na Fúlàní ní pàtiẹ	‘the cow that ate yam seedlings is the cause for whipping the Fulbe man’	Fulani
x	Irinwo eḡon, egbèrún iwo, ogún Fúlàní, ogòji bàtà; Ògídíolú ò wẹ̀yìn tó fi le Àdàlọ lùgbé.	‘Four hundred buffaloes, eight hundred horns, twenty Fulbe men, and forty shoes. Ogidiolu did not look back until he had chased them into the bush’.	Fulani
xi.	Gàm̀bàrí pa Fúlàní kò lẹ̀jọ́ nínú	‘That a Hausa man kills a Fulani man should not bring any rancour or	Hausa/ Fulani

		argument’.	
xii	Ìlù kan ò tó Ègùn jó sí; bí a bá lu ilù fun a máa lu àyà	‘one drum is not enough for an Ègùn person to dance; if one drums for him, he too will be playing a rhythm on his chest’	Ogu
xiii	Bí o kò bá gbó Ègùn; o kò gbó wọyọwọyọ?	‘if you do not understand Egun language; do you not recognize signs that someone is speaking?’	Ogu
xiv	Òrẹhìn ní n ẹ ọmọ òkú pẹlé; ta ní jẹ ẹ ọmọ Ègùn lóore?	‘it is people that remember the past that usually help children of the deceased; who will help the child of an Egun person’	Ogu

xv	Mótò pa èyàn méje àti Ègùn kan	‘the car killed six people and one Egun person’	Ogu
xvi	Ta ní mọ̀ Òkòlò l’Óyòó; àfi ijó tó tiná bolé?	‘Who knows Òkòlò in the city of Oyó until the day he committed arson?’	Ijaw
xvii	Ọlórún ló gbé Ìgbìrà gẹ̀sin.	‘It was God that placed an Ebira man on a horse’	Ebira
xviii	Èmi ò ní kí Ìgbìrà ó má sun rárà; kó sá má ti ki ìran mi	‘I do not object to the Ebira chanting a <i>rara</i> song; so long he does eulogized my lineage’	Ebira
ixx	Àyè gba Tápa ó fẹ́ kólé Ìgunnu	‘This Nupe man is fully settled, he wants to build a house for his Igunnu masquerade’	Nupe

xx	Agatu <i>jẹun tán; ó su sága</i>	‘Agatu man defecates on the chair he ate on’	Agatu
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A. Yoruba Proverbs on Hate Speech Related to Hausa

Yoruba people of Western Nigeria and Hausa ethnic group of Northern Nigeria form two of the three major linguistic groups and languages in Nigeria, the other being Igbo. According to Olaniyi (2007) “for Yoruba and Hausa, the colonial segregation was ineffective due to historical relations that had existed between the two groups for no less than five hundred years before British rule”.

Yoruba people use two exonyms for Hausa tribe which are Hausa and Gambari. Some of the Yoruba proverbs that can be linked to Hausa ethnic group about hate speech include:

(i). *Ki Gàmbàrì tó ó ru námò dé ilẹ̀ yìí; ẹ̀ran ni àwọn babańlá wa fi ń jẹun*
 ‘(before the Hausa man brought beef to our shore, our forefathers have been eating meat)

From this proverb, it can be deduced that the genesis of hate speech and verbal conflict between Yoruba and Hausa people of northern Nigeria can be traced to the incursion of cattle herders to Yoruba communities who are predominantly farmers. It shows lack of want for the northern cattle as well as a declaration of self-sustenance in meat production before the migration of the Hausa people down south.

(ii). *A ní ki Gàmbàrì tàkìtì ó ní ilè le; ɣé a fẹ́ kó tàtayè tẹ̀lẹ̀ ní?* (A Hausa man is asked to summersault, and he is complaining that the ground is hard; who cares if he survives?)

