THE CATEGORIAL STATUS AND THE FUNCTIONS
OF THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS WITH SOME
STRUCTURAL ANALYSES IN GPSG

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In fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Faculty of Arts
University of Edinburgh
1988
I certify that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work contained in it is entirely my own.

L.O. Adewọlé
Acknowledgements

I am especially indebted to Professor R.E. Asher for his supervision and his kind and helpful suggestions throughout the duration of this research.

I am also indebted to Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria for making my study at the University of Edinburgh possible.

My thanks are also due to Dr. Ronald Cann, for his suggestions and guidance at every stage of my studies in Edinburgh and Dr. Bob Ladd, for his painstaking reading of part of the draft.

Most of the entries in the comprehensive bibliography in the appendix were collected from individual authors. Thus, I owe a debt of gratitude to the following Yoruba scholars who helped me to update the works they have written on the Yoruba language: Prof. J.O.O. Abiri, Prof. A. Adetugbo, Prof. R.G. Armstrong, Prof. O. Awobuluyi, Prof. S.A. Babalola, Prof. Ayo Bamgbose, Dr. A.G. Adebayo, Dr. Akere Funso, Dr. T.A. Awoniyi, Dr. O. Ajeigbe, Dr. O. Olutoye, Dr. D.K.O. Owolabi, Dr. O.O. Oyelaran, Dr. A. Salami, Mr. O. Alaba, Mr. Depo Okunade and Mr. O.B. Yai. I also extend my most sincere thanks to Dr. C.E.W. Jenewari for his continuous encouragement and S.M. Adewole, M. Stroinska and Richard Teuten for their help when I was compiling the bibliography.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife, Arike, and my son, Ayo, without whose support this study would not have been completed.
Symbols and Conventions

1. The symbol * (asterisk) precedes an ungrammatical construction and follows a set.

2. The symbol ** (two asterisks) follows works cited from the comprehensive bibliography in Appendix C.

3. The symbol *** (three asterisks) precedes part of this work already accepted for publication which we include in the comprehensive bibliography in Appendix C.

4. / = Or/Slash (i.e. a/b means "a or b" or "a slash b")

5. { } = Set/Or (i.e. {a} means "a or b" and \{a, b, c\} is "the set which consists of a, b, c,"")

6. < = Precede or is derived from or less than

7. <= = Immediately precede

8. @ = Alpha

9. C = Implication

10. ∈ = Is a member of

11. <> = Ordered pairs

12. () = Categories not yet discussed

Note on the Bibliographies

- There are two bibliographies in this work. The one in Appendix C is about to be published and is concerned with published works and doctoral dissertations on Yoruba. The second concerns other work cited. For instance, "Oyelaran (1976:10)**" stands for "Page 10 of a work written by Oyelaran in 1976 included in the bibliography in Appendix C" while "Oyelaran (1976:10)" means "Page 10 of another work written by Oyelaran in 1976 included in the other bibliography".
Abbreviations

1. A = Adjective
2. ACC = Accusative
3. ADV = Adverb
4. ADVP = Adverbial Phrase
5. AGR = Agreement
6. ALT = Alternant
7. AP = Adjective Phrase
8. APS = Aspect and Phase Systems
9. ASP = Aspect
10. ASS = Assumptive
11. ASSOC = Associative
12. AUX = Universal Category
13. Aux = Language-specific instantiation of AUX
14. BSE = Bare Infinitive
15. C = Consonant
16. CAP = Control Agreement Principle
17. CAT = Category
18. COMP = Complementizer
19. EMPH = Emphasis
20. FCR = Feature Cooccurrence Restriction
21. FFP = Foot Feature Principle
22. Fn = Footnote
23. FOC = Focus
24. FSD = Feature Specification Default
25. FUT = Future Tense
26. GPSG = Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar
27. H = Head
28. HAB = Habitual
29. HFC = Head Feature Convention
30. HTS = High Tone Syllable
31. ID = Immediate Dominance
32. IMPFV = Imperfective
33. INF = Infinitive
34. INT = Intensifier
35. LP = Linear Precedence
36. LPR = Linear Precedence Rule
37. M = Modal Verb
38. MOD = Modifying Verb
39. N = Noun or Nasal
40. NML = Nominalized
41. NOM = Nominal
42. NUM = Number
43. OBL = Obligative
44. P = Preposition
45. PER = Person
46. PERF = Perfective
47. PFORM = Case-marking Preposition
48. PH = Phase
49. PL = Plural
50. POT = Potential
51. PP = Preposition Phrase
52. PRED = Predicate
53. PRO = Pronoun
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<td>55.</td>
<td>PROG = Progressive</td>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>PRT = Particle</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>PS = Phrase Structure</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>Q = Question</td>
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<td>SPLIT = Splitting Verb</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>SUBCAT = Subcategory</td>
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<td>65.</td>
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<td>66.</td>
<td>TAS = Tense and Aspect Systems</td>
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<td>69.</td>
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Abstract of the Thesis

The objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive descriptive analysis of Yoruba auxiliary verbs. The first chapter is an introduction to the language. Here, the need for a comprehensive linguistic bibliography on the language is stressed and one is provided as an appendix (Appendix C) to this work.

The second chapter takes up the question of the categorial status of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs and identifies the items that should belong to this class of verb. The following three chapters concern the functions of the items so far classified:

Chapter 3 discusses the aspect and phase systems in the language. Chapter 4 takes up the modal system and Chapter 5 is concerned with some aspects of negation in the language.

The structures of the auxiliary and some related subclasses of verb are discussed within the framework of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses cooccurrence restrictions among auxiliary verbs also within the framework of GPSG.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion. Some of the contributions of the study to Yoruba grammar in particular and universal grammar in general are discussed.
To

Dr. O.O. Oyelaran
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Yoruba, a language which belongs to the Kwa family within the Niger-Congo phylum of African Languages, is the language spoken in the LOOKO states (Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Kwara and Ondo) of Nigeria. It is regarded as one of the major languages of the country. Apart from Nigeria, it is spoken in the East and Central Benin and in isolated pockets in the rest of Benin. Of the unifying traditions among Yoruba in Nigeria, Togo and Benin, Oyelaran (1978a:626)** quotes Igue (1976:10) as presenting enough linguistic evidence to show that the relationship of the three groups "is more than a mere expression of ... interaction with ... neighbours". Oyelaran then goes on to use the longitudes between 20° and 60° 30' East of the meridian and latitudes 6° and 9° 30' to define the homeland of the Yoruba in Nigeria. The people are highly urbanized and possess a hierarchical social structure.

According to Oyelaran (1978a:626)**, the dialects of Yoruba can be classified as follows:

(a) West Yoruba (WY).

(1) Òyò, Ìbàdàn, Ègbá, Ohori-Ifohin.
(2) Upper Ogun.
   (i) Šakí, Ijio.
   (ii) Kétu, Sabàfẹ.
(3) Benin and Togo.
    Ifẹ (Togo), Idasa, Manigi.

(b) South East Yoruba (SEY)

(1) Òòòó, Òwọ.
(2) Ìjìbú.
(3) Ìkálẹ, Ìlàjẹ.
(c) Central Yoruba (CY).
Ilé-Iffọ, Ìjèṣa, Èkọtẹ.

(d) Northern Eastern Yoruba (NEY).
(1) Ègbòmlànà, Kàkànà, Igbolo.
(2) Jumu, Bunu, Oworo, Owe Egbe.

This classification is referred to as a "dialect continuum" because the dialects are characterized by a high degree of mutual intelligibility which diminishes with territorial distance. As one moves from one end of the continuum to the other, some phonological, lexical and even some grammatical differences can be found in the dialects. (Bamgbose 1966a:2, Agyeiysi 1984:235).

With the above varieties of Yoruba Language, the question that crops up now concerns the variety that should form the basis of one's analysis. The variety to be used in this work is the one often called the standard variety. On this standard variety of Yoruba, Bamgbose (1966:2)* makes the following comments.

For the purpose of education, writing and contact between persons of different dialects, the type of Yoruba used is a "Koine" which may be called Standard Yoruba. This Koine is based on Oyo dialect, but it is not co-extensive with it. For instance, 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 "standard" Yoruba may therefore be considered as that variety of Yoruba employed in school instruction, in public speaking, broadcasting and it serves not only as the written and literary standard for the entire language community but also as the "High" variety in a diglossic relationship with other varieties.

The International African Institute (1980:60)** classifies the status of this standard variety which is representative of all other varieties as follows:
- Yoruba is spoken as a first language by 20% of Nigerian population.

- The effective speakers of the language in the country are about 25% of the country's total population.

- It is used by the Media i.e. The Press, Radio and Television.

- It is also used as a language of formal instruction and a curriculum subject in the primary school. In the secondary and post-secondary level (including university), it is a curriculum subject.

- It has a standard orthography.

The awareness of Yoruba Language and Culture is not limited to Nigeria, Togo and Benin. Turner (1958:45)** notes that Yoruba is still spoken in Brazil and Cuba and that many surviving speakers of the language can be found in the United States and the New World regions. Watkins (1972:380)** also speaks of the preservation of the language by the descendants of slaves in Cuba and Brazil as well as by people whose ancestors entered Brazil as free immigrants. He also notes that specimens of Yoruba culture are generally less difficult to obtain in West Africa than those of many other peoples of Saharan Africa. Abimbola's (1978:2)** remark about the Brazilian blacks on his visit to Brazil is worth quoting here. He says:

Lastly, I would like to record here my appreciation of the rousing reception and hospitality which our brothers and sisters accorded me in Bahia. The welcome salutes, embraces, greetings and hearty reception to which I was treated made me feel like I was in a traditional community in the heart of black Africa, and convinced me beyond mere words that the black people of Brazil still share a common world view, thought and behavioural process with their cousins in Africa.

Abimbola's remark is corroborated by that of Hunt (1977:17&51)** who, while discussing how "Yoruba had been championing the cause of cultural redemption" in America, states that "Many of the slaves brought to the Americas were Yoruba, and scarcely any other African people continue to
influence New World Culture more than they. Descendants of Yoruba slaves, some of whom still have a knowledge of the language and customs, are found today in Cuba where they are known as Lucumi, and in Brazil where they are known as Nago”. According to Lasebikan (1963:352)**, a Course in Yoruba Language and Culture at the University of Bahia’s Department of Afro-Oriental Studies has helped the growth of Yoruba Language and Culture in “the use of Yoruba as a means of communication, the wearing of Yoruba dress at social functions, and the introduction of ayo, foremost of Yoruba indoor games”.

Finally, mention should be made of Oseijeman Adefunmi’s Yoruba Movement which began in 1959 and is centred at Oyotunji Village, Sheldon, South Carolina, U.S.A. Here was established the Yoruba Royal Academy where the Yoruba language is taught and one of the qualifications required to become a chief in the Village is a good command of Yoruba. (Hunt 1977:82&93)**.

1.1. Works written on the Yoruba Language

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to review all the works that have been written on Yoruba. These are so many that on the literary scene, Gerald (1981:258-259) states that there is nowhere in Africa “where historical and critical evaluation of the literature in the local language is being pursued with as much zest and efficiency as among the Yoruba intelligentsia” who have shown an “exceptional degree of creativity in both African and European Languages”.

On the linguistic scene, Carnochan (1964:397)** claims that “Yoruba is one of the best documented languages in Nigeria and Agheyisi (1984:235)**, while discussing the major, minor and minority languages of Nigeria, also states that “in the West, the Yoruba speaking group constituted the overwhelming majority, making up over 80% of the regional population - followed by Edo
with a mere 7%. Yoruba therefore was the undisputed major language, and it inevitably dominates the regional linguistic scene".

What all this shows is that a satisfactory review of the previous works written on the language would swell the volume of this work unduly. What is actually required is a comprehensive linguistic bibliography of the language. A careful search shows there is no work of this kind compiled on the language. Those available are either compiled on African/Nigerian languages as a whole in which there are few entries on Yoruba (e.g. Meier 1984; Ita 1971)** or those compiled on many Yoruba disciplines (i.e. Literature, History etc.) in which linguistics is just one (e.g. Baldwin and Baldwin 1976)**. What we have done is to include a comprehensive bibliography as an appendix (Appendix C) in this work and refer readers to the following, among others, which review some of the major works written on the language:

Hair (1967:4-30)** discusses the history of Yoruba language studies. Ajayi (1960:49-58)** concerns himself with how the language was reduced to writing. Bamgbose (1966:2-5; 1969:85-100)** discusses the trend of development of the language and reviews the previous works written on the language up to 1963. His 1966 work is described as the first work on Yoruba based on a specific linguistic theory by a linguist who himself is a Yoruba (Rowlands (1967:736))**. Oke (1969)** reviews most of the works written on Yoruba verbs including that of Bamgbose. Awoyale (1974)** takes a critical look at some aspects of Bamgbose, Oke and Awobuluyi’s (1967)** works which are relevant to his own study.

In compiling the bibliography, we agree with the editorial statement of THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS 1, 1979 which states in part that (see Newman (1979)): 
The use of the phrase "Languages and Linguistics" in the title expresses our view that the opposition often drawn between Language study (thought of as empirical) and Linguistic study (thought of as theoretical) is invalid. Our opinion is that different linguists simply work at greater or lesser degrees of abstractness and that interesting and worthwhile studies in the African Language field are to be found all along the continuum.

In the same manner, apart from Ph.D. dissertations and published articles, books and other publications on the language which add to our knowledge of language and linguistic phenomena are included in the bibliography. With the above, what remains to be done is the review of previous studies which concern us in this work. These, we shall take up where they become relevant in the course of our discussion.

1.2. Yoruba Orthography

Yoruba is a tone language. Siertsema (1963:22) defines a tone language as one "in which two different words with different meaning have the same sounds but differ only in tones". In this work, we shall speak of three tones. These are "high" which is written as 'f' as in:

(1) O wa
   He come
   "He came"\textsuperscript{5}

"low" which is written as 'v' as in:

(2) K\textsuperscript{̀} o w\textsuperscript{̀}e
   Not bath
   "He did not take his bath"

and "mid" which is unmarked except on a syllabic nasal where it is marked as "-\textsuperscript{̀}."

Here, then, we can have:
(3) Olọ
You go
"You went"

where the mid tone is not marked on the vowels but marked in (4):

(4) gbàngba "outside"

where the "n" is syllabic.

There are three syllable structures in the language. These are CV, V, and N (syllabic nasal). It is only V and N that can be tone-marked. It should also be mentioned here that tones in the language are phonemic. Commenting on the importance of tone in Yoruba, Ladefoged (1975:226)** states that "speakers of English often find it hard to consider the tone as an important, meaningful part of a word. But for speakers of a tone language, a difference in tone is just as significant as a difference in consonant or vowel quality. If you are trying to say "he looked" in Yoruba, and you say Ò wà instead of Ò wà, it will sound just as odd as if you had said "he licked" instead of "he looked" in English.

1.2.1. Vowels

Seven vowels are found in standard Yoruba and these are:

\[ i, e, ẹ, a, ọ, o, u. \]

These orthographic representations are the same as the phonetic representations except "ẹ" and "ọ" which are represented phonetically as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. There are also some nasalized vowels which are distinct from the oral ones. For example, the difference between tà "sell" and tàn "deceive" is that while the vowel in the former is oral that of the latter is nasalized. We shall take account of the following nasalized vowels in this work:
These can be exemplified as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
liyín "praise"
liyên "that"
lítàn "story"
lîbon "gun"
irun "hair"
\end{verbatim}

All the underlined items are nasalized vowels. Apart from word final position, nasalized vowels also occur first in a consonant-initial word (i.e. tânká “spread”) and word medial position (i.e. âpónlé “cherish”). The nasal vowels are represented phonetically as:

in [ɪ], en [ɛ], an [a], on [ɔ] and un [ʊ].

1.2.2. Consonants

Yoruba has the following consonants:

b, d, f, g, gb, h, j, k, l,
m, n, p, t, s, s, t, w, y.

All the symbols used here have their I.P.A. value except the following:

\begin{verbatim}
j = [dʒ]
y = [j]
s = [ʃ]
p = [kp]
\end{verbatim}

[kp] and [gb] are the voiceless and voiced labial velar plosives respectively. They are “produced with simultaneous double articulation – simultaneous closure if they occur after vowels and simultaneous release before following vowels” (Welmers 1973:46)**. An approximation to this type of stop sound may be made by pronouncing the English phrase “big boy” and then trying to divide it after the first vowel: bi-gboy” (Stevick and Aremu 1963:xiii)**. In the same
manner, [kp] can also be approximated by pronouncing the phrase “pork pie” as “por-kpie”. The voiced bilabial plosive [b] has no voiceless counterpart in Yoruba and diacritics such as dots are used in the orthography e.g. to distinguish “s” = [ʃ] (The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative) from “s” = [s] (the voiceless alveolar fricative).

All syllabic nasals will be represented in this work with the symbol /n/ whatever their phonetic value. This is in line with such writers as Bamgbose (1966)** and Abraham (1958)**. The following hormoganic nasals in (5) and (6) will be represented in the work with the underlined item in (7) and (8):

(5) Mo ́ lq
     I () go
     "I am going"

(6) Mo ́ b’q
     I () come
     "I am coming"

(7) Mo ́ lq
     I () go
     "I am going"

(8) Mo ́ b’q
     I () come
     "I am coming"

All the examples cited in the work will be correctly spelt and fully tone-marked as recommended in the Modern Orthography except in the areas in which we are of the opinion that the orthography needs some modification.

1.3. Basic Order Typology

With regards to the basic order typology in Yoruba, the relative order of subject, verb and object in simple declarative sentences with nominal subject and object is SVO as in:
Ó “He” in (9) is a pronoun, na “hit” is a verb and Adé is a noun. The structure of the relative clauses and the descriptive adjective is in the form of modified-modifier while that of the associative constructions is the reverse i.e. modifier-modified. These can be exemplified as follows:

Relative Clause.
(10) Olu ti o lọ
Olu REL he go
"Olu who went"

Adjectival Modifier.
(11) Omọ dudu'
child black
"A black child"

Associative Construction.
(12) Omọ on Dudu
Child ASSOC Dudu
"Dudu's child"

Yoruba is a prepositional rather than a postpositional language. The three prepositions are:

(i) ti - for expressing point of departure in time or space;
(ii) sì - for goal, including non-directional goal;
(iii) nì - for location. (Oyelaran 1983a:2)

There is no special inflected adjective form or adjectival modifier to indicate comparison such as “-er” in English as in “John is taller than James”. Comparison and Superlatives are expressed with the verb jù having the general meaning “to surpass” in normal declarative sentence constructions. The earlier
grammarians called this word an adverb meaning "more" or "very" (Ward 1952:3)**. However, recent studies have shown that the word belongs to the set of verbs that obligatorily take part in serial verb constructions where we have more than one verb in a sentence as in:

(13) ọ ga ju Dàda ọ
      He tall surpass Dada go
      "He is taller than Dada"

Languages that make use of verbs in this type of construction have been referred to as VERBY languages (Stassen 1985:178)**. Meeussen (1975:3-4) also refers to this system of indicating comparison and superlative expressions without inflections as one of the syntactic aspects of linguistic Africanism. By this, he means the "characteristics which are general or frequent in African Languages but absent or rare elsewhere".

Oyelaran (1976) has convincingly established that all the adverbs in the language occur postverbally as in:

(14) ọ lọ ksáká
      He go quickly
      "He went quickly"

(15) ọ lọ rf
      He go before
      "He has gone there before"

Awoyale (1983)** argues for the recognition of the verb infinitive in the language. This, according to him, is marked by the lengthening of the last vowel of the word preceding the infinitive verb. The lengthened vowel carries a high tone as in:
Yes/No questions are differentiated from the corresponding assertion by intonation. These types of non-WH question employ an intonation contour to distinguish statements from questions. This is achieved merely by the use of a raised contour for the sentence.

The second type of non-WH-question is marked by grammatical items. They can occur at clause initial position as in:

(19)  그것은 왔어요?
Q he come?
"Has he arrived?"

or clause finally as in:

(20)  왔어요?
He come Q?
"Has he arrived?"

