

A STUDY OF STRUCTURES AND CLASSES
IN
THE GRAMMAR OF MODERN YORUBA

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of the University of
Edinburgh in the Faculty of Arts.

BY
AYO BAMGBOSE

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P R E F A C E

This thesis is the result of three years' study and research made possible by a post-graduate scholarship award from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

My interest in the subject of the thesis has been stimulated by some earlier work in connection with my Dissertation for the Diploma in General Linguistics. Parts of this dissertation and a substantial part of a paper by me now being published in the Proceedings of the 1962 Dakar Conference on West African Languages are incorporated in the thesis.

The grammatical description of Yoruba in the thesis is not exhaustive. But it gives a broad outline of the type of grammar that may result from an application of modern linguistic theories to the study of the language. It is my hope that similar, and perhaps more detailed, grammars will follow in due course.

I would like to express my thanks to Professor L.F. Brosnahan, Professor M.M. Mahood, Mr J. Spencer, Professor B. Siertsema and Dr. P. Ladefoged (all formerly of the University of Ibadan), who encouraged my interest in Linguistics, and to Mr J. Carnochan and Mr E.C. Rowlands (both of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) for their helpful comments on some aspects of my work.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

The following are the symbols used in the Description
(Section 3):

(a) Elements of Structure

(i) The Sentence:

α ; β ; Sen. (Element in Compound sentence structure).

(ii) The Clause:

S (Subject); P (Predicator); A (Adjunct);

Z (Pre-emphatic element); I (Clause Initiator);

x (Emphatic element); o (Clause final element).

(iii) The Verbal Group:

η ; r ; b ; f ; p ; C (Complement)

(iv) The Nominal Group:

H (Head); Q (Qualifier); n (nominal qualifier);

j (adjective qualifier); l (numeral qualifier);

k (rankshifted qualifier); d (deictic qualifier);

t (post-deictic qualifier); N (Element in compound
nominal group structure)

(v) Compound Structures:

& (Linking element)

(b) General

* Example drawn from outside the text.

→ "is replaced by" or "is changed into"

A figure enclosed in brackets preceded by a name,
e.g. Ward (16) is a bibliographical reference.

(See Bibliography pp. 267-270)

INTRODUCTION

The language, French, is the official language of about 100 million people in the area which extends from Senegal to the Atlantic Ocean, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, and from the Alps to the Pyrenees.

It is spoken in a few islands west of Africa, in the West Indies, and in the French possessions in the Indian Ocean. It is also spoken in the French colonies in the Americas, in the West Indies, and in the French possessions in the Indian Ocean.

For the purpose of education, writing has become an essential part of the life of the French people. The type of writing used in the French language is called the French alphabet. This is based on the Latin alphabet, but it is not identical with it, because the French alphabet has some special characters which are not found in the Latin alphabet.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this book is to explain the French alphabet to the native speaker of another language. This is done by explaining the French alphabet in terms of the Latin alphabet. This is done by explaining the French alphabet in terms of the Latin alphabet.

¹ For the name of the French alphabet, see the French dictionary, page 100.
² The French alphabet is based on the Latin alphabet. For a list of the French alphabet, see the French dictionary, page 100.
³ A "vowel" is defined as a sound which is produced by the vocal cords. For a list of the French vowels, see the French dictionary, page 100.
⁴ The French alphabet is based on the Latin alphabet. For a list of the French alphabet, see the French dictionary, page 100.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Yoruba Language

The language, Yòrùbá, is a "dialect continuum"¹ spoken by about seven million people in the area which covers most of Western Nigeria, the Ilorin Province of Northern Nigeria and the country, Dahomey.

It comprises about a dozen dialects such as Ìjẹ̀bù, Ègbá, Ìjẹ̀sá, Òyó, Òwò, Òdèdè, each of which differs considerably from the other phonologically and lexically, and, to some extent, grammatically.²

For the purpose of education, writing and contact between persons of different dialects, the type of Yòrùbá used is a "koine"³ which may be called Standard Yòrùbá. This koine is based on Òyó dialect; but it is not co-extensive with it, because non-standard forms exist in the dialect, and the koine has certain forms which do not occur in the dialect, but which are found in some other dialects.

The koine, Standard Yòrùbá, may therefore be defined as the type of Yòrùbá learnt at school, and spoken or written by an educated native speaker when addressing an audience who speak different dialects.⁴ This is the type of Yòrùbá described in this thesis.

¹ For the term "dialect continuum", See Hill (38), p.443.

² No study has yet been made of these differences. For a few examples of phonological and lexical differences, See Delano (6), p.xii and cf. 1.2 below. A full list of Yoruba dialects and the geographical areas where they are spoken is given in Westermann and Bryan (27), pp.84-85.

³ A "koine" is defined as "any tongue, distinct from his own vernacular, that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars." Hill (38), p.443.

⁴ Cf. Siertsema's definition of Standard Yòrùbá, Siertsema (13), p.42, note 3.

1.2 The Text

The grammatical description in Section 3 is based on a recorded text of a three hours' free conversation between the author and three other educated native speakers of Yòrùbá. With the exception of about ten occurrences of dialectal forms typical of the background of each speaker (e.g. néè (Ìjèbú) for nòò "that"; wáásùn (Èkìtì) for wáásù "preach"; dúú (Òyó) for dúró "stop"; òbó (Ègbádò) for ídí "anus"), the text is a good example of Standard Yòrùbá. (A sample of the transcribed text is given in Section 4.4)

1.3 Previous Grammatical Studies

Starting with Samuel Crowther's Yoruba Grammar published in 1852, there have been quite a few grammatical descriptions of Yòrùbá. All of them are short grammars mainly intended as companion pieces to dictionaries.

Besides Crowther's grammar, the other studies are: J.F. Bowen: Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language, 1858; Gaye and Beecroft: Yoruba Grammar, 1914; Yoruba Composition, 1922; Ida Ward: An Introduction to the Yoruba Language, 1952; I.O. Delano: A Short Yoruba Grammar and Dictionary, 1958; and R.C. Abraham: Dictionary of Modern Yoruba, 1958.

All these studies have thrown much light on many grammatical features of Yòrùbá. Even in the earliest of them, one finds perceptive accounts of certain features of the language; for example, Crowther on the tone of the pronoun complement (p.4), and Bowen on nominalisation (pp.13-16) and verbal group structures (p.46). Of the more recent

studies, Ward's description of the tense system (pp.76-105), verbal combinations (pp.106-116), interrogative clauses (pp.117-122) and Abraham's subject-predicator junction rules (pp.xix-xx) and word classes (particularly verbs) are most invaluable.

In recognising this vital contribution, it must be admitted that these studies, in varying degrees, share certain faults which are typical of most traditional grammars.¹ The most obvious are:

- (i) Categories based on notional criteria;
- (ii) Transfer of categories from other languages;
- (iii) Undefined and unco-ordinated categories.

(i) Categories based on notional criteria

Categories derived from the contextual meaning of items abound in the early grammars. For example, Crowther ((5) p.9) and Gaye and Beecroft ((8) p.8) have the category of "gender" which is expounded by lexical items referring to male and female persons respectively, e.g. Masculine: bábá "father"; oko "husband", osó "wizard"; Feminine: iyá "mother", aya "wife", ájé "witch". Crowther has three degrees of comparison of adjectives (p.11) based on the meaning of the verbs jù "exceed" and jù lo "exceed, go". Bowen's classification of adverbs (of time, place, manner etc.) (p.51), Gaye and Beecroft's system of mood ((8) p.35) and Delano's classification of certain items as adverbs and conjunctions (pp.lxvi-lxvii) are further examples of this fault.

¹ For similar references to these faults, cf. Nida (24), pp.12-39, Whiteley (28), pp.148-150, Robins (25) "for much of the history of grammatical studies, semantic criteria, though never reliable definitia of grammatical classes or categories, have been brought in, tacitly or explicitly, in grammatical analysis and in grammatical classifications, including in places the definitions of word classes".

Ward's book and Abraham's dictionary are the most satisfactory on this point.

(ii) Transfer of categories from other languages

All the grammars are faulty in this respect. In spite of Ward's awareness of the fault of transferring categories,² her classification of certain items appear to be based on their English translation equivalence, e.g. si "and" (Conjunction), nitorípe "because" (Conjunction), p.153; si "to" (Preposition), p.129. Abraham, whose classification of items is on the whole quite good, has a subjunctive in Yoruba (p.xxxi), and an elaborate pattern of "if-clauses" (pp.88-90).

In the other grammars, the situation is rather unsatisfactory. The typical attitude may be illustrated by the following comments:

Bowen: "Yoruba nouns are not varied in form to express gender, number, or case", p.43.

Gaye and Beecroft: "There is only one voice in Yoruba verbs, the Active Voice" (8), p.35.

Crowther: "No article has yet been discovered, and probably there is none", p.6.

The grammars set out to "discover" categories already established for English. They have the traditional eight parts of speech with the complete trappings of cases, number and, in all cases except one,

² "The study of Yoruba, as of other African languages, has been vitiated by an attempt to equate Yoruba words and usages with English, and, ignoring Yoruba idiom, give them the same labels, irrespective of their origin or grammatical function in the Yoruba sentence." Ward (16), p.3.

gender. By far the worst example of this fault is Yoruba Composition by Gaye and Beecroft. In this book, not only are the grammatical categories for English equated with Yoruba ones, but even the exemplification of the Yoruba categories is usually a direct translation of that of the English categories. The following example is typical of their approach:

"The Infinitive Mood may be used as: (a) The Subject;
(b) the object of a finite verb.

To live a pious life is the duty of a Christian

Lati wà ní ìwà mimó jẹ isẹ ti Kristiani

Eat to live

Jẹun lati wà" (p.10)³

An indirect result of the transfer of categories is the construction of linguist's examples, as in the case above, to expound such categories. Only Ward, whose study is based entirely on actual texts, is free from this fault. Abraham's dictionary (otherwise an excellent work for the wealth of material it contains) provides many instances of such stilted examples:

"Remote future contingency:-

Were I to have money, I should buy a book tomorrow

mà bá lówó lówọ, ẹmí máa ra ìwée kọn lóọla" (p.88)

"tẹmi ìwé yíí ni

this book is mine" (p.435)

³ In their preface to this book, the authors wrote: "The authors can rightly claim this production as the first of its kind ever published².

(iii) Undefined and Unco-ordinated Categories

Categories established in most of the grammars are very rarely defined. We are told that the noun is one of the parts of speech. But, what is a noun? The nearest we get to an answer is an exemplification by "noun" items. Since these items are an open set, a listing of all such items is impossible. Therefore, we can never hope to know what a noun is through exemplification nor through listing. What is true of a noun is true of most other "parts of speech". They feature from page to page, without any definition of what they are and where they operate in structure. Delano makes an incursion into structural definition when he states that verbs are so called because they may be preceded by auxiliary verbs and the particle ń (pp.ix-x). But the criteria for the other parts of speech are assumed as known for the purpose of the grammar.

Gaye and Beecroft in Yoruba Composition (but not in their other book) define their main categories in the familiar way:⁴

"A Sentence is an Assemblage of words conveying a complete sense or thought.

A Simple Sentence expresses a single statement, command or question. It contains one finite verb only.

A Compound Sentence consists of two or more simple sentences, each of which gives, when taken separately, a complete meaning." (p.5)

On the principle that a bad definition is better than no definition, Gaye and Beecroft may be said to have done better than the other grammarians in this respect.

⁴ cf. Similar definitions of the sentence quoted in Fries (21), pp.9-18.

In a proper grammar of any language, categories cannot be assumed. They must be defined by reference to structures. Not only that, they must be co-ordinated, i.e. related to each other. In a way, this condition is automatically satisfied if the categories are, in the first instance, defined by reference to grammatical structures. In none of the grammars is there any evidence of such interrelation of categories. This, in effect, is a consequence of the ad hoc nature of the descriptions.⁵ A proper description must be based on a linguistic theory. This is generally accepted in modern linguistics.

1.4 The Present Study

The present study differs from any previous study in that it is consciously based on a theory.¹ Unlike previous grammars, categories established in the grammar are defined, and their relation to one another is implied in the interrelation of the hierarchy of units in the theory. The categories set up for the grammar are based on the internal structure of the language and are not derived from the categories of English Grammar or of any other language.

With the exception of the few items marked with asterisks, exemplification of categories is drawn entirely from the text.

⁵ Cf. Ward (16), p.4.

¹ See Section 2.

1.5 The Transcription

A transcription different from the standard orthography is used for the text for two reasons:

- (a) the need to indicate phonological contrasts which the ~~transcription~~ ^{orthography} does not.

Ex.

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
(i) ilé bábá (nominal)	ilée bábá "father's house"
ilé kékeré (adjective)	ilé kékeré "a small house"
(ii) aṣọ tuntun (nominal group or clause)	aṣọ tuntun "the new cloth" (nominal group) * aṣọ tuntun "the cloth is new" (clause)

- (b) the need to avoid indicating orthographic contrasts which are not phonological.

Ex.

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
(i) ọkúnrin ọkònrin	ọkúnrin "man"
(ii) ńlọ ńbọ	ń lọ "going" ń bọ "coming"

In carrying out (b) above, it has been necessary to consider two aspects:

- (i) The disparity between the orthography and phonology may involve a phonological item realised by a single phonetic item, but represented in the orthography by two or more items.

Ex.

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Phonetics</u>	<u>Phonology</u>
on an (as in ìbòn, òkan)	[ɔ]	/ɔ̃/
ẹ ẹi (as in ẹyẹ, ẹiyẹ)	[ɛ]	/ɛ/

In this case, the orthographic contrast is dispensed with in the transcription,¹ especially as it is considered unnecessary to introduce such artificial contrasts into a transcription made from a recorded oral text. Therefore for the two examples immediately above, the transcription is on and ẹ respectively.

(ii) The disparity between the orthography and the phonology may involve a phonological item realised by two or more phonetic items, and represented by a similar number of items in the orthography.

Ex.

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Phonetics</u>	<u>Phonology</u>
ńlọ	[ńlɔ]	/ńlɔ/
ńbọ	[ńbɔ]	/ńbɔ/
ńké	[ńké]	/ńké/

In this case, it is felt that a consistent phonological transcription will do much violence to the orthography. For example, the non-syllabic nasal [n] (which occurs only before ~~the vowel~~ [ɛ] nasal vowels) and the lateral [l] (which occurs before oral vowels ~~which are~~) will be realisations of one phoneme; so

¹

Abraham does exactly the same in his dictionary.

will syllabic nasals and the vowel [ũ], and, indeed, so will syllabic nasals and the non-syllabic nasal [n]. This kind of consistency may be disconcerting to those accustomed to the standard orthography and it may make the text unnecessarily difficult to read. Therefore, only ~~two~~^{one} departures have been made from the orthography in this respect:

● All syllabic nasals are represented by one symbol in the transcription (ŋ).

9 9, then a dependent? ● Since nasal vowels do not contrast with corresponding oral vowels after nasal consonants, nasalisation is not indicated on nasal vowels after nasal consonants ^{as in the orthography.} e.g.

mú "take" [ũ]

cf. kún "to be full" [ũ] and kú "die" [u]

Symbols used in the Transcription

I b, t, d, k, g, p, gb
 m, n, ŋ
 l,
 r
 f, s, ʃ h
 j
 w, y

II (a) i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u
 (b) in, ɛn, ɔn, un

(All the symbols in I and II except ŋ are the same as those used in the orthography. The phonetic equivalent of the symbols is roughly the same as that of similar symbols in the IPA Chart,

with the exception of: p [kp] , s [ʃ] , j [dʒ] , y [j] , ɛ [ɛ]
~~vand~~ ɔ [ɔ] , in [ɪ] , ɛn [ɛ̃] , ɔn [ɔ̃] , un [ʊ̃]. Initial
capital letter symbols are used to indicate names).

III The system of tones in the syllable (4.112) is indicated
by the symbols:

- ' (high tone) e.g. kọ "teach"
- ` (low tone) e.g. kọ "refuse"
- . (assimilated low tone) e.g. yó. "will" (cf. yó "to
be filled with food")
- Unmarked (mid tone) e.g. kọ "write"

The mid tone is marked (-) when there are two syllables
having nasal vowels of the same quality e.g. rọ̃n "send him"
(Note that nasalisation is indicated as for one vowel i.e. rọ̃n
instead of rọn ọn . Also, in the case of a nasal vowel after
a nasal consonant, nasalisation is indicated instead of a
repetition of the vowel i.e. mú̃n instead of mú u "take it").²

IV Elided vowels in contracted forms (4.2) are indicated by the
symbol ('), as is often done in the orthography.

Ex.

- gb' owó (i.e. gba owó)
take money
- dá 'wó (i.e. dá owó)
contribute

V Word division is indicated by spacing, except in the case of
fixed verb-nominal collocation (e.g. jó.kó "sit", pàdé "meet"),

² This convention agrees with that of Abraham in his dictionary.

two syllables having nasal vowels of the same quality (e.g. wõñ (i.e. wõn ò) "they don't"....) and simple single-syllable contractions (4.221) e.g. ri i.e. rí i "see it". In a reduplicated word (4.3), word division is indicated as between two words.

VI For the symbols: //, /, and : used in connection with the contour group, See 4.111. The following sample of the standard orthography may be compared with a transcription of the same text as it would appear, if it were part of the text used for this study.

Orthography

Iwọ ọmọ, ẹ akiye si ẹniti o duro ni apa ọtun rẹ yi, wo o dada, on ni ng o ran si ọ ni ẹhin ọla, nigbati iwọ ba kuro ni kekere, ti iwọ ba di ọkunrin, eleyi ni yio tọ ọ wa, ti yio sọ bi aiye on ba ti ri fun ọ.³

Transcription

iwọ ọmọ // ẹ àkiyèsí ẹnì tí ó dúró ní apá ọtún .rẹ .yí // wò ó dáadáa // ọ̀un ni ọ́. rọ̀n sí ọ ní ẹ̀hìn ọ̀lá // n' í.gbà tí iwọ́ bá kúrò ní kẹ́kẹ́rẹ́ // tí iwọ́ bá di ọ̀kúnrin // elé.yí ni yó. tọ́ ọ́ wá // tí yó. sọ bí ayé ọ̀un bá ti rí fún ọ́ //

³ This piece of text is taken from Fagunwa (7) p.5

2 STRUCTURES AND CLASSES IN THE THEORY OF GRAMMAR

2.1 Grammar

Grammar is that part of the formal level of language structure which is organized in such a way that its elements are closed systems operators. To account for the grammatical level, the theory of grammar provides for a set of interlocking and mutually-defining categories - Form, Structure, Class and System - and three scales of abstraction which relate these categories to one another and to the linguistic data.

2.2 Scales of Abstraction

The three scales of abstraction are: Form, Class and System.

2 THEORY

2.1 The Main Scale

(Structures and Classes in the Theory of Grammar)

Grammatical units are organized in such a way that the structure of a sentence is "larger" than the structure of a word and the structure of a word is "larger" than the structure of a morpheme. The relation of one unit to another is one of containment. Each unit, except the smallest, consists of one or more members of the next lowest unit. Hence, structures form a hierarchy, and the main scale is the scale of abstraction set up by this hierarchy. Units are ranged on the main scale from the lowest to the highest and (or vice versa).

2.1.1 The Main Scale

It follows from the relation of containment between units that the highest unit may consist of a single lowest unit. Although this

2.1 Note 1. For a detailed exposition of the theory, see Halliday (1961) pp. 197-206. The description of the theory in Section 2.1 is based on this theory.

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2 STRUCTURES AND CLASSES IN THE THEORY OF GRAMMAR

2.1 Grammar

Grammar is ^{defined in this theory as} that part of the formal level of language at which closed systems operate.¹ To account for the grammatical level, the theory of grammar¹ provides for a set of interlocking and mutually-defining categories - Unit, Structure, Class and System - and three scales of abstraction which relate these categories to one another and to the linguistic data.

2.2 Scales of Abstraction

The three scales of abstraction are: Rank, Delicacy and Exponence

2.21 The Rank Scale

Grammatical units are of varying extent. For instance, the sentence is "larger" than the clause and the clause is "larger" than the group. The relation of one unit to another is one of constituency.¹ Each unit, except the smallest, consists of one or more members of the next largest unit. Units, therefore, form a hierarchy, and the rank scale is the scale of abstraction set up ^{to define} ~~for accounting for~~ this hierarchy. Units are ranged on the rank scale from the lowest to the highest end (or vice versa).

2.211

2.211 Rank Shift

It follows from the relation of constituency between units that the highest unit may consist of a single lowest unit. Although this

2.1 Note 1 For a detailed exposition of the theory, See Halliday (36) pp. 241 - 292. The description of Yoruba in Section 3 is based on this theory.

2.21 Note 1 For "relations of constituency" See Juilland (39) pp. 29 - 32. Cf. Bazell's "relations of containment" Bazell (29) p.22

relation is not reversible, it sometimes happens that a unit on a higher rank is found in the structure of a unit on a lower rank. For example, the clause, "I met" in the structure of the group "the man I met". A unit of one rank may also be found within the structure of another unit of the same rank; for example, the group "in the garden" in the structure of the group "the man in the garden". In both of these cases, we talk of a rank shift. In the one case, a clause which is a constituent in sentence structure rankshifted into group structure, in the other, a group which is a constituent in clause structure rankshifted into group structure.¹

2.22 The Scale of Delicacy

The scale of delicacy is an abstraction for describing increasing complexity.¹ A parallel of this scale at work outside grammar may be found in the following descriptions of a girl: "a tall blonde", "a tall blue-eyed blonde", "a tall blue-eyed blonde wearing dark glasses". Each successive description gives an additional detail about the girl, and is, for that reason, more delicate than the preceding one.

In grammar, a structure or a class becomes more delicate if further differentiation is made in such a way as to yield secondary structures or classes.² Categories are ranged on the scale according to their degree of delicacy; one end of the scale being the least delicate, the other, being the most delicate.

2.211 Note 1 For examples of rankshifted units in Yoruba, See Sections: 3D, 3E.

2.22 Note 1 As Halliday points out, this scale is a cline; a cline being defined as "a continuum carrying potentiality of infinite gradation". See Halliday (36), pp.272; 249.

2.22 Note 2 See 2.43, 2.52

2.23 The Exponence Scale

The justification for setting up abstract categories at all in grammar is the existence of some data to be accounted for. Therefore, the categories have their value in their possibility of being related to the data. The exponence scale is the abstraction employed to indicate this relation. On the highest end of it is an abstract category, and on the lowest end, the formal item which is said to be an exponent of this category.¹ One can move directly from the highest to the lowest end, but between the two ends of the scale, it is also possible to take gradual steps in exponence.²

2.231 Steps in Exponence

These steps are of three kinds:

- (i) a statement of class with reference to the structure of the unit next above;
- (ii) a statement of structure in terms of elements of structure;
- (iii) a statement of the class of the unit next below operating at each place in structure.

The last two steps may be taken for all categories, but the first step may only be taken for the unit.

Steps in exponence are taken in succession: (i), (ii), (iii); (i), (ii), (iii) etc. for the unit; (ii), (iii); (ii), (iii) etc. for other categories, except an element of structure for which the succession is (iii), (ii); (iii), (ii) etc.

2.23 Note 1 The formal item itself is an abstraction from the phonic or graphic substance. See Diagram of the framework of linguistic levels, Halliday (36) p.244; and p.271 note 68

2.23 Note 2 This is done without any move on the scale of Delicacy. Cf. Halliday (36) p.271.

The number of steps to be taken depends on (a) the kind of category (for example, a unit, a structure and an element of structure on the same rank differ respectively by one step); (b) the position of the category on the rank scale (for example, there is a difference of two steps in exponence between a clause structure and a group structure) i.e. the higher the category on the rank scale, the greater the number of steps to be taken before reaching the ultimate exponent.

2.24 Interrelation of Scales

A move down the exponence scale automatically involves a move on the rank scale.¹ With this exception, a move on one scale may, but need not, involve a move on any other scale.

2.3 Unit

The category of the unit accounts for the varying stretches that carry linguistic patterns. The relation between one unit and another has already been discussed above (See 2.21). The justification for the recognition of a higher unit is the possibility of (i) having more than one member of the next lower unit in the higher unit and (ii) all the classes of the former unit functioning within the latter. (See 'restrictions' 2.421).¹

2.24 Note 1 The position taken here is different from that of Halliday. Cf. Halliday (36) p.270. The example cited by him of a move in exponence only - exemplification of classes of a given unit - really involves a move in rank (an upward move) as well, since the classes of a given unit are groupings of this unit according to its occurrence in the next higher unit on the rank scale. See 2.231 Step (i).

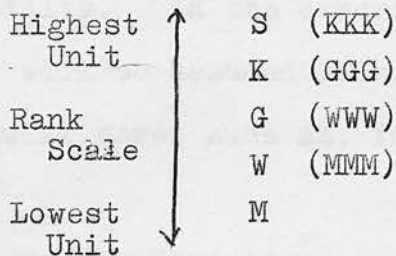
2.3 Note 1 Cf. Pike (42) p.4 "Crucial to the setting up of one level as over against another, however, is the analytical requirement that unit types on one level must in some sense (1) be a matrix for controlling the occurrence and relative (fixed or free) order of included constituents, and (2) be structurally organised in a manner which in some sense is sharply in contrast with the layer next higher or lower in the hierarchy."

The number of units to be recognised depends on the particular language. But theoretically, every language must have at least two units (otherwise there will be no rank scale, no structures and no classes). For English, as well as Yoruba, it has been found necessary to recognise five units. These are (in descending order): Sentence, Clause, Group, Word and Morpheme.

It is the nature of the lowest and the highest units that they are partially "defective". The lowest unit lacks a structure, because there are no lower units operating within it, and the highest unit lacks classes because it does not operate in the structure of a higher unit.²

2.4 Structure

Since every unit consists of one or more members of the unit immediately below it on the rank scale, it follows that a unit may be described in terms of syntagmatic combinations of members of the next lower unit. For example,



Each of such combinations constitutes a structure of the particular unit.

² Cf. Haas (35), p.68. "Sentences having no other than analytic definitions, can be classified only by reference to constituent features". For an example of such classification, See Bendor-Samuel (18), pp.35-39. The absence in many languages of a unit above the sentence is what makes the sentence so difficult to define: Cf. Halliday (22), p.182 "h...here 'sentence' is the name given to the largest unit about which grammatical statements are to be made." Pickett (41), p.31: "Because of the complexities of this type (i.e. the sentence), we suggest the choice of a more easily described unit to be used as starting point in early analysis. The unit suggested is the CLAUSE".

2.41 Elements of Structure

It is the nature of a structure that the occurrences of the same unit of which it is composed can be differentiated from one another by the way they pattern in structure - either by the relations they contract¹ or by the positions in which they occur. The possibility of such differentiation is reflected in the setting up of different elements of structure. For example, for a clause structure in which groups are differentiated K ($G_1 G_2 G_3$) - roughly G nominal, verbal and adverbial respectively, we may have a structure SPA with the different elements S, P, A (~~roughly~~ equivalent to Subject, Predicator, Adjunct).

Every structure is made up of elements each of which occupies a place in structure. The number of elements in a structure is equal to the number of places in that structure. (See 2.421)

In many structures, it is possible to have more than one occurrence of the same element of structure. Most structures in Yoruba admit of this possibility. In the description of Yoruba structures, this possibility will be assumed unless the contrary is specifically stated in a particular case, such as, for example, H in nominal group structure.

2.42 Criteria for Structures

The difference between one structure and another is determined by three criteria: (i) the number of places in the structure, (ii) the elements of structure in these places, and (iii) the sequence of these elements.¹

2.41 Note 1 These are presupposition relations: traditionally, concord, agreement, government etc. See Juilland: "relations of presupposition" Juilland (39) p.33. Cf. Bazell: "relations of accompaniment" Bazell (29) pp.13-15.

2.42 Note 1 Structures may differ in rank and class as well. But these need not be considered separately since such differences are automatically reflected in the differences above.

The first two criteria are crucial because they apply to all structures; the third applies only to structures in which sequence is a feature of the relation between elements of structure.

2.421 Places in Structure

Every structure is characterised by the number of places in it. An English clause structure of three places (e.g. SPC: "He saw a man") is a different structure from one of two places (e.g. SP: "He came")

Every unit (or a class of it) has one or more structures. For example, primary structures of the nominal group in English are H, MH, HQ, MHQ.¹ In this example, the smallest structure has only one place, and the largest has three places. Two restrictions must however be noted:

- (i) Although a unit may have a structure of one place, every unit must have at least one structure of more than one place. (The structure of a unit with only one structure of one place is already accounted for by that of a lower unit).
- (ii) Every unit must have at least one structure with the maximum number of places i.e. the same number as there are elements of structure. (otherwise there will be a redundant element).

In describing the rank scale, it is the largest structure that is usually taken as representing the structure of each unit.

2.422 Different Elements of Structure

Two structures may have the same number of places and yet be

¹ For "primary structures" See 2.43

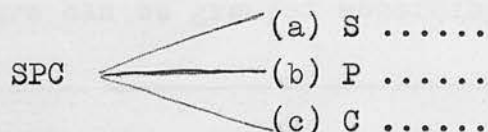
different structures. This is definitely the case if the elements of structure in the places in one structure are not identical with those in the other. For example, the English clause structures: SPC and SPA (e.g. "He saw a man"; "He worked in the garden"). If however the elements of structure are identical, the structures can only be the same if sequence is not a crucial feature of structure.

2.423 Sequence of Elements

The importance of sequence depends on whether it is a basic feature of the relation between elements of structure. In Latin, for instance, sequence is not a feature of the primary clause structure. The six possible sequences of the clause "puer fratrem amat" constitute only one structure at the primary structure degree of delicacy.

In some structures, sequence may be only partly crucial; one or more elements of structure may be non-sequence-determined. An example of such an element is the Adjunct in English clause structure. The two clauses: "They carefully considered the plan" and "They considered the plan carefully" may be described as having the same structure SPCA in which A is not tied to sequence.

When sequence is a basic feature of structure, two structures which differ in sequence are different structures. For example, English SP (e.g. He is) as opposed to PS (e.g. Is he?). It may be necessary in some cases to consider sequence non-crucial for primary structure, but to make it a criterion for further differentiation of the same primary structure. A hypothetical example of this is



in which the element in initial position is marked. This gives one

non-sequence-determined primary structure and three sequence-determined secondary structures.

2.43 Primary and Secondary Structures

Structures can be ranged on the scale of delicacy. The least delicate structures are primary structures. They comprise the minimum number of elements necessary to account for the operation in a given unit of members of the unit next below. These elements are known as Primary Elements of Structure.

Progressively more delicate structures of the same unit (or class) are secondary structures. They arise from a further differentiation of primary elements of structure into secondary elements of structure. For example, the primary structure HQ in Yoruba has secondary structures which arise from a differentiation of the element Q into six sequence-determined secondary elements of structure.

2.44 Simple and Compound Structures

A compound structure is two or more structures of the same unit plus a linking element (&). For example, the Yoruba compound nominal

group: bàbá àti iyá (father and mother)
 N & N

A simple structure is one without a linking element.¹

2.5 Class

It has been shown in 2.41 that members of a lower unit operating in a higher structure can be grouped according to the way they pattern

1

In Halliday (26) "simple" and "compound" are used in a different sense. See p.253.

in structure. Such a grouping provides the basis for both elements of structure and classes. The different elements make up the structure of a unit, and the grouping of members of the unit next below according to which elements of structure they expound yields classes. In an SPA clause structure in English, the members of the unit group which expound the elements of structure constitute three classes of the group: Nominal Group, Verbal Group and Adverbial Group.

A rigid interpretation of this definition of class means that there are as many classes as there are elements of structure. The theory, however, allows for one modification.¹ Two or more elements of structure may be expounded by the same class if (i) the items operating at the place of these elements are substantially the same² (ii) some items operating at the place of one element are assigned on morphological grounds to the membership of a class expounding another element.³

¹ This modification takes into account the realities of the patterning of items in structure (i.e. the possibility of a group of items occurring at more than one place in structure). But it may have the effect of weakening the syntactic concept of class, especially in case (ii) below.

² Cf. Halliday (36) p.263, especially note 51. Also, Halliday (37) "Where the set of items operating as two or more elements of structure show more than an arbitrary degree of overlap, as in the case of subject and complement -- most items that can be subject can also be complement, and vice versa -- these are conflated into a single primary class: thus the nominal group is the primary class expounding both subject and complement in English clause structure".

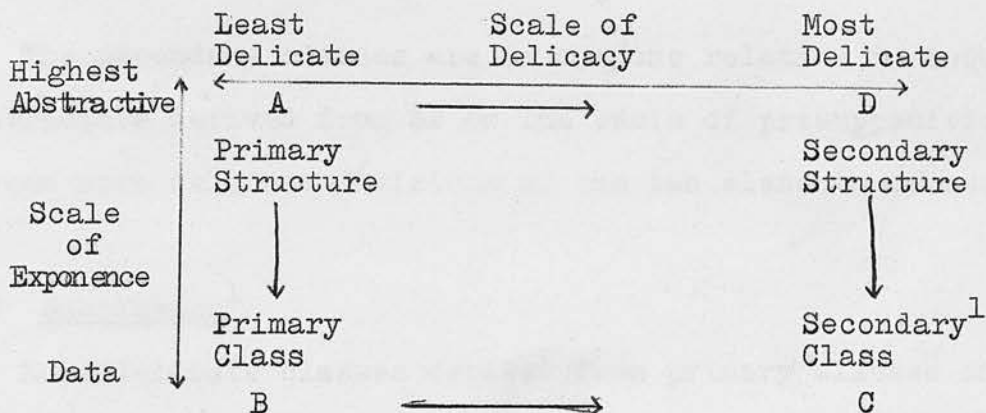
³ See Halliday (37). Commenting on the class membership of the item "this morning" in the clause "I came this morning", he says: "The syntactic class defined by operation as adjunct is the adverbial group; that defined by operation as subject or complement is the nominal group. Syntactically, therefore, this morning could be assigned to either of these classes. Morphologically, however, it clearly resembles other nominal groups (this morning, this man etc.) rather than other adverbial groups (quickly, on the floor etc.), and this can be allowed to determine its primary syntactic assignment."

2.51 Primary Classes

Classes in a one/one relation to primary elements of structure are primary classes.

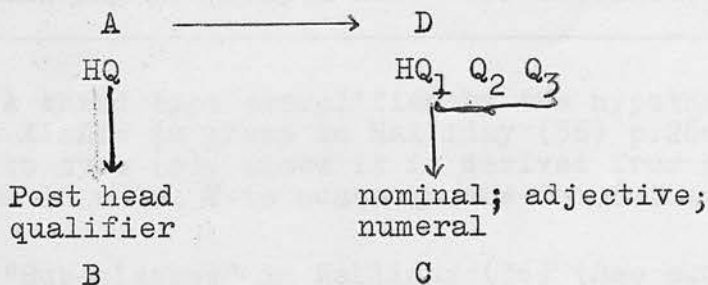
2.52 Secondary Classes

Classes in a one/one relation to secondary elements of structure are secondary classes. The following diagram reproduced from Halliday (36) illustrates the way in which secondary classes are constituted.



