THE BASIC CLAUSE OF YORÙBÁ-ÌYÀGBÀDIALECT OF KOGI STATE, NIGERIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

The basic clause is the minimal grammatical expression that comprises the Complementiser Phrase (CP), Tense Phrase (TP) and Verb Phrase (VP). Previous studies concentrated on aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Ìyàgbà dialect without exploring the interaction and interrelationship among the core clausal constituents which are germane and crucial in sentence formation. The study was, therefore, designed to investigate the core clausal elements of Ìyàgbà dialect of Yorùbá with a view to describing how they are woven together to derive convergent sentences.

Chomsky's Minimalist Program and Rizzi's Split-CP hypothesis were adopted as the framework. The ethnographic design was used. Ten resident native speakers of Ìyàgbà were purposively selected for interview from Ìyàgbà East Local Government Area of Kogi State, Nigeria, where Ìyàgbà is predominantly spoken; two each, from Ìsánlú-Ìtẹ̀dó, Ìsánlú-Mọpọ̀, Ìsánlú-Màkùtù, Ìdọ̀fin and Ìjowà. Data comprised folklores (proverbs and folksongs), structured interview guided by Ìbàdàn 400 Wordlist and Ìbàbàn Syntactic Paradigm. Data were subjected to interlinear glossing and syntactic analyses.

The lexical VP is derived by recursive merging of Verb (V) and V-bar ($V^{\smile}$) with the indirect and direct objects respectively. The VP merges with the light v-bar ($v^{\smile}$) triggering the adjunction of lexical V. The external argument merges with $v^{\smile}$to receive theta role of AGENT. The light verb Phrase (vP) merges with the higher light $v^{\smile}$whose light v attracts object Determiner Phrase (DP) to its specifier for the valuation of phi-features. The TP hosts Tense (T) which has future and covert non-future markers for both [±NEG] constructions. The basic future markers are *á* for negative [+NEG], *à* for positive [-NEG]. The T attracts thematic subject to its specifier for the valuation of phi-features and the fulfillment of the Extended Projection Principle. The CP comprises the Finiteness Phrase (FinP), Focus Phrase (FocP), Topic Phrase (TopP) and Force Phrase (ForceP). The FinPc-commands weak TP of infinitival clause. The DP subject of non-finite T values its Case either by overt Complementiser-head *hún (to*) and *wún (*to/for) or by the higher light v. The FocP presents new information. Its markers include *kí* for non-TP*, mọ̀ for* TP, and covert for Wh-Phrase. The ForceP is the clausal mood domain comprising interrogative, imperative and declarative sentence-types. The interrogative items are *lé, lé hí*, DP *hí* (who) [+Human], *kí,* DP *hí* (what/which) [-Human ±Abstract], *Èhí/ìhí*, DP *hí* (where/which)[-Human +Location], DP *hí* (how many) [-Human +Count]. The covert marker of each interrogative item triggers its movement to the specifier of its phrase. The indirect imperative markers are *kí/jẹ́* (let). The markers of the direct imperative and the declarative sentences are however, covert.

In Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect, for clauses to converge, the tripartite layers of the Verb Phrase, Tense Phrase and Complementiser Phrase are strung together for thematic and temporal structures, valuation of features, scope discourse semantics and clause typing operations. The hierarchical order of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà basic clause is proposed as ForceP/InterP>FocP >Emph>(TopP) >FinP>NegP>TP/AspP>vP>VP to reflect the displacement of categories.

Keywords: Light verb Phrase, Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect, Ìyàgbà basic clause, Phi-features

Word count: 486

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Sunday ADÉJÙBẸ́Ẹ̀ with Matric No.: 77281 in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria under my supervision.

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the triune God,
the giver of all good and heavenly gifts
from whom there is no shadow of turning.
All honour and glory be unto Him.

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> My heart rejoices in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord… I rejoicein thy salvation, there is none holy as the Lord, for there is none beside thee neither is there any rock like our God…talk no more so exceedingly proudly; let no arrogancy come out of your mouth: for the Lord is a God of knowledge (1 Samuel 2:1-3).

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Adéjùbẹ́ẹ̀, S.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG LONG PRN	1st Person Singular Long Pronoun
1PL LONG PRN	1st Person Plural Long Pronoun
1SG	1st Person Singular Short Pronoun
1PL	1st Person Plural Short Pronoun
2PL LONG PRN	2nd Person Plural Long Pronoun
2PL	2nd Person Plural Short Pronoun
2SG LONG PRN	2nd Person Singular Long Pronoun
2SG	2nd Person Singular Short Pronoun
3PL LONG PRN	3rd Person Plural Long Pronoun
3PL	3rd Person Short Plural Pronoun
3SG LONG PRN	3rd Person Singular Long Pronoun
3SG	3rd Person Short Singular Pronoun
A-bar/A^{l}Position	Argument Bar Position – the position where Case is not valued
Adj	Adjective
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
AgrO	Object Agreement
AgrS	Subject Agreement
AgrSP	Agreement Subject Phrase
AP	Articulatory Perceptual System
A-Position	Argument Position
Agr	Agreement
ASAP	As soon as possible
Asp	Aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
Aux	Auxiliary
CFC	Core Functional Category
CI	Conceptual Intentional System
C-layer	Complementiser layer
COMP/C	Complementiser
CONT	Continuous aspect

CP	Complementiser Phrase
C-System	Complementiser System
CV	Syllabic structure constituted with C and V
CY	Central Yorùbá
D-Effects	Discourse Effects
Decl	Declarative Clause
DO	Direct Object
DP	Determiner Phrase
D-Structure	Deep Structure
EC	Economy Principle
EF	Edge Feature
EmphP	Emphatic Phrase
EMPH	Emphatic Marker
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
EST	Extended Standard Theory
EXCL	Exclamatory Marker
Fin	Finiteness
FinP	Finiteness Phrase
Foc	Focus Head
FOC	Focus Marker
FocP	Focus Phrase
Force	Force Head
ForceP	Force Phrase
FUT	Future Tense Marker
GB	Government and Binding
GG	Generative Grammar
GT	Government Theory
H	Head
HMC	Head Movement Constraint
HTS	High Tone Syllable
I-layer	Inflectional layer
INTER	Interrogative Marker

IMP	Imperative Marker
IND IMP	Indirect imperative marker
ImpP	Imperative Phrase
IO	Indirect Object
IP	Inflectional Phrase
I-System	Inflectional System
IV	Interrogative Verb
LF	Logical Form
MC	Matrix Clause
MLC	Minimal Link Condition
MOD	Modifier
Move-α	Move Alpha
MP	Minimalist Program
MSC	Masculine
N(um)	Number
NAK	Northern Akoko
NEG	Negative Marker
NegP	Negative Phrase
NEY	North Eastern Yoruba
NON-FUT	Non-future marker
NP	Noun Phrase
Spec, TP	Subject of a sentence/clause
NWY	North Western Yoruba
Ɵ-role	Theta – Role
Per	Person
P	Preposition
Past	Past tense
PF	Phonetic Form
PISH	Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis
PolitenessP	Politeness Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PPT	Principles and Parameters Theory

Pre IP	Pre inflectional phrase
PRED	Predicate
PSRs	Phrase Structure Rules
RelP	Relative Clause Phrase
RES	Resumptive Pronoun
REST	Revised Extended Standard Theory
RM	Relativised Minimality
S	Sentence
SA	Structural Analysis
SC	Structural Change
SD	Structural Description
SEY	South Eastern Yorùbá
S-H	Specifier – Head
Spec	Specifier
S-Structure	Surface Structure
ST	Standard Theory
SWY	South Western Yorùbá
SY	Standard Yoruba
T	Tense
TGG	Transformational Generative Grammar
Top	Topic
TopP	Topic Phrase
TP	Tense Phrase
TRAH	Theta Role Assignment Hypothesis
TRAP	Theta Role Assignment Principle
UG	Universal Grammar
UTAH	Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis
v	Light/Affixal/Causative/Null verb
V	Verb
V	Vowel
VP	Lexical Verb Phrase
vP	Light/Affixal/Causative/Null/verb Phrase

V-System	Verb System
WCQ	Word Content Question
Wh-Ph	Wh-Phrase
Wh-Q	Wh-Question
WY	Western Yorùbá

CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Basic clause, as a grammatical concept, has been viewed from many perspectives. Some linguists construe it as the fundamental structure for the construction of non-simple sentences. To these proponents, basic clause is analogous to simple sentence (Arẹ̀mọ 1997; Aṣíyánbọlá 2012;Bámgbóṣé 1986a; 1990and Ọdúnṭán 2000) or kernel sentence (Lamidi 2000).

Basic clause is distinguished from other complex and compound clauses by the presence of a finite verb or predicate (Adéwọlé et al 2000; Aziza 2007; Bámgbóṣé 1986a; 1990; Gelderen 2010; Ọdúnṭán 2001;Quirk and Greebaum 2012 and Yusuf2007). The sentence that contains more than a clause will have matrix clause (MC) and subordinate clause. The MC is the superordinate clause and it is co-existensive with the clause in which it is contained (Aarts 2001).

It therefore follows from the foregoing discussion that sentence can be composed of more than one clause. The linguists with this notion posit that the number of verbs in a sentence determines the complexity of the clause. Bámgbóṣé (1986a) further highlights the detail characteristics of the basic clause as shown below:

(i) Presence of a single finite verb
(ii) Presence of other clausal elements like subject, (optional) adverb, adverbial/adjunct or complement
(iii) Expression of affirmation or negation
(iv) Apart from (iii), other clauses derived through the application of the transformational rules are excluded as the possible candidates of basic clause.

In consonance with the above, basic clause is also perceived to be a communicative unit. It is formally defined by the major elements contained in it, such as subject, verb, object, complement and adjunct. The most central and crucial of all the elements is the verb. Clause could be classified on the basis of whether they can stand alone as a sentence or not. A clause that can stand alone as a complete sentence is known as an independent clause while the one that cannot stand alone but marked by a complementiser is known as dependent or subordinate clause (Leech 2006). All the above views can be summarised to imply thatbasic clause consists of a subjet and a finite verb (Radford 2009).

Advances in Chomskyan transformational generative grammar had brought modification to the notion of basic clause from the minimal inflectional phrase (minimal IP) of the Government and Binding (GB) theory to the current Minimalist Program's (MP's) perception of basic clause as an expression that is obligatorily constituted with tripartite layers. Within the purview of MP therefore, basic clause refers to the grammatical expression that comprises the heads of the verb (V), tense (T) and complementiser (C). In the MP model, every sentence is derived through operations Select, Merge, Move and Copy and is constituted with the core functional catgories (CFCs) in conjunction with their exploded projections. Chomsky (2002:12) puts the idea succinctly as shown:

> Clause seems to be of the general form:
> […C… […T… […V…]]], where V is the verbal head of the configurations in which deep semantic roles are assigned, T is the locus of tense and event structure, and C is a kind of force indicator
> (Chomsky 2002:12)

From the minimalist's viewpoint therefore, the lexical and CFCs are the principles or yardsticks of UG for determining the eligibility of any syntactic structure as a basic, principal or independent clause.As a matter of fact, a clause is composed of the functional elements which include: CP-IP-VP(Chomsky 1986; Cinque and Rizzi 2008). The dependent or subordinate clauses that function as modifiers or qualifiers in addition to focus construction as well as other functors are re-analysed as phrasal projections that can attain the status of autonomous maximal projections in a clausal structure. In MP, every category either functional or lexical is capable of a maximal projection. The scope of basic clause as embodied by the Minimalist tradition covers all types of sentences such as simple, declarative, imperative and interrogative clauses (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, 1995b and Marantz 1995:364). In the light of the foregoing, the study investigates the tripartite layers (CP-IP-VP) of the basic clause of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect with a view at describing them and explaining their deployment in the derivation of convergent clauses.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The systematic study of the basic clausal structure of language should be the fundamental concern of linguists. The basic clause, apart from being the fundamental unit of communication, is also an essential yardstick for testing our conceptions of UG and the extent to which it accounts for divergence in languages which is a concept that has

been considered to be one of the most important issues in linguistic theory (Benmamoun 2008:105).

The extant studies in Ìyàgbà dialect paid little attention to the above compelling necessity of examining her basic clause. Àkànbí (1997) for instance explores the phonology of Ìyàgbà dialect while Arókoyọ̀ (2007) does a comparative study of the phonology of Okun[1] sub-ethnic dialect of Yorùbá within the North Eastern Yorùbá dialectal group. Ṣódèindé (1994) investigates the morphology of Ìyàgbà dialectfocusing on the derivation of words and other morphological processes. The aforementioned studies are based on the linguistic interfaces of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect. Further examination of some syntactic studies in the dialect reveals the work of Dosumu (2010) who invesitagates the tense and aspect system of Ìyàgbà dialect. She identifies the functors and classifies them accordingly. Anówó (2014) in her studies investigates some functors in Ìyàgbà dialect such as tense, aspect, focus, negators and interrogators. The study of Anówó (2014) deals with selected functors of inflectional and complementiser's tiers as if they are automous fragments in syntactic structure. Akíntóyè (2014) compares the relative clauses and focus contructions in three dialects of Yorùbá namely: Onàdó, Èkìtì and Ìyàgbà.

The above syntactic studies are fragments of l-layer and C-layer. These studies do not investigate the verb system – which apart from being one of the core clausal constituents, is observed to be obligatory in clause structure. It is also noteworthy that all the aforementioned studies adopted Government and Binding (GB) theory as theoretical framework. This present study adopts MP and Rizzi's split-hypothesis to account for the basic clause of Ìyàgbà. The framework adopted split the composite IP, VP and CP into multiple arrays of projections. The study further accounts for the projection of clausal mood which exerts illocutionary force to different types of sentences as declarative, imperative or interrogative clause.

[1]Okun is a Yorùbá sub-ethnic group comprising the dialects of North Eastern Yorùbá such as Ìyàgbà, Ijùmú, Owé, Bùnú, Ọwọ́rọ̀, Iyàrà etc.

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

This study investigates the basic clause of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà and explicates the structural displacement of the functional and lexical layers in sentence formation. In the pursuance of the above goal, the objectives of the study are to:

(i) describe and explain the Verb layer (V-layer) and its projection in relation to the predication structure and the appropriateness of split-VP in clausal convergence

(ii) describe the tense system, identifyits markers and account for its varying form in both negative and positive constructions within Ìyàgbà clausal structure

(iii) identify and describe the various exploded projections of the CP such as Finiteness Phrase (FinP), Focus Phrase (FocP), Topic Phrase (TopP) and Force Phrase (ForceP) in the pragmatic layer of the basic clause

(iv) describe the basic clause structure of Ìyàgbà dialect.

1.4 Research questions

The study is poised to tackle the following questions:

(i) What and how are the predication structure and the split-VP layer implemented in the basic clause of Ìyàgbà dialect?

(ii) What are the typologies, markers and the different forms of the tense system in both positive and negative constructions?

(iii) What are the exploded arrays of the composite CP at the pre-TP periphery vis-à-vis the FinP, FocP, TopP and ForceP?

(iv) What is the hierarchical clausal structure of the basic clause of Ìyàgbà dialect?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study will essentially contribute to the ongoing discussion on the syntax of Yorùbá using the dialect of Ìyàgbà as a springboard. The question of what constitutes convergent sentence has been approached from the perspectives of many models. This study will further provide an insight into the concept from an MP's perspective.

The study will further shed light on the conceptualisation, determination and the classification of the verbal category in the dialect using the criteria of verbs as licensers of θ-role. This approach filters what the scholars in the broad school of thought include

as verbs. Examples include preverbal and post-verbal elements that perform modifying functions.

The study also places the tense system in proper perspective using both theoretical and internal evidence to explicate the future versus non-future system of tense in the dialect and by extension, SY. The premise of the above position is the comparative analysis of the finite and non-finite tense clauses. This study therefore proves that tense is an attested core functional category(CFC) in the clause of every convergent sentence. This observation differs from that of Oyèláràn (1982) that claims that tense is not a grammatical category of Yorùbá. It also calls for the differentiation of tense from aspect contrary to Bamgboṣe (1986a)

The study contributes to the understanding of the projections of the left peripehery of the clause. It identifies the specifiers of the clause mood of the interrogative, declarative and imperative clauses and how they are computed. The other projections of the decomposed split-CP hypothesis such as Fniteness Phrase (FinP), Focus Phrase (FocP), and Topic Phrase (TopP) are explicated appropriately.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study is on the basic clause of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect. The core lexical and functional categories are systematically explicated to determine how they are strung together, how they interrelate and interplay to achieve convergent sentence. The study takes acomprehensive approach to analysing the tripartite tiers of the clausal structure which are: inflectional, verbal and complementiser layers. Each of the above clausal layers has been decomposed into multiple array of projections. The splitted constituents of each of the layers are identified and described vis-à-vis their deployment in the derivation of convergent clauses.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

TheÌyàgbà speech community is very vast and it is distributed in three local government areas in about 75 towns, villages and hamlets. Scholars like Arókoyọ̀(2007),Otítọ́jù(2002) and informants have observed that there is mutual intelligibility among them, yet, there are slight variations in their speech forms from place to place. To ensure consistency in analysis therefore, the collection and analysis of

data for the study were largelyfrom the Ìsánlú (Ìhánlú) variety of Ìyàgbà in Ìyàgbà East Local Government Area. The choice of Ìsánlú variety is borne out of the fact that Ìsánlú constitutes the nucleus of Ìyàgbà community where the dialect is predominantly spoken. It was the location of the first local government in the community. It is more or less a converging point for all the people of Ìyàgbà.

In addition, Ìsánlú is surrounded by Ìyàgbà speakers thereby preserving their dialects to certain extent, from being influenced by non-ìyàgbà neighbours. These reasons among others inform the choice of Ìsánlú (Ìhànlú) variety of Ìyàgbà.

1.8 The people and their history

Ìyàgbà – a sub-ethnic group of Yorùbá– iscommonly subsumed as part of the Okun people. The word 'Okun' is a form of greeting of the people that are found in the southern axis of Kogi State (Arókoyọ̀2007)which invariably assumes the generic term for describing the Yorùbá descendants. Okun people comprise the indigenes that are located in six Local Government Areas namely: Mọ̀pà-Mùrò, Yàgbà-East, Yàgbà-West, Ìjùmú, Bùnú-Kàbbà and Lọ́kọ́ja (Arókoyọ̀ 2007). Òtítọ́jù (2002) as echoed in Arókoyọ̀(2007) noted that the Okun confederation is the collection of different units with certain degree of autonomy, and differing social organisation though with bonding similarities. Specifically, each group of people has a distinct history of origin andpeculiar experiences.

The people of Ìyàgbà are located in three local governments in the southern axis of Lokoja (Arókoyọ̀ 2007). In Mọ̀pà-Mùrò Local Government Area, the people of Ìyàgbà are found in Mọ̀pà, Ayétẹ́jú, Amùrò, Òrékéré, Èffò, Ayédé, Ìjàgbé, Ayédayọ̀, Okàgì, Ọtagun, Ìlái, Takédé Idẹ, Òkèdìgbà, Odòle among others.

The people of Ìyàgbà are also located in Ìsánlú, Ìlafin, Òdogbè, Ìlọ́tín, Iyè, Bagido, Ìrundá, Ìjọwa, Ìdó-Òjèsà, Òyì, Takété-Ìsàò, Ìmèlà, Ògbómù, Ejìkù, Àgìnmì Òkè, Àgìnmì Odò, Jege, Pọ́nyàn, Ifẹ̀-Olùkọ̀tún, Òranrè, Igbó Ẹ̀rọ̀, Àlù, Igbàgùn among others in Yàgbà-East Local Government Area.

In Yàgbà-West local government area however, the people of Ìyàgbà are also distributed in Odò Èré, Òkè Èré, Ìyàmẹ́rin, Òkèrí, Akata, Ìgbárùkù, Odò Àrà, Òmì, Ọ̀gaà, Ègbẹ̀,Okolókè, Ìsánlú Ẹ̀ṣà, Ògbè-Akata, Ẹ̀gbà-Okeri among others.

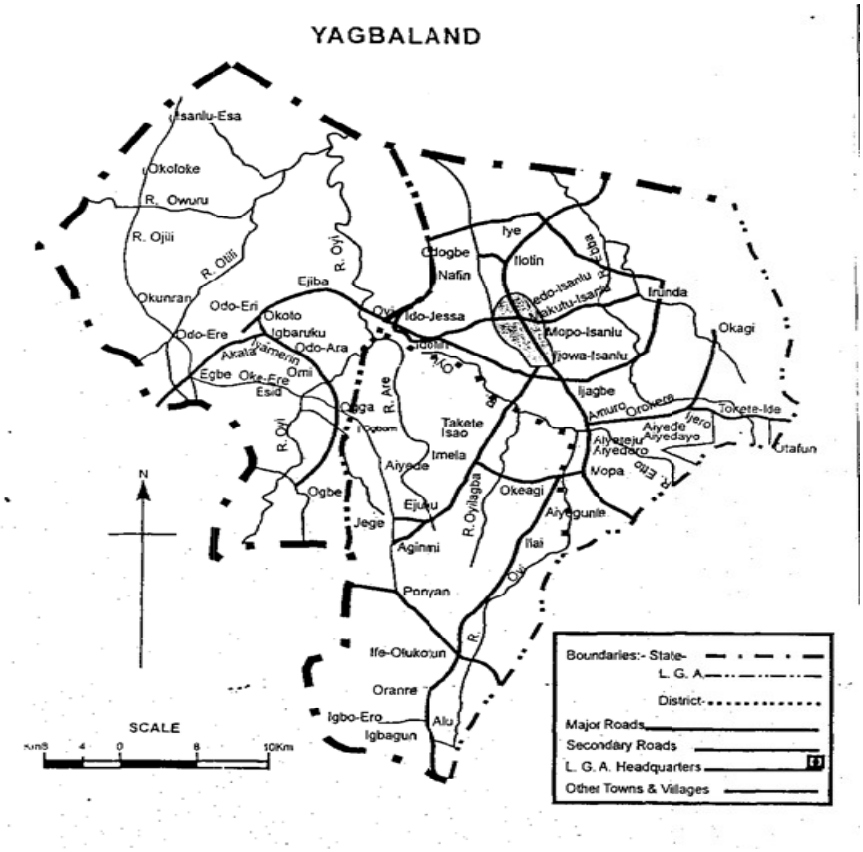


Figure 1.1: The map of Ìyàgbàdialectal areaof Kogi State

Source: Rumide (2005)

The term "Ìyàgbà" owed its derivations to two oral traditions. The most prevalent of the oral traditions revealed that the people of Ìyàgbà,Okojodu, Iléńlá, Okúnràn, Ìsánlú, Odò Èré and others have common origin. The founder of this entire community was a princess called Ìyà Àgbà "Grandmother or aged woman". It was from her name that the name of the community was coined as Ìyàgbà. This woman, in conjunction with her family according to the tradition, migrated from Ilé-Ifẹ̀ to Ìlái near Àwòyọ̀. They later moved to Odò Èrí in Yàgbà-West. It was the children of Ìyà Àgbà that later founded towns and villages in the community.

The second tradition similarly agreed that the people of Ìyàgbà migrated from Ilé-Ifẹ̀ to different locales. Prior to the migration, the migrants were instructed to report at

Ilé-Ifẹ̀ yearly for an annual meeting. The man that led a group of people to a location now known as Ìyàgbà community in KogíState could not report at Ilé-Ifẹ̀ over a long period of time because of the loss of the large portion of his territory to some other migrants. He further disclosed that he suffered the loss because of the absence of elders. In his own word: "Ìyà àgbà ló jẹ mí". Since then, they started mocking him at Ilé-Ifẹ̀ by calling him "Ìyà àgbà" 'suffering for lacking elders'. By and large, this nickname later assumed the name of his community as Ìyàgbà or Yàgbà (Rumide 2005:1-5; Logbaby.com.Okun people.Encyclopedia and History).

1.9 Geography and socio-economic life

The people of Ìyàgbà are distributed in three adjoining local governments of Mòpà-Mùrò, Yàgbà-East, and Yàgbà-West in the southern axis of Kogi State(Arókoyọ̀ 2005). Ìyàgbà native area is situated in the southern part of the guinea savana ecological zone. Like other parts of the middle-belt, it has two distinct seasons namely: the dry and the rainy seasons. The dry season spans from November to April while the rainy season is between May and October. The climatic and soil conditions of the area support "rainfed agriculture". The vegetation of Ìyàgbà includes tall grasses, Ìrókò, agba, locust beans, baobab, obeche, akeaple and mahogany. Tree crops found in the area include cashew, oranges, mangoes, cocoa, kolanut, and coffee (Rumide 2005).

The most predominant occupation of the people is farming. Some of the food crops grown by the people include yam, maize, cassava, guinea corn, vegetable, melon, cowpeas, beans, rice, water yam, groundnut, pineapples, plantains and banana.Other allied activities engaged in by the members of the community include hunting, trading, fishing, processing of the agricultural products, like rice milling, saw milling, garri processing among others.

The most predominant religion that has the highest population of adherents is Christianity. Islam and traditional religions are also practised by the people (Rumide 2005; Brochure, Yàgbà West)

1.10 Linguistic classification of Ìyàgbà

Ìyàgbà is a dialect of Yorùbáthat shares the genetic feature of Yorùbá. Expectedly, Ìyàgbà belongs to the family of Benue- Congo, a sub-group of Niger-Congo phylum

(Bendol 1989 and Dosunmu 2010).The linguistic classification of Ìyàgbà as a dialect of Yorùbá has been documented in literature as far back as 1854 by Kpelle in his classic: Polyglotta Africana. Kpelle classified the languages of Igala and Aku (i.e. Yorùbá) into group c. The dialects of Aku in group c include: Ẹ̀gbá, Idṣẹ̀sa or Igeṣa (i.e. Ìjẹ̀ṣà), Yorùbá (Ọ̀yọ́, Òǵbómọ̀ṣọ́, Yàgbà, Dsumu or Idṣẹ̀bu (i.e. Ìjẹ̀bú), Ifẹ̀, Oǹdó and Dṣẹakin (i.e. Itṣẹ̀kírì).

The linguistic insight of Kpelle in recognising the identified dialects of Yorùbá is commendable. He however failed to further sub-classify the dialects into subgroups as done by linguists[2] thereafter. We know better now that Ìyàgbà and Ìjùmù cannot be classified into the same subgroup with Ọ̀yọ́ and Òǵbómòṣọ́. In addition, the people of Ìlaró are not Ẹ̀gbá but Yewa.

Omamor (1976) compared some Yorùbá dialects with Itṣẹ̀kiri and Edo dialects. The list of her Yorùbá dialects include Ìjẹ̀bú, Ìfàkì, Ọ̀bà, Oǹdó, Ìkálẹ̀, Ìjẹ̀ṣà, Ùkàrẹ́, Ìrùn, Tṣ́ábẹ̀, Ìjùmú, Gbẹ̀dẹ̀, Yàgbà, Ikírì, and Ifẹ̀. She employed both lexico-statistic and grammatical features in the comparisons. She discovered that there is a very close relationship between Ìtṣẹ̀kírì and Ìkálẹ̀. It is noteworthy that she too recognisesÌyàgbà as a dialect of Yorùbá.

The first study that classifies the dialect of Ìyàgbà appropriately is Akínkùgbé (1976, 1978). He adopts the linguistic criterion solely to classify the dialect of Yorùbá in Nigeria and those in the neighbouring West African countries like Togo and Benin into six dialectal groups as shown:

(1a) North-Western Yorùbá (NWY): This dialectal group comprises Ọ̀yọ́, Ẹ̀gbá (e.g. Abẹ́òkúta, Ìlaró) and Ọ̀ṣun (e.g. Òṣogbo, Òǵbómọ̀ṣọ́, Ẹdẹ) areas.

(b) South-Eastern Yorùbá (SEY) is another dialectal subgroup. It comprises Ìkálẹ̀, Ìlàjẹ, Ìjọ́ – Àpọ̀ì and Ìjẹ̀bú.

(c) The Central Yorùbá is the third group. It consists of Ifẹ̀, Èkìtì and Ìjẹ̀ṣà.

(d) Norh-Eastern Yorùbá (NEY) constitutes another sub-group. It comprises Yàgbà, Gbẹ̀dẹ, Ijùmú, and Ikírì.

[2] See Adétùgbọ́'s (1967) classification of Yorùbá dialects into North Western Yorùbá; Central Yorùbá and South Eastern Yorùbá. Akínkúgbé (1978) further added North Eastern Yorùbá, Northern Akoko and South Western Yorùbá.

(e) Northern Akoko. The only example of this subclass is Ùkàrẹ́.

(f) South Western Yorùbá (SWY) comprises the dialects in this group are spoken in the neighbouring countries. They are Ifẹ̀ (Togo), and Tsabẹ (Benin).

The first three dialectal sub-groups above are in tandem with the classification of Adétùgbọ́ (1967). Adétùgbọ́'s classification[3] excludes the NEYwhere Ìyàgbà and others are classified. Akínkùgbé (1976) therefore, is the first linguist to classify Ìyàgbà dialect appropriately as the sub-dialect of NEY.

Oyèláràn (1978) classifies the dialects of Yorùbá into the following groups:

(2a) Western Yorùbá (WY)

(i) Ọ̀yọ́, Ìbàdàn, Ẹ̀gbá, Ohori-Ifohin,

(ii) Upper Ògùn

(a) Ṣakí, Ijió

(b) Kétu, Ṣábẹ̀ẹ́

(iii) Benin and Togo

Ifẹ̀ Togo, Idaisa, Manigi.

(b) South Eastern Yorùbá (SEY)

(i) Onàdó, Ọ̀wọ̀

(ii) Ìjẹ̀bú

(iii) Ìkálẹ̀, Ìlàjẹ

(c) Central Yorùbá (CY)

Ilé-Ifẹ̀, Ìjẹ̀ṣà, Èkìtì.

(d) North Eastern Yorùbá. (NEY)

(i) Ìgbómìnà, Kàkàndá, Ìgbòlọ́.

(ii) Jùmú, Bùnú, Ọwọ́rọ̀, Ọ̀wọ̀ Ẹ̀gbẹ̀.

As could be clearly seen in Oyèláràn's classification, Ìyàgbà is not specifically listed. The dialects that make up Okun dialect clusters as indicated in (2) above share many similar linguistic features with Ìyàgbà. One may assume that its non-inclusion is an oversight.

Further convincing support for the inclusion of Ìyàgbà in the NEY group is provided by Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀ (2005:30) who adapted the classificatory model of Awóbùlúyì (1998) to categorise the dialects of Yorùbá into five as shown:

[3] A large scale comparison between Adétùgbọ́'s classification and that of Akínkúgbé will not be attempted further. It is expected that Adetùgbọ́ (1967) will not include NEY in his classification because the scope of his research is SWY.

(3a) North Western Yoruba which consists of Èkó, Àwórì, Ẹ̀gbádò, Òǹkò, Ọ̀yọ́, Ọ̀ṣun, Ìbọ̀lọ́, and Ìgbómìnà.

(b) North Eastern Yorùbá which comprises Ìyàgbà, Ìjùmú, Ọ̀wọ́rọ̀, and Owé.

(c) Central Yorùbá which includes Ifẹ̀, Ìjẹ̀ṣà, Èkìtì and Mọ̀bà.

(d) South Eastern Yoruba consisting Ẹ̀gbá, Ìjẹ̀bú, Ìlàjẹ, Ìkálẹ̀, Oǹdó, Ọ̀wọ̀, Ọ̀bà-Ìkàrẹ́, Ào (Ìfira-Ìpèsì-Imerì-Ìdógún-Ìdóàní-Àfò-Ikún).

(e) South Western Yorùbá includes Ṣáàbẹ, Kétu (Ànàgó), and Ifẹ̀ (Togo).

Another inclusion to the dialectal group of SWY is the contribution of Fábùnmi (2006, 2009) who observe the obvious linguistic similarities between Mọ̀fọ̀li and the dialect group of SWY. He advocates the inclusion of Mọ̀fọ̀lí into the SWY. This proposal informs the update shown below:

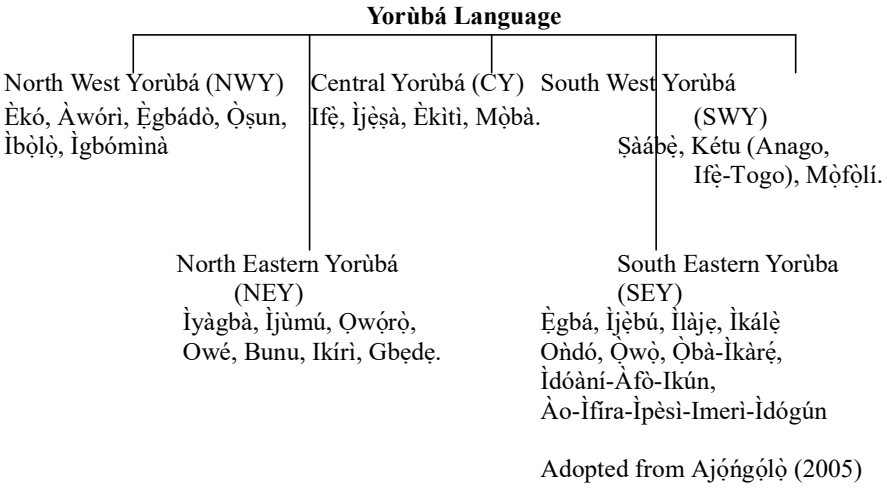


Figure1.2: Dialects of Yorùbá

1.11 The phonology of Ìyàgbà

We shall briefly examine the phonology of Ìyàgbà dialect in this section. We shall discuss the consonant segments, the vocalic segments, the tone system, the syllabic structure and some phonological processes.

1.11.1 **Consonant**

There are twenty-five phonetic consonant sounds in Ìyàgbà. From the above number, six (6) phonetic consonant sounds are allophones while the remaining nineteen (19) consonant sounds are phonemes. Consider the consonant chart below:

Consonant Chart of Ìyàgbà

↓ Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation							
	Bilabial	**Labio-Dental**	**Alveolar**	**Palato-Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Labio-Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosives	b		t d		J –	k g	kp gb	
Nasals	m		n					
Syllabic Nasals	(m)	(ɱ)						
Fricatives		f	s	ʃ		ɣ		h
Approximant								
i. Central			r				w	
ii. Lateral			l		j			
iii. Nasalized			(ř)		(ĵ)		(ŵ)	(ȟ)

Figure 1.3: The consonant chart of Ìyàgbà

Source: Arókoyọ̀(2007)

Note: (i) The allophones are put in parenthesis

(ii) The consonants at the middle or right of the consonant chart are voiced while those at the left hand side are voiceless.

1.11.2 Description of the consonant sounds

Ìyàgbà has eight (8) plosives. The eight plosive sounds are phonemic.

/b/ is [b], a voiced bilabial plosive as in:

/abo/	[abo]	'female'.
/obó/	[obó]	'lie'.
/ɔbɛ/	[ɔbɛ]	'soup/stew'.
/ɔbarũ/	[ɔbarũ]	'tortoise'.

/t/ is [t], a voiceless alveolar stop as in:

/itã/	[itã]	‘story’
/etí/	[etí]	‘ear’
/itɔ́/	[itɔ́]	‘saliva’
/ìtàkṵ̃/	[ìtàkṵ̃]	‘root’
/itabá/	[itabá]	‘tobacco’
/ètìtà/	[ètìtà]	‘rubbish heap/dunghill’
/erukutu/	[erukutu]	‘dust’

/d/ is [d], a voiced alveolar plosive as in:

/adà/	[adà]	‘matchet’
/ɔdṹ/	[ɔdṹ]	‘year’
/de/	[de]	‘arrive’
/dà/	[dà]	‘pour’

/ɟ/ is [ɟ], a voiced palatal stop as in:

/kɔɟá/	[kɔɟá]	‘pass by’
/èɟì/	[èɟì]	‘two’
/èɟe/	[èɟe]	‘seven’
/òɟò/	[òɟò]	‘rain’
/ɔɟa/	[ɔɟa]	‘market’

/k/ is [k], a voiceless velar stop as in:

/òkúta/	[òkúta]	‘stone’
/oko/	[oko]	‘farm’
/okṹkṹ/	[okṹkṹ]	‘darkness’
/akè/	[akè]	‘axe’
/akeke/	[akeke]	‘calabash’

/g/ is [g], a voiced velar stop as in:

/egũgũ/	[egũgũ]	‘bone’
/agèré/	[agèré]	‘pepper’
/ɔ̀gèdè/	[ɔ̀gèdè]	‘banana’
/igi/	[igi]	‘tree’
/irogó/	[irogó]	‘cassava’
/agṵ̃/	[agṵ̃]	‘thorn’

/b/ is [b] a voiced labio-velar plosive as in

/agbɔ̃/	[agbɔ̃]	‘basket’
/àgbɔ̃̀/ [àgbɔ̀]		‘jaw’
/egbò/	[egbò]	‘chin’
/igbó/	[igbó]	‘bush’
/àrṵ̀gɓɛ/	[àrṵ̀gɓɛ]	‘thirst’

/kp/ is [kp] voiceless labio-velar stop as in:

/ekpo/	[ekpo]	‘oil’
/kpukpa/	[kpukpa]	‘red’

/ikpɔ̀nà/ [ikpɔ̀nà] ‘road’
/ijɛ̀kpɛ̀/ [ijɛ̀kpɛ̀] ‘sand’

Nasal consonants: There are two nasal consonants. Each of them is phonemic.
/m/ is [m], a voiced bilabial nasal as in
/imũ/ [imũ] ‘nose’
/ɔmũ/ [ɔmú] ‘breast’
/ɛmu/ [ɛmu] ‘palm wine’
/músṳ̃/ [músṳ̃] ‘cat’
/emirĩ/ [emĭrĩ] ‘mosquito’

/n/ is [n], a voiced alveolar nasal as in
/ana/ [anã] ‘in-law’
/iná/ [iná] ‘fire’
/ɔnikã/ [ɔnĭkã] ‘person’
/inu/ [inũ] ‘stomach

There are four fricatives. Each of them is phonemic.

/f/ is [f], a voiceless labio-dental fricative as in
/afìfì/ [afìfì] ‘smoke’
/ɔfà/ [ɔfà] ‘arrow’
/ɛrɔ̀fɔ̀/ [ɛrɔ̀fɔ̀] ‘mud’
/fifũ/ [fifũ] ‘white’
/fèhì/ [fèhì] ‘reply’
/fɛ́rə̀̃/ [fɛ́rə̀̃] ‘like’

/s/ is [s], a voiceless alveolar fricative as in
/àsìkò/ [àsìkò] ‘season’
/músṳ̃/ [músṳ̃] ‘cat’
/sókùlè/ [sókùlè] ‘defeacate’
/sóle/ [sóle] ‘steal’

/ʃ/ is [ʃ], a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative as in
/aʃɔ/ [aʃɔ] ‘cloth’
/iʃu/ [iʃu] ‘yam’
/ʃére/ [ʃére] ‘run’
/ɛʃĩ/ [ɛʃĭ] ‘horse’

/ɤ/ is [ɤ], a voiced velar fricative as in
/iɤɔ́/ [iɤɔ] ‘tongue’
/ɤə́̃/ [ɤə́̃] ‘catch’
/ɤũ/ [ɤũ] ‘weave (cloth)’
/ìɤə̀̃/ [ìɤə̀̃] ‘2nd and 3rd persons long plural pronouns.
/ɤa/ [ɤa] ‘come’

/h/, a voiceless glottal fricative has two allophones.

[h̄] is a voiceless nasalised glottal fricative occurs before nasal vowels as in:

[h̄ū]	‘sleep’
[ih̄ī]	‘knife’

[h] is a voiceless nasalised glottal fricative which occurs elsewhere as in:

[fèhì]	‘reply’
[hukú]	‘cry’
[hɔnu]	‘lose’

/r/ has two allophones

[ř] a voiced nasalized alveolar (central) approximant which occurs before nasal vowel as in

/irũ/	[iřũ]	‘hair’
/ɔrũ/	[ɔřũ]	‘neck’
/ɛrũkú/	[ɛřũkú]	‘knee’
/ɛrã/	[ɛřã]	‘meat/goat’

[r], a voiced alveolar approximant which occurs elsewhere as in:

/ara/	[ara]	‘body’
/irogó/	[irogó]	‘cassava’
/èérú/	[èérú]	‘ashes’
/ijàrà/	[ijàrà]	‘room’

/l/ is [l], a voiced alveolar approximant as in:

/òkùlè/	[òkùlè]	‘faeces’
/ilá/	[ilá]	‘okra’
/ílɛ̀/	[ílɛ̀]	‘ground’
/ɔpɔ̀lɔ̀/	[ɔpɔ̀lɔ̀]	‘toad’
/le/	[le]	‘hard’
/lágbàrà/	[lágbàrà]	‘strong’

/w/ has two allophones

[w̃], a voiced labio-velar nasalised (central) which occurs after nasal vowel.

[iřw̃ó]	[iřw̃ó]	‘four hundred’

[w], a voiced labio-velar (central) approximant which occurs elsewhere as in:

/iwè/	[iwè]	‘book’
/wú/	[wú]	‘swell’
/wɛ/	[wɛ]	‘wash body’
/babalawó/	[babalawó]	‘doctor (native)/herbalist’
/adùwɛ/	[adùwɛ]	‘fowl’

/j/ has two allophones

[j̃], a voiced palatal (central) approximant nasal which occurs before nasal vowel as in:

/ej̃ĩ/	[ej̃ĩ]	'tooth'
/aj̃ĩ/	[a]	'back'
/ɛj̃ĩ/	[ɛj̃ĩ]	'egg'

[j], a voiced palatal (central) approximant which occurs elsewhere as in

/ijàrà/	[ijàrà]	'room'
/ajé/	[ajé]	'earth'
/ijɛ̀/	[ijɛ̀]	'feather'
/ɛjɛ/	[ɛjɛ]	'bird'
/igũjéjè/	[igũjéjè]	'vulture'
/olojé/	[olojé]	'chief'

1.11.3 **Syllabic Nasals**

/m/ has two allophones.
[ɱ] is a voiced labio-dental nasal occurring before labio-dental sound as in
[ɱ fɛ́ ire ká] 'I want fortune'
[m] is a voiced bilabial nasal occurring elsewhere as in
[orí m] 'my head'
[orombo] 'orange'

1.11.4 Vowels

Ìyàgbà has both the oral and nasal vowels. The oral vowels are seven while the nasal vowels are five as shown in the vowel chart below.

Vowel Chart of Ìyàgbà

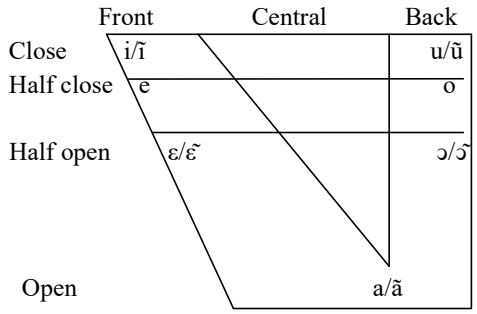


Figure 1.4: Vowel chart of Ìyàgbà

Source: Arókoyọ̀(2007)

1.11.4.1**Oral Vowels**

/i/ is [i], the close front unrounded vowel as in

/irũ/	[iɾ̃ũ]	'hair'
/etí/	[etí]	'ear'

/iwɔ̀/	[iwɔ̀]	‘navel’
/ilá/	[ilá]	‘okra’
/igi/	[igi]	‘tree’

/e/ is [e], the half-close front unrounded vowel as in:

/etí/	[etí]	‘ear’
/eg̀bò/	[eg̀bò]	‘chin’
/egũgũ/	[egũgũ]	‘bone’
/emeje/	[emeje]	‘millet’
/erè/	[erè]	‘beans’

/ɛ/ is [ɛ], the half-open front unrounded vowel as in:

/atɛ́gṹ/	[atɛ́gũ]	‘wind’
/ilɛ̀/	[ilɛ̀]	‘ground’
/ ɛgb̃ɔ̀/	[ɛgb̃ɔ̀]	‘elder’
/ɛ̀ʁɔ/	[ɛ̀ʁɔ]	‘eight’

/a/ is [a], the open front unrounded vowel as in:

/aké/	[aké]	‘axe’
/akeke/	[akeke]	‘calabash’
/adà/	[adà]	‘matchet’
/ijàrà/	[ijàrà]	‘room’

/u/ is [u], the close back rounded vowel as in:

/edùdù/	[edùdù]	‘charcoal’
/àwù/	[àwù]	‘thread’
/èérú/	[èérú]	‘ashes’
/òru/	[òru]	‘night’
/ibàru/	[ibàru]	‘fear’
/ubátã/	[ubátã]	‘relation’

/o/ is [o], half-close back rounded vowel as in:

/okù/	[okù]	‘corpse’
/tutu/	[tutu]	‘cold’
/dúdú/	[dúdú]	‘black’
/lulɛ/	[lulɛ]	‘fall’
/hukṹ/	[hukṹ]	‘cry’

/ɔ/ is [ɔ], half-open back rounded vowel as in:

/fɔ̀/	[fɔ̀]	‘say’
/kɔ̀/	[kɔ̀]	‘refuse’
/hɔ̀nu/	[hɔ̀nu]	‘lose’
/gbɔ̀/	[gbɔ̀]	‘hear’

1.11.4.2 Nasal vowels

/ ĩ / is [ĩ], close front unrounded nasal vowel as in:

/ ìhl̃ì /	[ìh̃ĩ]	‘knife’
/ irĩ /	[irĩ]	‘iron/metal’
/ erĩ /	[erĩ]	‘elephant’

/ ɔ̃ / has two allophones

[ɔ̃], half-open back rounded nasal vowel occurs after labial and vowel sounds as in:

/ hùɔ̃ /	[hùɔ̃]	‘good’
/ ɔmɔ̃ /	[ɔmɔ̃]	‘child’
/ɛ́gb̃ɔ̀/	[ɛ́gb̃ɔ̀]	‘elder’
/ɔgb̃ɔ̀/	[ɔgb̃ɔ̀]	‘thirty’

[ã] half-open back rounded nasal vowel occurs elsewhere as in:

/ìtɔ̀ /	[ìtã̀]	‘story’
/agɔ̀rɔ̀/	[agã́rã́]	‘new’
/rə̀tí/	[rã́ti]	‘remember’
/fɛ́rɔ̀ /	[fɛ́rə̃̀]	‘like’

/ũ/ is [ũ], close back rounded nasal vowel as in:

/o kũ/	[o kũ]	‘hello’
/hukú̃/	[hukú̃]	‘cry’
/mú̃/	[mú̃]	‘give’
/ʁũ/	[ʁũ]	‘weave’

1.11.5Tone system of Ìyàgbà

Tone languages are those that allow change in the meaning of a word by simply changing the pitch at which the word is spoken. The distinctive pitch levels are known as tones (Crystal 1997). Ìyàgbà, like the standard Yorùbá (SY) has three tone levels namely: high: [ˉ], mid: [-] and low: [ˍ] as exemplified below:

(4a) Kọ́	[ˉ]	‘learn’/’build’
(b) Kọ̀	[-]	‘refuse’
(5a) Òjó	[ˍˉ]	‘name of a person’
(b) Òjò	[ˍˍ]	‘rain’
(6a) Ọkọ	[- -]	‘husband’
(b) Ọkọ̀	[- ˍ]	‘vehicle’

In (4), examples (a) and (b) mean different things because of the tonal contrast of high versus low tone. In (5), examples (a) and (b) also manifest tonal contrast in the last syllables which consequently leads to difference in the meaning of the items. In (6),

examples (a) and (b) also demonstrate contrast in the meaning of the utterances as a result of the contrast between the mid and low tones.