There are two types of WH-question in the language. The first is the one often referred to as the echo-Wh-question. This is so called because it involves one person echoing the speech of another as in the following:

(21) Speaker A: 마다 찍어요.  
NEG use hand touch it.  
"Do not touch it."
Speaker B: Mafi qwọ kan kí ni?
   Neg use hand touch what?
   "Do not touch what?"

The other Wh-questions are indicated by nominals such as ta "who", kí "what", èwo "which" etc. These nominals are obligatorily topicalized and occur at clause initial position in this type of construction. This can be seen in (22)–(24).

(22) Ta ni ọyẹn?
   Who FOC that?
   "Who is that?"

(23) Kí ni ọyẹn?
   What FOC that?
   "What is that?"

(24) Èwo ni ọyẹn?
   Which FOC that?
   "Which is that?"

Yoruba pronouns show distinctions for both person and number as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo &quot;I&quot;</td>
<td>a &quot;we&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>ṃ &quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò &quot;he/she&quot;</td>
<td>wón &quot;they&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
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<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
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<tr>
<td>mi &quot;me&quot;</td>
<td>mi &quot;me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o &quot;you&quot;</td>
<td>o &quot;you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò &quot;he/him/her&quot;</td>
<td>ò &quot;he/him/her&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yoruba nouns are not inflected for the category of number and there is no grammatical gender.
1.4. Sources of Information

For the examples used in this work, we rely on ourselves. However, examples of doubtful acceptability are referred to other native speakers for their comments. Yoruba fictional narratives and other recorded texts that indicate junctural features also provide useful material for our analysis. Following Dale (1975:82), our linguistic investigation could be described as being based on:

(i) Recorded texts  
(ii) Analyst's intuition (introspection)  
(iii) Others' intuitions  
(iv) Fictional narratives

1.5. Nature of the Work

This work is aimed at providing a descriptive analysis of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. We start by examining the issues of the categorial status of the Yoruba auxiliaries. We then identify the items that should belong to this class of verb and discuss the functions of the items so analysed. Although the work contains some structural analyses in GPSG, the study does not attempt to give an account of the language within the framework of the grammar. The theory is used to discuss the relationship between the auxiliary verbs and some other classes of verb often confused with them in the literature and to describe the distribution of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs.
1. A similar term, "LOOBO" was used by Tai Solarin, an educationist, to describe the States controlled by the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria between 1979 and 1983. "LOOBO" stands for Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Bendel and Oyo States of Nigeria. Watkins (1972:1)** refers to the old Western Region, which apart from Kwara State comprise the present LOOKO States as "the primary centre of Yoruba habitation". The population of Yoruba speakers is still an enigma. Bamgbose (1966:2)** says the language is spoken by about twelve million people in Nigeria alone. In her recent writing, Lawal (1983:4)** gives the population as 20 million "about a third of the Nigerian population". Eades (1980:2)** says that "a figure of 15 million for the Yoruba peoples as a whole is probably of the right order of magnitude" and he illustrates this figure with some tables which we include in this work as Appendix A. The tables are rearranged to fit our use of the term LOOKO for the States. Two maps locating the Yoruba in Nigeria, Togo and Benin are also included in the appendix.

2. See Oyelaran (1976a:1)**

3. A situation where "speakers from village A can communicate with those from village B, who are able to converse with speakers from C; these, in turn, can communicate with speakers from village D. However, speakers from A cannot hold a conversation with speakers from D, and without the evidence of intervening stages, one would be tempted to say that they spoke different languages. But it is impossible to say at what point along the continuum the change from one form of the language to another occurs or to determine how many distinct forms there are" (Cruse 1986:71).

4. Some chants by Balbino, a Sango Priest at BALBINO DANIEL OF SANGO AGANJU, SALVADOR recorded by Abimbola (1978:9-12) on his visit to Brazil is included as Appendix B in this work. The fact that any literate Yoruba person can read and understand the chants attests to Turner and Watkins claims.

5. When Yoruba examples are given in the work, especially those of phrases and sentences, a three-line presentation will often be adopted. The first line will be the Yoruba written in the orthography to be described below. The second line will present a rough word by word English gloss of the utterance. The third will gloss the utterance as a whole in understandable English.

6. Some Yoruba writers recognize only four (i.e. Bamgbose 1963, Abraham 1958)** or even three (i.e. Welmers 1973)**
nasal vowels. The reason for these are the claims that an and on do not contrast in the language and that on occurs only in some dialects. For clarity, we have adopted the five-phoneme nasalized-vowel system without contesting the above points.

7. A verb having a low tone changes to mid before an NP object i.e. sè "cook", ọ se ohè "He cooks soup/stew"

8. For a comprehensive discussion on the source of WH Question in Yoruba, see Olowookere (1985).

9. The third person singular object is a lengthening of the root vowel of verb. If the verb ends in a low or mid tone as in ọ ọ́ "He grinds it" and ọ je ẹ "He eats it", the pronoun will have a high tone otherwise, it will have a mid tone as in ọ ọ́ "He plants it" and ọ je ẹ "He answers his call".

10. The use of texts as a source of information in linguistic research in the language has been criticized by Oke (1969)**. According to him, writers are not often sure about how the features of elision and junctional tonal change should be represented and that in most cases, these are left out. He states further that where these are of grammatical significance, the analyst may have problems in analysing sentences taken from such text. The junctional tone change is not a great problem in the examples used in this work because, these days, texts are transcribed from recorded collections and with some modified version of the language's modern orthography, all segments and tones are fully represented in some of the recently written narratives. An example of recorded texts we have in mind is that of Adeboye Babalola's THE CONTENT AND FORM OF YORUBA IJALA and that of the recently written narratives is Oladejo Okediji's ATOTO ARERE.
CHAPTER 2
THE CATEGORIAL STATUS OF THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS

2.1. Introduction

English has been described by Zwicky (1986:1) as the first language of most linguistic theories in this century. A good example to show the correctness of Zwicky's remark is the AUX hypothesis. For instance, twenty years or so after the "original AUX hypothesis" (McCawley 1985:849) of Chomsky, English has served as its main language of exemplification. It is not until the very end of the last decade and the beginning of this that "the question of the extension of the Category AUX\(^1\) beyond English and the general issue of the bases for the application of the categorial label cross-linguistically" (Steele 1986:396) are addressed by Akmajian \textit{et al.} (1979) and Steele \textit{et al.} (1981).

In addition, in Heny and Richards (1983) whose major objective is to examine the hypothesis of Akmajian \textit{et al.} (1979) and Steele \textit{et al.} (1981), one of the two volumes is devoted entirely to the study of the English Auxiliary Verbs.

In contrast, there are only two studies of the Auxiliaries in Yoruba, Oke (1972)** and Oyelaran (1982a). Both clearly distinguish between auxiliary and verb\(^2\) and argue for the recognition of the Auxiliary as a distinct category. The main topic of this chapter is to argue against the establishment of the category Aux in Yoruba. We will first present the criteria for Aux-hood as defined by Steele \textit{et al.} (1981) and use these to review the two studies just mentioned. We will then present arguments to show that given Steele \textit{et al.}'s criteria for Aux-hood, the category Aux cannot be established for the language and that the items recognized by these two writers should be classified as subclasses of verb. We will then state other aspects of the Auxiliary verbs we shall be discussing in
the remaining six chapters of this work.

2.2. The Properties of AUX

In Steele et al. (1981), AUX is defined as follows:

(1) Given a set of language-internal analyses, those constituents which may contain only a specified (i.e. fixed and small) set of elements, crucially containing elements marking tense and/or modality, will be identified as non distinct. (p. 21).

Other properties of AUX noted in language-specific situation are:

(2) (a) Aux is a constituent.

(b) Aux occurs in first, second or final position in an S.

(c) For most choices of L, Aux may attach to some adjacent element.

(d) Aux contains a specified, i.e. fixed and small, class of elements.

(e) These elements occur in a fixed order.

(f) Aux MUST include elements marking tense and/or modality.

(g) Aux MAY also include, elements indicating subject marking, subject agreement, questions, evidential, emphasis, aspect, object marking, object agreement, and negation. (pp. 155-156).

(1) and (2) above present the semantic and the syntactic criteria for Aux-hood. We shall regard these as constant and consider whether the category Aux can be established in the language.

2.3. Oke (1972)** and the Auxiliary Cluster

Oke (1972)** classifies as an “auxiliary cluster” any direct sequence of more than one auxiliary element. The following are the elements of his auxiliary cluster (Oke 1972:135)**:
(3) (i) M, là, màan, màa, ti, sì.
(ii) Kúkú, dè, sì, tiè, kàn, så, mà.
(iii) a, à, yio, bááü, báá, báá (or sometimes bá or baa)

He also goes on to reclassify the elements as follows (Oke 1972:137)**:

- The Pre-emptive Auxiliary. The list of elements of this class corresponds to the list (3) (i). In linear order, these are closest to the first occurring Full Verb element in VP and, when the VP includes members of the other Auxiliary subclasses, further from the Negator, kò, or the tonal feature which initiates the VP.

- The Intensifier Auxiliary. The list of intensifiers corresponds to list (3) (ii) above. In the sequence of elements within the VP, members of this sub-class occur between the Modals and the Pre-emptives. A significant feature of this subclass is that all its members may freely occur before the Full Verb in clauses of Secondary Pattern (i.e. clauses in imperative mood) - a position from which all Modals and all Pre-emptives (except M, sì and, in the Negative, ti) are excluded.

- The Modal Auxiliary. The Modal auxiliaries are those listed under (3) (iii) . In linear order, these are the farthest away from the first-occurring Full Verb element within the VP and are next to the tonal or Negator onset of the VP. ... they form a sub-class of items that are mutually exclusive and combine only with items from the other two sub-classes or with Full Verb elements. (The only exception to the rule of mutual exclusion is the sequence yio báá.)

After mentioning some of the features shared by the Pre-emptive and the Modal subclasses, he argues for the rule in (4) as expressing the "normal 'order of syntactic precedence' among the auxiliaries" (1972:150)**.

(4) AUX ---> MODALS INTENSIFIERS PRE-EMPTIVES

The class labels in (4), according to him, are unimportant.

2.3.1. Awoyale’s (1974)** Comments on Oke (1972)**

Oke’s work is undoubtedly “a very useful contribution” (Oyelaran 1982a:1) to the study of Yoruba because it is the first attempt to spell out the elements that
make up the Auxiliary and discuss their semantic aspects in some details. Despite this achievement, Oke's work has not gone uncriticized.

According to Awoyale (1974:18)**,

(5) Most of the items Oke claims cannot take prefixation to become nominalized items in fact do.

kúkú > àkúkúùbí "fact of rather not given birth to a child"

(6) Examples (a) (b) and (c) contradict Oke's claim that the pre-emptive occurs nearest to the Full Verb.

(a) O maa tun wulè 19
   You will again in vain go
   "You will go in vain"

(b) O 0 mò gbọdọ 19
   You not EMPH must go
   "You must not go"

(c) O 0 sì gbọdọ 19
   You not and must go
   "And you must not go"

In (6) (a), the element wulè "in vain", referred to as a preverb by Awoyale, is closer to the Full Verb than maa "will". The same applies to maa "not" and sì "and" in (6) (b) and (c) respectively where gbọdọ "must" precedes the Full Verb immediately. Whereas, with Oke's "normal order of syntactic precedence, the items maa "not" and sì "and" should occur nearer to the Full Verb than gbọdọ "must".

2.3.2. Oyelaran's (1982a) Comments on Oke (1972)**

Another linguist who has criticized Oke's work is Oyelaran (1982a). He makes the following points:

- Oke excludes without any explanation the negative marker (NEG) and the high tone syllable (HTS, following Awobuluji's (1975b)** usage). The latter occurs (without exception) after.
and is assimilated to the final vowel of all non-pronominal subjects, followed by a Full Verb, as in:

\[ \text{Awon on tule e'gba isinmi} \]
They student HTS take leave
"The students are going on holiday"

- Oke excludes ... without adequate justification formatives such as dede, gbodo on the ground that they may be nominalized like verbs by the prefix "a-".

- The counterexamples to the cooccurrence restrictions Oke proposes for the formatives call for a deeper study of Aux in Yoruba, given especially the tenuousness of the relationship between the accepted usage of the terms 'modal' and 'intensifiers', for example, and the syntactic and semantic content of the formatives assigned to them by Oke.

2.3.3. Further Comments

In support of these two scholars, we do not think nominalization the most appropriate criterion for distinguishing Auxiliary from verb, because items which are not verbs would qualify as verbs. One case of note is that of the PP. From \( \text{ti ilo} \) "from home" and \( \text{ti aarog} \) "from morning", both of which are PP, we can derive nominals such as \( \text{ati ilo} \) "from the house" and \( \text{ati aarog} \) "from/since the morning". One can show that the derived items are nominals by topicalizing or relativizing them. This is relevant, because only nouns and nominals are either relativized or topicalized in Yoruba. Any element which is neither a noun nor a nominal would first undergo nominalization before it is relativized or topicalized. (7) is the topicalization of the above nominalized items while (8) is the relativized version of the same:

(7) \( \text{ati ilo ni mo ti rif i} \)
From house POC. I from see it
"It was from home that I have seen it"
(8) Àti ilé tì o ti rì i ...  
From house REL you () saw it ...  
"The house from where you saw it ...".

Furthermore, nominals such as àti-àárö can follow prepositions, as in (9).

(9) Mo dùró nì àti àáró  
I wait in from morning  
"I have been waiting since morning"

In addition, not all verbs can be nominalized in the language, even when they constitute by themselves the VP in utterances. In (10) (b), the verb ti constitutes the VP, yet it cannot be nominalized:

(10) (a) ì O he go?  
"Did he go?"

(b) ì tì.  
It not  
"No"

We cannot have:

(11) (a) *àti tì "not not"  
(b) *ì tì "the fact of not"  
(c) *àti tì "the act of not"

Oke's other argument which is quite unsatisfactory is his claim that "whenever the negator kò occurs in a clause, it always marks the onset of a VP" (Oke 1969:96)**. We agree with Oke that this rule applies to sentences such as (12) (a) and (b) where both kùkù "indeed" and lò "go" are elements of the VP as defined by him but the rule will also classify ti ilé "from home", a PP, as the first element of VP in sentence (12) (c).

(12) (a) kò lò  
Not go  
"He did not go"
(b) Kọ kúkú lo
Not indeed go
"He didn't go at all"

(c) Kọ ti ilé lo
Not from house go
"He didn't go from home"

2.4. Oyelaran and the Category Aux

After criticizing Oke's analysis of the Auxiliary Cluster, Oyelaran presents his own analysis of the Auxiliary. He regards the Auxiliary as a category and he claims (personal communication) that Steele et al's treatment of Category AUX supports his analysis.

2.4.1. Some Objections to Oyelaran's (1982a) Analysis

In this section, we shall show that what Oyelaran regards as Category Aux does not agree, or at best only partially agrees, with the definitional properties proposed by Steele et al or by any other linguist. For one thing, some of the elements identified under his Category Aux have a great deal in common with verbs. This is contrary to AUX as a Category as defined by Steele et al. For this reason, we are challenging the claim that the elements of his Category Aux can convincingly be established as a category in the language.

To start with, the only element which is crucial to the establishment of Aux as a language-specific category is not a constituent of Oyelaran's Category Aux.

According to him:

TNS is not a constituent of the AUX and is therefore not a grammatical category of the language ....(It) is not a term within AUX, or within any other auxiliary symbol in the Yoruba Phrase Structure. It is therefore not a grammatical category of the language. (pp. 3&42)

Oyelaran does not claim here that location in time must be expressed
grammatically. Rather, he is of the opinion that the periphrastic apparatus of modality and aspect is far more developed in the language, a claim which is lacking in other descriptions of Yoruba, where verbal grammatical categories have been dominated by tense with aspect being treated as a conceptual waste basket.

Oyelaran's view of Yoruba as a tenseless language is contradictory to the various meanings given to Aux which McCawley (1985:849) summarizes as follows:

Chomsky 1957.
(Aux) meant a constituent consisting of a tense and all the Auxiliary Verbs of the given clause.

Akmajian, Steele and Wasow 1979.
(Aux) meant the tensed Auxiliary Verb.

Steele et al. 1981.
(Aux) means a constituent consisting of any number of temporal and/or modal features.

Also commenting on Steele et al.'s definition of AUX as a Category, Wekker (1985:472) states categorically that "Aux is claimed to mark tense and modality, but not aspect". By this he means that the presence of aspect is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the establishment of a category Aux in a language.

In his own contribution to the debate on the universality of AUX, Rigter (1986:358-359) quotes Reuland (1983) as asking "whether AUX should S-contain or P-contain a 'tense-marker'. If AUX S-contains tense, every realization of AUX contains a 'tense-marker'. If it P-contains tense, a 'tense-marker' is only one of the alternative realizations of AUX .... From personal communication by Steele, it appears that S-contain was intended".
The conclusion one can draw from the foregoing discussion is that if Yoruba is a tenseless language, as Oyelaran claims, a category Aux cannot be convincingly established for the language.

Even if a category Aux is allowed in the language despite a clear absence of tense among its constituents, the Phrase Structure Rules proposed for the Yoruba Predicate by Oyelaran (as shown in (13)) are unsatisfactory.

\[
\begin{align*}
(13) \quad & \text{(a) } \text{PRED} \longrightarrow \text{AUX PP VP} \\
& \text{(b) } \text{VP} \longrightarrow \text{V NP PP VP}
\end{align*}
\]

From (13), it is clear that AUX is a category in the structures proposed. One crucial point that should be noted here is that Oyelaran’s grammar, at least as far as the analysis of Aux is concerned, is monostratal. The important points in (13) are noted in (14).

\[
\begin{align*}
(14) \quad & \text{(i) Category Aux occurs between the NP and the preverbal PP.} \\
& \text{(ii) To make sure that the preverbal PP is always PP[ti], it is stated that the PP should occur in the Predicate}
\end{align*}
\]

Note (15) (i)–(iii). Although the Auxiliary elements occur after the PP, the PP belongs to the NP.

\[
\begin{align*}
(15) \quad & \text{(i) } \text{Baba ni ile ni ò m bá wí} \\
& \text{father at home is you are referring to} \\
& \text{"It is to father at home that you are referring"} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{(ii) } \text{Ìwé rẹ sí mi kò tètè dé} \\
& \text{letter is to me did not early arrive} \\
& \text{"His letter to me did not arrive in time"}
\end{align*}
\]
(iii) Ṣẹ̀nikan ní Britín ní fún wa ní ẹ́rọ̀plein
"Someone in Britain is giving us an aeroplane"
(Afolayan 1968:470-473)**.

The problem is that there are sentences which Oyelaran’s rules do not account for. For instance, there are many grammatical sentences in which the verbs do occur before the PP[ti] in the Predicate. Examples are:

(16) (a) Mo fẹ ẹ ti ilè ọ̀ọ̀ din ọ̀ọ̀ din
I want INF from house do it
"I want to do it from home"

(b) Mo lọ ti ilè ọ̀ọ̀ din
I go from house to do it
"I went to do it from home"

In (16) (a) and (b) the verbs fẹ “want” and lọ “go” occur before the PP[ti]. Oyelaran’s comment on this (personal communication) is that both sentences contain the “final construction marker”. This final construction marker is what Oyelaran, quoting Bamgbose and others, refers to as the infinitive construction. Stated explicitly, according to him, the expression should take the form VP[NML[PRED]] which means a verb taking a nominalized Predicate as complement. Thus, (16) (a) and (b) are the same as (17) (a) and (b):

(17) (a) Mo fẹ ọ́ ti ilè ọ̀ọ̀ din ọ̀ọ̀ din
I want INF from home do it
"I want to do it from home"

(b) Mo lọ ọ́ ti ilè ọ̀ọ̀ din
I go INF from home do it
"I went to do it from home"

ti ilè ọ̀ọ̀ din (from home do it) “do it from home” in the two sentences is then taken to be a token of the Predicate. In (17) (a), a retrogressive assimilation takes place and “ọ́” changes to “ẹ́”. As for (16) (b) and (17) (b), Oyelaran concludes that lọ “go” is one of the verbs in the language in which the “final
construction marker" is neutralized. He gives the following examples to show that all markers of case and other syntactic categories are optionally realized after lọ "go":

(18) (a) Mo lọ sì ilé
     (I go to home)

     (b) Mo lọ ọ lè
     (I go ( ) home)

     (c) Mo lọ ilé
     (I go home)

     (d) Mo lọ lè
     (I go home)

     "I went home"
     (the translations in brackets are ours)

While the "case" is marked in (18) (a) and the final construction in (18) (b); in (18) (c) and (d) lọ "go" has no marker.