Secondary classes may be divided into two types according to the secondary structures in which they operate.

Type (a) is exemplified by the following diagram:

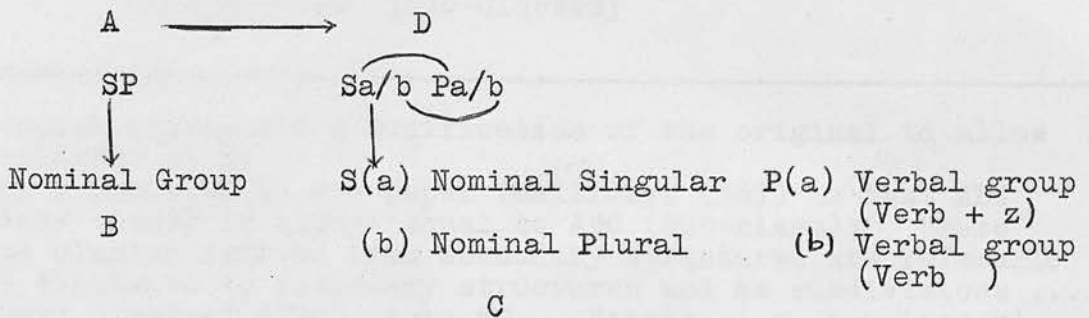


The secondary classes are in one/one relation to elements of structure which are derived from Q by differentiation into three

¹ Halliday (36) p.263. The letters A, B, C, D not in the original diagram are inserted here for ease of reference to the direction of the arrows.
A further modification involving BC will be introduced in 2.53.

sequence-determined secondary elements of structure.

Type (b) is exemplified by a simplified English clause structure SP in which the class at S is restricted to a particular kind of nominal group.



The secondary classes are in one/one relation to secondary elements of structure derived from SP on the basis of presupposition relation between more delicate divisions of the two elements of structure.²

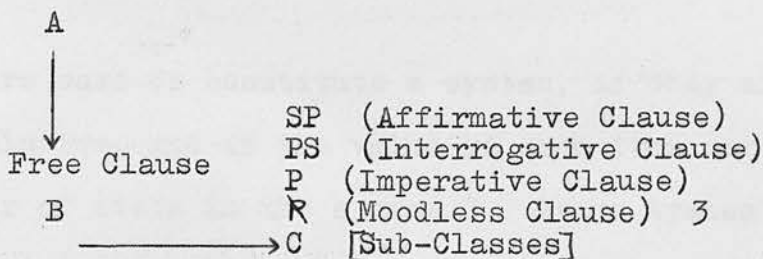
2.53 Subclasses¹

More delicate classes derived from primary classes on the basis of a systemic choice from a finite grouping of the exponents of such primary classes may be called sub-classes. For example, a free clause in English exhibits a system of mood.² On the basis of this system, the primary class may be grouped into four subclasses:

2.52 Note 2 A third type exemplified by the hypothetical structure XYZY → XYaZYb is given in Halliday (36) p.260. This in fact belongs to type (a), since it is derived from a primary structure in which Y is non-sequence-determined relative to Z.

2.53 Note 1 "Sub-classes" in Halliday (36) (See p.260) refers to secondary classes of type (b) 2.52.

2.53 Note 2 For "system" and "systemic choice", See 2.6



A SYSTEM THEORY

- 3 This diagram represents a modification of the original to allow for subclasses at C. Halliday's position in his paper (Halliday, (36)) is that ADC (secondary class) is always equal to ABC (Sub-class): "More delicate classes derived from secondary structures are referable both as exponents to secondary structures and as subdivisions to primary classes" p.263, note 50. "their i.e. subclasses' relation to secondary elements of structure is implied but need not be stated" p.265. In fact, ADC ≠ ABC except in type (b) secondary class in which the complementary secondary classes are subclasses of two different primary classes as well. The recognition of independent ADC and ABC secondary classes (See Halliday (37)) is a modification by Halliday of his original position. This modification has the following implications for the theory:
- (i) Secondary classes may be set up without reference to secondary structures. This may lead to the setting up of purely contextual choices e.g. animate/inanimate nominals as secondary classes.
 - (ii) All the possible structures of a unit qualify as secondary classes.
 - (iii) The distinction between 'class' and 'paradigm' is partially blurred, since paradigms ("groupings of items on the basis of likeness in their own structure" p.262) may become secondary classes of the ABC type.

On the other hand, ABC classes help to account for important grammatical choices like mood, voice, transitivity etc. Therefore, it is advisable to retain ABC classes (provided paradigms are redefined). But it should be pointed out that, because they are not tied to secondary structures, ABC classes are less powerful than ADC classes. That is why the two types have been separated here as sub-classes and secondary classes respectively.

In a recent paper (Halliday (37)), Halliday makes a distinction between classes, like ABC above, derived through choice ("choice classes") and classes derived through sequence ("chain classes").

2.6 System

Items are said to constitute a system, if they are finite and mutually exclusive, and if the value of each item varies according to the number of items in the system.¹ Every system therefore implies a choice - a systemic choice. A choice between "table" and "pen" in the frame "The - is over there" does not constitute a system because it does not fulfil the three requirements above, whereas a choice between "boy" and "boys" in "I saw the - " is a system.

A system therefore has to be related to secondary classes or sub-classes.²

There are two types of systems: (i) a system of secondary classes (ADC, type (b)) in which the system is inferred from the secondary structure, and (ii) a system of sub-classes in which the sub classes are inferred from the system. (ABC)³

2.61 Terms in a System

Each of the items in a system is a "term" in that system.

¹ See Halliday (36) p.247.
Cf. Firth (34) p.22

² Since secondary classes and subclasses imply primary classes, and primary classes imply places in structure, it follows that a system exists only at a place in structure.
Cf. Allen (17) p. 131. "The principle to be stressed is that systems are established at specific places in structure, and that this is the sole guarantee of their relevance".

³ An example of (i) is the system of number corresponding to the secondary classes of nominals (See 2.52)
An example of (ii) is the system of mood corresponding to the sub-classes of free clauses (See 2.53). Further examples could be found in Section 3.

2.7 Structures, Classes and Transformation

This section is intended to point briefly to an alternative way of handling grammatical structures within a different theory (i.e. Transformational) and to indicate correspondences between the two approaches.¹

The syntactic component of transformational grammar consists of two sub-components: Constituent structure and Transformation.

2.71 Constituent Structure

This is another name for immediate constituent structure. It is usually represented by a "branching tree" diagram in which each structure is described in terms of its two constituents (or elements of structure).¹ It is non-hierarchical (i.e. its units cannot be described in terms of the rank scale). For example, a sentence consists of two phrases (NP + VP), but a VP consists of a word plus a phrase (i.e. Verb + NP).² But the idea of structure is similar: a structure consists of a number of places (in this case, two places, usually), and at each place is a different element of structure. In constituent structure, both=element of structure and class are conflated e.g. N is an element of structure in an NP and also the class of items that are found at that place in structure. As a result of this, more than one class may be found at each place in structure. For example, VP is an element of structure in S as well as a class of structure, Verb + NP; which means that at the place of the element VP operate the two classes: Verb and NP.

2.7 Note 1 For ease of reference, the other theory will be called "Categorical" grammar, a name given to it by transformationalists.

2.71 Note 1 Cf. Chomsky (31) p.23 "A transformational approach to syntactic description thus allows us to express the element of truth contained in the familiar theories of immediate constituent analysis, with their emphasis on binary splitting, without at the same time committing us to the arbitrary assignment of superfluous structure required by such theories" See "branching tree" diagram in Chomsky (30) p.27

2.71 Note 2 Chomsky (30) p.26

2.711 Rewrite Rules

Rewrite rules are an important part of the constituent structure component of transformational grammar. These rules may be classified into three in terms of "categorical" grammar:

- (i) Structural Rules e.g. $NP \rightarrow T + N$
- (ii) Systemic Rules e.g. $NP \rightarrow \begin{matrix} (NP \text{ sing.}) \\ (NP \text{ plu.}) \end{matrix}$
- (iii) Exponence Rules e.g. $T \rightarrow \text{the}$

This classification is an adequate indication of how "categorical" grammar accounts for the same facts, and for the nature of abstraction involved in each case.

2.72 Transformation

The transformational sub-component of the grammar is the level at which transformations apply to structures. ("A transformation is defined by the structural analysis to which it applies and the structural change that it effects on these strings").¹

2.721 Obligatory and Optional Transformations

A transformation may be obligatory or optional. An obligatory transformation must be applied to an appropriate string (or structure)

1

Chomsky (30) p.111

A transformation may convert one structure into another structure or several structures into one structure. The two types are known as "singularly" and "generalised" transformations respectively. (See Chomsky (31) pp. 22-24). Only the former type will be considered in the present discussion.

in order to produce a proper sentence (or a final structure which can be exemplified in the language). An optional transformation need not be applied to give such a sentence.¹

2.722 Systemic and Non-systemic Transformations

In terms of "categorical" grammar, transformations may be classified as to whether they are systemic or non-systemic. Systemic transformations in turn may be obligatory or optional. Obligatory systemic transformations are transformations applied to an element of structure in order to yield a system. For example, "Number Transformation".

$$C \implies \left(\begin{array}{l} S \text{ in the context NP sing - } \\ \emptyset \text{ in the context NP plu - } \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right)$$

[C stands for the system of number which must be selected with any verb]¹

Optional systemic transformations involve transformations between structures which are terms in a system. For example, Tq (Question Transformation) which converts an affirmative clause into an interrogative clause e.g.

They can arrive \implies Can they arrive? ²

or the passive transformation which converts an active sentence into a

2.721 Note 1

A sentence in the generation of which an obligatory transformation has been applied is a kernel sentence. Schachter has recently shown that the distinction between kernel and non-kernel sentences in so far as optional "one-string" transformations are concerned, is at best, trivial, and at worst, misleading, since each optional transformation may be converted into an obligatory systemic transformation (See Later 2.722). See Schachter (45) pp. 319 - 324.

2.722 Note 1

See Chomsky (30) p.39. The arrow \implies is currently being used by Chomsky and others (See Preprints of Papers for the Ninth Congress of Linguists) to differentiate between transformational rules and rewrite rules - a distinction not made in Chomsky (30).

2.722 Note 2

Chomsky (30) p.63.

passive one e.g.

John admires sincerity \implies sincerity is admired by John.³

Systemic transformations are handled in "categorical" grammar by a statement of systems. A system of voice in English gives the distinction between active and passive clauses, and a system of mood shows the distinction between affirmative and interrogative clauses.

All the terms in the system are simply stated. In the case of optional systemic transformation, this approach has the advantage of eliminating the need to transform one term from another.

The implication is that a term in a system which is a transform need not be referred to a non-existent string. For example, emphatic clauses with Z question items in Yoruba (B5.122) need not be derived from non-emphatic clauses with corresponding question items, which do not exist, but will only be listed as a defective term (under stated conditions) in the system.

Transformations which do not involve a system as defined above are non-systemic. Like systemic transformations, they may be obligatory e.g.

T^{ob.}_{sep.} (obligatory separation transformation)

The police brought in him \implies The police brought him in.

or optional e.g.

T^{op.}_{sep.} (optional separation transformation)

The police brought in the criminal \implies The police brought the criminal in.

Obligatory systemic transformations excepted, all transformations may involve (i) change of structure (see examples immediately above) (ii) addition of one or more items e.g. obligatory "do" transformation to add "do" to the morpheme Z John - S + n't - come \implies John doesn't come or T not: they can come \implies they can't come.

³ Chomsky (30) p.43

(iii) deletion of one or more items e.g.

Elipsis of agent transformation (T3)

They were put by the side of the road by the police \implies They were put by the side of the road.⁴

Combinations of one or more of these three are possible e.g.

T adj: The boy is tall \implies the tall boy or T passive (see above).⁵

"Categorical" grammar does not establish any relation between structures involved in non-systemic transformation. It merely makes a statement of the structures involved. For example, "the boy is tall" is an SPC clause structure, and "the tall boy" is an MMH nominal group structure. In this respect, transformational grammar has one important advantage: It can relate structures on the same rank or on different ranks. Hence, in describing one structure, it can take into consideration its "derivational history".⁶ This is why it has been very successful in dealing with structural ambiguity.⁷

⁴ See Lees (23) pp.34-35. The other examples are from Chomsky (30) pp.62-63; pp.75-76.

⁵ Cf. Schachter (45) p.321. Given transformations of types (ii) and (iii) above, transformational grammar may be reduced to absurdity by transforming any sentence from another. For example, John saw the girl \implies China is industrialising rapidly. This possibility has been recognised (Cf. example just quoted from Chomsky (31) p.19), but, so far, only tentative suggestions have been made as to what restrictions should apply in order to rule it out. See Chomsky (31) pp.20; 24. Putnam (43) p.42.

⁶ The "derivational history" of a structure may even be fictitious. This is the case when it is derived from a non-existent structure. Many of the so-called "embedding transformations" are derived from a non-existent intermediate structure.

⁷ For examples of this, See Chomsky (30) pp.88-89. Also Chomsky (32) pp.517-523. However, for over-differentiation of an "ambiguous" structure, See Lees (23) p.64.

2.73 Grammar or Lexis?

Transformational grammar accounts for the occurrence of "John admires sincerity" and the non-occurrence of "sincerity admires John" by a statement of restrictions through secondary classes.¹

This is a powerful descriptive statement (and it can be made within the framework of categorical grammar), provided that it is not too complicated. In practice, however, so many secondary classes which cut across each other have to be set up. For example, the following secondary classes of the verb (and they could be multiplied!) require a grouping of the NP into secondary classes, some of which are co-extensive with one or more of the others

(V₁ e.g. 'admire'; V₂ e.g. 'frighten'; V₃ e.g. 'need'; V₄ e.g. 'eat')²

Categorical grammar acknowledges this difficulty by dividing the level of Form into two: Grammar and Lexis. The latter level accounts for linguistic patternings that cannot easily be handled in grammar. For example, instead of trying to account for the non-occurrence of "a green baby" in grammar by setting up secondary classes of colour adjectives and of the nominals with which they occur in structure, the linguist moves into lexis and talks of the collocation³ of the lexical items "green" and "baby". This collocation is said to be unlexical just as "sincerity admires John" is unlexical.⁴

¹ See Chomsky (30) p.42.

² Cf. Lees' 27 secondary classes of verbs. Lees (23) pp.22-23.

³ A concept introduced by Firth and now widely used by many linguists. See Firth (33) p.194.

⁴ The case for a level of lexis is convincingly put by McIntosh "For there is a difference between speaking about the eligibility of a particular CLASS OF UNIT in some place or places in the grammatical structure of a language and about the eligibility of exponents of that class of unit in such a place or places in a particular sentence." McIntosh (40) p.325. For a recognition of the desirability of a "semantical" as opposed to a "grammatical" level within the framework of transformational grammar, See Putnam (43) pp.23; 32.

3. DESCRIPTION

(Structures and Classes in the Grammar of Yoruba)

3A THE SENTENCE

The Sentence is ^{considered in this description to be} the highest grammatical unit in Yoruba, and, as such, can only be structurally defined in terms of its elements of structure. These elements of structure are α , and β , and at their places in structure operate the classes of the clause: free clause and dependent clause respectively. The two primary structures of the sentence are:

α , $\beta\alpha$

Each of these must have one α , but not more than one. But there can be more than one β in the latter structure, in which β always precedes α .

Phonologically, there is a potentiality of silence before and after a sentence. But there can be several sentences within a single utterance by the same speaker. The beginning of an utterance by a different speaker always marks the beginning of a new sentence.

Examples of sentence structure:

α : ẹbí ma ñ so mọ 'raa wọn púpọ̀
 "Families are usually closely-knit"

wọn í ñ ẹ é pàápàá
"Even so, they still do it."

omọ ànfàní òò
"May you be blessed with an illustrious issue!"

$\beta\alpha$: $\beta\alpha$ t' ó bá d' ọjọ ọdún // wọn á lọ k' áşọ wọ
"Whenever there is a festival, they get well dressed."

βx
n' ílẹẹ Yòóbá // ẹbí ma ń so mọ 'raa wọn púpọ

"In Yorubaland, families are usually closely-knit."

ββx
l' É.kó // t' ó ò bá da // o k' ẹron n' iyen

"In Lagos, if you don't contribute, then you've had it."

A1 Compound Sentence Structure

The Compound structure: Sen. & Sen. consists of two or more sentences linked by linking element(s). The exponents of the linking element (&) are: sùgbón "but"; tàbí, àbí "or"; yálà tàbí "whether or".

Ex.

Sen. & Sen.
(ββx) (βx)

l' áyé àtijó // n' ígbà t' ón kókó bèrẹ aṣo ẹbí .yen // ó da // sùgbón n' í.sinyín // wọn ti ń fi 'ńkọn ~~amin~~ bọ ó

"In the past, when the custom of buying a 'family dress' was first introduced, it was good. But nowadays, some unfortunate things are being associated with it."

Sen. & Sen.
(α) (α)

àwọn Yòóbá ma ń p' ówé .kọn // tàbí wọn ma ń d' á.sà .kọn pé

"The Yorubas have a proverb or rather they have a saying that "

Sen. & Sen. & Sen.
(α) (α) (α)

yálà Íbò ni ẹ ni òo // tàbí Yòrùbá ni òo // tàbí Haúsá ni òo

"Whether you are an Ibo or a Yoruba or a Hausa ... "

As in the example immediately above, a compound sentence structure with the linker yálà; tàbí is always rankshifted as a dependent clause (See 3C).

3B THE CLAUSE : FREE

The free clause operates at α in sentence structure.¹

There are two types of free clauses: (i) free clauses which operate in both primary structures of the sentence, and (ii) free clauses which operate only in a one-element sentence structure. The latter type usually occurs as a question or an answer to a question. When it is an answer to a question, it is a free clause only when not followed by a verbal clause (B2) in the same utterance. When it is so followed, it is usually a dependent clause (3C). Most verbal clauses are of type (i), and non-verbal clauses (other than those with two elements) are of type (ii).

All clauses are potentially free clauses in a one-element sentence structure.

B1 Elements of Clause Structure

Elements of clause structure may be classified into two: Basic and Subsidiary.

Basic elements of clause structure are those elements which can expound a clause structure of only one element. They are: Subject (S), Predicator (P), and Adjunct (A).

Subsidiary elements of clause structure are those elements which cannot expound a clause structure of only one element. They are: Clause Initiator (I), Pre-emphatic element (Z), Emphatic element (x), and Clause final element (o).

¹ A free clause may be rankshifted to operate in a unit lower than the sentence. (See E10.1; F1.3)

B2 Subclasses of the Free Clause

There are two subclasses of the free clause: Verbal and Non-verbal. A free clause structure in which there is a predicator or an emphatic element is a verbal clause. A free clause without either of these elements is a non-verbal clause.

B3 Primary Structures: The Verbal Free Clause

Primary structures of the verbal free clause may be classified into two: (i) Basic structures, made up of one or more basic elements of structure; (ii) Subsidiary structures, made up of one or more basic and subsidiary elements of structure. Subsidiary structures may be further classified into: (a) Structures with the emphatic element, (b) Structures with the clause final element, and (c) Structures with the clause initiator.

B3.1 Basic Structures

Basic verbal clause structures are:

SP, SPA, P, PA.

In each structure, there must be one (and not more than one) predicator. There ~~can~~^{can} only be one subject in a clause; but there may be more than one adjunct.

There are two sequence-determined secondary elements ^{derived from} the adjunct: A_1 (initial adjunct) and A_2 (final adjunct).¹

The classes of the group operating as subject and predicator are the nominal group and the verbal group respectively. The main class of the group operating as adjunct is the adverbial group.

¹ The Adjunct in Clause structure is discussed in F2.

Examples of Basic clause structures:

- SP igi .kón wả
 tree one exists
 "There is a tree."
- SPA ó ti ậ kúrỏ điệ điệ
 it has -ing stop little little
 "It's stopping gradually."
- P má. ợ
 not do it
 "Don't do it."
- PA ma sỏn điệ điệ
 continue pay it little little
 "Be paying it by instalments."

B3.11 SP Structure

There are two types of SP structures:

- (i) SP structures with an overt exponent of S;
- (ii) SP structures with a zero exponent of S.

B3.111 Structure with overt exponent of S

An SP structure with an overt exponent of S is marked by a high tone junction which is indicated on the subject.

The junction rules may be stated in terms of modification to the final syllable of the exponent of S.

(i) Final High Tone Syllable: No change.

Ex.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Item as S.</u>
owó "money"	owó wá "there's money"
a arúgbó "an old person"	arúgbó wá n' ílé "there's an old person in the house"

(ii) Final Mid Tone Syllable:→High (except when immediately preceded by a High Tone, in which case, a High Tone syllable is added.)

Ex.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Item as S</u>
ìyẹn "that"	ìyẹn sòro "that is difficult"
àwọn ẹgbẹẹ wọn "their colleagues"	àwọn ẹgbẹẹ wọn ti ñ r' aṣọ .yẹn "their colleagues are already buying that dress"
aláṣọ "the cloth seller"	aláṣọ wá n' íbí "the cloth seller is here"

(iii) Final Low Tone Syllable:→High Tone Syllable (except when immediately preceded by a Low Tone, in which case, it is replaced by a High Tone.Syllable.)

Ex.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Item as S</u>
tíṣà "teacher"	tíṣàá pàdé .mi "the teacher met me"
olúwa rẹ "the person concerned"	olúwa rẹẹ gbọ.dọ sọ 'ra "The person concerned must be careful"
bàtà "shoe"	bàtà ñ tà 'un l' ẹsẹ "his shoes pinch"

For the purpose of rules (ii) and (iii), an assimilated low tone (4.112) operates like a low tone. Hence any syllable preceded by it:→High.

Ex.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Item as S</u>
igi .kõn "a tree"	igi .kõn wà "there's a tree"
obìnrin tí ò fẹ́ '.ke.jí "a woman who doesn't want a partner"	obìnrin tí ò fẹ́ '.ke.jí wà "there are women who dislike the company of other wives"

The SP junction is essential for contrasting different structures in those cases where formal item exponents are otherwise identical.

Ex.

<u>Nominal Group</u>	<u>Clause</u>
* aṣọ tuntun cloth new "a new cloth"	* aṣọ tuntun cloth new "the cloth is new"
(cf. however, * <u>ilé</u> tuntun , which is structurally ambiguous, house new i.e. "a new house" or "the house is new".)	
* * èmi pẹ́lúu wọ̀n I with them "They and I"	* èmí pẹ́lúu wọ̀n "I am with them"

The SP junction does not occur before the preverbs (D3.2):

kò/ò, kí, ìbá, ìbáà, a; nor before the verbs: dà "where is?"; úkó
"how about?". It is optional before the preverbs: yó. and á, and

after the subject that follows the preverb kí.¹

Ex.

ìyẹ̀n ń da

"that's not good"

ẹ̀rò á pọ̀

cf. ìyẹ̀n á dúró

"there will be many people" "that will stand"

owó aṣọ dà

money cloth where is?

"pay the bill for the cloth"

k' ọ̀kùnrin máa

cf. k' ọ̀mọ́ọ́ sá....

should man continue

should child run

"a man should be"

"a child should run away"

When the verbs: kí, pé, ni and the initiators: tí, ńjé are reduplicated as exponents of the verbal elements of structure: r, f (D3.21; D3.4), and the clausal elements of structure: x, I (B3.2; B3.4) respectively, there is an obligatory double exponent of S consisting of two nominal groups, the second of which is a pronoun or nominal group (having a qualifier) (3E). The sequence of these exponents is: Item — Nominal Group — Item — Nominal Group. There is a contour group division (4.1) after the first nominal group.

¹Absence of tonal junction correlates in some cases with a zero third person pronoun subject, and in other cases, with the non-occurrence of a pronoun subject. cf. Rowlands (11), pp. 385-6. The only exception to this correlation is the optional occurrence of the junction in the case of the three preverbs mentioned above.

When the preverb kí "should" is part of the predicator, the SP structure is partially discontinuous, with kí preceding the subject.

Ex.

S

ó yẹ kí àsà nóò // k' ó kúrò l' á.árín wa
 should the custom should it

"It is necessary that the custom should be discontinued among us"

S

èmi ỏ mộ p' á.won imàle // pé wón ñ tẹ 'yọnrin
 say the muslims say they

"I am not aware that the muslims also divine by making marks on sand"

S

b' ón dẹ se ge ni àgùtòn // l' ó bá sá já ỉde
 is sheep is it

"And, as soon as they cut it, a sheep jumped out"

S

àwon iwé tí àwon alàgbaa wa // t' ón kọ
 which our elders which they

"The books written by our elders"

S

ńjẹ bùbá .yẹn // ńjó ó b' áşọ .yẹn mu
 does that blouse does it

"Does that blouse fit in with the rest of the dress?"

B3.112 Structure with a zero exponent of S

The third person singular pronoun subject (E5.12) has a zero exponent before the preverbs (D3.2): kò, kí, ibá, ibáá, yó .

Ex.

kò fέέ rá "He doesn't want to buy"

not want to buy

ibáá j' ọba ni "Even if he is a king"

even if is king is

kí í s' ọjà "It isn't the market"

not -ing is market

B3.2 Subsidiary Structures with the emphatic element

Structures with the emphatic element must have the pre-emphatic element (Z) and a subject.

Primary structures with the emphatic element are:

ZxSP, ZxSPA, ZxS, ZxSA.

B3.21 Class and Subclasses at x

The class of items at x is the verbal group consisting of either one or both of the verbs: ni "is" and kó "is not" with or without any of the preverbs (D3.2): tiẹ, sáá, sí, má, sí, dẹ. These preverbs are characterised by the SP junction when they operate in the predicator. But there is no such junction

The negative verbal group consists of the two verbs: kó and ni (with or without preverbs) in all structures, except the structure ZxS with a zero exponent of the third person pronoun subject (B3.23).

Ex.

ZxSP owó kó l' à ñ bà jé

Money is not is we -ing spoil

"It isn't money that we are wasting"

" gbogbo wa kó l' a dè ma l' ówó sọ̀ọ̀bù

all our is not is we and will have money shop

"And it isn't all of us that can afford to run a shop"

In the structure ZxS with a zero exponent of the third person pronoun subject, the negative verbal group is always kó.

Ex.

owó kó "It isn't money"

Èkó kó "It isn't Lagos"

B3.22 Structures with P

In a structure with a predicator, there are two subclasses of items at Z: positive and negative, based on a system of two terms.

B3.221 The Positive Subclass

The positive subclass consists of a nominal group (other than a pronoun), or an item which may be an adjunct (F1).

When the positive subclass is an exponent of Z, secondary elements of Z may be established on the criterion of concord between Z and the other elements of structure. These secondary elements are: Z^a (in concord with S); Z^b (in concord with P); Z^c (in concord with A) and Z^d (not in concord with any element).

- (i) Secondary structure with Z^a : The exponent of Z^a is a nominal group and the subject with which it is in ^{person} concord is always a pronoun.¹

Ex.

géndé mérin l' ó ñ lọ gbe
 sturdy persons four is he -ing go carry him
 "Four sturdy persons will carry him"

íwo l' o ma kó
 you is you will collect
 "You are the person who will collect your share"

emi ni n ma kó
 I is I will collect
 "I am the person who will collect my share"

- (ii) Secondary structure with Z^b : There are two further secondary elements of Z^b : Z^{b1} and Z^{b2} .

Z^{b1} is in concord with the verbal element of P, and its exponent is a nominal which is a nominalisation of a free verb in the predicator.

¹The concord between Z^a and the subject is similar to that between a nominal head and the subject of its rankshifted clause qualifier. (See E10.11)

Ex.

* mímú ni wọn mú mi

taking is they took me

"The fact is that they arrested me"

Z^{b2} correlates with an absence of a complement in the predicator, or with a third person singular pronoun qualifier within the complement of the predicator. The correlation in the former case is best illustrated by a transitive verb (D4.2) which always takes a complement in an SP clause structure having only one verb (D4.2).

Ex.

2 àwọn sísí t' ó t' Èkó wá ni k' á bi

the fashionable ladies from Lagos is should we ask

"It's the fashionable ladies from Lagos that we ought to ask"

The correlation in the latter case may be exemplified by the clause:

* okùnrin nóò ni wọn gb' aṣọ è

man that is they took cloth his

"It was the man whose cloth they took"

In the case of most fixed verb-nominal collocations (D6.2), the third person pronoun may be dropped in this clause.

Ex.

* èkò ni wọn p' olówó è

type of food is they call seller its

or * èkọ ni wón p' olówó

"Èkọ was the food being hawked"

In a structure with S, there is a possibility of ambiguity between Z^a and Z^{b2} if the subject is a third person pronoun, and if the verb is unmarked (D4.3). The subject may be in concord with Z, in which case, there is a Z^a ; or it may not, in which case, there is a Z^{b2} .²

Ex.

èyin obìnrin l' ó lè mọ

you women is she can know

Z^a _{xSP}: "It's you women that can know"

Z^{b2} _{xSP}: "It's you women that she can know"

(iii) Secondary Structure with Z^c : The exponent of Z^c is a nominal group in concord with the third person singular pronoun qualifier within the complement of a verbal group exponent of the adjunct (F1.2).

Ex.

èyin obìnrin nọ́ọ l' ó wà l' ówọ è
you women that is it is in hand her

"It's all left to you women"

(iv) Secondary structure with Z^d : The exponent of Z^d is a nominal group or an item which may be an adjunct. Whenever any of the preverbs: se, ti or gbé, fi occurs in the verbal group, the Z element is a Z^d .³

²For criteria for resolving this ambiguity, see E10.11.

³For a full account of these preverbs, see D3.24.

Ex.

ìgbà bá.yí l' a lo aṣọ .yí
time such is we used cloth this

"We wore this dress on such and such occasion"

Èkó l' ó ti bèrè

Lagos is it started

"It was in Lagos that it started"

Two items found as Adjunct only in a clause with Z are:

(a) The adverbial groups: .yí "this", and .yẹn "that".

Ex.

t' àwọn àlúfáà l' a ṣẹṣẹ sọ tón .yí ní.síń

"It's the question of clergymen that we've now just finished discussing thus."

àwọn n' ọń ma ñ wàásù kiri .yẹn

"They are the very people who go about preaching."

(b) The rankshifted clause with ni as clause initiator.

Ex.

n' í.gbà tí àwọn ẹ̀nyọ̀n yín wá kí wa n' ọń rí bá a ṣe ñ ṣe //
n' ọń bá lo ñ ṣe é.

"It was when your people came to see us that they saw our customs and copied them"⁴

⁴The structures with these adjuncts point again to the similarity in structure between a clause with the initial emphatic element and a nominal group structure with a rankshifted clause qualifier. In the latter structure, the items in (a) above are qualifiers.



B3.222 The Negative Subclass

The negative subclass consists of the clause: kí í ẹ
"It isn't" with an item from the positive subclass as a complement in its predicator.

Ex.

kí í ẹ gbogbo wọ ni ọ kí í ẹ dáadáa
it isn't all their is not -ing do well
"It isn't all of them that fail to do well."

cf. gbogbo wọ ni ọ kí í ẹ dáadáa
positive "It's all of them that fail to do well."

kí í ẹ n' í.sín níkọ ni kí ní .yẹn wá
in religion alone is thing that is
"It isn't in religion alone that that thing exists."

cf. n' í.sín níkọ ni kí ní .yẹn wá
positive "It's in religion alone that that thing exists."

B3.23 Structures without P

In any structure without a predicator, the nominal group after the emphatic element is the subject.

Ex.

ZxS ọ́ótọ́ n' iyẹn
truth is that
"That's a fact."

ZxSA ǎ̀sa t' ọ̀yínbó n' íyẹn pátápátá
custom of European is that completely
"That's entirely a European custom."

In these structures, the pronoun subject is anomalous because it is of the same series as the pronoun complement (E5.12),

Ex.

ọ̀rẹ́ .mi ni yín
"You are friends of mine."

tişǎ ni mí ọ̀o
"I am a teacher."

and the third person pronoun subject has a zero exponent.

Ex.

ọ̀ótọ́ ni (ZxS)
"It's a fact."

owó kọ (")
"It isn't money."

There are three subclasses of items at Z based on a system of three terms: Positive, Negative, Neutral.

The Positive and the Negative subclasses consist of the same items as in the structures with a predicator.

Ex.

Positive ǎ̀jé ni dọ̀ndọ̀n (ZxSA)
witch is certainly
"She's certainly a witch."

n' ípa ọ̀nọ̀ ọ̀lájú dẹ n' iyeṅ (ZxS)

"That's in the way of a sophisticated person."

Negative kí í s' èniyòn ni wọn (ZxS)

it isn't person is them

"They are not persons."

cf. èniyòn ni wọn
positive

"They are persons."

kí í tiẹẹ sẹ torí arúgbó ni (ZxS)

even reason old person is

"It isn't even because of old persons"

cf. torí arúgbó ni
positive

"It's because of old persons."

The Neutral subclass consists of all rankshifted clauses other than the only one in the negative subclass. These clauses cannot be imperative (B5.11).

When this subclass is an exponent of Z, the only overt exponent of the subject found is iyeṅ "that"; but the zero exponent of the subject is very common.

The emphatic element is always ni (without preverbs) after a rankshifted clause at Z.

Ex.

ZxS wón ti sẹ tón n' iyeṅ

"That means they've finished."

ZxS ara ẹẹ gbó 'nó gōn̄ ni
"The fact is that she's very jealous"

ZxSA wón wá gbe ba n' ílé ni pàápáà
"The fact is that they brought it home for her."

" wón ma k' ówó f' ókọ ni t' ọdún bá dé
"The fact is that they are going to give their husbands
money by festival time."

B3.3 Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element.

The element *o* occurs (i) finally (in any clause structure),
or (ii) between the initial and the final adjunct (only in a clause
structure having a predicator).

Primary structures with the clause final element are:

SPO, SPAO, Po, PAO,
ZxSPO, ZxSPAO, ZxSo, ZxSAO

Two mutually exclusive subclasses of the exponent of the
clause final element can be established:

- (a) The Weak emphatic subclass which is found in verbal as
well as non-verbal clauses.
- (b) The Strong emphatic subclass which is found only in
verbal clauses.

B3.31 The Weak Emphatic subclass

The Weak Emphatic subclass has as its sole exponent the
item òò.

Ex.