However, there are some lexical items that bear similar tones but contrast in meaning. Few examples suffice as shown below:

(7a) oko ‘farm/penis’

(b) igba ‘climbing rope/200’

(c) mú (ghan) ‘show/take’

The semantic ambiguities of the above lexical items could be resolved by resorting to the context of usage for each item.

The three tone levels constitute the three tonemes in Ìyàgbà as exemplified by the data below:

(8) gbẹ́ ‘dig’
gbẹ̄ ‘dry’
gbẹ̀ ‘plant’

The segments that bear tone in the dialect are vowels and syllabic nasals. All the three tones can occur on the vowels or syllabic nasals in any of the word – initial, word-medial or word-final position. Owólabí (2016) observes that apart from the three tonemes above, it is also possible to perceive other tones like low rising tone [∨] and high falling tone [∧] in SY. These tones according to him are allotones.

In Ìyàgbà dialect, these allotones are also attested. The allotones of Ìyàgbà include the following.

(9a) High tone / ˊ / has two allotones:

(a) Low rising tone which occurs after a low tone.

[ɔ̀kɔ́]	[∨]	‘hoe’
[àbúkò]	[∨ \ ]	‘village’

(b) Level high tone which occurs elsewhere.

[inú]	[- /]	‘stomach’
[owó]	[- /]	‘money’
[gbɛ́]	[/]	‘dig’

(10) Low tone | ˋ | has two allotones.

(a) High falling tone which occurs after high tone.

[músṳ̀]	[∧]	‘cat’
[fɛ́rà]	[∧]	‘like’
[rárì]	[∧]	‘laugh’

(b) Level low tone which occurs elsewhere.

[ijà]	[- \ ]	‘fight’
[ɛgbɔ̀]	[- \ ]	‘elderly one’/‘older person’
[ɛɟĩ̀]	[- \ ]	‘blood’

(11) Mid tone / - / has two allotones

(a) Low falling tone which occurs immediately after low tone. The low tone induces the mid tone to assume a lower pitch (Owólabí 1989; 2016).

[èho]	[\ ǀ]	‘seed’
[òru]	[\ ǀ]	‘night’

(b) Level mid tone which occurs elsewhere

[eku]	[- -]	‘rat’
[ebi]	[- -]	‘hunger’
[ijɛ̀]	[- \]	‘feather’

1.11.6 The syllable of Ìyàgbà

The following syllable types are identifiable in the dialect of Ìyàgbà. They are [V]; [CV] and [N].

V is both an oral and nasal vowels. The oral vowels can occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions whereas the nasal vowels can only occur in the word-medial and word-final positions. Occurrence of the nasal vowels in the word-initial position is not permissible unless it is a free morpheme (see 12a).

CV syllabic template combines any consonant with any vowel type as can be witnessed in (13) below:

V

(12a)	ọ́n	‘they’
(b)	ó	‘He/She/It’
(c)	A	‘We’

(13) **CV**

pa	‘extinguish/kill’
rà	‘buy’
tà	‘sell’
kà	‘count’
ran	‘sew’
fún	‘wring’
yàn	‘choose’
pín	‘divide’

	V_1	–	CV_2	
(14a)	è	-	ho	‘seed’
(b)	e	-	bi	‘hunger’
(c)	i	-	yẹ̀	‘feather’

The combination of V and CV yields V_1 CV_2 with the following possible vowel co-occurrence of [-ATR] feature co-occuring freely, and the [+ATR] feature freely co-occuring with themselves. The vowel occurrence pattern appears to divide the vowels into two sets. The two sets are as shown:

(15a) Set I (-ATR)

e o

a

(b) Set II (+ATR)[4]

ẹ ọ

a

From the above, vowels ‘I’ and ‘u’ are excluded from any of the two sets because they violate the rule of mutual exclusiveness of the vowel harmonyrule.

	V_1	-	CV_2	
(15a)	ọ	-	dún	‘year’
(b)	o	-	rin	‘song’
(c)	ẹ	-	hàn	‘nine’
(d)	ì	-	hìn	‘knife’

	V_1	V_2	CV_3	
(16a)	e	é	rú	‘ashes’
(b)	o	ún	jẹ	‘food’

	V_1	CV2	CV3	
(17a)	ọ	kùn	rin	‘man’
(b)	o	bìn	rin	‘woman’
(c)	e	gun	gun	‘bone’
(d)	ò	kù	lè	‘dunghill’

In (12), the syllables are vowels that are either nasal or oral.The VCV syllabic pattern is composed of oral vowel and consonant with either of the two vowel types (see 14) and (15) respectively. In the case of example (16a), the oral vowel occurs word-medially, while the nasal vowels occur word-medially in (16b). The data in (17) has oral vowel at their word-initial positions. One can safely conclude that in V-CV and V-CV-CV syllabic patterns, the initial vowel is always oral.

[4] See Owólabí (2016) and Adéjùbẹ́ẹ̀ and Kammelu (2014) for further explanation on Vowel Harmony System (VHS).

1.11.7 **Deletion in Ìyàgbà**

Deletion is a phonological process whereby there is omission of segments in rapid speech. Bámgbóṣé (1990) identifies two strategies of vowel deletion. In rapid speech, any of the two contiguous vowels can be elided as buttressed with these examples in the dialect as shown below:

18)	irun	àgbọ̀n		irùngbọ̀n	'beard'
	V_1	V_2	→	V_2	
19)	ṣe	iṣẹ́		ṣiṣẹ́	'work'
	V_1	V_2	→	V_1	
	mú	ewó	→	méwó	'take money'
	V_1	V_2	→	V_1	

In (18) above, the second vowel is elided while in (19), the first vowels are omitted. This implies that in vowel deletion, there seems to be no phonological rule restricting the vowel that could be elided in rapid speech.

The first strategy of vowel deletion affects the initial vowel of words as shown below:

(20).	Ìyàgbà	→	Yàgbà	'Name'
	Ìyàrá	→	Yàrá	'room'

Bamgbose, (1990:55) proposes this rule to account for the deletion of any of the contiguous vowels:

$$V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_1 \text{or} V_2$$

Briefly explained, the above rule states that wherever there are two contiguous vowels, one of the vowels which could either be the first or the second vowel could be elided.

Vowel deletion will invariably reduce the syllable of the word structure in view of the fact that contraction which is the corollary consequence of deletion has taken place (Bámgbóṣé 1990).The deletion and contraction of the vowel segments at times affect the speech sounds while the suprasegmental tone feature of the vowel is preserved. This is usually the case whenever the contiguous vowels that undergo deletion and contraction have high and low tones in sequence. The vowel bearing the low tone always elides while its tone is retained. The orthographic representation of the above phonological process (as c reveals) misleads the language learners of Yorùbá in thinking that no deletion and contraction take place as exemplified below:

(21).	Ìsánlú-Yàgbà: (a) ṣú	òkùlè	→	Ṣókùlè	'defeacate'

pass faeces

(b) mú èjì → méjì 'two'
take two

(c) mú ẹ̀wá → mẹ́wàá 'ten'
take ten

The above tonal behaviour known as the assimilated low tone[5] constitutes another knottly puzzle in the phonological study of Yorùbá.

The contraction of vowel segments may result in the realisation of different vowels in Ìyàgbà dialect which as noted by Bámgbóṣé (1986) may not be either of the two original vowels as illustrated with examples below:

(22) Ogójì → 20 x 2 → ogún + èjì 'twenty'
Ọgọ́ta → 20 x 3 → ogún + ẹ̀ta 'sixty'
Ọgọ́rin → 20 x 4 → ogún + ẹ̀rin 'eighty'
Ọgọ́rùn-ún → 20 x 5 → ogún + àrún 'one hundred'

In accounting for the above, linguists take two positions. There is a school of thought which describes the above phonological process as vowel coalescence[6] which is described as the fusion of two vowels resulting into a different vowel. This view is captured with the phonological rule below:

$$V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_3$$

There is another school of thought known as survival[7] view who posits that the emergent vowel is a vestige of the dialects in the SY. This study supports the position of the survival school of thought (see 21) and non-contiguous assimilation (see 22).

1.12 **Summary**

This chapter introduces the topic of the study, the people of Ìyàgbà, their dialect and the sociolinguistic profile of the speech community. Specifically, it presents the geography, the brief history and the socio-economic activities of the people. The people of Iyagba are established to be subclass of Yoruba whose dialectal classification is North Eastern Yoruba (NEY). The phonology and tone system of the dialect is further

[5] Bamgbose (1967;1990) proposes [.] for representing assimilated low tone.
[6] Awóbùlúyì is a leading proponent of this view as against the survival view of Bámgbóṣé (See Awobuluyi, 1983 and Bámgbóṣé 1986b).
[7] See Bámgbóṣé (1986b).

undertaken in view of their interfacial interactions in the determinationof the forms of the functors in the derivation of structure.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Preliminaries

This chapter reviews extant views on verb and its phrase with special emphasis on the thorny issues of verbal conceptualisation, criteria for defining verbs and the classifications of verbs as well as the composition of verb phrase. Furthermore, the tense and aspect system of the inflectional layer and the focus construction of the complementiser layer are also reviewed.

2.1 The conceptual issues in Yorùbá verbs

Yorùbálinguists have expressed concern over the contending issues about the conceptual notion, criteria andclassificationsof the the verbs of the language. Each of the above conceptual issues will be reviewed in turn.

2.2 The issue of the definition of verb

Bámgbóṣé (1972) identifies the most knotty problem in the conceptualisation of verb to be finding most appropriate and sufficiently powerful criterion or set of criteria that will capture all verbs and discriminate against all non-verbs of the language. The consequence of the lack of consensus on the above is lack of uniform definition of the verb of Yorùbá for over a period of 100 years of scholarship in Yorùbá studies (Bámgbóṣé 1972). The perceptions of scholars about verbs could be broadly classified into two groups viz: 'wide' or 'broad[8]' school of thought and 'narrow[9]' school of thought. The broad school of thought accepts any non-nominal item and sometimes auxiliaries as verb or verb phrase whereas the narrow school of thought admits the items that can only occur as predicate in the minimal sentence as verb (Bámgbóṣé 1972).

[8] Bámgbóṣé (1972) identifies the membership of the broad school of thought to include: Abraham (1958; Afọ́láyan 1968; Bámgbóṣe 1966; Bowen 1858; Délànọ̀ 1965; Ọ̀kẹ́ 1969; Rowlands 1969 and Ward 1852). Other scholars that could be added to this list by this researcher include Ọdúńtán (2000) and Yusuf (2000)
[9] The membership of the narrow school of thought is Awóbùlúyì (1967; 1969b; 1972; 1978; 2008; 2013).)

The two schools of thought could not be said to disagree completely about their notions of verbs. The two schools admit that any item that can occur in minimal sentence is a verb. The only area of disagreement is in non-admittance into the class of verbs any item that cannot occur as the singular verb in a minimal sentence by the narrow school of thought. Consider the examples below:

(23a) Mo ra aṣọ funfun
1SG buy cloth white
'I bought white cloth'

(b) Mo fi ọ̀bẹ gé iṣu
1SG with knife cut yam
'I cut the yam with the knife/I used the knife to cut the yam'

(c) ?Mo lo ọ̀bẹ gé iṣu
1SG use knife cut yam
'I used the knife cut yam'

(d) Mo gé iṣu
1SG cut yam
'I cut the yam'

(e)* Mo fi ọbẹ
1SG with knife
*'I with knife/I used knife'

The two schools will admit *rà* 'buy' and *gé* 'cut' as verbs but the narrow school of thought will reject *fi* 'use/with' as verbs. The broad school of thought will in addition, admit *fi* 'with/use' as verb of the language.

This study posits that *fi* 'with' may not be a verb as evident in (23c) where the substitution of *lò* 'use' for *fi* 'with' yields infelicitous utterance. *Fi* 'with' is analysed as verb-like preposition (see p. 80 for elaborate explanation). In analysing this issue, some set of criteria for defining verbs are highlighted as shown:

(24a) occurrence in the minimal clause - ## NP-(NP) ##

(b) topicalisation by reduplication

(c) possibility of interrogation by *kí … ṣe*

(d) possibility of negation with negator – *kọ́* 'no'

(e) possibility of relativisation (after reduplication)

(f) selection of subject

(g) selection of object.

Taking the above criteria into cognisance, the definition of verb is proposed as:

(25) the set of items that substitute for one another in…
the frame ## NP – (NP) ## (Awóbùlúyì 1972)

The diagnostic frame of the verb as proposed above is based on the criteria in (24). Bámgbóṣé (1972) observes that the criteria are not powerful enough as diagnostic yardsticks for determining and defining all verbs of the language. The criteria exclude some verbs and include some items that are not verbs. Bámgbóṣé (1972) observes that:

(26a) Verbs in string fail the diagnostic test of topicalisation, selection of object and subject.

(b) Some attested verbs cannot occur singularly in the minimal sentences because they require modifying verbs, adverbs or other modifying items.

(c) Splitting verbs cannot occur in the diagnostic frame.

(d) There are a number of non-verbs that pass the diagnostic test of verbs above. Examples include: *tètè* 'quickly' *mọ̀ọ́mọ̀* 'deliberately', *jùmọ̀* 'together', *fi* 'use/with', *fẹ́rẹ̀* 'almost'.

(e) There is apparent similarity between the modifying verbs and some non-verbs in verbal string. The only difference is that the modifying verbs can occur in minimal IP while the non-verbs cannot.

(f) The auxiliaries comprising tense and aspect markers and modals: *yóò*, *á*, *máa*, 'will', *a* (habitual), *máa* 'continue', *bá*, *ba* 'happen', *ìbáà* 'even if', *ti* 'perfective', *gbọ́dọ̀* 'must' *lè* 'can' share some similarities with modifying verbs. They can be sub-classified as restricted modifying verbs thus qualifying them as verbs in view of the fact that some of them can occur after a pronoun, negator or particle *ń*.

The above observations inform the modification of the definition in (25) and the proposing of the consensus frame and definition as shown:

(27a) ## NP – (NP) (- NP)##

(b) All words that occur in the frame ## NP – (NP)## are verbs. If for any other reasons there are words which appear to be members of the verb class but do not fit into the frame, such words will be regarded as exceptions (Bámgbóṣé 1972).

The modified diagnostic frame in (27) above is flexible enough to accommodate verbs that obligatorily co-occur with postverbal modifers.It is however observed that the above definition has some deficiencies that some other linguists had pointed out. They include:

(28a) It lacks structural neatness (Bámgbóṣé 1972)

(b) It is imprecise and too permissive (it admits preverbal adverbs, intensifiers, negator, tense and aspect markers, “modal-like” modifier and preposition into the class of verbal category)

(c) The clausal frame fails to account for the items that occur between the DP subject and the verb. It also fails to capture the items that occur after the verb or the postverbal object.

(d) It fails to account for certain negative and imperative sentences where subject or pro drop is obligatory.

Examination of publications after the proposed definition reveals that it (the definition) is sparingly referenced.Awóbùlúyì (1978) and Bámgbóṣé (1986a) for instance, define verb as the word that functions as the predicate of a sentence. To Yusuff (2006), verb expresses action between the agent and the experience in a sentence. Adéwọlé, et al (2000) and Bámgbóṣé(1990) are typical examples of Yorùbá linguists that define verb as proposed in (27).

Taiwo(2018) reviews the definition of Awóbùlúyì (1972; 1982); Bámgbóṣé (1972b) and Yusuf (1995) and points out certain inadequacies in them. Táíwò (2018) observes that a number of lexical items co-occur immediately after the nominal phrase which is the supposedly canonical slot of verbs. These items are not ipso facto verbs but modifiers or inflectional elements like tense, aspect, concord markers, negators and verb-likeprepositions. These verb-like prepositions are often misconstrued as verbs. The definitions of Yusuf (1995) and Yusuff (2006) of verbs as the item that indicate what an entity does or what is done to an entity fails to capture certain class of static, adjectivisable or attributive verbs (Afọláyan 1972;Awóbùlúyì 1972; 1978;Bámgbóṣé 1990). The definition in (27) above is further observed to be based on meaning or semantic criterion which Bámgbóṣé (1986a) analyses as either too inclusive or too exclusive of what should be incorporated.

Based on the foregoing, Taiwo (2018) proposes the definition of a verb as:

(29) A lexical item that can occur with or without modifier in a verb phrase.

The above definition pins down the definition of verb to the domain of VP. It filters from the constituents of VP such intervening elements that are found in the I-layer. This definition is well conceived and it sets the stage for a theoretically-based perception of

verbs vis-à-vis theta-role construct and the split VP-analysis which the study will attempt in Chapter Three.

2.3 Classification of verbs

Yorùbá linguists attempt the internal classification of verbs. The review below presents their views and critiques on them.

2.3.1 Bámgbóṣé,(1986a) and (1990) on Classification of verbs

Bámgbóṣé (1986a;1990) classify verbal group into the following classes:

(30i) Preverbs

This class is further divided into four parts as shown:

(a) Verbal particle: ń/ḿ

(b) Restricted preverbs: *ìbá* 'would have', *gbọ́dọ̀* 'must', *yóò* 'will'.

(c) Unrestricted preverbs: *tiẹ̀* 'even', *ṣáà* 'just', *kúkú* 'rather'.

(d) Negators: *Kò/ò*, *kì*, *má* 'no'.

(ii) Free verbs: *lọ* 'go', *gbé* 'carry', *fún* 'give' etc.

(iii) Postverbs: *sí* 'into', *lé* 'on', kà 'on', *dè* 'for one's arrival', *ní* 'in'

(iv) Transitive and Intransitive verbs

(a) Transitive verbs include: *bi* 'ask', *gbé* 'carry', *fún* 'give', *jọ* 'resemble' etc.

(b) Intransitive verbs: *bọ́* 'drop', *pọ̀* 'be many', *ga* 'tall'.

2.3.2 Critique on Bámgbóṣé's(1986a) classifications of verbs

Yorùbá linguists identify a number of criteria for classifying lexical items into categories such as semantic, syntactic or functionalistic, morphological and phonological properties of the items (Awóbùlúyì 1978; 2008; 2013; Bámgbóṣé 1986 and Ọdúǹtán 2000). With the criteria, they unanimously identify Verb, Noun, Adjectives and Adverbs as lexical categories. Other items whose categorial statuses are still surrounded with controversy include pronouns, pronominals (long/emphatic pronouns), conjunctions/disjunctions, prepositions, tense among others.

The same criteria are also employed in the internal classification of verbs. Syntactic property which implies the distribution of items in clause is assumed to be

dominantly employed by Bámgbóṣé (1986a) in the classification of verbs. The only subdivision that deviates a bit from the syntactic criterion is the sub-class of negators that is based on semantic criterion. Though he does not define Yorùbá verbs in accordance with the diagnostic frame of (27), yet, he recognises all items that can occur singularly or in conjunction with other items between subject and object as verbs.

Bámgbóṣé's (1986a) verbal group corresponds to verb phrase. His idea of VP is too broad. It includes functional categories such as negators, tense and aspectual markers, modals, intensifiers and pre-emptive (Ọ̀kẹ́ 1972). In this study, a number of the items above are analysed as the constituents of inflectional layer (Infl/I-layer) with the exemption of the sub-class of the unrestricted verbs. This subclass is subdivided as the preverbal adverbs by Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2008; 2013) and Táíwò(2018). The study allies with Awóbùlúyì andTáíwò in analysing some of the items as modifiers and adverbs. Detailed explanation is provided in Chapter Four.

In the postverbal category are the items that many scholars recognise[10] as preposition (P) as exemplified by the data below:

(31a) Olú kọ ìwé sí bàbá rẹ̀
Olú write book to (P) father 3SG
'Olú wrote a letter to his father'

(b) Ó kò mí ní ọ̀nà
3SG meet ISG at (P) road
'He met me at the road'

In (31a) and (b), *sí* 'to' and *ní* 'at' are assumed to be Ps in the two sentences. The items denote relationship between the P and the nominal entities that are represented in the clause. The two verbs in (31a) and (b) – *kọ* 'write' and *kò* 'meet' are three-place predicates having two internal arguments which are composed of direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO).

2.3.3 Classification of verbs byBámgbóṣé, (1990)

Bámgbóṣé (1990) classifies verbs of the language into the following sub-classifications as shown:

(32a) Action verbs e.g. *lọ* 'go', *tọ̀* 'urinate', *rà* 'buy'.

[10] See the scholars that recognise preposition as discussed extensively in Chapter Four.

(b) Reporting verbs: *jẹ* ‘suffer’, *kú* ‘die’, *gé* ‘break’, *fọ́* ‘pain/ache’

(c) Adjectivisable verbs: *ga* ‘be tall’, *tóbi* ‘be big’, *dùn* ‘be sweet’

(d) Experiential verbs or epistemic verbs: *mọ̀* ‘know’, *fẹ́ràn* ‘like’.

(e) Serial verbs: *gbé… wá* ‘bring/carry… come’

(f) Complex verbs: *bàjẹ́* ‘spoil’, *fi sí* ‘put into’, *gbàgbọ́*, ‘believe’, *bá wí* ‘scold’, *já.*

(g) Echoing verbs: *kù…kù* ‘remain’, *mọ̀…mọ̀* ‘identify/know’.

(h) Nominal-assimilating verbs: *pàdé* ‘meet’, *jókòó* ‘sit’, *gbàgbé* ‘forget’,

(i) Infinitival verbs: *fẹ́* ‘want’*tó* ‘fit’, *bẹ̀rẹ̀sí* ‘start’.

(j) Impersonal verbs: e.g. *dára* ‘good’, *burú* ‘bad’, *dájú* ‘certain’, *dùn* ‘sweet’.

(k) Particle-selecting verbs e.g. *dá lójú* ‘sure of’, *rán létí* ‘remind’.

(l) Causative verbs e.g. *mú* ‘cause’, *dá* ‘cause’, ‘make/cause’.

(m) Complementiser -selecting verbs:

  (i) Reporting verbs e.g. *ní*/*wí*/*sọ*, ‘say’, *búra* ‘vow’, *jẹ́wọ́* ‘confess’, *jiyàn* ‘argue’.

  (ii) Complementiser-selecting-non-reporting verbs e.g.*rò* ‘think’ as in- *ó rò pé wọ́n lọ* ‘He thought that they had gone’.

(n) Symmetrical verbs: *ṣe* ‘do’, *ta* ‘shoot’, *bí* ‘provoke’

(o) Interrogative verbs e.g. *dà* ‘where’, *ńkọ́* ‘how/where’

(p) Imperative verbs e.g. *jọ̀wọ́* ‘please’, *kú* ‘greeting signifier’, *pẹ̀lẹ́* ‘sorry’.

(q) Adverbial verbs e.g. *sáré* ‘be quick’, *rọra* ‘be careful/take caution’.

2.3.4Critique on Bámgbóṣé’s (1990)view on classification of verbs

Bámgbóṣé (1990) restricts the class of the verbs to the main verbs of Adéwọlé (2007). Essentially, the classification of verbs in Bámgbóṣé (1990) is based on the main verbs or free verbs (Báḿgbóṣé 1986). The categorial status of almost all the above list of verbs (including the attributive or adjectivisable verbs of Afọláyan 1972) is not under dispute. The few exceptions are the class of his adverbial verbs. These verbs which can also fit into the subdivision of nominal-assimilating verbs are often used before finite verbs as modifiers. This study proposes that they should be reclassified as preverbal adverbs as explained in chapter three.

Further notable observation on the classification of the verbs above reveals that there is an apparent overlap owing to the mix of syntactic, morphological and

phonologicalcriteria employed (Ọdúntán 2000). Specific instances of the application of the criteria are as shown:

(33a) Bámgbóṣé (1990) applies the semantic criterion in recognising action, reporting, experiential or epistemic, impersonal, causative, interrogative, imperative, adjectivisableand adverbial verbs.

(b) Another criterion employed is morphology. This perhaps informs the subclass of nominal assimilating verb.

(c) The syntactic criterion informs the subclasses of serial, complex, echoing, infinitival, complementiser-selecting and symmetrical verbs.

2.4.1 Bámgbóṣé (1986a) on Tense

Bámgbóṣé (1986a) classifies tense into simple and perfective tenses. Each is subdivided into positive and negative. Simple positive tenses include future tense, conditional past tense, continuous tense, habitual tense, conditional past tense, habitual tense, and unmarked past tense while the simple negative tense are: future, conditional past, habitual and unmarked tenses.Perfective tenses in the positive include: perfective future tense, perfective conditional past tense, perfective continuous tense, perfective habitual tense and perfective unmarked tense. The negative perfective tenses comprise perfective future tense, perfective conditional past tense, perfective habitual tense and perfective unmarked tense.

2.4.2 Critique on Bamgbose's (1986a) view on Tense

The above view collapses tense and aspect categories together. This is a conceptual problem that needs to be clarified. For the purpose of clarity of ideas, the tense system of Yorùbá is future versus non-future with varying forms of markers for both affirmative and negative utterances. In the same vein, aspect is divided into two: perfective and imperfective with varying forms of markers for both negative and positive constructions.

2.4.3 Awóbùlúyì's (1978; 2013) view on Tense

Awóbùlúyì (1978) describes some items that indicate future, past/present and aspect (continuous, habitual, completed/perfective) actions as preverbal adverbs. He further claims that past/present action is marked by *í*-High Tone Syllable (HTS) which varies in form and in accordance with the preceding nominal pronoun. Awóbùlúyì (1978;2013) describes the HTS as preverbal modifier. He further explains:

With most verbs, the adverb's meaning is past action only (see 34a) but indicative of past or present when it co-occurs with static verbs (see 34b) as exemplified below:

(34a). Dàda á lọ
Dàda HTS go
'Dàda went'

(b) Dàda á ga
Dàda HTS tall
'Dàda is/was tall'

2.4.4 Critique on Awobuluyi's view on tense

Observation of sentences where the HTS are not realised yet, tenses are implied tend to invalidate the claim that HTS is a tense marker. Witness:

(35a) Dàda gíga yẹn lọ Èkó
Name tall that go Lagos
'That tall Dada went to Lagos'

(b) Mo lọ Èkó
1SG go Lagos
'I went to Lagos'

(c) Ẹ lọ Èkó
2PL go Lagos
'You went to Lagos'

The sentences above aregrammatical and they indicate past tense.The examples like above, where HTS is not realised and yet, tenses are conveyed show that HTS could not be tense marker. It is observed that there is non-occurrence of HTS with all the short pronouns (except the third person singular and plural short pronouns that constantly bear high tone) yet, tenses are conveyed. Sentences in (35a-c) denote past tense the same way (34a) does. The possibility of sentences like those in (35) where non-future tenses are conveyed without HTS casts serious doubt to the claim that HTS marks non-future tense.

It is also observed that HTS does not function as adverb in any of its occurrence as it does not convey modifying notion in relation to the verbs it co-occurs with. Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀ (2005) convincingly argues that the HTS could not be preverbal modifier as there are no known languages where the dichotomy between the subject and the predicate could be so bridged to the extent that the verbal modifier will now merge with the subject. Following Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀ (2005) and Bámgbọ́ṣé (1980), the HTS is a concord marker which is known as the agreement marker in the Minimalist Program.

Further reason adduced for disputing the HTS as [-FUT] as claimed by Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2013)above stems from the possibility of the co-occurrence of HTS and [+FUT]in the same sentence. The examples below buttress further:

(36a) Ayọ̀ ọ́ máa lọ
Ayọ̀ HTS FUT go
'Ayọ̀ will go'
(Awóbùlúyì 2013)

(b) Oyè é fẹ́ máa lọ
Oyè HTS want FUT go
'Oyè wants to be going'

(c) Oyè é ń bọ́ ní alẹ́ ọ̀la
Oyè HTS CONT come of night tomorrow
'Oyè is coming tomorrow night'
(Awobuluyi 2013)

In (36a) above, HTS *ọ́* and FUT *máa* 'will' co-occurs. HTS, the supposedly marker of present or past and FUT *máa* 'will' cannot convey two tenses on the same event. HTS could not have been a tense marker conveying the temporal notion of non-future and futurity on the event expressed by one verb. In the same vein, the HTS – *é* occurs with dynamic verbs*fẹ́* 'want' and *bọ̀* 'come' in (36b) and (c) respectively. The occurrence of HTS with dynamic verbs according to Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2008; 2013) marks the utterances as past tense. However, the temporal notion of (36b) and (c) is futuristic. The temporal interpretation of such sentence will run into both empirical and theoretical problem of an event being interpreted as being past and futuristic simultaneously.

2.5 Aspect

Aspect is another constituent within the l-layer of a clause. Yorùbá linguists have expressed discordant views about this grammatical category as briefly reviewed in this section.

2.5.1 Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2008; 2013)on aspect

Scholars have discordant views on the subject matter of aspect. Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2008;2013) include aspects in the list of preverbal adverbs. Yusuf (1994) in his independent study also admits aspect into the class of adverbs implying that aspect is an adverb.

2.5.2 Critique on Awobuluyi's view on aspect

The idea of recognising tense or aspects as adverbs or adverbials in [11]temporal interpretations derives from the Indo-European linguistics. Kiparsky (1998) for example, asserts that Indo-European languages regard tense as adverbial. It could then be inferred that Awobuluyi (1978; 2008; 2013) and Yusuf (1994) take a cue from the linguistic tradition of the Indo-European languages. This, as observed earlier is not the case in SY or any of its dialects where aspects and tense have been proved not to modify verbs. They therefore differ from temporal adverbials.

As also argued earlier, the term preverb is too vague. There are too many items that can fit into the class of preverbs. The lumping of tense and aspect together also leaves much to desire. The distinction between the two categories no matter how slight should be recognised in view of the fact that the functors play distinct grammatical roles in syntax.

2.5.3 Adéwọ́lé's (2007) view on aspect system

Adéwọ́lé (2007) takes a swipe at all the existing positions on HTS, and makes a radical assertion that it (HTS) is a 'perfective aspect marker'. He further proposes that

[11] Temporal adverbials modify verbs in Indo-European langiages. This could not be said of the aspects or any other auxiliaries in Yoruba. Witness:

Olú lọ ní àná 'Olú went yesterday'
Olú yóò lọ 'Olú will go'

when it co-occurs with other overt tense and aspect markers, it loses its perfectival status thereby paving way for the other overt aspect marker to feature.

2.5.4 Critique on the view of Adéwọlé (2007)

Adewole(2007) takes a position that is a radical departure from that of the other scholars. The HTS has been viewed from different perspectives. Awóbùlúyì (1978) regards it as a past or present tense marker. Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀ (2005) and Bámgbóṣé (1986a) propose thatit is a concord or agreement marker while to Oyèláràn (1982), it is a definitiser. This is a case of an item being assigned multiple identities.

What is however questionable is the explanation of Adéwọlé (2007) that the HTS can become void when it co-occurs with other overt aspect markers. This assertion tends to prove that it may not be an aspect marker or that it lacks aspectual identity of its own. The idea that the overt expression of tense marker neutralises perfectivial feature of the HTS is difficult to conceptualise. The functors (T and Asp) are not inclusive of the formal features that could be deleted in computation.

2.6 Complementiser phrase

The complementiser layer (C-layer) is the pragmatic discourse domain. The C-layer was hitherto conceived as a single projection of C/COMP until Rizzi re-analyses it as an "array" of multiple functional projections with each of the projections performing function that is related to information structure (Rizzi 1997; 2001b; 2004). The implication of this proposal otherwise known as the Split-CP hypothesis is the decomposition of the CP into:

(37) ForceP>TopP>FocP and FinP.

2.6.1 Focus phrase (FocP)

Bámgbóṣé (1990;2006) describes focus construction as a syntactic device of identifying the most salient part of the discourse for communicative prominence. Dick (1997), Nomi (1997)and Ọláògún (2016) describe focus constituent as the linguistic expression that is considered by the speaker to be the most essential part of the utterance that conveys new information. Focus construction consists of two parts viz: the focused constituent that expresses important, unpredictable and new information and comment which conveys already known or shared knowledge.

Focus construction had been examined by many scholars. Awóbùlúyì (1972; 1978) describes focal constructions as "topicalisation" or topical qualifiers. He exemplifies as shown below:

(38a) Ìwé ni mo rà
Book FOC ISG bought
'Books are what I bought'

b) Èmi ni ó ra ìwé
ISG FOC HTS buy book
'I bought books'

c) Rírà ni mo ra ìwé
Buying FOC ISG buy books
'The fact is that I bought books'

Awóbùlúyì (1978) claims that *ìwé* 'book', *èmi* ISG LONG PRN and *rírà* 'buying' are nouns that are qualified by the nominal qualifiers attached to them. The reasons adduced are:

(39i) The topical qualifier follows the noun it qualifies

(ii) Topical qualifier reduces the list of alternative choices to the only one qualified.

(iii) A topical qualifier can have a string of one or two qualifiers

(iv) Topical qualifiers and relative clauses could be inter-changed (in some contexts).

(v) They can assume the complement position of verbs as in:

(40) Kì í ṣe ìwé ni mo rà
NEG PROG do book FOC ISG bought
'It is not book that I bought (Awóbùlúyì 2013:72).

Awóbùlúyì (1975; 1978; 1990 and 2013) further claims that they (i.e. focus construction and NPs) occur with polymorphic nouns.The leading proponent of the school is Awóbùlúyì (1975; 1978; 1990 and2013). Awóyalé (1975; 1985) also supports the view.

A divergent school of thought posits that focus construction is a sentence that expresses a complete sense of thought. This school of thought further argues against the proposal that focus constructions and relative clauses are similar. The leading proponents of the school include Bámgbóṣé (1986; 1990; 2000) and Owólabí (1981; 1987). Owólabí (1981) for instance, argues to establish the non-existence of topical qualifiers in Yorùbá.

The strongest point of 'Awóbùlúyì' for proposing focus construction as NP is because focus construction and other NPs can function as the complement of ṣe 'verb'.The *JWAL* referee observes:

> …most of the arguments about the NP status revolve around their occurrence as complement to the *ṣe*. The justification for this unique environment has no where been given nor have the counter-examples of focus constructions which fail the test of occurrence in this environment been satisfactorily explained. This as noted by an 'ardent observer,' is still the most cogent point that has not been adequately debunked (Awóbùlúyì 1992:74).

In this study, it is observed that the so-called verb *ṣe* 'do' that takes the focus constituent as complement has an unclear status. It is not *ṣe* 'make' that can take agentive external and theme as internal arguments. It appears to be the type of do-support that preserves derivation from crashing when its affix could not lower to the verb as operates in English. Strong affixal triggers I to C movement. This operation always places it at the vantage position of taking IP complement. It is unlike the verb that enters into the derivation as the predication or argument structure.

Another controversial aspect of focus construction is the functor *ni* that Yusuf (1989; 1990); Jones (2005) and Adéṣọlá (2005) claim to be copula element. To some other scholars, the functor – *ni* is a focus or emphaticCase assigner (see Awóyalé 1990; Baiyere 2005 and Arókoyọ̀ 2013).The Case-assigning role of the Foc^{o} had been contested by Awóbúlùyí(1992) on the grounds that the marker *ni* in SY is not an inherent Case assigner. This apart, A$^{\smile}$-position is observed in this study not to be Case position. Structural Case is assigned by [+TENSE] Infl, finite V, and P to subject DP, object DP and IO DP respectively under TG. The MP postulates Case feature valuation at the S-H relation between the checker and the checkee of the aforementioned head and their specifiers.

Further divergent view is on the derivation of focus construction. The two prominent proposals relating to the derivation of focus construction are clefting or expletive analysis versusthe extraposition or A$^{\smile}$-Movement. It-expletive or clefting analysis spells the conditions that derive focal construction as shown:-

(41i) Presence of a copula element

(ii) Presence of an expletive pronoun.

Dechaine (2002) and Jones (2006) propose that cleftness is like copula construction that is related to focus construction. The two identifiable copula elements in SY according to them are *ni* and *jẹ́* 'be-verb' as exemplified below:

(42a) Olú jẹ́ akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ [Subj DP Pred XP]
Olú be – verb student
'Olú is a student'

(b) Akẹ́kọ̀ọ́ ni Olú [Pred XP Subj. DP]
Student be –verb Olú
'Olú is a student' (Jones 2006)

The (b) version is claimed to be the focus construction that involves inverse predication that entails raising the predicate of the small clause to the subject of the main clause. The focused constituent is then followed by the copula. The schema below further illustrates:

(43a) [SUBJ DP PRED XP]
(b) [XP_i] ni SUBJ DP PRED t_i] (Jones 2006)

The position above purporting the derivation of focal construction to be by the clefting of the predicate of small clause to the subject of the main clause is weak. This is because all the examples of focus constructions could not be analysed as a sentence derived from two clauses. The weak verbs or copula elements- *jẹ*and*ni* 'be-verb' differ from the FOC *ni* that always assume the head of FocP. The FOC has EF at the Spec, FocP of the pre TP position while the copula verbs occupy the lexical VP or the light affixal vP domain. The example in (42) and the derivative schema in (43) do not depict focus construction.

Furthermore, to conceive the *ni* particle of focus construction as copula seems to be spurious. If the FOC *ni* in focal construction also doubles as copula, then its pre-movement from the canonical minimal IP position at the lexical VP and light vP positions should be properly accounted for since all verbs enter into derivation by operative mechanisms of Select and Merge from the VP-Shell. Also to be accounted for is its purported head movement from its extraction site to the Foc^o position and the motivations for such dislocation because movements are feature-driven. This supposedly movement of V to C should be properly accounted for.

The cleft analysts' claim of two clauses: Main clause (MC) and small clause (SC) in the focal construction has also been falsified by Aboh (2006) who proves that FOC is not a be-verb or copula as it does not show tense marking. This fact rules out derivation of focal construction by clefting.

The position of this study is that the derivation of focal construction is by extraposition or A∪ – movement. Extraposition is the syntactic operation of shifting a

complex element to the end or beginning of a sentence (Stockwell 2007).The landing site could also be at the sentence initial position. Thus, the direction of the extraposed string of words could be leftward or rightward. The displacement of a subject of a clause to the sentence-final position is compensated for by a non-referential pronoun, resumptive pronoun or pleonalistic element (Aarts 2003).The exemple below buttresses:

(44) [FocP Ọmọ ni [TP <ọmọ>yóò jogún iṣẹ́ ọwọ́ mi]]
Child FOC childFUT eat+inheritance work hand ISG
'The child will inherit my work.'

The above example is a focal construction of Yorùbá. The fronted DP- ọmọ 'child' is base-generated at the Spec, TP of the root clause. It is preposed to the Spec, FocP position where it is marked for focal interpretation while the complement of Foc^{o} – the entire TP assumes the comment of the sentence.The focal construction is therefore a typical instance of A$^{\cup}$ – movement operation of the focalised constituents to the Spec, EmphP and then to Spec, FocP. The movement obligatorily fills the Spec positions.

2.7 Studies on North Eastern Yorùbá dialects

There is observed paucity of studies in the dialects of the language. The few studies that are available tilted heavily towards some dialects spoken in the NWY, CY, SEY and SWY. Much work has not been done on the dialects in NEY especially, the Yorùbá dialects in Kogi State.

One of the early empirical studies of Yorùbá dialectology is Adétùgbọ́ (1967) who classifies the various dialectal areas of the South Western Nigeria into three, namely: NWY, CY, and SEY. As expected, his work excludes the dialect of NEY where Ìyàgbà is located.

The first scholar to put the dialect of Ìyàgbà into proper perspective is Akínkùgbé (1978). He classifies the dialects of Yorùbá into six groups. He adds three dialectal groups (NAK, SWY, and NEY)to the Adétùgbọ́'s classsification. Ìyàgbà dialect is situated in the NEY group. Detail study of the various dialects in the group remained scanty. Sadder still, the studies on Ìyàgbà dialect are grossly few.

Àkànbí (1997) and Arókoyọ̀ (2005) differently study the phonology ofÌyàgbà. Ṣódẹ̀ìndé (1994) explores the morphology of Ìyàgbà dialect. The above studies are the interfaces in grammatical analysis. Akíntóyè (2014) examines the relative clause and

focus constructions of Ìyàgbà in comparison with Onˋdó and Èkìtì dialects while that of Arókoyọ̀ (2013) is on the focus construction of Owé, a NEY dialect. The latter two linguists whose studies of Ìyàgbà and NEY are based on the syntactic aspect adopt the GB as their theoretical aspect. It is further observed that they investigated some aspects of the C-layer which constitutes a fractional part of clausal components. So far, the study of the clausal structure of Ìyàgbà dialect within the most current syntactic theory has not been undertaken.

2.7.2 Tense and aspect of Dòsùmú (2010)

Another scholar who studiessyntactic concept in Ìyàgbà is Dòsùmú (2010). She examinestense and aspect system of Ìyàgbà dialectwithin the framework of GB theory. She identifies tense and aspect markers in the affirmative and negative sentences as briefly shown:

(45)**Tense markers:**

(a) **Affirmative**

(i) Future: á/à

(ii) Non-Future: Zero marked

(b) **Negative**

(i) Future: é/ùn

(ii) Non-Future: é/high tone

(46)**Aspectual markers:**

(a) **Imperfective:**

(i) Continuous affirmative: í

(ii) Continuous negative: un, éè

(b) **Habitual**

(i) Affirmative: í

(ii) Negative: éè

(47)**Perfective**

(a) Affirmative: ti

(b) Negative: e ti

This study takes exception to some of the above findings. The [+FUT] in [-NEG] construction could not be á/à neither could PROG in [+NEG] be *un/éè* nor HAB in [+NEG] be *e ti.* The basic forms of these markers might have been influenced by other adjacent functors that Dòsùmú (2010) did not account for. Chapter Four of this work identifies the T and Asp markers and account for their derivations.

The foregoing review reveals that there are still many grey areas in the syntax of Yorùbá vis-à-vis the definition of verbs, the criteria for determining the verbal status, classification of verbs and the constituents of VP. The l-layer is also surrounded with misconception and confusion of tense and aspect as well as divergent views about HTS and its grammatical functions. At the C-layer, there are discordant views on the status of focus construction, the focus marker, the derivation of focus construction and the widely accepted notion of substituting long pronouns and reduplicated verbs for short pronouns and verbs respectively. This present study investigates the above syntactic issues and provides alternative notions or allies with existing positions with more convincing evidence from the Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect on the basis of which inference can be drawn for proper clarification of the existing positions in the SY. The study further does more than identifying the obligatory CFCs as done by the extant scholars of Ìyàgbà dialect. It analyses how the CFCs interrelate with other clausal constituents to account for interpretation dependency and convergence in clause.

It is instructive to add that while the extant studies adopt GB as their linguistic apparatus, this present study adopts the MP to account for the clause structure of the dialect. The study apart from accounting for the tripartite tiers of the clause, and how they are strung together in the derivation of convergent clause, further explicates the Force Phrase (ForceP), the domain where clauses are being typed or indicated as declarative, imperative or interrogative sentences.

2.8 Theoretical orientation

The study is undertaken within the framework of the Minimalist Program (MP) of Chomsky(1993; 1995b etc.) and Rizzi's split-CP hypothesis.

2.8.1 Minimalist Program (MP)

The MP is a linguistic perceptive developed by Chomsky (1993; 1995;1998). It is an offshoot of long tradition of generative linguistics spanning over a period of more than 60 years. The Minimalist System which became famously known as the MP or just Minimalism as its name indicates is in the "embryonic system"[12](Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann2005). Rather than being an articulated theory, it is construed as a program. MP is not a "fully worked-out syntactic theory" (Adger 2003) but rather, it is "a research agenda" that is still in its "continuous development" (Haegeman and Lohndal 2011). Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann(2005) posit that MP is poised to provide propitious ground where alternative grammatical model thrive. Its success as a research program lies in the development of exciting and relevant theories in its quest to work out its main treatises.

The MP evaluates its proposals (like any other scientific inquiry) along the dimensions of naturalness, parsimony, simplicity, elegance, explanatoriness, etc." (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohman 2005). The principal cornerstone of the MP approach is reducing the descriptive apparatus or the "principal notions" to the barest essential minimum. This demands that the descriptive apparatus that are considered conceptually superfluous be eliminated. In this respect, D-structure, S-structure, Phrase Structure Rules (PSRs), government, traces, PRO, null operators and chains, Empty Category Principle (ECP), Control Theory and Predication are discarded. The computational system of the model is subject to the two-prong principles of substantive economy and methodological economy.

Another fundamental idea of MP is the claim that language is a cognitive system, "a perfect system of optimal design" in that, it interfaces appropriately with speech (sound) and thought (meaning). See Haegeman and Lohndahl(2011);Hornstein, Nunes and Grohman (2005)and Radford (2009).Earlier Generative Grammar faced two serious challenges of "descriptive adequacy" and "explanatory adequacy". Descriptive adequacy attempts to account for the phenomena of the particular language while the explanatory adequacy attempts to account how knowledge of these facts arises in the mind of speaker-

[12] Since MP was propounded in 1993, it has been widely reviewed, modified and enhanced. Though it is still undergoing continuous development, it has gone from the level of embryonic stage.

hearer.With time, linguists came into the realisation of the imperceptible richness and the complexity of the human language. This understanding generated tension between the goals of descriptive adequacy and explanatory adequacy. By and large, it became clear that the theory of explanatory adequacy could be achieved if the following conditions are met:

(48a) There must be explicit theory which will explain the fact that particular languages are known in advance experience

(b) The options allowed by the UG are highly restricted

(c) Limited experience must be adequate to fix them (the options) "one way or another" to yield a state of the language faculty that determines the varied and complex expressions.

In the pursuance of the goals of explanatory adequacy in the description of the language phenomena, Chomsky from the 1960s has been abstracting general principles from the complex rule systems devised for specific languages. This effort aims at generating rules that are both simple, and constrained in their operation (by the UG principles). The intention is to therefore reduce the range of language specific constraints, enhance explanatory adequacy, and yield "important and more natural theories" which later become the groundwork for the minimalist approach.

MP retains LF and PF (as the two interface levels) which are necessitated by "virtual conceptual necessity" (Ouhalla 1999).The LF interfaces with "semantic-conceptual systems of cognition" while the PF is connected to the "articulating-perceptual modules". The structures and the interface roles of both the DS and SS are redetermined (Ouhalla1995).