Our objections to the claims made above have already been noted by Awoyale (1983)**. What Oyelaran regards as the final construction and the VP[NMLPRED] are regarded as the infinitive and the gerundive respectively by Awoyale. Awoyale's argument can be summarized as follows:

- The infinitive "ICV", as in the words in capitals in *mo fẹ g lọ "I want to go", is not the remaining part of the gerundive "CICV" structure also capitalized in *mo fẹ li lọ "I want going". Any analysis that supports the claim that an ungrammatical sentence as in the latter, becomes grammatical as in the former, as a result of phonological deletion is unsatisfactory

- The initial high tone /h/ in the infinitive is not a prefix because a high tone does not occur on a vowel-initial word in Yoruba.

- The infinitive occurs in serial verb construction as in "ọ fẹ g lọ gbé Olu "He wants to go and carry Olu", the gerundive does not. Hence, the ungrammaticality of *ọ fẹ lì lọ gbé Olu "He wants the carrying of Olu".
We agree with Awoyale that the PP in both (16) (a) and (b) occur after the verbs, the reason being that despite the presence of the Infinitive marker, the verb fò “want” in (16) (a) does not lose its verbal nature and lọ “go” in (16) (b) is a verb occurring in a serial verb construction just as fọ “jump” is functioning in (19):

(19)  Mo fọ ti Ọkè bọ sì ilè
      I jump from up land to the floor
      "I jumped down from the top"

We also note that the preposition in the examples in (18) is one of the case markers in the language. As a case marker, its semantic role is null. Thus, sì ilè “to house” contributes to the determination of meaning in (18) (a) in exactly the same way as ilè “house” contributes in (18) (c). An item which has got a great deal in common with sì is the English to as used in (20).

(20)  My true love gave a partridge
       in a pear tree to me

(21)  My true love gave me a partridge
       in a pear tree

Of (20) and (21), Gazdar and Pullum (1982:14) claim that “to” is “present in” (20) “by virtue of the type of construction involved rather than by virtue of (its) intrinsic lexical property ... (its) function is to mark case”. In transformational terms, Lyons (1966:218) is of the opinion that “case (in the languages in which this category is to be found) is not present in ‘deep’ structure at all, but is merely the inflectional ‘realization’ of particular syntactic relationships” (his brackets).

The preposition in (18) (a) is also one of the elements of which Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:39, fn.)** state earlier that
"... they are grammatical formatives because not only do they not have independent meaning, they also belong to a closed system in a non-trivial sense. Formatives performing similar functions like theirs may not normally be derived from any other formatives. And when they occur in utterances they either relate lexical items one to another or express an aspect of a lexical item belonging to a major category”.

(18) (b) can be treated as resulting from the elision of the “s” and the subsequent assimilation of the “f” of the preposition sì “to”. Examples of such elision and assimilation with elements other than lo “go” are (22) (a) and (b):

(22) (a) Eṣu bṣọ q ɗíf ɗiɗu > Ẹṣù bọ sì ɗé ɗiɗu
Esu (Subj. marker) falls
to (the) base drum
Esu (Yoruba so-called trickster god) set to the drum

(b) Won dà ɗə ɗiɗu > Wọn dà á sì ɗdọ
they pour it to opposite
"They turned it into misunderstanding"
(Adapted with some modification from Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:4))**

In (22) (a), the consonant of sì “to” is elided and the stranded vowel “i” is assimilated to the preceding vowel. In (22) (b), the consonant of sì “to” is also elided but instead of a retrogressive assimilation of the stranded vowel, what we have is a progressive assimilation into the following vowel.

Even if we agree that the structure of the predicates of sentences (16) (a) and (b) is VPl[NML,PRED] and that the sentences can easily be accounted for within Oyelaran’s PS Rules in (13), sentences such as (23) (a)–(f) pose another problem.

(23) (a) Mo ti ɗe’ ń sọ ɗkọ ɗrọ sì i
I from house () throw stone word at him
"From home, I was sending unpleasant notes to him"
(b) ọ mú ti oko bọ
He take from farm come
"He brought (something) from the farm"

(c) ọ n ti ilé lọ ọ sòrò sì i
He from house go () talk to him
"He (always) goes from home to talk to him"

(d) ọ kẹ ti oko wá
He cry from farm come
"He returned from the farm crying"

(e) ọ ti ilé lọ maa n mü un
He from house go continue () take it
"He often goes from home to take it"

(f) ọ gbón ti ilé wá
He wise from house come
"He has got good home training"

An element of the Category Aux occurs after the PP in (23) (a) but occurs after the verb in (23) (c). Also in (23) (d), kẹ "cry" is a verb occurring before the PP. In (23) (e), maa and n, both belonging to the established Category Aux, follow the PP. Finally in (23) (f), gbón "to be wise", a verb, precedes the PP.

With these examples, there is a clear justification for suggesting that the only member of the established Category Aux that is fixed in the second position in a S is the HTS, but according to Thrane (1983:158), a Language Specific Category cannot be established on the basis of only one element – a view that we share.

What all this shows is not that one cannot account for the auxiliary verbs in Yoruba but that one cannot do so by establishing a separate category for such verbs. The only criterion used by Oyelaran for the distinction of the auxiliary as a category from the verb is that of the PP occurring after it and before the
verb. As we have shown above, this is quite unsatisfactory. As the grammar within which the auxiliary as a category is treated is monostratal, the PS Rules in (13) cannot adequately account for cases:

(24) (i) Where the Verb occurs before the PP[ti] form as in (23) (b), (d) and (f).

(ii) Where the Auxiliary occurs after the PP[ti] form as in (23) (a) and (e).

(iii) Where both the Auxiliary and the Verb occur after the PP as in (23) (c).

Problems of these types have led Pullum (1981:437) to give the following examples:

(25) (a) This is of course certainly causing problems

(b) This of course is certainly causing problems

(c) This of course certainly is causing problems

and concludes that "the finite auxiliary verb in English simply is not rigidly fixed in initial, second or final position in S like the Aux elements Steele identifies in various other languages". From (23), we conclude that Oyelaran's Auxiliary elements also do not occur in a rigidly fixed position.

2.4.2. Comments on Oyelaran (1982b)

For a comprehensive conclusive argument against Category Aux as a syntactic category in Yoruba, we still need to discuss another paper written by Oyelaran in which an attempt is made to corroborate the conclusion reached in the paper we have just examined.

While presenting arguments to show that the VP should be allowed to take a VP as complement, Oyelaran (1982b:35) applies the principle of substitution. The examples given are as follow:
(26) (a) ... Wọn gbà mí làyè láti ko o bọ
they accept me space (for) collect it bring together
tọ jàde pẹlú ti awọn aṣiwájú
print distribute accompany those (of) them
fore-runners
Onímọ Yorùbá tí a gbà ko jọ yí
expert Yoruba (which) we receive collect bring together this
"They allowed me to bring it together for purposes of publishing it along with those of leading Yoruba scholars which we have received and have brought together in this publication"

(b) Wọn gbà mí làyè láti lo
They accept me space for go
"They gave me permission to go"

He states that lo "go" in (26) (b) "is a VP", and that in (26) (a), "the series consisting of 1,2,3, and 4, along with their complements on one hand, and 5,6, and 7, on the other hand, should each constitute a VP in the same sense". To distinguish between auxiliary and verb, he states further that his "Category Aux subcategorizes for the VP bearing the contextual feature [+VP]". He then concludes that the "insertion of any auxiliary element can only occur before gbà "accept" and not before ko "collect"" in (26) (a) and the same auxiliary element can only occur before lo "go" in (26) (b).

Here, we shall insert both the elements of his auxiliary and verb types into the slots he noted above and see if any of the two makes the sentences ill-formed where the other does not. In (27), (26) (a) will be represented as (a) sentences while (26) (b) will be represented as (b) sentences and both the inserted auxiliaries and verbs are underlined. AUXL is placed under the Aux elements inserted. We use AUXL here to distinguish the inserted Aux elements from the
universal category AUX.

(27) (i) AUXILIARY ELEMENTS
   (a) Wón ti gbà mí látě léi máa kó o *máa pó ...  
       They AUXL accept me space in at AUXL collect  
       it *AUXL together  
       (see (26) (a) for the translation)

   (b) Wón máa gbà mí látě léi máa lö  
       They AUXL accept me space for AUXL go  
       "They will allow me to continue to go"

(ii) VERBS
   (a) Wón sářé gbà mí látě sářé kó o *sářé pó ...  
       They run have accept me space run collect it *run  
       together  
       (see (26) (a) for the translation)

   (b) Wón wá gbà mí látě wá lö  
       They come accept me space for come go  
       "They allow me to start going (there)"

In the above sentences, both auxiliaries and verbs are inserted in the same positions and they both make the resulting sentences either ill-formed or grammatical in the same way. Other examples given by Oyelaran (1982b:37) are treated in the same manner in (28), (29), (30) and (31). AUXL is placed under the inserted Aux elements that make the resulting sentences ungrammatical and both the inserted auxiliaries and verbs are underlined.

(28) (i)  
   (a) Mo ti wá ọrẹ mí lö sí N.Y.  
   (b) *Mo ti wá ọrẹ ti lö sí N.Y.  
       AUXL  
   (c) *Mo wá ọrẹ mi ti lö sí N.Y.  
       AUXL  
       "I have gone to N.Y. to look for my friend"
(ii) (a) n kò wà ṣè rẹ mi lọ sì N.Y.
(b) *n kò wà ṣè rẹ mi kò lọ sì N.Y.
(c) *mo wà ṣè rẹ mi kò lọ sì N.Y.
     AUXL
     "I did not go to N.Y. to look for my friend"

(iii) (a) Mo lè wà ṣè rẹ mi lọ sì N.Y.
(b) *Mo lè wà ṣè rẹ mi lè lọ sì N.Y.
(c) *Mo wà ṣè rẹ mi lè lọ sì N.Y.
     AUXL
     "I can go to N.Y. to look for my friend"

(29) (i) (a) ọ ti mu omi yọ
(b) *ọ ti mu omi ti yọ
     AUXL
(c) *ọ mu omi ti yọ
     AUXL
     "He has drunk water to satiation" or
     "He is drunk on water"

(ii) (a) Kò mu omi yọ
(b) *Kò mu omi kò yọ
     AUXL
(c) *ọ mu omi kò yọ
     AUXL
     "He is not drunk on water"

(iii) (a) ọ lè mu omi yọ
(b) *ọ lè mu omi lè yọ
     AUXL
(c) *ọ mu omi lè yọ
     AUXL
     "He can be drunk on water"

(30) (i) (a) Mo sàrè wà ṣè rẹ mi lọ sì N.Y.
(b) *Mo sàrè wà ṣè rẹ mi sàrè lọ sì N.Y.
(c) *Mo wà ṣè rẹ mi sàrè lọ sì N.Y.
     "I quickly went to look for my friend in N.Y."

(ii) (a) Mo jì wà ṣè rẹ mi lọ sì N.Y.
(b) *Mo jì wà ṣè rẹ mi jì lọ sì N.Y.
(c) *Mo wà ṣè rẹ mi jì lọ sì N.Y.
     "I went early to look for my friend in N.Y."
(iii) (a) Mo ràngê wá ṣe ṣe mi lọ sì N.Y.
(b) *Mo ràngê wá ṣe ṣe mi ràngê lọ sì N.Y.
(c) *Mo wá ṣe ṣe mi ràngê lọ sì N.Y.
   "I send someone to help look for my friend in N.Y."

(31) (i) (a) ò jí mu omi yò
d) *ò jí mu omi jì yò
c) *ò mu omi jì yò
   "He got drunk on water early (in the morning)"

(ii) (a) Mo sáre mu omi yò
d) *Mo sáre mu omi sáre yò
c) *Mo mu omi sáre yò
   "I quickly drank water to satiation"

(iii) (a) Mo lọ mu omi yò
d) *Mo lọ mu omi lọ yò
c) *Mo mu omi lọ yò
   "I went to get drunk"

The claim made in the paper is that the insertion of the second auxiliary elements make (b) and (c) in (28) (i), (ii), (iii) and (29) (i), (ii), (iii) ill-formed. In (30) and (31), we place the verb types in exactly the same slots and, as shown above, they all lead to ungrammatical constructions. Hence, we conclude that the examples given do not help in any way to distinguish verbs from auxiliaries.

In sum, as Oyelaran does not point out any other dissimilarities between verbs and the elements of Category Aux and as the obligatory element of Category Aux as defined by Chomsky, Akmajian et al. and Steele et al. is not included in his own category, we hope that the discussions in the last few paragraphs have shown that the account of a grammar which treats the auxiliary as a subclass of verb will be more in line with the facts of the language.
2.5. Counting the Auxiliary

So far, what we have been discussing is the Language-Specific Syntactic aspects of Oyelaran's criteria for Aux-hood. Now, turning to the notion of auxiliary verb as given by its advocates, we see that Oyelaran's HTS, NEG, M and ASP qualify as auxiliary verbs. There is no justification, however, for the inclusion of Oyelaran's Intensifier and Specifier. Oyelaran (1982a:17) is aware of this fact too when he states that:

"Given that kúkú and sésé have different restrictions, ... we suggest that they belong to different sub-categorization of the AUX. Let us call this INTENSIFIER (INT) for kúkú and SPECIFIER (SPEC) for sésé. Of particular interest in distinguishing these two is the observation that SPEC is verb-like in that it subcategorizes for NP subject, while such sub-categorization is non-relevant for INT"

Later, he states that:

"More than any other label, INTENSIFIER is used for want of a better term. For one thing, we are not at all sure that their function is to "intensify". In what sense does bá, sáa, kán intensify for that instance? (p. 46 fn.6)"

The question then is, if these items (Oyelaran's intensifiers and specifiers and Oke's intensifier auxiliary) are not elements of the auxiliary verb and as Oyelaran has said, some of them are not intensifiers, what are they?

2.6. The Modifying Verbs

Awobuluyi (1973:109)** argues that the elements under discussion are neither auxiliaries nor verbs but that they are adverbs functioning as verb modifiers. In analysing these items as adverbs, Awobuluyi overlooks one of their principal characteristics namely that as Oyelaran (1976:19) rightly noted, they should be analysed "in relation to the verbs with which they must cooccur". It is even still controversial whether adjectives can easily be distinguished from Yoruba
adverbs hence, the modifier/qualifier in (32):

(32) Ṣo ka ṣe Ọdàà
He read book well
(a) "He reads books well"
(b) "He reads good books"

may be referring to the manner in which the book is read, (32) (a) being the appropriate gloss, or it may be the books that are being qualified, (32) (b) being the required gloss. The items under consideration i.e. Oyelaran’s INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER and Oke’s Intensifier Auxiliaries, unlike the adverb in (32), have no affinity to adjectives.

Still on the same items, Bamgbose (1974:42-47)** also argues that they should be analysed as modifying verbs. The differences between these items and the indisputable verbs often quoted, according to him, are:

They always occur in a modifying capacity to another verb.

(33) Tẹtẹ lọ
early go
"Go early"

They can occur in minimal sentences only in restricted context as in.

(34) È tẹtẹ
You(pl.) early
"Be early"

(34) still requires a verb to make a complete expression as in:

(35) È tẹtẹ lọ
You(pl.) early go
"Go early"

(36) is not acceptable in a restricted context as in (34).
On these examples, Bamgbose asserts that if these differences are important for verb identification, non-controversial verbs would not occur in such contexts, yet examples of indisputable verbs occurring in the same contexts abound in the language. Some of the examples he gives to support his point are:

(37) (a) Ṫ i owd sî ènu
     He put money to mouth
     "He puts a coin in his mouth"

(b) *Ō fi owd
    He put coin

(38) (a) Asô nàà bë yòdè
    dress the red bright
    "The dress is bright red"

(b) *aço nàà bë
    The dress is red

On the ungrammatical sentences in (37) and (38), Bamgbose states that the verb fi "put" in (37) (b) requires the post-verbal item sî "into", hence, it cannot occur in a minimal sentence in any context. Also, the fact that bë "be red" in (38) (b) requires an adverb accounts for the unacceptable minimal sentence. He then concludes that there is nothing wrong with a verb having the feature [+MOD] which is what he proposes for these items.

We agree with Bamgbose that Oyelaran’s INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER Auxiliaries and Oke’s Intensifier Auxiliaries should be regarded as modifying verbs (V[+MOD]) because like all verbs, they can select their objects and subjects and occur in infinitive verb constructions. The major difference between them and
the main verb is that they always carry an additional feature [+MOD] which is not a necessary feature of the main verb.

In addition, if Oyelaran's (1976) persuasive analysis of adverbs is taken, then, there is no way the modifying verbs could be classified as adverbs. Oyelaran states that adverbs, always occur postverbally but as shown in (39), modifying verbs occur before the verbs they modify.

(39) (a) ō ka łyé dândá
He read book good/well
(i) "He reads well"
(ii) "He reads good book"

(b) ō tètè ka łyé
He early read book
"He reads early"

Both dândá "well/good" and tètè "early" modify ka łyé "read book" in different ways. The affinity between the adverb dândá "well/good" with the verb can be broken as the glosses in (39) (a) (i) and (ii) show and already as pointed out in (32), but that of the modifying verb cannot be broken; hence, the single gloss. In (39) too, the adverb dândá "good/well", in contradistinction to the modifying verb, occurs postverbally while the latter occurs in a preverbal position.

It should also be noted that the effect of both modal and aspect on these items is quite different from their effect on the adverb. Whereas both modal (i.e. lè "can/may") and aspect (i.e. màa ń "Habitual aspect marker") affect either the modifying verbs or the verbs the modifying verbs modify, both modal and aspect affect the verb and not the adverb that modifies it.

(40) (a) ō màa ń tètè lọ
He often early go
"He often goes early"
It is very difficult, in English translation, to show the effects the modal and aspect have on the verb and the modifying verb in (40) (a)–(d). The word for word glosses show how the examples are understood by the speakers of the language but these are not depicted in the literary translation.

2.7. How many Auxiliary Verbs in Yoruba?

So far, we have been able to establish that Oyelaran’s INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER are lexical verbs used to modify other verbs. We have also argued that the auxiliary should be regarded as a subcategory of verb in the language.

Having pointed out all these, we still need to address ourselves to the question of the number of the Auxiliary verbs in the language. An answer to this has actually been given in our discussion above. What can truly be regarded as the Auxiliary Verbs in the language are some of Oke’s Pre-emptive and Modal Auxiliaries and Oyelaran’s HTS, NEG, M and ASP.

Previous writers do implicitly recognize that these items are the only Auxiliary Verbs in the language, but the problem is that they cannot adequately account for them in the framework of the grammars within which they work. For instance, in Oke’s treatment of the Auxiliary Cluster, only the Pre-emptive and the Modal Auxiliaries are treated at any length. The Intensifier is included, mainly to serve, along with the Modal and the Pre-emptive, as some sort of
diagnostic context for his FULL VERB. He does not devote as much space to it, at least to the semantic treatment, as he does to the Modal and the Pre-emptive Auxiliaries.

This also applies to Oyelaran. Without the inclusion of both the INTENSIFIER and the SPECIFIER, the delimitation of Category Aux with PP would not have been easy. It will be recalled that his establishment of Category Aux in the language is based mainly on the occurrence of the PP between the AUX and the Verb in the Predicate. This would have been impossible if the elements considered do not include both the INTENSIFIER and the SPECIFIER. Even with these two constituents included, we have been able to show in this chapter that a Category Aux cannot be convincingly established in the language.