This proverb highlights the level of mistrust and lack of empathy that exists among rival and competing tribes in Nigeria. It also reveals the historical source of the of togetherness among the ethnic groups in Nigeria. In addition to this, this proverb shows that there is lack of sense of loyalty to Nigeria but to each tribe.

iii a. *Gàmbàrì jẹ́ díẹ̀ lóbi kẹ́yín tó pón.* (A Hausa man has eaten a lot of Kolanut before his teeth turn brownish.)

b. *Ìran Hausa ní í jẹ́ górò; eyín a pón Kankan.* (It is the lineage of the Hausa that eats kola nut; their teeth disgustingly red)

These proverbs reveal that Yoruba people view themselves as a group of people with a high sense of cleanliness, while they view Hausa people as a group of people that revels in uncleanness and unhealthiness, which is highlighted in the proverb through their lack of proper care for their mouth and teeth. It is a proverb used to denigrate and show that Hausa people in general are unhygienic and difficult to live with.

iv. *Kàkà ká dọ̀bálẹ̀ fún Gàmbàrì; ká rọ̀jú ká kú* (rather than prostrate in obeisance to a Hausa person; one should rather die)

This proverb shows the presence of competition among the ethnic groups in Nigeria where one group sees itself as superior and will never bow to another indigenous tribe.

v. *Gàm̀bàrí ò ní pé òun ò ta M̀pó; Omọ Olúyòlé ni ò ní gbà* (A Hausa man will not hesitate to sell the Mapo hall; It is the offspring's of Oluyole that will not allow him.)

This proverb shows Hausa people aggressive migrants who will not hesitate to sell or take over the birthrights of their host communities. The Mapo hall in this proverb depicts the land of Ibadan people which the Hausa-Fulani tribe wanted to take forcefully during Osogbo (1843) war as well as the Jalumi war, but was overpowered and prevented by Oluyole descendant warlords such as Oderinlo and Ajayi Ogboriefon.

B. Fulani

Fulani is a group of people whose main profession is animal/cattle rearing and can be found in many West African countries. Adam and Hollis (1987) in Cingel and Weinoh (2024) explain that:

The Fulani, also known as the “Pulo”, “Fula”, and “Fulbe”, is an ethnic group in the Sahara, the Sahel and West Africa; they are widely dispersed across the region. The Fulani Ethnic group inhabits many countries – Nigeria, Cameroon, Central Africa, Sudan, Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, Niger, Guinea Bissau, among many others.

This researcher has observed that there is evidence of inter-ethnic rivalry between Yoruba people and Fulani. As a mirror through which one can view the past (history) and forecast the future, Yoruba proverbs serve as an instrument through which Yoruba-Fulani relationship can be viewed. Examples of such proverbs are:

(i). *È ní bá gboúnjẹ lówó Fúlàní; ni yóó pe màálù ní bódá.* (It is only an individual that is been fed by the Fulani that will call their cow brother.)

This proverb shows the indigenous traditional profession of the two tribes, that is Yoruba and Fulani. While traditional Yoruba is an agrarian society known for farming, the Fulanis are predominantly known for nomadic animal husbandry. It is observed that conflict of interest between the Yorubas who are predominantly farmers and the Fulanis who are traditionally herders usually leads to community unrest and verbal assault (hate speech).

This researcher observes that one of the ways to eradicate this age-long verbal and physical assault among Yoruba farmers and Fulani herders is for the government at both national and sub-national levels to control the movement of cattle by stationing herders in a particular place and ban open grazing.

iii. *Irinwo efòn, egbèrún iwo, ogún Fúlàní, òjì bàtà; Ògídiolú ò wèyìn tó fì le Àdàlọ lùgbé.* (Four hundred buffaloes, eight hundred horns, twenty Fulbe men, and forty shoes. Ogidiolu did not look back until he had chased them into the bush.)

This proverb shows that one of the sources of hate speech between Yoruba tribe and their Fulani counterpart is the inter-tribal wars that occurred between the

two armies which led to the destruction of Oyo Katunga (old Oyo) and the sacking of many Yoruba towns and cities.

C. Ogu

The Ogu people are a minority group indigenous to Lagos and Ogun States of South-western Nigeria. Asiwaju (1979) in Senayon (2025, p.60) explains that “Ogu speakers in Nigeria are located around Badagry Local Government Area of Lagos State as well as the Ado-Igbesa and Ipokia districts of Egbado South Local Government Area of Ogun State”. The Ogu people are referred to as Egun by their Yoruba neighbours. Ayanlowo and Ayanlowo (2022, p.19) give credence to this assertion when they opine that:

The Egun people are migrants from Dahomey, present-day Republic of Benin. Egun is a distinct ethnic group that occupies 15% of the Lagos State population. They are a sub-ethnic group of Egun-speaking people of the Republic of Benin. The homestead of the Egun in Nigeria: Badagry, shares a common boundary with the Republic of Benin.