2.8.2 The Organization of the MP

The MP's model comprises the lexicon, syntactic or computational component and the interfacial levels which are: PF and LF. The lexicon specifies the items that enter into the computational system and their idiosyncratic properties. The set of lexical items for the derivation of a syntactic structure are listed in the Numeration. The computational component Selects and Merges by a series of a pairwise syntactic computation until the lexical items in the Numeration are exhausted. The derived syntactic structure serves as input to the LF and PF components. The LF component and the PF components map the

syntactic structure into each of their corresponding semantic and phonological representations. The semantic representation interfaces with systems of thought while the phonetic representation interfaces with the systems of speech. The above discussion can be further illustrated diagrammatically as shown:

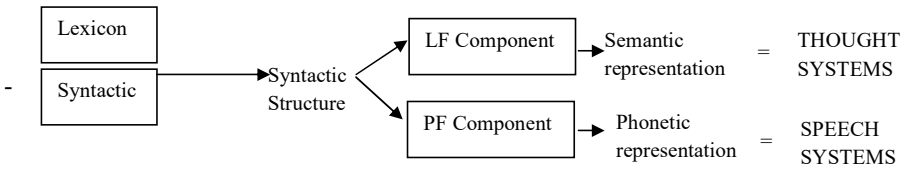


Figure 2. 5: The internal structure of MP

(Adapted from Radford 2009:14)

The above grammar is described as Y-shaped as opposed to the T-model of GB. The illustration below further presents the picture of the Y-shaped model as shown below:

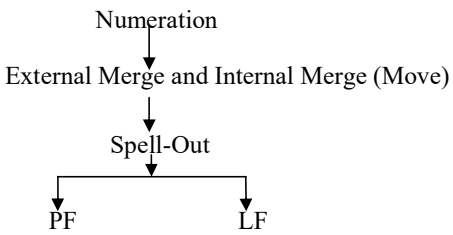


Figure 2.6: Y-shaped model of the MP

Haegeman and Lohndahl (2011)

The MP assumes that the primitive substantive (Ọdúnṭán 2000) or grammatical components (Radford 2009) of any human language are the lexicons, the syntactic or computational system (C_{HL}) and the linguistic interfaces of PF and LF. The grammatical components are explained in turn.

2.8.2.1 Lexicon

This is a mental dictionary that lists all the lexical items or words in the language as well as all their linguistic properties. The properties include semantic properties, phonological properties, morphological properties and syntactic properties. The list

contains the essential token like the agreement, number, person, categorial and subcategorisation features for each lexical item. Thus the lexical items are completely formed words. The information is required by the structure building operation of the computational system.

2.8.2.2 The Computational (C_{HL}) or syntactic component

This system forms syntactic structure by combining words together (Radford 2009) through the operations of Select, Merge and Move (Marantz1995;Ouhalla 1999;Radford 2009).The basic operation is projection in the sense of X-bar theory where X projects into $X^{\cup}$, and $X^{\cup}$ projects into $XP/X^{\cup\cup}$ (Marantz 1995).

Another operation that accompanies 'Merge' is 'Move'. Ọdúnṭán (2000) identifies the two transformational operations that interact to generate well-formed linguistic structures as Merge and Move. According to him, 'Merge' combines two separate syntactic objects (either lexical items or already-formed trees, to form a single unit while 'Move' involves copy and merge.

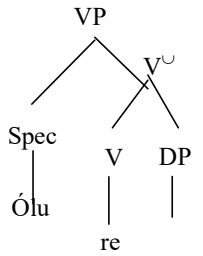
We demonstrate the foregoing discussion with the derivation of this structure,

(49). Olú re ọja
Name go market
'Olu went to the market'

The operation Select targets the verb *re* 'went' and merges it with the DP-*ọja* 'market' to form the V^1 – *re ọja* 'go market'. This is in turn merged with *Olú* to derive "Olú re ọja. 'Olú went to the market'.

Within the MP framework, it is assumed that subject DP is base-generated at the Spec, VP. The tree diagram below illustrates:

(50)



ọja

The movement of the constituents for the purpose of feature-checking devices accounts for their word-order. The computational system permits the selection of items from the lexicon, assigning themX-bar structures and then merging them together into larger phrase markers. This merger applies from bottom to top (Ouhalla 1999).

2.8.2.3 Logical Form (LF)

This is the language system that maps (i.e. converts) the syntactic structure into a corresponding semantic representation (Radford 2009). The LF is referred to as the conceptual-intentional system (CI) (Chomsky 1995b).

2.8.2.4 Phonetic Form (PF)

This is the component that maps the syntactic structure into a PF representation. It gives the phonetic Spell-Out for the syntactic structure as regards how it could be pronounced. Chomsky refers to it as "sensory-motor interface", and "articulatory-perceptual system (AP)" (Radford 2009; Chomsky 1995).

2.8.2.5 Spell-Out

The constituent or the syntactic structure generated by the computational system can be submitted to the LF and PF components for interpretation at any point in time (Marantz1995). Spell-Out can be defined as an operation that applies to derivation at some point to yield PF and LF representations (Ọdúnṭán 2000). The syntactic structure is said to converge if it meets the interface conditions at LF and PF otherwise, it crashes (Marantz 1995). Ọdúnṭán (2000) explains that the basic interface condition to be met is the presence of interpretable feature at PF or LF.

Spell-Out determines the movement that will affect the pronunciation of a sentence (i.e. the preSpell-Out movement) versus those that will not affect the pronunciation of the sentence (i.e. the postSpell-Out movement). It is assumed in MP that the movement which will affect pronunciation of a sentence is overt and expensive. This is what operates when the strong features have to force movement for the purpose of

eliminating strong features through feature-checking operation prior to Spell-Out (Ọdúǹtán 2000).

2.8.3 The principles of MP

Principles are described as the innate set of universal features which are shared by every human language for the characterization of syntactic structure (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005). Theseprinciples are briefly described in turn.

2.8.3.1 Shortest Move

This is described as the most technically specific Economy Principle (EC). It displaces Relativised Minimality (RM), Subjacency and the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) of the PPT. It basically implies that a constituent must move from its site to the first place of its very kind. This principle prohibits skipping over any head position between the in situ and the targeted landing site. This principle further prohibits Super-raising violation and Superiority violation. Super-raising violation disallows the skipping of an intervening A-position for a movement targeting A-position. Superiority violation forbids the skipping of an intervening A-bar specifier position.

2.8.3.2 Procrastinate

Procrastinate is another principal economy conditions on derivations that defines the preference for covert movement in the MP as shown below:

Procrastinate

Overt movement is more costly than covert movement.

The principle above prefers the derivation that postpones the application of all movement rules until postSpell-Out so that the results of such movements do not affect PF. In English for example, main verbs do not raise to Tense (T) before Spell-Out hence, they are pronounced within the VP after certain VP adverbial and after negation. The main verbs obey the rule of procrastinate by waiting until after Spell-Out to raise to T, “which they must do by LF to check off their tense features”. (Ọdúǹtán 2000; Collins 2001;Marantz 1995).

Procrastinate is one of the most famous timing principles that prohibits overt movement unless the derivation would otherwise crash. A derivation crashes at some

interface level (either PF or LF) if there is some feature present that is not interpretable at that level. A derivation can crash at the LF if for example, the Case feature is present at that level. In the same vein, a derivation crashes at the PF if the strong feature is present there.

Collins (2001) compares derivations between the languages of English and French. According to him, the V feature of T is strong in French while the V feature of T is weak in English. The V of French raises to check its features so that convergence can be ensured. On the contrary, the weak V feature of T in English is not visible at the PF thus making raising unnecessary as buttressed by the example below;

(51a)* John kisses often Mary
b) John often kisses Mary

(52a) Jean embrasse souvent Marie
John kisses often Mary

b)* Jean souvent embrasse Marie
John often kisses Mary (Collins 2001)

In (51) above, the raising of V to the Spec of T^1 is blocked because the T feature of the V is weak and invisible to PF. On the contrary, (52a) demonstrates the raising of V to T because the T feature of French V is strong. Itmust therefore raise to check the T feature of the V for convergence to be possible. In (51b) however, the V fails to raise to check the T feature of its V hence, the derivation crashes.

2.8.3.3 Greed

Greed appears to be the most complex of the economy principles in the MP. Though the concept can be clearly explained, however the example in which it should apply seem to be explained by other principles. The principle states that a constituent may not move to satisfy the needs of the other constituent. Rather, constituent moves to satisfy selfish motive (Marantz 1995).

2.8.3.4 Last Resort

This principle is, perhaps the most widely used of all the economy principles. The principle states that the necessary condition for which an operation is licit is if its non-application can lead to crash in representation.This principle explains that some language-specific operations which though are more costly than the operations of UG are permitted if and only if they are imperative to ensure grammaticality. Examples of such

operations that are licensed by the principle of Last Resort include: Do-support, distribution of resumptive pronouns among others in English.

Last Resort and Inertness are principles that can be likened to the two sides of a coin. Last Resort gives the conditions under which an operation can take place while Inertness on the other hand, gives the conditions under which an operation can never take place. Inertness can justifiably be argued to be economy conditions. It could also be said to relate to Chomsky's feature checking in that an operation that has been found to be an uninterpretable feature, once deleted, and erased, is inaccessible to further operations. Examples of principles or operations that are subject to inertness include syntactic relation of dominance and Case assignment (Collins 2001).

In relation to the operation Move-alpha, Last Resort must only apply when failure to apply would lead to structure that violates grammatical conditions such as the Case Filter. This is further captured by the Chain Condition.

> In an A-chain of the form (a; ..., ax), a, occupies its Unique Case position and ax occupies its unique theta-position"
> (Chomsky 1995b:200-1;Collins 2001:49).

2.8.3.5 As soon as possible (ASAP)

This is another economy condition in grammatical analysis that states that an operation which must possibly apply should do so (Collins 2001). ASAP is assumed to determine the computation needed as to whether a particular operation applies. The most obvious application of this principle is checking. ASAP assumes that if a checking relation can be established, it must (Chomsky 1995b). In a sentence where the Case feature of an element has been established for example, there is symmetric feature checking. This symmetric feature checking is triggered by ASAP.

2.8.3.6 Attract

Another major economy constraint of movement operation is Attract. Attract triggers targetted constituent to the specifier of its phrasal projection on the satisfactory fulfilment of the conditions of closeness and feature-checking relationship between the attractorand the attractee (Ọdúnṭán (2000;Radford 2009)

2.8.3.6.1 The Attract Closest Condition

The principle posits that the H must attract closest constituent it C-commands (Radford 2009).

2.8.3.6.2 The Attract Smallest Condition

The principle claims that the H must attract the smallest constituent containing such an item that will not violate any UG principle (Radford 2009).

2.8.3.6.3 The Wh-Attraction Condition

This implies that the H which attracts a Wh-word attracts the closest wh – word to its specifier (Radford 2009).

2.8.4 Feature Interpretability and Feature Valuation

At the heart of MP is feature interpretation and checking. It is assumed that nominal elements enter the derivation with feature specifications. The propriety of the feature-bearing element in a certain syntactic structure is enforced by matching the feature with that of a local head. Such derivation converges if the matching is appropriate otherwise, the derivation crashes at LF (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005).

The interpretation of features and their valuation determine the displacement properties in the sense that expression that is found in one position may be given interpretation in another position. These formal features are of two categories. Some are interpretable at the LF. They are referred to as [+interpretable] while those that are not interpretable at the LF are [-interpretable]. The mechanism through which [-interpretable] formal features are eliminated is known as movement. Movement is licensed by Last Resort. It states that a movement is permitted in order to delete phi-features (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005).

Formal features that are [+interpretable] could be identified with the multiple checking relations i.e. [+interpretable] formal feature, is unaffected by checking relation especially, checking multiple strong formal features are strong and they must be overtly checked before they are deleted (i.e. before rendering them invisible or inert) at the relevant interfaces. The D/N in T for instance is strong and could therefore check the EPP-feature on T which triggers the D/N to its specifier.

Strong features cannot be eliminated in the phonological component and cause the derivation to crash unless they are overtly checked (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohman 2005). Whereas, the principle of 'Full Interpretation (FI)' ensures that unvalued feature are valued before Spell-Out, otherwise, LF will not be able to assign an interpretation to the LF and PF may be unable to find a suitable exponence for the bundle feature as

Unvalued = uninterpretable. Two prominent approaches have been proposed on how FI can be achieved. They are: Move Feature (Move F) and Operation Agree. The two approaches are explained in turn.

2.8.4.1 Move Feature (Move F)

The proponents of the 'move feature' school of thought propose that movement of formal features should be the expected operation in order to delete [-interpretable] formal features as against movement of categories. Chomsky (1995) suggests that though movement target formal features yet, properties of phonological component demands that when the formal features of a lexical item or phrase move, all other features of that category will be pied-piped.

Another reason why movement of formal features must obligatorily involve categorial movement is that morphological property of strong features cannot be checked by any sets of formal features except lexical items or their projections are involved. The strong formal features will trigger overt movement while weak formal features subscribe to covert movement.

The Move-F approach proposes an independently motivated asymmetry between overt and covert movements in terms of movement categories versus movement of features. The above position is in agreement with Amaechi (2013), who echoed Richard (2011) and Ura (2001) that "Feature Checking" triggers movement that results to "Checking Relation".

2.8.4.2 The Operation Agree

The "Operation Agree" is a non-lexicalist perception of encoding feature interpretability in lexicon. This proponent assumes that only [+interpretable] features are fully specified in the lexicon whereas the [-interpretable] acquire their values in the course of the derivation. This position claims that 1st, 2nd and 3rd person attribute is valued on pronoun whereas the person attribute is unvalued when associated with a verb. It is still demanded by morphology that the feature [person] on a verb be fully specified and that [-interpretable] formal features be deleted as further required by Full Interpretation (FI).

In this proposal, 'Agree', a new operation of the computational system assigns values to unvalued features while at the same time, delete such [-interpretable] features

for purposes of LF. The Operation Agree's role in FI is succinctly put by Hornstein, Nunes and Grohman (2005:317) as shown:

> Under this approach, overt movement is still a property of strong features. Movement of formal features as replaced by Agree, and the locality and Last Resort conditions on feature movement are appropriately translated as requirements on the matching relation between a probe and a goal. A probe is a head with [-interpretable] features and a goal is an element with matching [+interpretable] features. In order to have [-interpretable] features deleted for LF purposes and specified for morphological purposes, a given probe peruses its c-command domain in search of a goal.

Appleton (2010) captures the necessary conditions for Agree Operation thus:

(53a) α and β are non-distinct for some formal feature F
(b) α and β are active (i.e. have at least one uninterpretable/unvalued feature
(c) α asymmetrically c-commands β
(d) there is no Y, an active goal which is both asymmetrically c-commanded by α and asymmetrically c-commands β (i.e. there is no intervening potential goal)

The Case-checking/specification under this approach is considered as "reflex of the agreement relation involving the [+interpretable] ϕ-features of the noun and the [-interpretable] ϕ-features of the relevant Case-checker. The Case-feature operation will be implemented as shown:

> a given Case-feature will be specified as accusative under ϕ-feature agreement with a light verb, but as nominative under ϕ-feature agreement with a finite T.(Hornstein, Nunes and Grohman 2005:328)

The two approaches attempt the solution to the necessity of movement in natural languages as the means of deleting the unvalued/uninterpretable formal features that are illegible to the LF, thus reinforcing the hypothesis that the language faculty is an optimal solution to interface requirements and the attested fact that feature interpretability and syntactic computation are intricately connected.

2.8.5 Basic assumptions of MP

There are some postulations that have been incorpoarated into MP that have enhanced the descriptive and explanatory power of the model. These assumptions known as hypotheses are described in this section.

2.8.5.1Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH) or Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH)

This hypothesis assumes that the subject DP originally enters into derivation as the thematic or verbal subject. The operative mechanism of Merge derives the VP projection recursively (Radford 2009).

2.8.5.2 Predicate- Internal Theta –Marking Hypothesis (PITMH).

This is a thematic construct that lends credence to PISH (above). PITMH postulates that an argument is theta marked via merge with a predicate (Radford 2009).

2.8.5.3 Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)

This hypothesis is developed by Baker (1988). It assumes that each θ-role assigned by a given predicate is canonically associated by a particular position in syntax. By extension, it proposes that two arguments assigned a uniform role should occupy the same syntactic position.

2.8.5.4 Split VP Hypothesis

This hypothesis derives from the work of Kuroda. It proposes the split of the VP layer into VP outer layer and vP inner layer. The outer layer is headed by a lexical or contentful V while the inner layer is headed by a light, affixal, null or causative lower case v (Radford 2009).

2.8.5.5 Split CP Hypothesis

The split CP hypothesis derives from the work of Rizzi, (1997; 2001 and 2004). It postulates the decomposition of the complex CP projection into arrays of functional projections as Finiteness Phrase (FinP), Topic Phrase (TopP), Focus Phrase (FocP) and Force Phrase (ForceP). Each of the exploded projections encodes the organisation of information structure (Radford 2009).

2.8.5.6 Split -Infl Hypothesis

This hypothesis derives from the seminal paper of Pollock (1989). He proposes the decomposition of the l-tier into arrays of projection such as TP, ApP, AgrSP, AgrOP, and ModalP(Radford 2009).

2.8.5.7 Determiner Phrase (DP) Hypothesis

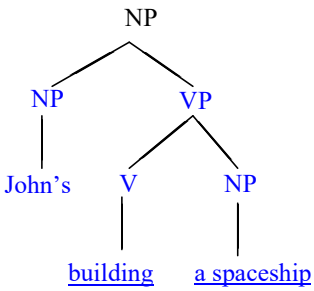
Determiner Phrase (DP) hypothesis derives from the seminal work of Abney (1987) who proposes that noun phrases (NPs) are headed in many languages (and probably universally) by a functional head called Determiner (D) just as a parallel non-lexical element-inflection (Infl/I) heads sentences. The D, valued as [+F+N] is lexically instantiated as demonstratives, quantifiers, genitival markers, pronouns and degrees.

Abney (1987) justifies the importations of DP analysis into the internal structure of NP on the grounds that it will provide a better comprehension of the feature of a number of NPs that have sentence-like structure. A typical example of such NP is 'Poss-ing' gerund in English as exemplified below:

(54) John's building a spaceship (Abney 1987)

To analyze the above phrase with the NP analysis will yield the tree diagram below:

(55)



(Abney 1987)

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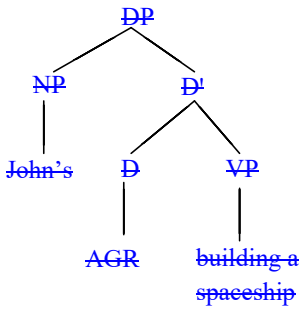
The above nominal projection in (55) has the structure of a sentence. The constituents of a sentence like NP and VP are identifiable. The structure in (55) however, lacks head at its highest projection. The PSR rules out the analysis as illformed because the NP lacks an endocentric head. Endocentricity stipulates that a maximal projection must have a head which will determine the category of its XP (Haegeman 1998; Michelle 2010).

DP analysis provides a unified analysis for accounting for the fact that only functional categories – Complementiser (C), Infl/I and D have overt subjects as the application of the DP analysis to the structure of (56) will yield a finer analysis of appropriate headship of the above phrase as exemplified below:

(56)



Abney (1987) further captures Bare Nouns (BNs) like unpossessed Ns with DP analysis by claiming that BNs have covert agreements marker (AGR) that encodes referential features of number. This AGR is licensed by bearing the agreement relation to an argument or by affixing to the semantic head of an argument. The syntactic relations between heads and their complements or adjuncts trigger the licensing that is conditioned by semantically-interpreted relation as illustrated with the schemata below:

(57a) DP [D PRN- I, we, you, he/she/it, us, they]]

(b) DP [Dɵ John]]

The schemata above describe the internal structure of pronouns as being realised as D(as in 57a) while BNs are analysed as being constituted with covert D and the nominal (as in 57b).

2.8.7.1 Testing DP hypothesis in Yorùbá

Few linguists have determined the applicability of the DP analysis into the NP structure of Yorùbá. Ìlọ̀rí (2010) for instance, questions the status of DP in Yorùbá where Ds are optional postnominal elements without apparent agreement with Ns. He identifies lexical instantiation of D as short and long pronouns, demonstratives (*nàà* 'the', *yìí* 'this', *èyí* 'this', *ìyẹn* 'that'), quantifier, numeral and attributes (*funfun* 'white', *dúdú* 'black').

He argues that postulating a separate head for nominal projection will be redundant because the existential interpretation of number (Num) is inherent in the feature specification of the Ns in the lexicon.In the same vein, the existential notion of the BNs is determined in the clause and not in NP. The claim that BNs have covert D is therefore invalid. The only form of BNs that he admits to be DP are the short and long

pronouns which according to him, qualify (as DP) because they are the locus of phi-features (Case, Per and Num). See Ìlọ́rí (2010).

This study observes that the DP analysis is applicable to the structure of the NP contrary to the claim of Ìlọ́rí (2010). The feature specification of the D valued as [+F +N] is not similar to the phi-features of Ns. The features of the D are licensed within its phrasal constituent to determine the well-formedness of its phrase while the phi-features are valued outside its phrase at the Spec, TP (for Nominative Case), Spec, vP (for Accusative Case) and Spec, PP (for Oblique Case) to determine the well-formedness of the entire clause.

The basis for capturing short and long pronouns as Ds, and rejecting other nominals is questionable. His claim that the feature specification is inherent in the Ns and to further invoke it on the D will be redundant is violated by importing DP analysis into short and long pronouns which are the locus of phi-features. Every nominal item is a locus of phi-features. The only difference between pronouns and other nominal is that while the phi-features are inflexional in pronouns they are abstract in the the other nominal.

The inclusion of the attribute (adjectives) and derived nominals (like *èyí* - 'this', *ìyẹn* 'that', *ìwọ̀nyìí* 'those') into the list of D seems to be at variance with the notion of D. Abney (1987) excludes nominals and adjectives from the list of D. D according to Abney (1987), is a non-lexical element. Ìlọ́rí (2010) probably arrives at the conclusion that DP analysis is not applicable to the NP because of the improper enumeration into the list of D.

The assertion of Ìlọ́rí (2010) that BNs should be analysed as NP without covert D can be tested by the co-ordination condition which states that constituents that could be co-ordinated are of the same status (Radford 2009). The BNs and Ns with D are subjected to the co-ordination test as exemplified below.

(58a) Bàbá àti ọmọbìnrin pupa yẹn lọ àjò
Father CONJ child girl red D(that) go journey
'The father and that fair girl went on a journey'

(b) Ìwọ àti ọmọ yìí gbọ́dọ̀ lọ odò

2SG LONG PRN CONJ child D (this) must go river
'You and this child must go to the stream'

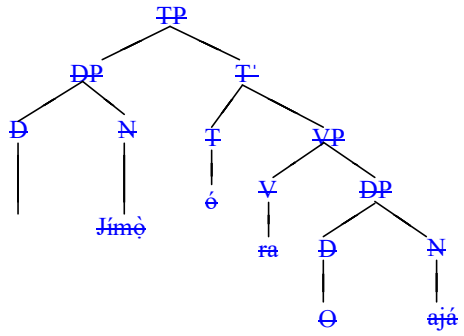
(c) Èyí àti oúnjẹ yẹn jẹ́ ti ìjòyè
This CONJ food D(that) belong to chief
'This and that food belong to the chief'

In the examples above, BNs *bàbá* 'father' is conjoined with the sequence of nominal and postnominal qualifier and D - *ọmọbìnrin pupa yẹn* 'that fair girl' (58a); while *ìwọ* '2SG LONG PRN' is co-ordinated with N and a D - *ọmọ yìí* 'this child' (58b) and *èyí* 'this' and *oúnjẹyẹn* 'this food' are co-ordinated yielding well-formed structures. The possibility of the co-ordination attests to the fact that BNs and nominals with their qualifiers or Ds are similar in their phrasal category and can be analysed as DP.

Another corollary inference from the above type of co-ordination is that BNs possess covert or abstract D thus making it possible to co-ordinate BNs with nominals and their Ds.The possibility of the successful co-ordination of the LONG PRN and the derived nominals implies that the LONG PRNs and the derived nominals should be re-analysed as nominals.

Dechaine[13] (1993) shares contrary view with Ìlọ̀rí (2010) by claiming that DP-analysis is applicable to the BNs as demonstrated below:

(59)

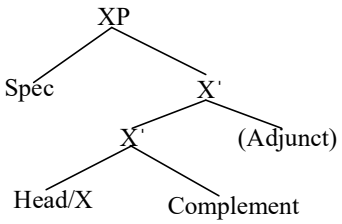


[13] Dechaine (1983) is one of the proponements who claims that HTS is a [-FUT] as the tree diagram above demonstrates.

As could be observed above, the D is at the left adjacent position of the Ns – a structure that violates the word order of NP where D is positioned post-nominally.

Awóyalé (1995) proposes the DP analysis where Ds occupy the post-nominal position yet, he and Dechaine (1993) fail to analyse DP in tandem with x-bar schema that provides cross-categorial generalisations of all maximal projections (Aarts 2001) as illustrated below

(60)

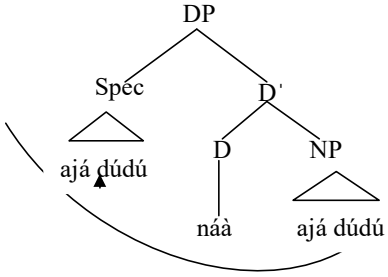


The structure of the DP can be analysed with x-bar schema above with the example below:

(61) Ajá dúdú náà kú lánàá
dog black D(the) die yesterday
'The black dog died yesterday'

The above (61) is represented in a tree diagram as shown:

(62)



The NP – *ajá dúdú* 'black dog' moves from the complement of D to the Spec, DP to satisfy the requirement of the EPP of D to the effect that its Spec must be filled and to license the agreement relation between the nominal constituent and its head. Aboh (2004c:109) describes the pied piping of the above type of constituent as snowball or roll-up movement.

2.5.8.2 Forms of DP in Ìyàgbà dialect

Ìyàgbà dialect attests various forms of DPs such as BNs, nominal and post-nominal qualifiers, short pronouns, long pronouns and the DP headed by genitival marker, demonstrative, quantifier, and number as exemplified below:

(63a) Òjó 'name'
(b) Ìbàdàn 'town'
(c) àná 'yesterday'
(d) isu 'yam'

(64a) Ọmọ daádaá
Child good
'good child'

(b) Ọmọ ghin a jẹ féfé
Child REL FUT be-V smart
'The child that will be smart'

(65a) Ti Olúwa
GEN Lord
'of the Lord/Lord's'

(b) Gbogbo arù
QUANT. Property
'All the property'

(c) Ile kán
house NUM(one)
'One house'

(d) Ọmọ ǹka
Child D(the)
'The child'

(e) Òun na
3SG LONG PRN D
'The she/He'

The examples above are the various instantiations of DP in Ìyàgbà dialect. In (63), different types of Ns-proper N – *Òjó* 'name' and *Ìbàdàn* 'town' (63b) abstract N – *ànà* 'yesterday' (63c) and concrete N – *isu* 'yam' (64d) are presented as BNs. The DP analysis of the BNs can be uniformly analysed as shown:

(66a) DP [Spec Òjó[D' DO<Òjó>]]]

The DP of BNs is headed by covert D which triggers the movement of *Òjó* 'name' to its Spec to license the agreement relation and to satisfy the EPP demand that its Spec must be filled. The above analysis is apt for (64a) whose Ns have postnominal qualifiers as illustrated with schema below:

(66b) D[Spec Ọmọ ghin a jẹ́ fẹ́fẹ́ [D DO<Ọmọ ghin a jẹ́ fẹ́fẹ́>]]]

Both the N and its postnominal qualifying RelP move from the complement position of the D to its Spec.

The examples in (65a-e) have overt D and can therefore be subjected to a unified analysis where each of the Ds occupies the D slot as the functional head with the nominal complements at the in situ from where each of the Ds triggers the movement of each of its corresponding complement to its Spec DP as demonstrated with (65a) by this schema below:

(66c) DP [Spec Olúwa D' D ti <Olúwa>]]

A comparative analysis of *òun* 3SG LONG PRN and other nominals clearly demonstrates that they are similar in their syntactic and semantic relations with D. At in situ, they are complements to D from where they are moved to Spec, DP to lexicalise the Spec position and to license agreement relation whereas short pronouns cannot have overt D or move to the Spec DP. The short pronouns are D and should be analysed as DP-realised as D as shown below:

(67)
DP
|
D
|
Short pronouns

The study proposes that long pronouns should be re-analysed as nominal as opposed to D as claimed by Ìlọ̀rí (2010).

2.9 Argument Structure and theta- roles

One of the fundamental assumptions of MP is that subjects originate within the VP. This assumption has bearing with the predicate logic that states that proposition which represents the substantive semantic content of clauses consists of predicate and a set of arguments. Predicate can be described as an expression denoting an activity or event while argument denotes a participant in the event or activity

Radford (2009) states that operation Merge derives the argument or predication structure (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005). The lexical verb merges with its object to yield V' and assigns theta-role to the object DP. The V' merges with light V', its affixal v triggers the adjunction of the contentful V to its (v) slot. The subject DP merges with the structure to yield vP. The schema below illustrates the thematic structure of (68b)

(68a)Ọba re ìdàlẹ̀
King go journey
'The king went on a journey'

(c) vP [Spec Ọbav v're [VP V <re> ìdàlẹ̀]

In the schema above, the V-re 'go' merges with object DP to assign theta-role of THEME to it. The resultant structure *re ìdàlẹ̀* 'go journey' merges with the light v', the v of which triggers the adjunction of the contentful V to its (v) slot. The external argument merges with the structure to yield- *ọba re ìdàlẹ̀* 'the king went on a journey'. The theta-role of external argument which is assigned AGENT/ACTOR is compositionally determined by the VP.

It can therefore be observed that V is the only lexical category that merges with arguments recursively to assign T-roles to them. This unique feature of V will be explored in the conceptualisation and classification of verbs in this study.

2.10. Motivation for the Adoption of MP

The MP is the most recent model of grammatical analysis. It towers higher than all other models because of its postulation for the use of minimal theoretical and descriptive apparatus for the explanation of the language phenomenon. This is the strong point of the MP that makes it the right choice for this study. Its adoption will simplify the syntax of basic clause of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà.

Furthermore, the MP assumes that the differences between languages are associated with the features of lexical items of the functional categories. These features must have their features valued by the appropriate functional heads for derivation to converge. The feature interpretability necessitates the displacement of constituents which consequently leads to the interpretation of an expression at the location that differs from where they are given expression. The MP is thus adequateto account for this operation.

The MP's assumption that every category either functional or lexical is capable of a maximal projection will help in analysing the lexical and functional categories of the dialect into distinct classifications as opposed to the conflation of categories into the same class as currently done by the linguists of Yorùbá. The application of the model will provide a theoretically sound basis for accounting for the functional and lexical categories in the language vis-à-vis the tripartite layers that constitute basic clause.

2.11 Summary

This chapter reviews literatures on the views of linguists on some of the core clausal elements and explicates the theoretical framework (Minimalist Program (MP) and Rizzi's Split-CP Hypothesis) adopted.The review reveals some of the problematic areas about the definition of verbs, the set of criteria that can validly define and distinguish the verbs of the language from other syntactic categories; the classification of verbs; the tense system, aspect system andtheir markers; the status of focus construction, the focalised constituents, and the derivation of the focus construction and its instantiation as a principal projection within the C-system. The subsequent chapters present theoretically-based explicit analysis of the core clausal elements.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preliminaries

This chapter describes the modus operandi of carrying out the study. It describes the research design, the study area, the population of the study, the database, the method of collecting and analysing the data.

3.1 Research design

The study adopts ethnographic and descriptive survey design in carrying out the study. The research design is considered appropriate in view of the fact that the study entails systematic collection, analysis and description of data collected from the representative of the entire Ìyàgbà population. The research approach is adopted to identify, describe and analyse the core functional categories of the clauses of the dialect and how they are deployed in the derivation of convergent clauses.

3.2 The study area

The study is based on the basic clause of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà speech community of Kogí State, Nigeria. Ìyàgbà is a sub-group of Okun- a generic term that is derived from a common form of greeting of the people which gradually assumes the symbol of identity of the Yorùbá-speaking community in the Southern axis of Lokoja. They (Okun) speak various Yorùbá dialects such as Owé, Ìyàgbà, Ìjùmú, Bùnú and Ọwọ́rọ̀. Arókoyọ̀(2007), Òtítọ́jú (2002) and all the informants attest to mutual intelligibility among all the various groups subsumed under Okun supra-group despite the slight variations that only the native speakers can discern.

Ìyàgbà is used to identify a specific socio-linguistic unit of the North Eastern Yorùbá cultural group located in three Local Government Areas of Yàgbà- East, Yàgbà-West and Mọ̀pà-Mùrò. They live in about seventy five (75) towns, villages and hamlets and they are about three hundred and thirty two thousand, two hundred and ten (332,210) according to the 2006 Census. Ìyàgbà shares boundaries with Nupe and Ìgbómìnà in the North, Èkìtì and Onàdó in the South and South West and Ìjùmú and Bùnú in the South-East and East (Titus 2015).

The linguistic homogeneity among the Ìyàgbà speech community is deeper than the level of mutual intelligibility between them and other Okun supra-group. In spite of the greater degree of mutual intelligibility, Ìyàgbà dialect manifests slight variation probably because of their surrounding non-Ìyàgbà neighbours. In order to ensure consistency in analysis, the core speakers of Ìsánlú-Ìyàgbà axis that are surrounded by Ìyàgbà were strategically selected.

3.3 Study population

The study purposively selected ten native speakers from Ìsánlú axis of Ìyàgbà dialect. The age range of the informants is between forty (40) and eighty (80). The informants within this age range are considered to have native competence of their dialects and could therefore guarantee valid data. The collection and analysis of primary data for the study were largely drawn from the Ìsánlú variety of Ìyàgbà in Yàgbà – East Local Government Area. Two informants each from Ìsánlú-Ìtẹ̀dó, Ìsánlú-Mọpọ, Ìsánlú-Màkùtù, Ìjọwà and Ìdọ̀fin were interviewed in the research.

Ìsánlú variety of Ìyàgbà is strategically chosen because it constitutes the nucleus of Ìyàgbà speech community where the dialect is predominantly spoken. Ìsánlú axis is also surrounded by other Ìyàgbà speakers thereby preserving their dialect to a large extent, from being influenced by non-Ìyàgbà neighbours. The first Local Government Area in the community was established in Ìsánlú thereby making Ìsánlú more or less a converging point for Ìyàgbà people.

In addition to the above, data about the entire Ìyàgbà community were also elicited from observations of the conversations of people in the public places like markets, eateries, places of worship, schools and local government secretariats. The other informants who provided some vital information about the social life and speech form of Ìyàgbà were drawn from different towns of Ìyàgbà community. They are one each from Ẹ̀gbẹ̀, Ifẹ̀-Olùkọ̀tún, Jege, Mọ̀pà, Èjìbà Ìgbágún andOdò-Èré.

3.4 Research trips

Two major field trips were made to Ìyàgbà community at different times in the course of the research. The first field-trip to the community was between 13th and 16th June, 2012. The researcher familiarised himself with the community and their speech

forms. Visit was made to public places like market, schools, places of worship and eateries both to establish contact and to familiarise himself with the native speakers. Some preliminary data about the history, social life and speech form of the community were also gathered. Four people were contacted in schools in Mọ̀pà-Mùrò and Yàgbà-East Local Government Areas. They include: two informants from Mọ̀pà and one each from Èjìbà and Ìsánlú-Ìtẹ̀dó.

The second trip was undertaken between 14th and 16th July, 2014 with more aggressive drive to collect more data and other publications about Ìyàgbà. The first place of call were the three local government secretariats in Mọ̀pà-Mùrò, Ìsánlú and Odò-Èré where some publications were provided.

The field trip concentrated on Ìsánlú-axis where Ìyàgbà dialect is being predominantly spoken. Two informants each from Ìjowà, Ìsánlú-ìtẹ̀dó, Ìsánlú-Mọpọ̀, Ìsánlú-Màkùtù and Ìdọ̀fin were purposively selected for interview. Three of the informants reside in Ondo state while the seven remaining ones were contacted in their towns. The informants in Àkúrẹ́ and Ondo were severally visited and engaged in interview.

3.5 Research instrument

The study makes use of structured interview guided by Ibadan 400 Wordlist and Ibadan Syntactic Paradigm coupled with folksongs and proverbs. The Ibadan Wordlist and Ibadan Syntactic Paradigm were designed in the Linguistic and African Languages' Department, University of Ibadan, Ibadan for the collection of corpus of linguistic data for phonological, morphological and syntactic analyses.

The quest to use speech formthat closely related to the natural speech form of the people of Ìyàgbà informs the collection of proverbs and folksongs of the people. From these folklore and the structured interview, data were elicited for the study.

3.6 Data collection

The database of the study comprises the primary data and the secondary data. The primary data are made up of structured interview comprising Ibadan 400 Wordlist and Ibadan Syntactic Paradigm.

The researcher introduced himself, his mission, recording facilities and guaranteed the confidentiality of their identities. The researcher collected data about the social life and history of Ìyàgbà community from informants in Mọ̀pà, Ìsánlú and Odò-Èré (being the headquarters of each of the three Local Government Areas) and publications at the first trip.

The data about the speech form of Ìyàgbà dialect were mainly drawn from ten (10) purposively selected informants, two each from Ìjọ̀wá, Ìsànlú-Ìtẹ̀dó, Ìsànlú-Mọ̀pọ̀, Ìsànlú-Màkùtù and Ìdọ̀fin in the series of research trips to the informants (as shown in the Appendix). Ìyàgbà being a dialect of Yorùbá, necessitates conversing with the informants in Yorùbá while they were requested to respond in Ìyàgbà dialect. The informants were also requested to sing songs and utter proverbs in their dialect.

All these conversations were collected into cassette recorder from where they were reduced into writing using the 1977 orthography as a guide. The alphabet of Yorùbá as espoused in the orthography of 1977 did not capture [Φ]: voiced velar fricative which is represented as a diagraph – gh (as demonstrated in Chapter One). This letter – gh was added to the list of Ìyàgbà consonant.

The data collection was done in the two major trips to Ìyàgbà community and the several visits to the Ìyàgbà native speakers residing in Ondo and Akure townships of Ondo State. These primary data coupled with the secondary data sourced through Internet surfing, library and archives constitute the database for the study.

3.7 Data analysis

The collected data were subjected to morpheme – morpheme interlinear glossing, syntactic and qualitative analyses with the aid of tree diagrams and schemata. The findings from the study and the discussion based on them vis-à-vis the core functional categories of Ìyàgbà dialect and their instantiations are presented in Chapters Four and Five.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VERB AND INFLECTIONAL SYSTEMS OF ÌYÀGBÀ

4.0 Preliminaries

This chapter explicates the concept of verbs; revisits the criteria for determining the verbal category; classifies the verbs; determines the status of interrogative predicate; analyses the various constituents of verbal projection and determines the status of preposition, preverbal adverbs and postverbal adverbs within the purview of MP. It further

analyses the Tense (T) and Aspect (Asp) systems of Ìyàgbà in both positive and negative contructions.

4.1 Perception of verb

The role of verb in the assignment of semantic discourse to arguments could be further explored as a way of providing a theoretically-based definition for it. Many linguists have come to term with the fact that the predicate of a clause is distinguished from other categories as the determinant of semantic argument (Baltin 2005; Markman 2007; Hartman 2008). The verb or predicate of a clausal structure has been closely associated with thematic structure to the extent that the VP has been known as the thematic domain (Barrs 2001; Haegeman 2005). The concept of theta-role has been approached from various linguistic models and have been subjected to a lot of conceptual modifications. Inspite of this, it continues to emerge as a recurrent concept in syntactic analysis. Neil (2002) rightly observes that though linguists express discordant views as to the number and the semantic properties of theta roles available, yet they continue to be alluded to in the current edition of MP.

In addition to the above, many thematic contructs namely Predicate Internal Subject Hypothesis (PISH), Theta Role Assignment Hypothesis (TRAH) and Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) are continually alluded to in the clausal analysis of derivation and semantic properties of arguments (Bowers 2001).

The MP in addition to the recognition of the concept in clausal analysis, (Bellelti and Rizzi 2002) has provided mechanism of Merge for its implementation. The quest for a theoretically-based and an explanatorily satisfactory definition of V prompts the exploration of the role of V in predication structure by Ọdúǹtán (2000:83). He adopts

theta role construct to describe V as the item whose fundamental function is to "license thematic roles" as illustrated with the schema below:

(69) [Spec, vP] and [Spec, VP] license theta role.

He futher explains the use of the terminology – "license" as against "assign" of the GB because of the Minimalist's assumption that arguments enter into derivations with the bundles of feature specification including those of the θ-roles.

The definition of verb as proposed by Ọdúnṭán (2000) is an eye opener to the possibility of applying the theta role module in conceptualising verbs of SY. The definition proposed is a modification of the earlier conception of verb that is premised on the assumption that all ɵ-roles are assigned by a head within its projections as espoused byPISH (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005).Consider the exemplification below in Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà:

(70a) Bàbà lu ìlù
Fatherbeat drum
' The father beat drum'

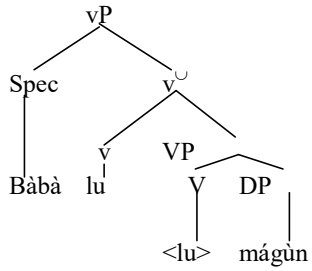
(b) Bàbà lu mágùn
Father hit don't climb
'The fatherwas struck with thunderbolt (charm)'

In (70a), *lù* 'beat' is a two-place predicate. It merges with *ìlù* 'drum' and theta-marks it with the role of THEME. The resultant VP*lu ìlù* 'beat drum' merges with the light v[1] whose strong V-feature of its light v-head triggers the adjunction and lexicalisation of its contentful V-*lu* 'beat'. The external argument *bàbà* 'father' merges with the light v to be theta-marked with the T – role of AGENT. Similarly, *lu* 'beat' in (70b) merges with *máguṇ* 'thunderbolt (charm)' to be theta-marked with the role of THEME. The resultant VP structure *lu mágùn* 'struck with thunderbolt(charm)' merges with the light v' whose strong V-feature attracts the lower V to its slot. The external argument merges with the affixalv and consequently receives T-role of EXPERIENCE.

The above observation implies that V directly theta-marks its internal argument while the T –role of the external argument is compositionally determined by the lower VP that was c-commanded by the affixal v. This attests to the fact of interpretation dependency of the thematic structure of the external arguments.The schema below further illustrates:

(71a) vP [DP v v$^{\smile}$VP[V DP].

(71b)



From the discussion on the derivation of the above VP, it becomes clear that θ-role is assigned to DPs through the application of the operation Merge (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005). The implication of the above is that the "first merge" must be into a thematic slot. Therefore, θ-role assignment is not bound by the principle of Last Resort. Recall that Last Resort states that movement is licit if and only if it is for the purpose of checking features(Ouhalla 1999; Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005) as vividly butressed by Theta Role Assignment Principle (TRAP). It is therefore obvious that functional heads do not check θ-roles (Bowers 2001).

Contrary to Ọdúnṭán (2000), θ-role is not inclusive of the formal features or ϕ-features which each lexicon is composed of. Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005) state that θ-roles arepositional or relational facts about an argument. This being the case, θ-roles are not phi-features neither are they constrained by the condition of last resort.

The economy principle which is the fundamental axiom of MP is also in support of Merge operation in accounting for θ-role assignment. Accounting for the θ-role assignment on the basis of operation Merge would only account for a minimal operation as against the operation Move that involves at least two operations viz: Copy and Move.

As profound as the theta-role construct and thedefinition derived from it in (69) seem tosound, they fail to account for the ditransitive structures adequately. The need to capture the argument structure of ditransitive construction prompts the modification of the definition and proposingSplit VP or VP Shell analysis.

4.2 VP-Shell or Split – VP analysis

The singleVP structure is decomposed into outer and inner layers to solve the conceptual problem of ditransitive verbs. Chomsky (1995) proposes a phonetically null

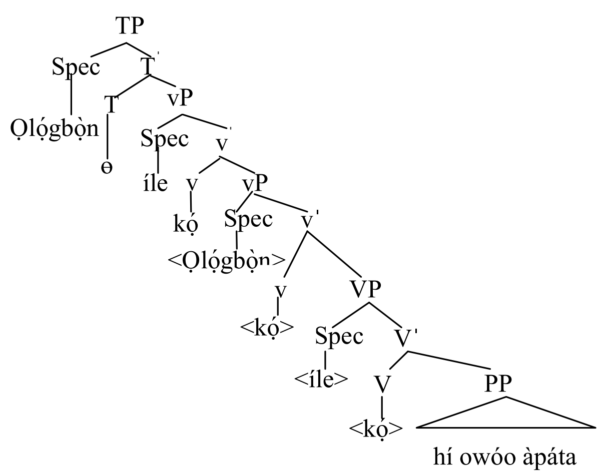
"light" verb (v). A light v is a verb "whose meaning is heavily dependent on its complement". Such verb and its complement forms a "complex predicate" (see Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005; Radford 2009). The data below exemplify:

(72a) Ọlọgbọ̀n kọ́ ile hí owóo àpáta
wise one builds house on head rock
'The wise person builds house on the rock'

(b) Olúwa pa márìn
Lord kill ISG laughter
'The Lord made me to laugh'

(c) Ìghan olè pa olóko lákún
3PL LONG PRN thief kill farmer cry
'The thieves made the farmer to weep'

All the above examples in (72a-c) are ditransitive verbs with each having two internal arguments and one external argumentbearing the ɵ-roles of the THEME, GOAL and AGENT respectively. The thematic structure of the ditransitive verbs could be accounted for using (72a) as a representativ.The sentences are causative verbs while there is also implied interpretation dependencyin view of the fact that the semantic argument of the THEME is dependent on the GOAL. The T-role of AGENT is equally determined compositionally by the combined thematic interpretation of the GOAL and THEME.(73)



The VP shell proposed above favours multiple specifiers. The derivation is initiated at the contentful verb; *kọ́* 'build' merges with the fused PP-*hí owóo àpáta*'on the rock' and the indirect object is assigned the ɵ-role of GOAL. The resultant $V^{|}$-*kọ́ hí owóo àpáta* 'build on the rock' merges with the DO *ile*'house' to yield larger predicate-*ile kọ́ hí owóo apata*'house build on the rock' and the DP is assigned the theta role of THEME. The VP merges with light $v^{\cup}$, its light affixal head has strong V-feature hence it triggers V to v by adjunction. The external argument *–ọlọ́gbọ̀n '*wise person' merges with the structure and receives the theta role of AGENT to yield: *Ọlọ́gbọ̀n kọ́ ilé hí owóo àpátà* 'wise person builds house on the rock'. The unvalued case and other phi-features must be valued against the local head beyond the theta domain. Thus another light vP projection that dominates the lower light vP emerges. The light v peruses the c-commanding structure to search a suitable GOAL that shares matching feature with it. *Ile* 'house' moves to occupy the Spec, vP. The phi-features of the DP-*ilé*'house' is valued against the functional v. The subject DP moves out of the VP shell to the Spec, TP for its feature valuation.The following observations are noted:

(74i) The analysis above, respects the word order of the dialect

(ii) It captures the external and internal argument differences

(iii) It supports the claim that syntactic structure is built from lexical items

(iv) It agrees with PISH. The external argument is still derived from the Spec, vP

The VP shell is also appropriate to analyse thematic structure for all types of predicates. Apart from the role of V in thematic structure, V also values the phi-features of DP object in S-H relation. This grammatical feature of V (as the valuer of phi-features of object DP is not appropriated in defining it. Other functors like T, P and Complementiser (C) of weak infinitival T also value phi-features of their DPs at the S-H relations.