Awobuluyi (1967:253-258)** also recognizes our Auxiliary Verb as a subclass on its own. What surprises one is that he regards them as a subclass of Adverb. Consider the following passage:

The Preverbs constitute four classes of co-occurring elements. The first and second comprise respectively the indefinite tense markers máa, yóó, dò, and Ê on the one hand, and aspect markers ŋi, Êi, and màa on the other, both classes of elements participating in the chronological system of the verbs. The third class consists of the modal preverbs lbá, lbaa, le and gbúudý/gbóodó, while the fourth and the last class made up of all the remaining manner preverbs. Only the first three are, in our opinion, of sufficient interest to warrant special treatment. (Awobuluyi 1967:257-258)**.

The classes that "warrant special treatment" are almost identical with our own Auxiliary Verbs. The differences are the non-inclusion of the NEG and the HTS, the latter of which he later recognizes as a tense marker (Awobuluyi 1975:229)**. He also includes bá and lbaá, the equivalent of the English "if" and "even if" respectively which are not generally included within the sphere of modality and differ syntactically from the other auxiliary verbs.
Finally, though Bamgbose (1972:51) characterizes the items under discussion, except and HTS, as Auxiliary Verbs, he does not treat them as a subclass on their own. Instead of doing this, he merges them together with other items and classifies them as PREVERBS.

2.8. The Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs

The following are the items recognized as the Auxiliary Verbs in this work:

(41) (a) NEG
(b) HTS
(c) yọọ "will" and its variants
(d) ti "has" and its variant
(e) gbọdọ "must"
(f) lè "can"
(g) ní "PROG" and its variant
(h) māā ní "HAB" and its variant

We refrain from mentioning the functions of the elements listed in (41) because these are the topics for full discussion in the next three chapters.

One of the reasons why we think that the Auxiliary Verbs should be clearly specified and properly discussed is that despite the importance of the Auxiliary Verbs to any grammar (on this see Chomsky (1957:38)), many Yoruba writers are guilty of using the term "Auxiliary" as a sort of rag-bag into which to toss most verbal uses that do not seem to the author to be those of the standard main verb.

Another reason is that many of the works in which the auxiliary verbs are mentioned focus on items other than those in (41).

2.9. Conclusion

What we have done in the previous sections is to argue against the establishment of Category Aux in Yoruba using Steele et al.'s (1981) criteria of AUX-hood which such a category should satisfy for its justification. We also
criticize Oke and Oyelaran, the former, for excluding some items which are elements of the Auxiliary and for including others which are not, and the latter, for including items which are not elements of the Auxiliary.

Our argument here supports the one earlier made by Thrane (1983:196) who states that AUX is not a universal category i.e. that it is not a "necessary, predicate-bound linguistic property, rather, it is a merely possible, significant, language-bound linguistic property".

Following the Auxiliary-as-verb hypothesis, we suggest that the items identified in (41) should be classified as a subclass of verb for the reasons we have discussed in this chapter to which the following could be added:

- There are no rules that refer specifically to the Auxiliary as there are in such languages as English where we have rules such as the Subject Auxiliary Inversion (often called Subject Verb Inversion).

- Unlike many categories in the language, no subcategories of verb - main, auxiliary, modifying ... - can be conjoined. Hence, we cannot have (42) (a) whereas, we can have (42) (b).

(42) (a) (i) *Lọ ọti bọ
Go and come (base verb)

(ii) *Tètè ọti kúkú
Early and simply (modifying verb)

(iii) yọọ ọti máa
*will and continue (auxiliary verb)

(b) (i) Dúdú ọti pupa
black and red (nouns)

(ii) ní ilé ọti ní oko
in house and in farm
"At home and on the farm" (PP)^3.
There are also some morphological phenomena that advocate an analysis of the Auxiliary as verbs. For example, the morphology of both are the same, none of them take inflection and they are all realized as lexical items especially if the lexical realization of the HTS is compared to that of the third person pronominal object which we shall touch upon in Chapter 3.

(43) (a) Olu ì lò
Olu HTS go
"Olu went"

(b) Mo rí i
I see it/her/him
"I saw it/her/him"

It will be recalled from our previous discussions that there are no features of the Auxiliary Verbs in the language which are not shared by some indisputable verbs. As this is the case, we think that a treatment which permits a generalization of all verbs should be preferred in the language. The fact that the Auxiliary Verbs are highly grammaticalized\(^4\) does not mean that they should be regarded as items "which are used as substitute for inflections" (Poutsman (1926:15-17)). There are no inflections in the language and there is no point in saying that the Auxiliary Verbs are substituting for some. The analysis of the Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs as Verbs is adequately captured by Safarewicz (1974:20) when he states that

If within the scope of a certain class of words that do not exhibit any explicit opposition as to their morphological structure, some function is characteristic of all these words while another function is characteristic of some of them only, then the function characteristic of all the words is their primary function.

It is in this light that we say that all verbs - may they be modifying, auxiliary, causative ... - should first be classified into their primary category - verb. It is after this that subsequent subclassification into functional classes which are peculiar to some of them could be made.
From the foregoing, it seems there is sufficient motivation both for classifying all Auxiliary Verbs in the language as Verb and for classifying them as a distinct subclass of verbs just as the modifying verbs, the splitting verbs and a host of other subcategories of verbs in the language are classified. The shared properties of Auxiliaries and Main Verbs are accounted for on the basis of the shared feature specification [+/-VERB], while the distinctive properties are accounted for on the basis of different specification for the feature [+/-AUXILIARY]. Thus Auxiliaries are [+VERB,+AUXILIARY] and Main Verbs are [+VERB,-AUXILIARY]. As there are no Auxiliaries that lack verbal properties in the language, no lexical item will be specified [-VERB,+AUXILIARY] and all the Auxiliaries will be allowed to take VP as complement just as most verbs do.

2.10. Summary of Subsequent Chapters
Having established what could be regarded as the most basic assumption in any auxiliary verb description, what remains is the discussion of the functions of these items. This is what we shall now take up. In Chapter 3, we will discuss how the notions of aspects and phase are realized by some of the auxiliary verbs in (41). Chapter 4 will be devoted to the modal verbs and Chapter 5 will be concerned with some aspects of negation in the language. These three chapters will be basically descriptive.

It will be recalled from our discussion in this chapter that most of the problems relating to the categorial identity of the auxiliary verbs stem from the fact that a verbal construction in which the auxiliary verb serves as head is not clearly distinguished from one in which the modifying verb occurs as the first verb of the VP. Because of this confusion, after establishing the categorial status and the functions of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs, we shall still need to present some explicitly formulated rules that could account for, not only this
class of verbs, but other classes of verbs that are often confused with it. This is the task we shall take up in Chapter 6.

To present the rules that could account for the structure of the auxiliary verbs, we need a grammatical apparatus. Our choice of grammar is the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG henceforth). GPSG is of interest because there is no work on Yoruba in this framework so that part of the analysis to be presented could be regarded as a new ground for the theory. So, in Chapter 6, we shall present some structural analyses to show, not only what the auxiliary verbs have in common with the modifying verbs, but also how they differ. We shall also compare the latter with some other verbal constructions in the language. In Chapter 7, we shall suggest some basic restrictions on the appearance of the auxiliary verbs. The concluding chapter will discuss some of the achievements of the work.
Notes and References to Chapter 2

1. “AUX” in capital, as used by Steele et al, is the name of the Universal Category, while “Aux” is the name of the language-specific instantiations of AUX.

2. Oke does not state in his paper that there is a category Aux in the language. Although he distinguishes the auxiliary from the verb, he still refers to the class established as a subclass of verb. Our discussion is based on Oyelaran’s (1982a:1) comments that “Oke presented perhaps the first systematic attempt to subsume under a single Category Auxiliary all the grammatical formatives which earlier studies (including Awobuluyi 1967) have suggested may occur in combination of varying lengths between the subject and the main verb of Yoruba Sentence”.

3. See Fagborun’s (1985) discussion on some writers attempt at conjoining two or more Verb Phrases or Clauses in the language.

4. Even in languages where the lexical and the grammatical items differ morphologically, the claim made by Lyons (1968:438) is that “there seems to be no difference between the ‘kind of meaning’ associated with lexical items and the ‘kind of meaning’ associated with grammatical items”. This is not to say that there are no ‘purely grammatical’ items in Yoruba. Case is a typical example, as our brief discussion on it has shown, whose markers are ‘purely grammatical’ elements in the language and our suggestion is that they should be introduced syncategorematically.

5. Thrane’s (1983:158) definition of a category is also based on distribution. According to him, a category is “a class of descriptive significant items established by distribution at a given level of analysis”.

CHAPTER 3

ASPECT AND PHASE SYSTEMS IN YORUBA

3.1. Introduction

Our discussion of Aspect and Phase Systems (APS henceforth) begins with a review of the works of Awobulu yi (1975b)** and Oyelaran (1982a). Though this topic has been commented upon in one form or the other by some grammarians, notably by Rowlands (1954:384-385)**, Bamgbose (1966:33-34)** and Fresco (1970:65)**, the usefulness of the works of both Awobulu yi (1975b)** and Oyelaran (1982a) lies in their critical approach. While the former is concerned mainly with the functions of the High Tone Syllable (HTS henceforth), the latter argues for the recognition of Yoruba as a tenseless language. Both analysts review previous works on their topics extensively and arrive at the following conclusions:

AWO BULUYI (1975b)**

(i) The HTS is a preverbal adverb which indicates the non-future tense.

(ii) It is morphologically /f/ in most contexts, and /θ/ in a few contexts where it is semantically present but physically absent.

(iii) It does not occur in timeless sentences.

OYELARAN (1982a)

(i) The HTS is a definitizer^2.

(ii) Vọ̀ọ̀ "will" is an aspectual and modal marker.
3.2. The High Tone Syllable Revisited

As both Awobuluayi and Oyelaran touch upon the HTS, we shall begin our discussion with this item. Though both writers’ attempt at elucidating the functions and forms of the HTS are undoubtedly the most ingenious in the literature, their works are open to criticism. Oyelaran’s critical review of Awobuluayi’s work goes a long way in subverting the HTS-as-a tense-marker analysis put forward by him. To provide further evidence for Oyelaran’s claim, we start by examining a point raised by Awobuluayi which Oyelaran does not comment upon. Other issues that are raised in the same work are addressed later in this essay.

3.2.1. Explaining the Timeless Sentences

While discussing the functions of the HTS, Awobuluayi states that the HTS ‘does not occur at all (technically:it does not even have a zero variant) in timeless sentences’ (Awobuluayi (1978:72))*. One of the examples cited is (1) (A).

\[
(1) \text{(A)} \quad \text{Ewọn jà ní 'bi ò wù ú} \\
\quad \text{(Chain break in place which-it please it)} \\
\quad \text{"The chain breaks just wherever it pleases"}
\]

He then concludes that in a situation where we have neither the HTS nor the so-called future marker yo “will”, such a sentence is a timeless sentence.

This proposal, attractive though it might seem, is very difficult to defend. For, if the claim made in the proposal is valid, why do we then have timeless sentences in the language that contain, not only the HTS or the so-called future tense marker, but also the phase marker ti “has” and the progressive marker ì “ing”? as in:
(1) (B) (a) HTS IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Aâyè è gba tápà, ó kólé ìgunnu
(space HTS allow a Nupe, he build house (for) Igunnu))
"If you give some people an inch, they take a mile"

(b) PHASE MARKER IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Tètè ìgún ti lòmi tèlè kójò tó rò sí i
Spinach PH have water before COMP rain enough fall on it
"The spinach was succulent even before rain fell"

(c) THE SO-CALLED FUTURE MARKER IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Èni tì yóó joyi inú èpáta, kò ní i wènu àákè
(Person that FUT eat honey inside rock, NEG look mouth axe)
"If a P wants to drink the honey which is in the rock, he will pay no attention to what happens to his axe-blade/If you don't succeed the first time, try, try and try again" (Abraham 1958:190)**
(bracket, ours)

(d) PROGRESSIVE IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

È ní retí ñlèyà, níbo lè fi tòlúwa sí ?
(You PROG expect humiliated person, where FOC you leave that-of-the-Lord put)
"You are waiting for others to be humiliated, what account have you taken of God's plan ?/The (plan) o mice and men gang (oft) agley" (Abraham 1958:187)**
(bracket, ours).

Examples could be multiplied. Even with these few examples, the incorrectness of Awobuluyi's claim becomes clear. We believe that the only way a timeless sentence could be explained in the language, using Reichenbach's (1966) notions of temporal specification (i.e., Speech Time, Reference Time and Event
to regard it, following Papp (1982:97), 'as a sentence with (an) incomplete time specification'. Papp claims further that "timeless proposition", statements ... made "for all time" (and) the so-called eternal truth, proverbs and proverbial statements’ are sentences which have some of their times missing. The times which are neither specified nor indicated in such sentences are the Reference Time and the Event Time. With these two times left unspecified, it is not surprising that the 'actions referred to in them are never located in any particular time' (Awobuluyi 1978:130)**, hence, their reference time can be identical with any time including the speech time.

3.2.2. Yoruba Definitizer – A Critique

Having pointed out the weakness of the analysis of the timeless sentences put forth by Awobuluyi, we shall now turn to Oyelaran’s work which, as far as we know, has not been commented on by any linguist. A critical look at these shows that Oyelaran’s analysis of the HTS as a definitizer is as unsatisfactory as that he criticized.

To start with, Oyelaran does not give any reason why the HTS as a definitizer does not occur with yóó “the supposed Future marker” but occurs with its alternant máá, a point which he holds against Awobuluyi. Examples are:

(2) òjò yóó ro
Rain will fall
"It will rain"

(3) òjò ò máá ro
Rain HTS will fall
"It will rain"

His claim, too, that yóó “will” ‘shows the same constraints and cooccurrence possibilities as basic modals (e.g. le “able to”; and gbóó “must”)’ (Oyelaran 1982a:32) does not include the HTS as shown by the following sentences:
Finally, what is meant by the notion zero morpheme is not made explicit in Oyelaran's work. It is not clear whether by zero he means a situation where no formative appears as an exponent of a given morphosyntactic feature or a case where there are no morphosyntactic features requiring a formative as their exponent. The following examples will demonstrate this:

(6) Ilé kékeré
House small
"A small house"

(7) Ilé e Kékeré
House ASSOC Kekere (Small)
"Kekere's (Small's) house"
(Kekere "Small" also occurs as a personal name)

(8) Ilé e Délé
House ASSOC Dele
"Dele's house"

(9) Ilé Olú
House Olu
"Olu's house"

It will be noted that the major difference between (6) and (7) lies only in the presence or the absence of the associative marker whereas the absence of the same item in (9) compared with (8) does not result in any difference in meaning. It may be argued that the contrast in meaning between (6) and (7) lies in the different functions of kékeré "small" in the two sentences (see Awobuluyi 1975b:221)**. We are not disputing this claim here which, in fact,
supports our own argument. Rather, the difference in the functions of kékeré “small” in (6) and (7) requires that kékeré “small” takes an associative marker in (7) whereas in (6), the presence of the same marker is not required. This difference in function, as will have been noted, does not explain the reason why the same associative marker is present in (8) but not in (9). Following Zwicky (1985), we will account for the difference in meaning between (6) and (9) by positing a no morphosyntactic feature requiring a formative as its exponent analysis for (6) and a morphologically constrained rule of exponence analysis for (9).

In (6), the type of allomorphy rule that provides an exponent for the associative features in (7) is not available. The cases of (8) and (9) are different from this. While (8) could be introduced with an allomorphy (realization) rule ‘assigning phonological realizations to some bundles of morphosyntactic features’ (Zwicky 1985:433), in this case [+N, +ASS], (9) would be introduced by an allomorphy (referral) rule which refers ‘the exponents of other bundles to ...’ (ibid) the rule that introduces (8). These two rules ‘are distinct from and precede all phonological rules of all types’ but they are preceded ‘by syntactic rules distributing morphosyntactic features’ (Zwicky 1985:432). We need these rules in order to show that (8) and (9) are identical.

Zwicky (1985:431-432) states further that:

(10) a given bundle of features can have several different formatives as its exponent in different contexts

(11) a given formative can serve as the exponent of several different feature bundles in different contexts.

(12) A formative serving as the exponent for some bundles of morphosyntactic features may be absent.
(10)-(12), which can be referred to as informal versions of Zwicky's rules of allomorphy, 'can be conditioned or constrained by phonological, morphological, or syntactic properties of their context' (ibid). In Yoruba, (10) can be exemplified by (2) and (3) above.

In (2) and (3), both yòò "will" and màà "will" are the exponents of the so-called tense feature, [+FUT]. Similarly, (13) exemplifies (11) and (14) exemplifies (12):

(13) (i) Olu ú màà lò
     Olu HTS will go
     "Olu will go"

     (ii) Olu ú màà màà lò
          Olu HTS will continue go
          "Olu will continue to go"

(14) (i) Mo wọlè
       I enter
       "I enter/entered"

     (ii) Olu ú wọlè
          Olu HTS enter
          "Olu enters/entered"

In (13) (i), màà "will" is the exponent of the so-called Future Tense but in (13) (ii), the same item serves first as the exponent of the so-called Future Tense while its second occurrence stands for the Progressive Aspect. In (14) (i), the HTS is not realized in the environment of the pronominal mo "I" as contrasted with Olu in (14) (ii).

From these examples, it is clear that the best way to solve the problem of the HTS is to postulate a contextually determined analysis for the non-realization of this syllable as suggested in (12) above.

On this basis, the non-realization environments of HTS could then be regarded
as the ones suggested earlier by Awobuluyi (1978:73-74)** which are before the verbs da "where is?", nkó "where is?", kò "not", i "unaccomplished action", and á "habitual action". It is not realized also after the pronominals mo "I", o "You", a "We" e "You (pl.)". With the environments in which the HTS is not realized stated, the item can now be redefined as the high tone syllable which occurs and is assimilated to the final vowel of an NP in an S3. With this general definition, what is needed is an additional specification of the environments in which the HTS is not realized. To do this, we need a referral rule of the type suggested by Zwicky (1985). We consider such a rule below.

Having established what both zero and absent morpheme mean, especially as regards the HTS, our next task is to discuss the function of the syllable itself.

3.2.3. HTS as Perfective Marker

Following Comrie (1976:16)**, Perfective Aspect is taken as indicating 'a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation'. With this definition, we suggest that the HTS should be regarded as the element marking the Perfective Aspect in Yoruba. Oyelaran rejects this analysis on the ground that 'the perfective interpretation applies even in cases where, as in negation, HTS is zero' (Oyelaran 1982a:41). As we have shown above, the case of zero, as understood in Oyelaran’s usage, is not relevant. Instead, we have a case of non-exponency for some given morphosyntactic features.

The example in (15), given by Oyelaran to clarify his claim, supports this point.

(15) Jòòŋnú n kàwé nígbà tì mò wọlè
"John was reading when I entered"

On (15), he claims that ‘Yoruba has the Perfective Aspect and it is unmarked as
"entered" (Oyelaran 1982a:37-38). This claim is made on the assumption that no marker occurs in the environment of the said verb. But if the pronominal mo "I" as the subject of the embedded sentence is replaced by the nominal Olù, any representation that is different from (16) would be inappropriate.

(16) Jọọnu ún ń kàwé nigbà tì Olù ń wọlé
(John HTS (_) read book in when that Olu HTS enter house)
"John was reading when Olu entered"
(The translation in brackets ours.
Note the positions of the HTS)

This shows that the non-occurrence of the HTS in the environment of mo "I" is contextually determined.

In Dahl's (1984:13) view, the notion of boundedness is crucial to the semantics of perfectivity. So, to the modified question in (17), the answer in (18) is required:

(17) Q What did your brother do after dinner yesterday ?.
    A My brother WRITE a letter

(18) A Ṣibọ̀n ọ̀ pí iń kọ́wé
Senior/junior brother ASSOC me HTS
write letter/book.
"My brother wrote a letter"

Here, the process of letter writing is internal to the "period the speaker is talking about" (Ducrot and Todorov 1981:307)4.