This researcher observes that being a minority group surrounded by Yoruba people, Yoruba make use of proverbs to denigrate, discriminate and project the Ogu people as a group of uncivilized, uncultured and uncouth people. Examples of Yoruba derogatory proverbs that can be linked to the Ogu people include:

i. Ilù kan ò tó Ègùn jó sí; bí a bá lu ilù fun a máa lu àyà. (A drum is not enough for an Ègùn person to dance; if one drum for him, he too will be playing a rhythm on his chest.)

ii. Bí o kò bá gbó Ègùn; o kò gbó woyòwòyò? (If you do not understand the Egun language; do you not recognize signs that someone is speaking?)

These proverbs show disrespect for the Ogu people who, according to this proverb, are seen as an inferior language in comparison to Yoruba language.

iii. Òrèhìn ní n se omọ òkú pèlẹ́; ta ní jé se omọ Ègùn lóore? (It is people that remember the past that usually help children of the deceased; who will help the child of an Egun person.)

iv. Mótò pa èyàn méje àti Ègùn kan. (The car killed six people and one Egun person.)

These Yoruba proverbs portray an Ogu person as an inferior being whose death or destruction does not matter to the society. Furthermore, this researcher observed that discrimination against Ogu people of Nigeria can also be gleaned from the prism of politics, where they have been schemed out of the politics of the States where they are found.

D. Ijaw

Ijaw ethnic group is one of the minority groups in Nigeria; the people are mainly found in the riverine areas. Ijaw people are indigenous to Bayelsa, Delta,

Rivers, Edo and Ondo States. An example of an Ijaw-related Yoruba proverb that is classified or used as hate speech is:

i. Ta ní mọ̀ Òkòlò l'Óyòò; àfì ijó tó tiná bọ́lé? (Who knows Òkòlò in the city of Oyo until the day he committed arson?)

Owomoyela (2005, p. 87) explains that Okolo is a generic name, an exonym the Oyo-Yoruba people gave to Ijaw riverine dwellers. He explained that “Okolo is not a Yoruba personal name but one used by the ethnic group Ijọ”. This proverb highlights the non-importance the Oyo-Yoruba people attached to the existence of Ijaw people before being labelled as arsonists.

E. Èbìrà

Ebira group of people known as “Ìgbìrà” can be found in the northern parts of the country, most especially in Kogi, Abuja, Edo and Nassarawa States. Aluede and Abdullahi (2024, p. 3) explain the history and origin of Ebira people. They opine that "Ebira" literally means character, integrity and high moral standard. Oral tradition has it that Ebira people’s ancestry can be traced to Wukari (in the present day Taraba State of Nigeria) where they were established as part of the Kwararafa”.

An example of Ebira-related Yoruba proverbs that can be classified as hate speech is explained below:

i. Ọlórún ló gbé Ìgbìrà gẹ̀sin. (It was God that placed an Igbira man on a horse.)

From this proverb, Ebira people are conceived as not being worthy of respect to the extent of being respectfully carried on horseback. Owomoyela (2006, p. 369) explains the condescending view the Yoruba people have of the Igbira, which is

rightly pronounced as “Ebira” when he asserts that “The Yoruba consider Igbira people as bumpkins (a disparaging term for someone who’s unsophisticated and lacks social grace).

ii. Èmi ò ní kí Ìgbìrà ó má sun rárà; kó sá má ti kí ìran mi. (‘I do not object to the Igbira rendering rara song; so long he does eulogize my lineage.)

This proverb also shows the condescending view of Yoruba people about the Ebira ethnic group.

F. Nupe

Nupe kingdom was founded by Tsoede alias Edegi who was born in 1465 according to Yahaya (2003). Yahaya (2003, p. 95) explains the cordial relationship that exists between Yoruba and Nupe people which culminated in a royal union between the tribes. He asserts that “It is established that Oranmiyan, a descendant of Oduduwa, the founder of the Yoruba race, married Elempe, the daughter of the Nupe king. Their son was the powerful thundering Sango”. This researcher observed that despite this cordial relationship, there is evidence of battles that result in hate speech from Yoruba to the Nupes who are referred to as “Tapa” by Yorubas. Examples of such hate speech proverbs include:

i. Àyè gba Tápà ó fẹ́ kòlé Ìgunnu. (The Nupe man is fully settled, he wants to build a house for his Igunnu masquerade.)