SPo mo dú 'pé ỏ

"I am very grateful."

Po má. đã 'rúkọ ỏ

"Don't mention names!"

SPAAo ó dẹ ti ụ sọn diẹ diẹ n' í.sín ỏ

"Things are now improving gradually"

SPAoA ẹmi ỏ lẹ sọ ỏ / torí mīn tí í r' ídí ẹ

"I can't say for sure, since I don't know the cause yet."

ZxSo tíṣà ni mí ỏ

"I am a teacher."

ZxSAo ara ẹ ni sá ỏ

"It's part of it."

ZxSPAo kí l' a ti ma ụ pè é ní ọdọdọ wa ỏ

"What name do we give that in my district?"

The weak emphatic subclass is extremely common with two exponents of the adjunct: sá "really"; and jàre "please".

Ex.

iyón .yẹn dása sá ỏ

"That pounded yam is really very good."

ara ẹ ni sá ỏ

"It's really part of it."

ẹ sẹ ỏ jàre

"Thank you very much."

mi i fɛɛ sɛ mɔ ɔɔ jàre

"Please, I don't want to do it any more."

B3.32 The Strong Emphatic subclass

The strong emphatic subclass consists of a modification of the syllable immediately preceding the clause final element. The rules for such modification are as follows:

(i) Final High or Mid Tone Syllable: + Low Tone Syllable.

Ex.

	<u>Clause</u>	<u>Item Preceding Clause final element</u>
SPo	ó burúú "It's really bad."	burú
	ó dùn ju t' ilé lɔ̀ɔ̀ "It's really better than the home-made stuff."	lɔ̀
ZxSo	ó da gɔn nií	ni

An alternative, though less common, pattern for (i) is:
+ Low and Mid Tone Syllables.

Ex.

SPo	wón ma ñ ko lɔ̀ɔ̀	lɔ̀
	"They do carry them off."	

(ii) Final Low Tone Syllable: + Mid Tone Syllable.

Ex.

Ex.

	<u>Clause</u>	<u>Item Preceding Clause final element</u>
SPo	ó pọọ "It is quite plentiful."	pọ
SPAo	iyá .yén ti sọ tẹlẹ "That woman did give a notice."	tẹlẹ
SPoA	ó sọ̀n̄ / t' ó ba jẹ pé "It's even better if"	sọ̀n̄
ZxSPAo	ẹyin obinrin nọọ l' ó wà l' ówọ ẹẹ "It's really up to you women."	ẹ

The adverb kẹ "really" is always accompanied by the strong emphatic subclass in affirmative clauses (B5.13).

Ex.

SPAo	ó pọ kẹẹ "It's really quite plentiful."
ZxSPAo	òótọ ni mò ń sọ kẹẹ "I'm really speaking the truth."

B3.4 Subsidiary Structures with the Clause Initiator

The clause initiator occurs initially in clause structure.

Primary structures with the clause initiator are:

ISP, ISPA
IZxSP, IZxSPA, IZxS, IZxSA

The exponents of the clause initiator are:

ńjé	"is it a fact that?"
şé	"Is it a fact that?"; "isn't it a fact that?"
şebí, şèbí	"isn't it a fact that?"
ání	"the fact is that"
àşé	"I didn't realise that"
ti, ni	" <u>connective</u> "

Ex.

ISP ńj' á á tó

"Will it be sufficient?"

ş' ẹ m' òkété

"Do you know what a giant rat is?"

IZxS şebí wọn ń k' ájọ ni

"Isn't it a fact that they are raising a fund?"

IZxSP şèb' áşà òyínbó l' à ń tẹ lé

"Isn't it true to say that we follow European customs?"

ISP ání tíşà .yẹn nọọ bọ si

"The title 'teacher' is good enough."

The items ti and ni are clause initiators in rankshifted clauses, the latter in rankshifted clauses after an emphatic element, only (B3.24). The former item is also a clause initiator in a dependent clause (C1(iv)).

(a) Structures without the emphatic element:

(I) (S) P (A) (o)

Structural Restriction: I presupposes S.

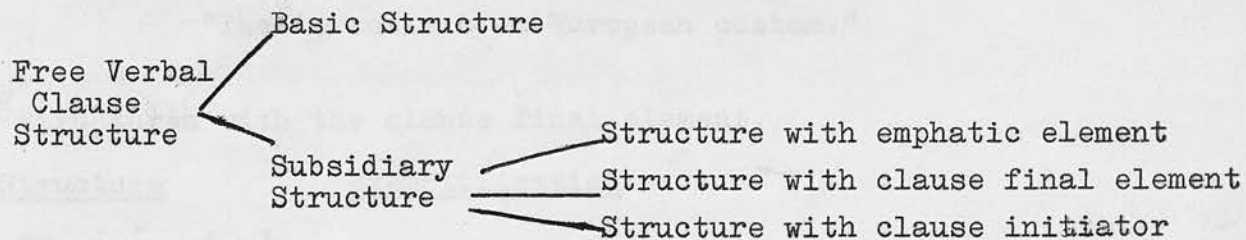
I excludes o.

(b) Structures with the emphatic element.

(I)ZxS(P)(A)(o)

Structural Restriction: I excludes o.

There are twenty-two possible primary structures made up as follows:



(i) Basic Structures

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
SP	igi .kón wả "There's a tree."
SPA	ó ti ñ kúrở điệ điệ "It's stopping gradually."
P	má. ợ "Don't do it."
PA	ma sỏn điệ điệ "Be paying it by instalments."

(ii) Structures with the emphatic element

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
ZxSP	ìyẹn ni ỏ dáa "That is what's bad."
ZxSPA	kí í ẹ gbogbo wọn ni ỏ kí í ẹ dáadáa "It isn't all of them that fail to do well."
ZxS	òótọ n' ìyẹn "That's a fact."
ZxSA	àşa t' ọyínbó n' ìyẹn pátápátá "That's entirely a European custom."

(iii) Structures with the clause final element.

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
SPo	ó pọọ "It's really plentiful."
SPAo	ìyá .yẹn ti sọ tẹlẹẹ "That woman did give a notice."
Po	s' ọrọọ "Do speak."
PAo	máa sọ lọ kẹẹ "Please continue to say it."
ZxSPo	ẹrín l' a fi gb' aşọ .yẹn ỏ "We took the cloth cheerfully."
ZxSPAo	òótọ ni mò ñ sọ kẹẹ "I am really speaking the truth."

ZxSo tíşà ni mí òò
"I am a teacher."

ZxSAo ara ẹ ni şá òò
"It's really part of it."

(iv) Structures with the clause initiator.

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
ISP	ńj' á á tó "Will it be sufficient?"
ISPA	ńj' ọkùnrín tiẹ ń şe n' ínú ẹ "Do men also take part in it?"
IZxSP	şèb' á.şà òyìnbó l' à ń tẹ lé "Don't we follow European custom?"
IZxSPA	ş' óbìnrin l' ó pọ jù n' íbẹ "Are women in the majority there?"
IZxS	ş' ẹni t' ó wà n' í.lú ńlá n' iyẹn "That's for a person in a big town, isn't it?"
IZxSA	ş' ọjà .yẹn sún mó ' .lú ni // tí gbogbo ẹnyọn lẹ lọ máa ra 'ńkọn "Is the market so near the town that all the people could go and buy things?"

B4. Primary Structures: The Non-Verbal Free Clause

The Primary structures of the non-verbal free clause may be classified into: (i) Basic Structures, and (ii) Subsidiary Structures comprising: (a) Structures with the clause final element; (b) Structures with the clause ~~initial element~~ ^{initiator}.

B4.1 Basic Structures

The possible structures are:

S, A, SA, SS

The first two structures occur as free clauses only in a one-element sentence structure (cf. 3B).

Ex.

	(S)	(A)
(ş' ẹ m' òkété) //	họn //	dada
"Do you know what a giant rat is?"	// "Yes".	// "Certainly"

orin //	1' ó.şúpá
"Songs?"//	"In the moonlight?"

(S)	(A)
-----	-----

ọrọ obinrin	(S)
"A discussion about women?"	

The structure SS is formed by two juxtaposed nominal groups within one contour group (4.1). ~~Structurally~~, ^{It may be} ~~it is~~ identical with a nominal group structure consisting of a head plus a nominal qualifier (E5.4) except that there is an optional possibility of a facultative pause between the two elements of the clause when the second element begins in a vowel. In practice, there is usually no ambiguity between the two structures because the clause structure, which in any case is not common,

- (i) tends to have as the first nominal group a set of nominals which do not usually have nominal qualifiers when standing as head in nominal group structure, e.g. ìyèn "that", ìkọ̀n "one", ìmín "another";
- (ii) usually occurs contrastively with one or more of its kind in the same utterance.

Ex.

ìmín ʃòṣì alá.durà // ìmín ʃòṣì onkíní SS // SS
 another church Apostolic

"Some are Apostolic churches, some are whatnot."

ìkọ̀n íbò // ìkọ̀n Yòòbá SS // SS

"One is an Ibo, the other is a Yoruba."

èyí ọ̀kùnrin // èyí obínrin SS // SS
 this man woman

"This one is a man, that one is a woman."

(cf. Nominal Group Structure: èyí ọ̀kùnrin "the one who is a man")

By far the most common exponent of the first element is iyen which usually occurs in single structures. This item is also the only subject found in the text for the structure SA.

Ex.

SS iyēn̄ 'kɔn

"That's one."

SSo iyen b' á.wa Yòòbá ʒe ri òo

"That's how we Yorubas see it."

SA iyen l' ó.nò .kɔn

"That's one way of looking at it."

SAo iyen n' í.lú ñlá òo

"That's only in a big town."

B4.2 Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element

Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element are:

So, Ao, SSo, SAo

The only exponent of the clause final element in non-verbal clauses is the weak emphatic subclass (B3.3) which is expounded by òo in all clauses, except the vocative clause (C2.121).

Ex.

So àmín òo

"Amen!"

SSo ìkɔn haúsá òo

"One is a Hausa."

SAo iyen n' í.lú ñlá òo

"That's only in a big town."

B4.3 Subsidiary Structures with the clause initiator

Subsidiary Structures with the clause initiator are:

IS, IA, ISS, ISA

As in verbal clauses, the clause initiator occurs initially in non-verbal clauses. There is a difference, however, in the permissible range of exponents. The initiators: ti and ni do not occur in non-verbal clauses, and in the structures IS, IA, the only clause initiator that occurs is şé.

Ex.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| IS | şé imàle
"Is it a Muslim?" |
| IS | şé inóq epo pupa
"Is it an oil Lamp?" |
| IA | şé n' í.lúu wa
"Is it in our town?" |
| ISS | * şèbí iyēn 'kọn
"Isn't that one?" |

B5 Systems: The Verbal Free Clause

There are two systems of the verbal free clause: Mood and Emphasis.

B5.1 Mood

The system of Mood consists of two terms: Imperative and Non-Imperative. The latter term consists of two further terms: Affirmative and Interrogative.

B5.11 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is expounded by imperative clauses which display a two-term system of number: Singular and Plural.¹

A singular imperative clause is any verbal clause without a subject (i.e. P, Po, PA, PAo).

A plural imperative clause is a clause having a second person plural pronoun subject in addition to the other elements of a singular imperative clause. (For ambiguity between a plural imperative clause and an affirmative clause, See B5.13)

Ex.

<u>Singular</u>	P	lọ sí ʃọ̀bũ bá.yí	"Go to such and such a shop."
	Po	má. dá 'rúkọ ọo	"Don't mention names!"
	PA	ma sọn díẹ díẹ	"Be paying it by instalments."
	PAo	máa sọ lọ kẹẹ	"Please continue to say it."

¹cf. Westermann's treatment of a similar feature in Ewe, Westermann (26), p.76.

Plural SP ẹ gbọ
you hear
"Listen!"

SPo ẹ jọwọ ọo
"Please!"

SPAo ẹ ba mi rà n' íbí ọo
"Please buy from my stock."

The following restrictions in exponence apply to imperative clauses:

- (i) Verbal groups with restricted preverbs (D3.21), or with the verbal particle (D3.1), do not occur as exponents of P.
- (ii) Unless preceded by certain preverbs (D3.23, D3.3 note 1), the negator má. and the bound verb máa or ma occur only in imperative clauses.

Ex.

ma sọn díẹ díẹ "Be paying it by instalments."

ẹ má. ẹ b'á. yí' "Don't behave like this."

- (iii) The verbal groups: jọwọ "please", kú "verb in greetings", and pẹlẹ "greeting" are found only in imperative clauses.

Ex.

ẹ jọwọ ọo "Please!"

k' á. árọ ọo "Goodmorning!"

pẹlẹ "Accept my sympathy"

B5.12 Non-Imperative Mood: Interrogative

At any place in structure where the clausal elements: I, Z, P and A occur in a clause structure with a subject, the class of items at each place may be grouped into two subclasses: a subclass of "question" items and a subclass of "non-question" items.

An interrogative clause is one having a question item. (There can only be one question item in each interrogative clause.)

There are four subclasses of Interrogative clauses:

- (i) Clauses with I Question Items;
- (ii) Clauses with Z Question Items;
- (iii) Clauses with P Question Items; and
- (iv) Clauses with A Question Items.

B5.121 Clauses with I Question Items

The question items at I are: sé, ńjé, sebí, sebí (B3.4).

Contextually, ńjé occurs in "non-rhetorical" questions (i.e. questions demanding an answer). This answer is either positive or negative. It is usually negative after a positive question, and positive after a negative question.¹

Ex.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answer</u>
ńjé 'ńkōn 're n' iyen "Is that a good thing?"	iyen o da "That's bad"
ńj' okunrin tiẹ n' se n' inu e gon "Do men even take part in it?"	okunrin nofo n' see "Men do take part."
ńjé ko tiẹ tun nif s' ajèji "Won't it even be strange?"	(No Answer)

¹cf. Ward (16), p.117.

The items: ṣebí and ṣèbí occur in rhetorical questions (i.e. questions which do not demand a reply).

Ex.

ṣebí wọn ñ k' á.jọ ni

"They are organising a thrift fund, aren't they?"

ṣèb' á.ṣà òyínbó l' à ñ tẹ lé

"We follow European customs, don't we?"

The item ṣé occurs in both types of questions.

Ex.

<u>Question</u>	<u>Answer</u>
ṣ' ẹ m' òkété	hòń // dada
"Do you know what a giant rat is?"	"Yes!" "Certainly!"
ṣé ojú dẹ tí là	
"People are now sophisticated, aren't they?"	
ṣé 'ṣé .mín wà	
"There's another job, isn't there?" ²	

B5.122 Clauses with Z Question Items

The question items at Z are, or have in their structure, nominal groups with the following items as head or qualifier:

kí	ta	èwo, .wo	èló	mé.ló	ibo
----	----	----------	-----	-------	-----

"what?"; "who?"; "Which?"; "how much - price?"; "how many?"; "where?";

Ex.

kí l' ẹ ma ñ ṣe

"What do you usually do?"

²With the exception of the items noted in this section, question items usually occur in non-rhetorical questions.

ta n' ijo

"Who are church members?"

èwo l' ó wá yá jù

"Which is better?"

òrò .wo l' ọkùnrin ma ñ sọ

"What sort of discussion do men have?"

èlò ni wọn ñ gbà l' ósú

"How much are they paid monthly?"

ènyọn mé.ló l' ó rí

"How many people saw it?"

n' íbo ni k' á.wọn t' ó kù yá sí

"Where should the rest turn to?"

B5.123 Clauses with P Question Items

The question items at P are verbal groups with:

- (a) the preverbs: se, ti; and a combination of ti "has" and i "yet" as tí i.

Ex.

ó se jé pé/iyẹn n' iwó rí

"Why is it that you saw only that one?"

* ó ti jé

"How is it?"

* ó tí i sé nọ

"Has he done it yet?" ¹

¹Except in this interrogative clause, the preverbs: se, ti are found only in rankshifted clauses (D3.24). The basic structure of this interrogative clause is obviously related to the structure ZxSP(A), with bá.wo or kí as Z; e.g. bá.wo l' o se (ti) jé, or kí l' ó se jé . . .
 "How is it that?"
 (contd. on p.73)

(b) the free verbs: dá "where is?"; ńkó "what about?";
gbó (only with the subject ń).

Ex.

owó aṣọ dá

"Where is the price of the cloth?" (i.e. "Pay the bill for the cloth")

àwon tí ọ bí 'mọ .wọnyẹn ńkó

"What about those without children?"

t' ọ bá k' ówó lọ ńkó

"What about if he embezzles the money?" (i.e. "Suppose he embezzles the money!")

ń gbó

"What do you think?"²

B5.124 Clauses with A Question Items

The question items at A are: bí, don, "is it a fact that?"

Ex.

* ọ tóbi bí

"Is it big?"

* wọn ń s' ọrọ don

"Are they talking?"

1 (contd. from p.72)

The interrogative clause with tí í is always positive.

The verbal item ha (cf. Ward (16), p.118; Abraham (1), p.260) is excluded from the above list, because it is considered a dialectal form.

² The subject before ńkó may be a nominal group, a clause or an item capable of operating as an adjunct.

B5.13 Non-Imperative Mood: Affirmative

Non-imperative clauses which are not interrogative are affirmative. An affirmative clause may be a statement or a question. It has been suggested¹ that the contrast between two affirmative clauses, the one a statement, the other a question, may be described in terms of a register difference. It is observed in the text, however, that both statements and questions occur on normal as well as high registers. It is difficult to say accurately whether an affirmative clause is a statement or a question, if it is heard in isolation. The crucial factors of contrast appear to be both context and co-text.² But there is one relevant formal feature — an affirmative clause having a clause final element can only be a statement.

Ex.

(i) Question

(a) With co-text (as supplementary question after an interrogative clause)

(kí l' ẹ ma ñ ẹ) // ẹ ñ ẹ bojúbojú

"What do you do?" "You play 'hide and seek'?"

(t' ó bá tún ma bí '.míń ñkó) // á á b~~i~~ fun: ẹlòmíń

"What about if she's going to have another child?
Will it be born to another man?"

¹cf. Ward (16), p.118; Carnochan (4).

²An experiment conducted with a group of native speakers of Yoruba confirms that both statements and questions occur on either register. But the probability of a clause on a normal register being taken as a statement, and of a clause on a high register being taken as a question when heard in isolation, is about 3:1 and 2:1 respectively. These ratios show that register difference is significant. But it is not a clear-cut exponent of the statement/question contrast.

(ibi mé.ló ni) // sinnimá wà n' í.lú .mi

"How many places? ~~There isn't~~ ^{is there} a cinema in my village?
~~is there?~~"

(b) Context only

ẹ ẹ n' írúú 'yẹn

"You don't have that type?"

elé.yí sáà ñ dùn ẹ sá

"This one just hurts you, doesn't it?"

o ỏ rí mi ni

"Don't you see me?"

(ii) Statement

ìyẹn sòro

"That's difficult."

ìyẹn ni ỏ da

"That's what is bad."

ó burúú

"It's really bad."

ìwa ẹ ỏ da nọọ ni

"That too means that he has no character."

When there is no verb in the predicator marking a basic clause structure having a second person plural subject as either definitely imperative or definitely non-imperative, there is an ambiguity between the imperative clause and the affirmative clause.

Ex.

- (a) Imperative: "Listen!"
ẹ gbó
- (b) Affirmative: "You heard."

cf. the negative verbal group in the two clauses:

- (a) Imperative: ẹ má. gbó "Don't listen."
(b) Affirmative: ẹ ỏ gbó "You didn't hear."

B5.2 Emphasis

The system of Emphasis consists of two terms: Emphatic; Non-Emphatic. Clauses with the emphatic element and/or the clause final element are emphatic. Clauses without either of these elements are non-emphatic.

B5.21 Emphatic Clauses

There are two subclasses of emphatic clauses: (i) Emphatic clauses with an emphatic element, which involve an element-type emphasis; and (ii) Emphatic clauses with a clause final element, which involve a clause-type emphasis.

B5.211 Element -type Emphasis

In the element-type emphasis, the pre-emphatic element is marked for emphasis. This emphasis may be positive or negative. A positive emphasis involves a positive verbal group exponent of the emphatic element and a positive or neutral subclass of items at Z. A negative emphasis involves a negative verbal group exponent of the emphatic element or a negative subclass of items at Z.

If the emphatic clause has a predicator, there is a corresponding non-emphatic clause; and the pre-emphatic element is, or contains, an item from the non-emphatic clause.

Ex.

<u>Emphatic Clause</u>	<u>Non-Emphatic Clause</u>
<u>(i) Positive Emphasis</u>	
<u>iyen</u> ni ọ́ d́áá	<u>iyen</u> ọ́ d́áá
"That is what's not good."	"That's not good."
<u>Ékó</u> l' ọ́ ti bẹ̀rẹ̀	ọ́ bẹ̀rẹ̀ l' <u>É.kó</u>
"It was in Lagos that it started."	"It started in Lagos."
<u>(ii) Negative Emphasis</u>	
<u>owó</u> kọ́ l' ǎ́ ñ b́à jẹ́	ǎ́ ñ b' <u>owó</u> jẹ́
"It isn't money that we are wasting."	"We are wasting money."
<u>kiíí</u> ẹ́ ẹ́gbogbo wọ́n ni ọ́ kiíí ẹ́ ẹ́ dáádáá	<u>ẹ́gbogbo wọ́n</u> ọ́ kiíí ẹ́ ẹ́ dáádáá
"It isn't all of them that fail to do well."	"All of them fail to do well."

The emphatic equivalent of an imperative clause is a non-imperative clause with the preverb kí in the predicator.

Ex.

<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Non-Emphatic</u>
<u>díè</u> díè ni k' oama sọ́n	ma sọ́n <u>díè</u> díè
"It's by instalments that you should be paying it."	"Be paying it by instalments"

The emphatic clause with this preverb can also have a non-imperative, non-emphatic equivalent.

Ex.

Emphatic

awon sisí t' ó t' Ékó wá ni
k' á bi

"It's the fashionable ladies
from Lagos that we should ask."

Non-Emphatic

k' á bi awon sisí t' ó
t' Ékó wá

"We should ask the fashion-
able ladies from Lagos."

The following emphatic clauses with a predicator have no non-emphatic clause equivalent:

- (a) Clauses with a Z question item (B5.121);
- (b) The clause with the item se or ńse as Z (see below).

If the emphatic clause has no predicator, there is no corresponding non-emphatic term.

Ex.

Emphatic

(i) Positive Emphasis ńótọ n' iyẹn

"That's a fact."

(ii) Negative Emphasis kí í s' ẹniyọ̀n ni wọ̀n

"They aren't persons."

As an exception to emphatic clauses without a predicator, an emphatic clause with a neutral subclass of items at Z may have a non-emphatic equivalent term, if the subject is zero.

Ex.

Emphatic

wọn ní ẹyẹ ni

"The fact is that they have
(witches') birds."

wọn fi ń s' ọwò ni

"The fact is that they commercial-
ise it."

Non-Emphatic

wọn ní ẹyẹ

"They have witches' birds."

wọn fi ń s' ọwò

"They commercialise it."

2 As an alternative to the emphatic clause immediately above, the emphatic clause with the item se or ńse as Z which is defective in the non-emphatic term is often substituted.

Ex.

se l' a máa lo aṣọ .yẹn

(cf. a máa lo aṣọ .yẹn ni)

"The fact is that we are going to make use of that dress."

ńse n' ọń ma lù ẹ pa

(cf. wọn ma lù ẹ pa ni)

"The fact is that they will flog you to death."

Since imperative clauses cannot be exponents of Z (B3.23), the alternative emphatic clause having se or ńse as Z is the only possible emphatic equivalent of an imperative clause in this case.

Ex.

Emphatic

ńse ni k' o lọ f' ọkùnrin

"The fact is that you should go
and marry."

Non-Emphatic

lọ f' ọkùnrin

"Go and marry."

B5.212 Clause-type Emphasis

In the clause-type emphasis, the ^{whole} ~~part~~ of the clause ~~before~~ ~~the clause-final element~~ is marked for emphasis.

There are two types of emphasis: Weak and Strong.

A Weak emphasis involves the Weak emphatic subclass of the clause final element (B3.31).

Ex.

<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Non-Emphatic</u>
mo dú 'pé òò "I am very grateful."	mo dú 'pé "I am grateful."
má. dá 'rúkọ òò "Don't mention names!"	má. dá 'rúkọ "Don't mention names!"
ìyẹ̀n sọ̀ro òò "That's quite difficult,"	ìyẹ̀n sọ̀ro "That's difficult."

A Strong emphasis involves the strong emphatic subclass of the clause final element (B3.32).

Ex.

<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Non-Emphatic</u>
ó burúù "It's really bad."	ó burú "It's bad."
ìyá .yẹ̀n ti sọ̀ tẹ̀lẹ̀ "That woman did give a notice."	ìyá .yẹ̀n ti sọ̀ tẹ̀lẹ̀ "That woman gave a notice."
ó dàà "It's quite good."	ó da "It's good."

B5.213 Double Emphasis

Both the element-type and the clause-type emphasis may be found in the same emphatic clause. Such a clause is then said to have a double emphasis.

Ex.

gbogbo ènyọn nọ́ 1' ó fẹ́ẹ s' akápòò (ZxSPo)

"It's everybody that really wants to be the treasurer."

ó da gōn̄ nií (ZxSo)

"The fact is that it's really very good."

tíṣà ni mí ọ̀ (ZxSo)

"I am a teacher."

B6 Systems: The Non-Verbal Free Clause

The systems in non-verbal clauses are: Mood and Emphasis.

B6.1 Mood

The system of mood is a two-term system consisting of the terms: Interrogative and Affirmative.

B6.11 Interrogative Mood

A clause with a question item is an interrogative clause.

Question items in non-verbal clauses are: clause initiators, and interrogative items in nominal group structure. (cf. Z Question Items B5.122).

Ex.

ṣé inḡo epo pupa

"Is it a palm-oil lamp?"

l' ó.nḡ .wo

"In which way?"

B6.12 Affirmative Mood

Non-verbal clauses which are not interrogative are affirmative. Like affirmative verbal clauses, affirmative non-verbal clauses may be statements or questions.

Ex.

(i) Question

orin // l' ó.ṣùpá

"Songs?" "In the moonlight?"

l' álaalé

"Every evening?"

(ii) Statement

dada

"Very well."

iyen bé ẹ

"That's so!"

B6.2 Emphasis

There is a clause-type emphasis in non-verbal clauses, involving the weak emphatic subclass of the clause final element. The two terms in the system are: Emphatic; Non-Emphatic.

Ex.

Emphatic

ẹn ọo

"Yes!"

ìyẹn n' í.lú ńlá ọo

"Surely, that's in a big town."

Non-Emphatic

ẹn

"Yes."

ìyẹn n' í.lú ńlá

"That's in a big town."

3C THE CLAUSE : DEPENDENT

A Clause that operates at β in a two-element sentence structure is a dependent clause. Both the dependent clause and the free clause that follows it in the sentence must be in an utterance by the same speaker. Since all clauses are potentially free in a one-element sentence structure (B3), the structures of dependent clauses are already accounted for by the statement of free clause structures.

Dependent clauses may be verbal or non-verbal.

C1 Verbal Dependent Clauses

The following is a complete list of the types of verbal dependent clauses:

- (i) The clause with the preverbs: kí, tóó "before"; ibáà "even if".

Ex.

$\beta\alpha$ k' ó tóó tó wákàtí mé.jí // kò níí rọ́ dada mó

it reaches hour two

"In about two hours, it won't be quite sticky any more."

k' é.yin tóó lẹ́ dá 'rí jí // mà á rí pé

"Before you can forgive, I will see that"

ibáà j' ọ́ba ní // á á pa 'nu mó

"Even if he's a king ... he will keep quiet."

β ibáà máa s' àkùkọ //

"Even if he belongs to the 'Cock' party, "

(ii) The clause having the preverb ibá "would have" is a dependent clause before another clause having the same preverb in a sentence structure with only one dependent clause. (However, when the predicator of the clause is ibá je pé or ibá se pé "if it is the case that", the clause is always a dependent clause, and it may occur in a sentence structure with more than one dependent clause.)

Ex.

~~βx~~ * ñ 'bá l' ówó l' ówó // ñ 'bá rá 'wé .kọn

"I would have had money, I would have bought a book."

i.e. "If I had money, I would have bought a book."

* íbá se pé wọn wá // à 'bá rí wọn

"If they had come, we would have seen them."

(iii) The clause k' á ní ... "We should say...", i.e. "if".

Ex.

~~βx~~ k' á n' ón ma kọ 'lé ñ.sín // ilé t' ón ti wá .yẹn n'
ón ma kọ 'lé sí

"If they wish to put up a building, they will do so in their home town."

k' á ní '.kọn n' ínúu wá jẹ 'màle ni // à 'bá rí 'ńkọn
t' ọ wá n' íbẹ

"If one of us were a Muslim, we would have seen the faults."

(iv) The clause with the clause initiator tí. The preverb bá "happen to" is obligatory in the predicator of this clause, unless the clause is immediately preceded by another clause with

the same initiator.¹

Ex.

(a) Without preceding clause

~~β~~ t' ó bá d' ójò ọdún // wọn á lọ k' áşọ wọ

"When it is festival day, they will go and get wekl dressed."

tó o bá ti şe mę.ta .yẹn // ó ti pa 'rí

"If you've done those three, it's finished."

(b) With preceding clause

(1) With preverb bá:

~~β~~ t' ọń bá kọ 'rin .yẹn tọn ọo // t' ọń bá wá ń lọ 'lé //
á á sìn wọn

"When they finish singing that song and get ready to go home,
she will see them off."

(2) Without preverb bá:

~~β~~ t' ó bá ti d' ągbà // t' ó tóó fò....

"As soon as it is old enough, and can fly"

t' éyẹ bá ẹẹ fò ẹẹ // tí ọ r' íbi wọ

"And if the bird flies back and finds nowhere to enter"

(v) The compound sentence structure with the linkers: yálà ,...
tàbí linking clauses with the emphatic element is rankshifted
as a dependent clause (cf. A1).

¹This clause probably results from a dropping of the nominal head igba "time" from a nominal group with a rankshifted qualifier.

cf. igbà tá a bá sé tọn "When we finish doing it."
tá a bá sé tọn "If or when we finish doing it."

Ex.

β yálàà íbò ni é ni òo // tàbíi Yòrùbá ni òo // tàbíi Haúsá
ni òo //

"Whether you are an Ibo, or a Yoruba, or a Hausa,...."

In this compound structure, there may be a zero exponent of the linkers.

Ex.

βα ó lọ sí ọ̀ọ̀sì ni òo // ó lọ ipàdé akọrin ni òo //
kò lọ ni òo // kò sí 'ńkọn t' ó lè sẹ

"Whether or not he goes to the church or to the choir practice, nothing can happen to him."

C2 Non-Verbal Dependent Clauses

Non-verbal dependent clauses are of the basic structure S or A or the subsidiary structure with either of these basic elements and the clause final element.

C2.1 Dependent Clauses, Structure S or So

There are two secondary classes of dependent clauses:

(i) Concordial Clauses; (ii) Non-Concordial Clauses.

C2.11 Concordial Clauses

Concordial clauses are dependent clauses in concord with the following free clause in the sentence structure.

There are two further secondary classes of concordial clauses: P-Concordial and C-Concordial.

C2.111 P-Concordial Clauses

In a P-Concordial clause, there is a concord between the dependent clause and a pronoun (or very rarely a noun, usually a pronominal (E5.121)) in the free clause.

Ex.

βα àwọn iyá arúgbó // wón á wá s' ójà

"The old women; they will come to the market."

iṣu apá Àkókó .yẹn // ó da dada

The yams from Akoko; it is very good

"The yams from Akoko are very good."

nṅkọn tẹ ẹ sọ .yẹn // òótọ ni (clause in concord with zero subject E3.23)

What you say; it is a fact

"What you say is true."

èyí t' ó bá mu lọ s' inú igbó // iyen l' ó l' ọmọ

The one that takes her to the bush, it's that who owns the baby

"It's the one that takes her to the bush that owns the baby."

ββα àwọn t' ó ń lọ si (school) // àwọn tíṣà t' ó ń kọ wọn // wón ká 'rìi won

Those who go to school; the teachers who teach them; they are enough for them.

‡ There are enough teachers to go round the pupils."

C2.112 C-Concordial Clauses

In a C-Concordial clause, the concord is between the clause and a following clause with an emphatic element. The C-Concordial clause is expounded by a nominal group whose head word is a nominalisation of the predicator in the rankshifted clause qualifier (E10.1).

Ex.

~~β~~ * rírí t' ó rí mi // ñṣe l' ó sá já ' .de

seeing that he saw me

"On seeing me, the fact is that he rushed out."

C2.12 Non-Concordial Clauses

Non-concordial clauses are dependent clauses not in concord with the following free clause in the sentence structure.

There are two subclasses of non-concordial clauses: Vocative Clauses and Introductory Clauses.

C2.121 Vocative Clauses

Vocative clauses are non-concordial clauses which have the item ò as the exponent of their clause final element.

Contextually, a vocative clause is a nominal group of address.

Ex.

~~β~~ mà má mi // kúú 'lé

mother my greeting on getting back home

"Mother, glad to see you on my return."

Oyin // iyón ànó ñkó

personal name

"Oyin, what about the pounded yam left overnight?"

* gbogbo ará ayé ò // bà bá ọ bá ti ọ run dé ọ

all inhabitants world

"Attention everybody! The king's father is back from heaven."

C2.122 Introductory Clauses

Non-concordial clauses other than vocative clauses are introductory clauses.

Contextually, introductory clauses are mainly exclamations, e.g. en (I agree), à (exclamation of surprise), yéè "Alas!", o (I agree).

Ex.

~~ba~~ en // ó da kẹ̀

"Yes; it's really quite good."

en // iyen ó da

"No; that's bad."

à // iyen da

"Of course; that's good."

yéè // mo dú 'pé ò

"What a relief! I am very grateful."

o // ó sé

"Yes, you did it."

"Yes; thank you."

C2.2 Dependent Clauses, Structure A or Ao

Exponents of the Adjunct operating as dependent clauses are either adverbial groups, nominal groups or verbal groups (F1).

(i) Adverbial Groups: Adverbial groups are not common.

Ex.

Ex.

~~β~~ dondon // mà á bá wọn lọ

"Certainly, I'll go with them."

téléletélé // ó dà bí ẹni pé ...

"Originally it appeared as if"

- (ii) Verbal Groups: Verbal group exponents of the Adjunct as β are listed in Fl.2. The most common of them is the verb ní "in, on" plus complement.

Ex.

~~β~~ n' í.lú òyínbó .yí òò // ó pé t' ọ́n tí ñ kírí

"In this country of the Europeans, it's a long time since people have been hawking wares."