The analysis of the HTS as the perfective marker, as suggested above, provides further evidence to support Oyelaran's claim that Yoruba is a tenseless language. Of importance here is the fact that the analysis actually explains why the HTS can occur where tense does not normally occur. The HTS occurrence
here can be explained by the fact that aspect, as a 'temporal distribution or contour' (Hockett 1958:237) of an event, 'does not change with a change of tense' (Ridjanovic 1982:84), hence, 'it can be present in both finite and non-finite and even in the most neutral form of the verb, the infinitive' (Ridjanovic 1982:84).

Added to this is the fact, that unlike tense which could enter into both homonexual and heteronexual government with some adverbs and the principal nexus respectively, 'aspect has only homonexual government' (Rallides 1971:15). By homonexual is meant here that the grammatical effects of aspect 'are confined within the clause where it appears.... Heteronexual government, on the other hand, is the contrary. A past tense in a principal clause may require a past tense in a clause subordinate to it' (Rallides 1971:15). Hence, as far as the homonexual government of aspect is concerned, instead of (15), we could have (19) without the aspect in the clause in (15) or (19) having a specific effect on any of the other clauses in the same sentence.

(19) Olu ú wọle nṣgbà ti Ola a ri kàwé
    "Olu entered when Ola was reading"

Apart from the points stated above, this analysis also clarifies further some of the points about the HTS discussed by Oyelaran and Awobuluyi.

It will be recalled that Oyelaran analyses the HTS as a definitizer. This analysis is not surprising if one views perfectivity diachronically. For, according to Thelin (1978:14), perfective meaning actually originates from the primitive +/-DEFINITE. But the incorrectness of this analysis lies in the fact that, synchronically, the +/-DEFINITE feature has since been displaced by +/-TOTAL feature. So, instead of assigning the definite meaning to the perfective, recent
writers now view it from the totality/boundedness point of view. This is the view shared by Comrie on whose definition of the perfective Oyelaran bases his establishment of the perfective aspect in the language. So, it appears that Oyelaran adopts the totality view of the perfective as defined by Comrie, yet also maintains a distinction between this and the feature from which it has developed.

We are not denying the fact that both the totality and the definite features might have been individually marked by the HTS at one stage during the development of the language; just as the English perfect, which is said to have developed from the possessive construction (Vermant 1983:1), still coexists with it and both are realized in the same form. Rather, we are saying that in the present study of Yoruba, definite, as a grammatical feature of the verb is no longer available in its grammar. The case of the definite feature in Yoruba is comparable to that of the "be"-perfect ...' in English which has been '...lost entirely in standard English' (Vermant 1983:2).

The problem with Awobuluyi's analysis of the HTS, is different from that of Oyelaran. When presenting his analysis of the HTS, Awobuluyi divides the Yoruba verbs into two - the adjectivizable and the non-adjectivizable. When the HTS cooccurs with the adjectivizable verb, the action is realized either as past or present while its cooccurrence with the non-adjectivizable verb produces a past action.

This is not the place to go into the problems inherent in giving Yoruba verbs a binary classification of +/-adjectivizable. Rather, what we would like to point out, following Lyons (1977:679), is that 'apart from the context of immediate report or commentary' in which the term present could be used 'without an accompanying adverb of time (to) locate a situation in the present' there is no
way any verb in the language could be analysed as implying 'contemporaneity with the act of utterance'. Lyons (1977:678) even challenges the rationale behind the establishment of such a tense in any language. Asante's (1985:246–247)** comment on Yoruba supports this view. According to him, ‘... there is no distinction between past and present indefinite forms of the verbs among Yoruba speakers. ... For example, ṣ kéré may be translated as "it is small" or "it was small" depending on the context'.

The reason for Awobulu's claims that the HTS is the marker of the same tense when it cooccurs with the adjectivizable verbs, despite such challenges, is apparent in the different classes into which the verbs are classified. A look at the so-called adjectivizable verbs and other verbs that behave like them, as listed in Awobulu (1967:181–182; 260)**, shows that they have a lot in common with the verbs often characterized as statives. According to Holisky (1978), some of the ways in which state verbs could be characterized are as follows (the examples of statives here are given with Awobului's so-called adjectivizable verbs):

(20) (i) Not normally on-going

*Olu ún’ ga loqwo báylíf
Olu HTS PROG tall in hand now
"Olu is in the process of being tall right now"

(ii) Do not occur with instrumentals

*Olu ún’ fi qpeqo mo ćn
Olu cause brain know it
"Olu is knowing it with the brain"
(iii) They cannot be repeated and do not appear in repeated conjunction. As verbs are not conjoined in the language, the equivalences of these formations are the iterated expressions.

*Ọba ọ́ ga ga ga
Oba HTS tall tall tall
"Oba was talling for a long time"

(iv) Participants cannot be shared in a state

*Ẹmi àti Olú ọ̀ jọ gbón qgbón mi
I and Olu HTS together wise my wisdom
"Olu and myself are both wise in me"

(v) Statives do not occur in imperative

*ga "be-tall"

It seems as if it is the enduring and the persisting qualities of the stative verbs stated above and the fact that stative verbs 'are homogenous and unchanging throughout the period of their existence' (Lyons 1977:707) that Awobuluyi is referring to as present actions. Hence, he confuses the semantic interpretation of the so-called adjectivizable verbs with the tense distinction he is claiming to have identified in the language. In Thelin's (1978:59) terms, Awobuluyi 'has mixed up linguistic property of different levels ... semantico-syntactic instructions' and tense.

We also need to point out the incorrectness of the claim that the combination of the HTS and the non-adjectivizable verb produces a past action. While discussing the perfective aspect, Dahl (1984:5) notes what he regards as the tendency, among linguists, to characterize a perfective event as past action. In another work, (Dahl 1985:9)**, he states further that 'the category perfective will usually be interpreted as 'perfective' and 'past' although with the first feature clearly dominant'. Dalby (1984:24) supports this view by claiming that 'It
is not surprising if systems of aspect in various languages are analysed as tense systems, because the "normal" use of perfective aspect will presumably be to refer to events which have occurred in the past, because events going on at the time of speaking will not be completed'.

If, instead of regarding the HTS as a non-future marker, the item is regarded as the perfective marker as we have done, the problems encountered by previous analysts while explaining the characteristics of the HTS will be partially solved. For example, Awobuluyi's claim that the HTS combines with different verbs to produce different tenses could then be easily explained in terms of the analysis of aspect as presented by Smith (1986).

Smith (1986:100) makes a clear distinction between two classes of aspects. The first she refers to as situation aspect and the second, the viewpoint aspect. Situation aspect, according to her, 'involves the linguistic forms and meanings associated, for a given language, with idealized situation'. The four basic situation aspects are: Activity (push a cart), Accomplishment (build a house), Achievement (reach the top) and State (love John). The viewpoint aspect, on the other hand, involves 'the forms and meanings associated with the perfective and the imperfective'. The viewpoint aspect, she states further, is dependent on situation aspect. For example, in English, 'the progressive viewpoint aspect is limited to certain types of situation aspect, and the simple (perfective) viewpoint varies in interpretation according to types of situation'.

With the above explanation, the reason why several classes of sentences with the perfective aspect have a different interpretation becomes clear. The scope of Aspect is the sentence. A state, for instance, differs from an event/activity in that while the notion of the latter includes its endpoint, that of the former does not. Hence, while the state talked about (or Awobuluyi's so-called
adjectivizable verb) in Ōlú ú òga “Olu is tall” can be taken as continuing into the present, the activity talked about (or Awobuluyi’s so-called non-adjectivizable verb) in Ōlú ú jẹun “Olu ate” cannot. The reason for this discrepancy is due, as stated by Smith, to the fact that the central meaning of the perfective is realized differently for each situation type. Hence, ‘if the situation type includes endpoints, they are included in the “simple” (our own perfective) viewpoint of that situation type .... If the situation type does not include endpoints, the situation in its entirety does not include them either’ (Smith 1986:103–104).

If the above is accepted, then, following Zwicky (1985), the perfective realization on verb in Yoruba can be described by the informal allomorphy realization rule in (21).

(21) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf] is realized as /HTS/

As shown above, the rule of exponence, such as the one presented in (21), cannot capture all the obvious generalizations about the perfective marker. To capture these, we need a rule of referral that describes a default identity mentioned earlier. Assuming we assign type A to the environments in which the perfective is realized as HTS and type B to the environments in which it has no exponent, the allomorphy and the referral rules that would describe the perfective form in Yoruba would, in an informal manner, be (22) (a) and (b).

(22) (a) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf, TYPE:A] is realized by /HTS/

(b) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf, TYPE:B] has the same realization as the otherwise identical bundle with the value /VERBFORM:bse/ in it.
3.2.4. Some Comments on Dahl (1985)

In Dahl (1985), Yoruba is one of the languages used to exemplify the cross-linguistic classification of the Tense and Aspect Systems (TAS henceforth). One of the "incidence categories" identified in the classification is the Perfective Aspect. With this category included in the said cross-linguistic classification, one would expect that Yoruba would be one of the languages in which this category is realized. But, surprisingly enough, no mention of the category is made in the TAS characterization presented for the language. The following are some of the possible reasons why Dahl fails to recognize the need for a perfective category in the language.

We start by pointing to the difference between the language in which the data are given and the language into which they are to be translated. The difference in the two languages could produce some errors which may not necessarily be the fault of the informants. For example, Yoruba does not mark tense and gender. Thus, a sentence such as O jeun may variously mean "He eats or he ate", "It eats or it ate", "She eats or she ate". If, instead of using pronouns or proper names in the subject position, we use bare nominals, then the translation problems are compounded. Hence, Qkùnrin in ìẹ̀ síjẹ́ ju obìnrin lọ may, in varying contexts, be read as "All men can work more than all women", "some men can work more than some women", "The generic kind of man can work more than the generic kind of woman". Dahl (1985:49)** notes these types of translational problems too when he states that:

even a competent informant may of course fail to translate a sentence in the desired way ... in general, it may be suspected that translations are often rather unrepresentative of the translator's normal language ... The general impression ... was that the method of letting speakers translate foreign languages into their own was the least reliable of the methods tested
Dahl goes a step further in making a representative translation of the informants' normal language more difficult by instructing the informants that a translation of the English sentences which is "syntactically considerably more complex than the others" (Dahl 1985:49) should be omitted. With this instruction, it seems that the Yoruba informants steer clear of all translations that may require extensive justification. While translating, they might inadvertently have introduced concepts which are foreign to the language.

Asante (1985:249-250) notes this type of error and warns that in translating the Eboics sentence 'I done ate' into English, "something is lost in the translation". The translation given to the sentence is 'I have eaten' "which does carry the information about completed action, but also carries information about the relationship of the action in time" whereas the original sentence merely means "I complete the action of eating". In the sentence the "preverbal done specifies nothing in reference to time". He then concludes that:

As can be seen, while the standard English speaker must inflect all verbs for tense, the Eboics speaker does not feel the need to be redundant in expressing the manner or aspect of the action.

Salkie (1987:80) States further:

The verb [in Dahl's questionnaire] was put in its base form so that the English form should influence the translation as little as possible. I am dubious about the effectiveness of this; any informant who was taught English as second language (rather than growing up bilingual) will inevitably have spent a lot of time wrestling with the problems of the English TMA systems (ask any EFL teacher). With such informants, English is bound to interfere to a large extent in any case (the square bracket is ours).

We suspect that the Yoruba informants are affected by the type of problems noted by Asante and Salkie.
Second, the major concern of Dahl is to identify and compare the uses of overtly signalled morphological, periphrastic and derivational realizations of the grammatical categories (he calls these "incidence categories") across languages in terms of a universal framework. When analysing Yoruba, Dahl fails to identify any periphrastic expression which is identical to our own HTS in his data. The reason for this is not difficult to discern. Because of its characteristics, the HTS is, to borrow Welmers' (1964:1) words, best described as one of those "residue of verbal (items) which do not fit the predominant patterns". With this description, the non-inclusion of the HTS in the questionnaires received from the informants becomes less surprising. Our guess is that the informants are unaware of the importance of the HTS.

Oke (1969), in his analysis of the Yoruba verbs, objects to the use of texts in his analysis because he believes that most tone syllables are not often represented in writing. The approved Modern Orthography for the language does not help here because it states specifically that "Vowel lengthening between words should not be indicated" (Bamgbose 1976:8)\(^\text{**}\). This is arbitrary, as the same Orthography allows for the indication of both the third pronominal object and the so-called verbal particle as exemplified in (23) (a) and (b) respectively.

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) \quad \text{(a)} & \quad \text{Mo ri i} \\
& \quad \text{I see it} \\
& \quad \text{"I saw it"}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) \quad \text{(b)} & \quad \text{O soro ge} \\
& \quad \text{It hard PRT do} \\
& \quad \text{"It is a difficult task"}
\end{align*}
\]
The call for a non-indication of lengthened vowel made above goes a long way in limiting the use of lengthened syllables, not only for the HTS and the perfective marker to research works, but also for the junctural syllables that mark the infinitive and the associative. The fact that Dahl's informants' translations are not fleshed out in any detail, especially for the HTS as one would have done in a research work, could serve as another reason why Dahl does not recognize the item and its function.

Another point to be considered here is that Dahl, who is not a native speaker of the language, is also unable to lay his hand on any recorded text that could be used to cross-check the data submitted to him. Commenting on the corpus used by Dahl in his analysis, Miller (1987:229) states that

The major question that anyone will ask concerning Dahl's book is: how reliable is the information on individual languages, given the small numbers of informants for quite a number of the languages in the corpus, the necessarily brief treatment of each language, and the questionnaire approach.

In support of Miller, we note that one of the two informants on Yoruba is not a native speaker of the language and that few works on the language are available to the author himself. The only work cited which has any relevance to Yoruba is Welmers' (1973)**. In this work, Welmers (1973:383)** accepts the previous analysis of Rowlands (1954), in which the arguments for the HTS as a third person singular pronominal subject were presented. If Dahl recognizes the HTS, it seems as if its analysis as presented by Welmers is acceptable to him; hence, he fails to recognize the item as an exponent of an incident category. Rowland's approach to the description of the function of the HTS
has since been refuted by Awobuluyi (1975b)**.

In addition to these points, almost all the examples used by Dahl have pronominal subjects. As the HTS is morphologically constrained in this environment, it seems impossible for him, at least from the limited data available, to realize what is happening. Note the following examples:

(24) (a) Mo gba ḍisinmí
     I get leave
     "I am on holiday"

(b) Ọ̀ rọ̀
     It rain
     "It rained"

(c) Olú ú gba ḍisinmí
     Olu HTS get leave
     "Olu is on holiday"

(d) Òjò Ọ̀ rọ̀
     Rain HTS fall
     "It rained"

In (24) (a) and (b), the HTS which occurs in the environments of the nominal subjects in (24) (c) and (d) is absent. The reason for its absence is that the morphosyntactic features that realize the perfective have no exponent in the environment of the pronominal subjects.

It is clear to us that the Modern Yoruba Orthography has had a far reaching effect on the data submitted to Dahl by his informants. As it may also have the same affect on future analyses of the language, we suggest that changes be introduced into the Orthography, especially as regards the lengthened vowels. We suggest that the HTS and the junctural syllables that mark the associative and the infinitive should be indicated, as shown in 25) (a), (b) and (c) respectively, whenever they perform some function in sentences and the
environment allows for their indication.

(25) (a) ọjọ ọ rọ
Rain HTS fall
"It rained"

(b) Ilé e Délé
House ASSOC Dele
"Dele's House"

(c) ọfẹ ọ lọ
He want INF go
"He wants to go"

What is more, the HTS can easily be introduced into the Orthography with no discrepancies, for, the same Orthography, as mentioned earlier, specifies indication of lengthened vowels that realize the third person singular pronominal object and the so-called verbal particle. The principles that apply to these two should be extended to all junctural syllables.

3.2.5. The Perfective as an Unmarked Category

Having stated the function of the HTS, our next task is to account for the cooccurrence of the HTS, not only with the so-called tense markers, but also with the other aspect markers. We believe that the best way to account for these cooccurrences is to treat the perfective, which is marked by the HTS, as an unmarked member of the aspect subcategories. As such, the most "natural" explanation for perfective neutralization would be that whenever the perfective occurs with any other aspect category the perfectival distinction becomes void and only the functions of the other aspect category are put to work.

The notion of unmarked, as stated here, is slightly different from Oyelaran's use of the term, for two reasons. Firstly, Oyelaran does not recognize the HTS as the perfective marker as we do here. Secondly, we believe that the binary
plus/minus or the marked/unmarked model, based on the perfective/imperfective distinction, would not explain the behaviour of the perfective marker when it cooccurs with the other aspect subcategories. For one thing, the imperfective in the language is made up of more than a single subcategory. Hence, a binary distinction based on the contrast between the perfective and each member of the imperfective subcategory would be more appropriate to describe the relative markedness of the perfective subcategory in the language.

In this work, out of the ten notions of relative markedness summarized by Schwartz (1980:315–316), the following two are needed to capture the necessary generalizations about the Yoruba perfective.

(a) SYNCRETIZATION: neutralizes the unmarked member of a category in the marked member.

(b) DEGREE OF MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION: in which more morphological alternation appears in the unmarked member of an opposition.

While (a) explains why the perfective is neutralized in the environment of the other member, (b) is responsible for the contextual variation of the same item as shown in (26).

(26) (i) Ola a’ kọ ọwé
Ola HTS write book/letter
"Ola wrote a letter"

(ii) Mo kọ ọwé
I write book/letter
"I wrote a letter"

(iii) Ola a n’kọ ọwé
Ola HTS PROG write book/letter
"Ola is writing a letter"
The importance of indicating one's use of marked/unmarked features becomes clear when one looks at the current use of the term by some linguists. For example, Radford's (1981:29) use of the term unmarked as 'one which accords with general tendencies in language' and marked as 'one which goes against these general tendencies, and hence, "exceptional" in some way' would put the Yoruba perfective in the class of the marked phenomenon.

The treatment of the perfective as an unmarked member will even shed some light on some facts often noted during the period of language acquisition by Yoruba speaking children. Observations have shown that children acquire the use of other aspectual subcategories markers in the language after they have mastered the use of HTS. For example, in a situation where Ola mentioned in (26) has danced or was dancing, if the question "What is/was Ola doing?" is put to a child, the answer one would likely get is (27) (a), not (b).

(27)  (a) ṣya (Qla) ́  jò
Ola HTS dance
"Ola danced"

(b) ṣya (Qla) ́  n jò
Ola HTS PROG dance
"Ola was/is dancing"

In normal adult speech, (b) would be the appropriate answer. We are not denying here the possibility of using the examples in (27) to show that children and adult often allocate different functions to features but at the same time, the examples in (27) would also seem to indicate that the perfective, as the unmarked member, is ontogenetically basic to the language in a way the others are not.
At this juncture, the question that could be asked is why is the HTS so different from the other aspect markers? That is, first, why does it not commute with the other aspect markers? and second, why do we establish the subcategory only to have it neutralized in the environment of the other aspect subcategories? This apparently unique characteristic of the HTS or the perfective in the language is not an isolated case, either in languages generally or in Yoruba as the following example illustrate.

(a). On the commutation principle – which states that ‘a lexical item L shall not be assigned to a grammatical category C unless there are at least some sentences containing L in which some other lexical item in C could replace L without altering grammaticality’ (Pullum 1983:207–209), – we would argue, in line with Pullum that ‘it is not correct to reject’ the HTS as a perfective marker ‘... on the grounds that it constitutes an exception to the generalization implicit in the commutation principle’ (ibid). Some of the examples noted by Pullum in which the commutation principle is not adhered to in grammar are:

(a) The use of "ought" as an Auxiliary (Chomsky:1957).
(b) The classification of "have" as a verb (Emonds:1978).
(c) The classification of "near" as an adjective (Mailing:1983).
(d) His own classification of the infinitival "to" as a verb.
(e) The fact that no members of the category (NP[+PRO]) could substitute for the dummy pronouns "it" and "there" "nor can they substitute for each other" (Pullum 1983:209).