Taking all the above into consideration, the notion of V can be expressed as shown:

(75i) Lexical V and $V^{\cup}$merge with the indirect and direct object to assign the T-role of GOAL and THEME respectively in ditransitive structure.

(ii) Lexical Vmerges with the internal argument to assign the T-role of THEME in transitive structure.

(iii) The light v assigns T-role of AGENT to external argument

(iv) The definition of V as expressed earlier in (69) does not capture the assignment of T-role to arguments in ditransitive structure.

The above observations necessitate the slight modification to the Ọdúǹtán's (2000) definition as proposed below:

(76) Verb is a category whose lexical form and its intermediate projection ($V^{\smile}$) theta-mark internal arguments while its light affixal variant theta-marks external argument via recursive merging.

The definition proposed above alligns with Táíwò (2018) which pins down the definition of verb to VP. The notion of the VP structure in (76) refers to the argument structure of a predicate prior to the valuation of the phi-features of the relevant DPs(asattested by PISH). Táíwò's definition, describes V from its Spelt-out perspective after the phi-features of the DPs especially after the external argument moves to the Spec, TP and deletion of features had been effected. The resultant structure of the VP is the projection that comprises the V head with or without modifiers or complement as buttressed by the illustrative tree diagram of (73).

4.3Criteria for determining verbal status.

Awóbùlúyì (1969) identifies the criteria for determining V of Yorùbá. The criteria had been adjudged to be the most comprehensive ones to be proposed (see Bámgbóṣé 1972). This study re-appraises the criteria as well as those of other scholars with the descriptive lens of MP.

4.3.1 Criteria for determining verb revisited

The task of finding sufficiently powerful criterion or set of criteria that can satisfy the descriptive adequacy of verbs in Yorùbá has been a "problematic issue" (Bámgbóṣé 1972). Many scholars have proposed many defining criteria of verbal status (Awóbùlúyì 1969b; 1972;Bámgbóṣé 1972;Bowen 1858; Crowther 1852 and Kújọrẹ̀ 1972). The most complete set of diagnostic criteria for determining the status of verb in Yorùbá are those proposed by Awóbùlúyì (1969b) as echoed by Bámgbóṣé (1972).

The criteria had generated scholastic and thoughtful considerations among the linguists of Yorùbá. While many of the critiques had been undertaken from the perspectiveof transformational grammar, systemic model (Bámgbóṣé 1972) and or

descriptive approach, much application of the most current syntactic model – Minimalist Program (MP) proposed by Chomsky (1995) had not been thoroughly undertaken.

Ọdúntán (2000) who makes a pioneer application of MP in his study on the clausal architecture of Yorùbá sparingly relates the MP to the conceptualisation of the notion of verb as the licenser of theta roles to arguments. He subjected his further discussion on the topic vis-à-vis the characteristics and classifications of verbs on the basis of the descriptive approach. He explains the phonological and morphological features of the verb following the line of thought of Bámgbóṣé (1972; 1990); Kújọrẹ̀ (1972); Owólabí (1994) and Awóbùlúyì (2013) among others. In his classification of the lexical item, he identifies splitting verbs only.In the same vein, Ìlọ̀rí (2010) adopts the MPs in the characterisation of verbs in Yorùbá and he explicates the preverbal adverbs, transitive verbs and the morphological analysis of verbs in line with the earlier approach.

This present study attempts the systematic and explicit characterisation of the verbsYorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect using the descriptive apparatus of MP vis-à-vis the diagnostic criteria for determining verbal status as espoused by Awóbùlúyì (1969; 1972) and the critiques of Afọ̀láyan (1972), Bámgbóṣé (1972) and Kújọrẹ̀ (1972).

The first diagnostic criterion states that verb must occur in a minimal sentence in the frame: #NP – (NP)#. Awóbùlúyì (1972) further elaborates as shown:

(77) The term verbs referring … to the set of items that substitute for one another mutatis mutandis in the frame # NP – (NP)#, where # stands for sentence boundary, and NP…a primitive noun, a nominalisation and even a full sentence.

Briefly explained, the frame above illustrates the minimal IP or the basic clause. The sentential frame has obligatory external argument and the optional internal argument. The slot in between the two arguments "houses" the verb. The following data in Ìyàgbà exemplify as shown:

(78a) Ọmọ nká gé igi
Child the cut tree
'The child cut the tree'

(b) Ọmọ nká re ile
Child the go house
'The child went to the house'

(79a) Olu re
Olu go

'Olu went'

(b) Ìyàò hùn
Wife sleep
'The wife slept'

(80a) Gé igi
Cut tree
'Cut the tree'

(b) Lọ agèrè
grind pepper
'Grind the pepper'

(81a) Ọmọ nká rọ́ gé igi
Child the modal cut tree
'The child can cut the tree'

(b) Ọmọ nká ì gé igi
Child the PROG cut tree
'The child is cutting the tree'

In (78a) and (b) above, the verbs – gé 'cut' and *re* 'go' occupy the slot between the external and the internal DPs. The syntactic category of the two verbs determines their distribution. Any other lexical item that can be inserted in the slot in a grammatical sentence qualifies to be verb. The argument structure or the semantic property of verb predicts the obligatory number of constituents needed. The two verbs are two-place arguments otherwise known as transitive verbs (Haegeman 1998) hence, the two arguments.

The clauses represented above as (80a) and (b) are imperative sentences. They have covert external DPs. The abstract external DP arguments are assumed to be abstract 2SG (referred to as understood 'you'). Its 2PL is overtly lexicalised (Bámgbóṣé 1990). If the assumption is correct, it then follows that the imperative clause has abstract DP external argument.

In the case of (81a) and (b), there are intervening functional categories of a preverb (rọ́ 'can') and PROG *ì* between the DPs and the verbal items. This observation informs the Bámgbóṣé's remark that the supposedly occurrence of verb in the diagnostic frame is weak as a number of functors overtly precedemany verbs in the grammatical sentences of the language.

The VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH) attests to the veracity of the frame #NP – (NP) # as the equivalence of VP. The PISH/VPISH states that subjects originate

internally within VP. This in essence, suggests a uniform mapping between syntactic argument structure and a semantic structure. We consider (78a) elaborately. The verb – *gé* 'cut' merges with the internal DP *igi* 'tree' to form the syntactic structure *gé igi* 'cut the tree'. The VP in turn merges with the v$^{\cup}$ headed by adjoined light v;*ọmọ nká* "the child" later merges with it to project vP. The VP-shell is illustrated as shown:

(82) vP[Spec ọmọ nká gé v v$^{\cup}$[VP [V< gé> igi DP]]].

The diagnostic frame only captures the VP-shell, the domain where the thematic structure of the sentence is determined. It is just one out of the three projections of the clausal structure. Other two fundamental projections are TP and CP.

The other intervening projection between (DP) and the slot of verb is what Awóbùlúyì (1978) refers to as pre-verbal adverbs. He includes the tense markers, aspect markers, modals, negators and pre-verbal modifiers of SY like: *dìídì/mọ̀ọ́mọ̀*, 'intentionally', *sìn/pàpà* 'still', *tún* 'again', *túnbọ̀* 'again', *ṣáà/sáà* 'anyway', *kọ́kọ́* 'first' etc. etc. These last segments of the items were referred to as verb-like non-verbs by Bámgbóṣé (1972).

The intervening projection between the subject and the verb in the earlier transformational generative grammar (TGG) is known as Aux and now, IP. It hosts tense, Agr, Person (Pers), Neg, Case and Number (Num) features. The diagnostic frame in (61) cannot adequately analyse the examples in (80a) – (b) and many like (81) and (83 -84). They apparently contain intervening items between the two DPs depicted in the frame as exemplified below:

(83a) Ọmọ nká ṣẹ́ṣẹ̀ dè ile
Child the just arrive house
'The child just arrived the house'

(b) Ọ́n gbà ọmọ nká gbíngbìnrìn
3PL take child the completely
'They accepted the child completely'

(84a) Í rọra fọ́ràn
HTS slowly speak
'He speaks slowly'

(b) É fọ́ràn wéréwéré
3SG speak quickly
'He/she speaks quickly'

In (83a) and (84a) above, the pre-verbal modifiers – *ṣ́ẹ́ṣẹ̀* 'just' and *rọra* 'slowly' precede the verbs in their respective clauses, (83b) and (84b) also display the post-verbal adverbs – *gbìngbìnrìn* 'completely' and *wéréwéré* 'quickly'. The two items perform modifying function.

The pre-verbal modifiers which are also described as being "verb-like" (Bámgbóṣ́é 1972) "defective verbs" (Adéwọlé 2007) have structural affinity with main verbs. They do not permit intervening items to separate them from the verbs they modify. The postverbal adverbs and modifiers permit intervening items between them and the verbs they modify. In view of this, they must be projected within the VP shell. The diagnostic frame in (77) could not accommodate these set of items. Consider (85) and (86) below:

(85a) Olú pàpà re ile
Olú still go home
'Olú still went home'

(b) *Olú re ilé pàpà
Olu go house still
'Olu still went home'

(86a) Olú re ilé wéréwéré
Olú go house quickly
'Olú went home quickly'

(b) *Olú wéréwéré re ilé
Olú quickly go home
'Olú quickly went home'

As could be observed in (85a) above, *pàpà* still occupies the position between the DP-*Olú* and the verb *re* 'go'. Attempt at moving the verb from its dedicated position in the diagnostic frame fails. In the same vein, *wéréwéré*'quickly' in(86a) occupies the postverbal position which is not specified in the frame. This tends to suggest that the frame cannot adequately account for the VP structure or that of the clause. The adjoining of the adverb to higher Spec, vP position crashes the derivation. This confirms the canonical positions of the two items to be sacrosanct.

Within the post-verbal position however, there are possibilities of the occurrence of other constituents like adjuncts or prepositional phrase (PP) as against the optional internal argument that the diagnostic frame recognises. Theother possible occurrence of the post-verbal constituents could be exemplified as shown:

(87) Olú re ọ́ja
Olú go market
'Olu went to the market'

(88) Olú re ọ́ja lánà
Olú go market P yesterday
'Olú went to the market yesterday'

(89) Olú re ọ́ja wéréwéré
Olú go market quickly
'Olú went to the market quickly'

It could be observed that the diagnostic frame could only capture example (87). The data in (88) PP - lánà[14] 'yesterday' as well as those of (85a) and (86a) could not be captured. It is therefore inadequate in capturing clauses consisting of the postverbal modifiers or adjuncts.

4.3.2 Possibility of topicalisation by reduplication

One of the striking morphological criteria of verb is that it can be reduplicated for the purpose of deriving nominal. Two forms of reduplication readily come to mind namely: partial reduplication and full reduplication. In the case of partial reduplication, the consonant-initial is replicated with vowel *í* interfixed, followed by the annexation of the verb. This is demonstrated for the derivation of nominal form of*re* 'go'.

(90) C+í+verb ⟶ Cíverb
r+í+re ⟶ ríre 'going'
(Bámgbóṣé 1990 and Kujọrẹ 1972)

Through the above derivational strategy, nominal element could be derived from almost all attested verbs. The other form of reduplication known as full reduplication is the repetition of compounded verb (verb and its complement) as shown:

(91)

pa	ẹja	:	pẹja+pẹja	=	pẹjapẹja
wo	ilé	:	wolé+wolé	=	woléwolé

(Bámgbóṣé 1990:84)

[14] The study argues in favour of prepositions in the dialect contrary to the views of Bamgbose (1972; 1986b 1990; Ọdúǹtán 2000) and in consonance with Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2013) among others in the subsequent section.

The prefixation of verbs in the derivation of nominal has also been explored by scholars like (Awóbùlúyì 2013; Owólabí 1994) as morphological criterion for determining verbal category. Owólabí (1994) distinguishes between the two classes of prefixes that could be attached to either verbs or nouns from each other.

It is to be observed that the derivational devices of reduplication and affixation are not peculiar to verbs. Nominals can also be further subjected to complex derivations through the above devices.

The syntactic use of the nominalised verb in topicalisation[15]has been largely alluded to as one of the determining criteria of verb (Awóbùlúyì 2013; 2014). This study is of the view that the nominalised verb loses the status of verb after undergoing nominalisation. Owólabí (1994) describes the class I prefixes as category changing morphemes. The prefixation of the class of the prefix I to verb changes its categorial class to nominal with all the nominal qualities the same that the morphological process of verbal reduplication does. To therefore determine verb with the possibility of being topicalised is to wrongly apply nominal criterion for understanding verb. It is even becoming unacceptable criterion when it is observed that comparative study of nominalised verbs and underived nominal can equally be subjected to focusing as shown:

(92) Ríre kí Olú re ọ́ja
Going FOC. Olú go market
'OlúWENT to the market'

(93) Ọ́ja ki Olú re
Market FOC. Olú go
"Olú went to the MARKET'

In (92) *ríre* 'going' is a verb- derived nominal, it was fronted to the left periphery of the clause for communicative prominence. In the same vein, ọjà 'market' in (93) - an underived nominal moves to Spec, FocP for emphasis. This comparison proves that subjecting nominal for focusing is not peculiar to nominalised verb as it has been made evident that both derived and underived nominal can be focused. It has been proved that nominalized verbs change their categorial status from verbs to nominal. The criterion that states that verbs could be focused is therefore not a valid diagnostic criterion of verb[16].

[15] Topicalisation as used in the context by Awóbùlúyì is similar to focus construction
[16] See detail argument on the status of nominalised verb in Chapter Five

4.3.3 Possibility of relativisation

Another closely related criterion (to the above) is the possibility of relativisation. This criterion shares similar syntactic[17] and morphological processes with proneness to focusing. The respective verbs are nominalised and then moved to the left peripheries of their various head projections. The overt difference between the two complex projections are in respect of their markers. The relativisation of the verbal nominals is also a common feature of nominals. The examples below further buttress:

(94a) Ríre ghe Ólu re ọ́ja
going REL Olú go market
That Olú went to the market

(b) Híhe kí ìyàò he ọbẹ̀
Cooking FOC wife cook soup
'The wife COOKED the soup'

From the example above, the fronted elements for relativisation in (94a) and for focusing in (94b) are nominalised verbs. While the relative clause is marked by *ghe* 'that' the focused expression is marked by *kí*. Although, the syntactic and morphological processes of deriving the two forms of utterances share certain similarities as explained earlier, yet, they differ in status. The example of the RelP in (93) is a DP while the FocP in (94) is a sentence.

4.3.4 Interrogation by means of the interrogative particle *kí* and the preverb *ṣe*[18]

Further criterion that Awóbùlúyì (1972) identifies is the possibility of interrogating the verbal constituent of a clause using *kín* 'what' and preverbs *ṣe* 'do'.

In the transformational linguistic parlance (which is the precursor of MP), the interrogative markers are known as wh-items. The languages that do not have wh-initial

[17] Awóbùlúyì (1972) posits that verbs can be subjected to the syntactic processes of relativisation and focalisation. This study argues that the focalised and relativised items above are derived nominal. Chapter Five provides more proofs.

[18] *Ṣe* which is identified as preverb by Awóbùlúyì (1972) is analysed in this study as verb as exemplified below. It is not an interrogator. The interrogative element in above is *Kín* 'what'.
Kín ni Olú ṣe <Kín>
What FOC Olú do <what>
What did Olú do?

interrogatives have also adopted the 'tag'. To therefore question verbal category in the dialogue below, we can have more than the above interrogatives. See the exemplification below in SY:

(95) Speaker A: Àlàkẹ́ bí ìbejì
Àlàkẹ́ bear twins
'Àlàkẹ́ gave birth to twins'

Speaker B: Kín ni Àlàkẹ́ ṣe?
What FOC. Àlàkẹ́ do
'What did Àlàkẹ́ do?'

Speaker A: Mo ní Àlàkẹ́ bí ọmọ méjì làǹtì lanti
1SG say Àlàkẹ́ bear child two big
'I said Àlàkẹ́ gave birth to bouncing twins'

Àwọn ọmọ náà jọ bàbá wọn
3PL LONG PRNchild the resemble father 3PL
'The children resemble their father'

Speaker B: Báwo ni àwọn ọmọ náà ṣe rí?
How FOC DET child the do see
'How do the children look like?'

From the analysis above, one can observe that the interrogative item– *kín* 'what' can be used to question dynamic/action verbs while 'báwo' is used to question static or attributive verbs. The attributive verbs include: *ga* 'tall', *tóbi* 'big', *kéré* 'small', *funfun* 'white', *dúdú* 'black' etc. The inadequacy in the criterion that states that verb can be questioned by means of *kín*'what' is that it could not account for the questioning of the attributive verbs.

4.3.5 Negation by kọ́

It is also proposed that verb could be determined by the possibility of negating it with the negator *kọ́* 'not'. Though the examples cited to buttress the point are those of derived nominals (e.g. lílọ 'going') which as observed by Bámgbóṣé (1972) shares similar syntactic characteristics with the other points on topicalisation, relativisation and negation. One further observes that there is also similarity in the morphological feature of the topicalised, relativised and the negated elements. Each of the items as noted earlier is a derived nominal. This clarification becomes instructive in view of the fact that the

derivation of complex categories affects both the categorial properties and subcategorisation properties of the lexical items (Ouhalla 1999).

Perhaps the inference that could be drawn from the possibility of negation as shown above is that verb can be negated. The example of Awóbùlúyì (1972) however is not a case of verbal negation. Consider the exemplification below in SY:

(96a) Lílọ kọ́ ni Ayọ̀ lọ
Going NEG FOC Ayọ̀ go
'Ayọ̀ did not GO'

(b) Ayọ̀ kọ́ ni ó lọ
Ayo NEG FOC HTS go 'Ayo did not go'
'AYỌ̀ did not go'

In (96a), the negated item is the derived nominal *lílọ* 'going'. The semantic relationship between the derived nominal and the morpheme – *lọ* 'go' from which it is derived tends to show that the verb is negated. In (96b) however, *Ayọ̀* 'name' is clearly shown as the negated item. The action of going is not an object of dispute. What is being disputed is the actor. The actor – Ayọ̀ 'name' in (96b) is the object negated.

It is also observed that there are two major forms of negations in Ìyàgbà dialect. They are: clausal and constituent negations. The examples below further clarify.

(97) Olú é re oko
Olú Neg go farm
'Olú did not go to the farm'

(98) Olú é re oko lánà
Olú Neg go farm yesterday
'Olú did not go to farm yesterday'

In (97), the entire clause or the verb and its complement are negated[19]. The negation in (98) is only in respect of PP – lánà 'yesterday'.

The deduction from the above is that occurrence with negator or possibility of negation criterion could not be used as a diagnostic measure of verb in view of the fact that virtually all constituents of a clause and the entire clause could be negated.

4.3.6 Possibility of selecting subject and object

The last two sets of the criteria for defining and determining verbal status are in relation to the selection of subject and object. Bámgbóṣé (1972) reviews the above claim

[19]The next section shall discuss negation in relation to T and Asp in detail

and observes that a number of constituents that he identifies as non-verbs[20] also select object and subject. He therefore submits that the criteria are not adequately diagnostic about verbs.

The issue of lexical selection in syntax is a perpetually thorny issue that linguists over the years have been grappling with. The earlier versions of transformational grammar propose context-free rule known as PSRs whose machinery becomes too powerful by overgenerating ill-formed utterances. The revision of PSRs informs the incorporation of a 'context-sensitive' rule known as subcategorisation rule with the aim of curbing the derivation of ill-formed sentences.

The PSRs and the subcategorisation rule as explained above fail to exclude the possibility of such sentences like those exemplified below:

(99a) S→NP VP

(b)* Òkúta re ọ́ja
Stone go market
'Stone went to the market'

(100) { -NP
-]
-PP]
-NP PP]
-S] }

Considering (99) and (100) above, the verb – *re* 'go' is a two-place predicate that satisfies both PSRs and the subcategorisation requirements for both external and internal DPs. Though the sentence is syntactically well-formed yet, it is semantically odd.

The reason for the oddity of the meaning is the inappropriate combination of an inanimate external DP – *òkúta* 'stone' with an action verb *re* 'go' and *ọ́ja* 'market'. It is anomalous for an inanimate object – (non-living thing) to carry out the action of going to a place. The derivation of (100) shows that a context-sensitive rule like subcategorisation rule may not be adequate for the formation of grammatical sentences.

[20] For the explanation on the non-verbs' selectional property, see Bámgbóṣé (1972:33-38).

The point to note as a result of the foregoing is that the inherent and idiosyncratic features of each item thatconstitute the specifications of the lexical item in the lexicon are crucial in determining the co-occurrence possibilities of such item with other constituents. The inclusion of this lexical information into the "re-write rule" so as to indicate the context in which a given verb can occur will restrict the derivation of illformed sentence like (99). This revision to the subcategorisation rule is known as the selectional rule. The appropriate selectional rule that may rescue (99b) from illformedness may look like the sketch in (100). Consider (101) below:

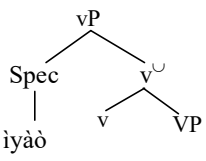
(101) [V] → Y: NP (i) [+ Animate] Aux
(ii) [+Location] (Adapted from Ouhalla 1999).

In (101i) above, the nominal that qualifies to be the subject of *re* 'go' should be [+Animate] while its object should be [+Location] (see (101ii).

While the series of revisions to the PSRs have strengthened the descriptive power of the grammar, it however takes the learners further steps away from achieving the goal of explanatory adequacy which is the ultimate goal of every grammatical model. Further measure to formulate grammar that will satisfy the explanatory adequacy prompts the formulation of Lexical Insertion Rule (LIR). Lexical items are fixed into ready-made structures on the basis of their specified features that define their co-occurrence possibilities (Ouhalla1999; Zwart 1994). The lexical insertion operation has been discarded in MP. The derivation starts with lexicon.

The lexicon is an unordered list of lexical entries providing wide range of information about their appropriate usage. The range of lexical information includes the categorial property or class of the item, whether it takes complement, the kind of complement it can take if transitive. The inherent features must be obligatorily complemented with selectional features. The notions of theta roles are central to the semantic specification of lexical items (Neil 2004). The thematic relations of argument structure should therefore be alluded to in the selection of DPs. That being the case, the verb could be said to select DP object while its light v selects the DP subject. We shall illustrate with the tree diagram below:

(102)



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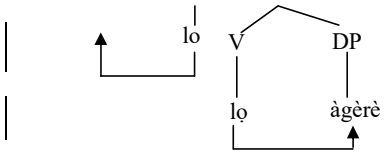

As could be observed from the tree diagram above, the syntactic object (SO), *ìyàò lọ agèrè* 'the wife grinded pepper' is assumed to have originated at the VP shell (as supported by the PISH and UTAH. In this VP domain, *lọ* 'grind' merges with *agèrè* 'pepper' to form VP and immediately θ-marks it with the theta role of THEME. The resultant structure merges with v$^{\smile}$whose strong V-feature attracts the contentful V to adjoin to it. *Iyàò*'wife'merges to the structure at the Spec, vP to form: *ìyàò lọ agèrè* 'the wife grinded pepper'. The subject DP is also θ-marked with the role of AGENT by the affixal v. Operation merge accounts for the θ-role assignment of the arguments. However, the "grammatical features", "morphosyntactic features" or the "phi-features" of the lexical items which must be valued obligatorily to avoid the structure from crashing necessitates the movement of the argument*agèrè* 'pepper' from the complement of the lower VP to the Spec, of another higher vP to value its objective Case. Similarly,*ìyàò* 'wife' moves to the Spec, TP to check its nominative Case.

Awóbùlúyì (2013) later identifies additional two phonological defining criteria of verbs to the effect that they are consonant-initial and mostly monosyllabic. These phonological criteria appropriately depict most verbs however, they are not theexclusive attributes of verbs. A number of categorial items in the language like short pronouns and prepositions are equally mono-syllabic while some of them are also consonant-initial[21].

The foregoing discussion proves that diagnostic criteria of verbs as espoused by Awóbùlúyì (1969; 1972), Bámgbóṣé (1972; 1990) and Kújọrẹ̀ (1972) among others are deficient and inadequate in defining and differentiating verbs from other lexical items. The diagnostic criterion of the occurrence of verb in the #NP-(NP)# frame is equivalent to few instantiations of the VP shell as against the minimal IP or basic clause. The V head of the VP selects the DP complement while its v in turn selects the DP subject. The earlier definition of V which is renumbered as (103a) states:

[21] See the inventory of preposition in the latter section of the Chapter.

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(103) Verb is a lexical item whose head and intermediate projection theta-mark the internal arguments while its functional light variant theta-marks the external argument via recursive merging.

The above definition is the tentative conceptualisation of verb at the onset of derivation of thematic structure prior to the valuation of the formal feature of the external arguments. The T attracts the external argument to its Spec, TP for the valuation of its phi-features resulting in the VP-stucture that is reconstituted as the verb, its complement, and adverb or modifier. Succinctly put, verb could be defined as (104) as shown below:

(104) Verb is a lexical item that occurs alone or in conjunction with its complement and modifier in a VP

4.4 The verbal interrogative in Ìyàgbà dialect

Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect attests a lexical element that functions as both predicator and interrogator. This section describes the status and the derivation of this verbal category vis-à-vis the existing views about its categorial status as verb or otherwise.

4.4.1 Views on verbal interrogatives

There are two question items in SY that have their locus at the canonical predicate domain. Many scholars have recognised them as interrogative verbs (Abímbọ́lá and Táíwò 2014; Àkànbí 2011; Awóbùlúyì1972; 1978; Bámgbóṣé 1990 and Yusuff 2006). Few languages also attest verbal interrogatives whereby the interrogative items or words in these few languages have the syntactic features of predicates (Huang et al 1999; Hagège 2003; Cysouw 2004 and Idiatov Vander Auwera 2004). This verbal or predicate interrogative is evident in Formosan and Kavalan-an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. Hagège (2008) defines an interrogative verb as "a kind of word which both functions as predicates and questions the semantic content of this predicate."

Interrogative verbs according to him have dual denotations of both interrogative and verbal meanings. In recognition of the form of interrogative markers above, Dong-yi (2010) classifies interrogatives into three classes: nominal interrogatives, adverbial interrogatives and verbal interrogatives (see also Huang 1999). The verbal interrogatives in Kavalan language are very flexible and productive in view of the fact that they feature in many syntactic structures. For instance, they can feature in transitive, intransitive or serial verb constructions (SVCs). The following examples further buttress:

(105a) q<um>uni=isu tangi
<AV>do.What=2SG.ABS just now
'What were you doing just now'

(b) quni=pa=isu
go. Where FUT=2SG.ABS
'Where are you going?'

There is another divergent school of thought who differs in respect of the status of the verbal or predicate interrogatives - *dà/ńkọ́* 'where/how about' in SY. Atóyèbí (1998) and Awóbùlúyì (2014) for instance, unanimously but independently disclaim the items as verbs.While Atóyèbí (1998) fails to suggest the categorial status of the items, Awóbùlúyì(2014) claims that they are nominal qualifiers. The premise on which Atóyèbí (1998) refutes the verbal status of the items is their failure to adequately pass the diagnostic criteria of verbs as espoused in Awóbùlúyì (1969; 1972).

Similarly, Awóbùlúyì (2014) reviews his earlier position and shifts from his earlier claim on the verbal status of the interrogative items. He compares *dà*/*ńkọ́* 'where/how about' with *wẹ̀* and *kẹ̀* and deduces that they are similar in their co-occurrence impossibility with short pronouns. We exemplify with the following data:

(106a) Èmi kẹ̀/wẹ̀!
ISG LONG PRN EXCL.
'I!'

(b) Èmi ńkọ́?
ISG LONG PRN. IV
'What of me?

(c) Ìwọ dà?
2SG LONG PRN IV
'Where are you?

Awóbùlúyì observes that *kẹ̀/wẹ̀* 'even' in (106a) share similar co-occurrence pattern with the interrogative elements in (b) and (c). Since (106a) are not acknowledged as verbs, the supposedly interrogative verbs in (b) and (c) could not be verbs as well. The structures, according to Awóbùlúyì (2014), are truncated verbless sentences.

It is the view of this study that the above observation is not adequate to disclaim *ńkọ́*/*dà* 'what of'/'where/how' as verbs. In consonance with Àkànbí (2011), the verbal interrogatives in conjunction with their external DPs form complete sense of thought as principal clauses composed of subject, predicate and interrogative notion. This in effect

implies that while (105a) is a verbless structure that does not make a complete sense of thought, (106b) – (c) have verbs.

A further examination of the utterances demonstrates that the seemingly structural similarity of both of them (as claimed by Awóbùlúyì 2013) is superficial and spurious. The structures in (106b-c) have predicates that determine the argument structure. The verbs – *ńkọ́*and *dà*'how/where' are one-place predicates. Each merges with the DP to assign the ~~Θ~~-role of THEME.

It is also observed that the question verbs and the modifying items differ in term of their co-occurrence possibility with PP. Witness the examples (which are drawn from SY) below:

(107a) Ọmọ náà ńkọ́ nílé yìí?
child the IV in (P) house this
'Where is the child in this house?'

(b) *Ọmọ náà kẹ̀/wẹ̀ nílé yìí
Child the MOD in (P)house this
*'The child then in this house?'

As could be seen from the question item in (107a) and the modifying item in (b), there is dissimilarity in their possibility of co-occurring with PP. What one could deduce from the ungrammaticality of (b) is that it is an assemblage of words or phrases without a predicator. The utterance is therefore ill-formed and unacceptable. The difference between (b) and (a) is assumed to be the presence of a predicator in (107a). The interrogative item *ńkọ́* "where/how" has both inherent verbal and interrogative meanings. It therefore ascribes grammaticality to the sentence.

The PP that co-occurs with *ńkọ́* 'where/what about/of' could be perceived as AdvP that modifies the IV. Its co-occurrence with the verb in a grammatical sentence further proves that *ńkọ́* 'where/what about/of' is a verb that the AdvP modifies. In (107b), the AdvP has no congruent lexical category to modify, no wonder it crashes. The phrasal structure of (106b) could be illustrated with the schema below:

(108) *DP [Ọmọ náà [MODP kẹ̀ [PP nílé yìí]]]]

As a predicator, *ńkọ́* where/how' constitutes the second essential part of every complete sentence. The first part is the subject (which is hosted at the Spec, TP). The subject could be dropped (especially indirect imperative clause) but the predicate is

obligatory. The predicate or lexical verb of a sentence is an obligatory constituent (Andrea 1997). Predicate could be verb-to-be; adjectival verbs, weak verbs, regular verbs, or irregular verbs (grammar.about.com)

Ìyàgbà dialect also has the variants of (107a) to (b) as shown below.

(109a) Ìwọ na!
2SG LONG PRNMOD
'You!'

(b) Ewó m nkọ́?
Money 1SG IV
'Where is my money?'

Ìyàgbà has one lexical item each for the modifying items and verbal interrogatives of the SY as exemplified by (109a) and (b) above. The two items can occur with the long pronouns or emphatic pronouns otherwise known as pronominals. They could not occur with the short pronouns as shown by the ill-formedness of the utterances below:

(110a) * A na !
IPL MOD !
*We Even!

(b) * A nkọ́
IPL IV
'What of us?'

Nkọ́ 'how/where' is singularly used to enquire both about well-being and inanimate object 'ewó m 'my money' (in Ìyàgbà dialect) whereas the SY uses two verbal interrogatives. Witness more exemplifications in Ìyàgbà dialect as shown below:

(111a) Èmi nà
1SG LONG PRN MOD
'I!'

(b) Èmi re nà
1SGLONG PRN goMOD
'I went!'

(c) *Ìyàò nkọ́ re
WifeIV go
*Wife where go?

(d) Ìyàò rẹ̀re oko
Wife2SGgo farm
'Your wife went to the farm'

(e) Ìyàò rẹ̀ nkọ́
Wife 2SG IV
'Where is your wife?'

The utterance – *Èmi nà* 'I' in(111a) was taken to be a truncated structure that has been reduced to DP as presumed by Awóbùlúyì (op.cit). In a bid to construct a complete clause, *re* 'go', a verb was introduced in between the so-called DP (see 111b) and the ensuing structure converges. The convergence of the structure strongly suggests that the purported DP is not DP as claimed. Rather, it is a structure that is composed of a nominal and amodifying item. The basis for this proposal is that a verbal element cannot intrude between a composite DP.

As could be seen from (111c), *re* 'go' is introduced into the assumed DP of Awóbùlúyì (op cit) and the ensuing utterance crashes thus corroborating the fact that itmay not be composed of a nominal head and its modifier as Awóbùlúyì (op. cit.) claims that *nkọ́* 'how/where' to be. It is assumed that the structure comprises a bare DP-*Ìyàò*'wife', IV-*nkọ́* 'where/how about/what of' and dynamic V-*re* 'go'. The structure crashes because the two verbs cannot form a serial verbal construction (SVC). What could be deduced from the comparison is that *Èmi nà* 'I!' is not a DP while *iyàò rẹ̀* is a DP. In the case of (111d) and (e) however, the sentences converge because the two-place predicate (of 111d) and the one-place predicate (of 111e) appropriately constitute a well-formed thematic structure. The thematic structure of (111d) for instance is derived by the merging of lexical V-*re* go with *oko* 'farm' to yield *re oko* 'go farm'. The structure merges with light v' whose affixal v adjoins the contentful V to its slot. The resultant structure further merges with the external argument *ìyàò rẹ̀* 'his wife' to yield *ìyàò rẹ̀ re oko* 'his wife went to the farm'. In the case of (111e) *nkọ́* 'how/what of/where' merges with*ìyàò rẹ̀* 'his wife' to yield *ìyàò rẹ nkọ́* 'where is your wife'.

4.4.2 Derivation of interrogative verb

The orthodox view on the derivation of IV construction is that the clause is derived in situ that is, at the domain of the interrogative item of the VP shell. However, Abímbọ́lá and Táíwò (2014) observe that such explanation will have two accounts of the same syntactic process. For instance, there will be one account of the interrogative force exertion or enactment at the decomposed CP of the Spec, ForceP for the wh- questions. The second proposal may have to account for the location of question-marking of the

interrogative verbs at the lower clausal level of the VP assuming that the *nkọ́* 'how/where' marks interrogation in situ. The implication of the accounts above includes questioning the workability of Chomsky's theory for the verbal interrogative construction. The dual accounts of interrogative constructions pose theoretical problems to the UG which posits that the interrogative force is exerted to a clause at the Pre IP periphery.

The authors (op.cit) provide a unified analysis for word contnent questions (WCQs) and V-qs' derivations. The question formation of the IV and its information structure representation shall be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.5 Prepositional Phrase (PP) in Ìyàgbà

Prepositional Phrase (PP), a constituent of VP, comprises P and DP complement. P is both a closed part of speech and a functional category (Carnie 2007). It expresses a relation between two entities of which one of such is the one being represented by the complement. The most prominent relational meanings are spatio-temporal. Ìlọ̀rí (2010:126) perceives P as an invariable syntactic category that denotes location, direction, time and a space. Other recognisable relationships are: instrument and cause (Quirk and Greenbaum 2015). We shall exemplify with the following data of SY:

(112a) Olú wá sí ilé ìwé
Olú come P house book
'Olú came to the school'

(b) Ọba gúnwà sí orí ìtẹ́
King sit P head throne
'The king sat on the throne'

(c) Owó yìí jẹ́ ti ìjòyè
Money the be P chief
'The money belongs to the chief'

(d) Bàbá dé ní àná
Father come P yesterday
'The father came yesterday'

(e) Ọdẹ pa ẹranko pẹ̀lú ìbọn
'Hunter killed animal P gun
The hunter killed the animal with gun.

From (112a-e), the following items: *sí* 'to/on', *ti* 'of', *ní* 'in /on' and *pẹ̀lú* 'with' constitute some examples of preposition in Yorùbá. From the data, it is observed that the italicised items denote relationships between themselves and their DP complements. In essence, prepositional meanings are expressed by a combination of such 'quasi preposition and body-part Ns' (Awóyalé 2008).

4.5.1 The status of preposition

The categorial status of P has been a subject of controversy among the Yorùbá linguists. Two schools of thought clearly emerge. The first school of thought[22] recognises the existence of P as a distinct category. Among others, the following scholars are the proponents of the view: Abraham(1958); Abubakre[22](2009); Awóbùlúyì (1978);Dechaine (1993); Dingemanse (2006);Fágbọ́rún(1994); Ìlọ̀rí (2010); Ọláṣẹ̀yẹ (1993); Ọ̀jẹ́túndé and Ọ̀kánlàwọ́n(2009) and Ṣótilóye, Bọ́dúndé and Ọláyẹmí (2015). The concensus of the above is limited to the recognition of preposition as a distinct categorial class. They differ slightly in their enumeration of examples of the concept. Ìlọ̀rí (2005) argues that the following items: *ní* 'in/at' *sí* 'to', *fún* 'for', *pẹ̀lú* 'with'and *ti* 'from'are prepositions. In an attempt to differentiate the DP object of V and P from each other, the term direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) have been introduced by linguists for the DP complement of V and that of the P respectively.

The second school of thought claims that the items in (95) are not Ps. Rather, they are variants of Vs. The proponents of this school include Bámgbóṣé(1986a; 1990); Ọdúnṭán (2000) and Yusuf (2007). Bámgbóṣé (1986a) for instance describes the items as postverbs. Examples of such postverbs include: sí 'into', lé 'on', kà 'on', dè 'for', and ní 'in'. In the same vein, Yusuf (2007) explains that what is generally referred to as P is actually V that has been severely eroded of both its form and function. He further states that sí 'at/to' in (113a) below behaves like split V and as an extension of motion V in (b). We exemplify the above assertion with the following:

(113a) Wọ́n gbé Mósè sí etí odò

[22] The list of the school of thought is the creation of the researcher. The list is broadened to include all scholars who acknowledge preposition as a part of speech in Yorùbá.

3PL carry Moses V ear river
'Moses was left at the river's bank'

(b) Wọ́n fi mí sí ilé ìwé
3PL put ISG V house book
'I was sent to school' (Yusuf 2007:260)

Ọdúntán (2000) in consonance with the above views, analyse the 'preposition-like' words as verbs because they exhibit certain crucial characteristic properties of verbs in serial verbal constructions (SVCs)". To the above scholars, *gbé* 'carry', sí 'in/at' in (a) and *fi*'put', as well as *sí* 'to/at 'in (113b) are Vs. Specifically, *sí* 'in/at/to' is a directional/locative V.

4.5.2 Parallel between preposition and verb

Some of the striking similarities between prepositions and verbs could be seen in the feature specifications of the two lexical categories. (i) The feature specifications of both V and P are shown below:

(114i) V: [+V -N]
P: [-V -N]

(ii) The two lexical items (above) are [-N]. Thus, the two lexical items that are [-N] could be grouped together for a descriptive purpose.

(iii) [-N] elements above subcategorise for DP complements.

(iv) The complements of [-N] elements could also be derived from V and P through a process of vowel lengthening. The lengthened syllable assumes the [+N] and stands out as the short pronoun complement. The data (in Ìyàgbàdialect) below exemplify the claims above:

(115a) Olú hùn hó owóo ani
Olú sleep on head mat
'Olú slept on the mat'

(b) Olú hùn hí i
Olú sleep on 3SG
'Olú slept on it'

(116a) Olú gbá bọ́ọ̀lù
Olú kick ball
'Olu played football'

(b) Olú gbá a
Olu kick 3SG
'Olú kicked it'

(iv) All Vs and Psare consonant-initial. The second characteristic of Vs is that they are monosyllabic. With the exception of two Ps – *láti* 'from' and *pẹ̀lú* 'with', all other Ps are monosyllabic (Awóbùlúyì 2008).

(v) The two lexical items (V and P) demonstrate similarity in the tonal feature between them and their complements. The low tone on the final syllable of P and V before a nominal object changes to mid tone (Babárìndé and Ahamefula2013 andOyèláràn 1972). Consider the examples below:

(117a) hè: ìyàò he ọbẹ̀
wife cook (V) soup
'The wife cooked soup'

(b) lù: Wálé lu Àìnà lánà
Wálé beat (V) Àìnà of(P) yesterday
'Wálé beat Àìnà yesterday'

(c) fò: olè nká fo ìgànnà
Thief thejump (V)wall
'The thief jumped over the wall'

(118) kò: Adé mú oroǹbò ko Olú
Adé take orange to (P) Olú
'Adé gave orange to Olú'

The above similarities are not indicative that P is a subclass of V. The similarities above could not be taken as the determining characteristics of V. The view that Vs are consonant initial for instance, is not peculiar to the categorial class of V. Many pronouns, adjectives and adverbs are consonant-initial. It is also observed that a number of short pronouns of the dialect are also monosyllabic.

In the dialect under consideration, the items attested and recognised as prepositions include: *lí*'in/at', *hí* 'to', *wún/kò* 'for', *pẹ̀lú*[23] 'with', *ti* 'of', and *láti* 'from'. All the above lists could subcategorise for IO complement. It is also possible for P to

[23] Ìlọ̀ri (2010) claims that pẹ̀lú is basically a verb but could also be used as preposition and conjunction by conversion. This study is of the view that by function, which describes the use of an item in a sentence, pẹ̀lú can be preposition, verb and conjunction. It does not have a basic categorial class.

share DP complement with V as it is the syntactic characteristic of the [-N] to subcategorise for DP complement. Ọdúntán (2000) observes that postverbal prepositional projection follows the verb and its object (if the verb is transitive). He explains that the characteristic feature that SVC shares with P that identifies it as verb as against P is argument sharing. Ọdúntán (2000) argues that argument sharing is an 'obligatory property of verbs in SVCs'. This crucial property is also evident in SVC with covert argument of a verb. In this type of structure, the overt argument of a higher verb licenseslower argument.Weexemplify the above claim with the data below:

(119) Adé búnú rera oúnjẹghá
Ade angry go buy food come
'Ade angrily went and bought food'

(120) Adé kọ́ ilé híowó iléọpẹrẹ̀
Ade build house P his ground father 3SG.
'Ade built house on his father's plot.'

(121). Ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀ ba hí imọ̀ tútù
Frog nest P place cold
'The frog nested in a cool spot'

(122). Adé rí owóo ilẹ̀ baba rẹ̀ kọ́ ilé hí
Adé see head ground father 3SG build house on
'Ade saw his father's plot to build (house) on'

In (119), *búnú* 'angry' is the c-commanding V of which its higher argument '*Adé* licences the lower covert arguments. In other words, *búnú*'angry' shares *Adé* with *rè* 'go' *rà* 'buy' and *ghá* 'come'. The highlighted items are undisputed verbs. The argument sharing in the SVC as claimed above is obligatory.

In contrast however, *kọ́*'build' in (120) has *Adé*and *ilé* 'house' as its external and internal arguments respectively. It is however observed that neither of these arguments could be shared with *hí* 'on'. The inability of *hí* to share any argument with the undisputed V (*kọ́* 'build') suggests that *hí* 'on' is not a V that has the obligatory feature of argument sharing in a SVC. The same observation is factual of (121) where the V ba 'nest' and *hí* 'on' could not share similar argument. In the same vein, the undisputed V-*rí*'see' and *kọ́* 'build' share *Adé* as common argument whereas, the argument sharingexcludes *hí* 'on' (see 122). Still on (122), where *rí*'see' and *hí* 'on' arepurported to have shared a common argument – *owóo ilẹ̀ bàbà rẹ̀* 'his

father's plot', it is assumed that the DP is base-generated as the IO of *hí* 'on'. The semantic notion of *rí* 'see' makes it vulnerable to argument sharing with the P. The argument sharing is therefore proved to be optional between the P and V whereas it is obligatory with V in SVC. This casts serious doubts to the status of P as V.

Further proofs to support the recognition of the class of P as being distinct from V include:

(123i) Preposition cannot be subjected to nominalisation by morphological process of reduplication but verbs can be nominalised (Ìlọ̀rí 2010)

(ii) PP can be preposed for focalisation without nominalising it.

(iii) The thematic structure is determined by V via Merge Operation. P does not assign Θ-role. It only transmits it to its DP complement.

(iv) Light v values its DP for Accusative Case while P values its Case for Oblique Case.

4.5.3 The determination of the status of *fi, ti* and *bá*

There are also controversial items that have been admitted by some scholars to the list of P in Yorùbá. Examples include: *fi* 'with/by means of', preverbal *ti* 'from' and *bá* 'on behalf of/with' (cf Awóbùlúyì 1982 and Ọdúǹtán 2000). In this study, the items are considered to be 'verblike preposition'. They share some of the features of verbs but they precede the main finite verb to function as modifiers. The items could also be substituted with undisputable verbs as exemplified with the data in Ìyàgbà dialect below:

(124a) Olú ti Èkò re Ìbàdàn
Olú from Lagos go Ìbàdàn
'Olú went from Lagos to Ìbàdàn'

(b) Olú gba Èkò re Ìbàdàn
Olú pass Lagos go Ìbàdàn
'Olú went from Lagos to Ìbàdàn'

(125a) Olú fi ìhìn gé ìrèké
Olú take knife cut sugarcane
'Olú cut sugarcane with knife'

(b) Olú mú ìhìn gé ìrèké
Olú take knife cut sugarcane
'Olú cut sugarcane with the knife'

(126a) Olú bá Òjó re Èkò
Olú with Òjó go Lagos

'Olú accompanied Òjó to Lagos'

(b) Olú pẹ̀lú Òjó re Èkò
Olú with Òjó go Lagos
'Olú and Òjó to Lagos/Olú went to Lagos with Òjó'

The intervening items between the preceding nominals in (124a-126a) could not be claimed to function as verbs because they pass the substitutionary test with verbs. The distribution of the items is always before the finite verbs. The items cannot occur in the canonical position of undisputed verbs. That apart, the substituted counterparts in(123b-125b)express the notion of relations such as location, instrument and theme respectively with their associated DPs.

The categorial status of *ti* 'of' is claimed to be "some kind of nominal with the feature specifications of [+N, +Definite, +Anaphor] by Awóbùlúyì(1978; 2008). Reasons adduced for this claim are:

(127i) *Ti* 'of' requires the attachment of the prosthetic vowel to its left margin as shown below:

(127). ajá a-ti Kúnlé (SY)
dog MTS of Kúnlé
'The dog of Kúnlé/Kúnlé's dog'

(ii) It co-occurs with the genitival qualifier – rẹ̀.