~~ββ~~ l' áyé àtijó // n' í.gbà t' ọ́n kọkọ bẹrẹ aṣọ ẹbi .yẹn // ó dà

"In the past, when the custom of buying 'family dress' was first introduced, it was good."

~~β~~ * ju gbogbo .ẹ lọ // a gbọ.dọ mọ pé

exceed all it go

"Above all, we must know that ,..."

kàkà t' ó ma fi jẹ 'kọn // k' ó kúkú jẹ mé.jí me.jí

rather
than

"Rather than being one, should there be two?"

- (iii) Nominal Groups: These are:

- (a) Nominal groups with the nominals bí, "like", títí "until" and the nominal beginning with the item àfi "except" as head.

Ex.

Ex.

Bx b' ó s' òkèlè mé.jî péré // olúwa è á bù

"Even if it's only two morsels, the person will have a bite."

b' ọ́n bá ti ní 'n̄kōn se // wọn á gb' ára jọ pọ

"Whenever they have something to do, they will get together."

b' í.yàwó .yẹn bá bí 'mọ // á á pa ọmọ .yẹn

"If that wife has a baby, she will kill it."

b' ó ti wù kí wọn pa ẹlòmíń tó // wọn ní l' á.ti mú
ọmọ wọn

"No matter how they (witches) may kill others, they must
kill children of theirs."

bí ẹnikòòkọn wa kẹ // ó dẹ yẹ k' á

"As individuals too, it is necessary that we"

* tí tí ọ̀şù .kọn // yó. pa dà wá

"In about a month, he will come back."

áf' ảwọn t' ó tún ma ụ ta ráí sí // ó tọn

"Those selling rice excepted, there aren't any others."

- (b) Nominal groups with the nominal tori "reason" or
t' òótó "of a truth" as head.

Ex.

Bx torí nọ̀ ò // k' ó jẹ

"For that reason, he should be"

t' òótó ọ̀ // ẹ́ dá ni wọn

"Admittedly, they are fellow creatures."

(c) Nominal groups of time of the structure head plus
qualifier.

Ex.

βd ìgbà .mín // ajá á mu
time another

"At other times, the dog will catch it."

òsẹ .kọn // wọn í ñ jọ 'jó ẹgbẹ
week one

"For a week, they will still be carrying on the age-group
dance."

ọjọ .kọn // igi .kọn wà
day one

"At a certain time, there was a tree."

C3 Combination of Dependent Clauses

In the same sentence structure, combinations of dependent
clauses of different structures occur.

Ex.

(i) Verbal + Verbal

βd t' é.ńyọn bá gun // k' ó tóó tó wákàtí mé.jí //
kò níí rọ dada mó

"If one pounds it, in about two hours, it won't be quite
sticky any more."

(ii) Non-verbal (S) + Non-verbal (A)

βd à // n' íla.ró pàápàá // ọja alẹ n' ọń ma ñ nó

"Yes! Even in Ilaro town, people go to the market in
the evening."

(iii) Verbal + Non-verbal (A)

ββββ tí ɲ bá wò ó òò // n' í.lú .mi // ọ̀pọ̀lọ.pọ̀ èniyọ̀n
l' ó n'í.yàwó púpọ̀ òò

"If I consider it, I can say that most of the men in my village have more than one wife."

(iv) Verbal + Verbal + Verbal

ββββ kò 'báà wà n' ílé ọkọ ẹ // t' ọ̀n bá fẹ́ẹ̀ sẹ 'n̄kọ̀n //
t' ọ̀n bá í tí ì ri // w̄n̄ níí sẹ̀

"Even if she is in the husband's home, if they have to do anything, they won't do it unless they ask her."

(v) Non-verbal (A) + Non-verbal (S) + Non-verbal (S)

ββββ n' í.jẹ̀bú .yẹ̀n pàápàá // àw̄n̄ 'màle // ọ̀şù .kọ̀n //
w̄n̄ ì ñ j' íjó ẹgbé

"Even in Ijebu district, Muslims carry on the age group dance for more than a month."

3D THE GROUP : VERBAL

The verbal group is that class of the group that operates as the predicator in clause structure.¹

D1 Primary Elements of Structure

Primary elements of structure of the verbal group may be classified into:

- (a) verbal elements, whose exponents are verbs;
- (b) a nominal element, the exponent of which is a rankshifted nominal group.

The verbal elements are: η , r, b, f, p with the verbal exponents: verbal particle, preverb, bound verb, free verb and post verb respectively.

The nominal element is the complement (C).

D2 Primary Structures

Primary structures of the verbal group are subject to the following restrictions:

- (i) The element f is obligatory in every structure;
- (ii) No element of structure excludes any other element;
- (iii) η presupposes an immediately following verbal element other than p.
- (iv) Every C presupposes an immediately preceding verbal element other than η or r.

¹The emphatic element (B3.21) is expounded by the verbal group. A few exponents of the verbal group are also found at A, and as rankshifted qualifiers in nominal group structure (E10.2).

(v) The sequence of elements is as follows:

r precedes b and f;

p follows b and f ;

b and f may occur in either sequence;

η immediately precedes or follows r, b or
a secondary element of f (D3.41);

⊙ may precede or follow any element, except that
it may not precede r.

(vi) There can be more than one of each element of structure,
except η .

In all, there are 32 primary structures. These are listed
and exemplified in D7.

D3 Classes of Verbs

The classes of verbs are: verbal particle, preverb, bound
verb, free verb and post verb.

D3.1 The Verbal Particle

The verbal particle has the exponent ń before the verb
which immediately follows it, and an optional junction consisting
of an addition of a high tone syllable to this verb or its complement,
if another verb follows it.

Ex.

(i) Without following verb

wón tié ń kọ 'rin dada
P
"They even sing well."

ojú dè tì n' là n' í.sín
P

"And people are now getting sophisticated."

(ii) With following verb

(a) Without optional exponent

wón n' f' okón si

"They concentrate on it."

n̄kón tì n' yí pa dà

"Things have started to change."

(b) With optional exponent

wón n' f' okón si gōn (cf. example above)

"They really concentrate on it."

ẹ n' f' ojú t' okùnriń wò ó (cf. okùnrin)

"You are considering it from a man's point of view."

aşo bẹ n' gbóó lo (cf. gbó)

"Her clothes are getting worn out."¹

The marked form of the first and second person pronouns (E5.12) occurs as subject only before the verbal particle.

Ex.

(i) Marked Pronoun Subject

à n' ẹ bojúbojú

"We play 'hide and seek'."

n̄kón tí mò n' ẹ

"What I am doing."

¹After the negator kí (D3.23), the exponent of the verbal particle is í. Ex.: a à kí í ẹ bẹ ẹ "We don't do that."

(ii) Unmarked Pronoun Subject

a ñ s' òkú

"We are engaged in funeral ceremonies."

e ñ f' ojúu t' òkùnriń wò ó

"You are considering it from a man's point of view."

Certain preverbs exclude the verbal particle (D3.21); and others involve certain restrictions when occurring with it (D3.22). In combinations of more than one free verb, the particle usually precedes the first free verb or, in the case of a secondary class of free verbs (D3.41), it precedes either the first or the second free verb.

D3.2 The Preverb

The preverb is the class of verbs that must be followed by a free verb, and cannot be preceded by a free or a bound verb in verbal group structure.

There are three subclasses of preverbs:

- (i) Restricted Preverbs;
- (ii) Unrestricted Preverbs;
- (iii) Negators.

D3.21 Restricted Preverbs

Restricted preverbs are mutually exclusive, They do not operate in imperative clauses, and they exclude the verbal particle.¹

¹Two exceptions to these restrictions are the preverbs: kí which does not exclude ba and tóó; and bá which does not exclude máa, níf (in rankshifted clauses only, D3.24) and the verbal particle.

The full list of restricted preverbs is as follows:

ìbá	"would/should/could have"
bá	"happen to"
ba	" <u>preverb after kí</u> "
ìbáà	"even if"
gbọ.dọ	"must"
yó., ó.	"will"
á	"will"
máa, ma	"to be going to"
a	" <u>habitual preverb</u> "
kí	"should"
tóó	" <u>preverb after kí</u> "
níí	"will" " <u>preverb after kò,ò</u> "

Ex.

à 'bá rí 'ńkọn t' ó wà n' íbẹ

"We would have seen what's there."

t' ó bá d' ọjọ ọdún

"When it is festival day,"

ìbáà j' ọba ni

"Even if he's a king."

k' ó ba lẹ ma gún 'yọn n' íbí

"So that she may prepare pounded yam here."

ó gbọ.dọ mọ ẹ ohun tí : èniyọn fẹ

"He must know what one likes."

ènì yọn ó. ri pé

"One will see that"

wón á ní

"They will say"

òjọ ma rọ

"It's going to rain."

* wón a máa lọ s' óko

"They usually go to the farm."

k' ó má. kúkú sẹ rárá

"He shouldn't do it at all."

k' ó tóó mọ
 know

"Before he knows."

ínwọ́ ẹ ọ níí pọ

"His expenses won't be excessive."

D3.22 Unrestricted Preverbs

Unrestricted preverbs do not exclude any preverb, and do not exclude the verbal particle.

The full list is as follows:

(A) Can be preceded or followed by the verbal particle.

(i) Can be preceded by the verbal particle only after the negator kí:-

(a) Two exponents of η obligatory:

tiẹ "even"

sáá "just"

tún "again"

kókó; kọ "first"

mà	" <u>emphatic preverb</u> "
sì; dè	"and; in addition"
kòn	"only"
kúkú	"rather"
sì; ì	"still"
dédé	"just by chance"
ti	"have"
ti; gbé	} " <u>preverbs in</u> <u>rankshifted</u> <u>clauses</u> " (D3.24)
fi	
şe	

(b) Two exponents of η optional:

túnbò	"further"
şèşè	"have just"
jàjà	"managed to"

(ii) Without restrictions:-

tètè	"quickly"
mòòmò	"intentionally"
jùmò	"together"
nìkòn	"alone"

(B) Can only be preceded by the verbal particle.

(i) Can be preceded by the verbal particle only after the negator kí:

lè	"can; be able to"
----	-------------------

(ii) Without restrictions:

sábàá "usually"

fèrèè "almost"

Ex.

kò sáà lè tí í s' isé

"He couldn't have worked yet."

won ó ñ sábàá sé

"They don't usually do it."

kí í síí se pé

"And it isn't the case that ..."

eni t' ó ñ tètè gba 'ñkọn gbọ

"One who easily believes things."

b' ó tiè í ma kọ

"Even if he is still going to build."

émí dè ti rí; àlùfáà

"And I have seen a priest."

omọ ti 'è' ó kókó kú

"His own child died first."

mo sèsè dé òo

"I've just come."

a à kúkú mọ 'ñkọn

"Of course, we don't know anything."

mo kòn dè yà lọ sé

"And I just went out of my way to do it."

íyẹn l' ó túnbò tún ń bà á jẹ

"That is what further spoils it."

kí í ẹ pé mo dédé yà s' íbẹ

"It isn't that I just got into the place by chance."

D3.23 Negators

There are three negators: kò or ò; kí and má.

(i) má.

The verbal group in which má occurs operates as a predicator only in an imperative clause, except when the negator occurs after the preverbs: íbá, íbáà, gbó.dò, kí, lè, férèé.¹

The negator excludes the verbal particle.

Ex.

má. dá 'rúkọ ọ

"Don't mention names!"

ẹ má. ẹ bá.yí

"Don't behave like this."

ó lè má. wùn mí

"It can fail to please me."

k' ólúwa ẹ má. ẹ

"The person shouldn't do it."

(ii) kí

This negator occurs before íbá; yó., ó. and the verbal particle.

¹cf. Abraham (1), p.416. This negator does not occur after any other verb. The type of nominalisation in which this appears to happen (E5.11(a)) really involves two imperative clauses, the second of which begins with the negator.

Ex.

* a kí ó. lọ mọ

"We won't go any more."

* k' íbá tètè dé

"He wouldn't have arrived early."

a à kí í ẹẹ bẹẹ

"We don't do that."

(iii) kò, ò

This negator occurs before all verbs (except: yó., ó.; á; máa, ma; a; kí) and before the verbal particle.

Ex.

ìyẹn ò da

"That's not good."

ajá ò ní lè mu

"The dog will not be able to catch it."

ìyẹn ò ñ ẹ' àjé

"That is not witchcraft."

When preceded by a pronoun subject, the negator ò is usually elided and replaced by the vowel of the pronoun (See 4.212).

Ex.

a à n' íşé

"We don't have any work."

ẹ ẹ lè

"You can't"

wòṅ ṅ kiri

"They don't hawk their wares."

cf. unelided example:

a ỏ lẹ "We can't"

(iv) **Combination of Negators:** There are two possible combinations of negators:

(a) kò or kì before any of the six preverbs that can be followed by má.

Ex.

* kò gbọ.dọ má. wá

"He mustn't fail to come."

k' íbá má. kú

"He wouldn't have died,"

(b) kò and kì before the verbal particle.

Ex.

wòṅ kì í tú ká

"They don't break apart."

kì í ẹ gbogbo wọṅ ni ỏ kì í ẹ dááááá

"It isn't all of them that fail to do well."

With the exception noted in (i) above, negators precede other preverbs in verbal group structure.

D3.24 Restrictions on the occurrence of Preverbs in Clauses

The following restrictions apply to the occurrence of preverbs in clauses:

- (i) ibáà, tóó (always after kí) are found only in dependent clauses (G1).
- (ii) ba (always after kí) is found in a rankshifted clause operating as an adjunct (F1.3).
- (iii) se, ti or gbé, fi are found as preverbs in rankshifted clauses with the clause initiator tí and in the clause with emphatic element.¹

(a) ti or gbé: After place nominals as H or Z^d.

Ex.

Èkó l' ó ti bèrè

"It started in Lagos."

n' ibi t' ó ti ma máa gb' owó

"At the place where he is going to be getting money."

* ibi t' ó gbé rà á

"Where he bought it."

A nominal with the nominalising prefix à before the verb ti "from" (E5.11, note 3) is treated as a place nominal.

àtilè l' ó ti wó wá

from the ground

"It was bad from the beginning."

(b) fi: After nominals of reason, and a few nominals of time such as ìgbà "time", àkókò "season, time", ojó "day".

Ex.

torí ìyen l' ó fi kúrò

"It was for that reason that he left."

idí è t' á. wón fi lọ

"The reason why they went."

¹ cf. B5.123, Note 1

* l' á.kókò tí mo fi wà l' óko

"At the time that I was on the farm."

(c) se: After nominals of reason.

Ex.

torí è l' a se sọ pẹ

"It was for that reason that we said that"

torí omọ l' a se ñ s' işé

"It is because of our children that we work."

i.e. "We work in order to keep our children."

The preverb se and/or ti also occurs after the nominal bí "like".

Ex.

b' òn se ñ jẹ 'un

"How they eat"

bí wón ti ñ ta 'jà

"How they sell things."

bá a ti se ñ se ti wa

"How we do ours"

(iv) bá occurs with the preverbs máa and níí only in a rankshifted clause qualifier with the clause initiator tí.

Ex.

eni t' ó bá ti ma se àlùfáà

"Any person who has decided to be a priest"

tá à bá dè níí tẹ le

"And if we aren't going to follow it"

- (v) All the preverbs not specified above as restricted to certain clauses only, can be found in all types of clauses.

D3.25 Sequence of Preverbs

Preverbs are found in the following sequence for which eight places have been set up:¹

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>
Negators	ìbá	mà	tiè	sì	şì, ì	gbó.dò	All the other preverbs
	yó.	sáà	kòn	dè	kúkú	tóó	
	bá						
	ìbáà						
	ba						
	á						
	kí						

Ex.

t' ó bá tún ma bí (II, VIII, VIII)

"If she's going to have another baby."

b' ó tiè ì ma kó (IV, VI, VIII)

"Even if she's going to build one."

obínrin ò gbó.dò já '.de (I, VII)

"No woman must go out of doors."

àwọn şòşì gbogbo tá a tiè kòn tiè dè wá ní (IV, IV, IV, V)

"And even all the churches that we have"

¹The structure in which the negator má. occurs after the six preverbs listed in D3.23 is an exception to this sequence pattern.

èmi ò mà lè sọ 'kún sè 'yẹn òo (I, III, VIII)

"I can't weep while doing that."

gàrí mà dẹ̀ ti (III, V, VIII)

type of
food

"Gari has also become"

t' ó ò bá dẹ̀ lè sẹ́ (I, II, V, VIII)

"And if you can't do it...."

D3.3 The Bound Verb

The bound verb is the class of verbs that must be followed, and can be preceded, by a free verb in verbal group structure.

The complete list of bound verbs is as follows:

(a)	(b)	(c)
Can be preceded or followed by the verbal particle	Can only be preceded by the verbal particle	Can only be followed by the verbal particle
fi "with"	tún (with complement) "again"	máa or ma "continue to" ¹
bá "with, for"	dá (with complement)	
ti "from"		
dá (without complement) "alone"		

Ex.

wón f' oògùn ñ sẹ

"They do it with medicine."

á á dẹ̀ lọ fi rà á

"And he will go and buy it with it."

¹Except before the verbal particle, after restricted preverbs, and after unrestricted preverbs that can only be preceded by the verbal particle, the bound verb máa or ma is found only in imperative clauses.

mả á há wọn lọ

"I'll go with them."

àwọn ẹnì t' ó ma m' ájá dá ní

"Those who will hold the dog"

ó yẹ k' á tún lè tún wọn wò

"It is necessary that we should be able to examine them again."

ma sọn diẹ diẹ

"Be paying it by instalments"

àwọn n' ọ́n ma ma wò

will continue
to

"They are the people they will be looking up to."

àwọn t' ó ń t' oko bọ

"Those returning from the farm"

D3.4 The Free Verb

The free verb is the class of verbs that may operate as the only verb in a verbal group.

D3.41 Secondary Classes of Free Verbs

On the criterion of the position of the element η in verbal group structure, two secondary elements ~~are~~ ^{derived from} f may be established:

f_1 which may be preceded and/or followed by η

f_2 which may be preceded but not followed by η

These secondary elements are not bound by sequence. Hence f_1 operates before f_2 and vice versa.

There are two secondary classes of the free verb corresponding to the secondary elements: f_1 free verbs, and f_2 free verbs.

The secondary class of f_1 free verbs consists of a limited set of free verbs. ~~There are two subclasses of~~ f_1 free verbs:

(a) free verbs not associated with specific complements: lọ "go", wá "come", jọ "assemble", mú "make to", dúró "stand".

(b) free verbs which belong to this secondary class only when in collocation with specific complements: yá 'ra "to be quick", rọ 'ra "to be careful", sá 're "run", rón 'ti "remember", já '.de "go out", sáájú "precede", wọ 'lé "enter", bèrè "start", jó.kó "sit".

The secondary class of f_2 free verbs is a large open set of verbs, e.g. gbà "get", jẹ "eat", gbé "carry", sùn "sleep", bò "return", lò "use", fún "give".

Ex.

wón jọ ñ já d' oyè

f_1 f_2 f_2

"They contest against each other for posts."

wón lọ ñ rí babaláwo

f_1 f_2

"They go to see a fortune teller."

ó rọ 'ra ñ kọ 'ñkọn

f_1 f_2

"He is carefully learning something."

ó wá ñ jí lọ s' íbẹ̀

f₁ f₂ f₁

"He started going there stealthily."

wọ̀n ñ gb' óńjẹ wá b' ẹ̀lòmíń

f₂ f₁ f₂

"They bring food to others."

D3.42 Junction between free verbs

When there is more than one free verb in a verbal group structure, there is a junction between each verb and the next.

There are two types of junction:

(i) High Tone junction;

(ii) Zero junction.

D3.421 High Tone Junction

A high tone junction consists of an additional high tone syllable to a free verb or its complement. It is to be found only after the following free verbs (complete list):

bẹ̀rẹ̀sí "start", tó "to be sufficient", se "do",
fé "want", ní "have", mò "know", dùn "to be sweet",
yé "stop", sòro "to be difficult", wù "please".

All these verbs are f₂ verbs, and, as such, cannot be followed by the verbal particle. When they are preceded by the verbal particle, the high tone junction coincides with ^{the} optional exponent of the verbal particle.

Ex.

wọn wá bèrèsí sọ

come start

"They started to tell."

mīn féé sẹ mọ

want do

"I don't want to do it any more."

ó mọ 'n̄kōn kọ

know write

"He could write."

k' á yéé sọ pé

stop say say

"We should stop saying"

wọn dùn tòn

sweet deceive

"It's easy to deceive them."

eni t' ó tún ní 'n̄kọn .mín̄n sọ

have say

"Any person who has something else to say"¹

kò sẹé rí

see

"It can't be seen."

¹The high tone junction may probably be traced to an elided original prefix i before the following verb. cf. Ward (16), p.116; Rowlands (11), p.386.

D3.422 Zero Junction

A zero junction consists of an absence of any modification to the final syllable of the free verb or its complement. It is to be found after all free verbs.

Ex.

wón á sòn 'wó fún mí
pay money give me

"They will pay me."

wón á lọ k' áşọ wò
go take dress wear

"They will go and get dressed."

à á jọ jó.kó jẹ é
assemble sit eat it

"We will sit down to eat it together."

a mọ wí pé ,...
know say say

"We know that"

D3.43 Subclasses of Free Verbs

Two open set subclasses of free verbs may be established on the criterion of the junction they make when preceded by the ~~the~~ ^{subclass} of high tone junction - contracting verbs in D3.421. These subclasses may be called: Strong Verbs and Neutral Verbs.

D3.431 Strong Verbs

A strong verb is a free verb which must ~~have~~^{contract} a high tone junction when preceded by a high tone junction-contracting verb.

Ex.

so "say", gbé "carry", se "do", tòn "deceive",
ko "write".

(For examples, See D3.421)

D3.432 Neutral Verbs

A neutral verb is a free verb which may ~~have~~^{contract} a high tone junction or a zero junction when preceded by a high tone junction-contracting verb.

Ex.

jù "exceed", fún "give", lò "go", wí "say"

There is a formal and contextual contrast between a structure with a high tone junction and one without.¹

Ex.

Structure with high tone junction

Structure with zero junction

* a mòó wí pé

a mò wí pé

know say say

"We know how to say that"

"We know that"

* ó ọ̀roó fún won

ó ọ̀ro fún won

is difficult give

"It is difficult to give them"

"It is difficult for them"

translation

¹The English/equivalence of a neutral verb in a structure with a zero junction is usually an adverbial word or a preposition. cf. fún "give, for".

Ex.

á á mu lɔ s' ínú igbó
take her go into inside forest
"He will take her into the forest."

á á gbe ka 'nó
carry it on fire
"She will put it on the fire."

wéré ni ɲ máa já lé wɔn l' órí
quickly is I will fight on them in head
"I will quickly engage in a quarrel with them."

wón á fun l' óbí jẹ
give him in kolanut eat
"They will give him kolanuts to eat."

* dúró dè mí
stand
"Wait for me."

D4 Subclasses of Verbs

Three subclasses of verbs may be established on the criterion of transitivity. These subclasses are: Intransitive, Transitive and Unmarked.

D4.1 Intransitive Verbs

An intransitive verb cannot be followed by a complement in the structure of the verbal group.

All preverbs are intransitive. Of the bound verbs, only máa is intransitive. Intransitive free verbs are an open set, e.g. bó "drop", jo "assemble", pò "to be many", pupa "to be red", ga "to be tall", dára "to be good".

Ex.

t' ó ò bá dè lè sè (Preverbs)

not happen and can

"And if you can't do it"

á á túnbò máa gb' ilẹ̀ si (Bound verb)

"It will continue to take root further."

wón á jo pé jo pò (Free verbs)

assemble to be complete/to be many

"They will assemble together."

oríi wón ti funfun (Free verbs)

to be white

"Their hairs have become white."

D4.2 Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb must be followed by a complement in the structure of the verbal group, unless it is immediately preceded by another complement, or a high tone junction-contracting verb, in which case it may or may not be followed by a complement.¹

(For a special case of transitive verbs in two types of clauses to which the above restrictions do not apply, see below.)

¹The high tone junction-contracting verbs fé, yé, and bèrèsi are an exception. A transitive verb after them must be followed by a complement.

Ex.

(a) Complement

(i) Transitive verb without preceding complement:

wọn á lọ k' áşọ wọ
go take dress wear

"They will go and get well dressed."

(ii) Transitive verb with preceding complement:

(1) Followed by complement:

wọn á sọn 'wó fún mi
pay money give me

"They will pay me."

(2) Not followed by complement:

nọ 'ńyọn pa
beat person kill

"beat a person to death"

(b) Verb

(i) Transitive verb without preceding high tone junction-
contracting verb:

wọn wá gbe ba
come carry it meet her

"They came and brought it to her."

(ii) Transitive verb with preceding high tone junction-
contracting verb:

(1) Followed by complement:

míńń fẹ́ẹ́ sé mó
want do it anymore

"I don't want to do it anymore."

(2) Not followed by complement:

* ó dùn gbé

sweet carry

"It's pleasant to carry."

In a rankshifted clause qualifier (E10.1) and in a clause with an emphatic element, a transitive verb is not necessarily followed by a complement. When it is not, there is a correlation between the absence of a complement and the nominal head or the Z element. (B3.221(ii))

Ex.

(i) Transitive verb without complement

oun t' ó gbé l' órí

carry on head

"What she's carrying."

áwọ̀n obínrín l' a ma bi n' í.yẹ̀n

ask

"We should ask the women that."

(ii) Transitive verb with complement

ẹ̀ni t' ó s' àlùfáà

do priest

"A person who was a priest."

íyẹ̀n l' ó l' ọ̀mọ

possess child

"It's that one that owns the child."

All bound verbs except máa and dá are transitive. Transitive free verbs are an open set, e.g. bi "ask", gbé "carry", fún "give", jọ "resemble", wò "wear", dé "cover". All post verbs are transitive.

Ex.

mà á bá wọn lọ (Bound verbs)

with them go

"I'll go with them."

wọn f' oògùn ñ sẹ (" ")

with medicine do it

"They do it with black magic."

wọn á sọ̀n' wó fún mi (Free verbs)

pay money give me

"They will pay me."

o ò lẹ̀ s' isẹ olùkọ (" ")

do work teacher

"You can't be a teacher."

.... lọ s' óko (Post verbs)

go to farm

"Go to the farm."

ó fun ní '̀nkọ̀n (" ")

gave in something
her

"He gave her something."

D4.3 Unmarked Verbs

An unmarked verb is any verb, other than a transitive verb, that can, but need not, be followed by a complement in a verbal group structure.

When an unmarked verb is a monosyllabic verb with a low tone, there is a formal contrast between a structure with a following complement and one without.¹

Ex.

<u>Verb without follow- ing complement</u>	<u>Verb with following complement</u>
tả	ta "sell"
mộ	mọ "know"
rả	ra "buy"
lộ	lo "use"
wộ	wo "look"

(i) Verb without following complement

mả á lẻ <u>mộ</u>	"I'll be able to know."
kí l' ẹ <u>rộ</u>	"What do you think?"
wón mọ ốộ <u>wộ</u>	"They know how to examine it."
know it look	

(ii) Verb with following complement

<u>lo</u> ạọ .kọnnộộ pộ	"use the same dress together" i.e. "wear the same type of dress"
<u>wo</u> t' ảwọn ỏyỉnbó	"Look at the Europeans"
lọ <u>ta</u> 'nộkọn	"Go and sell something"

¹This contrast does not apply in the case of a pronoun complement (D4.42).

The only unmarked bound verb is dá. Most of the free verbs are unmarked, e.g. jó "dance", son "pay", gbó "hear", bí "give birth", so "tell", kú "remain".

Ex.

á á ti m' ájá dá ní (Bound verb)

take dog alone have

"He would have held the dog"

èmi ò lè so òò (Free verbs)

"I can't say, really."

t' é. nyón bá gbó

"If a person hears"

ó sè sè bí 'mọ

"She has just had a baby."

wón ì ñ ì 'íjọ ẹgbé

dance

"They still organise the age-group dance."

D4.4 Subclasses of Transitive and Unmarked Verbs

Transitive and unmarked verbs, which are all monosyllabic, may be classified into two subclasses on the criterion of the junction they make with their nominal group complements:

Subclass I : Verbs having a high tone;

Subclass II: Verbs having a mid or a low tone.

D4.41 Subclass I Verbs

A subclass I verb has a high tone before its complement, and its pronoun complement (except the second person plural)¹ has a mid tone.

Ex.

(i) With Nominal Complement

ó ní kólà funfun

"He has a white collar."

wá sí : ilú òyínbó

"Come to Britain."

wọ̀n lọ ñ rí babaláwo

"They go to see a fortune teller."

(ii) With pronoun complement

bá wọ̀n lọ

with them go

"Go with them."

ó rí i

"He saw it."

fún mi

"Give me."²

¹ The second person plural pronoun complement has a high tone, and the junction between it and the verb is an additional mid tone syllable, e.g. ríi yín "see you". cf. verb: rí.

² Two syllables having vowels of the same quality may be contracted into one syllable according to the rules given in 4.221. Hence the verbal group structure with a third person singular pronoun complement may be rí i or ri and that with a second person plural pronoun complement may be ríi yín or ri yín.

When a subclass I or a subclass II verb is followed by a complement which begins with a vowel, its final vowel or the initial vowel of the complement often undergoes an elision. It is difficult to formulate any general rules about which of the two vowels in contact is to be elided. (An attempt is made in 4.2 to indicate some general tendencies.)³ Whichever vowel is elided, the tone of a subclass I verb is retained before all complements.

In the case of a complement beginning with a mid tone, the high tone of the verb replaces this mid tone. But in the case of a complement beginning with a low tone, this low tone is assimilated to the high tone of the verb (cf. 4.112).

Ex.

(i) With a mid tone initial complement

gb' ódo (i.e. gbé odó)
carry mortar

bí 'mọ (i.e. bí ọmọ)
give child
birth to

j' íjó (i.e. jó ijó)
dance a dance

(ii) With a low tone initial complement

b' é.şù (i.e. bá èşù)
with devil

r' í.dí è (i.e. rí ídí è)
see cause its

fé '.keḡi (i.e. fé èkeḡi)⁴
like companion

³cf. Ward (16), pp. 123-133; Rowlands (11), pp.382-385; Siertsema (14), pp. 398-400.

⁴Abraham (1) usually leaves the low tone of the complement unassimilated to that of the verb in this structure, but not consistently. cf. his jààde (not assimilated) and jókóó (assimilated).

In my text, the low tone is usually assimilated. cf. Siertsema (14), p.398, Note 16.

D4.42 Subclass II Verbs

A subclass II verb has a mid tone before its nominal group complement (other than a pronoun), and a mid or a low tone before its pronoun complement, which has a high tone.

Ex.

(i) With nominal complement

<u>te</u> dũrũ	"play the organ"
<u>lo</u> așo .konnôô	"wear the same type of dress"
<u>je</u> gârí	"eat gârí"

(ii) With pronoun complement

<u>lô</u> ó	"use it"
kò <u>dũn</u> mí	"it doesn't hurt me"
<u>se</u> é	"do it" ¹

When the final vowel of the verb or the initial vowel of the complement is elided, the initial tone of the complement is retained.

Ex.

<u>kà</u> 'wé	(i.e. ka iwé)
	read book
<u>son</u> 'wó	(i.e. son owó)
	pay money
<u>s'</u> àjé	(i.e. se àjé)
	do withcraft

¹ When contracted according to the rules in 4.221: se é → sé.

D5 The Complement

The complement is expounded by a rankshifted nominal group.

(For exemplification of the complement, see D4, D7.)¹

The structure of the nominal group is described in 3E.

D6 Verb-Nominal Collocation

Any verbal element of verbal group structure together with an immediately following complement can be regarded as a verb-nominal collocation. There are two types of verb-nominal collocations:

- (i) Separable; (ii) Fixed.

D6.1 Separable Verb-Nominal Collocation

A separable verb-nominal collocation is one where the complement can be separated from the verbal element, i.e. the clause in which the complement occurs contrasts with a corresponding emphatic clause in which the same nominal group expounding the complement operates at Z.

Ex.

Non-Emphatic Clause

ó gb' ódó wá
 C

"She brought a mortar."

a ma ñ j' iyón
 C

"We usually eat pounded yam."

Emphatic Clause

odó l' ó gbé wá
 Z

"It was a mortar that she brought."

iyón l' a ma ñ je
 Z

"It's pounded yam that we usually eat."

¹ After the verbs: ní, pé "say", the complement is usually one or more rankshifted sentences.

All consonant-initial complements enter into separable verb-nominal collocations with the immediately preceding verbal elements.

Ex.

Non-Emphatic Clause

ó ma ñ tẹ dùrù
C

"He used to play the organ."

ó ra mótò
C

"He bought a car."

Emphatic Clause

dùrù l' ó ma ñ tẹ
Z

"It was the organ that he used to play."

mótò l' ó ra
Z

"It was a car that he bought."

A separable verb-nominal collocation, though usually contracted, may be uncontracted.

Ex.

(i) Contracted

j' égba
steal whip

j' íjó
dance a dance

d' òṣèlú
become legislator

(ii) Uncontracted

jí ẹgba

jó ijó

di òṣèlú

D6.2 Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

A fixed verb-nominal collocation is one where the complement cannot be separated from the verbal element, i.e it can only be found in a verbal group structure.¹ A fixed verb-nominal collocation is always contracted.

¹ Fixed verb-nominal collocations are treated in an earlier paper by me as a class of verbs which are rankshifted verb-nominal compounds (See Bamgbose (2)). The present description accounts for the difference between a fixed verb-nominal collocation and a separable one at the same rank, and consequently avoids the incongruity, implicit in the earlier description, of a nominal junction (E4) between a "verb" and a nominal complement. cf. ó pàdée bàbá "he met father".
(contd. on p.129)

There are two types of fixed verb-nominal collocations:

- (i) Unique fixed verb-nominal collocations.
- (ii) Non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocations.

D6.21 Unique Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

A unique fixed verb-nominal collocation has no "separable verb-nominal collocation" counterpart.

Ex.

pàdé "meet", gbàgbé "forget", dìdè "stand",
jó.kó "sit", bèrè "start", pèlú "be with"

D6.22 Non-Unique Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

A non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocation has a "separable verb-nominal collocation" counterpart.

Some non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocations contrast formally with their contracted "separable verb-nominal collocation" counterpart.

Ex.

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Separable</u>	<u>Fixed</u>
fé	f' óròn like cause	fé 'ròn like
gbà	gba 'nọ take fire	gb' inọ catch fire
gbé	gb' éşẹ remove foot	gbé 'şẹ walk briskly

(contd. from p. 128)

¹ As a "verb", pàdé makes a nominal junction with the complement bàbá, whereas, as a fixed verb-nominal collocation, it contains a nominal item which makes the junction with another nominal item.