(b). On the neutralization of the perfective, our argument is identical to that for another language by Dahl (1985). While discussing the Tense and Aspect systems of Karaboro, a Gur language family spoken in Upper Volta, Dahl
(1985:178)** states that `...the simplest way of sorting out these rather complex facts is to assume that the high tone on the subject ... is a marker of IMPFV which may be neutralized when some other marker appears'. Essien (1983:342–343) also notes that this principle of contrast versus neutrality is used by Kaufman (1968) to explain certain aspects of Ibibio verb constructions. That this type of neutralization is not attested in other languages could be accounted for in two ways.

First, it could be explained by Comrie's (1976:64) claim that languages are not completely symmetrical, hence, where one language contrasts, another might decide to neutralize. In Friedrich's words (noted by McCoard 1978:25 n.10), 'a feature with approximately the same meaning (semantic value) may have markedly different taxonomic status' in different languages.

Secondly, perfectivity, or any other aspectual category, manifests itself differently in different languages. According to Smith (1986:110), the perfective viewpoint is not expressed uniformly. For example in English (and also, to some extent, in Yoruba), the perfective presents 'a situation in its entirety (but) ... the viewpoint varies in interpretation depending on the endpoint properties of situations. The French perfective viewpoint (on the other hand) ... presents a situation as complete including the change of state attendant on beginning and ending. The interpretation is consistent for all situations'. Klein (1969:117) (noted by McCoard 1978:25 n.8) also asserts that 'in Russian, a marker of aktsionsart determines the aspect, in French, it generally doesn't'.

Apart from other languages, examples also abound within Yoruba which show that the claim of analytical illogicality or inconsistency is not peculiar to the perfective alone. Here, we shall present two examples.
While arguing for the representation of 'only the significant sound' in the
language's orthography and that this sound should be represented with only
one symbol, Bamgbose (1965:6)** refers to the problem this principle would
encounter with the sounds represented by letters I and n. According to him,

the former sound is found only before nasalized vowels whereas the latter is found only before non-nasalized vowels. We can say nún but not nú. We can say îp but not îpî. The conclusion one can draw from the alternation of the two sounds is that they are not significant. In other words, they can be represented by one symbol which will have the sound represented by the letter n before nasalized vowels, and the sound represented by the letter I before other vowels. It is doubtful, however, whether such a logical innovation will ever be accepted. Can you imagine having to write òiò "grinding stone" as òpò, or inun "inside" as îlûn?

What is remarkable here is that despite the illogicality mentioned above, especially the neutralization of the said letters in some given contexts, the consensus view among the Yoruba writers today is the recognition of both n and I as two distinct sounds. The environments in which either of them neutralizes are then accounted for by rules.

During his cross-linguistic study of numeral systems, Hurford (1975:211)** also makes the following observations about the language's numeral system:

Subtraction is indeed used by a few scattered languages all over the world, but it is rarely used extensively through the whole numeral system. A spectacular exception to this general rule is Yoruba, whose very complicated numeral system uses subtraction to about the same extent as, and possibly even more than, addition ... Yoruba has what is probably the most unusual and complicated of any world's natural language numeral systems. ... The numerals in Yoruba are often subject to fairly radical phonological modification.
3.2.6. Conclusion

We believe that enough examples have been provided to show that the HTS neither definitizes nor marks tense but rather, what it indicates is the perfectivity of a given situation.

3.3. Introducing the Imperfective Aspect and the Phase System

Despite Oyelaran’s (1982a:41) claim that both the imperfective and what he regards as the perfect aspect in Yoruba are not controversial, a look at some of the writing on the topics shows several crucial problem areas.

Where the imperfective aspect is concerned, if Oyelaran’s reference to Comrie’s (1976)** instructive account on the topic is anything to go by, one could say that none of the Yoruba scholars to date has actually written anything on this subcategory of aspect. What previous writers (i.e. Awobuluyi (1966) and Oke (1969)) often mention are the durative and the habitual aspects. Though these two could be regarded as subcategories of the imperfective as defined by Comrie (1976)** (if we tentatively take durativity as equivalent of progressivity), they are characterized differently by these writers and no attempt is made by any of them to account for “both in relation to each other and each to other subcategories” (Oyelaran 1982a:41).

For example, Awobuluyi (1966:263–264)** regards both máa m/maa n and m/n as in (28) and (29) respectively as having the same meaning, hence, “the preverb máa seems redundant” in (28):

\[(28)\] bólá máa n ta ṭi wé
  "Bola sells books"
  or "Bola used to sell books"
(29) bólá má ta ìwé
   (i) Present: "Bola is selling a book (right now)"
       or "Bola sells books"
   (ii) Past: "Bola was selling a book"
       or "Bola used to sell books"

He even confuses issues by stating that there is no difference (if we
understand him correctly) between the usages of the word máa in the
following sentences

(30) (i) bóla máa ñ ta ìwé
       "Bola sells books"
       or "Bola used to sell books"

   (ii) máa ta ìwé
       "Keep selling books"

   (iii) bólá máa lọ
       "Bola will go"

Oke (1969:440-448)**, on the other hand, regards máa ñ as a single auxiliary.
Awoyale (1974:18)** disagrees with this view and concludes without justifying
his claim that "there is no entity máan in Yoruba but máa and ñ".

Some writers even believe that the progressive aspect is not marked in the
language. For instance, Dalphinis (1985:87-88)**, after giving the following
sentences as examples from Yoruba:

Yoruba:
eni mu [sic] lo si oja - 'Today I'm going to market' i.e.
   literally "today I'm in the
   process of going to market"

ola mu [sic] lo si oja - 'Tomorrow I'll go to market' i.e.
   literally "tomorrow I'm in the
   process of going to market"

ano mu [sic] lo si oja - 'Yesterday I went to market' i.e.
   literally 'yesterday I'm in the
   process of going to market'
concludes that "... it is the progressive aspect rather than time which is the standard by which the 'action' of the verb is judged; it could be 'today, yesterday or tomorrow', ... in ... Yoruba one can say: 'I'm in the process of going to market' – the verb does not change its form nor the personal pronoun its shape with any change along a time-scale".

Bamgbose (1963:144)** also classifies what Oyelaran regards as the perfect marker in Yoruba as the perfective marker. Abraham (1958:639)** regards this same item as the past tense marker in the language. Amuda (1986:199–200) also makes the following remarks about what he regards as the Yoruba Tense and Aspect Systems:

The tense system of Yoruba has two terms: simple and perfective. The simple tense has five positive and four negative sub-terms. The positive sub-terms include: future, conditional, continuative, habitual, and unmarked. The unmarked tense, whether in the positive or negative, is made up of past and present or neutral. The perfective is also made up of the same number of sub-terms as in the simple tense. The only difference is the occurrence of the perfective marker ti “have” with each of the sub-terms in the perfective. Unlike English, Yoruba has no affixes with base forms of the verbs for deriving past tense such as the –ed or the third person singular –s form.

As no examples are given, it is not clear to us how Amuda's simple tense terms can be realized in the language. His perfective term is the same as that of Bamgbose noted above.

We also have some misgivings about the accuracy of the use of such terms as durative, terminative, ingressive etc. by Awobuluyi (1967)** and Odunuga (1982)** for some subcategories of aspect in the language. Studies have shown that these terms do not refer to asceptual subcategories. Rather, they are elements of what is often referred to in literature as "Mode of Action (=Aktsionsart in German)" (Nehl 1978:49). In Safarewicz’s (1974:328) opinion,
they are nothing else but certain features of the vocabulary; they do not form any grammatical category" and Nehl (1978:49) warns that the description of aspect should "not be confounded with" such terms.

Apart from the controversies noted above, a greater weakness of all the previous works which have anything to do with any aspect of perfect and the imperfective is their failure to take the trouble to discuss their forms and contents in detail. Our concern in the remaining part of this chapter, then, is to account for some of the discrepancies mentioned above. We begin with the imperfective.

3.4. The Imperfective Aspect in Yoruba

Comrie (1976:24-25)** takes the imperfective aspect as referring "to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within". He also identifies two different types of imperfective (IMPFV henceforth) in languages - one in which IMPFV is realized as a single subcategory of aspect and the other in which IMPFV itself could still be divided into other subcategories. The Yoruba IMPFV belongs to the second class. It differs, however, from Comrie's (1976:25)** classification shown in (32) (i) in that there is no non-progressive continuous marker in the language as shown in (32) (ii).

(32) (i) Imperfective

/ Habitant / Continuous

/ Non-prog Prog
3.4.1. The Progressive Aspect

Ljung (1980:27) regards the progressive aspect as "a special imperfective construction which allows us to view a dynamic, non-state predicate 'from within' without losing its dynamic character". Various other writers (see especially Fleet 1979:14; Dahl 1985:91) claim that the progressive aspect regards an activity not only as durative or continuous but essentially as on-going. Edgren (1985:74) is very particular about the importance of 'on-goingness' to a proper description of the progressive aspect. According to her, progressiveness is a subdivision of imperfectivity, the basic function of which is to mark action as going on, "with the added feature of non-stativity". She then adds that "ongoing activity does not necessarily mean continuous activity". The item that performs these types of functions in Yoruba and so could be said to mark the progressive aspect in the language is Ṣ. It has a suppletive māa, which replaces it after modal verbs and in imperative constructions. Both items are exemplified in the following sentences:

(33) (i) Mo Ṣ na Adé
      I PROG hit Ade
      "I am hitting Ade"

(ii) Māa lọ
     PROG go
     "Start to go (now)"
(iii) Mo le maa na Ade
   I M PROG beat Ade
   "I can start hitting Ade"

Apart from the examples in (33), Oyelaran (1982a:45) also states that this suppletive form of n' also occurs "before (a certain n) in a modal construction" and after the NEG. As examples are not given, we can only guess that it is the occurrence of maa together with n' in such constructions as O maa n ij ogadè
"He usually eats bananas" that he is referring to. If this is the case, we doubt the correctness of this view. Our claim here is very much in line with the one made by Oke (1969:440-449)** who, with convincing evidence, shows that maa is a polymorphemic word used in the language to mark Habitual Aspect.

Some writers do not accept Oke's argument. The question they often ask is that if maa is the habitual aspect marker, why are its functions often taken over by the progressive marker as in O n i which, depending on the context, could be given a progressive reading, glossed by "He is going" or a habitual reading, "He usually goes". Because the progressive could be so used, they argue that both the progressive and the habitual aspects should be classified as one.

We find this argument difficult to accept because habitual readings of the progressive in some contexts are common in many languages of the world. These readings are not, in any way, used as points against the establishment of the imperfective subcategories of progressive and habitual in such languages, especially if evidence that they are distinct can be provided.

In English, for example, Bennet (1981:21) says that some habitual interpretation of the progressive is possible when the progressive is given a non-reportive reading. Hence, "John is running", according to him,
... is true at interval of time I if and only if I is a moment of time and there exists an interval of time I' (possibly constrained in some ways by the context) such that I is included in I' but is not an endpoint for I' and John is in the extension of run with respect to a CLOSED interval of time MANY times each @ in I', where @ is some measure of length of time, like week, which is vague.

Blansitt (1975:2) also distinguishes between the generic and non-generic readings of the progressive. While the former is used to refer to an action "in progress", the latter is usually used in a restricted habitual construction. Mufwene (1984:41) refers to this habitual use of the progressive as "the habituative extension of the progressive".

As this discussion shows, some habitual reading of the progressive is not peculiar to Yoruba. To account for the habitual use of the progressive, one can propose a habitual subcategory for the language and "distinguish between a metalinguistic (and perhaps universal) (sub)category of progressive and the progressive form" (Freed 1979:15 quoting Comrie) in Yoruba of which the range of the latter is wider than the former. This suggestion becomes tenable when one notes many examples where both the progressive and the habitual contrast. An example of such contrasts is given in (34).

(34) (i) ṏ'ì ìgbẹ  "It is/was becoming dry"

(ii) ọ màn ì gbẹ  "It usually becomes/became dry"
    (Quoted from Awobuluyi 1966:265)

In (34), the progressive cannot be given any habitual reading, nor can the habitual marker be given a progressive reading. Examples of these types of sentences which abound in the language call for a progressive/habitual distinction.
It will be recalled that "ongoingness" has been established as the most important property central to the use of progressive aspect. Most Yoruba writers do not give this property the prominent treatment it deserves when discussing the progressive aspect in the language. They often lay emphasis on the durativity of the action expressed by the verb with which the progressive marker cooccurs. Most of them even drop the term "progressive" and adopt the term "durative" while discussing the item we have identified as the progressive marker. Dahl's (1985:91)** comment on this is that "The label 'durative' for PROG, ... is misleading in that it gives the impression that PROG is used in contexts where duration of a process is stressed". Hence, while "PROG naturally occurs with punctual temporal reference" in (35) (i), it is generally avoided in (35) (ii) (a).

(35) (i) Ní ìwòyì àná, ò sì n na Olu
"By this time yesterday, he was still hitting Olu"

(ii) (a) Ọ́ n kọrin fún wàkàtí méta
He PROG sing for hour three
"He was singing for three hours"

(b) Ọ́ kọrin fún wàkàtí méta
He sing for hour three
"He sang for three hours"

Edgren (1985:74) shares Dahl's view.

At a first glance, it may look as if Awobuluyi's treatment of what he regards as 'durative' is very much in line with the view of the progressive expressed by these two writers. This claim becomes stronger if one notes the following comments made by him on his idea of durativity. First, he defines the subcategory as indicating "action occurring through time" which, depending on the context, "may be interpreted as either continuous or habitual" (Awobuluyi
The durative does not cooccur with such adverbials of time as 'three hours', 'a whole day' etc. Thus, one does not say in Yoruba:

*bọ́lá ń ń ṣe ọ̀ṣé fún Wákàtí Mè́ètá  
"Bola aspect-marker do work for three hours"  
i.e. "Bola works for three hours"

but

bọ́lá ọ̀ṣé fún Wákàtí Mè́ètá  
"Bola worked for three hours"

without a durative aspect marker. In view of this, our term 'durative' is for the present account not likely to signify more than the feature that is common to habitual and continuous action (Awobuluyi 1966:284, n. 93)**.

(our capitalisation)

From the above quotation one could deduce that the feature common to both the habitual and the continuous is the non-collocability with the type of adverbials of time capitalized in the quotation. But a look at Awobuluyi's discussion on 'durative' shows that most of the examples used can cooccur with the adverbials of time noted in his examples. Almost all his examples with habitual marker take these adverbs freely. So, whereas a sentence with a progressive marker, as the one in Awobuluyi's quotation, is not acceptable, sentences of the type in (36) are:

(36) Ọ́ m̀áá nń ṣe ọ̀ṣé fún wákàtí mè́ètá lójúmọ́  
He HAB do work for hour three in one day  
"He usually works for three hours a day"

So, with (36), we are saying that the claim made by Awobuluyi in the above quotation, applies to the progressive (or what he calls the continuous) aspect alone. Thus, the collocability or the non-collocability of the progressive and the habitual with these types of adverbials of time serves as another valid
ground for our wanting to distinguish the habitual from the progressive aspect.

3.4.2. Dynamic – Stative

Another important feature ascribed to the progressive by Edgren is the non-stativity feature. By this is meant that the use or non-use of the progressive depends on the type of verb with which it cooccurs. Various writers have expressed this claim in various ways. According to Lyons (1966:222), "the notional categories of action and state are relevant to the classification of verb ... for the purpose of generating well-formed sentences". Though Comrie uses the term 'situation' as a cover term for state, event or process, his remark that "in discussing aspect it is often necessary to refer to the differences between states, events, processes etc." (Comrie 1976:13)** is very much in line with Lyons' observation. To most Yoruba linguists, the progressive naturally cooccurs with the dynamic verbs. But does this mean that the progressive cannot occur with the stative in the language?

The following comments are noted in the literature. In Ajeigbe's (1979:16)** opinion, the stative verbs in the language can cooccur with all tense markers. His examples are:

(37) (a) Adé ti burú rí gùgbón kò buzú mó
Ade have been wicked before but not wicked again
"Ade has been wicked in the past but he is no longer wicked"

(b) Òjọ yìọ ọ̀ bi Adé ńj ọdùn yí
Ojo shall tall equal Ade in year this
"Ojo will be as tall as Ade this year"

As he does not state whether the progressive is one of the tense markers and as the examples given to justify his claim do not include the progressive, his view on the cooccurrence of the stative verbs and the progressive is not clear
Oyelaran (1982a:37), on the other hand, states clearly that when the stative verb (he uses the term “verbs of perception”) takes the progressive marker, (he also calls this “imperfective marker”) “the only permissible reading is iteration, since reference to situation–internal time would be nonsensical”.

In as much as we agree with Oyelaran that the progressive can occur with stative verbs for iterative purpose, we are also of the opinion that reference can still be made to the situation–internal time of such verbs. A look at the sentences in (38) shows that, with the presence of the progressive marker, apart from the fact that the verbs are iterated or itensified, the speaker is also focussing on the properties of states that resemble those of events (Smith 1983:498).

(38) (i) Mo ọgbọ́n sí i
      I PROG wise more it
      "I am becoming wiser"

(ii) Mo ọ gbọ́ Yorùbá sí i
     I PROG hear Yoruba more it
     "My knowledge of Yoruba is improving"

(iii) ō ọ́ jọ́ baba rẹ́ sí lọ́jọ́o júmọ́
     He PROG resemble father his more it everyday
     "He gets more like his father every day"

The verb in the individual sentence has now been given the dynamism of an event. Hence one is able to perceive not only the internal structures of the situation, but also successions of stages which are located on a continuum. Thus, the stative verbs: ọgbọ́ “to be wise”, gbọ́ “to hear”, jọ́ “to resemble” are now seen to be involved in some changes “from one stage to the other” (Smith 1983:483).
Smith's view is very much in line with Mufwene's (1984:35) notion of the progressive "as a kind of quantifier" which (i) converts events expected to be punctual into longer-lasting, even if transient, states of affairs (ii) conversely converts those states of affairs expected to last long [lexical statives] to shorter-lasting/transient states of affairs (iii) simply presents those verbs whose denotations are neutral with regards to duration as in process/in [transient] duration, though duration is expected of statives.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that, though it is natural for the progressive to occur with dynamic verbs, it also occurs with the stative verbs in the language. When this happens, just as in other languages, such stative verbs are treated as dynamic verbs.

3.4.3. The Progressive in Imperative Constructions

The occurrence of the progressive aspect in the Yoruba imperative constructions merits some mention in this work. Apart from the notion of futurity (which is often explained in pragmatic terms) only a progressive reading can be given to an imperative. This principle also applies to Yoruba, but in a rather peculiar manner. Observe the following non-progressive imperatives and their progressive counterparts.

(39) (i) Lọ
"go"
Máa lọ
PROG go
"Start going"

(ii) Jẹun
"eat"
Máa jẹun
PROG eat
"Start eating"

(iii) Sùn
"Sleep"
Máa sùn
PROG sleep
"Continue sleeping"
All the three non-progressive imperatives are matched with the progressive ones. We think there are two ways in which the frequent occurrence of the progressive in the imperatives in the language can be explained. First, the progressive marker cooccurs obligatorily with some verbs. So, the question of whether the verbs are used declaratively, imperatively or interrogatively does not come up, they both have to cooccur. Examples are:

(40) DECLARATIVE
Mo n' bɔ̰
I PROG come
"I am on my way"

INTERROGATIVE
*Mo bɔ̰ o n' bɔ̰ ?
Q you PROG come
"Are you coming?"

IMPERATIVE
*Mba bɔ̰
PROG come
"Come"

Second, just as it does elsewhere, the progressive "allows the speaker to tell the addressee, not merely to do something, but to be in the process of doing it at some particular moment" (Davies 1986:15–16).

(41) (i) Sɔ q̌ kɨ n tɔ dɛ
Say it that I before arrive
"Say it before my arrival"

(ii) M̄a sɔ q̌ kɨ n tɔ dɛ
PROG say it that I before arrive
"Start saying it before my arrival"

(41) (i) does not require the type of action in progress required in (41) (ii).