(iii) It can function as the object and the subject of a sentence as in:

(128a) *Ti rẹ* wù mí (SY)
of 2SG please 1SG
'I like yours'

(b) Mo kọ ti rẹ̀ (SY)
1SG write of 2SG
'I wrote yours'

(iv) *Ti* behaves like anaphor as in:

(129a) Mo mú ìwé Ayọ̀, mo sì fi ti Tọ́pẹ́ sílẹ̀ (SY)
1SG take book Ayo 1SG and leave of Tọ́pẹ́ to ground
'I took Ayọ̀'s book and I left Tọ́pẹ́'s own'

(b) Mo mú ìwé Ayọ̀, mo sì fi ìwé Tọ́pẹ́ sílẹ̀
1SG take book Ayo 1SG and leave book Tọ́pẹ́ to ground
'I took Ayọ̀'s book and I left Tọ́pẹ́'s own'

The (b) version above, (to him) is anomalous (Awóbùlúyì 2008).

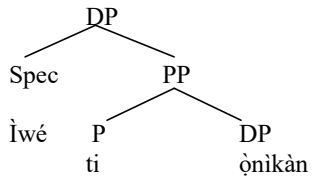
An examination of the structures constituted with *ti* 'of' shows that its full spell-out is DP. The DP consists of N + ti + N. The *ti* 'of' element is analysed as genitival particle/marker (Bámgbóṣé 1990, Owólabí 1976) a complementiser (Ajíbóyè 2007), pronoun and a possessive genitive (Ìlọ̀rí 2010).

The problem with the above analysis that regards *ti* as N is the assemblage of two nominals (NPs) – ajá 'dog' and 'ti' anaphor without any Case-checking element. The two DPs will be ruled out ill-formed. Theoretically, *ti* 'of' could not be a nominal. Further consider the analysis below:

(130) Null (DP) ti rẹ wù mí (SY)
tẹwu m (Ìyàgbà)
GEN like 1SG
'I like yours'

There is assumed covert nominal that *ti rẹ* 'of yours/yours' qualifies. The full spell-out of the DP will have a structure that can be represented as shown:

(131)



Furthermore, *ti* 'of' lacks all the phi-features (Pers, Num, Case), and binding domain of all attested anaphors.

In this present analysis, *ti* 'of' is analysed as P that expresses the genitival relation between the possesseum and its possessor. Ìlọ̀rí's (2010) view that it marks genitival relationship is supported while the other view that assigns it a nominal status is rejected.

4.5.4 The inventory of prepositions in Ìyàgbà

The following are attested to be prepositions in Ìyàgbà. They are:

(132) hí: Olú hùn hí ìyàrà
Olu sleep in the room
'Olu slept in the room'

(133) wún: Olú kọ ìwé wún Dàda
Olu write book to Dada
'Olu wrote a letter to Dada'

(134) pẹ̀lú: Ọmọnká ṣe iṣẹ́nká pẹ̀lú tulahí

Child the do work the with force
'The child did the work forcefully'

(135) láti: Olú re ìlù òyìnbò láti Èkò
Olu go town white from Lagos
'Olu went to oversea via Lagos'

(136) ti: Ìwè mọ jẹ́ ti Olú
book this belong of Olú
'This book belongs to Olú'

(137) kò: Ó mú oroǹbò ko Olú
3SG give orange to Olú
'He gave orange toOlú'

(138) de: Olú dọ de opẹ rẹ́
Olú wait for father 3SG
'Olú waited for his father'

(139) lé: Ó gbe aru ka lé owóo
3SG carry load theon head
'He carried the load on the head'

Each of the identified prepositions transmit the theta role assigned by each of the preceding verbs. This claim is in consonance with the MP's postulation that Ps do not assign theta role but they transmit theta role to the arguments they precede. Assuming the correctness of the above claim, *hí* 'in' (in 132) and *láti* 'from' (in 135) are indicatives of LOCATIVE, *wún* 'to' in (133); *pẹ̀lú* 'with' (in 134); *kò* 'to' in (137); *de* 'for' in (138) and *lé* 'on' in (139) transmit THEME while *ti* 'of' expresses POSSESSIVE or GENITIVAL theta-roles.

4.5.5 The implications of the study for S Y

Ìyàgbà demonstrated that *fún* 'give/for' has more than one specification in the lexicon. *Fún* in SY could be juxtaposed with its counterpart in Ìyàgbà as shown:

140	**SY**	**Ìyàgbà**
a.	Olú fún Ṣọlá ní owó Olú give Ṣọlá to money Olú gave Ṣọlá the money	Olú mu ewo ko Ṣọlá Olú give money to Ṣọlá Olú gave Ṣọlá the money
b.	Owó ni Olú fun Ṣọlá Money Foc.Mkr Olú to Ṣọlá Olú gave Ṣọlá the money	Ewo kí Olú mú ko Ṣọlá Money Foc.Mkr Olú gave to Ṣọlá Olú gave Ṣọlá the MONEY
c.	Olú ra aṣọ fún Ṣọlá Olú buy cloth to Ṣọlá	Olú ra aṣọ ko Ṣọlá Olú buy cloth for Ṣọlá

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	Olú bought the cloth for Ṣọlá	Olú bought cloth for Ṣọlá
d.	Olú gbé oúnjẹ fún bàbà Olú carry food for/to father Olú brought food to the father	Olú gbé oúnjẹ ko bàbà Olú carry food for/to father Olú brought food to the father
e.	Olú fún Ṣọlá ni owó Olú give Ṣọlá to money Olú gave Ṣọlá the money	Olú mú ewó ko Ṣọlá Olú give money to Ṣọlá Olú gave Ṣọlá the money
f.	Olú kọ ìwé fún Ṣọlá Olú write book for Ṣọlá Olú wrote letter for Ṣọlá'	Olú kọ ìwé wún Ṣọlá Olú wrote book for Ṣọlá Olú wrote a letter for Ṣọlá

As could be seen in the SY version of (140a) and (e), *fún* 'give' is used as a V while it is used as a P in (b-d) and f. There is no variation in its morphological form. In the Ìyàgbà version *mú* is used as V while *kò* 'to' is used as P in (140b-e). In (140f) however, wún 'for' which has the semantic reading of doing something on one's behalf is another variant of the P-*kò* 'for'. The relationships expressed by *kò* 'to' and *wún* 'for' in relation to their complements can be very thin. Yet, Ìyàgbà expresses this minutest detail with different Ps. *Kò* can mean 'to' or 'for'. The complement will be a recipient. On the other hand, *wún* 'for' implies doing something on behalf of another person thereby indicating the relation of beneficiary. This tends to show that there is more morphological impoverishment in SY. Ìyàgbà dialect manifests more morphological richness. This in essence supports the view that in SY, *fún* 'give' to/for must have specifications for both V and P.

Also in Ìyàgbà, *lé* 'display/on', and *dè* 'screw/for' must also have dual specifications in the dialect see the illustration with *lé* 'chase/on' below:

(141a) Ó gbé arù lé ekiré
3SG carry load on shoulder
'He carried load on the shoulder'

(b) Ó léiṣu hó owóo igbá 3SG
display yam on head bowl 'He displayed
yam for sale'

The syntax of preposition in Iyagba reveals that some items like preverbal *ti* 'from', *bá* 'with' and *fi* 'with' function as Ps in some contexts. It is further observed that the dialect displays more morphological richness than the SY. For instance, *fún* 'give/for/to' which is invariant in SY has distinct forms in Ìyàgbà. It has the verbal form of *mú* 'give' and two forms of P as: *kò* 'to' and *wún* 'for'. The implication of this observation is that three different types of morphemes have been reduced to one form in the standard. This one

form must be specified for three realisations in the lexicon. It is the non-recognition of the three possible variants that probably accounts for the controversy surrounding the acceptability of *fún* 'to/for' as P in SY.

4.6 The adverbs and verbal modifiers

Within the lexical VP shell, a number of constituents intervene between the thematic subject DP and the verb on the one hand, and between the verb and the internal argument or after it on the other hand. These items shall be described in this section.

4.6.1 Postverbal adverbs

Many linguists of Yorùbá recognise the postverbal elements as adverbs. The only exception is Awóbùlúyì (1975; 1978 and 2013) who avers that they are "manner nouns". His examples include: *bí/bá* 'manner, way', *kólíẹ̀* 'tiny', *títí* 'period', *fòò* 'redishly', *ọgán* 'suddenness', *ọ̀kọ̀ọ̀kan* 'one by one', *òjijì* 'suddenness', *ojoojúmọ́* 'day by day', *ẹyọ ẹyọ* 'piece by piece', *ẹsẹ ẹsẹ* 'line by line', *kíákíá* 'quickly', *dùgbẹ̀-dùgbẹ̀* 'swaying heavily', *roboto* 'circular', *júujùu* 'disorderly', *palaba* 'flatly' among others.

This study analyses most of the items as adverbs. The only few exceptions among them are the ones that can be assigned θ-role by the predicate preceding them or by the transmission of the θ-role of the verbs by the P to IO. Assuming the correctness of the above position, we test the compactibility of the items with the thematic diagnosis for arguments as exemplified with the following:

(142a) Mo jẹun lójoojúmọ́
1SG eat day by day
'I eat daily'

(b) Jákọ́bù súre wun ìghan ọmọ rẹ lí kọ̀ọ̀kan
Jacob bless for 3LP child 2SG of one by one
'Jacob blessed his children one by one'

(c) Àlùfà nká kaàdúrà Olúwa lẹsẹẹsẹ
Priest the read prayer Lordof line by line
'The priest read the Lord's prayer line by line'

(d) Ìyàò tú arù ọmọ ọ̀dọ̀ rẹ lẹ́yọ̀lẹ́yọ̀
Wife loose load child side 2SG one by one
'The wife checked the loads of her maid one by one'

In (142a) – (d) above, the complements of the P – *ní* 'of' *ojoojúmọ́* 'daily/day by day', *kọ̀ọ̀kan* 'one by one' cannot assume the complements of V head directly. The implication of the intervening Ps in the examples is that the V cannot directly assign θ-role to the

internal arguments. The θ-role of the c-commanding V has to be transmitted by each of the respective Ps to their complements.

These claims can be exemplified using (142d) as our representative sample. The V – *tú* 'loose' merges with the already fused PP *–lẹ́yọ̀lẹ́yọ̀* 'of one by one'. The θ-role of the V is transmitted by P to the DP. The V$^{\smile}$ in turn merges with the DO DP *arùọmọ ọdọ rẹ* 'load of her maid' to yield VP which further merges with the light v$^{\smile}$. The functional v head by the virtue of its strong V-feature triggers the adjunction of the contentful V to the affixal v.The external argument- *Ìyàò nká* 'the wife' merges with the light v at the Spec, vP to yield: *Ìyàò nká tú arù ọmọ ọdọ rẹ̀ lẹ́yọ̀ lẹ́yọ̀* 'the wife loose the loads of her maid one by one'.

The above analysis shows that the items above pass the test of the thematic diagnosis of argument structure whereas the attested adverbs cannot be captured by the thematic diagnosis. The following data further exemplify:

(143a) Eso nká pọ́n fòò
Fruit the ripe redishly
'The fruit ripened redishly'

(b) Olu re kíákíá
Olu go quickly
'Olú went quickly'

(c) Òn gbẹ́ igi lí pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀
3PL carve wood of flat
'They carved into a flat shape'

(d) Arúgbó nká í rìn díẹ̀díẹ̀/wẹ̀rẹ̀ wẹ́rẹ́
Old the PROG walk little
'The old person is walking gently'

In each of the above, *fòò* 'redishly', and *díẹ̀díẹ̀/wẹ̀rẹ̀wẹ́rẹ́* 'slowly/gently', are not theta-marked by their respective verbs. The verbs in (143a) – (b) and (d) are one-place predicates thatcould not assign θ-role. In (143c), *gbẹ́* 'carve' is a two-place predicate that assigns the role of THEME to its internal argument *igi*' wood' while the light vassigns the role of AGENT to the external argument *Òn* '3PL'. The P – lí 'of' in the example does not transmit any θ-role.

The possibility of the adverbs occurring after P in Yorùbá and her dialects is not a valid argument that adverbs are DPs. This possibility of co-occurrence of P with AdvP is

not peculiar to Yorùbá. English also permits such co-occurrence as buttressed by the following examples. Witness:

(144a) The king came in majestically.
(b) He walks across fastly.
(c) He droves off hastily.
(d) He cuts in sharply.
(e) The old man walks slowly.

All the above examples are convergent sentences of English. The Ps in each of the sentences (in 144a-d) co-occurs with AdvP. The AdvPs convey the manner of the actions expressed by the Vs.The realisation of this fact will correct the wrong conclusion that every item that assumes the complement or comes after P is a nominal element.

The derivation of adverbs differs from that of DPs. We exemplify with the example below:

(145) Olú re oko wéréwéré
Olú go farm quickly
'Olu went to the farm quickly'

The projection of the lexical VP of the above is proposed to be that *re* 'go' merges with *oko* 'farm' to form *re oko* 'go farm'. The VP further merges with the light v$^{\smile}$. Its v, having strong V-feature triggers the contentful V to adjoin to v, *Olú* merges with v to form SO – *Olú re oko* 'Olu go farm'. The AdvP-*wéréwéré*'quickly' mergeswith the vP to yield *Olú re oko wéréwére*'Olú went to the farm'. This projection accounts for the thematic structure. Another light vP tier must be projected to account for the valuation of the phi-features of the objective Case of the internal argument *oko* 'farm' at the Spec, vP position while the phi-features of the external argument *Olú* will be valued at the Spec, TP position.Assuming the correctness of the above position, the simplified schema is indicated as shown:

(146) TP[Spec Olú TϴT'[vPSpec ọ́ja v re v'[AdvP wéréwéré[vPSpec<Olú>v<re>v'[VP V<re><ọja>]]]]]]]

The above derivation agrees with the overt syntax where the AdvP occurs postverbally.This derivation agrees with the derivational principle of adjunct as stated by Hornstein, Nunes and Grohamnn (2005) which posit that an adjunctadjoins to structure after the maximal XP has been projected.

4.6.2 Postverbal modifiers

These set of items are verbs functioning as modifiers to the main verbs. The following further buttress the above claim:

(147a) Ọpẹ rẹ mu ọtí yó
Father 2SG drink wine full
'The father was drunk'

(b) Ṣọlá hùn re
Ṣọlá sleep go
'Ṣọlá slept off'

(c) Mo mú ewó nká gbé
1SG take money the carry
'I took the money away'

The VP projections in the above utteracance also follow the same pattern of merging with those of the postverbal adverbs. The verbs – *yó* 'full',*re* 'go' and *gbé* 'carry' are modifying the main predicates. The VP shell of each of the examples in (147a) – (d) could be accounted for using (147c) as a representative sample. The verb – *mú* 'take' merges with *ewó nká* 'money' to form *mú ewó nká* 'take the money'. The structure further merges with v$^{\cup}$, the light affixal v triggers the adjunction of *mú* 'take.*Mo* 1SGmerges with the SO to yield *mo mú ewó nká* 'I took the money'. This SO finally merges with the postverbal modifier *gbé* 'away'resulting to – *mo mú ewó nká gbé* 'I took the money away'.The phi-features of the object DP must be valued at Spec, vP of another higher projection of the light vP hence, the light affixal head adjoins the contentful V to v. The v as a probe searches for a suitable c-commanding goal whose features match its. The DP*ewó nká* 'the money' moves to the Spec, vP to value its phi-features against the local head.In the same vein, the external argument*mo* '1SG' moves to the Spec, TP to value its phi-features. The deletion of the uninterpretable features will result to the spell-out of the structure that agrees with the word order where postverbal modifier occurs postverbally. The schema below further illustrates:

(148)TP[Spec Mo TƟ T'[vP[Spec ewó nka v mú v'[ModP gbé[vP[Spec<Mo> v <mú> v' VP[V <mu> DP <ewó nka>]]]]]]]]

4.6.3 The preverbal adverbs

The preverbal adverbs are also attested in the VP projection. To Ọ̀kẹ́ (1972); they are intensifiers. Intensifiers, according to Quirk and Greenbaum (2012) are adverbs that refer to items that indicate increase or a point in the intensity scale. The following data exemplify:

(149a) Olú pẹ̀pẹ̀ joyè
Olu still eat title
'Olú still became a chief'

(b) Olú ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ dé láti Èkò
Olú just arrive from Lagos
'Olú just arrived from Lagos'

(c) Mo ṣàdédé rí ewó lílẹ̀
1SG accidentally see money on ground
'I accidentally saw money on the ground'

(d) Bàbà mà/dẹ̀ kọ́ ilé
Father did build house
'Father did build house'

(e) Ilẹ̀ kúkú ti sú
ground really PERF dark
'It was really dark'

In all the (149a) – (e) above, *pépẹ̀* 'still', *sẹ́sẹ̀* 'just', *ṣàdédé* 'accidentally', *mà/dẹ̀* 'did' and *kúkú* 'really' denote the manner of which the actions of the various verbs are expressed. Other preverbal adverbs include: *tètè* 'quickly' *tiẹ̀* 'still', *kàn* 'still'. They are also intensifying adverbs.

There is also another subclass of preverbal adverbs that scholars have diverse notions about. Some scholars like Adéwọlé (2007); Oyèláràn(1982a); Ọ̀kẹ́(1972) and Welmers (1973) refer to them as modals, modal auxiliaries or modal verbs. Awóbùlúyì(1978) refers to them as preverbal adverbs while Bámgbóṣé(1972:45, 1986a) claims that they are restricted preverbs. He is not categorical about their status.

The modal school of thought has discordant views on the constituents of the class. However, *gbọ́dọ̀* 'must', *lè* 'can', *yóò* 'will' (Adéwọlé 2007), *níláti* 'have to' (Oyèláràn 1982), Welmers (1973), *a*, *á*, *yóò* 'will', *báá*, *báà*, (or its variants *baà* or *baa*)' would have' (Ọ̀kẹ́ 1972) are common examples often cited by the scholars.

The modal schoolof thought seems to be strongly influenced by their knowledge of English. This is evident in the inclusion of *á/yóò* 'will' in the list of modals. English operates past and non-past tense system. She has such expressions as: *shall, should, will,*

would, may, might, must, can and *could* among others as her modals. In the case of Yorùbá, future versus non-future system is attested. Therefore, *yóò/á* 'will' does not express semantic notion. The exemplification below further clarifies:

(150) Olú á re Èkò
Olú FUT go Lagos
'Olú will go to Lagos'

Agreed that the items (with the exception to 150 and its likes) express semantic notion, it should be noted that the semantic interpretation of the items is in relation to verbs. As a matter of fact, they express the manner, condition and modus operandi about the actions or events of the verbs they are attached to. Adverbs generally indicate the time, the place, manner, condition, or how actions of the verbs were or would be carried out (Awóbùlúyì 1978). The data below buttress:

(151a) Èmi gbọ́dọ̀ yún ọja
1SGLP must go market
'I must go to the market'

(b) Èmi rọ́ sà ìbùsọ̀ mẹ́wàá
1SGLP can run kilometre ten
'I can run ten kilometres' race'

(c) A níláti á ré ọja
1PL have to FUT go market
'We will have to go the market'

In all the examples (151a-c) above *gbọ́dọ̀* 'must' *rọ̀* 'can' and *níláti* 'have to' impact on the interpretation of the actions expressed by the verbs.

Another reason that is adduced for recognising them as preverbal adverbs is borne out of the realisation that two of the so-called modals could be combined in a sentence as buttressed by the following example:

(152a) Olú gbọ́dọ̀ rọ́ parí iṣẹ́ nká
Olú must can finish work the
*'Olú must can finish the work'

(b) Iyàò gbọ́dọ̀ rọ́ gún iyán wún ọkọ rẹ
Wife must can pound yam for husband 2SG
*The wife must can pound'

The co-occurence of the purported modals that are conveyers of obligation or compulsion versus probability or ability notions on a single verb is anomalous. The English versions

rule out the sentences ill-formed because modality is an attested grammatical feature in her language.

Further proof to falsify their modal identity stems from the fact that they (some of them) can be subjected to nominalisation both by prefixation and partial reduplication. These derivational devices are the distinguishing characteristics of verbs. Kújọ́rẹ̀ (1972) describe partial reduplication as the touchstone of the verbs of SY. Consider the exemplification below:

(153a) àì + gbọ́dọ̀ → àìgbọ́dọ̀ 'taboo/ forbidden'
gb + í + gbọ́dọ̀ → gbígbọ́dọ̀ ' that must be done'

(b) àì + lè → àìlè 'unable/inability'

The derivational devise above tends to prove that the so-called modals are related more to V-layer than the I-layer.

4.6.4 The preverbal modifiers

The preverbal modifiers have been aptly described as modifying verbs by Bámgbóṣé (1972). They can be used as main verbs in a clause. They could not however occur as post-verbal modifiers. Examples below further illustrate:

(154) Mo rọra re ilé
1SG slowly go house
'I gently went to the house'

(b) Mo ṣéré re ọja
1SG run go market
'I hurriedly went to the market'

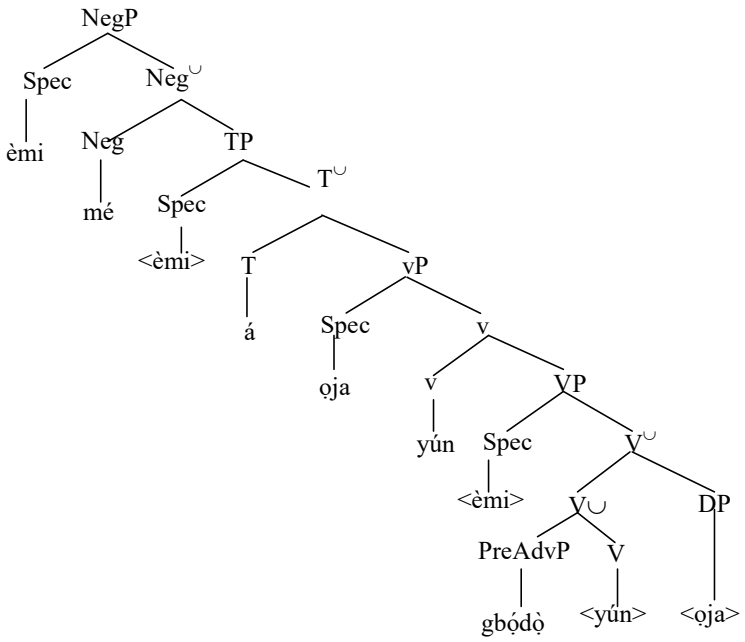
(c) Mo háín re Èkò
1SG return go Lagos
'I went back to Lagos'

(d) Mo túnbọ̀ jẹ isu m
1SG again eat yam 1SG
'I ate my yam again'

In all the examples in (154a) – (d) above, *rọra* 'gently' *ṣẹ́ré* 'hurriedly', *háín* 'again' and *túnbọ̀/again* 'back' modify each of the respective verbs of the clauses.

The derivation of the VP structure involving either the preverbal adverbs or modifiers is uniform. We shall illustrate with the tree diagram below:

(155)



Within the VP projection, the verb – *yún* 'go' recursively merges with *ọja* 'market' and the preverbal *gbọ́dọ̀* to form VP – *gbọ́dọ̀ yún ọja* 'must go market'. The VP in turn merges with light v∪whose affixal v with strong V-feature triggers V to adjoin. The external argument *èmi* '1SG LONG PRN' then merges with the affixal v to project the vP – *èmi gbọ́dọ̀yún ọja* 'I must go market'. The structure merges externally with the higher

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light vP, TP and NegP for the valuation of the phi-features and to license the Neg features of the relevant DPs at the S-H relations as appropriate.

Unlike the derivation of the VP comprising the postverbal adverbs and postverbal modifiers that were described earlier, the adjoining of the preverbal adverbs or modifiers is assumed to be prior to the formation of maximal XP.The modification proposed is that the adjoining of the preverbal adverbs and modifiers is at the instance of the second merge and not after the maximal projection has been constituted. To merge the preverbal modifiers or adverbs to the maximum projection of the VP structure will place them at the same position with the postverbal modifiers and adverbs which is contrary to the word order of the preverbal modifiers and adverbs. The claim of Hornstein, Nunes and Grohamnn (2005) that adjunct and adverbs are merged to maximal projection works for the postverbal adverbs and modifiers. Its application to the preverbal modifying constituents is counter-intuitive to Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà.

4.7 Classification of verbs

Verbs can also be classified by using the theta-marking criterion of predicates in the argument structure. This criterion broadly categorises verbs into: mono-argumental or one-place predicates and multi-argumental or multi-place predicates.

4.7.1 Mono-argumental or one-place predicates

These set of verbs have one argument in the overt syntax. The verbs in this category are also referred to as monadic verbs. The mono-argumental verbs are further sub-classified into unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs.

4.7.1.1 Unergative verbs

Unergative verbs are the class of verbs whose only external arguments play the T-role of AGENT. The T-role of the external argument of unergative verbs is similar to the T-role of the external argument of transitive predicates. Further features of unergative verbs are:

(156i) The verbs are mono-argumental or monadic

(ii) The single argument is derived at the Spec, vP

(iii) The external DP moves to the Spec, TP to check its relevant phi-features.

(iv) The verbs can have incorporated or cognate DP complements (Baker 1988; Hale and Keyser 1993; Chomsky 1995; Ouhalla 1994; Radford 2001; Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005 and Radford 2009). We buttress the above claims with the exemplifications below:

(157a) Iṣu nká ta
Yam the produce
'The yam produced big tuber'

(b) Olu í gbọ̀n
Olu PROG shake
'Olú is shaking/trembling'

(c) Bábà hín
Father sneeze
'The father sneezed'

(d) Bábà hùn
Father sleep
'Father slept'

(e) Ọmọ nká ti ga
'Child the PERF tall'
'The child had grown tall'

(f) Aṣọ m funfun
Cloth 1SG white
'My cloth is white'

(g) Omi nká tutu nini
Water this cold chill
'The water is chill cold'

(h) Bábà de
Father arrive
'Father arrived'

(i) Akikọ kọ́
Cock crow
'Cock crows'

It is assumed that the core VP structure of the above unergative structures is derived as represented by the schema below:

(158) vP[Spec, DP x v^1] VP[V_x]

The thematic structure of unergative can be explained using (157i). The lexical V *kọ* 'crows' projects as VP, the V merges with v^1, the affixal v triggers the adjunction of V to v which in turn merges with the external argument *akikọ* 'cock' assigning it the Θ-role of AGENT. It is therefore a one-place predicate whose only argument is at the Spec, vP.

4.7.1.2 Unaccusative verbs

The class of unaccusative predicates consists of verbs whose external arguments play the T-role of THEME. Further characteristics of unaccusative verbs are highlighted as shown below:

(159i) The only external argument of the unaccusative verb behaves like internal argument.

(ii) The only argument is assumed to be generated at the post-verbal position.

(iii) Unaccusative verb cannot take cognate object because its argument is filled.

(iv) The movement of the argument of unaccusative verb is motivated by the need to fulfil the EPP which mandates the Spec, TP of a finite clause to be overtly filled (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005).The data below exemplify the claim above:

(160a) Àwo fọ́
Plate break
'The vase broke'

(b) Ilé ìwé jó
House book burn
'The school was razed'

(c) Igi náà wó
Tree the fell
'The tree fell'

(d) Òpó yẹ̀
Pillar fall
'The pillar collapsed/The King died'

The argument of the unaccusative (intransitive) structure is generated as the complement of the lower contentful V. The representative sample in (d) above is used for illustration with the aid of the tree diagram below:

(161)

TP

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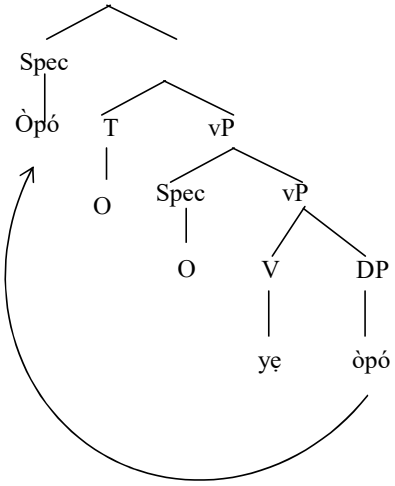

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As the tree diagram vividly shows, the unaccusative verb – *yẹ* 'collapsed' merges with *òpó* 'pillar' to derive the contentful lower VP – *yẹ òpó* 'tilt pillar' to be assigned the T-role of THEME. The VP in turn merges with the vP. The DP – *òpó* 'pillar' moves to the Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP and to value its phi-features against the local T head. The structure demonstrates lack of correspondence between syntactic subject and thematic object as the Spec, TP is not playing the theta role identifiable with external argument.

4.7.2 The multi-place or multi-argumental verbs

These refer to the set of verbs whose thematic structure is composed of two or three arguments. The predicates that assign Θ-roles to external and internal arguments are known as transitive verbs while those that assign T-roles to three arguments consisting one external and two internal arguments are known as ditransitive verbs. The multi-place predicates are further subdivided into: ergative, causative or inchoactive verbs.

4.7.2.1 Ergative predicates

They are the verbs that have the feature of being used either as three-place or two-place predicates with the possibility of the internal argument of the ditransitive verbassuming the same thematic subject position with the external argument of the corresponding transitive structure as buttressed bythe following data:

(162a) Bàbá wó ilé nká kalẹ̀
Father demolish house the down
'The demolished the house'

(b) Ilé nká wo kalẹ̀
house the collapse down
'The house was pulled down'

(163a) Gómìnà dẹ́ká hilẹ̀
governor pour maize to ground
'The governor poured maize on the ground'

(b) Ẹ́kà dà hílẹ̀
Maize pour to ground
'The poured in the ground'

Each of the (a) versions of (162) and (163) are ditransitive verbs constituted with the external arguments *bàbà* 'father' (162a) and *gómìnà* 'governor' (163a); direct objects *ilé nká* 'the house' and *ẹ́kà* 'maize' and indirect object *ilẹ̀* 'ground' (162a) and (163a) in the transitive versions of the examples.The verbs *wó* 'demolish' (162b) and *dà* 'pour' (163b) assign theta role of THEME to their respective external arguments *ilé nká* 'the house' and *ilẹ̀* 'ground' respectively. The ergative predicates shift the internal arguments of their ditransitive predicates (of 162a and 163a) to the external arguments in their corresponding transitive counterparts (of 162b and 163b).

4.7.2.2 Causative or inchoative verbs

These are verbswhose literal meaning imply 'to cause' (Radford 2009:446). They are characteristic of verbs having two arguments. One of such refers to the Agent that causes an event (causer) while the second argument refers to the agent to whom the event affects (causee). A causative verb has an opposite counterpart that is called unaccusative or anticausative verb which is a shift of the state of the argument structure of causative verb. The inchoative structure has external argument that plays the T-role of internal argument. Examples of causative constructions are as shown:

(164a) Olúwa pa márìn
Lord kill 1SG laughter
'The Lord made me to laugh'

(b) Ìghan ole nká pa olokó lákún
The thief the kill farmers cry
'The thieves made the farmer to lament'

(c) Mọ́tò nká jẹ olimọto nká jẹ́yà
Motor the eat motor owner the suffer
'The motor made the motorist to suffer'

(d) Tíṣà kọ́ ọmọ nká kíwè
Teacher teach child the of book
'The teacher taught the child lesson'

The data above are causative constructions derived with the verbs *pa* 'make' (in 164a-b), *jẹ* 'make' and *kọ́* 'teach' in (164c-d) respectively. In each of the sentences, the external agentive argument is the causer while the direct internal DP is the agentive causee. The sentences are derived in a unified fashion as illustrated with the representative sample of (164a) as (165) below:

(165) vP[Spec vv^{1}] VP [Spec V V^{1} [V DP]]]]

The above schema illustrates the derivation of the thematic structure of the causative construction. The V-pa 'make' merges with the *arìn* 'laughter' to assign the T-role of THEME to it. The resultant larger predicative structure (V$^{\smile}$) merges with *m* 1SG to assign it the T-role of EXPERIENCE. The lower VP merges with the higher light v$^{\smile}$whose strong V-feature adjoins the contentful V to v. The external argument – *Olúwa* 'Lord' merges with light affixal v to receive the T-role of AGENT.

The inchoative structure is the contracted form of causative structure. Its external argument is analogous to that of unaccusative structure in that the external argument receivesT-role of THEME. The data below exemplify:

(166a) árìn pa m
laughter kill 1SG
He/she made me to laugh

(b) akún pa olokó
crying kill farmer
'The farmer cried'

(c) ìyà jẹ alimọto nká
suffering eat motorist the
'The motorist suffer'

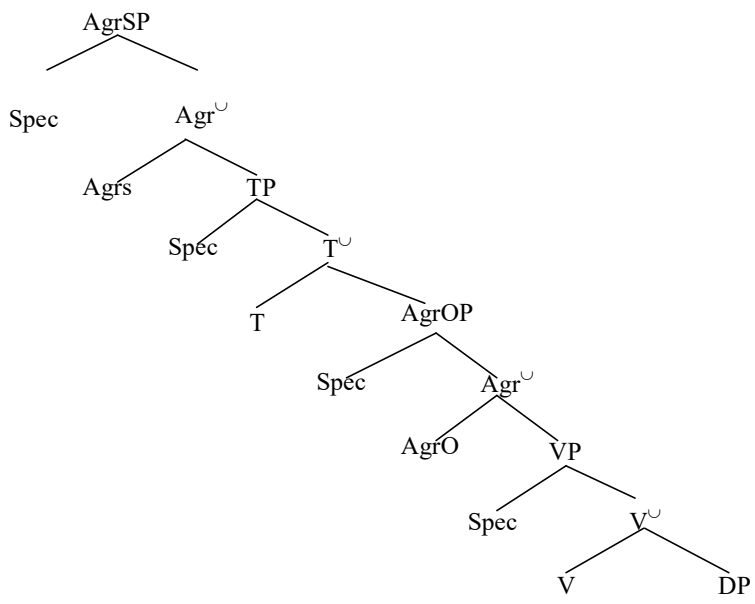
In all the (166a-c) utterances above, the causer of the events or notions conveyed by the verb *pa* 'make' (in 166a-b) and *jẹ* 'experience' are assumed to have been ellipsed. The

internal arguments of causative predicates assume the external argument in inchoactive structure where they play the theta role of THEME.

4.8 Description of Inflection

Inflection (Infl or Ifor short) refers to the functional head containing tense, aspect and agreement features. Infl is an abstract category that projects maximally into Inflectional Phrase (IP) (Newson, et al. 2006 and Radford 2009). Pollock (1989) proposes split-Infl hypothesis by making a position for the decomposition of the Infl category into the elements that are contained in it with each of the elements assuming the head of its maximal projection as AgrP, TP and NegP (Iatridou 1990). Splitting the Infl into two separate nodes (as Agr and TP) demonstrates the grammatical features of the finite verb entering into subject agreement relation. This agreement relation is the outcome of two operations "between the subject in Spec, AgrSP and the Agr head, plus the realisation of the Agr on the verb" (Belleti 2001). Another grammatical feature contained in subject – Agr relation is Case. Agr + T encode Nominative Case in finite clauses while the AgrOP projection checks Accusative in its S-H configuration. From the foregoing discussion, an earlier version of a typical clause structure could be represented graphically as shown in (167) below:

(167)



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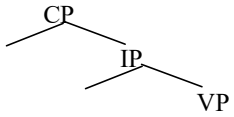
The Agr element has been critically questioned by Chomsky (1995b). The proposal for the exclusion of the Agr projection is predicated on the fact that Agr does not play any crucial role in the interpretation of features at the LF. Furthermore, the Agr projections are assumed to be morpho-syntactic relation that are subject to erasure once the checking of features of the DP at the relevant Spec, part of phrases is completed. The Agr nodes are assumed to be part of other features like T for AgrS and V for AgrO (see Belletti 2001). The review above brings about the modified clausal structure of the MP. The clausal architecture can be represented in its simplified form as shown:

(168)



Each of the composite projections above is further decomposed into multiple arrays of projections as proposed in split-CP hypothesis; split-Infl hypothesis and split-VP hypothesis.

4.9 The High Tone Syllable HTS) in Ìyàgbà

In the Ìyàgbà dialect of Yorùbá, the finite verbal morphology does not mark the subject – agreement relation overtly on the verb as could be observed in language like English. There are few examples of an intervening high tone syllable (HTS) between the subject and the verb. Consider the example below:

(169a) Ọbá re ìdàlẹ̀
King go journey
'The king went on a journey'

(b) Ọba ó re ìdàlẹ̀
King HTS go journey
'The king went on a journey'

In (169) above, *ọ́bá* 'king' bears high tone on its last syllable. The high tone is that of the contracted vocalic syllable that displaces that of the last syllable of the noun. This similar observation is earlier noted by Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2013) who explains that a HTS sharing similar quality with the last sound of the subject often occurs. According to him, the HTS is a preverbal adverb for indicating past/present action. Among other things, the reasons adduced for this position include:

(170i) The HTS occurs between the subject and the verb where some adverbs normally occur.

(ii) The HTS refers to either present or past action (with rarely few exceptions)

(iii) Any sentence that is not having HTS and any of *yóò/óò/á* and *máa* 'will' should not refer to any particular time.

Adéṣuyan (1991) supports the view of Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2013) above and further explains that HTS merges with pronouns in the dialect of Onìdó.

This study takes exceptionto the above view. The HTS as well as the future tense markers are not modifying verbs. This is because adverbs (either in the preverbal or postverbal position) describe manner or degree (Radford 2009) whichneither the HTS nor the marker of [+FUT] manifests. Consider the comparison shown between the adverbs and the HTS in Ìyàgbà dialect:

(171) Ọmọ́ ghá
Child+HTS come
'The child came'

(172) Ọ̀n tètè rè
3PL quickly go
'They quickly went'

(173) Ọ̀n jáde wéréwéré
3PL go out quickly
'They went out quickly'

As could be observed from (171) above, the HTS in the sentence does not express modifying notion of the verb whereas the preverbal adverb and the post-verbal adverb in (172) and (173) modify their corresponding verbs. This observation casts serious doubt to the view that recognises HTS as an adverb.

Another observation about the data above is that they do not have overt tense markers. The observation of Awóbùlúyì (1978) about the HTS and the future tense markers deserves to be closely examined. He asserts that any sentence of SY without HTS or any of the [+FUT] markers (yóò, óò, á and máa 'will') are tenseless.

The view above does not totally portray the true state of the tense system in Ìyàgbà dialect. In the data (171) to (173), the sentences are indicatives of past events. The only example that purportedly have 'tense marker' according to the view of Awóbùlúyì (1978:49) is (171). The remaining sentences are assumed tenseless. The internal evidence

of Ìyàgbà dialect proves the assumption wrong. The tense markers in all the sentences are covert and are inherent in the feature of the verbs. Action verbs[24] without [+FUT] markers and the adverb of time are usually interpreted as past tense as (172) and (173) have attested. The stative verbs can indicate either past or present tense.

The HTS as could be clearly demonstrated above is neither a tense marker nor an adverb. It is to be noted that even in highly inflectional languages like French and Italian, tenses are never affixed to the nominal. It is usually the verbs that bear the inflection of tenses. Consider the examples of English below:

(174a) John bought a book

(b) I saw the man

From the foregoing discussion, the HTS could be ruled out as an adverb or tense marker. This study supports the views of Bámgbóṣé (1986) (that recognises it as concord marker) and that of Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀(2005) that identifies it as agreement marker(AGR). In the parlance of MP, AGRhas been reviewed to be feature-sharing operation that matches an unvalued feature of a probe with a feature of a c-commanding goal. This view of Agree relation determines DP – internal distribution of ø-features in the context of a clause. The grammatical features that are encapsulated in AGR include the verb entering the subject-verb agreement relation as demonstrated in finite clause(Belletti 2001:488-9)

The following data illustrate the explanation above:

(175a) Ọmọ́ nká ra aṣọ
Child the buy cloth
'The child bought the cloth'

(b) Ọbá ghá
King come
The king came

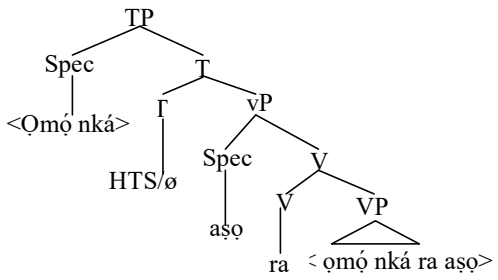
In both (175a) and (b) above, the external DP Specifier have HTS on its last syllable. The HTS is the transferred tone of the vocalic syllable after deletion. The HTS is identified as the Agr relation marker between the verb and the subject. The realisation of the Agr is on

[24] The study observes that both types of verbs (stative and dynamic) can have similar temporal interpretation of future or non-future when used without [FUT] and temporal adverbs.

the nominal whenever the Agr is expressed. The overt expression of the subject-verb Agr is very limited to very few instances unlike English and other Romance languages that mark the Agr overtly on verb, the subject-verb agreement is marked as HTS on the nominal.

Another subject-Agr relation is Case. Agr + T checks Nominative Case and other phi-features at the Spec, TP position. This implies that the DP moves from its point of entry as the Spec, VP to the Spec, TP via Spec, vP of transitive verb. The graphic representation of the (175a) is illustrated as (176) as shown:

(176)



4.10 Tense system in Ìyàgbà

Tense (T)-the head of TP is the locus of the tense properties of a finite clause. T is affixal, implying that it has determiner (D) or nominal (N) feature thereby triggering DP at its subject position i.e. in its Spec, TP. It is therefore a probe that minimally searches for a matching subordinate goal that can host its features.

Tense has been described in literature as the linguistic representation of time. Tense is a deictic category indicating the location of an event, state or process of action vis-à-vis a fixed point of view. The point of view refers to the time that the sentence is uttered. The time the speech is uttered is also known as the moment of speech. Reichenbach (1947); Comrie (1985) as echoed by Homm and Bott (2018) describe tense with three basic parameters:

(177) Speech time (S): This refers to the time an utterance or speech is made.

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(ii) Event time (E): This refers to the time that the event indicated in the utterance takes place.

(iii) Reference time (R): This refers to the time against which E is measured. It is more apt for the analysis of aspect

Tense has dimensions that are realised as absolute tense, past tense, present tense, and future tense. The simplified analysis is demonstrated as shown: tense is past when S comes after E; it is present when S and E overlap; it is future when the S precedes E. We exemplify the discussion above with the following data:

(178a) Dàda ṣolè lánà
Dada steal in yesterday
'Dada stole yesterday'

(b) Olú á ré lọ́la
Olú will go in tomorrow
'Olú will go tomorrow'

In the application of the above parameters to determine the tense of (178a), we need to note that the E takes place earlier than S. The utterance should therefore be couched in past tense. It should also be noted that the dialect has no overt [-FUT] marker or inflection that denotes tense. Thus [-FUT] is abstract or covert in the dialect (as in the SY). The 'adverb of time' (the PP) *lánà* 'yesterday' or better still, 'temporal adverbials' like the above do not overtly express tense but they imply time location (Schmidtke 2006). In the case of (178b) however, the E comes after S, the utterance is therefore indicating [+FUT]. [+FUT] is marked by morpheme *á*as in (178b) above.

Three forms of absolute tense have been recognised for languages that demonstrate tense system. They are: present, past and future. Languages that are rich morphologically may have inflections to mark all the forms. It is equally possible for a language to have uniform form for two or more tenses. For instance, a language can combine past and present tense. Such a language will have future versus non-future typology. In the same vein, the language that combines present and future tense will be typified as a past and non-past language. A tenseless language is the language that represents the three tenses with one form. The following datafrom Mao Naga and Kannada further butress:

Mao Naga:

(179a) ai izo ocü vuta le

I today home go IRR
'I will go home today'

(b) Pfo zhü-e
he good PRED
'He is good' 'He was good'

Kannada:
(180a) avanu manege ho:-d-a
he home go-PAST-3SG.msc
'He went home'

(b) avanu manege ho:gu-tt-a:ne
he home go-NONPAST-3SG.MSC
'He goes home habitually'
'He will go home'(Bhat 1999:67-8)

In (179a), Mao Naga marks future tense by a lexical item *le* (future tense marker) while it has a uniform unmarked form for its past and present tenses (see 179b). This is an example of future versus non-future tense system. (180a) and (b) are the grammatical sentences of Kannada. The language collapses present and future tense with a singular form. Its tense typology is non-past versus past.

Looking at the data above closely, Ìyàgbà dialect shares similarity in tense characterisation with Mao Naga. It is therefore assumed to operate future versus non-future tense system as buttressed with the examples below:

(181a) Ọlọ́pàá dá ọ dọ
Policeman stop 2SG stand
'The policeman stops/stopped you'

(b) Ọlọ́pàá á dá ọ dọ
Policeman will FUT stop 2SG stand
'The policeman will stop you'

The example (181a) above demonstrates the depiction of both past and present tense by an abstract or covert tense morpheme while (181b) indicatesthe [+FUT] by theovert marker*á* 'will'.

4.10.1 Non-future tense

Non-future tense refers to event that takes place in the present or past. The non-future systems shall be described in both affirmative and negative constructions in turn.

4.10.1.1 Non-future tense in affirmative clause with nominal subject

The non-future tense denotes present or past tense. An examination of the interaction of its marker: [-FUT] with nominal constituents at the Spec, TP position is carried out with a view to identifying its basic form and its allomorphs in [-NEG] constructions as exemplified with the following data:

(182a) Olú rí ewó
Olú see money
'Olú found money'

(b) Ọbá dé áde
King wearcrown
'The king wore a crown'

(c) Gómìnà dẹ̀ka hilẹ̀.
Governor pour maize on ground
'The governor poured maize on the ground'

In all the examples in (182a) – (c), the verbs are dynamic or action types. It is assumed that E precedes S. The sentences are therefore assumed to be abstractly or covertly marked as past tense. The HTS is identifiable in (182b) while (182a) could be presumed to be lexical tone. The HTS does not mark tense in all these instances. The examples with HTS and those without it similarly express past tense. HTS functions asAGRbetween the subject and its predicate in restricted contexts (see 182b). The sentences consisting adjectivisable verbs or the stative verbs can either be interpreted as past or present tense depending on the context (Awóbùlúyì 1978:71). The data below further butress:

(183a) Ọmọ nká ga
Child the tall
'The child is tall'

(b) Ilé mọ dára
House this good
'This house is/was good'

In interpreting the tense of (183a) above,the constancy or otherwise in the attributes of the entities is the basis fordefining their tenses.