But most non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocations are homophonous with their contracted separable verb-nominal collocation counterpart.

Ex.

<u>Verb</u>		<u>Separable</u>	<u>Fixed</u>
pè	p' olówó	"call the owner of money"	"hawk"
ní	l' ójú	"has eye"	"there are"
kó	k' éron	"buy meat"	"be done for"

D6.23 Complement in Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

The nominal group complement in a fixed verb-nominal collocation can either:

(a) have no qualifier at all

Ex.

gb' ilẹ̀	"take root"
gb' inọ̀	"catch fire"
k' éron	"be done for"

or (b) have only a nominal qualifier (E5.4).

Ex.

pàdée wọn	"meet them"
p' olówó ẹ̀kọ̀	"hawk ẹ̀kọ̀"
bẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀ 'sẹ̀	"start work"

When this nominal qualifier is the same item as a Z^{b2} in a corresponding emphatic clause (B3.221), the third person singular pronoun with which the Z^{b2} item is in concord may be a zero. This is never the case with a separable verb-nominal collocation.

Ex.

(i) Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

Non-Emphatic Clause

wón p' olówó ẹ̀kọ

"They hawked ẹ̀kọ."

Emphatic Clause

* ẹ̀kọ ni wón p' olówó ẹ̀

* ẹ̀kọ ni wón p' olówó

"It was ẹ̀kọ that they hawked."

(ii) Separable Verb-Nominal Collocation

Non-Emphatic Clause

wón gb' aṣọ okùnrin nóò

"They took the man's cloth."

Emphatic Clause

* okùnrin nóò ni wón gb' aṣọ ẹ̀

"It was the man's cloth that they took."

D7 Exemplification of Verbal Group Structures

The following are the 32 possible primary structures of the verbal group. (The possibility of more than one of each element of structure, except η , is implied in each structure and indicated in the examples.)

Subjects are enclosed in brackets.

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
f	(ó) pò "It is plentiful."
nf	nḡkọn tí (mò) ń ẹ "What I am doing."
rf	(òjọ) ma rọ "It's going to rain."
bf	(ẹ) ma gbọ continuet to hear "Listen!"

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Exemplification</u>
fp	ibi t' (ó) yà sí turn to "Where he went to"
fC	(ó) rí i f C "He saw it."
ɲf	(ó) ti ń kúró "It's stopping."
ɲbf	ɛnyón n' (ón) ń báá lò "They deal with people."
ɲfp	àşà òyínbó l' (à) ń tẹ lé "It's European custom that we copy."
ɲfC	(à) ń ẹ bojúbojú C "We play 'hide and seek'."
rfp	bẹẹ nọọ ni ('ńkọn .ẹ) túnbọ ma tóbi sí r r f p further will be big to "It's in the same manner that your things will further increase."
rbf	(á) á ma jó "She will be dancing."
rfC	(ó) ẹẹẹ bí 'mọ C "She has just had a baby."
bfp	* ibi t' (ó) dá sùn sí alone sleep into "The place where she slept alone."

Structure

Exemplification

bfC	(ẹ) bá mi rà b ɛ f "Buy from me."
fpC	(ó) họn sí ayé f p C show to world "It is clear to everybody."
nrbf	èrò tá (a) ti ma ń ní r b f "The ideas we used to have"
nrfp	nẹ̀kọ̀n tí (obìnrín) tún ń jà sí "What a woman fights over"
nrfC	(wọn) tiẹ ń kọ 'rin r f C even sing song "They even sing."
nbfp	* ibi t' (ó) ń dá sùn sí "The place where she usually sleeps alone."
nbfC	(wọn) f' oògùn ń sẹ́ b C fC with medicine do it "They do it with black magic."
nfpc	(ó) wá ń jí lọ s' íbẹ̀ f f f p C come steal go to there "He then went there stealthily."
rbfp	* ibi t' (ó) ti dá sùn sí "The place where she had slept alone."
rbfC	(mà) á bá wọn lọ r b C f will with them go "I'll go with them."

Structure

Exemplification

rfpC	(á) á gbe ka 'nó r f C p C will put it on fire	"He will put it on the fire."
bfpC	(o) wá bá wa s' ọrọ s' ínú ẹ f b f C p C come with us say talk into inside its	"You've come to join us in talking into it."
ŋrbfp	* ibi t' (ó) ti ń dá sùn sí	"The place where she used to sleep alone."
ŋrbfC	àwọn n' (ọń) kọ ma ń tẹ sí ọno .kọn r b f p C first continue bend to way one to	"They are usually the first to incline one way."
ŋrfpC	(ó) kọn ń nọ wọn l' ẹgba r f C p C just beat them in whip	"He just beats them."
ŋ bfpC	(ẹnyọn) fi ń rọn 'raa wọn l' ọwọ b C f C p C with it extend themselves in hand	"People help one another through it."
rbfpC	(á) á túnbọ máa gb' ilẹ si r r b f C p C will further continue take ground to it	"It will continue to flourish."
ŋrbfpC	tá (a) bá ń f' ibànújẹ lọ s' ínú kòtò r b C f p C happen with sadness go to grave	"If we go to our grave in sadness."

Abraham (1), p. 425 rightly associates the final element of the clause final element. The clause final element latter occurs without the former (cf. 43, 44). However on the same page, no occurrence of the clause final element is found in the same page.

Since all post verbs are transitive, and most bound verbs are also transitive, a structure with p or b without C is very rare, since transitive verbs are always followed by complements except in certain structures (D4.2). This is the reason why four of the structures without C involving these two elements are exemplified from outside the text.

D8 Systems of the Verbal Group

There are five systems of the verbal group: Transitivity, Emphasis, Linkage, Tense, and Polarity.

D8.1 Transitivity

The system of transitivity consists of three terms corresponding to the subclasses of verbs in D4, i.e. Transitive, Intransitive, Unmarked. At each place in verbal group structure where there is a verbal element, there is a possibility of a choice from each of the three subclasses of verbs; hence the three-term system of transitivity.

D8.2 Emphasis

A verbal group may be emphatic or non-emphatic. It is emphatic if it contains the preverb má, and it is non-emphatic if it does not.

An emphatic verbal group is always found in an emphatic clause with the clause final element.¹ And the clause in which the emphatic verbal group occurs is either affirmative or imperative.

¹Abraham (1), p.415 rightly associates má with the tonal exponent of the clause final element. He omits to point out, however, that the latter occurs without the former (cf. B3.32). Contrary to his examples on the same page, no occurrence of má in a clause without the clause final element is found in my text.

Ex.

<u>Emphatic Verbal Group</u>	<u>Non-Emphatic Verbal Group</u>
iyén mà burú ỏ	burú
"That is really bad."	"is bad"
iyén mà daà	da
"That is really good."	"is good"
kiní .yen ỏ mà da ỏ	ỏ da
"That thing is really not good."	"isn't good"
ọlọ.run .konnọ mà ni ỏ	ni
"It's really the same God."	"is"
má. mà bá won lọ s' óko òkété ỏ	má. bá won lọ s' óko òkété
"Don't you go with them to kill the giant rat."	"Don't go with them to kill the giant rat."

D8.3 Linkage

The system of linkage consists of two terms: Linked and Unlinked. A linked verbal group contains the preverb sì or dẹ "and; in addition". An unlinked verbal group does not.

The clause in which the linked verbal group occurs presupposes a preceding clause.¹

¹It is probably for this reason that the items sì and dẹ have been called linking words (traditionally, "conjunctions"). cf. Ward (16), p.153; Délánọ (6), p.lxvii.

In fact, the items share all the characteristics of preverbs (cf. Abraham (1), p.589), and may contradict linking items.
e.g. sùgbón t' ó bá j' ényón l' àlùfáà // àlùfáà nọ l' ó dẹ
yẹ k' ó fi àpẹrẹ rere lé 'lẹ

"But if the priest is human, it's him that should also set a good example."

Ex.

<u>Linked Verbal Group</u>	<u>Unlinked Verbal Group</u>
è mí <u>dè</u> ti r' á.lùfáà	<u>ti r' á.lùfáà</u>
"And I've seen a priest."	"have seen a priest"
wón <u>dè</u> ba rón	<u>ba rón</u>
"And they sewed it for her,"	"sewed it for her"
ó <u>sí sòro</u> l' á.ti s' àlàyé	<u>sòro</u>
"And it is difficult to explain."	"is difficult"
bí ẹnì pé gbogbo àlùfáà <u>sí ni</u> wón burú	<u>ni</u>
"As if, in addition, it's all priests that are bad."	"is"

D8.4 Tense and Polarity¹

The system of polarity has two terms: positive and negative; and the system of tense has two terms: (a) Tense without perfective modification; (b) Tense with perfective modification.²

¹ These two systems are taken together because they are partially dependent.

² Although it is possible to have two partially combinable systems of "tense" and "aspect", this alternative has been rejected in favour of the less complicated, mutually exclusive terms of a single system which makes no distinction between "tense" and "aspect". cf. Ward (16), pp.78-101.

While recognising its importance ("aspect" plays a significant role in the construction of actual tense"), Bull (19), pp.24-26 excludes aspectual contrasts as terms in his tense system. cf. his description of Yoruba tense system (pp.28; 30) which on account of this restriction ignores many of the contrasts recognised in the system being presented in this section.

D8.41 Tense without perfective modification

Tense without perfective modification consists of five terms in the positive and four in the negative.

D8.411 Terms in the Positive

The five terms in the positive are: Future, ^{Conditional Past} Continuous, Habitual, Unmarked.

(i) Future: Markers of the future tense are the preverbs: yó. or ó.; á "will"; máa or ma "to be going to".

Ex.

ènyòn ó. ri

"One will see it."

wòn á ní

"They will say"

òjò ma rọ

"Rain is going to fall."

i.e. "It's going to rain."

(ii) Conditional Past: This tense is marked by the item ìbá "would/should/could have".

The free clause in which this item occurs presupposes a dependent conditional clause. (cf. C1)

Ex.

à 'bá rí 'n̄kọn t' ó wà n' íbẹ

"We would have seen what's there."

ọpọlọ.pọ ènyòn ni ọ 'bá máa p' araa wọn

"Many people would have been committing suicide,"

(iii) Continuous: The verbal particle (without máa) marks a tense which can be replaced in the negative by a habitual tense or an unmarked tense (D8.422). This tense is given the label "continuous", although contextually, it is both continuous and habitual.

Ex.

2 nńkọn tí mò ń ẹ

"What I am doing"

aşọ ẹ ń gbóó lọ

"His dress is getting worn out."

wọn tiẹ ń kọ 'rin dada

"They even sing well."

à ń ẹ bojúbojú

"We play 'hide and seek'."

(iv) Habitual: Markers of the habitual tense are: the preverb a, or the verbal particle, with the bound verb máa (i.e. a máa or máa ń). The latter is the usual marker, the former being treated as literary.

Ex.

ẹbí ma ń so mó 'ra wọn

"Families are usually close-knit."

a máa ń kọ 'rin

"We usually sing."

* èmi a máa lọ

"I usually go."

(v) Unmarked: Any verb or verbal combination not involving the tense markers above is an exponent of the unmarked tense in the positive.¹

This tense consists of two further terms: past and neutral.

The past tense is expounded by an open set sub-class of verbs such as: lẹ "go", rìn "walk", bọ "return", rà "sell", pẹ "call", lò "use", rí "saw".

Ex.

wọn lò ó lọ

used it go

"They used it while going."

wọn gbe wá ba

carried come meet her

"They brought it to her."

wọn jí ẹgba .yẹn

stole whip that

"They stole that whip."

ó rí i

saw it

"He saw it."

The neutral tense is expounded by an open set sub-class of verbs other than past tense verbs, e.g. ní "have", da "to be good", tóbi "to be big", rò "think", bá "happen to", wà "exist", gbọ.dọ "must".

¹ The only exception is the bound verb máa "continue to", which expounds the unmarked tense only when not in the combination ~~in~~ in (iv) above.

Ex.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ìyẹ̀n <u>sòn</u> | "That's better." |
| mo <u>rò</u> pé | "I think/thought that." |
| ó <u>sòro</u> | "It's difficult." |
| ó <u>ní</u> kòlà funfun | "He had a dog collar." ² |

In a verbal group with more than one verb indicating an unmarked tense, the tense of the verbal group is that of the first verb, unless it is one of a number of preverbs.³

Ex.

(a) Neutral preceded by Neutral:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ó kúkú <u>burú</u> | "It's rather bad." ² |
| ó tiẹ̀ ì tún <u>sòn</u> òò | "It's even better." |

(b) Past followed by Neutral:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| ó <u>kókó</u> wà | |
| at first exist | |
| "It first existed" | |

(c) Neutral followed by Past:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| ' .gbà t' ó <u>bá</u> dé 'lé | |
| happen arrive | |
| to | |
| "When he arrives." | |

² cf. Ward (16) p.79; especially her classification of these two sub-classes of verbs into "action" verbs and "state or quality" verbs.

The same free verb (with or without a complement) is repeated to indicate an extended action.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <u>Ex.</u> wọn ge ge ge ge | "They cut it for a long time." |
| cut it | |
| t' ó bá sọ sọ sọ sọ | "When she's been speaking for a long time" |
| tell | |

³ See D3.22, preverbs under (a), except sèsè, kó, ti.

Any of the tenses above, except the conditional past, and the past, could be contextually past or non-past depending on the context or co-text. For example, with a dependent clause or an adjunct indicating a past time, or in a narration of a past event, the tense is contextually past.⁴

Ex.

(Habitual) k' ó tóó di pé ó kú // ó ma ñ s' òrò wí pé....
"Before he died, he used to say that"

(Unmarked Neutral) a à mò 'yẹn tẹlẹtẹlẹ
A
"We didn't know that before."

(Continuous) * wọn ń lo l' ó.la
A
"They are going tomorrow."

(Future) mà má .mí á so fun mi pé
"My mother would tell me that"

(cf. Examples translated as non-past above.)

D8.412 Terms in the Negative

The four terms in the negative are: Future, Conditional Past, Habitual, Unmarked.

(i) Future: Markers of the future tense in the negative are:

(a) The negator kí with the preverb ó.

(b) The negator kò or ò with the preverb níí "will".

The latter of these two markers is the usual one.

⁴ The same is true of the corresponding negative tenses in D8.412.

Ex.

ajá ỏ ní~~l~~ lè mu

"The dog will not be able to catch it."

ńjẹ kỏ tiẹ tún níí s' àjèjì

"Won't it even be strange?"

* a kî ó. lọ mọ

"We will never go."

(ii) Conditional Past: In the negative, the conditional past involves a double system of polarity (See D8.44).

(iii) Habitual: The habitual tense is marked in the negative by the negator kỏ or ỏ and/or kî before the verbal particle.

Ex.

wỏn ñ kiri rárá
not

"They don't hawk their wares at all."

kî í s' ỏrọ
not

"He doesn't speak."

inúu yín ỏ kî í wú ni
not not

"Doesn't your stomach swell?"

(iv) Unmarked: In the negative the unmarked tense is expounded by the negator kỏ before a verb in the positive unmarked tense,¹

Contextually, the unmarked negative tense may be past or non-past, irrespective of the two sub-classes of verbs in the positive.

¹ The preverb sí or í is an exception (See D8.422).

Ex.

íyẹn ỏ da

"That's not good."

kỏ fềề rá

"He doesn't want to buy."

a à n' ísế

"We don't have any work."

wờn tềề dề

"They didn't arrive early."

D8.42 Tense with Perfective Modification

Tense with perfective modification consists of exactly the same number of terms as tense without perfective modification. The difference between the two sets of terms is the occurrence of the perfective modification marker ti "have" in the former. This marker is neutral as to past time, i.e. it may be past or non-past depending on the context or co-text.

D8.421 Terms in the Positive

The terms in the positive are: Perfective Future, Perfective Conditional Past, Perfective Continuous, Perfective Habitual, Perfective Unmarked.

Ex.

(i) Perfective Future:

ebi á ti pá gờn

"He will have become hungry."

wón á ti s' işé díè

"They would have done some work."

(ii) Perfective Conditional Past:

ń 'bá ti lọ

"I would have gone."

(iii) Perfective Continuous:

wón ti ń rò ó tẹlẹ

"They've been thinking of it before."

ó ti ń ta (paper) tẹlẹ

"He used to sell newspapers."

ńkón ti ń yí pa dà

"Things have started to change."

(iv) Perfective Habitual:

èrò tá a ti ma ń ní

"The ideas that we used to have."

(v) Perfective Unmarked:

ó ti yé mi

"I have understood it."

gbogbo 'ńkón ti yà 'tò

"Things have changed."

èmí ti r' á.lùfáà

"I have seen a priest."

D8.422 Terms in the Negative

The terms in the negative are Perfective Future, Perfective Conditional Past, Perfective Habitual and Perfective Unmarked.

Tense with perfective modification in the negative is expounded by the appropriate negative tense verbs in D8.412 with either:

(a) the preverb i "yet";

or (b) the perfective modification marker followed, or followed and preceded, by the preverb i.¹

Ex.

(i) Perfective Future

o o tí i níí lè tọ

"You won't be able to train it yet."

(ii) Perfective Conditional Past (See D8.44)

(iii) Perfective Habitual

* èmi kò ti ñ lọ s' ó.dé òru rí

"I wasn't in the habit of staying out late."

(iv) Perfective Unmarked

kò i s' ọrọ è tón

"She hasn't yet finished speaking."

kò tí i bí 'mọ

"She hasn't had any child yet."

¹ In these structures, the sequence of i in relation to other preverbs may be different from that outlined in D3.25. The tone of the perfective modification marker is also replaced by a high tone (i.e. tí).

In the case of the perfective habitual, the markers are the negator and ti (See below).

kò ì tí ì kú rará

"It isn't dead yet."

èmi ò mà ì tí ì ní òo

"I don't really have any yet."

D8. 43 Polarity in Imperative Clauses

The negative verbal group in an imperative clause is marked by the negator má.

Ex.

má. dá 'rúko òo

"Don't mention names!"

má. sé

"Don't do it!"

ẹ má. se b' bá.yí

"Don't behave in this manner!"

Tense with perfective modification occurs only in the negative in a verbal group operating in an imperative clause.

Ex.

má. ì tí ì lo

"Don't go yet!"

D8.44 The Double System of Polarity

In the case of the six preverbs after which the negator má can occur (D3.23), there is a double system of polarity in the verbal group, corresponding to the two positions of the negators. The preverb, or the verb following it, is either positive or negative.

It is positive when it is not preceded by a negator. It is negative when it is preceded by a negator.

Ex.

ó lè má. wùn mí (Positive - Negative)

"It may fail to please me."

ènyòn ò lè dáa tòn (Negative - Positive)

"People can't be all good."

k' ólúwa è má. sé (Positive - Negative)
(always positive)

"The person shouldn't do it."

* kò gbó.dò má. wá (Negative - Negative)

"He mustn't fail to come."

Since the preverb í bá which marks the conditional past is one of these six preverbs, the negative conditional past involves a double system of polarity.

Ex.

(i) Tense without perfective modification

* n k' í bá mò (Negative - Positive)

"I wouldn't have known."

k' í bá má. kú (Negative - Negative)

"He wouldn't have died."

(ii) Tense with perfective modification

ìbá má. ì mo

(Positive - Negative)

"He wouldn't have known yet."¹

¹ Before ìbá or ìbáà, the negator kò is anomalous in being an exponent of the positive term.

Ex.

kò 'báà wà n' ílé ọkọ ẹ

"Even if she's in the husband's house."

kò 'bá wú '.lò

"It would have been useful."

3E THE GROUP : NOMINAL

The Nominal Group is the class of the group that operates at S in clause structure. By cross-identification, members of the class also operate at Z and a few at A.¹

E1 Primary Elements of Structure

The primary elements of structure of the nominal group are: Head (H) - that element which can operate in a nominal group structure of only one element; and Qualifier (Q) - that element which must be preceded by a head in a nominal group structure.

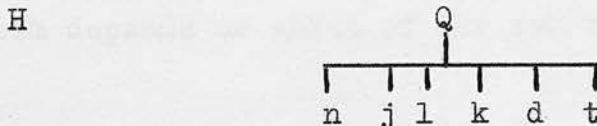
E2 Primary Structures

The primary structures of the nominal group are:

H, HQ

E3 Secondary Structures

Secondary structures of the nominal group involve a further differentiation of the primary element Q into sequence-determined secondary elements of structure as follows:



¹ Nominal groups are also rankshifted as complement in verbal group structure (D5) and as head or nominal qualifier in nominal group structure (E12.3; E5.42).

Any combination of secondary elements with H is possible in each secondary structure, with the restriction that there can only be one H, n or d in any structure.

The names of the secondary elements of structure and the classes operating at their places in structure are:

<u>Secondary Element</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Class</u>
n	nominal qualifier	nominal
j	adjective qualifier	adjective
l	numeral qualifier	numeral
k	rankshifted qualifier	clause; verbal group
d	deictic qualifier	deictic
t	post deictic qualifier	post deictic

All the classes, except those at k, are classes of words.

The class operating at H is the nominal.

E4 Junction in Nominal Group

Items in the nominal group are of two morphological types:

(i) Vowel Initial; and (ii) Consonant Initial.

The junction between a preceding item (always vowel final) and a following item depends on which of the two types the following item is.

E4.1 Vowel-Initial Item

A vowel initial item retains both its initial tone and vowel (other than [i]) when preceded by another item.¹

¹ Close compounds involving an elision of vowels other than [i] , such as íla.ró "place name", omobinrin "girl" (cf. Rowlands (11), pp.378-9) are treated in this study as single nominals, and not nominal groups with qualifiers.

Ex.

aşo ẹbí	"family dress"
àwọn ọyínbó	"the Europeans"
ílú ọyínbó	"the country of the Europeans" i.e. England

The initial vowel [i] is often elided and replaced by the final vowel of the preceding item.

Ex.

(ará ílú)	→ aráà 'lú
inhabitant town	"the citizens"
(àwon ìmàle)	→ àwòn 'màle
they muslim	"the muslim"
cf. ẹ̀ṣṣà ílú	"few towns"

If the last two syllables of the preceding item have low tones, the latter of these tones is replaced by a mid tone before the initial mid tone of the following vowel-initial item.²

Ex.

	<u>Preceding Item</u>
ọ̀rọ̀ așo ẹbí	ọ̀rọ̀
"a discussion about family dress"	
şóşì alá.durà	şóşì
"Apostolic church"	

² cf. Ward (16), p.54; Siertsema (14), pp.393-4.

E4.2 Consonant-Initial Items

Consonant-initial items are of three types: (i) Elided Consonant-Initial; (ii) Nominal; (iii) Other Consonant-Initial Items.

E4.21 Elided Consonant-Initial

An elided consonant-initial item results from the elision of an initial low tone syllable from a vowel-initial item. The initial tone is, however, assimilated to the high or mid tone of the final syllable of the preceding item.¹

Elided consonant-initial items are (full list):

.yí "this", .wonyí "these", .wonní "those", .yẹn "that",
.wọnyẹn, .wo "which?", .mi "my", .rẹ or .ẹ "your",
.mírọ̀n or .mín "another", .kọ̀n "one, and the numeral
series (E7) .kíní "first", .kejí "second", .kẹta "third" etc.

Ex.

ílú ọ̀yínbó .yí	"this England"
obínrin .yẹn	"that woman"
ọ̀dún .kíní	"the first year"
ọ̀rẹ .mi	"a friend of mine"

Elided consonant-initial items are always qualifiers in nominal group structure; but they have corresponding vowel initial items which can stand as head.

¹ cf. Initial low tone of complement to a sub-class I verb (D4.41) and 4.112.

Ex.

<u>Head</u>	<u>Qualifiers</u>
èyí	.yí
ìyẹn	.yẹn
èkíní	.kíní
èwo	.wo

E4.22 Nominal

When an item precedes a consonant-initial item which is a nominal (E5), a mid tone syllable is added to the final syllable of the preceding item.¹

Ex.

	<u>Preceding Item</u>
ìyáa bàbáa wa mother father our "Our grandmother"	ìyá; bàbá
ilẹ̀ẹ̀ Yòòbá "Yoruba land"	ilẹ̀
òyìnbóo dókítà "European doctor"	òyìnbó
àwọ̀n kẹ̀fẹ̀rí "the heathen"	àwọ̀n (Final mid tone: no syllable added)
ọmọọ wọ̀n "their children"	ọmọ (Final mid tone: syllable added)

¹ If the nominal is, however, an elided consonant-initial item, e.g. mi, the appropriate junction for that item applies.

This junction is sometimes (but very rarely) extended to a vowel initial item.

Ex. ẹgbẹẹ ọ̀ṣẹ̀lú "political party"
inọọ ẹ̀pọ pupa "an oil lamp"

The additional syllable is optional if the last syllable of the preceding item has a mid tone. Ex. orúko Mòómódu "Mohammed's name".

Although not a nominal, the deictic nì "that" makes this junction with a preceding item. Ex. igbaa nì "that time"

If the last two syllables of the preceding item have low tones, the final low tone is replaced by a mid tone before the additional syllable is added.

Ex.

àwọọ koríko
colour leaves
"green colour"

Preceding Item

àwọ

ọrọ bíbélí
word bible
"the Scriptures"

ọrọ

èroo wọn
thought their
"their ideas"

èrọ

àṣa t' òyìnbó
custom of European
"European custom"

àṣà

E4.23 Other Consonant-Initial Items

Consonant-initial items other than the first two types above are adjectives, numerals (other than those in E4.21), post deictics and exponents of the rankshifted qualifier.

The item preceding any of these consonant-initial items remains unchanged.¹

¹ The nominal bí "like" makes this junction with a preceding item.

Ex. àwọn ènìyọn bíi mé.ta
"about three people"

Ex.

- (Adjective) káńtà kékeré
"a small counter"
- (Numeral) şılẹ mẹ.wà
"ten shillings"
- (Adjective;
Rankshifted
Qualifier) àwọn àşà burúkú tá a ní
"The bad customs that we have"
- (Post deictic) ọjàà ti wa nóò
"Even our own market"

E4.3 Combination of Items

At any place in the structure of the nominal group where any of the above items occurs, the appropriate junction applies between it and the preceding item.

Ex.

ílú òyínbó .yí páápáá
 | | |
 junction junction junction
 E4.1 E4.21 E4.23

"Even this England"

ọrọ bíbélíi wọn .yẹn
 | | |
 junction junction junction
 E4.22 E4.22 E4.21

"Matters affecting their dogma"

àwōn 'màle tá à ń rí .yẹn
 | | |
 junction junction junction
 E4.1 E4.23 E4.21

"Those muslims whom we see"

E5 Classes of Words: The Nominal

Words operating at n and H in nominal group structure are nominals.

E5.1 Subclasses of Nominals

There are two subclasses of nominals:

- (i) Noun;
- (ii) Pronoun.

E5.11 Noun

Nominals which may take qualifiers when operating as head are nouns. The subclass noun is an open set.¹

Ex.

òrò "word", omò "child", ílú "town",
iyàwó "wife", bàbá "father", odún "year",
egbé "society", íla.ró "place name", Adélabú
 "personal name" ²

àwọn iyàwó è mè.ta
 "his three wives"

odún .kíní
 "the first year"

àwọn <u>arúgbóo</u> wa	Awóló.wò nọ̀
"our aged persons"	(personal name) "even Awolowo"

¹ There is a further subclass within the nouns. This subclass is a closed system of items (pronominals), which are pronoun substitutes in certain structures. This subclass is fully discussed in E5.121.

² The English translation equivalence of most Yoruba nouns could be singular as well as plural. The translation into the singular above is only for the sake of convenience.

(iii) í

Ex.

fẹ → ífẹ
"love" "love"

gbà gbọ → ígbàgbọ
take hear
"believe" "belief"

(iv) àí

Ex.

ní 'ńkọn púpọ → àíní 'ńkọn púpọ
"have many things" "not having many things"

má. d' é.sẹ → àímá. d' é.sẹ
"Don't commit sin" "not committing sin"

(v) à àí (combined)

Ex.

With two clauses

* jẹ ; jẹ tọn → àjẹjẹtọn
eat it eat it finish "Eating without finishing"
i.e "inexhaustible (food)"

(vi) àti

Ex.

r' aṣọ .yẹn → àti r' aṣọ .yẹn
"buy that dress" "to buy that cloth"

lọ s' í.lúu wa → àti lọ s' í.lúu wa
"go to our town" "to go to our town"

(b) Prefix + Nominal Group: The nominalising prefix is oní "one who has".

When the final vowel of this prefix is elided, n → l before all vowels, except [i]. The initial vowel of the prefix is also replaced by that of the following item.

Ex.

(i) Vowel Unelided:

kiní	→	oníkiní
"That thing"		"the owner of that thing"

(ii) Vowel Elided:

With the vowel i

iṣé ọlọ.run	→	oníṣé ọlọ.run
"God's work"		"one who does God's work" i.e. "a priest"

With other vowels

orí burúkú	→	olorí burúkú
"bad head"		"a luckless person"
aṣọ	→	aláṣọ
"cloth"		"cloth seller"
epo pupa	→	elépo pupa
"palm-oil"		"one with palm-oil"
ẹron	→	ẹlẹron
"meat"		"seller of meat"

- (c) Infix + Reduplicated Nominal: The infix kí "any" comes between the two nominals.

Ex.

ǹ̀k̀̀on	→	ǹ̀k̀̀onk̀̀í̀ǹ̀k̀̀on
"something"		"anything"
oun	→	ounk̀̀óun
"thing"		"anything"
eni	→	enik̀̀éni
"person"		"any person"

- (d) Reduplicated Verbal Root + Clause: The reduplicated verbal root consists of the initial consonant of the verb plus the vowel [i] with a high tone, i.e. í.

The verbal group in the nominalised form may be of the same sequence as that in the clause or, alternatively, the sequence may be changed so that the complement precedes the verb.

Ex.

- (i) Normal Sequence:

r̀̀n	káàkiri	→	r̀̀r̀n káàkiri
walk	all about		"walking about"
gbé	'yàwó	→	gbígbé 'yàwó
take	wife		
"to get married"			"getting married"

- (ii) Alternative Sequence:

la	'jú	→	ojú lílá
			"civilisation"
kọ	'rin	→	orin kíkọ
sing	song		"singing"

(e) Reduplicated Verbal Group: This is an alternative to the "agentive" nominalisation a + clause. But unlike it, it embraces human as well as non-human agents, i.e. "one who" or "that which". It is not common.

Ex.

b* ojú → bojúbojú
cover face "one who covers face"
i.e. "hide and seek"

jè 'dí → jèdíjèdí
eat anus "that which eats the anus"
i.e. "piles"

(f) Reduplicated Noun: In this reduplication, the nouns are largely restricted to vowel initial nouns of time. The tonal and vowel changes involved in the reduplication are specified in 4.311.

Ex.

odún → odoḍodún
"year" "every year"

òsè → òsòòsè
"week" "every week"

ẹgbé → ẹgbẹẹgbé
"society" "society by society"

E5.12 Pronoun

Nominals which do not take any qualifiers when operating as Head are pronouns. They have different forms in the syntactic positions: S, C and n.

(i) Pronoun Subject

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	mo	a
2.	o	ẹ
3.	ó	wọn

These forms of the pronoun subject occur before all verbs subject to the following restrictions.

- (a) Before the verbal particle, a marked form of the first and second person pronouns occurs in addition to the above series. This marked form has a low tone.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	mò	à
2.	ò	ẹ̀

- (b) Before the preverb á "will", the subject pronoun series are:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	mà	à
2.	wà	ẹ
3.	á	wọn

- (c) Before the preverbs: kò, kì, ìbá, ìbáà, and yó., the third person singular pronoun has a zero exponent (cf. B3.112), and the first person pronoun is n. This item is also the first person pronoun before the preverb, ba, and an alternative pronoun before the preverb bá.

(d) The third person plural pronoun has a mid tone when followed by a preverb before which the SP junction does not occur. (B3.111).

(e) Pronouns do not occur before the preverb a, and the free verbs: dá "where is?", ńkó "what about?", ni "is", kó "isn't".¹

(ii) Pronoun Complement

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	mi	wa
2.	ọ/ẹ	yín
3.	Vowel of Verb	wọn

The tone of the pronoun complement (other than the second person plural) depends on the subclass of verb which precedes it - mid tone after a subclass I verb and high tone after a subclass II verb (D4.4).

The third person pronoun complement is a reduplication of the vowel of the subclass I or II verb.

Ex.

rí i	"see him"
wò ó	"look at her"
jẹ ẹ	"eat it"

When contracted according to the rules in 4.221,

rí i → ri; jẹ ẹ → jẹ.

(iii) Pronoun Qualifier

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	.mi	wa
2.	.rẹ/ẹ	yín
3.	rẹ/ẹ	wọn

¹ As an exception, the third person plural pronoun is found before the preverb a.

E5.121 Pronominals

Before the verbs in E5.12(e) above, in non-verbal clauses, and in compound nominal group structures, pronouns do not occur. Their places are taken instead by pronominals - a closed-system subclass of nouns which are pronoun substitutes in these structures.¹

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	èmi	àwa
2.	ìwọ	ẹyin
3.	òun	àwọn

In these structures in which both pronouns and pronominals may occur, the contrast between them corresponds to that between an emphatic term and a non-emphatic term of a system.²

Ex.

<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Pronominal</u>
<u>mo</u> rò pé , , , .	è <u>mí</u> -rò pé
"I think that"	" <u>I</u> think that"
* ìyẹn l' <u>o</u> rí	ìyẹn n' <u>ìwó</u> rí
"That is what you see"	"That is what <u>you</u> see."

¹ For the theoretical status of substitution in linguistic description, See R.H. Robins (25), p.140, note 3.

² Perhaps it is on account of this correspondence that these items have been classified as "pronouns". cf. Ward (16), p.78; Siertsema (14), p.51; Delano (6), p.lviii; and Abraham (1), p. xxix ("independent pronouns which are nouns"). Only Rowlands (11), p.377, separates them entirely from pronouns and classifies them as nominals (i.e. nouns). This is by far the best analysis because these items behave formally like nouns rather than pronouns. A further step is taken here by making them a special subclass of nouns.

After verbs of reporting (ní, pé "say), the third person pronominal is also the reflexive equivalent of the pronoun, when the subject preceding the verb is a nominal group other than a first or second person pronoun. The correspondence may be stated as follows:

	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Pronominal</u>
3rd Singular:	Non-Reflexive	Reflexive
3rd Plural:	Neutral	Reflexive

Ex.

- (3rd Singular) ó ri pé òun l' ówó cf ó
 "He saw that he himself had money" he: not himself.
- (3rd Plural) wón á ní wón ñ d' áşọ ẹbí cf awón
 "They will say that they are they themselves.
 buying family dress" i.e. they
 themselves or not themselves.