It should be noted too that just as in the declarative sentence, the progressive can also be given an habitual interpretation. But this can only be possible in a
positive construction. In a negative construction, the progressive is quite distinct from the habitual. The distinction is shown clearly in (42).

(42) (i) POSITIVE
Máa jẹ̀un
"Start eating
or
Stay eating"

(ii) NEGATIVE
Má jẹ̀un
"Do not eat" (for prog)
Má máa jẹ̀un
"Do not eat (at all)" (for Hab)

Thus, the distinct habitual and progressive negative imperative constructions also stand as another valid ground for our proposed subcategories of Habitual and Progressive in the language.

3.4.4. The Progressive and the Locative Expressions in Yoruba

Few linguists will deny the fact that there are striking parallels in many unrelated languages between the locative and the progressive expressions. In some languages, the claim is that it is not only possible to give examples to show the semantic relationship of these two expressions but to show that the syntactic markers of such expressions are connected. While there is a fairly general agreement on the first claim, opinion still differs as to whether the progressive-locative connection should be extended to the syntactic form.

In his discussion on the Yoruba Verbal System, Welmers (1973:313-315)** applies this localist theory to the Yoruba progressive. His conclusion is that the Yoruba progressive is not only semantically similar to the locative but that both share the same form. Comrie (1976:101)**, on the other hand, while not denying that some progressive-locative connections exist in the language,
notes that there "is a slight difference between the progressive and the strictly locative constructions ..." marked by ṅ and Ṽ respectively.

In this section, we shall provide further evidence to support Comrie that if a strong case can be made for a semantic resemblance between the progressive and the locative expressions in Yoruba, the same cannot be extended to their syntactic forms.

First, we would like to challenge the claim that both Ṽ, the locative marker, and ṅ, the progressive marker, have I as their allomorph (Comrie 1976:101)*. 

The progressive marker in the language always occurs before consonants. This is because the item occurs only before other items with [+V] feature and items with this feature have initial consonants. This is not to say that one cannot give examples in which the progressive marker can occur before a vowel. A loanword, ̀ásúọ “assure”, which is realized as a verb in the language, is one of such examples. Even with such an example, our claim that the progressive marker does not have an allomorph I still holds. For example, whereas in place of Ṽ, the locative marker in (43) (i), the allomorph I can be used as in (43) (ii), the use of I in place of the progressive marker ṅ is not possible as shown in (43) (iii) and (iv).

(43) (i) Mo rírí Olú Ṽ lánáá
(ii) Mo rírí Olú lánaá
     I saw Olu in yesterday
     "I saw Olu yesterday"

(iii) Mo Ṽ̀ ásúọ rè
(iv) *Mo lásúọ rè
     I PROG assure him
     "I am giving him some assurance"

This shows that even if there is a possibility of a vowel initialled verbal item in
the language, the use of the allomorph \( \_ \) for the progressive marker will still not be possible.

Our second point concerns the possible source of the progressive marker. Welmers' (1973:314)** suggestion on this is that a possible "relationship between \( n' \) and \( n'_{\text{f}} \)" should be strongly considered. In his opinion, the progressive marker, \( n \), must have resulted from the deletion of the vowel in the locative marker \( n_{\text{i}} \). Our observation of the language in use does not support a locative derivational source for the progressive marker. Rather, what we notice is that the possible source of the progressive is the item \( m_{\text{f}} \) as in (44), which is still being used in the Ife and Ijebu dialects of Yoruba and of which no morphological relationship can be established between it and the locative marker.

(44) \[ \text{Mo m' \_ l\_} \]
\[ \text{I PROG go} \]
\[ \text{"I am going"} \]

The importance of "systematic comparison between ... dialects" for reconstructing earlier diachronic stages of a language in "Africa, where early records are hardly available" has been emphasized by Heine and Reh (1984:90). While discussing the source of the Yoruba syllabic nasal, Oyelaran (1983b) provides some examples to show that nasal syllabics, such as the progressive marker, are derived from vowels. According to him, \( n'_{\text{f}} \) the progressive marker in standard Yoruba is derived from \( m_{\text{f}} \) the progressive marker in Ife and Ijebu dialects, through the following processes. The item \( m_{\text{f}} \) deletes its initial consonant, "particularly when, preceded in the utterance by another item with a major syntactic function, the consonant finds itself in an intervocalic position" (Oyelaran 1983b:18). After the deletion, the front high vowel which then "constitutes the syllable by itself" is replaced by a homorganic nasal syllabic.
Oyelaran then goes on to discuss the differences between nasal syllabics and syllabic nasals which do not concern us here. What is relevant is that in Oyelaran’s opinion, what we start with is (45).

(45)  
(i)  Mo m’ lọ
    I PROG go
    "I am going"

(ii)  Mo m’ bọ
    I PROG come
    "I am coming"

From (45), after the deletion of the intervocalic consonant, we have (46) where the high front vowel becomes stranded:

(46)  
(i)  Mo  lọ
    I PROG go
    "I am going"

(ii)  Mo  bọ
    I PROG come
    "I am coming"

An homorganic nasal then replaces the stranded high nasal vowel to give (47):

(47)  
(i)  Mo  lọ
    I PROG go
    "I am going"

(ii)  Mo m’ bọ
    I PROG come
    "I am coming"

That the above suggestion by Oyelaran adequately captures the source of the progressive marker in standard Yoruba is supported by the fact that in the Ekiti dialect of Yoruba, the high nasal vowel in (46) is not replaced by a homorganic nasal. In such dialects, instead of the replacement that takes place in (47), what we have is the assimilation of the nasal vowel as shown in (48):
(48) (i) Mo wa nile
   I be in house
   "I am at home"

(ii) Mo wa nile
   I be in house
   "I am at home"

(iii) Mo wa 1le
    I be in house
    "I am at home"

(iv) Mo wa nile
    I be in house
    "I am at home"

Oyelaran (1983b:12) also gives examples to show how a nasal syllabic can be derived from the locative expression n’. First we have (49) (i) from which (49) (ii) is derived through contraction. An intervocalic consonant deletion takes place in (49) (ii) to yield (49) (iii) where we also have a stranded nasal vowel. Finally, the high front vowel is replaced by a nasal to give (49) (iv).

(49) (i) Igba ni mo yego < Igba ti mo yego
   Time which I lift mask
   "When I carry the mask" (p. 6).
(ii) *Ilé n’ko? < Ilé sì ko*
   "Home be?"
   "How is home?" (p. 8).

(iii) *Bi ṣòpà ò pa < bi ṣòlpà ò pa*
   If the plower NEG plow
   "If the plower fails to plow"

(iv) *Ki ni òmkọ̀ o ko? < Ki ni òkìkọ̀ o ko?*
   What (FOC) harrower will harrow?
   "What will the harrower harrow?" (p. 7)

(v) *Ajìnde < Ajílìde*
   "Resurrection"

For clarity, the derivations in the above examples are shown in (51):

(51) (i) *n’ mo < tì mo*
    (ii) *n’ ko? < si’ ko?*
    (iii) *bì pà < bìlpà*
    (iv) *òmkọ̀ < òkìkọ̀*
    (v) *hde < dlde*

From the above examples, one can conclude that the apparent homophonous forms of both the locative and the progressive markers should not deceive one into arguing that the latter derives from the former. For such derivation, what is often suggested is a deletion of the vowel in the locative marker. But as Oyelaran (1983b) has convincingly argued, mere deletion of vowels cannot explain the derivation taking place in (51). So, while a link between the progressive markers in Ife, Ekiti, Ijebu and the standard Yoruba is very easy to prove with Oyelaran’s account, there is no non-ad hoc means by which one can establish a link between these markers and the locative marker. Such ad hoc rules will most likely postulate vowel deletion for the standard Yoruba progressive marker i.e. "n’" < "nì", a consonant deletion and an assimilation for the Ekiti variety i.e. "tì" < "nì" and the conversion of the bilabial nasal to alveolar for the Ijebu and Ife dialect varieties i.e. "mì" < "nì". With such rules,
the generalization that is noted in Oyelaran’s account will be lost. Apart from this, such rules will still need to go further to account for the individual items in (51).

Comrie (1975:90) rejects Anderson’s proposal of an absolute identity for the locative and the progressive markers in Welsh on the ground that both do not respond to mutation and elision in the same way. From the above examples, we conclude that a formal relationship parallel to the semantic identity established for the locative and the progressive cannot be justified in Yoruba. First, they do not share the same allomorph as is often claimed. Second, anyone who attempts to link the progressive marker, \( n \), with the locative marker \( n' \) will still need to account for the progressive markers in Ife, Ijebu and Ekiti (which have a great deal in common with their Standard Yoruba counterpart). Third, one would also have to account for other items in the language which are derived through the same process.

3.5. The Yoruba Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is regarded as “describing a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (Comrie 1976:27–28)**. The notion of “extended period” as used in the above definition is conceptual rather than linguistic hence, Comrie (1976:27)** warns that habituality should not be confused with iterativity. According to him, “the mere repetition of a situation is not sufficient for that situation to be referred to by a specific habitual ... form”. The reason for this is that “a situation can be referred to by a habitual form without there being any iterativity at all” (Comrie 1976:27). In support of this view, Dahl (1985:97)** adds that “the difference between 'once'
and 'twice' or even 'seven times' is almost totally irrelevant to HAB". With these two writers' view of habitual, one can conclude that sentences such as (52) are not in any way habitual.

(52)  
(i) ọ lo sì oko púpọ ní ẹsì  
He go to farm plenty in last year  
"He went to the farm many times last year"

(ii) o lọ sì oko ní ọgọrùn lgbà ní ẹsì  
He go to farm in hundred times in last year  
"He went to the farm a hundred times last year"

Rather, what actually marks the habitual aspect in the language is the polymorphemic word mọa n. What the use of this item in any sentence indicates is that the action expressed "took place in the majority of those occasions" (Dahl 1985:97) indicated or understood in the sentence. Thus the item, as used in (53), refers to indefinite individual occasions when the action takes place.

(53) ọ mọa n lọ  
He HAB go  
"He usually goes"

The notion of an indefinite occurrence of an action credited to the habitual aspect does not mean that it could be interpreted as denoting the same notion with such adverbials of time as nígbà gbogbo "every time". That the appendage sugbón ní ẹ̀kòkàkan, ọ mọa n wo asò funfun "but once in a while, he puts on white clothes" is possible with (54) (i) but not with (54) (ii) brings this out clearly.
Despite the fact that there is no controversy on the notion of the habitual aspect as defined above, the form in which the subcategory is realized in the language is still a subject of dispute. To most Yoruba scholars, the subcategory does not exist. To some few others, only some Yoruba speakers use it, "other speakers use the form (the progressive marker) freely in both senses" (Comrie 1976:101 quoting Rowlands)**. The only Yoruba scholar who has given an unqualified support for the postulation of the subcategory in the language is Oke (1969:440-448)**. One of the reasons he gives for regarding the habitual as a distinct subcategory from the progressive is that the distribution of the habitual is quite different from that of the progressive. According to him, whereas verbs such as wà “to come” and wà “to be” cannot be immediately preceded by the progressive, they occur with the habitual quite freely. Examples are:

(55) (i) ò máa n’ wà
He HAB come
"He usually comes"
(ii) ọ mà a n' wà n' ibé
He HAB be in there
"He is usually there"

(iii) *ọ n wá
He PROG come
He is coming

(iv) *ọ n wà
He PROG be
"He is being"

On the other hand, verbs, such as bê "to come" and bè "to be", are not also immediately preceded by the habitual markers. Examples are:

(56) (i) *ọ mà a n' bê
He HAB come
"He usually comes"

(ii) *ọ mà a n' bè
He HAB be
"He is usually existing"

(iii) ọ n bê
He PROG come
"He is on his way"

(iv) ọ n bè n' ibé
He PROG be in there
"He is there"

These examples, according to Oke, show that the Progressive and Habitual markers have different distributions.

Our previous discussion will have shown that we are very much in support of Oke's view that there should be a distinct Habitual subcategory of Aspect in the language. One may then wonder why the opinions of the Yoruba grammarians differ on the status of the Habitual subcategory of Aspect in the language.
The main reason for this divided view can be traced to the fact that both the Habitual and the Progressive share the same variant forms. Hence, the sentence in (57) has two interpretations which the negations in (58) clearly distinguish:

(57) Máa şe े े
     (a) Start to do it (right now)
     (b) Continue to do it (henceforth)"

(58) (a) Má şe े े
       NEG do it
       "Don't do it (now)"

(b) Má máa şe े े
     NEG HAB do it
     "Do not do it (henceforth)"

While (58) (a) negates the Progressive, the Habitual can be negated only as in (58) (b). Most linguists who do not consider examples such as (57) and (58) or the ones given by Oke in (55)-(56) or the ones we have given earlier on in (34) often conclude that máa r and máa are the contextual realizations of the Progressive.

We hope that enough has been said here to show that the Habitual to which almost all Yoruba scholars give a notional recognition, needs to be formally distinguished from the Progressive.

3.6. Phase System in Yoruba

In the previous sections of this chapter, we have been able to show how the Yoruba speakers indicate whether the action expressed by the verb is an indivisible unity or one that is in progress. In the first case, the action is represented as a clear-cut fact while in the second, the action is represented as having no clear limit. The first case is achieved in the language by the use
of the perfective marker and the second is achieved by the use of the markers of the imperfective subcategories.

King (1983) discusses the grammatical categories from the relational point of view. First, he defines orientation "as that semantic notion which allows the speaker to express an ordering relationship for the reported situation". He then classifies the types of ordering relationship into two - the primary form and the relational form. He classifies both the perfective and the imperfective as the primary form. By the primary form he means that they do not express any orientation and that no ordering relationship is involved in the action they depict. The relational form on the other hand relates one situation to another.

Having discussed how some of the primary forms are expressed in Yoruba, we will now go on to show how the Yoruba speakers relate one situation-token to another situation-token in an utterance-situation\textsuperscript{10}. This relationship is shown by what Thrane (1983:188) regards as the Phase. Thrane defines Phase as "the category which enables H (the hearer) to identify a particular S-token of a certain type in terms of its sequential order relative to some other S-token". The item that is used in the language to show such a relationship is ti "has/have/had". This item, as we have discussed above, has been analysed either as a past tense marker or a perfective marker.

According to Thrane (1983:189), "the basic semantic function of Phase is such that it will allow valid inferences to be drawn from it in the direction of both Tense and Aspect" but whereas the two latter categories are concerned with matters of time, the former is concerned with space. For example, in (59), the Phase marker ti "has" only indicates the sequential ordering of the S-tokens involved relative to the Utterance-situation.
(59) O' ti lọ kí à tó ó dè
He PH go before we equal INF come
"He had left before our arrival"

The Phase marker in (59) does not say where the entities are at any absolute sense. What it states is that "the entities are arranged relative to one another along a single spatial dimension" (Thrane 1983:188).

King (1983:147) uses the term "relational form" for this marker. The reason is that, in term of orientation, what the marker does is to relate two S-tokens to each other relative to the utterance situation. The Utterance-situation is not fixed in any way. Thus, (60) (i) can be read either as (60) (ii) or (60) (iii) depending on the nature of the Utterance-situation.

(60) (i) O' ti lọ
He PH go
"He has gone"

(ii) O' ti lọ (O' fun un lọwọ nì yẹn)
He PH go (He give him money is that)
"He has gone (He must have given him some money)

(iii) O' ti lọ (O' fẹ fẹ fun un lọwọ nì yẹn)
He PH go (He want INF give him in money is that)
"He has gone (that means he wants to give him some money)"

It will be noted that the "sequentiality of the anterior S-token" (Thrane 1983:188) in (60) (ii) has undergone some subtle changes in (60) (iii). This change, according to Thrane, shows that Phase is essentially concerned with sequence and only inferentially with time.
3.6.1. Tense, Aspect and Phase

With the notion of Phase as described above, the reason why its marker has been analysed either as a past tense marker or as a perfective marker can now be explained. Tense has been defined as "the category which enables H (the Hearer) to identify a particular S-token in terms of its temporal occurrence relative to the deictic centre of the Utterance-situation" (Thrane 1983:188). With this definition, it becomes clear why two sequentially arranged S-tokens are given some temporal cooccurrence attributes. Before two S-tokens can be sequentially ordered, "they both have to be 'there' at the same time" (Thrane 1983:189). What time does in such circumstances is to impose some direction on the sequential order of the S-tokens. The mere mention of the terms 'anterior', 'posterior', 'after' and 'before' while defining Phase shows that time has to impose some directionality on the sequential order. It is because of this linguistic encoding of sequential order that some Yoruba scholars inaccurately regards the item ti "has" as a past tense marker.

The past tense, in the languages in which it occurs, is regarded as simply stating that a given situation obtained before the Utterance-situation without any reference to overt orientation. The item ti does not function in this way. Rather, what it only indicates is the sequentiality of S-tokens. In our opinion, it is the notion of one S-token being anterior to another that the advocates of the past tense analysis of the item ti "has" regard as tense.

If we now turn to the perfective, what we note is that Phase also draws some Aspectual meaning especially from this sub-category of Aspect. Aspect is taken as "a category which enables H to identify a particular S-token in term of its internal temporal structure" (Thrane 1983:188). For two S-tokens to be considered to be sequential, one must have been perceived as either 'complete'
or 'finished'. Since the notion of perfective denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, it is not surprising that the perfective and the Phase are often confused with each other. The confusion stems from the 'complete' notion which Phase partially shares with the perfective.

3.6.2. The Phase as a Relational form

Phase, as we have stated, is by orientation a relational form. It does not refer to any particular S-token but relates one S-token to another. Both the perfective and the imperfective subcategories, on the other hand, are regarded as primary forms, the reason being that no sequential ordering of any S-token is made by them. They can both cooccur with the Phase.

When the perfective cooccurs with the Phase in an S-token, it views such an S-token in its entirety and orders it sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation. When the Phase cooccurs with the progressive, it indicates that what is ordered sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation is the middle of the said S-token. Finally, the Phase marker cooccurs with the Habitual marker to indicate that an indefinite occurrence of S-tokens is ordered sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation. Examples are:

(61)  (i) PERFECTIVE AND PHASE

Olú ú ti lọ kí Òjọ tọ ô dé
Olu HTS PH go before Ojo equal INF come
"Olu had left before Ojo's arrival"

(ii) PROGRESSIVE AND PHASE

Ọ ti n lọ kí a tọ ô dé
He PH PROG before we equal INF come
"He was leaving when we arrived"
(iii) HABITUAL AND PHASE

He PH HAB go before we equal INF come
"He usually leaves before our arrival"

3.7. Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed some of the functions of some Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs. We examined the two main works on the High Tone Syllable (HTS). The first identifies the HTS as the non-future tense marker. The second classified the item as a Definitizer. We adduced several structural and semantic reasons why the HTS should not be assigned to any of these functions. Basing our discussion on the cross-linguistic definition of perfective, we gave evidence to show that the HTS marks this subcategory of Aspect in the language.

We then proceed to discuss the imperfective. Following Comrie (1976), we suggested two subcategories of the imperfective for the language — the Progressive and the Habitual. We discussed the source of the former and briefly noted its high frequency in both the imperative and stative constructions.

We then contested the classification of the item tı “has” either as a past tense marker or as a perfective marker. We suggested that the item should be regarded as the relational Phase marker in the language.
Notes and References to Chapter 3

1. Awobuluyi uses segmental phonemes of standard Yoruba in his examples. In this work, all examples quoted from his work would be rewritten orthographically.

2. The use of the term 'definite' here is different from the one introduced by Awobuluyi (1966:260). Awobuluyi's 'definite tense' is either interpreted as past or present depending on the type of verb. Oyelaran's use of 'definite' has nothing to do with tense.