4.10.1.2 Non-future tense in affirmative clause with short pronoun subject.

The interaction between [-FUT] marker and short pronouns at the Spec, TP position are examined with a view to identifying the basic form of the [-FUT] marker and its allomorphs in [-NEG] constructions. The pronoun of Ìyàgbà dialect like (SY and many

languages) is a functional category that 'stand in place of' or 'refer back to' nouns. Pronoun does not have independent lexical semantic content of its own but takes its lexical semantic content from its antecedent (Radford 2009). The short pronouns of the Ìyàgbà dialect that can assume Spec, TP position are as shown below:

(184)**Short pronoun subject**[25]

Person	**Sg.**	**Pl.**
1st	Mo 'I'	À 'We'
2nd	Ọ̀ 'You'	Ẹ̀ 'You'
3rd	Ó 'He/she/it'	Ọ́n 'They'

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As could be seen from the table above, there are differences between the dialect and SY with respect to the 2SG and 3PL pronouns. While Ìyàgbà dialect features *Ọ̀* 'you' and *Ọ́n* 'they' as 2SG and 3PL pronouns respectively, SY represents the pronouns as *Ó* "you" and *wọ́n* 'they' accordingly. Consider the following exemplifications:

(185a) Mò rí ewóo
1SG see money
'I found money'

(b) À rí ewóo
1PL see money
'We found money'

(c) Ọ̀ he àhè
2SG cook feast
'You made a feast'

(d) Ẹ̀ pa ẹran
2PL kill meat
'You killed meat'

(e) Ó he àhè
3SG cook feast
'He made feast'

(f) Ọ̀n pa ẹran
3PL kill meat

[25] Ìyàgbà dialect has short pronouns used as object of verbs. They do not interact with the tense markers. They are as shown:

	Sg.	**Pl.**
1st person	m	wa
2nd person	ọ	a
3rd person	DVV	ọn

The 3SG is derived by doubling the vowel-final of the verb

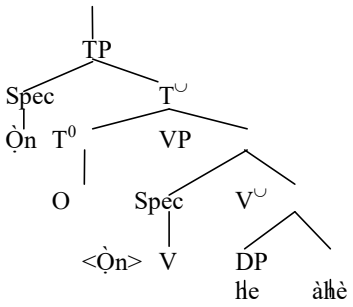
'They killed an animal'

An examination of the data above further reveals additional fact about HTS in Ìyàgbà dialect. In (185e) and (f), it functions as 3SG. Ìyàgbà (unlike SY), permits nasal vowels (as lexical items)and high tone (HT) to occur at the word-initial or sentence-initial positions.In addition, all the short pronouns bear low tone with the exception of 3SG short pronoun in (185e).

All the above examples are assumed to be captured in past tense in which the 'time of event' precedes the 'moment of speech'. There is no overt tense marking for[-FUT] events. This is however non-indication of the grammatical category of tense in the dialect. The abstract or covert T^0 functional head still values the phi-features of the external DPs. This being the case, [-FUT] is marked covertly or abstractly.

We pick (185f) as a representative sample to assert the veracity of the claim that tense is an attestable grammatical category in Ìyàgbà. Leaving aside the detail of the VP structure, theexternal DP-*Ọ̀n*3PL is specified forPer, Num and Case. It assumes a suitable GOAL to a c-commanding Tfunctional head hence, the DP moves to the Spec, TP so that its Nominative Case could be licensed by T^0. The checking procedure "makes it possible to account for the relevant facts by means of filter conditions at LF" (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann 2005).After the checking relation has ensued, the uninterpretable features of the Pronoun DP are deleted so that the derivation does not crash at the LF. The explanation can be further illustrated with the tree diagram as shown below:

(186)



The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) of the GB model obligatorily makes a demand on all finite clauses to have a subject. In MP point of view, the EPP has been further reviewed in the recent phase-based framework to obligatorily demand that heads must

have their specifiers filled. This clausal requirement necessitates that there should be functional T head, the specifier of which will be filled by *ọ̀n* 'they'. The only qualified functional projection as could be seen from the above diagram is TP. The TP is lower than the ForceP. The Spec, ForceP is not a possible position for *ọ̀n* 'they' in view of the fact that it is an A^1whereas *ọ̀n*'they' can only occupy an A-position.

Further proof to demonstrate that the finite clause above has tense feature is attempted by examining the tense feature of non-finite clause as exemplified below:

(187a) *Ọ̀n láti se iṣẹ́
3PL to do work
*They to do work

(b) Ọ̀n gbà láti se iṣẹ́
3PL accept to do work
'They agreed to work

In (187a) the DP – *ọ̀n* 'they' assumes the Spec, TP of an infinitival clause. The non-finite tense cannot match the formal features of its DP specifier against its own weak Case features hence, the derivation crashes as the Nominative Case of the Spec, TP could not be valued. Conversely in (187b), the DP – *ọ̀n* 'they' could not be valued by the weak tense feature of the infinitival clause. It moves to the Spec, TP of the matrix clause where its Nominative Case is matched with the appropriate feature of the functional T^0. The derivation converges at the interface. It could be therefore pointed out that the reason why (187a) crashes and (187b) converges is because the tense of the non-finite clause cannot license the formal features. It is tenseless whereas the tense of finite clause is "active" and strong. The principle that motivates the movement of the DP from the Spec, TP of the embedded non-finite clause to the Spec, TP of the matrix (finite clause) is therefore "Greed".

4.10.2.1The non-future tense in negative clause with nominal subject

The DP nominal elements at the Spec, TP interact with [-FUT] and [+NEG] markers to bring about varying forms of the NEG element. This section examines the co-occurrence of nominal elements with [-FUT] and [+NEG] with a view to accounting for their basic forms, their allomorphs and the status of HT of the NEG.

Negation is a feature of UG with varying parametric realisations across languages (Ìlọ̀rí and Oyèbádé 2012;Stump 2001). There are also languages that express negation with the aid of morphemes, of which Yorùbá is one. The lists of the negative morphemes vary from one scholar to the other. According to Awóbùlúyì(1978; 2008; 2013), negative morphemes include: *Kò\ò* 'not', *máà/má* "do not', 'not', *kì/ì*, *tì* 'impossible'. In the same vein, Bámgbóṣé (1986; 1990) identifies *kò/ò*, *kì*, *máà/má* as negators.

Ìyàgbà dialect expresses negativity in [-FUT] with negative morphemes as exemplified with the following data:

(188a)	Fàlànà	ẹ́	gbọ́	tira	rẹ
	Fàlànà	NEG	hear	of body	2SG

'Fálànà did not mind his own business'

(b) Ayé é gùn ti ọ̀pá ìbọn
Life NEG straight like pole gun
'Life is full of ups and downs'

(c) Ìgbà é lọ tí òréré
Time neg go like endless
'No condition is permanent'

We further illustrate tense in the negative construction with long pronominal DPs[25] as the external argument as shown below:

(189a) Èmi é yó
1SG LONG PRNNEGfull
'I am not satisfied'

(b) Ìgha í yó
1PL LONG PRNNEGfull
'We are not satisfied'

(c) Ìwọ ọ́ yó
2PL LONG PRN NEGfull
'You are not satisified'.

(d) Ẹ̀ghin ẹ́ yún ilé ìsìn
2PL LONG PRNNEGgo house worship
'You did not go to the place of worship'

(e) Òun é pókìkì
3SG LONG PRN NEG make noise
'He did not make noise'

(f) Ìghan ọ́n pókìkì
3PL LONG PRN NEG make noise
'They did not make noise'.

From the data above, the basic form of the[+NEG] is *é-(*HT close mid front vowel)as buttressed by examples-(188b-c) and (189a) and (e).The [+NEG] in [-FUT] construction displays varying forms as demonstrated by *é* in (189a) and (e); *í* in (189b) *ọ́* in (189c); *ẹ́* in (189d) and *ọ́n* in (189f). The puzzle to unravel is to account for its variants (allomorphs).

[25] The long pronouns are also included as nominal DPs because of our assumption that they behave like nominal DPs as explicated in Chapter Two.

The vowel harmony system (VHS) of [±ATR] pattern is proposed as the determinant of the variations to the basic form.Vowel of the long pronounsand the basic form of the negator *é* enters into harmonic process of the [±ATR] pattern. This phonological process changes [+ ATR] – *é* to [- ATR] – *ọ́* (in 189); [+ ATR] *un* and [+ ATR] *é* preserves the [+ATR] form – é (in 189e) while the neutral vowel *an* can select either of the sub-sets. It selects *ọ́n* (in 189f).

The observation to be drawn from the analysis above is that the functional negative morpheme has different allomorphs in simple [-FUT]. This feature sets off Ìyàgbà dialect from the SY that has invariant negator *kò/ò* 'not' for expressing negativity in [-FUT] tense when the long pronoun and nominal elements are in the subject position.

It is also instructive to note that the HTS intervening between the DPs and predicates in the exemplifications above is not tense marker in [-FUT]. Its marker is covert.

4.10.2.2Non-future tense in negative construction with pronoun subject.

This section describes the tense and its form in the clauses where short pronouns assume the external arguments. The following data exemplify:

(190a) Mé rí ewó
1SG+NEG see money
'I did not see money'

(b) Á dè áde
1PL+NEG wear crown
'We did not wear crowns'

(191a) Ọ́ gùn íyan
2SG+NEG pound yam meal
'You did not pound yam'

(b) Ẹ́ kọ̀ íle
2PL+NEG build house
'You did not build a house'

(192a) É hùn
3SG+NEG sleep
'He/she/it did not sleep'

(b) Ọ́n gbẹ isu

3PL+NEG plant yam
'They did not plant yam'

The data above are the convergent negative constructions of Ìyàgbà dialect. In all the examples, the pronouns are the external arguments. The high tone vowel *é* is assumed to be the basic form of the negative form as earlier indicated in the preceding section. In (190a), the 1SG subject – *m* 'I' fuses with the negative morpheme*é* 'not'.

From (190b), (191a-b) and (192b), one can posit that the 1PL *Á* 'we', *Ọ́*– 2SG 'You', 2PL *Ẹ́* 'You' and 3PL *ọ́n* 'they' fuse with the negative morpheme *é* 'not'. The fusion results in the conflation of the two elements into the form of each of the pronouns. The high tone feature of the negative form consistently displaces the low tone on each of the pronouns. The distinguishing feature between the affirmative and negative constructions in the dialect is that while the pronouns of the affirmative sentences bear low tone, their negative counterparts bear the displaced high tone of the negative morpheme.

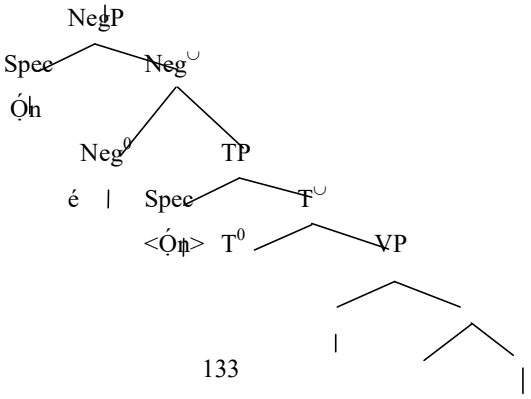
The tense marker of [-FUT] in [+NEG]construction is abstract. All the short pronouns above bear HT. The high tone is that of the conflated NEG by encliticisation. Encliticisation is defined as a process where by a word fuses or fastens itself to another in a leech-like manner (Radford 2009).

The pronouns in (190a) to (192) either end with vowels or they are represented as vocalic sounds. The vowel segments are contiguous to the NEG. This makes the fusion of the two elements to be void of barriers. Thus there are two principles that are obligatory before encliticisation can ensue. They are:

(193) (i) prequisiteness of c-command and
(ii) contiguity (Adapted from Radford 2009).

The tree diagram below further illustrates

(194)



Spec V$^{\smile}$

<Ọ́n> V^{0}DP

gbẹ̀isu

As the simplified diagram above shows, the VPshell derives*ọ́n gbẹ̀ isu* 'they did not plant yam'. The DP – *ọ́n*specifies for Per, Num, Neg and unvalued Case features. The T is a probe that searches for suitable c-commanding goal that will satisfy the EPP demand that the Spec, TP (in as much as it is finite), must be filled with DP. The DP – *ọ́n* 'they' also check its formal features against the appropriate features of the functional T^0 head. The Neg feature of the DP is also valued against Neg^0.

It could be deduced that the HT on the short pronouns is the tone of the fused NEG. The tone plays grammatical function of encoding negativity on the pronouns. The HTS above depicts negative pronouns and not tense marking.

Another observation from the above illustrative diagram is that NegP is higher in the clausal structure than the TP. This calls for the modification of the hierarchy of projection of clausal constituents from the TP>NegP>vP>VP to NegP>TP>vP>VP. This observation is in consonance with the modification of the clausal structure proposed by Ọdúǹtán (2000) and Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀ (2005).

4.11.1 Future tense in affirmative construction with the nominals as subject

The interaction between the nominal (in the Spec, TP position) and future tense marker [+FUT] is undertaken soas to account for the form of [+FUT] in [-NEG] clause. The [+FUT] denotes time-reference of which S precedes E thus having the implication that the E takes place in the future. The data below further exemplify:

(195a) Olú á ré/yún ọja
Olú FUT go market
'Olu will go to the market'

(b) Èmi á ré ọja
1SG LONG PRN FUT go market
'I will go to the market'

As could be observed in examples (195) above, the marker of [+FUT] in affirmative clauses where the external argument is either nominal (195a) or LONG PRN (195b) isinvariant over*á* 'will'. In all the examples above, *á* 'will' marks futurity and not present

or past tense, temporal interpretation of the utterances indicate that the actions are yet to be carried out.

4.11.1.1 Future tense system in affirmative construction with short pronouns as the subject

We come to the turn of examining the interaction between short pronouns at the subject position and [+FUT] in [-NEG] clauses so as to account fo the various forms of [+FUT] as exemplified with the following data:

(196a) Mà (á) re ọja
1SG+FUT. go market
'I will go to the market'

b) À (á) yún/ré ọja
1PL+FUT. go market
'We will go to the market'

c) Wà (á) ré ọja
2SG+FUT. go market
'You will go to the market'

(d) È (á) re ọja
2PL+FUT. go market
'You will go to the market'

(e) Ó á yún
He/she FUT. go
'He/she/it will go'

(f) Ọ̀n (á) yún
3PL+FUT go
'They will go'

Inall the examples in (196a-f), the [+FUT] marker(*á)* 'will'which is at the right adjacent position to the shortpronouns fuses with the pronouns resulting to loss of its basic form as indicated by the marker in parenthesis. The following changes are noticeable:

(197i) The tone of the short pronoun is low (tone) with the exception of 3SG in (196e) thatis constantly high.

(ii) The [+FUT] marker fuses with the short pronouns completely in what is conceptualised as encliticisation.

(iii) It is further assumed that the tone of the [+FUT] marker *á* 'will' loses its HT by conflation to the short pronouns.

(iv) The utterances have overt syntax of low-toned short pronouns as the subject in (196a-d, f). The low tone encodes the affirmation of the structures, and futurity of the events.

4.11.1.2The future tense system in negative sentences with the nominal and long pronouns as subject

The examination of the [+FUT]in conjunction with the [NEG] marker is also imperative for a thorough understanding of the multiple variants of the [+FUT] marker in clauses where the long pronouns and the nominal occupy the Spec, TP position as illustrated with the data below:

(198a) Oba é è ra aṣọ
King NEG FUT. buy cloth
'The king will not buy cloth'

(b) Mẹ́ ẹ̀n ra aṣọ
ISG LP+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'I will not buy cloth'

In considering (198a) and (b) above, there appears to be differences in the forms of the [+FUT] marker in the two sentences.The long pronouns behave like short pronouns in that the NEG element fuses with the long pronouns whereas in (198a) both the nominal DP and the NEG element maintain their distinctive forms. The basic form of [+FUT] in [+NEG] construction is *à.* The differing form of the FUT functor could be accounted for by the phonological process of progressive assimilation triggered by the NEG with the [+FUT] marker being the target.

4.11.1.3The future tense in negative construction with the short pronouns as Spec, TP

The interplay of the future tense and other sentential constituents like short pronouns and the negative elements is examined with the following data:

(199a) Mẹ́ ẹ̀n ra aṣọ
1SG+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'I will not buy cloth'

(b) Á à ra aṣọ
1PL+NEG FUT. buy cloth

'We will buy cloth'

(c) Ọ́ ọ̀ ra aṣọ
1SG+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'You will not buy cloth'

(d) Ẹ́ ẹ̀ ra asọ
2PL+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'You will not buy cloth'

(e) É è ra aṣọ
3SG+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'He/she will not buy cloth'

(f) Ọ́n ọ̀n ra aṣọ
3PL+NEG FUT. buy cloth
'They will not buy cloth'

From (199a) – (f) the forms of the[+ FUT] are:*ẹ̀n, à, ọ̀, ẹ̀, è*, and *ọ̀n* all indicating futurity 'will'. It is proposed that the basic form of the [+FUT] in [+NEG] is low toned central oral vowel *–à* 'will'. The variants could be accounted for by the phonological process of assimilation. The vowels of the conflated or fused short pronouns and the[+NEG] elements and the [+FUT]*à* 'will' are the contiguous segments involved in assimilation. In each instance, the [+FUT] constitutes the assimilated segment (see 199a-d and f). In the case of (199e), the vowel of the conflated pronoun and the NEG are similar.

In the negative construction with [+FUT] marking, it is observed that there is also encliticisation of the NEG element with the pronoun. The study of the tense system of Ìyàgbà dialect of Yorùbá has brought to the fore the following specific grammatical facts:

(200i) It operates non-future versus future tense system.

(ii) The marker of the [-FUT] is covert or abstract (ø).

(iii) The basic forms of the [+FUT] markers are: *à*for [+FUT +NEG] and *á*[+FUT -NEG]. The [+NEG] property is encoded on short DP pronouns as high tonein [+NEG] construction while SYmarks FUT with *yóò/óò/á/máa* in [-NEG] and ní í in [+NEG].

(iv) There is observed temporal ambiguity in the tense system of [-FUT] and [+FUT] of 1PL, 2PL, 3SG and 3PL in [-NEG] constructions as in (185b, d-f) and (196b, d-f).

(v) Tense system either abstract (as in the non-future) or overt, shares the same features with the tense system of many morphologically rich languages. The following features are attestable:

(a) Tense is a PROBE

(b) It satisfies the EPP.

(c) It values DP in Spec, TP position at S-H to license Nominative Case

Contrary to the view of Oyèláràn (1982), Awóyalé(1989) and Sàláwù (2006), tense is an attested grammatical category in Ìyàgbà and by extension, in the SY.

4.12 Aspectsystem

There are two major types of aspects. These include: perfective aspects and imperfective aspects. Cover (2010) describes perfectives as indicatives of a past event with "dynamic eventuality descriptions". It however, denotes a present state when used with "stative eventuality descriptions". Cover (2010) confirms that perfectives of statives denote present state in languages like Island Carib, Dényá, Wolof, Haitian Creole and Fongbe (See Bybeeet al. 1994; Abangma 1985; Nussban et al 1970 and Fitzpatrick 2006). We prove the veracity of the above assertion vis-à-vis Ìyàgbà dialect with the examples below:

(201a) Ọmọ́ nká ti ga
Child the PERFtall
'The child has grown tall'

(b) Ọkẹtẹ nkáti tóbi
Dog the PERFtall
'The dog has grown bigger'

In (201a) and (b) above, the static verbs *ga* 'tall' and *tóbi* 'big' are used with the perfective marker *ti*. In each of the sentences, the perfect marker denotes past state. This differs from what obtains in the languages reported above.

Perfective aspect implies that the eventuality has been realised within a certain frame of time. The imperfective aspect on the other hand specifies the duration of time of event that has not been completed (Crystal 2008).

4.12.1 Perfective aspect in positive construction

Perfective aspect denotes the duration of event that has been concluded(Comrie 1976). Perfective aspectual marking is illustrated with the following examples in the dialect:

(202a) Mo ti re ọja
1SG PERF go market
'I have gone to the market'

(b) A ti re ọja
1PL PERF go market
'We have gone to the market'

(c) Ọ ti re ọja
2SG PERFgo market
'You have gone to the market'

(d) Ẹ ti re ọja
2PL PERFgo market
'You have gone to the market'

(e) Ó ti re ọja
3SG PERFgo market
'He/She has gone to the market'

(f) Ọ́ ti re ọja
3PL PERFgo market
'They have gone to the market'

In (202a-f) above, the Spec, TP of each of the sentences is made up of the different forms of the subject pronouns in combination with the perfective aspectual marker *ti* 'has/have'. In all the exemplifications, the past perfective aspectual marker *ti* has an invariant form. This observation is further examined vis-à-vis the nominal DPs and LONG PRNS as exemplified below:

(203a) Ọba ti dé áde
King PERF Wear crown
'The king has worn a crown'

(b) Bàbá ti kọ́ íle
Father PERF build house
'The father has built a house'

(204a) Èmi ti re ọja
1SG LONG PRN PERF go market
'I have gone to the market'

(b) Ìgha ti re ọja
1PL LONG PRN PERFgo market
'We have gone to the market'

(c) Ìwọ ti re ọja
2SG LONG PRNPERF go market
'You have gone to the market'

(d) Èghin ti re ọja
2PL LONG PRNPERF go market
'You have gone to the market'

(e) Òun ti re ọja
3SG LONG PRN PERF go market
'He/She has gone to the market'

(f) Ìghan ti re ọja
3PL LONG PRN PERF go market
'They have gone to the market'

In (203a) and (b), the nominal DPs and the long pronouns in (204a) – (f) assume the subject in each of their corresponding sentences. The aspect marker *ti* 'has/have/had' is also invariant in all the exemplifications.

The PERF *ti* 'has/have/had' denotes that the event described by the dynamic verbshad been completed. Admitting the correctness of this assertion, its co-occurrence with the verbs *kọ́* 'build' (203a); and *dé* 'wear'(203b) and*re* 'go' (204a-f) respectively denote that the events expressed by the verbs had been completed. The PERF could also co-occur with static verbs as demonstrated by (201a-b) above. This shows that irrespective of the class of verbs the perfective aspect marker co-occurs with; it constantly expresses past or completed events.In all the examples above, there is no intervening node between the Asp and the verb. The contiguity of the aspect marker to the verb confirms the assertion of Schmitke (2006) that the specific aspectual property is encoded on the verb.

4.12.2 Perfective aspect in negative construction

The perfective aspect marker can also feature in clauses with negative construction. The interaction between [+NEG] and PERF aspect is exemplified with the following data:

(205a) Mé tí ì re ọja
1SG+NEG PERF go market
'I have not gone to the market'

(b) Á tí ì re ọja
2PL PERF go market
'We have not gone to the market'

(c) Ó tí ì re ọja
2SG+NEG PERF go market
'You have not gone to the market'

(d) Ẹ́ tí ì re ọja
2PL+NEG PERF go market
'You have not gone to the market'

(e) É tí ì re ọja
NEG+NEG PERF go market
'He/She has not gone to the market'

(f) Ọ́n tí ì re ọja
3PL+NEG PERF go market
'They have not gone to the market'

There are two striking differences in the perfective aspectual markings of the[-NEG] and [+NEG] sentences. With the exception of the 3SG and 3PL subject pronouns that constantly bear high tone, all the remaining pronouns bear mid-tone in [-NEG] construction. In the case of the [+ NEG]sentences however, all the pronouns bear high tone. The high tone is observed to be the remnant of the cliticised negator *é* 'not'. The tone bearing segment of the negator having been elided, its tone displaces the tone of the pronouns (See 205a-d). In the case of (205e),*é* is assumed to encode the feature of[+NEG]marker and that of the 3SG short pronoun. The 3PL short pronoun *ọ́n* 'they' is originally marked with high tone. The high tone there is performing dual functions as the inherent property of 3PL subject pronoun and that of [+NEG]marking.

Further proof that the sentence –intial *é* 'not' is the basic form of theNEG (but fused with the adjacent short pronouns)is further demonstrated by (205) and (206) below:

(206a) Ọba é tí ì dé adé
King NEG PERF wear crown
'The king has not worn a crown/been corronated'

(b) Bàbá é tí ì kọ́ ilé
Father NEG PERF build house
'The father has not built a house'

(207a) Èmi mé tí ì re ọjà
1SG LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'I have not gone to the market'

(b) Ìgha á tí ì re ọjà
1PL LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'We have not gone to the market'

(c) Ìwọ ọ́ tí ì re ọjà
2SG LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'You have not gone to the market'

(d) Ẹ̀ghìn ẹ́ tí ì re ọjà
2PL LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'You have not gone to the market'

(e) Òun é tí ì re ọjà
3SG LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'He/She has not gone to the market'

(f) Ìghan ọ́n tí ì re ọjà
3PL LONG PRN NEG PERF go market
'They have not gone to the market'

In (207a)-(b) and (e) the NEG is not attached or fused to any constituent. Its basic form is retained as *é* 'not'. The varying form of the NEG in (207b), (c) and (f) could be accounted for by the VHS of the [± ATR] pattern.The basic form is formed through doubling or lengthening of the part of the syllable of the LONG PRN and the attachment of the NEG as in (207a). The [+ATR] vowel-final of the LONG PRNin (207e) retains [+ATR] *e*, the neutral vowel *a*and*an* select *a* and *ọ́n* in (207b) and (f) respectively. The [-ATR] *ọ́* changes the basic form of the NEG to *ọ́*while the vowel that have mutually inclusive feature- *in, un,* and *an* select [-ATR] *ẹ,* [+ATR] *e,* and [-ATR] *ọn* as in (207d-f)above. In each case, vowel-final of the LONG PRNs are the triggers of the harmonic pattern.

The aspect markers of negative and affirmative clauses also differ. The perfective aspect marker of the [-NEG] sentence is *ti* 'has/have/had' while that of its [+NEG] counterpart is *tí ì* 'has/have' as obtained in the SY as well. The marker – *tíì* 'has/have/had' indicate that the event denoted by the verb has not commenced. The observation above invalidates the claim of Dosumu (2010) that *é tí ì* marks perfective aspect in negative construction in Ìyàgbà dialect.

4.13 Imperfective aspect in Ìyàgbà

Imperfective aspect implies that an event or action is perceived as incomplete (Leech 2006). The study will recognise two types of imperfective aspects namely: the progressive aspect and the habitual aspect. These aspects will be examined in the affirmative and negative contexts.

4.13.1Progressive aspect in affirmative construction

The progressive aspect indicates action or event that is ongoing or yet to be completed (Leech 2006). Progressive as an aspect of the verb is incompactible with the verbs that express a state (Gelderen 2010) as the following examples in English buttress:

(208a) *He is talling
(b) *He is shorting

In Ìyàgbà dialect, progressive aspect is however proved to be compactible with all forms of verbs, static verbs inclusive. Consider the following:

(209a) Ọmọ nká ì ga
Child the PROG tall
'The child is growing tall'

(b) Ọmọ nká ì dúdú hí i
Child the PROG Black more
'The child is becoming darker'

(210a) Ọkẹtẹ ì lépa ẹkùn
Dog PROG pursue tiger
'The dog is pursuing the tiger'

(b) Àgan ì hukun àìríbí
Barren PROG cry not seeing to bear
'The barren is crying for being childless'

(211a) Èmi nká ì sisẹ́
1SG LONG PRN the PROG work
'I am working'

(b) Ìgha nkáì hùn
1PL LONGPRNthe PROG sleep
'We are sleeping'

(c) Wẹ́ ẹ̀ fọ asọ
2SG LONG PRN PROG wash cloth
'You are washing cloth'

(d) Èghin nkáì dáko
2PL LONG PRN the PROG farm
'You are farming'

(e) Òun nkáì kọrin
3SGL LONG PRN the PROG sing song
'He/She is singing song'

(f) Ìghan nká ì fẹ́ ewó
3PL LONG PRN the PROG want money
'We like money'

(212a) M̀ síṣẹ
1SG+PROG work
'I am working'

(b) À ì síṣẹ
2PL PROG work
'You are working'

(c) Ọ̀ ì síṣẹ
2SG Pro PROG work
'You are working'

(d) Ẹ̀ ì síṣẹ
2PL PROG work
'You are working'

(e) Ì̀ síṣẹ
3SG+PROG work
'He/She is working'

(f) Ìn síṣẹ
3PL+PROG work
'They are working'

The PROG is low tone vowel *ì*. This basic form is evident in all the examples in (209) – (212) with the exceptions of (211c) where the 2SG LONG PRN enters into harmonic

relation with the PROG and (212a) where the 1SG short pronoun - m̀ 'I' is assumed to be fused with the PROG – *ì* in form of cliticisation. PROG *ì* indicates that the event denoted by the verb is still ongoing.

4.13.2 Progressive aspect in negative construction

The PROG aspect in [+NEG] construction is further examined in order to account for its varying forms as it interacts with the NEG element. Consider the exemplification below:

(213a) Ọkẹtẹ́ é è jobì
Dog NEG PROG eat kola
'Dog is not eating kola'

(b) Abiyamọ́ é è hukun àìbí
Nursing mother NEG PROG cry not seeing child to bear
'Nursing mother is not crying for being childless'

(214a) Èmi mé è dé áde
1SG LONG PRN NEG PROG wear crown
'I am not wearing a crown'

(b) Ìgha é è dé áde
1PL LONG PRN NEG PROG wear crown
'We are not wearing a crown'

(c) Ìwọ́ é è dé áde
2SG LONG PRN NEG PROG wear crown
'You are not wearing a crown'

(d) Ẹ̀ghin é è dé áde
2PLLONG PRN NEG PROG wear crown
'You are not wearing a crown'

(e) Òun é è dé áde
3SG LONG PRN NEG PROG wear crown
'He/She is not wearing a crown'

(f) Àghan é è dé áde
3PL LONG PRN LP NEG PROG wear crown
'They are not wearing a crown'

(215a) Mé è sísẹ́
1SG+NEG PROG work
'I am not working'

(b) Á ì sísẹ́
2SG+NEG PRO work
'We are not working'

(c) Ọ́ ì sísẹ
1SG+NEG PROG work
'You are not working'

(d) Ẹ́ ì sísẹ
2SG+NEG PROG work
'You are not working'

(e) É ì sísẹ
3SG+NEG PROG work
'He/She is not working'

(f) Ọ́n ìn sísẹ
3SG+NEG PROG work
'They are not working'

In (212) and (213), the NEG– *é* and the PROG – *è* are prevalent in the two examples where the DP nominal and LONG PRNsare subject. This observation is noted for the 1SG in (215a). Further examination of (215b) – (f) provides better insight into the basic forms of the functors. The basic form of the NEG is *é* 'not' while that of the PROG is*ì*. In (213), (214) and (215a), the NEG element assimilates the PROG. The basic form of the PROG is fully retained in (215e) and partially in (215f) where it receives the nasal feature of the contiguous vowel. The short pronouns in (215a-d and f) play hosts to the NEG element which it invariably cliticises. The high tone on the short pronouns encode negation. The PROG *ì* co-occurs with NEG to imply that the action denoted by the verb is continuously put on hold.

4.14.1Habitualaspect in affirmative sentence

This section examines habitual aspect of [-NEG] clause with a view to accounting for the form of its marker.Habitual aspect is literarily equated with iteratives and it refers to events or activity that is repeated regularly (Malkjaer 2002). According to Crystal (2008) habitual aspect denotes an action that lasts for an extended period of time which is not just an incidental period of the moment but acharacteristic of a whole period. The habitual aspect is exemplified with the following data:

(216a) Ọba ì dé áde
King HAB wear crown
'The king is always wearing a crown'

(b) Baba ì yún ọ́ja
Father HAB go market
'Father is always going to the market'

(217a) Èmi ì yún ọ́ja
1SG LP HAB go market
'I am always going to the market'

(b) Ìgha ì yún ọ́ja
1P LP HAB go market
'We are always going to the market'

(c) Ìwọ ì yún ọ́ja
2SG LP HAB go market
'You are always going to the market'

(d) Ẹ̀gha ì yún ọ́ja
2PL LP HAB go market
'You are used to going to the market'

(218a) M ì yún ọ́ja
1SG HAB go market
'I am always going to the market'

(b) À ì ré ọ́ja
2PL HAB go market
'We are always going to the market'

(c) Ì yún ọ́ja
3SG+HAB go market
'He/She is always going to the market'

(d) Ọ̀n ì yún ọ́ja
3PL HAB go market
'They are always going to the market'

The above examples are taken as the representative samples of the various nominal and pronouns of Spec, AspP. In all the examples above, the basic form of HAB is *ì*. This is an indication that PROG and HAB are similarly represented with a single marker.However, the 3SG subject pronoun isassumed to be conflated with the PROGin the dialect (whereas it has an overt representation in SY[26]). The inference to be drawn from the above is that

[26] In SY, (35c) can be rendered as kì í máa ń lọ ọjà
NEG HAB go market

Ìyàgbà instantiates one aspectual form that is analogous to *ń* of the SY for both PROG and HAB. The other forms of HAB that SY instantiates are: *a máa* and *máa ń* 'always'. These are not attested in Ìyàgbà.

4.14.2 Habitual aspect in negative construction

The focus of this section is the interaction between [+NEG] and HAB in order to determine the basic and the allomorphs of HAB. We consider the following data for exemplification.

(219a) Mé è yún ọja
1SG+NEG HAB go market
'I am not always going to the market'

(b) Wẹ́ ì yún ọja
2SG+NEG ì go market
'You are not always going to the market'

(c) Ẹ́ ì yún ọja
2PL+NEG HAB go market
'He/She is not always going to the market'

(d) Ọ́n ì dé áde
3PL+NEG HAB wear crown
'He is not always wearing a crown'

(220a) Baba é è dé áde
Father NEG HAB wear crown
'Father is always wearing a crown'

(b) Èmi mé è de áde
1SGL. Prn NEG HAB wear crown
'I am not always wearing a crown'

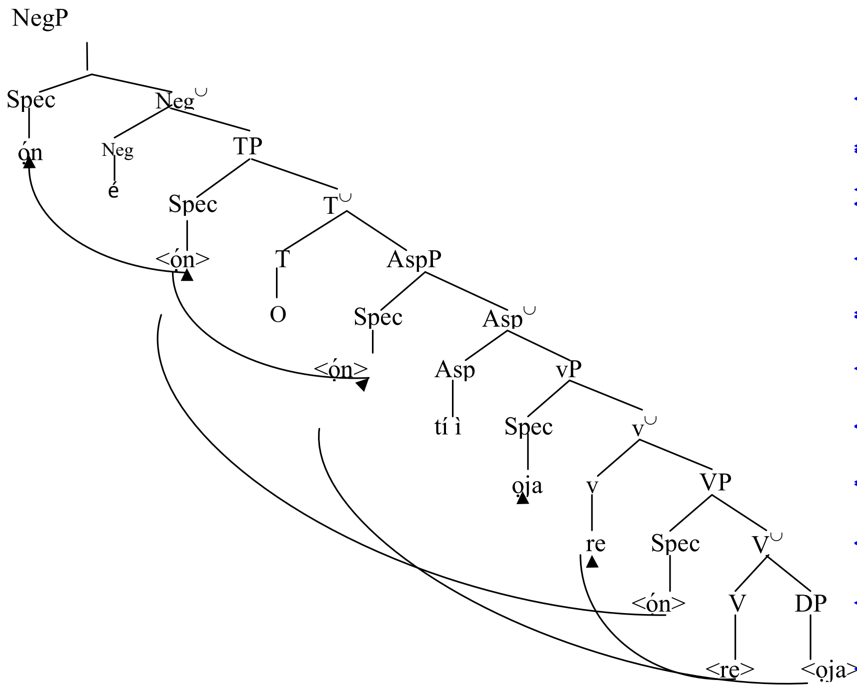
(219a) – (e) are examples of the instantiation of habitual aspects in affirmation construction. With the exception of (220) where the form of the HAB is*è,* in all the other instances, it is *ì*. The HAB - *ì* is taken as the basic form. It is assumed that its variants in (219a) and (220) are determined by the phonological process of assimilation of the contiguous segments. The HAB *ì* when used with NEG imply tha the action denoted by the verb is not always carried out.

'He/She is not always going to the market'

4.15 The derivation of perfective aspect

The derivation of articulated I-layer involving [+NEG] and PERF can be described using the illustrative tree diagram as shown below:

(221)



The simplified tree diagram above demonstrates the hierarchy of projection of the I-layer of the sentence: *Ọ́n tíì re ọ́ja* 'they have not gone to the market'. Putting the detail account of the thematic structure aside, the derivation could be accounted for by assuming that the lower VP merges with higher light $v^{\cup}$whose affixal v adjoins the contentful V to its slot. The light v triggers the DP-*ọ́ja* 'market'to its specifier for the valuation of Objective Case features. The resultant structure merges with $Asp^{\cup}$whose Asp functional head peruses a c-commanding GOAL-*Ọ́n*3PL and attracts it to its Spec position. AspP further merges with*ì* whose T functional head perused a suitable GOAL – *ọ́n* 'they' to its Spec, TP both for phi-features' valuation. The TP in turn merges with $Neg^{\cup}$, its Neg head peruses its c-commanding GOAL and attracts it to its Spec position for the purpose of matching its Neg feature. Assuming the correctness of the derivation, the clausal architecture of the derivation is proposed as (222) below:

(222) NegP>TP>AspP>vP>VP

The above clausal structure differs from that of Adger(2003:158) whose proposalis as shownin (223):

(223) T > (Neg) > (Perf) > v > V

The systematic application of the (223) above clausal structure to the derivation will derive the sentence that will crash at the interface. Among the reasons for the crash of the derivation is the projection of TP above NegP. The syntactic feature of NEG of the dialect is that it fuses or encliticises to the contiguous short pronoun in its right adjacent positon. This condition is violated by the intervening TP. The derivation further crashes because NegP intervenes between AspP and TP as against the contiguity of the two functional projections if they must project independently. This realisation calls for the modification of the above clausal structureas indicated in (222) above where negativity is licensed at the nominal Spec, NegP. The implication of this analysis is that Neg heads aspectual projection in the negative construction.

The aspect system of Ìyàgbà can be graphically illustrated as shown in figure 4:1 below:

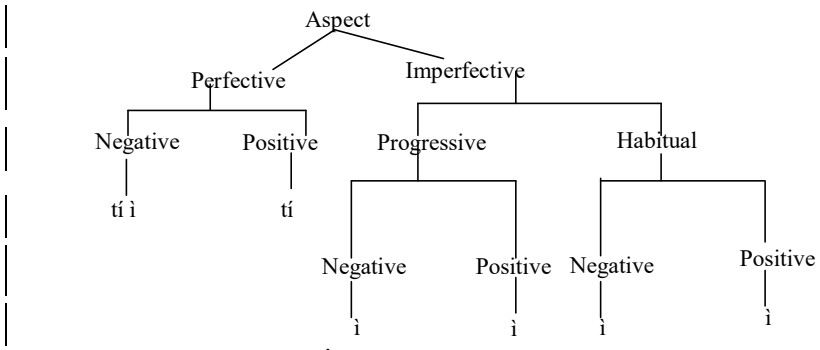


Figure 4.1: Aspect system of Ìyàgbà

4.16 Conclusion

The examination of the split VP-shell of Ìyàgbà dialect within the MP's perspective has been germane in defining, classifying and identifying V. The lexical V and $V^{\cup}$ merge with internal arguments of ditransitive construction while its light v merges with the external argument. Another higher light v values the phi-features of internal argument. The spell-out of the VP-structure after formal features of the lexical items had been deleted defines verb as the item that can occur in its phrasal projection with or without modifier (Táíwò 2018). The VP can be represented as (preM) X^{n}. Where preM refers to preverbal adverbs and modifiers, X refers to verb while n could be internal arguments, postverbal modifiers, adverbs or PP.

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Verbs are further differentiated from other constituents in the v-layer such as P, preverbal modifiers and postverbal modifiers. The preverbal modifiers include such elements that some Yorùbá linguists refer to as modals, auxiliaries and particles. The theta-role construct is equally employed to classify verbs as mono-argumental and multi-argumental verbs.

The attestation of tense system in the dialect of Ìyàgbà is establishedto be non-future versus future tense dichotomy. The basic form of [+FUT] is *à* in [-NEG] and á [+NEG] constructions while that of [-FUT] is abstract in both positive and negative constructions. It has also been demonstrated that the encliticisation phenomenon is superimposed on the basic forms of the [+FUT] in the[+/-NEG] constructions involving short pronouns with copious examples.

The study having examined the interplay of tense with other clausal constituents notes that though the [-FUT] tense is covert yet, it shares the same features with its overt tense counterparts of the more morphologically rich languages. The functional tense head of the finite clause of the dialect, either overt or covert is therefore analysed as strong. The following features are observed in respect of the tense system.

(224i) Tense is a probe

(ii) It is an obligatory clausal element for the fulfillment of EPP

(iii)It values DP in Spec, TP position and licenses Nominative Case

(iv)It has D or Nfeatures

(v) HTS is observed not to be in the list of tense markers in Ìyàgbà. The semblance of HTS is the NEG-é which is fused to the short pronoun at the left adjacent position. The Neg feature is encoded on the short pronoun DP as HT. In other instances, it (HTS) functions as 3SG, 3PL pronoun and AGR.

The clausal architecture of Ìyàgbà demonstrates variation in the displacement of the constituents of the I-layer from the putatively universal hierarchy of projection(HOP) of the form:

(225) TP>NegP>vP>VP to the form: NegP>TP>vP>VP.

The Asp system of the dialect can be classified into perfective and imperfective types. The markers of the PERF include *ti* 'has/have/had' and *tí ì* 'has/have/had not' for[-NEG] and [+NEG] constructions respecively. The basic marker of theIMPERF for both PROG and HAB in both [-NEG] and [+NEG] is invariant *ì*.

The findings above differ from those of Dòsùmú(2010) who claims that the Asp markers of Ìyàgbà are *un* for PROG and HAB in [+NEG]and*éè*for PROG and HAB in [-NEG] constructions. She further claims that*ì* has/have/had'marksIMPERF in [-NEG] while *é ti* has/had/have not' marks PERF in [+NEG] constructions. The observation of this study shows that Dòsùmú (2010) includes NEG in the list of IMPERF of the [+NEG] clause.Contrary to the claim of Adéwọlé (2007), HTS does not mark Asp.

The analysis calls for the modifications of the putative rule so that the clausal architecture of the dialect could be properly accounted for. The modification thus suggested is as sown below:

(226) NegP>AspP>vP>VP

The aboveis appropriate for the derivation of fully articulated HOP of the I-layer involving NegP of the aspect system of Ìyàgbà.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPLEMENTISER SYSTEM IN ÌYÀGBÀ

5.0 Preliminaries

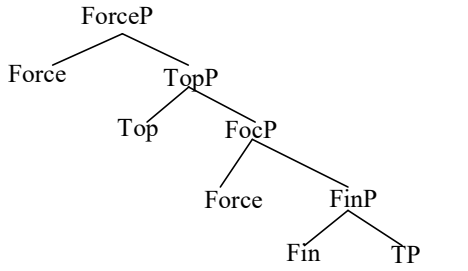
This chapter discusses the various explosions of the CP. The fall-out of the decomposition of the earlier composite phrase yields multiple arrays of functional projections such as Force Phrase (ForceP), Topic Phrase (TopP), Focus Phrase (FocP) and Finiteness Phrase (FinP). This section explicates each of the projections and their derivations.

5.1 Conceptual description of C-system

The C-layer refers to the projection located at the left periphery above the TP of a clausal structure. The term complementiser as explained by Radford (2009) denotes two notions. Firstly, it implies a specific category of clause-introducer like that/if/for (in English). Secondly, it refers to pre-subject position of a clause. The projection of the complementiser is referred to as Complementiser Phrase (CP). CP "is a phrase/clause/expression headed by a complementiser". (Koopman 2011)

The CP is assumed to be one single projection in the early transformational tradition. Rizzi (1997; 2001b;2004) however re-analyses the CP-node as "an array" of multiple functional projections with each of them performing function that is related to information structure. The C-domain provides interface between the IP-node and discourse roles. This analysis that is widely termed split-CP hypothesis proposes the decomposition of the CP (also known as the projection of the left periphery of a clause) into ForceP, TopP, FocP and FinP (Frascarelli and Puglielli 2007). Consider the illustrative diagram below:

(227)



Rizzi (1997)

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Each of the above projections shall be studied in turn from bottom of the CP structure to the top in tandem with the MP's postulation that clauses are built from the bottom to the top.

5.2 Finiteness Phrase (FinP)

Finiteness projection (FinP henceforth) is a functional projection that is immediately above the TP (See the tree diagram 227). Its functional head-Fin^{0}marks a clause as finite or nonfinite (Radford 2009). Rizzi (1997) states:

> the C-system expresses a specification of finiteness, which in turn selects an IP system with the characteristics of finiteness: mood distinctions, subject agreement licensing Case,overt tense distinctions.

FinP can be simply described as the "clause containing auxiliary or non-auxiliary verb which can have a Nominative subject" (Radford 2009). The Italian sentence below further exemplifies the above claims:

(228) Gianni pensa, il tuo libro, di PRO conoserto bene
Gianni thinks, the your book, of PRO know it well
'Gianni thinks that your book he knows well'
(Radford 2009:334)

In (228) above, Fin head is the position occupied by the prepositional particle *di* 'of' in the above non-finite control clause. Similarly, the Fin head position can be occupied by *that*, *for*. The FinP has the following striking features:

(229i) It provides interface level between FocP and TP.

(ii) It has equal strength with the projection above it.

(iii) It is syncretized or conflated with the ForceP when there are no higher FocP and TopP projections in a given clause.

(iv) FinP projects when the following conditions are met:

(a) The presence of an overt infinitival marker.

(b) The presence of an overt specifier at its Spec, TP position

(c) The DP at the Spec, TP position is valued for Accusative Case

(d) It has independent strength value (Adapted Radford 2009)

(e) It is capable of valuing the DP subject of an infinitival clause. (Adger 2003)

Cowper(2002) explains that finiteness implies the ability to license structural Accusative Case in subject position and the presence of agreement marking on the verb.

The verb that can take agreement marking is known as finite verbs as against the non-finite verbs. The two main distinctive criteria that differentiate finite verbs from non-finite verbs include: the ability of the verb to occur in an independent clause and the ability to take personal endings (Binnick 1991 and Cowper 2002).

In the latter treatises of the transformational tradition, the notion of finiteness witnesses a paradigm shift from verb to [+TENSE]. Thus, a clause is claimed to be finite if its INFL is [+TENSE]. Nominative Case is therefore a singular factor of whether a "T is finite". The INFL that is [-TENSE] selects complementiser like 'for' in English. This complementiser licenses the DP of Spec, FinP for Accusative Case.