This proverb shows the condescending view Yorubas have of a Nupe man. It is evidence from the proverb above that no matter how integrated and assimilated the Nupe people are to the Yoruba tradition and culture, they are still seen as foreigners.

G. Agatu

Agatu tribe is an offshoot of Idoma ethnic group; the people (Agatus) are predominantly farmers. Armstrong (1955, p. x) in Samuel (2015) buttressed this claim when he opines that:

The history of the Agatu-speaking people cannot be told in isolation from the history of the entire Idoma people. Agatu constitutes part of the population of the Idoma ethnic group in Benue state, Nigeria. It shares boundaries with Apa local government area to the south, Guer-west to the east, Nassarawa state to the north and Kogi state to the west.

This researcher observed that there is evidence of hate speech from Yoruba people to the Agatu through the Yoruba proverbial expression below.

i. Agatu jẹun tán; ó su sága. (Agatu man defecates on the chair he ate on.)

This proverb is used to denigrate Agatu people as uncultured folk who literally can be classified as a group of dirty people who, at the surface level, lack proper hygiene. The proverb can also be analysed to mean a group of people who do not show appreciation for the hospitality of their host.

Findings

It has been discovered through this research that Yoruba people, most especially the Oyo-Yoruba group, have different exonyms for some tribes, different from what the groups use for themselves and. These exonyms are seen as derogatory and a form of hate speech by the native speakers of these languages.

Examples of such exonyms are Tapa for Nupe people, Gambari for Hausa people, Òkòlò for Ijaw, Igbira for Ebira people, “Àdàlọ” which depicts their nomadic of moving from one place to another for the Fulani tribe, È̀gun for Ogu people.

It is also discovered that the genesis of hate speech-related proverbs between Yoruba and other tribes are varied. They include inter-tribal wars, historical animosity and climate-induced crises such as Yoruba farmers and Fulani herders clash.

Yorùbá proverbs on hate speech for tribes such as Ijaw, Ebira, Agatu and Ogu can be traced to the concept of majority and minority tribal concepts in Nigeria. Shehu et al. (2017, p.17) give credence to this assertion when they examine the socio-political relationship between the majority and minority tribes in Nigeria. They assert that “the minority ethnic groups are and also regard themselves as despised, resented and inferior by and before the majority ethnic groups”.

Conclusion

This researcher notes that one of the ways to eradicate hate speech in our society is through public enlightenment. This is because many people use hate

speech, most especially oral arts related hate speech such as proverbs without knowing. Adeleke (2020, p.11) buttresses this opinion when he explains that “the most serious issue is that many individuals from different ethnic groups use hate speech without knowing that they flourish in it”.

I also discovered that popular sayings that promote rather than denigrate other ethnic groups can help promote peaceful co-existence and serve as non-kinetic approach to resolve insecurity in Nigeria. Examples of such include “*Òpá kan ṣoṣo ni Fulani fi ñ da igba màlúù*”, that is, “a Fulani herder uses only one staff to control and herd multiple cows”. This proverb shows the dexterity and knowledge of Fulani people in the business of animal husbandry. Other expressions such as “*ó mọ́ bíi Fulani*” that is ‘he/she is clean and beautiful like a Fulani’ shows a positive comparison.

Other evidence that buttress this claims are complete adaptation of Hausa proverbs. This include “*Ganni ya Fiji (Ìròyìn ò tó àfojúbà)* that is ‘seeing is believing’. This proverb is a complete adaptation of a proverb that is borrowed from Hausa language into Yoruba language. This shows that not only do Yoruba borrow words from Hausa language; proverbs are also borrowed and adapted from Hausa language to Yoruba language. This evidence shows a deep relationship between Yorùbá and Hausa peoples. Another proverb that falls into this category is “*sarkin goma; zamani goma*” (*oba méréwàá igbà méréwàá ló nílé ayé*), that is, ‘ten kings ten eras’. This proverb shows that power is temporary and change is constant in life.

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