E5.122 Systems of Number and Person

There is a system of number and a system of person at any place in nominal group structure where a pronoun or a pronominal occurs.¹

The terms in the systems are:

- (i) Number: Singular and Plural
- (ii) Person: 1st Person, 2nd Person, 3rd Person
 (indicated by the figures 1, 2, 3 in the series listed above).

¹ The contextual reference of the 3rd person pronoun to non-human objects is not accounted for by these systems.

The contextual equivalence of the two systems is as follows:

Speaker : mo, ẹmi

Speaker +
(Addressee(s) or

Other Person(s): a, awa

	Within speaker's social group	Outside speaker's social group
Addressee :	o, iwọ	ẹ, ẹyin

Addressees : ẹ, ẹyin

	Within speaker's social group	Outside speaker's social group
Other Person :	ó, oun	wọn, awọn

Other Persons : wọn, awọn

E5.2 Clause rankshifted as nominal

A clause may be found at a place usually occupied by a nominal in a nominal group structure. Such a clause is a clause rankshifted as a nominal.

Ex.

(i) Clause as H

(a) Without Qualifier

à ñ lo sọ̀sì ọ m' oní.gbàgbó

We go to the church

"Going to the church does not prove a Christian"

(b) With Qualifier

k' ẹ.ńyòn máa w' ẹ.ésú .yẹn

One should contribute to the thrift fund

"That question of contributing to the thrift fund"

(ii) Clause as n

Ờrọ pé wọn tiẹ́ ò ta 'n̄kọ̀n .yí
talk say they are even selling things this
"This question of people selling things"

E5.3 The Nominal as Head

All nominals can be H in nominal group structure. (For other items as head, see E12)

Ex.

àlùfáà .kọ̀n

"one priest"

àwọ̀n mọ̀tọ̀ kẹ̀kẹ̀kẹ̀ .wọ̀nyẹ̀n

they car small those

"Those small cars"

òpòlọ.pòọ̀ wọ̀n

"myriads of them"

E5.4 The Nominal Qualifier

Any nominal may be an exponent of the nominal qualifier.

E5.41 Subclasses of Nominals at n

There are two subclasses of nominals at n:

(i) Marked

(ii) Unmarked

E5.411 Marked Nominal

A marked nominal is marked as restricted to the position, n by the genitival particle ti "of".

Ex.

âşa t' ôyìnbó

custom of European

"European customs"

âwọn ọmọ ti: ìsìnyín

they child of nowadays

"The present generation of children"

Marked pronouns are :

	Singular	Plural
1.	-	ti wa
2.	-	ti yín
3.	ti rẹ	ti wọn

Marked pronominals are :

	Singular	Plural
1.	t' èmi	t' áwa
2.	t' ìrẹ	t' ẹyin
3.	t' òun	t' áwọn

(In this series, the second person singular pronominal ìwọ is replaced by ìrẹ).

A marked nominal enters into a genitival structure with the head.

E5.412 Unmarked Nominal

An unmarked nominal is one without the genitival particle. It enters into either a genitival or an appositive structure with the head.

(a) Appositive Structure

An unmarked nominal entering into an appositive structure with the head is referentially identical with the head.

The pronoun (the third person singular excepted) which can be substituted for an appositive structure is of the same number and person as the pronoun qualifier. (cf.E10.112)

Ex.

(i) With Pronoun Qualifier

gbogboo wa (kó l' a)

all us we
(pronoun substituted)
"all of us"

olórí burúkú ẹ (o)

luckless person you you
"You luckless person" (pronoun substituted)

gbogboo yín .yí // (oré .mi ni yín)

all you this you
"all of you" (pronoun substituted)

(ii) With Noun Qualifier

òyìnbóo dókità

European doctor
"A European doctor"

inó ìmòṅmòṅó

fire lightning
"lightning"

ẹyin obìnrin

you women
"you women"

The appositive structure with the pronominal àwọn as head is the structure most commonly used to indicate "more than one-ness".¹

¹ It has not been considered necessary to set up a system of number for Yoruba nouns, since "plurality" or "singularity" of nouns can only be inferred from the context or co-text. cf. Carnochan (20) pp.114-5.

Ex.

H		Hn	
ìyàwó	"wife or wives"	àwọ̀n ìyàwó	"wives"
ọ̀jà	"market or markets"	àwọ̀n ọ̀jà	"markets"
ọ̀mọ	"child or children"	àwọ̀n ọ̀mọ	"children"

(b) Genitival Structure

An unmarked nominal entering into a genitival structure cannot be identical with the head.

Ex.

bàbáa wa

father our

"our father"

ilú òyinbó

country European

"country of Europeans i.e. England".

àwoó koríko


"colour of leaves i.e. green colour"

Contextually, an unmarked nominal in a genitival structure contrasts with a marked nominal in that the latter is always "possessive" (i.e. expresses a general sense of "belonging to"), whereas the former is not necessarily so.

(i) Marked * aṣọ t' ebí

dress of family

"dress of the family" i.e. dress belonging to the family.

- (ii) Unmarked aṣọ ebí  "dress belonging to the family"
"family dress" - dress worn by
all the family on a special occasion.

When the marked and the unmarked nominals are "possessive" the marked nominal is a more emphatic "possessive".

Ex.

àṣà	òyìnbó	"European custom"
àsa	t' òyìnbó	"Custom of Europeans"
ọjàa	wa	"Our Market"
ọjàa	ti wa	"the market of ours"

E5.42 The Rankshifted Nominal Qualifier

A nominal group may be rankshifted as a nominal qualifier. Such a rankshifted nominal group may, like a nominal at n, be marked or unmarked. An unmarked rankshifted nominal group is usually found in a genitival structure except after a head which is (a) a pronominal, (b) a personal or place name, or (c) a nominal which rarely takes a qualifier other than a nominal qualifier. In these cases it is usually found in an appositive structure.

Ex.

(i) Marked

ọmọ	<u>ti ilú</u>	<u>.mín</u>
child	of town	another
"a child belonging to another town"		
àṣa	<u>t' àwon</u>	<u>òyìnbó</u>
custom	of they	European
"the customs of the Europeans"		

(ii) Unmarked

(a) In Genitival Structure

èro okòṅ wọ̀n
 thought heart their

"Their thoughts"

ènyọ̀n àwọ̀n t' ó kù
 people they who remain

"The relations of the rest"

(b) In Appositive Structure

ìwọ iyàwó .mi
 you wife my

"You, my wife"

ẹ̀yin ará .mi
 you relation my

"You, my friends"

Since the structure of a rankshifted nominal group may consist of a head plus a nominal qualifier (Hn), there is a possibility of recursive Hn structures.

Ex.

ìyáa	bàbáa	wa	"Our father's mother
mother	father	our	i.e. our grandmother"
H	n		
	H	n	

ìtọ̀jú	àwọ̀n	arúgbóo	wa	"the care of our
care	they	old people	our	aged persons"
H	n			
	H	n		
		H	n	

E6 Classes of Words : The Adjective

The class of words operating at j is adjective. It is an open set of words.

Ex.

kékeré "small", púpò "many", dúdú "black"
funfun "white", rere "good", díẹ "little"
líle "hard".

Hj Structures

kólà funfun "a dog collar"
collar white
ọjà kékeré "a small market"
market
àpẹrẹ rere "a good example"
example
iṣẹ líle "a hard job"
work

Adjectives display a system of intensification which consists of the terms: Intensive; Non-intensive.

The intensive term has as its exponent a reduplicated form of the non-intensive term.

Ex.

Non-Intensive	Intensive	
burúkú	burúkú burúkú	"bad"
ńlá	ńlá ńlá	"big"
kékeré	kékeré kékeré	"small"

Contextually, the intensive term almost always indicates "more than one-ness".

Ex.

àşà burúkú burúkú
"bad customs"

àşà burúkú
"a bad custom/bad customs"

E7 Classes of Words : The Numeral

The class of words operating at 1 is numeral.

Numerals may be classified into four subclasses: Types 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Type 1 Ex. mé.jí mē.wá má.rún àbò mé.jídínlógún
"two" "ten" "five and a half" "eighteen"¹

Type 2 Ex. mé.jèèjì mē.tèèta mé.jèèje mē.wèèwá
"both" "all three" "all seven" "all ten"
(This series is limited to 2 - 10)

Type 3 Ex. .kòòkò mē.jí mējì mē.són mē.són
"one each" "two each" "nine each"
mē.rīnlá mērīnlá
"fourteen each"

Type 4 Ex. èke.jí, .ke.jí èkẹ.fà, .kẹ.fà èke.je, .ke.je
"second" "sixth" "seventh"
èke.jílá .ke.jílá
"twelfth"

For multiples of ten from twenty upwards, there are only two subclasses.

(i) Non-Reduplicated

ogún "twenty"
ogbọn "thirty"

(ii) Reduplicated

ogoogún "twenty each"
ogboogbọn "thirty each"

¹ The series of items for naming the figures 1, 2, 3 etc. and for counting e.g. óókò, ééjì, ééta; ení, èjì, èta "One! Two! Three!"
"1, 2, 3"
are nouns.

Morphologically, the relation of the four subclasses to one another is uniform for all numerals except "one".²

Ex.

<u>Type 1</u>	<u>Type 2</u>	<u>Type 3</u>	<u>Type 4</u>
mé.jí	mé.jèèjí	mé.jí mé.jí	èke.jí, .ke.jí
mé.rin	mé.rèèrin	mé.rín mé.rin	èkẹ.rin, .kẹ.rin

The subclasses Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 are mutually exclusive,³ and they precede Type 4 in nominal group structure.

Ex.

<u>Type 1</u>	ọjó	<u>má.rún</u>	"five days"
	şílè	<u>mé.jí àbò</u>	"two and a half shillings i.e. a half-crown"
<u>Type 2</u>	àwọn	<u>mé.tèèta</u>	"all three of them"
<u>Type 3</u>	ìyàwó	<u>mé.jí mé.jí</u>	"two wives each"
<u>Type 4</u>	ọjó	<u>.kejí</u>	"the second day"
	ọdún	<u>.kíní</u>	"the first year"
(Two Numerals)	*	àwọn ọmọ	<u>mé.ta</u> <u>.kíní</u>
(Type 1 - Type 4)			"the first three children"

For numerals which are multiples of ten from twenty upwards, the structure H_j is rare. The common structure with this series of numerals is an H_n structure in which the numeral is a qualifier as H. (E12.2)

Ex.

<u>ogún</u>	ọdún	"twenty of years' i.e. twenty years"
twenty	year	
<u>ogó.rún</u>	ènyò	"one hundred persons"
hundred	people	

² The series for the numeral "one" is: .kọn "one", .kọ̀kọn "one each", èkíní, .kíní "first".

³ The numeral .kọn is an exception.

There is a contrast between the two structures when the numeral is of the non-reduplicated subclass.

Ex.

Hj * orin ogún "the twentieth hymn"

Hn * ogún orin "twenty hymns"

E8 Classes of Words : The Deictic

The class of words operating at d is the deictic. It is a class of closed system items comprising the following (complete list).

.yí	"this"
.wònyí	"these"
.yẹn	"that"
.wònyẹn	"those"
nì	"that"
.wònnì	"those"
.wo	"which"
òhún	"that" ¹

Ex.

àṣa t' ilú .mín t' ọ́n mú wá .yí

"This custom belonging to another country which they've introduced"

oko .yẹn

"that farm"

àwọn tí ọ́ hí ' mọ .wònyẹn

"Those persons without children"

ìgbaa nì

"that time"

¹ The deictics .wònnì and .wònyẹn sometimes (but very rarely) precede the rankshifted qualifier.

òrò .wo "which talk"
 sòṣì òhún nóṣ "Even that church"

E9 Classes of Words : The Post-deictic

The class of words operating at t is post deictic. It comprises the following items (full list) which are not mutually exclusive.

nóṣ	"that very"
gōn	"exactly; even"
páápáá	"too"
nìkòṣ	"alone"
gbogbo	"all" ¹
kè	"even"

Ex.

áwò .yẹn nóṣ (Hdt) "That same colour"
 ilú òyìnbó .yí páápáá (Hndt) "This England too"
 áwọn gōn nóṣ (Htt) "Even they too"
 iyẹn nóṣ páápáá (Htt) "That very one too"
 obìnrin .yẹn nìkòṣ (Hdt) "That woman alone"
 oun tá à ñ sọ gbogbo (Hkt) "All the things that
 we are saying"
 bí ẹnikòṣkòṣ wa kè (Hnt) "As individuals too"

E10 The Rankshifted Qualifier

Items operating as the rankshifted qualifier are rankshifted clauses and verbal groups.

¹ The item "gbogbo" is an adjective when it precedes the rankshifted qualifier, because it is only in this structure that a deictic (immediately after the rankshifted qualifier) can follow it.

E10.1 The Rankshifted Clause

The rankshifted clause is of the structure LSP(A), with the item tí "who", "whom" "which" as clause initiator.

Ex.

àwọn tí ọ bí 'mọ .wònyẹn

"Those people who don't have children"

àwọn sisí t' ó t' Íkó wá

"The fashionable ladies who come from Lagos"

àwòń 'màle tá à ń rí .yẹn (tí à contracted to tá à)

"Those muslims whom we see"

èyí tí ọ da nọ

"That which is bad too"

àwọn tí ' ń s' isé òkó nọ (tí ó contracted to tí)¹

"Those who are engaged in teaching"

E10.11 Concord between Head and Subject

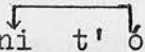
In a nominal group structure with a rankshifted clause, the subject of the clause may be :

- (i) antecedental i.e. in concord with the head,
- (ii) non-antecedental i.e. not in concord with the head,
- (iii) Neutral i.e. unmarked as to antecedental (non-antecedental and therefore potentially ambiguous.

The concord is one of person or number (See Below) .

Ex.

(i) Antecedental



 ẹni t' ó wà n' iwájú ọun

person who he is in front him

"The person who is in front of him"

¹ A possible but rare structure is a rankshifted clause with a zero exponent of the clause initiator.

Ex. ẹni mọ mọ rí "a person whom I knew before". This is the only type of rankshifted clause qualifier after the nominal bí "like" as head. Ex. bí wọn ẹ mọ "How they knew".

(ii) Non-antecedental

oun tí mo kòṣ rí
 thing which I only see
 "What I only see"

(iii) Neutral

èni t' ó bá fẹ́
 person who he happens to like

(a) Antecedental: "The person who likes"

(b) Non-antecedental; "The person whom he likes"

For the purpose of describing which of the three types a subject is, the subject of a rankshifted clause may be classified into:

- (i) Noun Subject
- (ii) Pronoun Subject
- (iii) Nominal Group Subject (i.e. nominal group with qualifier(s)).

E10.111 Noun Subject

The Noun subject is non-antecedental.

Ex.

nṣkòṣ .míṣ t' é.ńyón ma ń ẹ
 "The other things that people do"
 ìgbà t' á.lúfáàá bá ń jà
 "When the priest quarrels"

E10.112 Pronoun Subject

The pronoun subject may be subdivided into:

- (i) All pronouns except the 3rd singular
- (ii) 3rd person singular pronoun.

- (i) All pronouns except 3rd singular. When the subject is a pronoun other than the 3rd person singular, it is non-antecedental, unless the head is a pronominal of the same number and person. When the head is a pronominal of the same number and person, the pronoun is antecedental.

Ex.

- (i) With non-pronominal head

oǰǎ tá ǎ ní

"The market that we have"

oǰó tí mo kó d' Ó.yó

"The day that I first arrived in Oyo"

- (ii) With pronominal head

- (1) Of same number and person

ẹyin tí e wà n' íbí .yí

you who you are in place this

"You who are in this place"

áwọ̀n àlùfáà t' ón ñ jà d' oyè

they priest who they fight

"The priests who scramble for posts"

- (2) Of different number and person

áwọ̀n 'màle tá ǎ ñ rí .yẹn

they muslims we

"Those muslims whom we see"

ẹyin tí mo mọ

you I

"Those of you that I know"

(ii) 3rd Person singular pronoun. The third person singular is antecedental, non-antecedental or neutral

Ex.

(a) Antecedental

ẽhi t' ỏ kú

person he

"a person who died"

ảwỏn t' ỏ kú

they he

"those who are left"

(b) Non-antecedental

ỏnỏ t' ỏ bá fẻ

"the way that he likes"

nỏkỏn t' ỏ ỏ sỏ

"what he is saying"

(c) Neutral

ảwỏn t' ỏ mỏ

they he

(i) Antecedental: "Those who know"

(ii) Non-antecedental: "Those whom he knows"

ảsỏkỏ t' ỏ kỏjỏ

time it

(i) Antecedental: "The time that is past"

(ii) Non-antecedental: "The time that it passed"

Since the 3rd person singular is potentially ambiguous, it is necessary to supply a set of criteria for determining which type of subject it is in a particular case. The following criteria are

E10.113 Nominal Group Subject

The nominal group subject may be subdivided into two types:

- (i) Nominal group subject without pronoun qualifier
- (ii) Nominal group with pronoun qualifier

(i) Nominal group without pronoun qualifier: A nominal group without a pronoun qualifier is non-antecedental (i.e. like a noun subject).

Ex.

n̄̀kọ̀n kékèké tí àwọ̀n [↑] obínrín ñ fẹ́ .wọ̀nyẹ̀n

"Those small things that the women like"

n̄̀kọ̀n tí àwọ̀n [↑] ènyón máa sọ

"What people will say"

(ii) Nominal group with pronoun qualifier: A nominal group with a pronoun qualifier behaves like a pronoun subject (E10.112)

Ex.

n̄̀kọ̀n t' [↑] ókoo wá ñ sẹ

"What our husbands do"

àwọ̀n obínrín arúgbó tí oríi wón tí funfun

"The old women whose hairs are grey"

E10.12 Structures with Rankshifted Clauses

Structures with rankshifted clauses may be exemplified as follows:

(i) With one clause only

(Hjkd) íba díẹ̀díẹ̀ t' ọ̀n ñ tà .yẹ̀n

H j k d

"Those few quantities that they sell"

(Hnkd) ǎwǒn̄ 'mǎle tá ǎ ń rí .yẹn

H n k d

"Those muslims whom we see"

(ii) With more than one clause

(Hjkk) ńńkọn kékéké t' ó pọ//t' ọń lẹ wá rá

H j k k

"Petty things which are cheap and which they can come to buy"

(Hnkkk) ǎwọn ǎlùfáà t' ọń ń jǎ d' oyè//t' ọń lọ ń rí

H n k k

babaláwo//t' ọń f' oǒgùn ń sẹ
k

"The priests who scramble for posts, who consult diviners and who try to secure posts through black magic"

E10.2 Rankshifted Verbal Group

Verbal groups rankshifted as qualifiers in nominal group structure are the verbs: ní "in", sí "to, into", fún "give" ~~followed~~ *followed by* complements, and pẹlú "with".

Ex.

ílú ọyínbó n' íbí .yí (Hnk)

country European place this

"this country"

íbì .kọn ńí apáà 'sàlẹ t' ó jẹ pé

H l k k

"A certain place in the south which is ... "

ogún ọdún s' é.hín (Hnk)

twenty year to back

"Twenty years ago"

* ilé ẹ̀kọ́ gíga fún iwé kíkọ́
house knowledge high give book learning
"A high school for learning"

* ọ̀kúnrin pẹ̀lú obínrin (Hk)
men with women
"Men and women"

El1 Sub-modifiers

Nominal groups with adjectives or numerals may have in their structure adverbs (3F) modifying these qualifiers. Although an open set, these adverbs are few in number and they collocate with particular qualifiers or class of qualifiers. For example, nini with the adjectives meaning "cold", "white" or "new"; soṣo with the numeral 'one' and péré with numerals.

Ex.

òkèlẹ̀ mé.jí péré
morsel two only
"Two morsels only"

ọ̀dun .kọ̀n péré
"Only one year"

ìyàwó .kọ̀n soṣo
wife one only

"Only a single wife"

* aṣọ funfun nini
cloth white snow-white
"a snow-white cloth"

E12 The Head in Nominal Group Structure

The head in nominal group structure is usually a nominal. But it may also be a qualifier operating as head or a rankshifted nominal group as head.

E12.1 The Nominal as Head (See E5.3)

E12.2 The Qualifier as Head

An adjective, a numeral or a marked nominal, all of which are usually qualifiers, may be found as an exponent of the head. The structure in which this head occurs is very often of one element (i.e. H only).

Ex.

(H) mǎ á gé ti Ayọ fun
I will cut of Ayọ give him
"I will cut Ayọ's for him"

(H) kǐ í ẹ méta
"It isn't three"

(Hn) ogún ọdún "twenty years"
irinwó ẹ "thousands of it"
gbogboo wọn "all of them"

E12.3 The Rankshifted Nominal Group as Head

The rankshifted nominal group head can be either of simple or compound structure (E13).

(i) Nominal group of simple structure: The nominal group of simple structure rankshifted as head has a nominal, an adjective or a numeral qualifier. The structure with the

nominal qualifier is by far the most common of the three, and, like the nominal ~~group~~ ^{expanded by a nominal group,} qualifier, may involve recursive structures.

Ex.

(a) Structure Hn

H		n
ilé	ẹ̀kọ̀ọ̀	t' àwọn onígbàgbọ̀
house	learning	of they christian
H	n	

"The Christian schools"

H		n
òyìnbóo	dókitàà	wa
European	doctor	our
H	n	

"Our European doctor"

Two structures consisting of the same items but differing in the position of the rankshifted nominal group may be contrasted as follows:

Ex.

(i) Nominal Group as Head

(aṣọ	ẹ̀bíi	)	wọn	"Their 'family dress'"
dress	family		their	
H			n	

(ii) Nominal Group as Qualifier

* aṣọ	(ẹ̀bíi wọn)	"The dress belonging to their family"
H	n	

(b) Structures Hj; Hl

Hj	(baba	ńláá	)	wa
	father	great		our
	H			n

"our forefathers"

Hl (èdà .ke.ji) è
version second its
"the other version of it"

Hl (aago mé.ta) ọsón
clock three afternoon
"3 p.m."

Two structures consisting of the same items but differing in the sequence of these items and their places in structure may be contrasted as follows:¹

Ex.

Hn (ọjọ .ke.jí) ọsẹ
day second week
"The second day of the week"

Hnj ọjọ ọsẹ .ke.jí
"The second Sunday"

(ii) Nominal Group of Compound Structure (See E13)

E13. Compound Structures

Compound nominal group structures are of the structure:

N & N; or N N & N.

Linking items in these structures are:

(i) àti "and"

Ex.

ọlọ àt ' odó N & N

"Grinding stone and mortar"

t' imàle àti t' igbàgbó N & N

"That of the muslim and that of the christian"

¹ Cf. Rowlands (11) p.381
omọ .mi kekeré "my small child"
omọ kekeré .mi "my junior"

(ii) àti àti "both ... and"

Ex.

át ' òun át ' ídin N & N

"Both himself and the maggot"

(iii) ti ti "both ... and"

Ex.

t' ọwọ t' ẹsẹ N & N

"Both hand and foot"

(iv) tàbí, àbí "or"

Ex.

ọdún .kọn//tàbí ọdún mé.jí N & N

"One or two years"

àwọn kẹfẹrí//tàbí àwọn ìmàlẹ N & N

"The pagans or the Muslims"

(v) yálà tàbí "either ... or"

Ex.

yálà ìmàlẹ // tàbí kẹfẹrí N & N

"Either a Muslim or a pagan"

(vi) zero (Only in the structure N N & N)

Ex.

ewédú // ilá // ẹfọ // àti 'nṣkọkọn
type of vegetable

"ewedu, okra, vegetables and the like"

ọgèdẹ // ata // nṣkọkọn

"banana, pepper and the like"

The compound structure, N & N is the most common. In the structure N N... & N, there may be more than one overt linker. But usually there is only one overt linker before the final N, and zero linkers between the other N's.

Ex.

(i) With one overt linker (See (iv) above)

(ii) With more than one overt linker

òkété //tâbí àparò // tâbí èlulú.....

"The giant rat or the bush fowl or the cuckoo"

E13.1 Rankshifted Compound Structure

A compound nominal group may be rankshifted as a nominal qualifier or a head in nominal group structure.

Ex.

(i) Head

(bàbá àt ' iyáa) wa Hn

Our father and mother

(ii) Qualifier

òrò (iyálé àt ' iyàwó) Hn

"The problem of the senior and the junior wives"

n' ípa (ọlọ.run baba //ọlọ.run ọmọ //àt ' ọlọrun ẹmi mímó)

in respect of

"About God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost"

E14 Exemplification of Nominal Group Structures

	H		Q			
	n	j	l	k	ā	t
1. káńtá		kékeré				
2. orúkọ	Mòòmòdù					níkọn nọđ
3. ilú	òyínbó				.yí	páápáá
4. ọdún			.kíní t'ó sí bẹrẹ isó .yisẹ .yẹn			nọđ
5. aṣọ						
6. íba		díèdìè		t'ón ñ tà	.yẹn	
7. àwọn	mámá			t'ó, wá l' E.kó	.yẹn	
8. ilú	òyínbó			n' íbí .yí		
9. àlùfáá			.kọn	n' ínú ọgọ.rún t' ó jẹ pé...		
10. isẹ	bíi olúkọ			tá à ñ se		
11. ará	.mi			n' ípa ti olúwa		
12. ilé èkọọ	t' àwọn onígba- gbọ					
13. àṣa	t' ilú .mín			t' ón mú wá	.yí	
14. ijọ			má.rún má.rún			
15. àwa	èniyọn dúdú					
16. àwọn				tí ọ bí 'mọ	.wọn- yẹn	
17. àti s' isẹ fún ilú					.yẹn	gọn
18. àwọn	mọtò	kékèkè			.wọn- yẹn	
19. géńdè			mẹ.rin			
20. kọlá		funfun				
21. bàbá			.kọn	t' ó ñ gbé 'lée wa		
22. ẹmí	ati s' àlùfáá					
23. ọpọlọpọ	wọn					

H	Q					
	n	j	l	k	d	t
24. ẹ̀dà .keji	ẹ					
25. baba ńláa	wa					
26. ilú	ẹ̀nyọ̀n					gọ̀n
27. ẹyọ			.kọ̀n			
28. ịkọ̀kọ̀n				tí ọ̀ da		nọ̀kọ̀
29. awa	onigbàgbọ̀					pàápàá
30. àwọ̀n	'màle			tá à ń rí	.yẹ̀n	
31. àpẹ̀rẹ		rere				
32. ohun		burúkú		t' ó jẹ pé		
33. sílẹ̀			mé.jiàkọ̀			
34. gbogbo	ńkọ̀n .wọ̀nyẹ̀n					
35. àwọ̀n				t' ó l' ówo	.yẹ̀n	gọ̀n
36. bàbáa wa	Sàdàúná					
37. ẹgbé		dondon		t' ó.ún bá se	.yẹ̀n	
38. Awólọ̀.wọ̀				t' ó wá n' í. jọba	.yẹ̀n	
39. ẹyin	obínrin					nọ̀kọ̀
40. aṣọ				t' ọ̀n ń ló lọ	.yí	

Translation of Examples

1. A small counter
2. The name of Mohammed alone
3. This European country too i.e. Even this England
4. That first year in which he started to work
5. Cloth
6. The few quantities which they sell
7. Those middle-aged women who are in Lagos
8. This country
9. One priest in a hundred

10. The jobs that we do, such as teaching
11. My brethren in the Lord
12. The Christian schools
13. These customs belonging to another country which they have introduced
14. Every five days
15. We, Africans
16. Those people without children
17. That very idea of serving one's country
18. Those small cars
19. Four stalwarts
20. A white collar (i.e. a dog collar)
21. One old man who lives in our house
22. The inclination to be a priest
23. Many of them
24. The reverse of it
25. Our forefathers
26. One's own country
27. Only one
28. A few that are bad
29. Even we Christians
30. Those muslims that we see
31. A good example
32. A bad thing which ...
33. A half-crown
34. All those things
35. The very people who have money
36. Our father, Sardauna
37. That very society to which he belongs
38. That man called Awolowo who heads the government
39. You, women too
40. This type of dress that someone is wearing.

(b) Intensives

ó dùn sá "It is quite sweet"

mú 'ra gidigidi "do very well"

F1 The Adjunct: Non-Adverbial Exponents

Apart from the adverbial group, there are a few other items at A which can be identified by their structure as belonging to a class other than the adverbial group. These items are: nominal groups, verbal groups and rankshifted clauses.

F1.1 Nominal Group as Adjunct

Nominal Groups at A are:

- (a) Nominal groups with the nominals bí "like, títí "until, and the nominal beginning with the item àfi "except" as head. As H in a nominal group structure, the nominals bí and títí must be followed by a nominal qualifier or a rankshifted clause qualifier.

Ex.

bí

- (i) With nominal qualifier

won ò já fáfá bí àwōn 'mò àtìgbà

"They are not as efficient as the children of the past generation"

kò níí pò púpò bíi t' òyìnbó

"It won't be as much as that of the European"

- (ii) With rankshifted qualifier

kò da fun àwa èniyòn dúdú bí mo ti ñ wò ó sí
like I look it

"From my own point of view, it isn't good for Africans like us"

àwọn ò kò bí ijobá bá pè wón l' éjò
like government happen call them in case

"They don't care if the government sues them"

títí

(i) With nominal qualifier

* wón á lọ títí alé

"They will go towards evening"

(ii) With rankshifted qualifier

òun nìkòun á fi s' ówó 't' ó ma fi kú

"He alone will hold it until he dies"

k'ó.un l' ówó títí d' igbà .kon
reach time oñe

"He should have money until a certain time"

The nominal beginning with the item àfi involves a nominalisation of the clause with fi as predicator (i.e. prefix à + fi ...)

Ex.

wòñ ñ sábaá kiri l' É.kítí // àf'onje àárò
food morning

"Breakfast excepted, food is not usually hawked in Ekiti district"

èmi ò lè f' ara mò wón // àfi bí mo ba mò

"I can't join them unless I know "

(b) Nominal groups with the nominal torí "reason" or t' òótó "of a truth" as head, which is usually found as a complement to the verb ní "in", but which can also be an exponent of the adjunct.

(i) torí

The nominal torí is always followed by a nominal

qualifier. This qualifier is either a clause beginning with the verb pé , ~~unna~~ or any nominal.

Ex.

kò lè ju 'şu lọ / torí pé wón fé 'rōñ 'yón
reason say

"It can't be anything other than yams because they are fond of pounded yam"

wón ì ñ şe pàápàá / torí pé (tó ỏ bá fée rà //wón a
gbe wa bá e n' ílé)

(Enclosed in brackets is a sentence rankshifted after pé cf. D5 note 1)

"They still do it even so, because if you don't wish to buy it, they will bring it to you in the house"

wón ñ şe işe ỏşèlú .yẹn torí orúko
name

"They become legislators in order to be famous"

(ii) t' ỏótó

The marked nominal t' ỏótó is a qualifier as head

Ex.

ó yà 'tò t' ỏótó

"As a matter of fact, it is different"

(c) Nominal groups of the structure head plus qualifier which are exponents of the Adjunct only when the adjunct is operating as a dependent clause (For exemplification, See C2.2(c))

(d) Nominal groups of the compound structure N & N with the linker ti ... ti "both ... and".

The two nominals so linked may be the same nominal or different nominals.

Ex.

(i) With same nominal

wón gbà á t' ayọ t' ayọ
joy

"They took it with joy"

(ii) With different nominals

áwón l' à ñ wò t' owọ t' esè
hand foot

"It's them that we copy in every way"

Fl.2 Verbal Group as Adjunct

Some verbs with their complements are classified as verbal group as adjuncts. The criterion for making these verbal groups adjuncts rather than clauses is that, unlike clauses of structure P, they can be exponents of the ^{pre-}_λ emphatic element Z, they can be preceded by the clause initiator sé, and they occupy certain positions which can only be occupied by an adjunct.

There are two subclasses of these verbal groups:

- (a) Verbal groups which expound the adjunct in all clause structures.
- (b) Verbal groups which expound the predicator, and not the adjunct, in a basic clause structure.

The criterion for separating the two subclasses is that whereas the first subclass can, like other items at A, be an exponent of Z^d , the second subclass, like other items at P, cannot.

* d' ípó èyí // o yè kí "Instead of this, it is
(Adjunct as β) necessary that"

kákà t' ó ma fi jé '.kò // k' ó kúkú jé mé.jì me.jì
(Adjunct as β)

"Rather than being one, should there be two?"

Fl.3 Rankshifted Clause as Adjunct

Rankshifted clauses at A are:

(a) The clause with the initiator tí.

In this clause, the preverb bá is obligatory unless another clause with the same initiator precedes it, or the predicator of the clause is jé pé "is that", or the verb after which the clause is an adjunct is one of the following: gbó "hear"; rí "see"; tó "to be enough"; pé "to be late"; se "do"; wà, bẹ, ni "is".

Ex.

(i) With preverb bá

inú .mi á dùn t' ó bá kúrò

"I shall be glad if it stops"

à á ma d' é.ésú tá a bá ti ñ s' isé

"We will start a thrift fund as soon as we have started working"

(ii) Without preverb bá

(1) After another clause (See Cl (iv))

(2) With predicator

àgbájọ ọwọ l' a lè fi sọ 'ya // t' ó jé pé á á dùn gòn

"It is only a collection of fists that can strike the chest with the result that it sounds well"

i.e. "United we stand"

(3) After verb

ó pẹ t'ón ti n̄ kiri

"It's a long time since they've been hawking wares"

o tiẹ sẹ tó o wá

You even did it that you come

"Thank you even for coming"

t'ón bá gbọ t' é.nyòn .kón p' olówó n̄kón

"If they hear that somebody is hawking something"

àwọn ni a lè máa rí // tá a lè máa fi so pé

"It's them that we could be seeing and be saying that"

àwọn obinrin .míń wá t'áaraa wón gbó 'nó

"There are other women who are jealous"

(b) The clause with the preverb kí.

Except in the case where the preverb tóó or ba is in the predicator of the clause, the fact that the clause is a rankshifted clause at A is indicated solely by its inclusion in one contour group with the preceding clause.

Ex.

òún fẹ́ẹ ri k' ó.un tóó kú

"She wanted to see it before she died"

ó gb' ódó wá l' á.tilé // k' ó ba lè ma gún 'yón n' íbí

"She brought a mortar from home so that she might pound yams here"

ó yẹ k' ó lè máa y' ayò .yẹn

"It is necessary that she should have that merriment"

wōń fẹ́ k' ó s' òfò

"They don't want it to be wasted"

ènyòn ọ k'í í wà k' ó má. ní sùgbón

"A man doesn't exist without a fault i.e. there isn't any man without a fault"

F2 The Adjunct: In Clause Structure

There are two secondary classes of the adjunct corresponding to the secondary elements A_1 , A_2 .