5.2.1 FinP in Ìyàgbà

The forgoing explanation is exemplified with the data in Ìyàgbà dialect as shown:

(230) Obìnrin gbà hún ọkùnrin nká láti fẹ́
Woman accept for man the to love
'The woman agreed to marry the man'

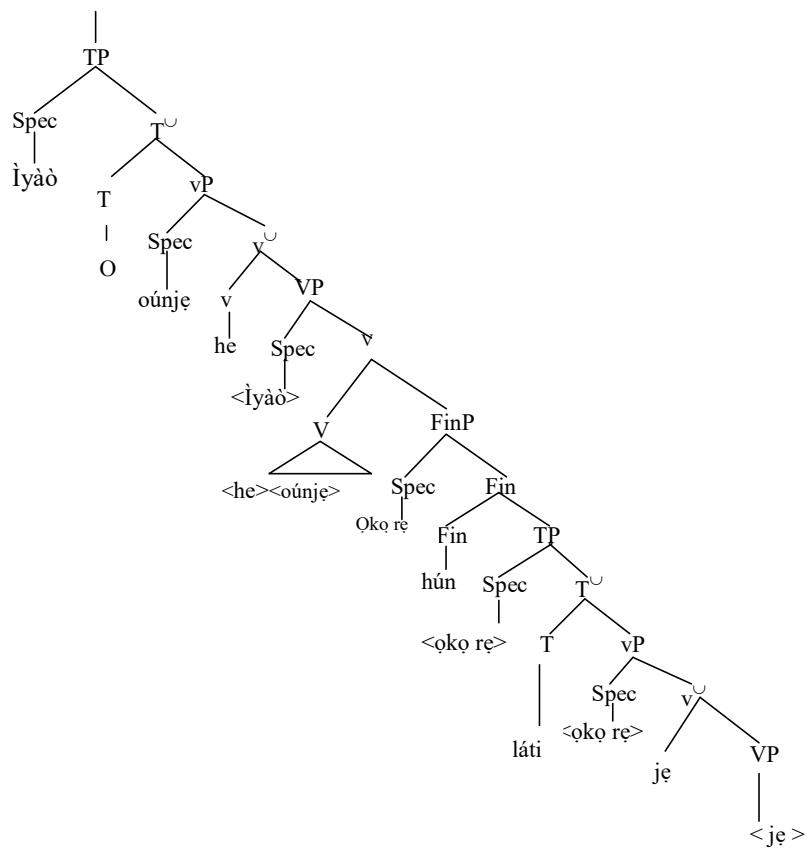
(231) Ọlọ́dẹ sí ilẹ̀kùn hún olè láti wọlé
Guard open door for thief to enter house
'The guard opened the door for thief to come in'

(232) Ise nká sòro wún Olú láti se
Work the difficult for Olú to do
'The work is difficult for Olú to do'

(233) Ìyàò he oúnjẹ hún ọkọ rẹ̀ láti jẹ
Wife cook food for husband 3SG to eat
The wife cooked food for her husband to eat

All the above sentences in (230) – (233) are convergent sentences that are composed of two clauses each. The verbs of the lower clauses are non-finite verbs with weak tense that are incapable of valuing the phi-features of the DPs in the Spec, TP position. The matrix clause is each constituted with finite verb and T with strong features. The derivation of the clauses can be described with the aid of simplified tree diagram using (233) as a representative sample asillustrated below:

(234a)



From the bottom to the top fashion, the lower VP derives the syntactic structure – *jẹ*. The VP merges with the v$^{\cup}$, the light v with its strong V-feature adjoins the contentful V to v. The external argument – *ọkọ rẹ*'her husband' merges with the v to be assigned the theta role of an AGENT. The light vP further merges with the T$^{\cup}$. The T features of the infinitival lower clause are weak to value the Nominative Case of *ọkọ rẹ* 'her husband'. The principles of Last Resort and Greed drive the DP to move to the Spec, FinP position for the valuation of the DP with Accusative Case by the Fin head-*hún*'for'. The FinP at the lower clause merges with lexical V$^{\cup}$ which later projects VP- the domain of thematic relations of the matrix clause of the SO-*ìyàò he oúnjẹ* 'wife cook food'. The lexical VP merges with the light v$^{\cup}$, its affixal v has strong V-features hence, it adjoins the contentful V to v. The internal DP moves to the Spec, vP to value Accusative Case

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against the features of the functional light v. The light vP further merges with T$^{\cup}$. The T functional head, being a PROBE, searches for a suitable GOAL to occupy its Spec, TP. The suitable GOAL will satisfy the EPP requirement of T and Case valuation demand of the DP. Thus, *ìyàò rẹ̀* "his wife" which is the suitable GOAL moves to Spec, TP position. The Case and other phi-features (Person and Number) of the DP are valued against the feaures of the T functional head. The uninterpretable features are deleted and the structure is handed over to the interface for appropriate spell-out.

Generally, the simplified representative schema of the sentences in (230) – (233) is as shown in (234b). Consider: (234b) TP>vP>VP >FinP >TP >vP > VP

Other observations about the clausal structure of the FinP above are:

(235a) The clauses have two constituents of CP. The lower clause is headed by FinP while the higher clause is headed by ForceP having TP as its complement. The abstract ForceP enact illocutionary force of declarativeclause to the sentence.

(b) The vP of the higher clause dominates the FinP. The Spec, FinP has overt DP and head. This is the condition required for the instantiation of FinP.

(c) The only Case valuation option is therefore at the S-H configuration of the Spec, FinP with the Fin^{o} functional head being the Case valuer.

(d) The two clauses share the same illocutionary force of declarative clausal mood.

It is also observed that apart from *hún* 'for', *wún* 'for'is an additional C that values the Case of the subject DPs of infinitival clauses asexample in (232) buttresses. The inference to be drawn from this anaysis is that Ìyàgbà differs from SY in the number of overt Fin heads that can value the Case of DP in non-finite clause. The SY has one Fin head realisable as *fún* 'for' while Ìyàgbà has two forms- *hún* and *wún* 'for'.

Another inference to be drawn from the above is that preposition(P) doubles up in languages as Fin head. Assuming the correctness of the above, P could be said to be an attested category in both Ìyàgbà dialect and its standard.

The proof that the Fin^{0} of the Spec, FinP values the DP for Objective Case at S-H configuration can be substantiated by substituting the DP of the Spec, FinP with ISG as shown below. Consider (236a) and (b):

(236a) Iṣẹ́ nká ṣòro wún m láti se
Work the difficult for 1SG to do
'The work is difficult for me to do'

(b) *Iṣẹ́ nká ṣòro wún mo láti se
Work the difficult for 1SG to do
*'The work is difficult for I to do'

In (236a) above, the lower C*wún* 'for' values its DP for Objective Case, the ensuing structure converges while the same structure crashes when it is valued for Nominative Case by the Fin functional head in (236b).

In all the data discussed above, the FinP is the introducer of the lower clauses. There is however the possibility of having the FinP in the higher clause as the examples below illustrate:

(237a) Hún ọmọdé nká láti ya ojú hí àgbàlagbà, é híọn.
For child the to open eye to elder NEG good
'For the child to be rude to an elder is bad'

(b) Hún gbajúmọ̀ láti sole, é híọn
For famous to steal NEG good
'For the famous man to steal, is not good'

The higher clauses introduced by the Fin^0in the two examples are the subordinate clauses. It is assumed that *ọmọdé nká* 'the child' and *gbajúmọ̀* 'famous man' in (237a) and (b) move successively from their positions as the thematic subjects of their VPs to the Spec, FinP of their infinitival clauses. Their [-TENSE] INFLs could not value their Case features. They in turn move to occupy the Spec, FinP positions where the Fin functional heads value their Case features. The above discussion can be represented schematically using (237b) as our representative sample. Consider the illustrative schema in (238) below:

(238) FinP[Spec gbajúmọ̀ Fin^0 hún [TPgbajúmọ̀láti [VPgbajúmọ̀ṣóle [NegPé [TP [VPhíọn]]]]

As the schema above tends to show, the thematic subject moves from the Spec, VP to Spec, TP (of the infinitival clause) before landing at the Spec, FinP where its Case feature is valued by Fin^0.

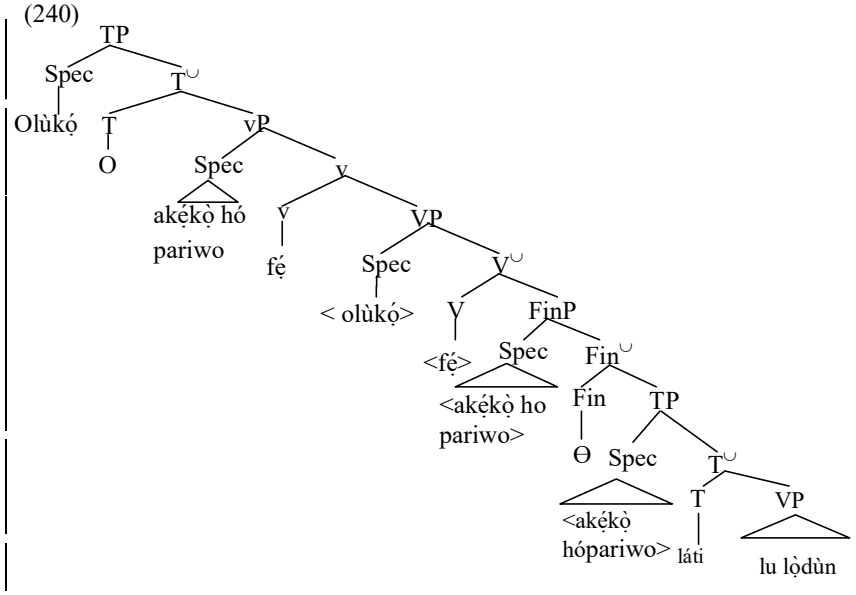
There is another instantiation of FinP projection that could not block the upward movement of the DP in Spec, TP to the Spec, vP for Casevaluation. Consider the examples below:

(239a) Bàbà arúgbó nká ì fẹ́ ọmọge láti fẹ́
Father old the PROG want young lady to marry
'The old man is looking for a young lady to marry'

(b) Olùkọ̀ ì fẹ́ akẹ́kọ̀ hó pariwo láti lù lọ̀dùn
Teacher PROG want student REL+HTS make noise to beat with cain
'The teacher is looking for the noisy student to beat with cain'

The two examples have similar analysis. The higher clause of each of them is finite while the lower clauses are non-finite. The Case valuation at the higher clauses does not pose any issue. The account of the Case valuation of the lower clause deserves description. It is assumed that the relative clause is the external subject of the verb of the lower clause. The derivation goes thus: the verb of the lower clause *lù* 'beat' merges with the fused preposition and its complement to result in $V^{\cup}$*lù lọ̀dùn* 'beat with cain'. The $V^{\cup}$ is further merged with the RelP *akẹ́kọ̀ho pariwo* 'the student who makes noise'. The VP externally merges with the TP. The weak non-finite T is weak to value the Case of the external DP. The DP (RelP) moves from Spec, TP to the Spec, vP. The light affixal causative verb matches its Case with that of the RelP while deleting all the uninterpretable features. The sentence converges. The tree diagram below further exemplifies.

(240)



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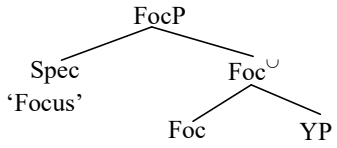
As could be seen above, the FinP is void of overt DP. It is therefore pruned. The pruning of the FinP can best be understood as the economy derivational device of eliminating superfluous operations (Alexandria 2010). It is also in consonance with Horrocks (1989) who claims that because the infinitival DP cannot obtain Case valuation by its [-T] functional head, CP is assumed to be pruned so that it will not be able to block the upward movement of the DP to the Spec, vP where the light affixal verb can value its Case and other phi-features. The CP of Horrocks (1989) corresponds to the FinP of Rizzi's Split-CP hypothesis.

The movement fulfills the requirement of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). The RelP moves from A-position to another A-position in successive cyclicity before it finally lands at the Spec, vP position of the higher verb.

5.3 Focus phrase (FocP)

The structure of focus construction can be illustrated with an x-bar structure. Consider (241)

(241)



'Comment'

(Adapted from Rizzi 1997)

Focused constituent is housed at the Spec, FocP, at the left adjacency of its marker-FOC. The FOC triggers an interpretive notion of contrastive focus-comment information. The FOC takes TP which provides familiar information or comment to the focalised constituentas its complement. Focal construction differs from TopP. While FocP provides unfamiliar information that the speaker assumes to be new and presumably contrastive to the known or shared knowledge that the interlocutors may have, TopP on the contrary, provides familiar and shared information. Another difference between the TOpP and FocP is that while TopP may not necessarily be a clause, the latter is a convergent sentence constituted with all the obligatory CFCs of a clause.

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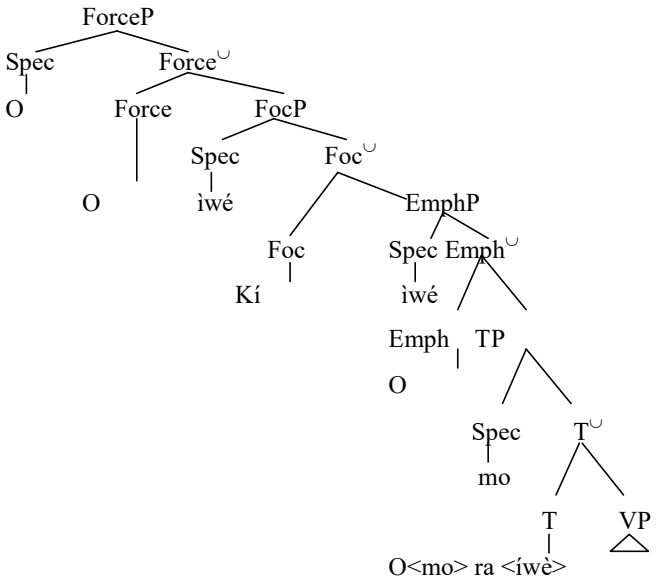
5.3.1 Status of FocP

The status of focal construction can be ascertained by analysing a typical example of focal construction as shown in (242) below:

(242)



The derivation is initiated at the VP-shell, which is the thematic and Objective Case valuations' domain. The external DP-*mo* 'ISG' is attracted by T to its Spec position. The DP values its phi-features against the features of the T^0 functional head and consequently fulfils the EPP principle that requires every Spec of finite T to be overtly filled. The focalised constituent moves by $A^{\cup}$-movement operation successively to the Spec, EmphP and Spec, FocP.

It could be clearly proved that the sentence passes all the diagnostic tests of convergent clause. DP cannot have the above distributional pattern. The interplay of the tripartite core layers of the MP could be seen to have been deployed for the derivation of FocP. The derivation involving all the CFCs forms sentences and not DP. In all the focused constructions, EmphP assumes the complement of the FocP. This implies that the FocP is in a higher hierarchy than the TP. The TP complement dominates the VP. This observation further establishes the fact that FocP is not DP. Even in GB, sentences project from Infl which may be represented as TP or AsP.

Contrary to Awóbùlúyì (1972; 1978; 1992 and 2013) who posit that focus constructions are NPs because they (NPs) function as the complement of verb *ṣe* 'do', both empirical and theoretical considerations suggest that the argument is weak.Further examples where *ṣe* 'do' is instantiated provide further clarification about its status. Consider the exemplifications below:

(243a) É ṣe[27]íwè kí mo rà
NEG+3SG do book FOC ISG buy
'I DID NOT buy BOOK'

(d) Kìí ṣe olè ní ó jí owó Òjó
NEG do thief money Òjó
'THE THIEF DID NOT steal Ojo's money'

(244a) Iṣé nká le mọ̀ rin
Work the hard EMPH FOC
'THE WORK IS HARD'

(b) Ó ṣe ìwọ ni
EXP do 2SG LONG PRN FOC
'IT IS BECAUSE IT IS YOU'

The data in (243a) and (244a) are convergent focus sentences of Ìyàgbà while (243b) and (244b) are equally focalised sentences of the SY. In each of the sentences, the NegP is focalised. The element *ṣe*'do' is assumed to be derived at the NegP projection. This is contrary to the VP-shell where valid verbs enter into derivation to theta-mark argument and to value the Objective Case of the DP object. The item-*ṣẹ* 'do, in the NegP constituent seems to play the role of Do-Support to the abstract affix of the NEG so as to rescue the structure from crashing. Admitting this position, the supposedly verbal status ascribed to *ṣẹ* 'do' by Awóbùlúyì (op.cit) is proved invalid. Furthermore, Awóbùlúyì's (op.cit) argument that FocP is a nominal projection because it functions as complement to the supposedly *ṣe* verb is also proved wrong.

The derivation of (243a) can be represented in a simplified schema as shown in (245) below:

(245) FocP [Spec É ṣe ìwé[Foc kí][EmphP[Spec É ṣe ìwé[EmphΘ]

[27]ṣe 'do' in (29b) occurs between the NEG and the DP nominal within the NegP. It links the two elements to rescue the structure from crashing. It is assumed to be listed by Numeration prior derivation.

[NegP [Spec,ìwé[Neg é ṣe][TP[Spec,mo T (-)][VP[Mo] ra ìwé]]]]]

Examination of (244a) and (b) reveals that the entire NegP constituent are heavily pied piped to the Spec, FocP for focalisation. The FOC is always at the canonical right adjacent position of the focused constituent.

5.3.2 Derivation of focus construction

The derivation of focus construction is proposed as$A^{\cup}$-Movementor Extraposition Analysis in whichthe focused constituent is extracted from the root of the clause by a successive cyclicity to Spec posititions of higher projections ofthe Spec,EmphP andSpec,FocP-the positions usually referred to as the left periphery of a clause. The simplified schema further illustrates. Consider:

(246a) Ilé koìtà jókò dédì
House FOC+stool sit for buttock
'The stool is always stationed for use at the house'

(b)FocP[Ilé Foc kó][EmphP[Spec<ilé>Emp][TP[SpecòìtàT-][vP[<ilé>Spec jókò][VP<òìtà><jókò><ilé>dédì]]]]

The example in (246a) above is a convergent focused sentence of Ìyàgbà.The schemain (246b) illustrates its derivation. The DP object *ilé* house enters into the derivation as the direct object of the verb-*jókò* 'sit'. The DP values its phi-features against the feature of the light v by agree relation at the S-H configuration. The DP further moves by successive cyclicity to the Spec, EmphP and finally to the Spec,FocP. The probes of the focused DP are$Emph^{o}$ and Foc^{o}.

5.4 Constituents' focusing

The clausal constituents that are accessible to focusing are those that have the features of unpredictability, new information and emphasis. These features should be given adequate descriptive and structural representations in convergent focused structure. The constituents below share the above features as exemplified below:

(247a) Ọkọ ìyàò lọ agèrè
husband wife grind pepper
'The husband grinded pepper'

(b) Agèré kí ọkọ ìyàò lọ <agèrè >
Pepper FOC husband wife grind
'The husband grinded PEPPER'

(248a) Gómìnà dẹ̀ka hílẹ̀
governor pour maize on ground
'The governor poured maize on the ground'

(b) Gómìnà kó <Gómìnà>dẹ̀ka hílẹ̀
governor FOC+HTS governor pour maize on ground
'The GOVERNOR poured maize on the ground'

(249a) Olú re ọ̀gbà wéréwéré
Olú go hospital quickly
'Olú went to the hospital quickly'

(b) Wéréwéré kíOlú re ọ̀gbà<wéréwéré>
quickly FOC Olú go hospital
'Olú went to the hospital QUICKLY'

(250a) Olú é re oko
Olú NEG go farm
'Olú did not go to the farm'

(b) É ṣe Olú kó <é ṣeOlú> re oko
EXPL+NEG do Olú FOC+HTS go farm
'OLÚ DID NOT go to the farm'

(251a) Òjò rọ̀ láti àárọ̀
rain drop from morning
'It rained from morning'

(b) Òjò rọ̀ láti àárọ̀ mọ̀ rin<òjò rọ̀ láti àárọ̀>
rain drop from morning EMPH FOC?
IT RAINED FROM MORNING

(252a) Ijó kán ìghan
dance reach 3PL LONG PRN
'It is our TURN TO DANCE'

(b) Ìghan kí ijó kán<ìghan>
3PL LONG PRN FOC dance reach
'It is OUR turn to dance'

(253a) Mò re Èkò lánà
1SG go Lagos yesterday
'I went to Lagos yesterday'

(b) Lánà kí mo re Èkò<lánà>
Yesterday FOC 1SG go Lagos
'I went to Lagos YESTERDAY'

(254a) Mò re Èkò
1SG go Lagos

'I went to Lagos'

(b) *Mo kí ó<mo> re Èkò
1SG FOC HTS go Lagos
'I went to Lagos'

(255a) Iyàò he oúnjẹ nká
Wife cook food the
'The wife cooked the food'

(b) *He kí ìyàò <he> oúnjẹ nká
cook FOC wife cook food the
'*Cook the wife cooked the food'

(c) Híhè kí ìyàò he oúnjẹ nká
Cooking FOC wife cook food the
'The wife COOKED the food'

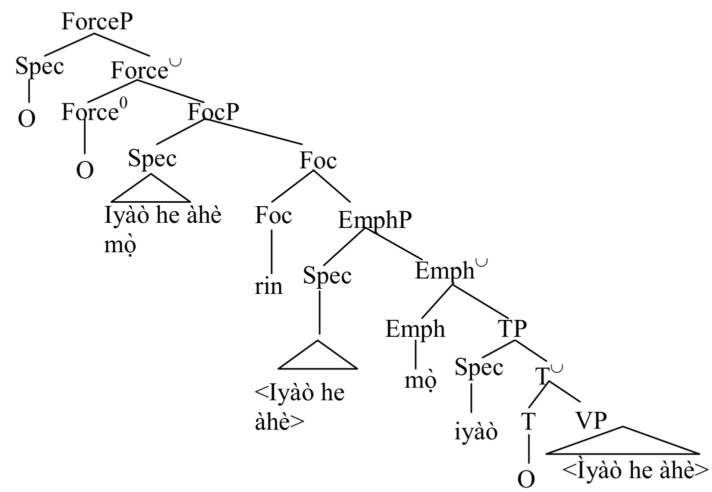
The data in (247a) – (255a) are convergent non-focalised sentences of Ìyàgbà. Their (b) counterparts (in 247-253) and (c) version of (255) are focused. The focused versions are considered to be convergent sentences in consonance with the views of Owólabí (1987), Bámgbóṣé (1981, 1990, 2000). The focused constituents that are eligible for the syntactic process of focusing are suitable GOALS that can satisfy the EF requirement of theFoc^0 and $Emph^o$ (PROBES). In the examples under consideration, *agèrè* 'pepper' – DP complement (in 247b), *gómìnà* 'governor' – subject DP (in 248b), *wéréwéré* 'quickly'- AdvP (in 249b), *é ṣe Olú* 'Olú did not' -NegP (in 250b), *òjò rọ̀ láti àárọ̀* 'it rained since morning' – TP (in 251b), *ìghan* '2PL LONG PRN' in (252b), *lánà* 'yesterday' – PP in (253b), *híhè* 'cooking' nominalised DP in (254c) are focused. The focused constituents are targeted by operation Move from their extraction sites to the Pre-TP periphery of their respective sentences to the Spec, FocP for communicative prominence. In all the focused constructions, EmphP assumes the complement of the FocP. This implies that the FocP is in a higher projection than TP. In GB, the highest projection of convergent sentence is TP or IP. Higher projection above TP or IP is regarded as complex clause. GB, further provides additional theoretical support for the sentential status of FocP.

Further proof that FocP is a sentence stems from the possibility of focusing a whole TP as proved by (256a) below:

(256a) Ìyàò he àhè mọ̀ rin
Wife cook feast EMPH Foc
'THE WIFE COOK FEAST'

The above example can be graphically illustrated with simplified tree diagram as shown in (256b) below. Witness:

(256b)



The TP is pied piped to Spec, EmphP, then the whole of EmphP undergoes pied piping to the Spec, FocP. The two probes that trigger the displacement of the TP are Emph^o and Foc^o. The preposing of the focused TP constituent further reveals*rin*as FOC and*mọ̀*as EMPH.The overt Emph^o in TP focusing suggests that all focused constituents instantiate EmphP. The Emph^o in all other focused constituents is proposed to be covert.

By inference, verbs and short pronouns lack inherent emphatic features. They have [-Focus] properties hence, they are not accessible to focusing. The claim that LONG PRNs are selected in place of short pronouns (see Awóbùlúyì 2008;Bámgbóṣé 1990 and Olúmúyíwá2010) is a violation to the Inclusiveness Principle. The lexicon contains the comprehensive list of lexical items with their feature specifications. Numeration looks ahead to those items that could derive a convergent sentence and enumerate them.

Attempt at focusing short pronoun *mo*1SG (254b) and verb *hè*'cook' results to illformdness of the structures thereby implying they lack features of [+Focus] and [+Emph] which all the focalised constituents exhibit. The functors: FOC and EMPH are considered as PROBES that trigger movement of constituents to the leftmost edge of the TP.

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The widely circulated view on the strategy of focusing predicate is that the verb must be doubledand nominalised so that it can have [+Human] or [-V] feature (Jackendoff 1977;Ndayragije 1993;Bámgbóṣé 2000; Aboh 2006; Jones2006; Ìlọ̀rí 2010;Arókoyọ̀ 2013;Awóbùlúyì 2013 and Ọláògún2016). There seems to be no other divergent opinion from thispopular view.

This study observes that the semantic notion of the nominalised item, whose etymology is from verb, is often invoked to buttress the view that they are predicates. Bámgbóṣé (1990) for instance, explains that they depict the notion of actions or process. In view of the fact that verbs are words that denote action, or events, the scholars often construe the gerundic or nominalised verbs as verbs.

This study is of the view that some languages have [+Focus] predicate while some do not. Consider the examples below:

(257a) U soun nè
3SG smoke FOC
She SMOKES (Byali, Brigite Keineke 2007:239)

(b) Wema lɔ́ xɔ́ ná Kòfí Sɛ́na té
book DET buy FOC Kòfí-NR Sena PROG
Sénà is BUYING THE BOOK FOR KOFI
(Gúngbè (kwa), Aboh 2004a).

(c) θ – θo é wò θo é
RED- beat FOC 3SG beat 3SG
BEATING S/he beat him/her
(Ewegbe(kwa), Ameka 1992:12)

Byali focuses predicate without nominalising it or leaving an overt copy at the construal site(see 257a). Gungbe equally instantiates verbal focusing without leaving a copy at its extraction site as in (257b).In (257c), Ewegbe shares similarity with Ìyàgbà dialect. It focuses reduplicated verb leaving just the verb form at the extraction site.The three linguistic forms could be seen to differ in their instantiation of predicate and nominalised verbal focusing. Principle of explicitness demands that they should be analysed or represented differently.

Ndayragije (1993) in consonance with Dekyotspotter (1992) categorically states that nominalised verb is a verbal counterpart of nominal focus construction. He enthuses:

> Reduplicated verb by no means is a nominalised verb… where the reduplicated is followed by a DET, it is treated like a normal NP. Where it occurs without a DET and

> requires a generic meaning, we obtain a gerund-like meaning denoting an event…

The problem with the above assertion is that a bare nominal and a nominal with qualifier are now being differentiated in contrast to the attested DP hypothesis. Recall that DP hypothesis postulates that nominals with qualifiers and bare nominals have equivalent status of maximal projection. Constituent co-ordination shows that both of them can be conjoined. Constituents that can be conjoined are syntactically similar in their categorial classification.

Morphological evidence rules out nominalised verbs as verbal items. The derivational device of partial reduplication is a category-changing mechanism. Akinlabí, (1985, 2000) corroborate the above view by referring to them as 'deverbalised nouns'. The loss of the verbal status isat the instance of the morphological process of prefixing a copy of the consonant-initial of the verb and the vocalic [i] to the stem of the verb (Akinlabí 1985; 2000; Pulleybank 1986 and Ọlá 1995). Once derived, it is used as nominals. One wonders why it will now assume verbal function in focusing. As a matter of fact, nominalised verbs can be used as nominal as in (258a), as a qualifier as in (258b), as a complement of verb as in (258c). These syntactic roles are similar to the functions of undisputed nominals in Yorùbá.There is no known verb of Yorùbá that could be used as shown above.Consider the exemplification in SY below:

(258a) ríra aṣọ
buying cloth
'buying of cloth'

(b) aṣọ rírà
Cloth buying
'Cloth buying'(Bámgbóṣé 1990:103)

(c) Mo gbọ́ kíkọ tí Olú ń kọrin
1SG hear singing REL Olú PROG sing
'I hear Olú singing'
(Awóbùlúyì 2013:311)

Accepting the above analysis, the derivation of nominalised focusing will be listed in the Numeration as nominalised verbs or at best as nominals thereby respecting Inclusiveness Condition. Furthermore, Least Effort principle favours the nominal proposal as the efforts of copying or doubling and nominalising thereby changing the categorial status of verb to noun will be saved. Also related to the above is that the

theoretical apparatus will not be assumed to be too powerful to turn verb to noun in the course of derivation.

The above position can derive the focus construction of (258c) as (259) below:

(259a) Kíkọ ni mo gbọ́ tí Olú ń kọrin
Singing FOC 1SG hear REL Olú PROG sing
'I hear Olú SINGING'

(b)ForceP [Force^0 [FocP [Spec<kíkọ>Foc ni [EmphP [Spec<kíkọ>Emphɵ [TP[Spec moTɵ [VP <mo> gbọ́< kíkọ>[CP [Spec tí Olú ń kọrin]]]]]]]]]

The abstract Force^0 exerts declarative force on the focal construction.

The foregoing discussion places FocP in the MP perspective. It argues to support the sentential status of FocP. It further analyses the FOC-*kí* of Ìyàgbà and by extension, FOC-*ní* of SY as markers of focusing. The derivation of the FocP has been argued to be by A-movement as against the cleftinganalysis of Dechaine (2002) and Jones (2006). The study differs from the extant positions that focusing of short pronouns and predicates are attested in Ìyàgbà. The focus constructions that are attested in Ìyàgbà vis-à-vis the above are LONG PRNs and nominalised verbs focusing which are ipso facto analysed as DPs.

5.5 Topic Phrase (TopP)

Krifka (2006) citing Vonder Galentz (1869) describes topic as a terminology that refers to what has been introduced into linguistic thinking as "psychological subject and 'psychological predicate'. According to Vonder Galentz (1869), psychological subject refers to the object which the speaker is thinking about while psychological predicate refers to what the speaker is thinking about it. As it relates to communication, topic is described as the entity identified by the speaker 'about which the information, the comment is given. Different appellation has been given to the term topic. Chafe (1976) refers to it as 'subject'; Vallduvi (1992) Vallduvi and Engdahl call it 'link' while the Prague School calls it 'theme'.

Topic is described as a preposed element characteristically set off from the remaining part of the clause by 'comma intonation' and normally expressing familiar information. The comment is usually in the form of complex predicate, an open sentence predicated of the topic and introducing known information (Rizzi 1997).

Topic is an information packaging phenomenon. Linguists introduce distinction between true topicalisation and false topicalisation. True topicalisation functions as the theme or topic of the sentence while false topicalisation plays the role of emphasis, or contrast (Roberts and Roussou 2003).

The theoretical support for the projection of Topic known as Topic Phrase (TopP) derives from the proposal of Rizzi (1997; 2001and 2004) who advocates for the splitting of CP. Another fall-out of the exploded CP is therefore, TopP.

Topic represents familiar or old information in the sense that the information has been previously mentioned. The movement operation of the topic to the edge of the sentence is therefore known as topicalisation. Further features of Top include:

(260i) TopP occupies the complement position of the ForceP

(ii) Top has edge feature. It triggers maximal projection to its Spec position

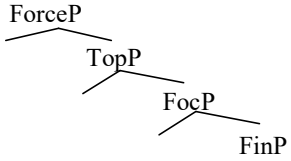
(iii) Topic represents familiar or old information

(iv) Topicalisation is derived by the application rule of A-bar movement operation. (Radford 2009)

The position of TopP in relation to other complementiser projections has been proposed as:

(261) …Force… Topic… Focus… Fin (Rizzi 1997). The HOP of the exploded CP can be graphically represented as shown:

(262)



5.5.1 The Structure of TopP

Topicalisation is composed of two major components. The 'topic' which is an essential fragment of the topic structureis displaced from its base to the clause-initial position for discourse prominence. The preposed constituent that serves as the topic-like or theme of the discourse is set off from the rest of the discourse by comma (in writing) or pause (in speaking) as the special intonations that encode it(Aarts 2001).The other fragment of the TopP is the comment. The comment can be a minimal IP, VP or AP. It contains the information conveyed by the topic. It therefore renders its information

familiar. The comment occupies the complement position of the TopP. Consider the examples below:

(263a) Kí ó tó di ìwòyí ọ̀la, ìyanu á ṣẹlẹ̀<kí… >
C HTS before equal this time tomorrow miracle FUT happen
Before this time tomorrow, miracle will happen

(b) Lónìí, ìgbàlà wọ ilé rẹ<lónìí>
today salvation enter house 2SG
'Today, salvation enters your house'

5.5.2 Topicalisation in Ìyàgbà

Koopman et al (2011) further identify the features of the construction as shown:

(264i) Topicalisation affects constituents i.e. phrasal projections like DP, PP, VP, AdvP, CP etc.

(ii) Topicalisation affects continuous constituents. This implies that parts of phrasal projection cannot be abstracted for topicalisation.

(iii) Topicalisation can be used as a reliable test to determine constituency of DPs, VPs, CPs, PPs etc.

The above features essentially imply that preposing a fragment of a phrase for topicalised operation will violate Fragment Condition. Fragment Condition states that only a maximal projection can serve as a sentence fragment (Radford 2009).

The above features also fulfill the preposing condition. Preposing Condition states that when material is preposed in order to highlight it, what is preposed is the smallest possible maximal projection containing the highlighted material.

The examples below illustrate the topicalised elements of Ìyàgbà that are DPs. Consider the following:

(265a) Èèwọ̀, ọkẹtẹ́ é jobì <èèwọ̀>
Taboo dog NEG eat+kolanut
'Taboo, dog does not eat kolanut'

(b) Ojú ẹkùn, le rọ̀ gbéná gwò<ojú ẹkùn>
Eye tiger who can take fire look
'Tiger's eye, who can look it with a lamp'

(c) Ewó, ọmọ àti àláfíà, Ọlọ́run má mu<ewó, ọmọ àti àláfíà> ghan á
Money, child and peace God NEG take scarce 2PL
'Money child and peace, God do not deny us'

(d) Àgbàlagbà akàn, ó<àgbàlagbà akàn>kó hí garawa
Old crab, HTSenter in pail
Old crab, it enters into trouble'

In (265a) – (d), the bare DP *èèwọ̀* 'taboo'; the genitival DP *ojú ẹkùn* 'tiger's face'; the conjoined DPs: *ewó*, *ọmọ àti àlàfíá* 'money, children and peace' and the DP comprising the Noun and Qualifier *àgbàlagbà akàn* 'old crab' respectively are preposed to the Spec, TopP for the topicalisation of the individual phrasal constituent. It is further assumed that the topicalised constituents are extracted from their root clauses at the extreme right edge of (265a) – (b). In the same vein, the conjoined DP in (265c) is base-generated as the complement of the verb *mú* 'take' while the preposed topicalised constituent in (265d) is the subject DP.

The preposing of the TP constituent for topicalisation is also attested in Ìyàgbà. We consider the following exemplification below:

(266a) Bá m lu ọmọ m, <bá m lu ọmọ m>kò dénú ọlọ́mọ
Join 1SG beat child 1SG NEG reach stomach child owner
'The demand by parents that their child should be beaten is not whole-hearted'

(b) Àyìnkùlè kí ọ̀tá ghá, inú ilé kí aseniìgbé<àyìnkùlè kí ọ̀tá ghá >
backyard FOC enemy exist inside house FOCmischief PROG live
'While the enemy stays at the backyard, mischievous person lives with his/her prey'

In (266a) – (b) above, each of the fronted structures is assumed to be at the higher projection of its respective sentence. The TP is displaced to the Spec, TopP for topicalisation. In (266a), the two clauses that constitute the sentence have no overt DP in the Spec, TP. The higher clause has the illocutionary force of imperative. It is the characteristic feature of imperative clause of singularsubject number to be void of overt DP. In the case of (266b) however, the focalised clause is topicalised. The in situs of (266a) is higher TP that dominates the NegP while that of (266b) is the lower clause.

The PP constituents can also be topicalised as attested by the following data:

(267a) lónì, ìgbàlà wọ ilé rẹ <lónì>
of today salvation enter house 2SG
'Today, salvation comes to your house'

(b) Níwò mọ ọdún, iyàò á múnú lóyún<Níwò mọ ọdún>
of time this year wife FUT take stomach conceive
'This time next year, the wife will conceive'

PP usually occupies the canonical final position of clauses especially when the clauses have no overt AdvP. Assuming the correctness of the above observation, the PPs in (267)

above are assumed extracted from the right edge positions of their clauses to the Pre IP periphery of their clauses.

Further constituents that can be topicalised include AdvP, Adverbial clause, DP clause and RelP. See the exemplifications as shown below:

(268a) wéré, iyàò ti kó arù họ́kọ̀<wéré>
quickly, wife PERF pack load inside vehicle
'Quickly, the wife packed loads inside the vehicle'

(b) Tí ọ̀rọ̀ m ti dayọ̀, ojú ti rí<Tí ọ̀rọ̀ m ti dayọ̀>
C word 1SG before become joy eyes PERF see
'Before pleasure, there was pain'

(c) Tí ilẹ̀ ti pa ìkà, igho híọn ti bàjẹ̀<tí ilẹ̀ti pa ìkà>
C ground PERF kill wicked thing good PERF spoil
'Before the wicked dies, good things would have been destroyed'

(d) Pé òjò à rọ́, ó dájú<Pé òjò à rọ́>
C rain FUT fall 3SG certain
'That it will rain, is certain'

(e) Ọbẹ ghé bale ilé é jẹ, ìyáálé é èhè<Ọbẹ ghé bale ilé é jẹ>
Soup REL head houseNEG eat mother house NEG HABcook
'The soup the husband does not eat, his wife should not cook it'

(f) Ìṣàgha jata, idi rẹ á gbónà<Ìṣà gha jata>
Pot REL+FUT eat pepper bottom 2SG FUT hot
'The pot that will cook pepper will be peppery'

(g) Ẹinlá ghé é nìírù, Ọlọrun kí í le esinsin hún <un>
Cow REL NEG have tail God FOC PROG chase housefly for 3SG
'The cow without tail, God chases housefly for it'

Various forms of constituents are additionally fronted to the pre-TP edge of the sentences in (268) for topicalisation. A bare AdvP *wéré* 'quickly' (in 268a); adverbial clauses that modify the matrix clauses (in 268b-c); the DP comprising the nominaliser, *pé* 'that' and the utterance – *òjò á rọ̀* 'rain will fall' (in 268d) and the RelP in (268e) – (g)are preposed to the Spec, TopP from their base generated positions indicated with the sign-<>

Another observation that is noteworthy and which further reinforces our earlier position that short pronouns and verb or VP cannot be subject to $A^{\cup}$-movement is amply

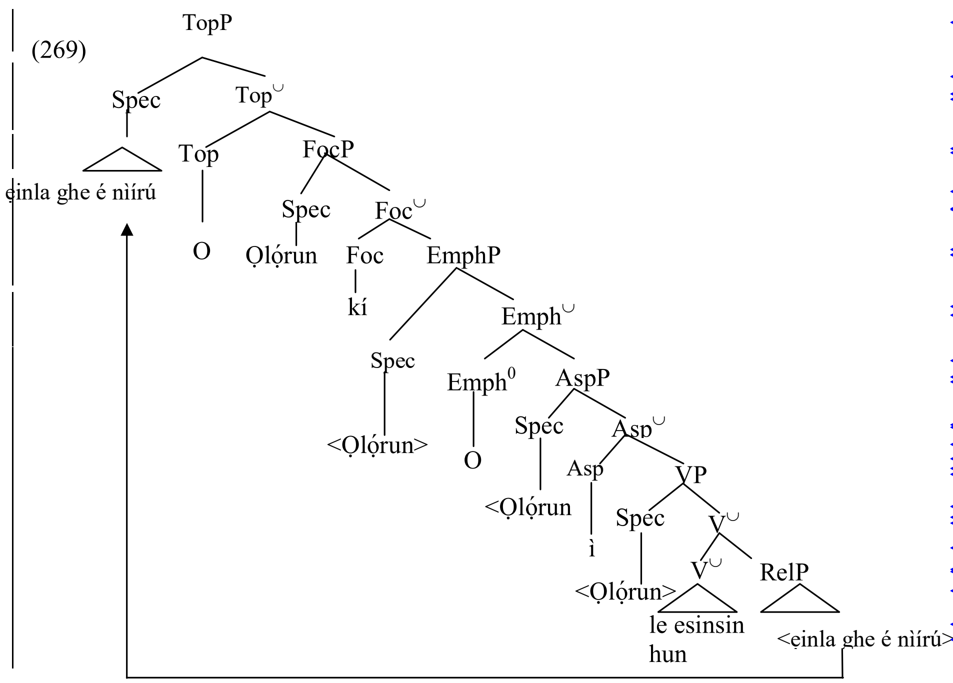
demonstrated by the impossibility of their being accessible to topicalisation. All instances of nominalised verbal displacement should be analysed as DP movement in Ìyàgbà.

5.5.3 The derivation of TopP

The computation of TopP as well as those of all the projections of the exploded CP is an instance of A$^{\cup}$-movement of constituents from the roots of their clauses to the Spec, TopP positions (Adger 2003; Bussmann 2006; Crystal 2008; Roberts and Roussou 2003). There are two main types of argument movements namely: A- movement and A$^{\cup}$-movement. The second type of movement, A$^{\cup}$ – movement, appropriately depicts the syntactic movement of TopP otherwise known as ‘topicalisation’.

The derivation of (268g) can be graphically illustrated with the simplified tree diagram below:

(269)



Leaving the detail derivation of the above structure through the operative mechanisms of Select and Merge as well as feature-triggered movement in the meantime, we can account

for the derivation of the TopP projection by A$^{\cup}$-movement operation of the target constituents from their base positions to the higher projections of the C-system. The DP external argument – Ọlọ́run 'God' is preposed to the Spec, FocP while the RelP – *ẹinlághe é nìírú* 'the cow which is without tail' is displaced to the Spec, TopP of the sentence. As could be seen in the illustrative diagram, the movement is a long distance type of edge feature (EF) movement which is not constrained or triggered by Agree or morphological feature checking.The constituents that undergo EF – movement is assigned Discourse Effects (D-effects) such as focus, topic, definiteness, specificity, highlighting, 'aboutness', givenness and some other semantic effects like scope at the landing site (Dong-whee and Fox 2000).

The features of the derived constituents are:

(270i) The movement is free and optional

(ii) D-effect is induced on the moved constituent at the landing site by the head of its sister.

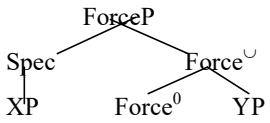
(iii) The movement is not induced by phi-features' checking principles.

The HOP of the c-system as proposed by Rizzi (1997) is further supported by the C-system of Ìyàgbà dialect as the the clausal structure of TopP demonstrate the hierarchical order of TopP>FocP>EmpP

5.6 The Force Phrase (ForceP)

The leftmost projection of the C-layer is the domain of illocutionary force. ForceP expresses information about the clause by giving the specification that a given utterance is a declarative, an exclamative, or an interrogative sentence (Rizzi 1997). This information is referred to as 'clausal type' (Cheng 1991), 'force specification' (Chomsky 1995) or the clausal mood (Radford 2009).The ForceP represents the highest projection of the C-system. The Force construction involves the left periphery of a clausal structure and it could be represented by the x-bar schema as shown:

(271)



(Adapted from Aboh 1997:287)

The above schema describes the relation between the elements of the ForceP and other clausal constituents. The Force head and its TP complement relation is attested for a clause that does not have other intervening C-layers like focus, topic and finiteness. The different types of the force expressions such as declarative force, imperative force and interrogative force will be examined in turn.

5.6.1 Declarative clause

Declarative sentence has been described as the most 'straightforward' sentence type that does not disrupt the 'word order'. It is a form of syntactic configuration that usually displays 'unmarked order' and it lacks special marking (Haegeman 2006). Gelderen (2010) explains that declarative sentence is synonymous with indicative sentence. It expresses statement (Radford 2009) or asserts something. It is a normal sentence. Similarly, Ògúnbọ̀wálé (1970) and Bámgbóṣé(1990) posit that declarative sentences express fact (either in the affirmative or negative).

Generally, sentence is a string of words that is composed of a subject and a predicate which is used for the expression of a meaningful thought. The marking of the declarative clause is abstractas exemplified with the following:

(272a) Olú re ile lánà
Olú go house of yesterday
'Olú went to the house yesterday'

(b) Olú é re ilé lánà
Olú NEG go house of+yesterday
'Olú did not go to the house yesterday'

(273a) Olùkọ́ á re ilé íwè
Teacher FUT go house book
'The teacher will go to school'

(b) Ilẹ̀ àánú Olúwa kì í sú
ground mercy Lord NEG PROG dark
'The mercy of the Lord is inexhaustible'

The above examples are assumed to be convergent sentences of Ìyàgbà. The clause-type of the above sentences is declarative. The illocutionary force is assumed to be exerted by an abstract or covert element. This element 'types', 'specifies' or 'marks' the sentence as declarative affirmative sentences for (272a) and (273a) and declarative negative sentences in the case of (272b) and (273b).

The C *pé* 'that' also features in declarative clause. Lawal (1991), argues that *pé*'that'is a C as opposed to the view of Oyèlárán (1983) who claims that it is a variant of verb. *Pé* 'that' has the following properties:

(274i) *Pé* 'that' expresses factive statement (Bámgbóṣé 1966, Awóbùlúyì 2013).

(ii) It demarcates clause-boundary and or introduces clause (Lawal 1991).

(iii) *Pé* is a sentential nominaliser.

(v) It is selected by higher verbs whenever it introduces embedded clauses.

(vi) It can be extracted to the highest projection of the matrix clause as a consequence of movement operation (Rizzi 1997).

The following data exemplify:

(275a) Pé à jẹun lónì dájú
That 1PL FUT. eat of+today sure
'That we are eating today is certain'

(b) Ó dájú pé à jẹun lónì
EXPL. Certain that IPL+FUT eat today
'It is certain that we are eating today'

The two sentences are perfect paraphrase. The complementiser *pé* 'that' introduces the higher and the embedded clauses in (275a) and (b). It demarcates clausal boundary in (275b); it reduces a whole sentence to a nominal phrase or nominal expression. Consider again (276a) with (b) below:

(276a) À jẹun lónì
IPL+FUTeat today
'We will eat today'

(b) Pé à jẹunlónì
That IPL+FUT eattoday
'That we shall eat today'

As could be observed, (276a) is a complete sentence that expresses a complete thought. In the case of the (b) version however, the merger of *pé* 'that' to the utterance reduces it to a nominal expression. The appendage of additional predicate as in (275a) derives a complete sentence.The verb of the higher clause selects the complementiser clause. Bámgbóṣé (1990) categorises the complementiser-selecting verbs into two as shown by the following SY data:

(277a) **Reporting verbs**

These class of verbs are employed in reported speech.Examplesinclude: *ni/wi/sọ* 'say' *búra* 'vow', *jẹ́wọ́* 'confess', *jiyàn* 'argue', *dábàá* 'suggest', *kéde* 'announce', *bẹ̀* 'plead', *fèsì* 'reply', *bèrè* 'ask', and *dáhùn* 'answer'.

(b) **Non-reporting verbs**

This set of verbs is not employed in reported speech. Rather, they are used in indirect speech. Examples include: *rántí* 'remember', *gbàgbọ́* 'believe', *gbàgbé* 'forget' and *dàámú* 'confuse'.

Lawal (1986) in her independent study agrees and notes that the perception verbs in the matrix clause like *rí* 'see', *gbọ́* 'hear', *wò* 'watch', *dùn* 'pain', *dùn mọ́* 'please' and *dára* 'be good' select C *pé* 'that' utterance.

This study agrees with Awóbùlúyì (2013) and Bámgbóṣé (1986a)that *pé* 'that' expresses factive statement but it does not propose that it (*pé 'that')* is a declarative marker. Sentences with or without *pé* 'that' convey declarative clausal specification by abstract declarative force marker. The study further allies withLawal (1986)that *pé* 'that' is a C(and never a verb as claimed by Oyelaran 1983); is a clause introducer and nominaliser. The homonym[28] of *pé* – C that is a verb cannot occupy the C position.

5.6.2 Force phrase of declarative clause

. The declarative illocutionary force is exerted on sentences in order to clause-type them for declarative mood as exemplified with data below:

(278) Olú á re Èkò
Olú FUT. go Lagos
'Olú will go to Lagos'

(279) Adúwẹ̀ funfun é mọ ara rẹ̀ lágbà
Fowl white NEG know body 3SG adult
'White cock does not respect itself'

(280) Ilẹ̀ mọ híọn wun iṣẹ́ ágbẹ̀
Ground this good for work farming

[28]*Pé* 'perfect/complete' is a verb that can be used in the thematic and Case domain of the lexical VP and light vP as in:
(i) Owó náà pé 'The money is complete'
(ii) Òwò náà pé mi 'The business pays off'

'This soil is suitable for farming'

(281) Òjò rọ̀ lánà
Rain descend yesterday
'It rained yesterday'

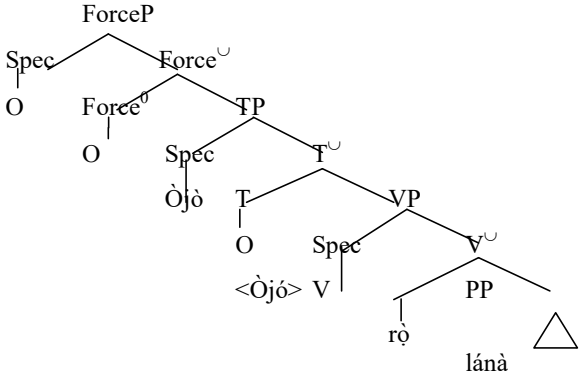
All the data from (278) to (281) above are assumed to be declarative sentences of Ìyàgbà. They are all observed to express a statement or express state of things in the affirmative or negative form.

Each of the sentences is derived using the Minimalist's operations of Select, Merge and Move. We pick (281) as a representative sample for all the examples for the purpose of elaboration. The derivation starts from the lexical VP with the operation Select targeting the verb *rọ̀* 'descend' and merges it with the PP – *lánà* 'yesterday' resulting in VP. The θ-role of THEME is assigned to the complement. The VP – *rọ̀ lánà* 'descend yesterday' in turn merges with the light $v^{\cup}$ whose strong V-feature adjoins the contentful V to v. The affixal v attracts external arguments *òjò* 'rain' marking it with the θ-role of THEME.

The light vP further merges with the TP. The finite T^0 head serves as a PROBE searching for a suitable GOAL with uninterpretable Case and phi-features. It therefore attracts the external argument to its Spec, position. The T^0local head values the unvalued Case and phi-features at the S-H configuration and delete the uninterpretable features.

The resultant structure merges with the ForceP where the covert $Force^0$ exerts the illocutionary force of a declarative feature on the sentence. The foregoing explanation can be schematically represented in a simplifiedtree diagram as shown below:

(282)



The expression of the illocutionary force of declarative sentence is by creating a structure to host the force head operator (Rizzi 1997). The informational property of the Force^{0} isencoded on the higher CP.

5.7 Imperative clause

The direct imperative sentence expresses command or order and it is characterised with the following properties:

(283i) It is subjectless

(ii) It features imperative finite verb

(iii) Its finite imperative verb has restricted tense and aspect system.

(iv) It sounds abrupt. The abruptness can be toned down by marker of politeness

(v) The command can be changed into a question or statement (Quirk and Greenbaun2012).

We buttress the above claims with the following examples in Ìyàgbà:

(284a) Séré ré
run go
'Go quickly'

(b) Jẹ́ ọlọ́gbọ̀n
Be wise
'Be wise'

(c) Gha jẹun kíákíá
FUT eat quickly
'Be eating quickly'

(d) Jẹ oúnjẹ nká kíákíá
eat food the quickly
'Eat the food quickly'

(e) Gbe oúnjẹ nká hí owóo tebúrù
carry food the on head table
'Put the food on the table'

As could be observed, all the examples in (284a) – (e) are sentences with covert subject. The subject is understood to be *ìwọ/ẹ̀yin* – 2SG/2PL LONG PRN 'you' and 2PL – *ẹ* 'you' (Bámgbóṣé 1990). Though it generally lacks overt subject except when it becomes necessary to differentiate between the addressees. It may however have object as (284b) and (e) demonstrate. The imperative sentences are usually couched in simple present tense.

To lessen the abruptness of imperative command, sentential adverb of the dialect can be introduced into imperative clause as shown:

(285a) Jọ̀ọ̀ tọ̀mí kò ḿ
Please fetch water for 1SG
'Please fetch water for me'

(b) Jọ̀ọ̀ ra fule kò ḿ
Please buy beans cake for 1SG
'Please buy beans cake for me'

The command that is expressed in form of question is also a possible option of lessening abruptness as shown by the following example:

(286a) Ṣe ọ̀ rọ̀ ṣeré ra oúnjẹ kò ḿ?
Would 2SG can run go buy food for 1SG
Can you quickly go and buy food for me?

(b) Ǹjẹ̀ ọ̀ rọ ṣe iṣẹ nká kò ḿ?
Will 2SG can do work the for 1SG
Will you do the work for me?

The examples in (286a) and (b) seem to express interrogative notion. The context of the speech will provide the interpretation of the sentences as to whether they express interrogative or imperative illocutionary force.

The imperative clause can also have negative form. The negators that are employed in the imperative sentences include: *mọ́*/*rá*'do not' as demonstrated by the following:

(287a) Mọ́ rè
NEG go
'Do not go'

(b) Mọ́ huǹ
NEG sleep
'Do not sleep'

(c) Ra rè
NEG go
'Do not go'

The exemplifications above demonstrate that the negative operatorsin negative imperative clauseare two in Ìyàgbà like SY. SY uses*má* or*máṣe* 'do not'.

5.7.1 Types of imperative sentences

The following types of imperative clauses have been identified by Awóbùlúyì, (2013). They are: direct command, indirect command, phatic communion and prayer. This study adopts hisclassificatory model with slight modification for analysing the forms of imperative clauses in Ìyàgbà.

5.7.1.1 Direct imperative clause

Direct imperative clauses are mainly for the issuance of order, directive or command. The interlocutors in the speech act are the first person and the second person. The first person is the speaker while the second person is the addressee. The imperative sentence is usually void of overt subject unless it is 2PL and 2PL LONG PRN. Third

person cannot be a silent subject of direct imperative command. Consider the examples in (286) above.

5.7.1.2 Indirect imperative clause

Indirect imperative sentences are sentences that express command in a subtle manner. This type of imperative clause has two forms. There is a form that is toned down by the sentential adverb or modifier. The adverb or modifier can be introduced at the beginning or at the end of imperative clause as buttressed by (285a-b). Another form of indirect command is indicated with indirect imperative marker (IND IMP)*kí/jẹ́* 'let' (Bámgbóṣé 1990).

(288a) Kẹ́ tètè rè
IND IMP+2PL quickly go
'You should go quickly'

(b) Jẹ́ Olú sẹ́ré ré
IND IMP Olu run go
'Let Olu quickly go'

As could be observed from (288a-b) above, *kẹ́*(which is the contraction of the IND IMP and 2PL *ẹ́*) and *jẹ́* are the exponence of indirect command. It could be observed that Ìyàgbà does not instantiate *jẹ́kí*'let' as a continuous string in a clause. Rather, it is used individually.

5.7.1.3Reported imperative sentence

This type of sentence is akin to the indirect speech as it consists of indirect imperative marker. Reported imperative clause is composed of two clauses. The first clause expresses statement of the person of the speaker while the lower clause expresses the directive. The directive could be a quotative statement. Consider the following exemplifications:

(289a) Olùkọ̀ pásẹ kí akẹ́kọ̀ sepa
Teacher command that should let student quiet
'The teacher commanded that students should keep quiet'

(b) Olúwa pásẹ 'jẹ ìmọ́lẹ̀ gha'
Lord command IND IMP light exist
'The Lord commanded, 'let there be light'

(c) Olúwa pásẹ 'kí ìmọ́lẹ̀ gha'
Lord commanded IND IMP light exist
The Lord commanded 'let there be light'

(290a) Olùkọ́ pásẹ pé akẹ́kọ̀ sepa
Teacher command that student quiet
'The teacher commanded that students should keep quiet'

(b) *Olùkọ́ pásẹ pé jẹ́ kí akẹ́kọ̀ sépa
Teacher command that let let student quiet
'The teacher commanded that let the students be quiet'

All the above well-formed sentences in (289a-c) are assumed to be reported imperative clauses. The markers of the embedded clauses are: *kí* and *jẹ́*IND IMP (let) as (289a-b) reveal. It is further observed that the three functors-*pé* 'that',*jẹ́* and*kí* 'let' cannot becombined to derive reported indirect command in Ìyàgbà as the illformedness of (290b) demonstrates.Either of them may co-occur or combine with *pé* 'that' in the quotative imperative utterance in embedded clause as the example below butresses:

(291) Olùkọ́ pásẹ pé kí/jẹ́ 'akẹ́kọ̀ sépa'
Teacher command that IND IMP student quiet'
'The teacher commands, 'let the students keep quiet'

The inference to be drawn from the foregoing is that *jẹ́* and *kí* are imperative markers. The*kí*'let' as an indirect imperative indicator differs from *kí*[29] *'that'* which is a variant of *pé* 'that'in the SY.

The indirectimperative marker can combine with the sentential adverb at either the sentence-initial or the sentence-final position whereas it is not possible with the *pé/kí* 'COMP'. Consider:

(292a) Jọ̀ọ̀ jẹ́/kí Olú ra re
Please IND IMP Olú FUT go
'Please, let Olú be going'

[29] The SY has *kí 'that'* which interchanges with *pé 'that'*. Witness the exemplifications below:
(ia) Olú gbà pé mo máa lọ
Olú admit COMP ISG will go
'Olu agreed that I will go'
(b) Olùkọ́ gbà *kí* n máa lọ
Teacher admit COMP 1SG will go
'Teacher agreed that I should be going'
(c)* Olùkọ́ gbà pé kí n máa lọ
Teacher admit COMP IND IMP 1SG will go
'Teacher agreed that I should be going'
The variant of *kí* COMP in the above sentences is not an IND IMP. It is accurately rendered as *pé 'that'* in Ìyàgbà dialect. The *kí* 'that' above interchanges for *pé as* an introducer of adverbial clause. It does not make a complete sense. *Pé/kí Olú maa lọ*… (SY) 'that Olu should be going…' when it introduces adverbial clause.

(b) Kí Olú re jọ̀ọ̀
IND IMP Olú go please
Let Olú go please

(293) *Pé kíOlú re jọ̀ọ̀
That lND IMP Olú go please
*‘That let Olú go please’

5.7.1.4 Supplicatoryimperative clause

The liturgical supplication or the traditional prayer and even the orthodox prayers are often couched in the tenor of a command. The marker of the clause is usually *kí* or *jẹ́* as in:

(294a) Jẹ́/kí eku máa pókìkì nti eku
IND IMPrat FUT cry like rat
‘Let rat make sound like rat’

(b) Kí ayé hiọn
IND IMP earth good
‘Let the town be peaceful’

(c) Kí ayé tòrò
IND IMP earth rest
‘Let the town be peaceful’

(d) Kí ìlù rojú
IND IMP town see eye
‘Let the town be at peace’

(e) Kí aboyún múnú soyún
IND IMP pregnant woman use belly do pregnancy
‘Let women conceive’

(g) Kí ó máyìn pọnmọ
IND IMP HTSuse back back child
‘Let her back her child’

In each of the examples in (294a)– (g) the IND IMPs are *jẹ́* and *kí*. The above type of imperative clause shares structural similarity with indirect imperative clause.

5.7.1.5Phatic imperative clause

This type of imperative sentence above is used to exchange pleasantries, greetings and goodwill. Consider:

(295a) Ọ ọ
Hello
‘Hello’

(b) Káàárọ̀
Greet morning
'Good morning'

(c) Ó dàbọ̀
EXPL bye
'Farewell/Goodbye'

(d) Ẹ rọra
2SG careful
'Take care'

(e) Pẹ̀lẹ̀
Hello
'Hello'

In the above examples, the imperative marker is covert. The examples in (295a-b and e) are subjectless. The *Ó* 'EXPL' is a non-referential element. The overt subject *Ẹ* 2Pl in (295d) is due to the plurality of the addressees. The indication of the plural subject in imperative sentence suggests all the other subjectless imperative sentences have abstract subject which has been identified as "understood you".

5.7.2 The structure and derivation of imperative clause

The word order of direct imperative sentences proceeds from the verb head as exemplified below:

(296a) V
VO
VOAdv
VO PP
V Adv

The derivation of the above clause can be subjected to a unified analysis as illustrated with the last example on the exemplification above as shown in (296b) below:

(296b) ImpP [Spec Θ Imp^0 [TP [Spec T$^{\smile}$[VP re wéréwéré]]]]

The derivation above is initiated at the VP shell. The abstract DP moves to the Spec, TP to value its phi-features against local T^0. The Imp^{0}exerts illocutionary force on the structure thus specifying the utterance for imperative clause.

The indirect imperative sentences have markers that can alter the word structure above as exemplified below:

(297a) Jẹ́ Olú ré
IND IMP Olu go
'Let Olú go'

(b) Kí Olú ré
IND IMP Olú go
Let Olú ga

Rather than beginning with verb, it begins with IND IMP and DP as demonstrated by the examples above and the ones below:

(298a) Pé kí ekú á pókíkí nti eku
COMP IND IMPrat FUT cry like rat
'That rat should rant like rat'

(b) Kí eku á pókíkí ntí eku
IND IMP rat FUT cry like rat
'That rat should rant like rat'

The examples- (297a-b) are well-formed imperative clauses of Ìyàgbàwhile the C-layer of (298a) is composed of *pé* 'COMP' and IND IMP *kí* 'let', (298b) has *kí* 'IND IMP' only.The presence of *pé* suggests the possibility of a higher phrasal projection. *Pé* 'that' in such sentence introduces a higher clause as illustrated with (298a) which is re-numbered as(299)for ease of reference:

(299) ForceP[Spec,Force^0[TP olùkọ́ pàṣẹ [CP[Spec,C^0 pé [PoliteP[Spec<akẹ́kọ̀>Polite^{0}kíΘ [TP<akẹ́kọ̀>T^0[VP <akẹ́kọ̀> sépa…]]]]]]

The above simplified schema illustrates the derivation of the above sentence. The sentence is a reported imperative clause. It has two clauses as indicated by the presence of C-*pé* a clause introducer. The derivation proceeds from the VP structure. The external argument of the lower clause moves to the Spec, TP to value its phi-features. The Ind Imp^{0}has EF that triggers the adjunction of *akẹ́kọ̀* 'student' to its Spec to project PoliteP. The CP merges with the structure, then the higher TP and finally, the ForceP in a pairwise fashion. The abstract Force^{0}exerts the illocutionary force of imperativeness to the clause.

Beside, affirmative imperative sentences, Ìyàgbà also attests negativeimperative sentences which are instances of commanding someone not to carry out certain instruction or action as exemplified in the data below:

(300a) Mọ́ ré ọ́ja
NEG go market
'Do not go to the market'

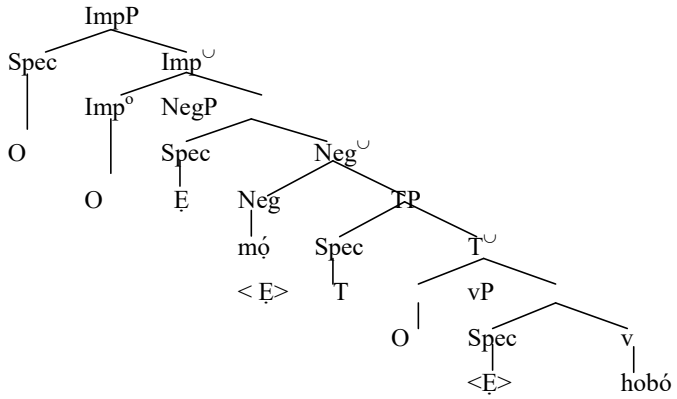
(b) Mọ́ pókìkì lí ṣọ́ọ̀ṣì
NEG shout in church
'Do not make noise in the church'

(c) Mọ́ lu ìyàò rẹ
Neg beat wife 2SG
'Do not beat your wife'

(d) Ẹ mọ́ hobó
2PL NEG lie
'You should not tell lie'

All the examples of (300a) – (d) are negative imperative clauses. They share all the properties of imperative sentences including the absence of overt subject with the exception of (300d) which is licensed for overt 2PL subject. The structure of the sentence can also be described using (300d) as sample. The tree diagram can be graphically represented as shown:

(301)



From the above diagram, the vP – *É hobó* 'You lie' externally merges with the TP, the NegP and finally the ImpP. The DP – *Ẹ* '2PL' of the Spec, vP moves to Spec, TP to value its Case feature against the T functional head. The Negº attracts the DP – *Ẹ* '2PL' to its

Spec position for the purpose of licensing the DP for negative feature. The clause is typed for imperative illocutionary force.

The differences observable between the clausal architecture of direcct and indirect imperative clauses include absence of PolteP for direct versus presence of PoliteP for indirect imperative clause. Additional PoliteP is therefore proposed for indirect imperative clause. The PoliteP within the C-layer interfaces the ImpP and NegP or TP. It licenses the DP constituent for politeness.

The indirect imperative markertones down the abruptness of the force of the discourse the same way that the adverbial-*jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' may be assumed. The observations on the functions of*jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' tends to disprove that assumption wrong as the data below buttress:

(302a) Sépa
Quiet
'Be quiet'

(b) Jọ̀ọ̀
Please
'Please'

(c) Sépa jọ̀ọ̀
Quiet please
'Be quiet'

(d) Jọ̀ọ̀ sepa
Please quiet
'Please, be quiet'

(e) Re wéréwéré jọ̀ọ̀
Run quickly please
Please, run quickly

(f) M fẹ́ ewó jọ̀ọ̀
ISG want money please
'I want money please'

It is observed that *sépa*'quiet'and *jọ̀ọ̀*'please' function as the imperative predicates in (302a-b). In (302c, e-f), *jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' occurs in sentence-final position while it occurs as sentence-initial position in (302d). The inference deductible from the above observations is that *jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' is neither a verbal modifier nor politeness marker of imperative clause as there is no singular verbal modifier that occurs in dual positions as postverbal or preverbal modifier. Further proof that *jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' is not a verbal modifier is substantiated by the fact that an adverb-*wéréwéré* 'quickly' intervenes between the verb and *jọ̀ọ̀*

'please' in (302e). In (302f), the implausibility of *jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' being the conveyer of politeness in imperative clause is further disproved by the fact that the sentence is a declarative sentence where the notion of politeness is not expressed. It is therefore proposed that *jọ̀ọ̀* 'please' is a sentential modifier.

The difference between direct and indirect imperative constructions as the instantiation of additional politeness projection that interfaces between ImpP and I-layer is hereby reinforced. The clausal structure of imperative clause is proposed as:

(303) ImpP> (PoliteP>) (NegP>)TP>vP>VP.

5.8 Word Content Question (WCQ), Wh-Phrases (Wh-Phs) or Wh-Question (Wh-Qs)

The word content questions (WCQs)are the interrogative utterances that elicit responses of long statements from the listener. TheWCQs are usually referred to as the Wh-questions because these question items start with Wh- such as 'who, what, where, why, when' etc (in English). For question item that does not start with Wh- (e.g. how) and in languages where interrogatives items are not Wh- initials, the terminology is still used because these WCQs exhibit similar syntactic behaviour with Wh-Phs (Adger 2003;Radford 2009).

Another form of WCQ is predicate interrogation. This interrogative item is also considered to beWCQ because it requires lengthy statement as response. This section shall conclude the discussion (initiated in Chapter Four) on the derivation of the verbal interrogative.

5.8.1 Types of WCQs, Wh-Phs or Wh-Qs

Yorùbá linguists have adopted distributional pattern of the WCQs/Wh-Phs to classify them into classes. Awóbùlúyì (1978; 2013) and Bámgbóṣé (1990) for instance, employ the functional role of *Ta* 'who' and *kí* 'what' to classify them into the class of NPs (DPs). This study agrees that they are DPs[30], it however adoptsadditional semantic criterion to re-classify them. The motivation for this semantic approach is because syntactic criterion cannot capture the semantic notion of the entity that each of the

[30] Ọláògún and Aṣíwájú (2016) express a contrary view. They argue that those wh-items are not DPs. Rather, they are specifiers of FocP.

WCQs, Wh-Phs or Wh-Qs makes enquiry about. The semantic criterion informs the classifications below:

5.8.1.1 [+Human] WCQ

The [+Human] WCQ refers to the wh-item that makes inquiry about human entity. Examples are as shown below:

(304a) Le è kan ilẹ̀kùn?
INTER EMPH knock door
'Who knocked the door'

b) Le è sẹ́ èpè lísọ̀ọ́sì?
INTER EMPH break curse in church
'Who cursed in the church'

(c) Lè hí Ólu lú?
INTER which Ólu lú
'Who did Olú beat'

(d) Lè hí ejò ṣán?
INTER which snake bite?
'Who did snake bite'

(e) Ọmọ hí Ólu lú
Child which Olu beat
'Which child did Olu beat'

The examples in (304a-d) above are convergent interrogative clauses. In (304a-b), le 'who' is assumed to be extracted from Spec, TP position. The intervening vocalic element between the *le* and the verbs *kan* 'knock' and *sẹ́* 'curse' could be assumed to be resumptive pronoun (RES), emphatic marker (EMPH) or FOC. Though there is theoretical support for proposing RES or pleonastic element for the vowel in tandem with the Copy and Move theory, yet the RES proposal seems to be the least acceptable or plausible notion.

The intervening vowel is assumed to be hosted in the C-layer as against the Spec, TP which is the extraction site of the wh-item. If the assumption is correct, the intervening vowel is ruled out as a RES. It is assumed to be most likely to be EMPH. The premise for analysing it as EMPH is based on the fact that $A^{\cup}$-movement of interrogative constituent across the TP to the leftmost edge of the clause activates emphasis and new information. Furthermore, emphasis is expressed in natural language by prosodic feature of vowel lengthening or stress among others (Aboh 2007; Adéṣuyan 2014). Assuming the correctness of this position, it could be said that EMPH is expressed in restricted contexts of [+Human] Wh-Ph whenever it is extracted (without modifier) at the Spec, TP. The possibility of the intervening vowel being FOC is ruled out in view of the fact that vowel is not in the list of FOC. As a matter of fact, the FOC in WCQ is covert.

The [+Human] Wh-Ph can co-occur with a modifier as demonstrated by (304c-e). The modifier of this Wh-Ph-*hí* 'which/whose' compares with, and is akin to *wo*[31] 'which/whose' in the SY. The SY does not permit the co-occurrence of this modifier with its [+Human] Wh-Phs. The *le hí* 'whose' in the two examples constitute the question itemand it is analysed asanother variant of [+Human]. [+Human] WCQ in Ìyàgbà could therefore be identified as: *le* 'who',*lehí* 'which/whose who' and DP *hí*

5.8.1.2 [-Human]WCQ/Wh-Ph

The[-Human] Wh-Ph question makes inquiry about entities that are non-human. The examples of this category include article, money, cost, location and quantity. The need to capture the various entities that could be interrogated by the Wh-Phs informs the specification of additional feature of binary value as shown below:

5.8.1.2.1[-Human +Abstract]WCQ/Wh-Ph

Wh-item refers to the WCQ that inquires about objects that could be perceived or felt by sense of feeling as opposed to concrete object that could be handled. Consider the exemplifications below:

(305a) Kí ojú ọjọ́ ṣe rí?
How eye day do see
'How is the weather?'

(b) Kí iṣẹ́ ṣe re
How work do go
'How is your work?'

(c) Ìgbà hí Olú re?
Time which Olú go
'Which time did Olú go?

The examples in (305a-c) are convergent interrogative utterances of Ìyàgbà dialect. The INTERs are *kí* 'what' and ìgbà (DP) *hí* 'which time'. *Kí* 'what' makes enquiry about non-human abstract entities such as *ojú ọjọ́* 'weather' in (305a) and *iṣẹ́* 'work' in (305b) while *ìgbà hí* in (305c) questions *ìgbà* 'time' that an event takes place.

[31] It is anomalous to modify wh-Ph in SY. Consider:
*Ta wo ni ó ń kan ilẹkùn
Who which Foc HTS ASP knock door
*Who which is knocking the door?

5.8.1.2.2 [-Human + Concrete] WCQ/Wh-Ph

This subcategory of WCQ or Wh-Ph makes inquiry about non-human concrete entity. Exemplifications below illustrate:

(306a) Kí Ólu ra
What Olú buy
'What did Olú buy?'

(b) Ìhí Ólu ra?
Which Olú buy
'Which one did Olú buy?'

(c) Ile hí Ólu kọ́?
House which Olú build
'Which house did Olú build?'

(d) Kí iyàò hè?
What wife cook
'What did the wife cook?'

(e) Èhí Olú ká
Which Olú read
'Which one did Olú read?'

The items questioned can be interpreted by examining the preposed constituents at their base-generated positions. In (306a-e) above, the interrogative items are identified as: *kí* 'what', (in 306a, d),*ìhí* 'which'(in 306b),*ile hí* 'which house' (in 306c),and *èhí* 'which one' (306e). Interrogative items that are [-Human +Concrete] include:*kí* 'what', *ìhí*/*èhí* 'which one' and DP *hí*.

5.8.1.2.3[-Human + Location] WCQ/Wh-Ph

The subcategory of the Wh-Ph above expresses interrogation about non-human of location or place. The examples below further clarify. Consider:

(307a) Mi hí Olú gbé ewó hí
Place which Olú put money to
'Where did Olú put the money?'

(b) Mi hí Ólu ré
Place which Olú go
'Which place did Olú go?'

(c) Ilé hí wẹ ẹ̀ gbé
House which 2SG ASP live
'Which house are you living?'

(d) Ilé hi Ólu kọ́
House which Olú build
'Which house did Olú build?'

In all the examples above, the Wh-Ph/WCQ is DP *hí*used to make enquiry about place.

5.8.1.2.4The [-Human +Count] WCQs/Wh-Ph

The above category questions quantity of objects as the following exemplifications further clarify:

(308a) Élò hí ìyà bí
Many how mother bear
'How many children did mother bear?'

(b) Ọmọ mélò hí ìyà bí
Child many how mother bear?
'How many children did mother bear?'

(c) Élò hí agèrè?
Much how pepper
'How much is the pepper?'

In all the examples above, the combination of the DP *élò* 'many/much' in (308a) and (c) and DP *ọmọ mélò* 'how many' in (308b) and the interrogative modifier *hí* 'how' question object of quantity. The [-Human +Concrete] WCQ is DP *hí.*

5.9 Status of hí

There is need to justify the assumed interpretation of the element *hí* by comparing the functor with other likely probable candidates like functional elements: T, FOC and Wh-modifier.

Proposing *hí* as T is to argue that I could be adjoined to C where there is a strong affixal C that triggers the movement as in Yes or No question. The conditions for this type of I to C displacement include.

(309i) The T^o head is overtly marked

(ii) The Aux inversion complies with the Head Movement Constraint (HMC).

The above conditions are not fulfilled in the case of *hí*. The interpretation of *hí* as an instance of I - C movement is ruled out. Another point that accounts for its implausibility is that *hí* does not show tense marking.

Another possible notion of *hí* is to construe it as FOC. This is also implausible as the dialect has been shown to express overt EMPHprosodic feature *è* in restricted context in the preceding section whereas it expresses varying overt forms of FOC such as *kí*in non-TP*, rin* in TP, and abstract/covert in WCQs.

The interpretation of *hí* as interrogative modifier in all the instances of its occurrence is supported by the fact of Fragment Condition. Fragment Condition states thatonly a maximal projection can serve as a sentence fragment (Radford 2009). This implies that the Wh-Phs or the DPs and their qualifiers constitute maximal projection that can be preposed for interrogative discourse. The Wh-Ph with its qualifying particle constitute the interrogative phrase (InterP). Witness examples in (307) and (308) above.

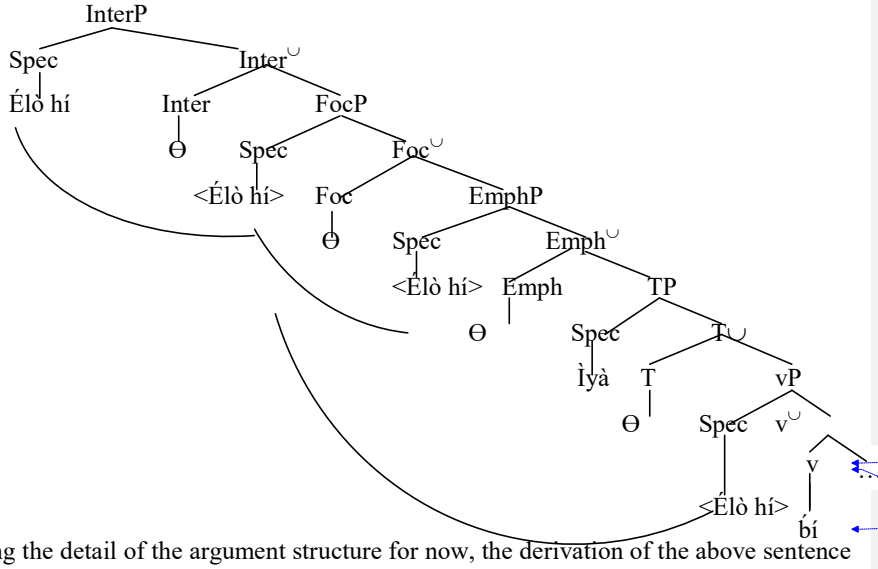
The nominal variant of *hí* 'which/whose' realised as *ìhí/èhí* 'which/whose' further proves that the functor could not be analysed as T or FOC. The tense markers and the FOC of the dialect cannot take prefix in order to derive nominal from them. Qualifiers are used to qualify nouns in sentences. It is therefore not out of order if they are described as modifiers of Wh-Qs or WCQs when they jointly form phrasal projection.

With the above in view, the derivation of WCQ of the Wh-Ph is attempted with (308c) repeated below as (310) for ease of reference. Consider:

(310a) Élò hí ìyà bí?
Much how mother bear
'How many children did the mother bear'

The example above can be diagrammatically represented in a simplified diagram as shown:

(310b)



Leaving the detail of the argument structure for now, the derivation of the above sentence proceeds by cyclic movement of DP hí – *élò hí* 'how much' from the Spec, vP to the

Spec, EmphP, to Spec, FocP and finally to the Spec, InterP. There are three PROBES that peruse and attract the GOAL of interrogative item successfully to their Spec positions. The PROBES are: Emph^0, Foc^0 and Inter^0. In consonance with the observation of Cheng and Haegeman (1991), the movement of Wh-item types the clause for interrogative mood. It equally agrees with the Wh-Attraction Condition which states that theedge feature on C attracts the smallest possible maximal projection of the closest Wh-Ph to its Spec C.

The analysis above demonstrates that the Emph^0, Foc^0 and Inter^0 that successfully attract Wh-Ph to each of their Specs could either be covert or overt but they are strong to license the features of their Specs. The typology of the Wh-Movement is overt.The types of the WCQs of the Wh-phrases could be represented in a diagram as shown:

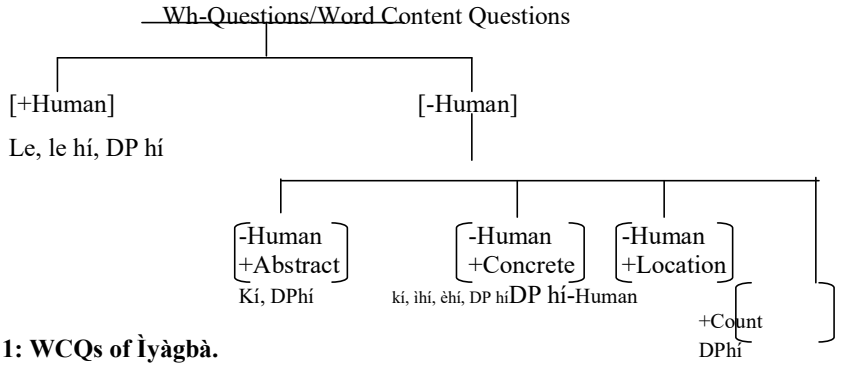


Fig. 5:1: WCQs of Ìyàgbà.

5.10 Derivation of verbal interrogative construction.

The asssumption that verbal interrogative can be subjected to a unified analysis with Wh-Phs is proved using (311) as an illustrative sampleas shown:

(311) Ọpẹ rẹ nkọ́
Father 2SG where/how
'How/where is your father'?

The verb *nkọ́* 'where/how/what of' is a one place predicate. It is a type of an interrogative verb that compares with Formosan verb that functions as a predicate and at the same time questions the semantic content of the predicate (Hagège 2008). The sentence is derived by the operation merge of the verb with the only DP argument. *Opẹ rẹ́*'your father'. The DP is assigned the theta-role of THEME. The resulting SO merges with T$^{\cup}$. Its T^0 attracts the DP – *ọpẹ rẹ* 'your father' to the Spec, TP for the valuation of the phi-features of the DP against features of the T and to satisfy the EPP requirement (Hornstein, Nunes and

Grohmann2005). The DP has interrogative feature that must be licensed at the left edge of the Spec,EmphP, Spec, FocP and Spec, InterP in successive cyclic fashion. Thus, the PROBES of the DP are: Emph^0, Foc^0 and Inter^{0}as illustrated by thesimplified schema below:

(312) InterP[Spec ọpẹ rẹ Inter^0 Θ [FocP Spec <ọpẹ rẹ> Foc^0 Θ[EmphP [Spec<ọpẹ rẹ> Emph^0 Θ[TP[Spec<ọpẹ rẹ> T^0 Θ[vP[Spec <ọpẹ rẹ> v nkọ́]]]]]]]]

5.11 Observations

The investigation of the C-layer of Ìyàgbà dialect within the purview of the Rizzi's Split-CP Hypothesis - the proposal that decomposes the extant single phrase into multiple arrays of functional projections such as: Force Phrase (ForceP), Topic Phrase (TopP), Focus Phrase (FocP) and Finiteness Phrase (FinP) bring some salient poins into the limelight.

The FinP as the pre-TP projection that licenses the DP of an infinitival clause for an objective Caseis instantiated on the following conditions:

(313i) The presence of an overt infinitival marker

(ii) The presence of an overt element at the Spec, TP of an infinitival clause

(iii) The DP of the infinitival TP is valued for Accusative Case.

The two Fin functional heads identifiable in Ìyàgbà dialect are: *wún* and *hún* 'for'. The Fin^0 heads have EF thus triggering the movement of DP from the Spec, TP (of non-finite clause) to move to the Spec, FinP for Case valuation. Alternatively, the DP at the Spec, TP of the infinitival clause can move to the Spec, vP on the assumption that the FinP is pruned (Horrocks 1989) or is discarded as an economy device of eliminating superfluous structure (Alexandria 2010).

The FocP is analysed as a sentence on thefollowing grounds:

(314i) It comprises all the obligatory CFCs contained in sentences.

(ii) The purported verb *ṣe* 'do' that takes FocP as complement as argued by the protagonists of the DP school of thought had been falsified as it lacks all the criteria of the undisputable verbs.

(iii) The FOC of the dialect include *kí* for non-TP, *rin* for TP and covert for WCQs. The above elements are analysed as FOC contrary to the proposals that FocP has no marker but Focus Case assigner and copula.

(iv) The constituents that are not accessible to focusing are: short pronouns and verbs.

The LONG PRNs and the nominalised verbs are not analysed as substitutes of short pronouns and verbs. Rather, they are analysed as distinct nominal entities that have emphatic properties.

The TopP is another fall-out of the decomposed CP. Virtually all constituents with the exemption of short pronouns and verbs can be extracted from the root clause to the Spec, TopP for topicalisation. The inaccessibility of the short pronouns and verbs to $A^{\cup}$-movement for topicalisation validates our earlier claim that they are not accessible to focusing and by generalisation, $A^{\cup}$-movement.

The ForceP, the highest projection in the C-layer specifies clauses for imperative, declarative and interrogative sentences. The imperative has covert marker for direct imperative clause and *jẹ́/kí* 'let' as indirect imperative marker and they are further differentiated by the presence of PoliteP for indirect imperative sentence and absence of PloiteP for direct imperative sentence. Declarative and imperativetive forces are marked covertly. The interrogative items are broadly classified into [+Human] and [-Human]. The interrogative constituents are successively preposed to the Spec, EmphP, Spec, FocP and Spec, InterPby $Emph^0$, Foc^0 and $Inter^0$.The InterP and FocP could be differentiated from one another by the number of PROBES that trigger the movement of each of their respective constituents. While the focalised construction has $Emph^0$ and Foc^0 as PROBES InterP has $Emph^0$, Foc^0, and $Inter^0$as PROBES.

5.12 Summary

This chapter describes the C-layer within the purview of MP and Rizzi's split-CP Hypothesis. It demonstrates that the decomposition of the hitherto composite layer of the C-tier into the multiple arrays of FinP, FocP, TopP and ForceP is empirically attestable in Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà dialect. The fundamental contribution of this insight to the syntax of Yorùbá-Ìyàgbà is that basic clause architecture is not restricted to the l-layer as construed by the penultimate GB. The articulated clausal structure of the C-layer is therefore proposed as shown below:

(315) ForceP (Decl)/Imp>(PoliteP)/InterP>FocP>Emph>TopP>FinP.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.0 Preliminaries

This chapter summarises the investigation on the description and characterisation of the basic clause in Ìyàgbà dialect wthin the purview of MP and proffer recommendations that will further the course of research in Ìyàgbà-Yorùbá syntax.

6.1 Summary

The investigation explicates the basic clause of Ìyàgbà dialect from MP's perspective. The fragmental studies of the clausal constituents or the interface of phonology and morphology have failed to unravel how the various components of clauses are woven together to derive convergent sentences. Whereas central aspect of the MP is the assumption that the syntax of lexical categories, their ordering, displacement, and relationship with other categories is due to the interaction between formal features on the lexical categories and functional categories, the studies in fraction take the learners far from this realisation.

This study demonstrates that the core clausal layers of V, and higher functionalI and C projections manifest structural interdependence and interplay in the clausal derivation. It applies the thematic structure to redefine and reconstruct the verb of the dialect as:

> a category whose lexical form and its intermediateprojection ($V^{\smile}$)theta-mark internal arguments while itslight affixal variant theta-marks external argument viarecursive merging.

The above definition is a modification of Ọdúnṭán(2000) whose definition does not capture the argument structure of ditransitive construction.The modified definition fails to account for the spell-out of the VP-structure after the valuation of the formal features of subject DP. Táíwò (2018) defines verbs as lexical category that can occur independently or with modifiers in the VP. His definition is all-inclusive expressing the spell-out of VP after full interpretability of features had been implemented.

Within the VP- Shell, the verbs of the language are broadly classified into mono-place predicates ormono-argumental verbsandmulti-place predicates or multi-argumental verbs. The mono-place predicates are subdivided into: ergative verbs, unergative verbs, unaccusative verbs and interrogative verbs. Multi-argumental verbs are also sub- divided into: ergative predicates and causative or inchoative verbs.

The verbsof the dialects are distinguished from such items like prepositions that some Yoruba linguists claim to be verbs. Examples include: *hún, wún and kò*which the SY uses an invariant form –fún 'for' for. This implies that the lexicon of some items must have specifications for their various realisations.The adverbs of the language that have been classified as preverbal adverbs and post-verbal adverbs are discussed and differentiated. The pre-verbal adverbs is analysed as adverbs that do not permit intervening elements between them and the verbs that they modify. The VP structure could be analysed with the schema below:

(316) PreM $X^{-n.}$

Where PreM refers to preverbal modifiers that occur before verbs. X refers to the verbal category while –n refers to PP,AdvP, DP complement or postverbal adverbs and modifiers.

The I-layer is examined in both affirmative and negative constructions. It is observed that the dialect operates [+FUT] and [-FUT] tense typology. The basic form of [+FUT] markers in [+NEG] is *à*while that of the [-NEG] is *á.* The marker of the [-FUT] is covert in [±NEG].Theaspectual system is differentiated from the tense system. The aspect is broadly divided into PERF and IMPERF types. The basic forms of the aspectual markers are: *tí ì* for IMPERF [+NEG], *ti* for PERF [-NEG], *ì* for PROG and HAB of the IMPERF type. The study further supportsthe modification of Ajọ́ńgọ́lò,(2005) and Ọdúntán, (2000) who earlier proposed hierarchy of the I-layer to be:

(317) NegP>TP>AsP>vP>VP.

Contrary to the claim of Awóbùlúyì (1978), HTS does not mark [-FUT] in the dialect. HTS encodes the [+NEG] features on short pronouns; depicts 3SG pronouns in the subject position and it marks AGR between subject and predicate.

Tense is established as an obligatory CFC that accounts for feature valuation of the subject DP and the fulfillment of EPP. This observation invalidates the view of Awóbùlúyì (1978) that three are timeless sentences in Yoruba. It equally falsifies the

viewpoints of Awóyalé (1986), and Oyèláràn (1982), who claim that T is not an attested grammatical category in Yorùbá.

The C-system is examined in its decomposed arrays of many projections which include: FinP, FocP, TopP and ForceP. The FinP refers to the projection of non-finite tense. The weak FinP offinite being incapable of valuing the Case feature of its subject DP could not constitute barrier to its subject DP to move either to the Spec, vP to be valued for AccusativeCase or move to the Spec, FinP where the complementiser can value it for Objective Case. The two identifiable complementisers are: *hún* 'to' and *wún* 'for'. This is unlike SY that has one complementiser – *fún* 'for' that values Objective Case to the DP subject of the weak non-finite tense.

The focus construction is analysed. The Spec, FocP is proved to be occupied by many constituents including DPs, PP, TP, NegP, RelP and AdvP as opposed to the findings of Akíntóyè (2010) who posits that AdvP cannot be preposed for prominence. Contrary to the popular view, the study argues that nominalised verbs as opposed to verbsare focused. It argues that verbs and short pronouns of Ìyàgbà and by extension that of SY cannot be fronted drawing inference from many other languages that instantiate verbal focusing. The FocP has two probes: $Emph^0$and Foc^0 that peruse relevant goals to the Spec of each of the functors. The dialect is observed to instantiate Do-Support as a Last Resort principle to rescue the focalised NegP derivation from crashing. This Do-support has been construed as verb in C-layer of focus construction thereby leading to wrong assumption that FocP is an NP. The Do-Support is supposed to be listed in the numeration. It is also proved that the status of FocP is a complete sentence. Its derivation is also proved to be by $A^{\cup}$-movement as against clefting analysis. Foc^0includes: *kí*for non-TP, *rin* for TP and abstract for Wh-Ph constituents.

TopP is also analysed as an instance of $A^{\cup}$-movement of constituents to the pre TP periphery to convey familiar information. All constituents with the exception of verbs and short pronouns are accessible to topicalisation. Topicalisation is further constrained by the fragment and preposing conditions.

The ForceP is the clausal mood domain. The markers of declarative anddirect imperative clauses are covert. Theindirect imperative clause is marked by *jẹ́*/*kí*'let'. The DP constituent of indirect imperative clause is specified for politeness. It is therefore

proposed that PolitenessP interfaces ForceP and TP to license politeness to the Spec, ImpP. The probes of ImpP are proposed as Politeness^{0}and Imp^0(Force^0).

The WCQs, Wh-Phs or Wh-Qs are broadly classified as [+Human] and [-Human]. The [+Human] WCQS are: *Le, le hí,*DP*hí*'who'/which'; [-Human] Wh-Phs are further differentiated by semantic features as [-Human +Concrete]*kí,* DP*hí*'which', [-Human +Abstract] *kí, èhí* and *ìhí,* 'which'; [-Human +Location] D*P hí* 'where/ which'; and[-Human +Count]DP*hí* 'how many/how much'.Theillocutionary force is however exerted by the movement of Wh-item to the Spec, InterP . The probes of WCQs are Emph^0, Foc^0 and Inter$^{0.}$

6.2 Recommendations

In view of the insight that this study has given about some syntactic issues in the SY,it becomes more imperative to step up study on other aspects of the dialects of the NEY so as to be able to examine their implications for the SY.

The application of the Rizzi's split-CP hypothesis has not been adequately explored in the syntax of Yoruba and her dialects. Yoruba linguists limited their studies to focus and interrogative constructions. The comprehensive study of the C-layer in the various dialects of Yorùbá is another clausal component that is begging for indepth study.

The simplified hierarchnical order of projection of the clausal structure of Ìyàgbà is proposed asshown:

(318) ForceP>FocP>EmpP>(TopP)>FinP>NegP>TP/AspP>vP>VP.

6.3 Conclusion

The clause of Ìyàgbà has shed light on some topical issues in the syntax of the dialect and by inference on Yorùbá generally. The systematic study of the clausal structure of other dialects should be vigorously pursued so as to identify their clausal constituents and how they interact and interrelate to generate convergent clause. This measure willfurther clarify some knotty issues in the grammar of the SY.

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APPENDIX

Informants' Demography

S/N	Town	Name & Address	Sex	Age	Date & Duration	Occupation
1	Ìjọwà	Elder J.A. Àríyọ̀, Igoba Akurẹ	M	75	From 2013-2017 severally	Retired Police Officer/Trading
2	Ìjọwà	Evang. Arẹmu Janet, Prosperity Gospel Church	F	55	From 10/5/13 – 2018 severally	Musician
3.	Ìsánlú-Mọpọ	Adeniyi Jones, Ọmọwájílá Compound	M	60	15/7/14 (1 Hour)	Farming
4.	Ìsánlú-Mọpọ	Mama Alata, Ọmọ́wájílá Compound	F	72	15/7/14 (1 Hour)	Trading
5.	Ìtẹ̀dó	Àgbànà Káyọ̀dé Abraham, Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo	M	35	Severally since 2014 – 2019	Bricklaying
6.	Ìtẹ̀dó	Prince Ẹnìkanòlaye Abraham, Oba Compound	M	59	15/7/13	Civil service
7.	Ìsànlú-Màkùtù	Mr Inúbíwọn Ebenezer, Òkègúrù Compound	M	48	15/7/14 (1 Hour)	Civil service
8.	Ìsànlú-Màkùtù	Mrs Michael Iyabọde, Òkègúrù Compound	F	50	15/7/14 (1 Hour)	Civil service
9.	Ìdọ̀fin	Chief Ọlálérè Alonge, Oke Iyanrin Compound	M	69	16/7/14 (1 Hour)	Farming
10.	Ìdọ̀fin	Madam Rachael Yeyelolu, Ademara Compound	F	75	16/7/14	Trading

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