The initial adjunct (A_1) precedes the clause final element, and the final adjunct (A_2) may be preceded or followed by the clause final element in clause structure.

Exponents of the final adjunct are rankshifted clauses or items with rankshifted clauses as qualifiers.¹

Ex.

bí mo tí ñ wò ó sí	"as I see it"
àfi bí mo bá mọ	"unless I know"
t' ó bá kúrò	"if it stops"
k' ó tóó d' alẹ	"before evening arrives"

Adverbs, and items without rankshifted clauses as qualifiers, are initial adjuncts.

Ex.

pátápátá	"completely"
díẹ díẹ	"gradually"
áf' onjẹ áárọ	"except breakfast"
l' ójú èmi	"in my own view"
fún 'gbà díẹ	"for some time"

¹ Some rankshifted clauses with k'í are initial adjuncts only.

F2.1 Structures with the Adjunct

Clause structures with the adjunct may be exemplified as follows:

- SPA₁A₁ kò níí pò púpò bíi t' òyínbó
"It won't be so much as the European's"
- SPA₁A₁^o ó dùn gōn l' ójú èmi òò
"In my view, it is very sweet"
- SPA₁A₂ wọn á ti s' isẹ diẹ fún '.gbà diẹ k' ó tóó di pé
"They would have worked for some time before "
- SPA₁oA₂ emi ò lè sọ òò / torí mi ì tí ì r' í.dí è
"I can't say because I don't know the cause yet"
- ZxSA₁ èniyọ̀n ni wọn bíi ti wa
"They are people like us"
- ZxSA₂ wọn ma k' ówó f' ókọ ni t' ódún bá dé
"The fact is that they are going to give their husbands money by festival time"
- ZxSPA₁A₁ kí l' ó bèrẹ aṣọ ẹbí .yí gōn nó
"How did this custom of buying family dress really start?"

F2.2 The Adjunct and the Complement

The adjunct may be contrasted with the complement in those cases in which the verb is an unmarked low tone verb.

Whereas the junction between the verb and the complement is a mid tone (D4.3), that between the verb (as predicator) and the adjunct is a low tone.

Ex.

(i) Verb + Complement

mọ ilée tồ "know how to run the family"
C

ro òrò nóò wò "consider the matter"
C

(ii) Verb + Adjunct

mọ n'ípa t' onje .yen "know about the food question"
A

rò bí mo lè sé "think that I can do it"
A

When an item can be an adjective as well as an adverbial group, ambiguous clause structures may result. Examples of such items are: dada "good, well"; diè "small, a little"; púpò "many, much".

Ex.

wọn á ti s' isé diè
they will have done work little

(i) Clause structure SP with C isé diè

"They would have done some work"

(ii) Clause structure SPA with C isé "work"; A diè "a little".

"They would have worked a little"

The ambiguity may be resolved by substituting a pronoun complement for the nominal complement

i.e. SP wọn á ti sé "They would have done it"

SPA wọn á ti sé diè "They would have done it a little"

F2.3 The Adjunct in Discontinuous Verbal Group

Although the adjunct is shown in clause structure as preceded by the predicator, there are a few rare cases of the adjunct only partially preceded by the predicator. Such cases involve a discontinuous verbal group structure.

Ex.

b' ó ti yọ gbùrù s' í:ta (SPA)

A
"As soon as it bursts out"

ó tún yá 'tò diẹ sí t' àwọn alá.durà (SPA)

"It is a little different too from that of the Apostolic sect"

3G FREQUENCY OF CLASSES AND STRUCTURES

The preceding chapters of Section 3 are entirely devoted to a display and exemplification of the different classes and structures in the Grammar of Yoruba, with all classes and structures getting roughly equal prominence. In fact, from the descriptive point of view, not all structures and classes are equally important. A very common structure or class deserves to be given more prominence than a very rare one. The section that follows is designed to put the various structures and classes into perspective by showing, through a frequency count, how common or rare they are. For the purpose of the counting, 600 sentences, 1,000 clauses, 1,275 verbal groups and 2,500 nominal groups are selected at random from the text.

G1 The Sentence

Figures for the sentence show that the simple sentence structure is far more common than the compound sentence structure (95.5% : 4.5%). Of the 573 simple sentence structures, 433 (or 75.6%) are one-element sentence structures. This means that one-element sentence structures account for 72.2% of all sentence structures. Sentence structures of more than one element are 140 in number or 24.4% of the simple sentence structures (the number of β 's in these structures is indicated in the table below).

SIMPLE	Structure α	433	(72.2%)	<u>TOTAL</u>
	Structure $\beta\alpha$	One β	113		(18.8%)
		Two β 's	24	(4%)
		More than two β 's	3	(.5%)
				<u>Total</u> 140 (23.3%)
COMPOUND	Two Sen.	25	(4.2%)	27 (4.5%)
	More than two Sen.	2	(.3%)	
				600 (100%)

G2 The Clause

The class distribution of the 1,000 clauses counted is as follows: Free Clause, 64.5%; Dependent Clause, 21.5%; and Rankshifted Clause, 14%.

G2.1 The Free Clause

A free clause has a very high probability of being affirmative. Of the 645 free clauses, 579 are affirmative, 55 interrogative, and only 11 imperative.¹ The breakdown of free clauses into verbal and non-verbal shows that verbal free clauses are predominant. Only 50 (or roughly 6%) of the total number of free clauses are non-verbal.

¹ The relative paucity of imperative clauses in the text is probably due to its contextual register.

G2.11 The Verbal Free Clause

Well over half of verbal free clauses (62.8%) are of basic structure. Of this percentage only .07% have a structure without a subject (i.e. P(A)); the rest are of a basic structure with a subject (i.e. SP(A)). (For a further breakdown of the exponents of S in these structures into overt exponents and zero exponents, See Table below).

Subsidiary clause structures are 222 in number, and 37.7% of the total number of verbal clauses. Of this number, structures with the emphatic element are the most numerous (156 or 70.3% of the total). Structures with the two other subsidiary elements (clause initiator and clause final element) number 30 and 47 respectively. Since a combination of the emphatic element with either of the last two elements is possible, the figures given immediately above are likely to exceed the total number of subsidiary clauses. In fact, they do by 11. This is the number of clauses with more than one subsidiary element of structure; and it shows that most subsidiary clauses (211 out of 222) have only one subsidiary element of structure.

			<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
BASIC	Structure SP(A)	With Overt S	With Junction 296	334 (56.83%)	369 (62.73%)
			Without Junction 38		
	With Zero S	35 (5.9%)			
	Structure P(A)	4 (.07%)			373 (62.8%)
	With I	30 (5.04%)			
SUBSIDIARY	With x	With Predicator 85	156 (24.36%)	47 (7.9%)	(Less 11 structures with more than one element)
		Without Predicator 71			
	Weak Subclass 21	222 (37.2%)			
	Strong Subclass 26				
					595 (100%)

G2.2 The Dependent Clause

Unlike the free clause, most dependent clauses are non-verbal (80% of the total number of dependent clauses). These non-verbal clauses are generally of a basic structure (78.6% Basic; 1.4% Subsidiary), and those having a basic element S far outnumber those having a basic element A (50.3% and 29.7% respectively). The verbal dependent clauses are almost entirely those having a subsidiary structure with a clause initiator (41 out of 43).

VERBAL	Basic (Structure with S only)	2 (.9%)			<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Subsidiary	With I	41	<u>Total</u>			
		With x	Nil	41 (19.1%)			
		With o	Nil	43 (20%)			
NON-VERBAL	Basic	Concordial	56	<u>Total</u>	169 (78.6%)		
		Non-Concordial	Introductory	48		<u>Total</u>	
			Vocative	3		51 (49.8%)	
	Structure A	62 (28.8%)					
	Subsidiary	Concordial	Nil			<u>Total</u>	172 (80%)
		Non-Concordial	Introductory	1		<u>Total</u>	
Vocative			Nil	1 (.5%)			
Structure Ao		2 (1.4%)			3 (1.4%)		
					<u>215 (100%)</u>		

G2.3 The Rankshifted Clause

Rankshifted clauses are all verbal clauses. Of the total number of 140 rankshifted clauses, 111 (or 79.2%) are of a subsidiary structure, all of them having the clause initiator ti. The remaining 29 clauses of a basic structure are almost entirely those having the preverb ki¹₂. Three of these clauses have a double exponent of the subject.

G3 The Verbal Group

The verbal groups counted are distributed in the four possible syntactic positions as follows:

Verbal Group at P	:	1,000
" " " x	:	178
" " " A	:	95
Verbal Group rankshifted at k	:	<u>2</u>
Total		<u><u>1,275</u></u>

G3.1 Verbal Group at P

This syntactic position is the primary one for the verbal group. As shown in the table above, the total number of verbal groups at P is 1,000.

G3.11 Frequency of Structures

Verbal group structures are classified into two: structures of only one element (i.e. f only) and structures of more than one element (i.e. f with other element(s)). The latter of these two types

of structures is predominant (87.4% of the total number of verbal groups). In the structures with more than one element, the figures show that the most common elements of structure found in combination with f are C and r with 570 and 502 occurrences respectively out of a possible 874. The total number of occurrences of all elements with f is 1339. Since there are only 874 structures of more than one element, the difference of 465 shows that 46.5% of verbal group structures having more than one element have at least three different elements of structure.

			<u>TOTAL</u>
f only	126	(12.6%)	126 (12.6%)
	With	138 (13.8%)	
	With r	502 (50.2%)	*
f with other elements	With b	56 (5.6%)	874 (87.4%)
	With p	73 (7.3%)	
	With C	570 (57%)	
			1,000 (100%)

- * Total number of occurrences of other elements with f1,339
- Total number of structures having more than one element.... 874
- Total number of structures having f with at least two other elements 465

G3.12 Density of Elements of Structure

The density of elements of structure per verbal group is obtained by counting the number of occurrences of the same element of structure and dividing the result by the number of structures having that element.

The figures obtained show that the density is roughly 1 in each case.

	<u>Number of Structures</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences of Element</u>	<u>Density</u>
f	1,000	1,060	1.06
r	502	628	1.25
b	56	56	1.
p	73	73	1.
C	570	640	1.14

(The density of the element \emptyset is a constant 1, since there cannot be more than one occurrence of it in one structure.)

G3.13 The Preverb

Subclasses of the preverb are distributed as follows:

Restricted	.....	279
Unrestricted	...	202
Negator	.....	<u>147</u>
Total	....	<u>628</u>

G3.14 Verb-Nominal Collocation

Verb-nominal collocations are predominantly separable ones.

SEPARABLE	506 (79.1%)		<u>TOTAL</u> 506 (79.1%)
	Non-Unique	117 (18.2%)	134 (20.9%)
FIXED	Unique	17 (2.7%)	
			640 (100%)

G3.15 Distribution in Systems

Verbal groups are distributed as follows in the following systems:

LINKAGE:	Linked	35 (3.5%)
	Unlinked	965 (96.5%)
EMPHASIS:	Emphatic	2 (.2%)
	Non-Emphatic	998 (99.8%)
POLARITY:	Positive	746 (74.6%)
	Negative	132 (13.2%)
	Double Polarity	122 (12.2%)

G4 The Nominal Group

The distribution of the 2,500 nominal groups shows that nominal groups of compound structure are comparatively rare. Most of the simple structures are H only.

SIMPLE	H only	1542 (61.6%)	2474 (99%)
	HQ	932 (37.3%)	
COMPOUND	26 (1%)		26 (1%)
			2,500 (100%)

G4.1 H-only Structures

H-only structures are distributed in terms of exponents and syntactic positions as shown in the table below. The figures show that just over half of H-only structures (826 out of 1542) are pronouns which occupy only two syntactic positions (i.e. S and C). Most pronouns are found at S (670 at S, 156 at C). The corresponding figures for nouns (other than pronominals) show a striking contrast (134 at S, 376 at C). Whereas pronouns are predominantly S, nouns (other than pronominals) are predominantly C. Pronominals, like pronouns, are predominantly S (38 at S, 2 at C). The only class that can expound an H-only structure at A is the qualifier as H.

	S	C	Z	A	<u>TOTAL</u>
Pronoun	670	156	-	-	826 (53.6%)
Pronominal	38	2	8	-	48 (3.1%)
Nouns (Other than pronominals)	134	376	93	-	603 (39.1%)
Qualifier as H	4	31	4	4	43 (2.8%)
Clause rank- shifted as nominal	14	7	1	-	22 (1.4%)
<u>TOTAL</u>	860 (55.8%)	572 (37.1%)	106 (6.9%)	4 (.2%)	1542 (100%)

G4.2 HQ Structures

HQ structures may be examined from three points of view: Syntactic position, Distribution of secondary elements of structure, and Exponent of H.

G4.21 Syntactic Position

The syntactic positions occupied by the nominal groups of structure HQ are, with the exception of H and n, the same as those occupied by nominal groups of structure H. Almost half (43.5%) of the total number of nominal groups with qualifiers occur at C. The number of such nominal groups at S is just a little over half of the number at C (26%). A comparison of the distribution of nominal groups of either structure (i.e. H only and HQ) shows that nominal groups at A are almost entirely HQ. The largest number of H-only structures (55.8%) is found at S, whereas the largest number of HQ structures (43.5%) is found at C.

S	242	(26%)
C	404	(43.5%)
Z	93	(9.9%)
n	142	(15.2%)
H	4	(.4%)
A	47	(5%)
<hr/>		
TOTAL	932	(100%)
<hr/>		

G4.22 Distribution of Secondary Elements of Structure

The most common secondary element of structure is the nominal qualifier which accounts for 553 out of a possible total of 932 structures with qualifier(s). These figures show that over half of all nominal groups with qualifiers have nominal qualifiers. The difference between the total number of occurrences of qualifiers and the total number of nominal groups with qualifiers gives the number of structures with more than one qualifier. This number (88) is surprisingly small.

Nominal	553
Adjective	30
Numeral	64
Rankshifted	215
Deictic	107
Post-deictic	55

Total number of occurrences of qualifiers	1,024
Total number of nominal groups with qualifiers	932
Total number of structures having more than one qualifier	88

G4.221 The Nominal Qualifier

A breakdown of nominal qualifiers into marked and unmarked shows that all but a few of them are unmarked (538 unmarked; 15 marked). Nouns (other than pronominals) constitute the largest number of the unmarked ones, whereas pronouns constitute the largest number of the marked ones.

	<u>Unmarked</u>	<u>Marked</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Pronoun	119	7	126
Pronominal	6	Nil	6
Nouns (other than pronominals)	241	4	245
Clause rankshifted as nominal	34	Nil	34
Nominal Group (with qualifier)	138	4	142
TOTAL	538	15	553

G4.222 The Rankshifted Qualifier

The rankshifted qualifier is expounded by a clause or a verbal group. Of the two classes, the clause is the predominant exponent (93.4%). In most of the structures having rankshifted clause qualifiers, there is only one clause. A division of the clauses into antecedental, non-antecedental and neutral shows most of them to be either of the first two (103, 106 and 10 respectively).

		<u>TOTAL</u>
CLAUSE*	One clause 186	201 (93.4%)
	Two clauses 12	
	More than two clauses 3	
VERBAL GROUP	14 (6.6%)	14 (6.6%)
		215 (100%)

* Antecedental 103
 Non-Antecedental 106
 Neutral 10
 Total 219

G4.23 Exponent of H

The exponent of H is, as may be expected, almost always a nominal. The figures are as follows:

		<u>TOTAL</u>
NOMINAL	920	920
QUALIFIER	8	8
NOMINAL GROUP	Simple 4	4
	Compound Nil	
		932

G4.3 Compound Structures

Compound nominal group structures are mainly those having two nominal groups linked (88.5% of the total). The usual syntactic position is either S or C.

	S	C	Z	n	H	A	<u>TOTAL</u>
Two N's	8	8	3	4	Nil	Nil	23 (88.5%)
More than two N's	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	3 (11.5%)
TOTAL	9 (34.6%)	9 (34.6%)	3 (11.5%)	5 (19.3%)	Nil	Nil	26 (100%)

3H ANALYSIS OF SAMPLES FROM THE TEXT

SAMPLE A

(i) Text

(1) wọn ì ñ se é pàápàá / torí pé^(1a) t' ó tò bá bá réfẹ́
 they still do it even reason say if you not happen want
 rà // wọn á gbe wá bá ẹ n' ílẹ́ // ⁽²⁾ ẹmí tiẹ
 buy they will take it come meet you in house I even
 l' ọ.rẹ .kọn t' ó jẹ pé ^(2a) wọn wá gbe ba n'
 have friend one who it is say they came take it meet her in
 ílẹ́ // ⁽³⁾ kò fẹ́fẹ́ rà // ⁽⁴⁾ wọn wá gbe ba
 house she not want buy they came take it meet her
 n' ílẹ́ ni pàápàá // ⁽⁵⁾ wọn dẹ ba rọn // ⁽⁶⁾ wọn
 in house is even they and help her sew it they
 dẹ wá gbe ba n' ílẹ́ // ⁽⁷⁾ ọ dẹ ní l' á.ti
 and came take it meet her in house she and had in to
 sọn 'wó ẹ // ⁽⁸⁾ àwọ̀n 'mín nọ́ọ ñ se bẹ ẹ // ⁽⁹⁾ wọn ñ
 pay money its they other too do like it they
 f' itijú k' árun // ⁽¹⁰⁾ wọn á ní ma sọn
 with shame contract disease they will say be paying it
 díẹdíẹ // sùgbọ́n ⁽¹¹⁾ ọ ti ñ d' igbèsè s' á.wọn
 little little but it has become debt to them
 t' ó ñ mú: aṣọ ẹbí l' ọrun / ní torí pé: ^(11a) n'
 who he take dress family in neck for reason say by
 í.sín // tí ñ bá m' áṣọ ẹbí // mo mò pé ^(11b) gbogbo
 now if I happen take dress family I know say all
 yín .yí // ọré .mi ni yín // ⁽¹²⁾ mà á gé ti : Ayọ
 you this friend my is you I will cut that of Ayọ

fun //mà á ge : t' èyin fun //(14)mà á gé
 give him I will cut that of you give him I will cut
 ti: sisíi wa t' ó jó.kó .yí fun //(15)mo mọ
 that of lady our who she sits this give her I know
 wí pé : (16) à // mo ní / (16a)òrẹ .mi //wọn á sọn
 say say yes! I say friend my they will pay
 'wó fún mi // sùgbón (17) ń 'gbà t' a ma : //
 money give me but at time that we will
 òkú á ma dun // (18)gbogbo è á ma dun //
 funeral ceremony will be grand all it will be grand
 (19)ó di pé (19a)kí ń sọ pé / (19b)owó aşọ
 it becomes say should I say say money cloth
 dà // (20) à // èmi i mà i tí i ní
 where is? oh! I not emphatic still have still had
 ọo // (21)bẹ è kẹ // èrín l' a fi : gba aşọ
 like it even laughter is we with got cloth
 .yẹn ọo // (22)ó lẹ jẹ pé (22a)ija l' a ma fi pa
 that it may be say fight is we will with end
 'rí è //
 it

(Different speakers at Sentences 1 and 8)

(ii) Translation

Even now, it (i.e. buying family dress) is still done. Even if you are not interested in buying, the dress will be brought to you. There is even a friend of mine to whom it was brought. Although she wasn't interested, the cloth was made into a dress and sent to her. And, of course, she had to pay for it.

Others buy family dress in order to keep up with the Joneses. They decide to pay by instalments. At present,

those who organise the buying of family dress run the risk of financial loss. Suppose I buy some cloth and cut a piece for Ayo, a piece for you and another for this lady sitting here, I might say that you are all friends of mine and that I could count on you to pay for the cloth. But when the grand ceremonies are over, I might ask you for money and you might tell me that you couldn't pay yet. This might result in a quarrel, in spite of our friendship.

(iii) Grammatical Analysis¹

In this analysis, a figure indicates the beginning of a new sentence, and a figure plus a letter indicates the beginning of a sentence rankshifted after the verbs pé, ní "say" within the sentence indicated by the figure. (For example, (1), (2), (3) are three successive sentences; (1a) is a sentence within (1); (2a) is a sentence within (2)).

(1) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SPAA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.; P, vb. gp. str. r_gfC (î ñ şe é); C, nom. gp. str. H, pro.; first A, A₁ adv; second A, A₂ nom. gp. str. Hn; n, cl. r/s as nominal str. fC (pé n' flé), C r/s sentence (1a).

(1a) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.; P, vb. gp. str. rrff (ò rà), junction between fr. verbs. α , fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.; P, vb. gp. str. rfCffC; both C nom. gp.

¹ Abbreviations used in this analysis are: str. (structure), cl. (clause), nom. gp. (nominal group), vb. gp. (verbal group), adv. (adverb), pro. (pronoun), pronom. (pronominal), r/s (rankshifted), fr. (free), dep. (dependent).

str. H, pro.; A, vb. gp. str. pC (n' ílé); C, nom. gp.
str. H, noun.

- (2) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pronom;
P, vb. gp. str. rfC (tiè n'ílé); C, nom. gp. str.
Hjk (òré n'ílé); k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp.
str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (2a).
- (2a) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.;
P, vb. gp. str. fffC; C, nom. gp. str. H, pro.; A, vb.
gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun
- (3) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, zero exponent; P, vb. gp.
str. rff, junction between fr. verbs.
- (4) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSA; Z, r/s cl. str. [As for (2a)];
S, zero exponent; A, adv.
- (5) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.;
P, vb. gp. str. rbCfC; both C, nom. gp. str. H, pro.
- (6) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rffCfC; both C, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
A, (As for 2a).
- (7) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H noun
involving nominalisation: àti + cl.
- (8) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. Hnt; P, vb.
gp. str. η fC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn.
- (9) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P,
vb. gp. str. η bCfC; both C nom. gp. str. H. noun
- (10) - (11) Compound Sentence str. Sen. & Sen.
- (10) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P,
vb. gp. str. rfC; C, r/s sentence (10a)

- (10a) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. PA; P, vb. gp. str. bfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, pro; A, adv.
- (11) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. r η fCpCpC (ti l'òrùn); first and third C, nom. gp. str. H, noun; second C nom. gp. str. Hk; k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. η fC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn; A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn (torí ni yín); n, r/s cl. as nominal str. fC; C, r/s sentence (11a).
- (11a) Str. $\beta\beta\alpha$; first β , dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun; second β , dep. cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn. α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (11b).
- (11b) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hnd; α , fr. cl. str. ZxS; Z, nom. gp. str. Hn; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.
- (12) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfCfC; first C, nom. gp. str. H, marked noun; second C, nom. gp. str. H. pro.
- (13) As for (12)
- (14) As for (12), except first C, nom. gp. (marked) str. Hnkd (sisí yí); k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fC; C, nom. gp. str. H. noun.
- (15) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fff.

- (16) - (17) Compound sentence str. Sen & Sen.
- (16) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
 α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb.
gp. str. fC; C, r/s sentence (16a)
- (16a) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hn;
 α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb.
gp. str. rfCfC; first C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
second C, nom. gp. str. H, pro.
- (17) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom.
gp. str. Hk; k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H,
pro; P, vb. gp. str. r (incomplete); α , fr. cl. str.
SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, noun; P, vb. gp. str. rbf
- (18) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. Hn; P,
vb. gp. str. rbf.
- (19) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (19a).
- (19a) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P,
vb. gp. str. rffC; C, r/s sentence (19b).
- (19b) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. Hn; P,
vb. gp. str. f.
- (20) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , (As for 16);
 α , fr. cl. str. SPo; S, nom. gp. str. H, pronoun;
P, vb. gp. str. rrrrrf.
- (21) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hnt;
 α , fr. cl. str. ZxSPo; Z, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. bfC; C, nom.
gp. str. Hd.

(22) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rffC; C, r/s sentence (22a)

(22a) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; *Z, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rbfC; C, nom.
gp. str. Hn.

He will start // He will be having //

that he happen have money // he will buy //

small // that he happen have money //

he will go open shop // he will open //

at // I think //

(5) // I think //

reason // in fact //

will // like //

usually // like //

(11) // market //

(13) // year //

will // market //

SAMPLE B

(i) Text

(1) igbà .mín n' í.síń // ẹlòmíńń wà t' ó jẹ pé
time other by now another person there is who he is say

(1a) á á bẹrẹ // (1b) á á máa kiri // (2) .gbà
he will start he will be hawking wares time

t' ó bá l' ówó si // á á ra káńtà
that he happen have money to it he will buy counter

kékeré // (3) .gbà t' ó bá tún l' ówó si //
small time that he happen again have money to it

á á lọ sí sọọbù // (4) kí í tiẹẹ ẹ torí arúgbó
he will go open shop it not even is reason old person

ni // (5) mo rò pé (5a) ǎńń 'ńkọń púpọ ni //
it is I think say not having things many it is

(6) ọun l' ó ń da gbogbo 'ńkọń .yẹn s' ílẹ // (7) ní
it is it all things those to ground for

torí (7a) n' ílúu wa // wọń kí í : // (8) l' ápá
reason in town our they not not in area

Ekítí // wọń ń kiri rárá // (9) wọń ń
Ekiti they not hawk wares at all they not

sábáá kiri // (10) bá .wo n' ọń ẹ ń ta 'ńkọń
usually hawk wares like which is they sell things?

(11) ọjà ni kẹẹ // (12) wọń ní ọjà diẹ //
market it is even they have market little

(13) ẹn // n' ílẹẹ Yòóbá .mín // wọń ń sábáá
yes! in lands Yoruba other they not usually

kiri kẹẹ // (14) ọjà kékeré / l' á.árọ / t'
hawk wares even market small in morning that

ọ́n ma nọ //⁽¹⁵⁾ t' ó bá tún d' ọ̀sọ́n //
they will go to when it happens again become afternoon

ìmíńń wà //⁽¹⁶⁾ wọ́n ń n' ọ̀jà alẹ̀ ọ̀ //
another there is they not go to market evening

(17) sà̀sà ilú ni wọ́n ń n' ọ̀jà alẹ̀ //
few towns is they go to market evening.

Different speakers at Sentences 1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14.

(ii) Translation

A: Sometimes there may be someone who starts by hawking wares. When he has more money, he will buy a stall and when he has more money still, he will establish himself in a shop. It isn't even because of old people (that people hawk wares). I think it's all due to poverty.

O: Yes, because in my town in Ekiti area, people don't hawk wares at all. They don't usually hawk wares.

A: How do they sell things?

O: Of course, they go to the market. They have a small market

N: Yes, in some parts of Yorubaland, people don't usually hawk wares.

O: A small market (in the morning) that they will go to. In the afternoon, there is another. They don't go to the market in the evening. There's no evening market.

(iii) Grammatical Analysis

(1) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hnk; k, r/s
vb. gp. str.pC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
 α , fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, noun; P, vb.
gp. str. f; A, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H,
pro; P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentences (1a), (1b).

- (1a) Str α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.
- (1b) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rbfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.
- (2) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. A, nom. gp. str. Hk;
k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rfCpC (bá ... sí); first C, nom.
gp. str. H, noun; second C, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
 α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. Hj.
- (3) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , (As for (2)), except vb. gp. str. rrfCpC.
 α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. rffC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.
- (4) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxS; Z, r/s cl. str. SP;
S, zero exponent; P, vb. gp. str. r η rfC, high tone
junction after verbal particle; C, nom. gp. str. Hn.
S, zero exponent.
- (5) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (5a).
- (5a) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxS; Z, nom. gp. str. H,
noun involving nominalisation: áì + cl; S, zero
exponent.
- (6) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. H,
pronom; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str.
 η fCpC (ń s' ílẹ) first C, nom. gp. str. Hnd;
second C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.
- (7) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom.
gp. str. Hn; n, r/s sentence (7a).
- (7a) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C,
nom. gp. str. Hn; α , fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom.
gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rr η (incomplete)

- (8) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , (As for 7a).
 α , fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. $r\eta fC$; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
A, adv.
- (9) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. $r\eta rfC$; C, (As for (8))
- (10) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. Hd;
S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. $r\eta fC$
(şe ... 'ñkøn); C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.
- (11) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSAo; Z, nom. gp. str. H,
noun; S, zero exponent; A, adv.
- (12) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. fC ; C, nom. gp. str. Hj.
- (13) Str. $\beta\beta\alpha$; first β , dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str.
H, noun; second β , dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str.
 fC ; C, nom. gp. str. Hn; H r/s nom. gp. str. Hn;
 α ; fr. cl. str. SPAo; S, P, (As for (9));
A (As for 11).
- (14) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SA; S, nom. gp. str. Hjk;
k, (discontinuous) r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp.
str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rf; A, vb. gp. str.
 pC (l' á.árð); C, nom. gp. str. H, noun
- (15) Str. $\beta\alpha$; β , dep. cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H,
pro; P, vb. gp. str. $rrfC$; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
 α fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
P, vb. gp. str. f.
- (16) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. SPo; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
P, vb. gp. str. $r\eta fC$; C, nom. gp. str. Hn.
- (17) Str. α ; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. Hn;
S, (As for (16)); P, vb. gp. str. ηfC ; C (As for
(16)).

4. APPENDICES

4.1 Appendix I Phonology and Grammar

Formal contrasts made at the grammatical level must be reflected at the phonological level. The latter level is therefore important to a complete understanding of the former. It is not intended in this brief section to give a detailed account of the phonological level. Instead, a sketch of the hierarchy of phonological units will be given, and correspondences between these units and grammatical structures will be illustrated.

4.11 Phonological Units

Three phonological units are established for Yoruba: The Contour Group, The Syllable and The Phoneme. These three form a hierarchy in which each unit consists of one or more of a member of the unit immediately next below - the contour group being the highest unit.

4.111 The Contour Group

A sequence of syllables delimited by two obligatory pauses is a contour group.¹

Ex.

áwọ̀n ẹ̀nyọ̀n wa // ágbẹ̀ ni wọ̀n
Our people they are farmers
"Our people are farmers"

ewédú // ilá // ẹ̀fọ̀ // àti 'ńkọ̀nkọ̀n
"ewedu, okra, vegetables and the like"

tí ẹ̀ bá wò ó òò // n' í.lú .mi // ọ̀pọ̀lọ.pọ̀
ẹ̀nyọ̀n l'ó n' í.yàwó púpọ̀ òò
"If I consider it, I can say that most of the
men in my town have more than one wife."

¹ Contour groups are associated with certain grammatical structures
(See 4.121)

Within the contour group, there is an optional system of "breaks". The sequence of syllables making up the contour group may be interrupted by a hesitatory break consisting of a pause with a lengthening of the final syllable or a facultative break consisting of a pause without a lengthening of the final syllable. Both these pauses are optional.

Ex.

(i) Hesitatory break

èmi ò rí : ídí ẹ̀

"I don't see its cause"

àwọn t' ọ́n tí : wá s' í.lú òyìnbó

"Those who've been in England"

àwọn : àlùfáà

"The priests"

ńńkón tí : àwọn òyìnbó ń ẹ̀

"What the Europeans do"

(ii) Facultative break

ó rí pé / ọ́n l' ówó

"He saw that he had money"

obìnrin .yẹn á kà / t' ọ́n bá tí sọ fun

"That woman would give the facts as soon as she had been told"

b' é.ńyọ́n bá ẹ̀ ẹ̀ / sí ọ̀rẹ̀

"How a person behaves to a friend"

kò lè ju 'şu lọ / torí pé wọ́n fẹ̀ 'rọ́n iyọ́n

"It can't be anything other than yams because they are fond of pounded yam"

àwọn ò kọ́ / bí ìjọbá bá pè wọ́n l' éjọ́

"They don't care if the government sues them"

A contour group (or rarely, a section within it delimited by a break) may occur on a normal or a high register.² (Register differences are not indicated in the transcription).

² The high register often coincides with emphasis, interruption, contradiction, or a question.

4.112 The Syllable

Each tone bearing segment is a syllable. The two possible structures of the syllable are CV and V (C and V being the consonantal and the vocalic elements respectively).¹

There are two systems of tones for the syllable:

System I consists of the three tones: High, Mid, Low, which occur independently on any syllable (i.e. C[́]V, V[́]; CV, V; C[̀]V, V[̀]).²

Ex.

ọkọ	(Mid; High)	"hoe"
ọkọ	(Mid; Mid)	"husband"
ọkọ	(Mid; Low)	"boat"
òkọ	(Low; Low)	"spear"

System II consists of a High or a Mid Tone occurring in combination with an assimilated low tone on the same syllable (i.e. V[́]; V.). The system operates in contracted forms and in nominal group structures with elided consonant initial items.

In a contracted form (4.2), a low tone is assimilated to the high tone of the preceding syllable, whether or not the vowel on which the low tone occurs is elided. (See D4.41). This assimilated low tone is phonological because a high tone syllable contrasts phonologically

¹ The syllabic nasal expounds a syllable of structure V

² The so-called glides (Low-High, Low-Mid, Mid-High, Mid-Low, High-Low, High-Mid) recognised by many scholars (cf. Olmsted (10) pp.247-248; Ward (16) pp.32-33; Rowlands (12) p.336; Abraham (1) pp.x-xiii) are treated in this system as separate tones occurring on two syllables. Cf. Siertsema (13) p.63.
The actual pitch exponent of a tone may vary from structure to structure. For example, a high tone preceded by a low tone (e.g. ọrẹ "friend) is realised phonetically as a rising glide.

with a syllable having a high tone with an assimilated low tone.

For example,

<u>Uncontracted</u>	<u>Contracted</u>
rí iṣé find work	r' iṣé (second syllable having high tone)
* rí i iṣé find poverty	r' í.ṣé (second syllable having a high tone with an assimilated low tone)

(The phonetic realisation of a high tone preceded by a low tone cf.4.112 note 2 is preserved even when the low tone has been assimilated to a high tone).³

In certain close compounds in which the high tone has been replaced by a mid tone, the assimilated low tone continues to be phonologically significant.

Ex.

ìla.ró	(i.e. ìlú	Áró)
Place name	town of	Aro
ìbe.jí	(i.e. ìbí	èjí)
twins	birth	two

In a nominal group structure, the low tone surviving from the elision of the initial syllable of an elided consonant-initial item is assimilated to the preceding high or mid tone. (In the transcription, this assimilated low tone is indicated before the first syllable of the item).

Ex.

.yí "this", .yẹn "that", .kíní "first"	
owó .yí	(second syllable having a high tone with an
"this coin"	assimilated low tone)

³ The assimilated low tone also occurs in the contraction of two single items: yóò → yó. "will" (cf. yó "to be filled with food")
máà → má. "don't"

cf. owó yí (second syllable having a high tone)
"the coin rolls"

omọ .yẹn (second syllable having a mid tone with an
assimilated low tone)

4.113 The Phoneme

The phonological item expounding the element C or V of the syllable is a phoneme. For example, in the CV syllable, kọ, the phonemes are /k/ and /ọ/.

4.12 Correspondences between Phonology and Grammar

The contour group and the syllable expound certain grammatical structures.

4.121 Grammatical Structures and the Contour Group

The following elements of grammatical structure are delimited by contour groups:

(a) Sen. in compound sentence structure.

i.e. Sen // & Sen (See A1)

(b) β, α in sentence structure.

i.e. $\beta // \alpha$

(c) More than one k (expounded by clauses) in nominal group structure

i.e. Hk // k // k (See E.10.12)

(d) N in compound nominal group structure of more than two nominal groups

i.e. N // N // & N

and of two nominal groups having the linker tàbí (See E.13)

(e) The subject in a clause having a double exponent of S (See B3.111)

The adjunct is never separated from the rest of the clause by a contour group, except when it is expounded by the following items:

- (i) the clause having the verbs kí ... ba, (ii) the clause having the initiator ni or tí, when rankshifted as an adjunct in a clause with the emphatic element, and (iii) the nominalisation beginning with àfi. (See Fl)

Whether an item is covered by one or two contour groups is very crucial to grammatical structures. For example,

- (i) kiní .yí // kî í ş' ejó ọkùnrin βα
 "This thing, It isn't the man's fault"
 kiní .yí kî í ş' ejó ọkùnrin SP
 "This thing isn't the man's fault"
- (ii) pé (àşa wa // t' ó bá da) ββ
 "that our custom, if it is good "
 pé (àşa wa t' ó bá da) β
 "that our custom which is good,"
- (iii) wọ̀n fẹ // k' ó ş' òfò αX
 They don't want it. It should be wasted.
 wọ̀n fẹ k' ó ş 'òfò SPA
 "They don't want it to be wasted"

The hesitatory break usually coincides with a break in a grammatical structure of the modifier-modified type. It is found between a verbal element and a complement, a head and a qualifier, an initiator and a subject, a preverb and a free verb.

Ex.

- (i) Verbal element and Complement

àwọ̀n t' ọ̀n mọ : iléé tò
 know house

"Those who know how to manage the house"

ó yà 'tò sí : ogbón inú ẹnì
 to wisdom

"It is different from inherent wisdom"

(ii) Head and Qualifier

àwọn : àlùfáà
"the priests"

(iii) Initiator and Subject

tí : ìkón bá wà n' ílé
if one
"If there is one in the house"

ǹǹkón tí : àwọn òyìnbó ń ọ
which they
"The things that the Europeans do"

(iv) Preverb and Free verb

wón á : gé kiní
will cut
"They will cut whatever thing"

t' ọ́n ti : wá s' í.lú òyìnbó
have come
"who have come to England"

The facultative break usually coincides with a break in a grammatical structure other than the type above. (See examples in 4.111 (ii)).

4.122 Grammatical Structures and the Syllable

Grammatical structures are expounded by:

- (i) Change of Tone
- (ii) Addition of Syllable (The syllable added has the same vowel as the preceding syllable.)

(i) Change of Tone

Grammatical structures marked by change of tone are those involving:

- (a) SP junction (B3.111)
- (b) Pronoun Subject preceding verbal particle (D3.1)
- (c) Subclasses I and II verbs with pronoun complement (D4.4)

(d) Subclass II verb with low tone preceding nominal complement (D4.3).

(ii) Addition of Syllable

Grammatical structures marked by addition of syllable are those involving:

- (a) SP junction (B3.111)
- (b) Structure with clause final element (B3.32)
- (c) Junction after verbal particle (D3.1)
- (d) Junction after high tone, junction-contracting verb (D3.421)
- (e) Junction between item and a consonant-initial nominal (E4.22)

4.2 Appendix II : Contraction

In Yoruba, when an item precedes another item beginning with a vowel, an elision of the final vowel of the preceding item or the initial vowel of the following item often takes place. The resulting combination is a contracted form.

There are two types of contractions:

- (a) Double-Syllable Contraction;
- (b) Single-Syllable Contraction.

4.21 Double-Syllable Contraction

A double-syllable contraction involves the elision of one of the two vowels in contact, and a replacement of it by the other vowel, i.e. $v_1 + v_2 \longrightarrow v_1 + v_1$ or $v_2 + v_2$.

This type of contraction is typical of nominal + nominal, pronoun subject + preverb, a set of items + pronoun subject, and the verb kú "verb used in greetings" + nominal complement.¹

4.211 Nominal + Nominal

The contracted form, nominal + nominal involves an elision of the initial vowel [i] of the following item (Cf. E4.1).

Ex.

ará ìlú → aráà 'lú
inhabitant town

¹ Cf. Rowlands (11), pp.378; 386-388.

ọbẹ ilá → ọbẹẹ 'lá
soup okra

ọjó ìsinmi → ọjóọ 'sinmi
day rest
i.e. "Sunday"

àwọn Ìbàdọ̀n → àwọn 'bàdọ̀n
they place name
i.e. "the people of
Ibadan"

4.212 Pronoun Subject + Preverb

All pronouns before the preverb ò "negator", and the second person plural pronoun before the preverb á "will" have a double-syllable contraction involving an elision of the preverb.

(i) Negator

	Singular	Plural
1.	mi ò → mī̀n̄	a ò → a à
2.	o ò	ẹ ò → ẹ ẹ
3.	-	won ò → wṑn̄

(ii) Preverb

ẹ ẹ (from ẹ + á)

4.213 Set of Items + Pronoun Subject

Clause initiators (except ni); the linkers tàbí, àbí; the verbs pé, kí; and the nominal bí have their final vowels elided and replaced

by the initial vowel of the pronoun subject.¹

Ex.

pé ó → pó ó

ṅjé ó → ṅjó ó

tí a → tá a

kí o → kó o

bí ẹ → bẹ ẹ

Since the first person singular pronoun is consonant-initial, there is no contracted form with it. But the consonant [w] initial of the third person plural pronoun is elided, and contraction takes place as above.

Ex.

tí wọn → t' ọn

bí wọn → b' ọn

4.214 The Verb kú + Nominal

When followed by a nominal, the vowel of the verb kú is elided before all vowels except [i] .

Ex.

kú àbọ → ká àbọ

"Welcome"

kú alé → ká alé

"Good evening"

kú ilé → kú ulé¹

"Greeting by
someone arriving
back home"

¹ The third person pronoun after bí, kí and the first person plural pronoun after kí enter into a single syllable contraction (i.e. bí ó → b' ó; kí ó → k' ó and kí a → k' á).

4.214 Note 1. With kú + nominal, contraction rarely takes place before vowels other than [a] or [i] e.g. kú ọdún "Greeting on festival day".

4.22 Single-Syllable Contraction

A single-syllable contraction involves the elision of one of the two vowels in contact, without a replacement of it by the other vowel i.e.

$$v_1 + v_2 \longrightarrow v_1 \text{ or } v_2$$

There are two types of single-syllable contractions: Simple and Complex.

4.221 Simple Single-Syllable Contraction

A simple single-syllable contraction involves a following item of only one syllable which has the same vowel as the final vowel of the preceding item. The rules for contraction are as follows:

$$\acute{v} v \longrightarrow v$$

$$v \acute{v} \longrightarrow \acute{v}$$

Ex.

$$r\acute{i} i \longrightarrow ri$$

see it

$$f\acute{u}\bar{n} \longrightarrow fun$$

give him

$$\text{\textcircled{S}}e \acute{e} \longrightarrow \text{\textcircled{S}}\acute{e}$$

do it

$$j\text{\textcircled{e}} \acute{e} \longrightarrow j\acute{e}^1$$

eat it

A double-syllable contraction may be further contracted into a single one.

Ex.

$$t\acute{i} a \longrightarrow t\acute{a} a \longrightarrow t' a \text{ "which we"}$$

$$\text{\textcircled{S}}\acute{e} \text{\textcircled{e}} \longrightarrow \text{\textcircled{S}}\acute{e} \text{\textcircled{e}} \longrightarrow \text{\textcircled{S}}' \text{\textcircled{e}} \text{ "did you?"}$$

¹ The simple single-syllable contraction may also involve two syllables within the same item e.g. dáadáa → dada "well"; máa → ma "continue to".

4.222 Complex Single-Syllable Contraction

A complex single-syllable contraction involves a following item of more than one syllable. This type of contraction is typical of a verb (or one of the set of items in 4.213) + a following nominal.

The difficulty of formulating phonological rules to account for which of two different vowels in contact is to be elided has long been recognised.¹ For example, a vowel in contact with another vowel may be differently contracted.

Ex.

(o + a) fɔ aʂo → fɔ 'ʂo
 wash clothes

fɔ aɸe → f' aɸe
 wash pot

and two different vowels in contact with the same vowel may be contracted in the same way.

Ex.

(e } + a) gbé aʂo → gb' áʂo
 (o } lift clothes

gbó ariwo → gb' áriwo
 hear noise

The diversity in the contraction of individual items may be illustrated by the following:

- (a) the vowel of the same verb may be elided before one nominal and not before another.

Ex.

gbé inó → gbé 'nó
 lift fire

gbé odó → gb' ódó
 lift mortar

¹ See Ward (16) p.274, Rowlands (11) p.383, Abraham (1), p.xxxi.

(b) the vowel of the same nominal may be elided when preceded by one verb, and not elided when preceded by another.

Ex.

fọ așo → fọ 'șo
wash clothes

gbé așo → gb' áșo
lift clothes

(c) The vowel of a verb may be elided or retained before the same nominal (or vice versa)

Ex.

jẹ iyón → { jẹ 'yón
eat pounded yam { j' iyón²

Examples such as these tend to discourage any further inquiry into this problem and to lead to one of two conclusions: that the elision of vowels is not governed by any rules at all, or that, if governed by rules, these rules are lexical and we have to know a particular verb and a particular nominal before we can know their contraction.

The first of these conclusions is false because, except for rare cases such as (c) above, the choice of the vowel to be elided in the case of a particular verb with a particular nominal is generally not free. It is fixed. An elision of the wrong vowel in such a case produces a different item. For example,

fọ 'șo "wash clothes"

but f' așo "pull clothes"

² In some cases, the alternative contracted form is restricted to a nominal followed by a qualifier e.g.

cf. șe ișé → ș' ișé
do work teacher
șe ișé olùkó → ș' ișé olùkó or șe 'șé olùkó

The second conclusion is also defective as will be shown by the principles indicated below.

There have been attempts by two scholars to indicate some general principle(s) involved in the elision of vowels. The first is by Bowen³ who gives the formulation: "The stronger of any two concurring vowels is retained in preference to the weaker". According to him, vowel strength depends on whether the vowel is long or short, grave or acute, accented or unaccented, open or close. But since "these elements of strength and weakness may be variously distributed", and since the principle formulated by him may be "reversed to prevent ambiguity", it is impossible to know which of the two vowels in contact is to be elided. The second is by Rowlands⁴ who gives an arrangement of nominals and verbals "in an ascending scale according to the degree of survival of their vowels". As the author admits, the scope of this kind of analysis is severely limited.

In the sections that follow, an attempt will be made to suggest rules which are mainly phonological and partly grammatical to indicate which of the two vowels is to be elided.

As already mentioned in D6, a fixed verb-nominal collocation is always contracted. Therefore the two items of which it is composed are never found independently, and, for that reason, it is not necessary to account for which vowel is to be elided. The discussion which follows will therefore be confined to separable verb-nominal collocations.

The following principles govern the elision of vowels in complex single syllable contractions:

(i) The vowel [i] whether of the verb or of the nominal is almost

³ Bowen (3) pp 6-7

⁴ Rowlands (11) pp.382-385

always elided.

Ex.

rí owó → r' ówó
see money

jí ẹgba → j' ẹgba
steal whip

ní ọmọ → l' ọmọ⁵
have child

gbé inọ → gbé 'nọ
lift fire

gba işẹ → gba 'şẹ
take job

wo ilẹ → wo 'lẹ
look ground

Exceptions

şé işẹ → ş' işẹ
do work

bí ọmọ → bí 'mọ
give birth to child

jẹ iyọn → j' iyọn or jẹ 'yọn
eat pounded yam

(ii) The vowel [u] of the verb is almost always elided, except before the vowel [i] .

Ex.

(a) Before [i]

wú inú → wú 'nú
swell stomach

ju işu → ju 'şu
exceed yam

⁵ Before vowels other than [i] , [l] replaces [n] .

(b) Before other vowels

du oyè → d' oyè
scramble over title

bu omi → b' omi
take water

bu epo → b' epo
take oil

Exception

bũ ọbẹ → bu 'bẹ
take soup

(iii) The initial low tone vowel of a nominal (other than [i]) is usually retained.⁶

Ex.

ṣe àjẹ → ṣ' àjẹ
do witch

dé Ọyọ → d' Ọ.yọ
reach place name

wá ọnọ → w' ọ.nọ
find way

kọ èkọ → k' é.kọ
learn lesson

ra ẹrọ → r' ẹrọ
buy 'corn'-mill

dá ẹsẹ → d' é.sẹ
sin

(iv) The initial vowel of a nominal whose first two syllables are vowels of the same quality is usually retained.

Ex.

jẹ òótọ → j' ó.ótọ
be truth

⁶ A few nominals such as ọnọ, ẹnyọn, ọkọn and vowel initial numerals e.g. ẹke.jí, ẹkẹ.ta, have their initial low tone vowels elided.

Ex. la ọnọ → lá 'nọ ; nọ ẹnyọn → nọ 'nyọn; fé ẹke.jí → fé 'ke.jí
open way beat person want a second

gba oògùn → gb' oògùn
 take medicine

kó eegun → k' eegun
 collect bone

(v) In the case of the other vowels, it is more useful to determine the elision of the vowel from the verb rather than from the nominal, because nominals beginning with different vowels show much less variation than verbs ending in different vowels.

Ex.

gba take	{	ewé	→ gb'	ewé
		leaf		
		ẹja		ẹja
		fish		
owó	{	owó	→ gb'	owó
		money		
omọ	{	omọ	→ gb'	omọ
		child		

Cf. gba take	}	ewé leaf	→	gb' ewé	
				tẹ	tẹ 'wé
				wọ	wọ 'wé
				shed	
kó	}	kó	→	k' éwé	
				collect	

The following additional principles apply to vowels of the verb not covered by principles (i) - (iv) above.

(a) The nasal vowel of the verb is usually elided and nasalisation is transferred to the initial vowel of the nominal⁷ with the following exceptions:

- (1) The nasal vowel [ɛ̃] of the verb is usually retained before the initial vowel [o] of the nominal. Before other vowels, this nasal may or may not be elided.

⁷ Cf. Rowlands (11) p.384

- (2) Nasalisation is dropped when the elided nasal vowel [ɨ] occurs after verbs beginning with [f] or [m] .

Ex.

Nasal vowel elided

With nasalisation transferred

dín ẹja → dẹn 'ja
fry fish

rón àpò → rán '.pò
sew bag

With nasalisation dropped

fún oko → f' óko
give husband

mú aṣọ → m' áṣọ
take dress

Nasal vowel not elided

són owó → sọn 'wó
pay money

gbón epo → gbọn 'po
scoop oil

- (b) The vowel [à] of the verb having a high tone is usually retained, except when preceded by [b] or [w] .

Ex.

gbá epo → gbá 'po
fry oil

dá owó → dá 'wó
contribute money

fá ọbẹ → fá 'bẹ
scrape soup

já ewé → já 'wé
 pluck leaf
 yá ọwọ → yá 'wọ
 be hand
 quick
 of

Preceded by [b] or [w] :

bá ẹron → b' ẹron
 with domestic
 animal
 wá owó → w' ówó
 seek money

- (c) A subclass II verb with a low tone is often differently contracted from a subclass II verb with a mid tone (For subclasses I and II verbs See D4.4).

Ex.

tá	)			(t' epo
sell	)	ta	epo →	sell
ta	)	sell	oil	(tá 'po
spill	)	or		(spill
		spill		
rà	)			(r' ọwọ
buy	)	ra	ọwọ →	buy
ra	)	buy	hand	(ra 'wọ
rub	)	or rub		(rub

- (d) In cases other than (a) - (c) above, the vowel of the verb is usually elided.

Ex.

fẹ ọkùnrin → f' ọkùnrin
 marry man
 kó ẹbí → k' ẹbí
 collect family

gbó ariwo → gb' áriwo
hear noise

gbé ọlọ → gb' ọlọ
lift grinding
stone

gba owó → gb' owó
take money

A casual study of the examples of contracted forms given in this section (i.e. 4.222) is enough to show that complex single-syllable contractions are liable to be ambiguous. For example, k' ọmọ is a contraction of the nominal ọmọ "child" and three different verbs: kó "teach", kó "collect", and kí "greet".

In practice, ambiguities tend to be avoided by leaving structures uncontracted (e.g. f' okun "with rope", as opposed to fi okùn "swing the rope"), by departing from expected contractions (e.g. bó ọsọ → bó 'sọ "remove clothes" and not b' ọsọ which is the only possible contraction of bá ọsọ "with clothes"), and by a preference for the structure fCpC as opposed to fC in the case of the postverb ní (See D3.5, note 1) (e.g. dè mí l' ẹsẹ as opposed to d' ẹsẹ .mi
tie me in foot tie foot my
"tie my foot").

4.3 Appendix III Reduplication

When the morphemic structure of a word comprises two or more items which are themselves words (or groups), this word is said to be a reduplicated word.

There are two types of reduplication:

Item + Item; Item + Infix + Item

4.31 Item + Item

There are two types of "item + item" reduplication: vowel-initial and consonant-initial.

4.311 Vowel-Initial

Vowel-initial "item + item" reduplication is restricted to nouns of time and number, a few other nouns and numerals (from twenty upwards) which are multiples of ten.

In this reduplication, the final tone of the first noun is replaced by the initial tone of the second noun, and if the final vowel is different from the initial vowel, one of them replaces the other.

Ex.

ọdọdún	cf. ọdún
"every year"	"year"
ọsọọsẹ	cf. ọsẹ
"every week"	"week"
alaalẹ	cf. alẹ
"every evening"	"evening"
oşooşù	cf. oşù
"every month"	"month"

egbeegbé "rank by rank"	cf. egbé "rank"
ogboogbõn "thirty by thirty"	cf. ogbõn "thirty"
àrààrún "five by five"	cf. àrún "five"

4.312 Consonant-Initial

There are two types of consonant-initial "item + item" reduplication:

(i) Without tonal variation; (ii) With tonal variation.

(i) Without tonal variation: Reduplication of consonant-initial items without tonal variation involves the following:

(a) Adjective + Adjective (cf. E6)

Ex.

burúkú burúkú "bad"	"bad"
ńlá ńlá "big"	"big"
púpọ púpọ "many"	"many"
pẹlẹbẹ pẹlẹbẹ "flat"	"flat"

(b) Numeral + Numeral

Ex.

mẹ.ta mẽ.ta three	"three each"
mẹ.rin mẽ.rin four	"four each"
mẹ.wá mẽ.wá ten	"Ten each"

mé.jílá mé.jílá "twelve each"
twelve

(c) Adverb + Adverb

Ex.

kíá kíá "quickly"
quickly

wéré wéré "quickly"
quickly

pátá pátá "completely"
comple-
tely

díè díè "little by little"
a little

(d) Verbal Group + Verbal Group

Ex.

jèdíjèdí cf. jè 'dí
"piles" eat anus

woléwolé cf. wo 'lé
"sanitary examine house
inspector"

panópanó cf. pa 'nó
"fireman" extinguish fire

(ii) With Tonal Variation: Reduplication of consonant-initial items with tonal variation involves the following:

(a) Adjective + Adjective

(With the tones: low and mid respectively)

Ex.

ròbòtò ròbòtò "very fat"
fat

gbàṅḍù gbàṅḍu "very big"
big

làṅtì làṅti "very big"
big

(b) Adverb + Adverb

(With the tones: high, mid; and low, mid respectively. The meaning of the reduplicated word is always pejorative¹).

Ex.

wúru wùru "rough"

játi jàti "useless"

wére wère "crazy"

(c) Adverb + Adverb + Adverb

(With the tones: high, low, high respectively)

Ex.

wúró wùrù wúró	} Meaning depends on verb with which item collocates.
wúyé wùyè wúyé	
réú rèù réú	

4.32 Item + Infix + Item

The infix kí is inserted between two nominals (cf. E5.11(c)).

Ex.

nṅkṅkíṅkṅ cf. nṅkṅ
"anything" "something"

ṅnikṅni cf. ṅni
"any person" "person"

ọjọkọjọ cf. ọjọ
"any day" "day"

ìwàkí.wà cf. ìwà
"any behaviour"
i.e. "bad manners" "behaviour"

¹ cf. Abraham (1), p.xii

4.4 Appendix IV Sample from the Text

A: t' é.ńyọ́n bá tiẹ gb' íyọ́njú l' á.ti rọ́n 'tí gbogbo : ńyọ́n
If one even tries to remember all the things
t' ó ma ń ẹ se n' í.gbà t' ó wà l' ọmọ́dẹ // ẹmí
that he used to do when he was a child I
ma ń rọ́n 'tí b' í.gbà t' a ma ń lọ s' óko //
usually remember such times when we used to go to the farm.
mámá .mi á sọ fun mi pé : má.à bá wọ́n lọ s'
My mother would tell me "Don't go with them to
óko ọkété ọo //
the farm to hunt the giant rat".

T: kí ní dé //
Why not?

A: ẹ m' ọkété //
Do you know the giant rat?

T: họn // dada //
Yes! Very well!

A: n' í.gbà t' a wà n' ílé .yẹn // t' ọ́n bá
At that time when we were at home, whenever people
ti lọ s' óko // àwọ́n ẹni t' ó ma m' ájá dá ní
went to the farm, those who would hold the dog
ti m' ájá dá ní // wọ́n ma fí: ihò
would have held the dog; they would blow hot air into
ọkété / pu pù pu //
the giant rat's hole (sound of blowing
the air)

T: ʂ' ẹ ma ń rí pa dáadáa //

Did you usually find several to kill?

A: à // à ń rí paà // t' ó bá ti yọ //

Yes, we usually did. As soon as it jumps out

wọn ti ní kí ń má. bá wọn lọ // ʂùgbón mà á
they've said that I shouldn't go with them; but I would

ní dọdọn mà á bá wọn lọ // t' ó bá
say that certainly I would go with them. When everything is

ti yá // wọn á ní k' ẹnikọn lọ dúróó 'bẹ .yẹn //
ready they would ask one person to go and stand there.

iyẹn á dúró t' ihò // á á ma fin //

That one would stand near the hole. He would be blowing air into it.

á á ma fin // á á ma fin //

He would be blowing air into it. He would be blowing air into it.

.gbà t' ó bá yá l' ẹ.ẹkọn nóọ // á á kọn yọ
After some time, suddenly it would just rush out

gbùrù // b' ó ti yọ gbùrù s' íta //

(noise of rushing out) As soon as it rushed out (noise) to the surface,

wọn á ní / ó yọ ọo // ó yọ ọo // gbogbo olúkúlùkù
they would say, "It's out! It's out!" Everybody

á bẹrẹsíf sá 'ré k' ájá mu // ígbà .mín //

would start to run so that the dog might catch it. Sometimes,
ájá á mu // ígbà .mín // ájá ọ ní lẹ
the dog would catch it. Sometimes, the dog would not be able

mu // pàápàá irú 'ńkọn .mín gbogbo t' é.ńyọn
to catch it. Especially such other things that one

ma ń íse bẹ' .yẹn n' í.gbà t' ó wa ní kékeré //
used to do like that when one was a child!

T: ó dùn gōn l' ójú èmi ọo / torí pé
From my own point of view, it was very interesting; For if I
kí ni // èmí ma ñ rón 'tí igbà t' a ma ñ :
may say so, I usually remember the time when we used to
fi : òkété j' iyón l' óko bá' .yẹn //
eat the giant rat with pounded yam on the farm in that way.
ó ma ñ dùn ju t' ilé lẹ̀
It is usually sweeter than something cooked in the house.

N: mo rǒ pé t' oko .yẹn gōn l' ó fẹ̀rẹ̀
I think that that of the farm really is the one that is almost
dùn jù
sweeter.

A: àyé oko // ñj' ẹ̀yín lọ s' óko rí /
Life on the farm! Have you gone to the farm before,
k' ọ́n se 'ńkọn l' óko / kẹ ẹ jẹ l' óko //
while something is cooked on the farm which you eat there?

N: à // iyón okó ma ñ dùn //
Yes, the pounded yam prepared on the farm is usually sweet.

T: àwọn aya àgbẹ̀ nọ̀ọ̀ọ̀ ma ñ jẹ diẹ diẹ diẹ n' ínú ẹ //
The farmers' wives too eat bits of it.

A: ñhún //
Yes.

N: ọ́jẹ okó dẹ ma ñ dùn ju
And the food prepared on the farm is usually sweeter than that
t' ilé //
prepared in the house.

A: ẹn // ó n' í.díì //

Yes. There's a reason for that.

N: bẹ ẹ kẹ // oun t' a fi ñ sè é n' ílé //

Even though the things we use in cooking it in the house,

èlò // oun èlò t' a fi ñ sè é
the ingredients, the ingredients that we use in cooking it

n' ílé // ó ju t' oko lọ //

in the house, they are more than those used on the farm;

şùgbón óńjẹ okó ma ñ dùn // mo rò pé /
but the food prepared on the farm is usually sweet. I think that

ń' torí pé gbogboo wá ma ñ // à á jọ pé jọ
because all of us usually ... We will be assembled

pọ // à á jọ jó.kó jẹ //
together. We will sit together to eat it.

A: ẹn // kí í sè 'yẹn ñìkọn // kí í sè 'yẹn ñìkọn //

I agree. It isn't that alone. It isn't that alone.

T: ş' ẹ mò wí pé t' é.ńyón bá wà l' óko //

You know (don't you) that if one is on the farm,

á á ti ş' işẹ k' á.tàárọ .yẹn // ara ẹ á
he would have worked from the morning. His body would have

ti já k' ó tóo d' alẹ // ebí á ti pá
become weary before evening. He would have become very

gōn // okōn rẹ gōn á ti wà l' ọnọ wí pé /
hungry. His mind too would have been occupied with thoughts that

b' íyón .yẹn bá ti : şe tọn òo.... //
as soon as the pounded yam is ready,

N: wọn á ya kí í mó 'lẹ kọnron //
They would quickly eat it up in no time.

T: h' ó s' òkèlè .mémé .jì pére l' olúwa ẹẹ bù //
If it's only two mouthfuls that the person can get,
á á dùn gōn //
it will be very sweet.

N: òótó ni sá / torí pé // óńjẹ t' é.ńyọn ma ń jẹ
That's quite true, because it's the food that one eats
l' óko // òun l' ó ma ń mú mi lọ there
on the farm. It's that that makes me go there.

T: àti pàápàá // mo tun rò wí pé àwọn 'ńkọn .mínín
Furthermore, I also think that other considerations
tún wà ń' hẹ // s' ẹ mò wí pé àwọn ẹron bíi òkétè //
are involved. You know (don't you?) that such game as giant rat,
tábí àpàrò // tábí: ẹlu.lú // tábíi ọyà // tábí
or bush fowl, or the cuckoo, or the cane rat, or
bí orí.sírí.sì ẹron .wọnyẹn // wọn dùn ju ẹron t'
such other game as these, they are sweeter than meat
ilé lọ // mo rò wí pé wọn dùn ju
from domesticated animals. I think that they are sweeter than
nómọ lọ // àti pàápàá // ígbà .mín // a ma ń lo: àwọn èlò
beef. Furthermore, sometimes we use other ingred-
.mín bíi ẹgboyín //
ients such as raw palm-oil.

A: kiní ẹ // ẹyin ọpẹ .yẹn //
Its whatnot. The oil-palm fruit.

T: ẹn // bẹ ẹ ni
Yes. So it is.

A: wọn á gbo ó dada //
They will crush it well.

T: ó fèrèḗ dùn ju epo gōn̄ lọ //
It's almost sweeter than palm-oil itself.

A: ẹn : ọo // kí l' a ti ma ń pè 'yẹn ní : ọdọọ
Yes. What is it that we call that in our
wa ọo // mo ti gbàgbé 'n̄kọn t' ọn̄ ń pè é //
place? I have forgotten what they call it.

t' ọn̄ ma ẹ l' ọjọ .konnọọ // t' ọn̄ ma bo
That stuff that they make on the same day for which they crush
eyin // t' ọn̄ ma fi ẹ : epo l' ẹsẹkẹsẹ //
the oil-palm fruit and use it to make oil instantly -
tí ọ jé ẹyí t' ọn̄ ń ẹ ní kiní //
which is not the type that is made in whatnot.

T: mo rò pé. 'yẹn gōn̄ l' ó ń mú k' ó dùn gōn̄ //
I think that that exactly is what makes it very sweet.

A: n̄n̄kọn .mín̄ tí ń ma tún ń rọn̄ 'tí ń 'pa : igba t'
Another thing that I also usually remember about the time that
é.ńyọn wà ní kékeré ní : k' é.ńyọn máa : ẹ' eré ọsùpá //
one is a child is playing games by moonlight.
kí l' ẹyín ma ń ẹ l' éré ọsùpá l' É.kití //
What do you usually do by moonlight in Ekiti?

T: omọdé ọ ma ń ẹ' eré ọsùpá mó ọo //
Children don't really play by moonlight any more.

ó yà mí l' ẹnu //
I am surprised.

A: l' áyé isin̄ // wōn̄ ń ẹ mó //
At the present time, don't they do it any more?

T: mĩn̄ r̄ò b' ọ́n ń s̄é m̄ọ ḡon̄ //

Really, I don't think that they do it any more.

A: ǎ /// ó mà burú òò //

What a pity! It is really very bad!

T: bóyá // ó kù sí : àwọn ilú kékèkè s̄á òò //

Perhaps it's still done in some small villages even so.

mĩn̄ l̄é s̄ọ //

I can't say

N: w̄on̄ ń s̄é t̄ó b̄é è m̄ọ n' í.sĩn̄ //

They no longer do it so much these days.

O: w̄on̄ s̄é m̄ọ n' í.sĩn̄ //

Don't they do it these days?

A: kí l' èyín ma ń s̄é l' éré ọ̀sùpá m' í.gbà t' ẹ wà ní kékèké //

What did you usually do by moonlight when you were children?

N: ẹn // s̄é 'ńkọn t' ọ́n s̄é ń s̄' eré ọ̀sùpá

Now, isn't the reason why they played games by moonlight

l' áyé àtijó ni // m̄ọ r̄ò w̄é pé ń' torí

in the past, the fact that? I think because

ó j̄é oko n' ọ́n ń lọ // t' ọ́n bá wá dé l'

it was the farm that they went to. Whenever they came back in

álé ... // s̄ùgb̄on̄ /l' é.hĩn̄ : .gbà t' ó j̄é pé

the evening ... but since the time that

w̄on̄ ń lọ 'l̄éè 'wé // ẹ̀lòmĩn̄ // ó wà n' íbi tábìli è /

they go to school one he is by his table

t' ó r̄ọ 'ra ń k̄ọ 'ńkọn tí olùk̄ọ ní k' ó

and he is quietly studying the things that the teacher asked him

kò wá // mo rò pé. 'yẹn ni ò jé k' ọ́n ma ẹ :
to study. I think that that is what stops them from playing
eré òṣùpá mọ // mo rọ wí pé/ àwọn ọmọ
games by moonlight any more. I think that the present
ìsín gōn // owó owó tiẹ ni wọn
generation of children, it's money and only money that they are
mọ // wọn ò mọ wí pé à ń ẹ' erée:....//
interested in. They don't know about playing
sinnimá n' ọ́n ma lọ ń wò //
It's the pictures that they go to.

A: ìyẹn n' í.lú ńlá òo //
That's only in a big town, of course.

N: sùgbọn eré òṣùpá dùn ẹ́á òo //
But playing games by moonlight is interesting.

A: ẹ' ẹni t' ó wà n' í.lú ńlá n' ìyẹn //
That's for someone who is in a big town, isn't it?
ibi mé.ló ni // sinnima wà n' í.lú.mi //
How many places? Are there picture houses in my town?

T: ẹní bá wà n' í.lú kékeré ńkọ //
What about a person in a small village?

N: ẹn // ń' torí pé / n' í.gbà t' a wà l' É.kó n' í.gbà
Yes; because when we were in Lagos when
t' é.mí ì kéré l' É.kó // à á kó 'raa wa jọ
I was still a child in Lagos, we would gather together
l' álẹ // à á máa ẹ' ere òṣùpá //
in the evening. We would be playing by moonlight.

T: bóyá // ígbá .yẹn // inó imọ̀nọ̀mọ̀nọ̀ ò tí í pọ̀ //
Perhaps at that time, there was little electricity.

N: ó pọ̀ọ̀
There was plenty

T: ẹ̀ ẹ̀ dẹ̀ mọ̀ wí pé / inó imọ̀nọ̀mọ̀nọ̀ .yẹn //
And you know (don't you?) that electricity
ó ti gba ọ̀sùpá gōn l' ọ̀wọ̀ àwọ̀n ará Èkó bá.yí n' í.sín //
it has now deprived those who live in Lagos of moonlight.

N: bẹ̀ ẹ̀ ni //
That's so.

A: kí l' ẹ̀yín ma ń ẹ̀ ní: ere ní: ilúu yín //
What do you usually do by way of games in your town?
kí l' ẹ̀ ma ń ẹ̀ //ẹ̀ ń ẹ̀ bojúbojú //
What do you usually do? Do you play 'hide and seek'?

O: ẹn // wọ̀n ma ń k' ọ̀rin l' È.kítì gōn ni //
Yes. They usually sing in Ekiti, really.
à ń ẹ̀ bojúbojú // a máa ń k' ọ̀rin //
We play 'hide and seek'. We sing.
á máa ń pa: àlọ̀
We tell riddles.

A: orin // l' ó.sùpá //
Songs? By moonlight?

O: ẹn // wón ma ñ p' àlọ // kí ní' h' ewú //
Yes. They tell riddles (Song) "What has grey hairs?"
he // àdón h' ewú // he // wón á wá
(refrain) "The bat has grey hairs" (refrain). They will
so 'wọ // wón á ma kọ kiní // orin //
join hands. They will be singing whatnot. Songs.
won á ma ẹ : gbogbo eré t' ọń ñ ẹ
They will be playing all the types of games that are played
ní bí irú Ijẹbú // Ègbá // àti ghogbo ẹ //
in places like Ijebu, Ègba, and all other places.
ìyẹn nọ 1' a ma ñ ẹ //
That is what we usually do.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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The bibliography is divided into three sections:

- (A) Yoruba
- (B) Other Languages
- (C) General

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