3. The effect the HTS has on the preceding noun has been given a detailed discussion by Pulleyblank (1986:118–123).

4. Ducrot and Todorov (1981:307) define aspect in terms of process and topic. According to them, aspect concerns "the relationships between the period that is the topic of the utterance and the one in which the process is situated". The process "is the action or the qualification expressed by the subject-predicate group" and the topic is "the period the speaker is talking about". The perfective aspect is one in which the process is internal to the period the speaker is talking about, that is, to the topic. In the imperfective, "the process is, at the very least, coextensive with the topic; ordinarily, in fact, the former encompasses the latter".

5. Situation, as used by Smith, is neutral between event, state etc. "Situation", according to her, "shows (among other things) that sentences that talk about different types of situation have consistent syntactic and semantic properties" (Smith 1986:112 n2).

6. The view that an informant may fail to give the desired information if not adequately instructed has once been expressed by Rowlands (1964:1). According to him, 'when a 'Lagos' informant was recently asked by me to give an informal account (to be recorded on tape) of Yoruba naming ceremonies, he began to speak in a rather formal way, using the 'yio' future particle which is characteristic of many 'Oyo' areas. After being stopped and told that what was wanted was an informal talk in the sort of language that he would use in talking to his friends or to his wife he made no further use of the particle 'yio' but used instead the particle 'dá'. The latter particle is much more widely used in speech than its limited occurrence in written Yoruba would suggest, because written Yoruba is still heavily influenced by the language of the Bible translation, which favours the use of 'yio'.

7. In the field of language acquisition, Atkinson (1983) recognizes two schools. The first "consists of people who believe that the field is best approached by working with
children. Members of this group are interested in what children say, what they can understand, what is said to them, and so on, and they see such data as vital to understanding the nature of language” (Atkinson 1983:1).

The second school professes “a deep interest in child language (but does) no work at all with children. Instead, members of this group limit the application of their energies to the study of the adult language, concentrating on what has come to be known as ‘the logical problem of language acquisition’” (ibid). With the identification of these two schools and as this work does not lay any claim to a systematic study of language acquisition, the observation noted here should be regarded as that of the second school, though reinforced by the fact that the present writer is a native speaker of the language. It should be noted here too that we are not unaware that experiments have shown that “in young children’s growth of tense-mastery: initially they use tense form for non-tense distinctions, especially state/activity and imperfective/perfectivity” (McCoard 1978:27, n12) but, as Yoruba is a tenseless language, we doubt if there is a way this could be tested in the language.

8. Awobuluyi’s remark on the sentences is that “it is this preverb, màà incidentally, which appears to be shared by both the temporal and the aspectual subsystems, that led us to the conclusion that the terms in the Yoruba temporal subsystem should perhaps be definite and indefinite rather than past, present and future” (p. 265). What is not clear here is whether màà is the same both in form and function in these sentences. See Zwicky’s comments on this type of situation in (23)–(26).

9. Ò ní wà ní ibà “He is usually there” is possible but according to Òke, the n form used is not a progressive marker. It is a variant of the Habitual marker. We support this claim.

10. Thrane (1983:182) defines a situation as “a delimited organization of entities between which specifiable relations hold”. In this definition, a situation is taken to be language-independent. To link situations to linguistics, he introduces the terms situation-token (S-token), situation-type (S-type) and Utterance-situation (US) where S-token stands for “a situation identified or identifiable in terms of its actual occurrence in space and time”, and S-type stands for “a situation identified or identifiable in terms of the relationship holding between the entities that make up the situation” and the Utterance-situation as “a particular type of actual occurring situation, established in each case by someone making an utterance.”
CHAPTER 4

THE MODAL SYSTEM

4.1. The Data

In this chapter, we examine the meanings of the Yoruba Modal Verbs. Modality/Mood, according to Chung and Timberlake (1985:241)

characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world. An event can simply be actual (more precisely, the event world is identical to the actual world); an event can be hypothetically possible (the event world is not identical to the actual world); the event may be imposed by the speaker on the addressee; and so on. Whereas there is basically one way for an event to be actual, there are numerous ways that an event can be less than completely actual.

These characteristics of Modality/Mood leads Chung and Timberlake to conclude that the “internal complexity” (1985:241) of Modality/Mood is great. Because of this noted internal complexity of Modality/Mood, our discussion here will differ considerably from the previous one on Aspect and Phase and the subsequent one on Negation. In our analysis, we shall make an extensive use of a corpus data taken from Atọtọ Arére, a fictional narrative prose based on some social shortcomings of the Nigerian Society. The novel is written by Oladejo Okediji.

4.1.1. The use of the Corpus Data

The corpus data will be used:

(1) (a) For exemplificatory purposes to enable us to provide an objective semantic description of the use of the modal verbs in the language.

(b) As a model for the invented examples that we might need to exemplify some areas of meanings which are not covered in the
4.1.2. Reasons for Taking Our Data from Atóto Arére

Our interest in using the corpus data taken from Atóto Arére stems from the fact that:

(2) (a) The prose depicts not only real characters but also reflects real life experiences in some Nigerian cities.

(b) The prose is also one of those few writings in Yoruba which adequately represent the standard language as described in Chapter 1. The dialectal variation is minimal and most junctural syllables are indicated.

4.2. Modal and Modality

Now that our choice for a data based analysis has been made clear, we should say something about the Modal System itself. Modality is taken in this work as a semantic label used to denote notions like possibility, permission, obligation etc. that alter in some ways the neutral semantic value of a clause or a sentence. Modals are the auxiliary verbs which denote different kinds of modality. They are used to modify declarative and factual statements. Modal meaning has to do with the speaker's attitude towards what he says or the degree of his commitment to his utterances. A modal sentence or utterance, therefore, is one in which the truth of the predication is subject to some contingency or modification. The modal verbs with which we shall be concerned are yóò “will”, lè “can” and gbọdọ “must”1.
4.2.1. Some Comments on ní láti-

4.2.1.1. Introduction

It has been suggested that the so-called periphrastic item ní láti- "have to" is a modal verb (Oyelaran 1982a:17) and that the item is a stylistic variant of gbódó "must" (Welmers 1973:341–342)*. In what follows, we shall take a critical look at these two suggestions and show, first, that the differences in meaning between the so-called periphrastic ní láti- "have to" and gbódó "must" are considerable and, second, that the so-called periphrastic item is not a modal verb.

4.2.1.2. The Periphrastic ní láti-

Welmers quotes Elimelech (in a footnote) as saying that while "elderly people, whose contact with English has been minimal" use gbódó "must", other Yoruba speakers use ní láti "have to". What we understand from Elimelech’s claim is that both gbódó "must" and ní láti- "have to" have the same semantic interpretation. The only difference between the two items being that ní láti- "have to", in addition to the basic meaning it shares with gbódó "must" also reflects a quantity of formal education which the speaker/writer wants to show.

To test Elimelech’s claim, we examine the use of the item ní láti- "have to" in Atótó Arére. As a data taken from a prose narrative written by someone whose contact with English is considerable, one would expect ní láti "have to" to occur more than gbódó "must". What we find is the contrary, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ní láti &quot;have to&quot; &amp; gbódó &quot;must&quot;</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbódó &quot;must&quot;</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní láti &quot;have to&quot;</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, we note that whereas gbódó "must" signals the commitment of the
speaker to the truth of the proposition in which it occurs, the so-called periphrastic item signals absence of commitment by the speaker. At best, following Palmer (1983:209), the so-called periphrastic item can only be regarded as a semi-modal. Even then, Palmer clearly distinguishes between a modal and a semi-modal. The former is used in the modal component to lay an obligation and to give permission while the latter is used in a proposition to state that an obligation exists or that something is possible. Thus, whereas the VP gb́d̠ǵ an̄ “required/obliged to do it” in (3) (a) expresses the speaker’s commitment to the necessity or possibility, ní látı- “have to” occurs in a categorical statement to indicate that something is necessary or possible.

(3) (a) ə gb́d̠ǵ an̄ “He is required/obliged to do it”
(b) ə ní látı an̄ “It is necessary/possible that he does it”

Witness that both ní látı- “have to” and gb́d̠ǵ “must” occur in the same frame in (3). The importance of this is that any difference in meaning between the two sentences is taken as the difference between the meaning contributed by each of the two items to the sentence in which it occurs.

Using the same process of substitution, we also note that the meaning negation adds to gb́d̠ǵ “must” is quite different from that of ní látı- “have to”. Negation with gb́d̠ǵ “must” always bears on the semantic content of the proposition over which the item is predicated. The meaning of gb́d̠ǵ “must” itself is not altered. This means that kó gb́d̠ǵ an̄ is an “obligation not to go”, hence a “prohibition to go”. It also negates the existence of a permission for, if one “is forbidden to go” one is at the same time “not permitted to go”. The negative of ní látı-an̄ is, on the other hand, not found in the areas of “obligation not to go” rather, it expresses “absence of necessity to go”.

It may be argued that nj̪ lâti-VP is needed to negate the modality of gbódô VP just as "need" is used to negate "must" in English (Palmer 1979:26). Even if this is the case, the fact still remains that "need" is not regarded as one of the basic modals.

Other Examples

Some of the examples used by Binnick (1971) to distinguish between "will" and "be going to" can also be used to distinguish nj̪ lâti "have to" from gbódô "must". Consider (4):

(4) (a) Mo fún alálsàn nj̪ oògùn, ọ gbódô wò ọ sàn
    I give patient person in medicine, it must cure him
    "I gave the medicine to the patient, it must cure him"

(b) Mo fún alálsàn nj̪ oògùn, ọ nj̪ lâti-wò ọ sàn
    I give sick person in medicine, it has in to cure him
    "I gave the medicine to the sick, it should cure him"

Though (4) (a) and (b) communicate what could be regarded as causal relationship, the implicational "if's" and "but's" noted in (a) are absent in (b). In (a), the actuality of the assertion is assumed and the sentence implies a certainty or a promise.

Also in relative clauses, both nj̪ lâti- "have to" and gbódô "must" have different referential possibilities. Consider (5) (a) and (b):

(5) (a) Aṣọ tí ó gbódô wọ, ó wá a lọ
garment that he must wear, he look it go
    "He has gone to look for the garment he must wear"

(b) Aṣọ tí ó nj̪ lâti-wọ, ó wá a lọ
garment that he has to wear, he look it go
    "He has gone to look for the garment he has to wear"

Whereas gbódô "must" is referentially indefinite in the relative clause, nj̪ lâti-
"have to" is referentially specific. In (b), reference is being made to a specific garment whereas the reference in (a) is not specific. What is being said in (5) (a) is that it is compulsory that he wears a garment. As shown in (6), an attempt to make ni lati- "have to" indefinite leads to an unacceptable or a questionable sentence.

(5) (a) Aṣo tí ó gbódogbó, ó wá a kò rí èyí tí ó wù ù
garment that he must wear, he look it neg he see one
that he like it
"He went in search of the garment he must wear but
he didn't find the one he liked"

(b) ?/*Aṣo tí ó ni lati-wg, ó wá a kò rí èyí tí ó wù ù
Cloth that he has to wear, he look it NEG see one
that he like it
"He went in search of the garment he has to wear but
he didn't find the one he liked"

The above examples have shown that the differences between gbódogbó "must" and ni lati- "have to" are considerable.

4.2.1.3. A look at ni lati-VP

On the other hand, if one takes a look at ni lati- and the following VP, one may be able to make some suggestions as regards the true status of the item. The composition of ni lati- is quite different from the modals. The item is made up of three elements - (i) a verb ni "have", (ii) a preposition ni "in" and (iii) a nominalizing prefix ati (see Fagborun 1985:14 n.3 and Yusuf 1986). The verb ni "have" has a great deal in common with such verbs as fà "want", tí "enough" and sóró "difficult". This class of verbs is categorised by Awoyale (1974:12-13)** as factive verbs which often take "infinitive without overt complementizers".

For example, if we take the VP ṣe isé "do work", the prefix ati can be used to nominalize the VP to become ati-ṣe-isé "manner/fact of doing work". This
nominal, like all nominals in the language, can in turn be preceded by the preposition ní “in” as in ní àti-še-ingí “in the manner/fact of doing work”. Yusuf (1985:333)** posits that this ní “in” is “empty of any semantic content. Any meaning attributed to it is nothing inherent but derives from our knowledge of the NPs that follow it”. This PP or “ní-NP construction” (to use Yusuf’s terms) can serve as object to the class of factive verbs mentioned above. Hence we can have (7).

(7) (i) Ọ ní ní àti-še-ingí (i.e. Ọ ní láti-gígí)  
He has in the manner/fact of working  
"He has to work"

(ii) Ọ fẹ ní àti-še-ingí (i.e. Ọ fẹ láti-gígí)  
He want in the manner/fact of working  
"He wants to work"

The two sentences are relativized in the same manner. Examples:

(8) (i) Igé tí Ọ ní ní àti-še (i.e. Igé tô ní láti-še)  
Work REL he has in manner/fact do  
"The work he has to do"

(ii) Igé tí Ọ fẹ ní àti-še (i.e. Igé tô fẹ láti-še)  
Work REL he want in manner/fact do  
"The work he wants to do"

They are also negated in the same way.

(9) (i) Kọ ní ní àti-še-ingí (Kọ ní láti-gígí)  
NEG has work in manner/fact do work  
"He is not duty bound to do the work"

(ii) Kọ fẹ ní àti-še-ingí (Kọ fẹ láti-gígí)  
NEG want in manner/fact do work  
"He does not want to work"

It will be noted that it is the factive verbs that are being negated in (9) (i) and (ii).
4.2.1.4. A Previous Analysis of ni lati

Abraham (1958:438(7b)) classifies ni “have” as verb but translates the combination of ni lati as “must”. His example:

(10) Mo ni lati lo
“I must go”

Thus, it seems, from Abraham's classification, that when ni “have” precedes lati, it ceases to be a verb. Abraham also classifies fe “want” as verb which it remains when it combines with lati-. His example:

(11) Ò fe lati lo
“He wants to go”

(Abraham 1958:207(B.b1))

What is not clear to us is why Abraham gives different analyses to fe lati and ni lati when, as we have shown above, they have a great deal in common. It may well be the case that Abraham is of the opinion that the first ni “have” in ni lati- has developed away from the lexical verb ni “have” and that the construction ni lati- now behaves like a modal verb. This argument is possible because it looks as if the reading given to ni “have” when it precedes ni lati- is quite distinct from the one given to it in such sentences as Mo ni owó “I have got some money”. But ni “have” owes its different readings in ni owó “have money” and ni lati- to the different lexical contexts in these two sentences showing that an argument along this line is not tenable. Hermeren (1978:70-71) has warned that the meaning of a given item should not be confused “with the meaning of the units surrounding it. In such a description one would have to assign ... (to an item) as many meanings as there are contexts in which it occurs” (our bracket).

Note that the meanings of fe “want” in fe iyawó “got married”, fe Olú
"loves/likes Olu" and *Mo ní fé owó* "I need some/lot of money" are quite different from that of *fé* "want" in the examples in (8), (9) and (11) yet *fé* "want" is treated as the same verb in all the constructions. This means that Abraham gives *fé* "want" what Haegeman (1983:8-9) calls a unified treatment whereby the basic meaning of *fé* "want" is taken to be comprehensive, other meanings being derived from it. In the same manner we suggest that *ní* "have" should also be given a unified treatment whereby all the derived meanings i.e.

> to have, to occupy, to obtain, to possess,
> to get, to load (as a ship or canoe) etc.

*(CMS 1913:162)**
come from a single comprehensive meaning. While the semantic interpretation of *ní* "have" as in:

(12) *Mo ní ỉlẹ́*  
  *I have house*  
  "I have a house"

can be regarded as being at one end of a continuum, *ní* "have" in *ní láti* can be taken as being at the other end.

4.2.1.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we suggest that *ní láti-* is not a stylistic variant of *gbódọ́* "must". Rather, *ní láti*-VP is a paraphrase of *gbódọ́* VP. Their relationship can be compared with that between *pọ̀n* dandan "compulsory" and *gbódọ́* "must". For example, *ọ gbódọ́ ọ̀p* "He must go" can be paraphrased as either (13) or (14):

(13) *ọ pọ̀n* dandan *kí ọ gbódọ́*  
  *He compulsory that he go*  
  "It is compulsory that he goes"
That gbôdô "must" can be so paraphrased does not mean that the two paraphrastic items are its stylistic variants. Hermeren (1978:82-84) clearly distinguishes between a stylistic variant and a paraphrase. In her opinion, "When we say that one sentence is a paraphrase of another sentence with a modal, that does not necessarily mean that both sentences can be used with identical stylistical implications". Two of the examples she gives are:

(15) May your cabbages wither away!
(16) I hope your cabbages will wither away

Her comments on these two sentences are that (16) lacks the type of an invocation of supernatural power noted in (15) hence, their relationship is just that of a partial synonymy between the modal and the paraphrase. This is the type of relationship also noted between gbôdô VP and nî lâti-VP.

"Will" and "Shall" are examples of two items, given by Perkins (1982:264), which are contextually determined formal variants. His reason for classifying them as variants is because they both realize a common core meaning. Examples of items that can also be classified as variants in Yoruba are discussed in Chapter 7 of this work. As both nî lâti- and gbôdô do not share the same core meaning, we conclude that they are distinct items which should not be classified as variants. If this is accepted, then we see no other basis for arguing the modality of nî lâti-.

4.2.2. Reasons Why We Regard yôô "will" a Modal Verb

Yôô "will" is also a very controversial item. Most Yoruba grammarians have adopted without question the suggestion made by Crowther over a hundred
years ago that *yóò* “will” marks the future time in the language. The status of *yóò* “will” as a future tense marker has since been questioned by Oyelaran (1982a). Oyelaran’s ideas are important. They lead us to question further the bases on which the item *yóò* “will” is established as a future tense marker in the language. Though we are not denying that the item can occur in sentences which have future reference, all times are possible:

(17) (a) Ọlú yóò lọ lánàà
Olú will go yesterday
"Olú would have left yesterday"

(b) Òmí yóò lọ lóníí
I will go today
"I will leave today"

(c) Ìwọ́ yóò lọ lóla
You will go tomorrow
"You will leave tomorrow"

So, that the Yoruba *yóò* is translated into English “will” is not sufficient evidence for calling *yóò* a future tense marker. Even in English, studies have shown that the use of “will” does not necessarily indicate future tense. The point is that the future, being uncertain, tends to be referred to by various kinds of “uncertain items” in different languages. Yoruba, having a tendency to develop the modal system, has made use of part of that system for one of its means of talking about the future. Note that in certain circumstances, especially with some motion verbs, the progressive can also be used in sentences which have future reference as in:

(18) (a) Mo ọ̀ lọ̀ lóla
I PROG go tomorrow
"I am going tomorrow"
(b) Ọ̀ n bọ̀ lá́jẹ̀
He PROG come not long
"He is coming soon"

Note too that in dependent clauses introduced by conditional and temporal conjunction ṭí "if", yóó "will" cannot be used to indicate the future:

(19) Ṿí Olú bá rà, mo lè rà
"If Olu buys, I may buy"

This is not to say that yóó "will" cannot occur in dependent clauses but when it does, it is given a volitional reading:

(20) Ṿí Olú yóó bá rà, mo lè rà
If Olu will buy, I may buy
"If Olu is willing to buy, I may buy"

Yóó also often has strong volitional implications even when relating to future tense. For example, Yóó kàn jóọ̀ bì̀ sè só lạ̀ ̀ṣẹ̀ nà̀kànkàn "He will just sit there doing nothing" expresses a characteristic habitual activity which is not restricted to the future time. Similarly, Gbòngà àn ní yóó gbà tó ènìyạ̀n mèwàá
"That hall will sit ten people" expresses general capacity.

More importantly, because all modal verbs allow "forward shifts in time in the verb phrase" (Rigter 1986:370) that follows them, they can occur in sentences with future reference e.g.

(21) (a) Olú yóó wá lọ̀là
"Olu will come tomorrow"

(b) Olú gbóòdò wá lọ̀là
"Olu must come tomorrow"

(c) Olú lè wá lọ̀là
"Olu may come tomorrow"
In these three sentences, the subjects are related to the predicates in the same way. They differ only through what Ducrot and Todorov (1981:313) call the modus which is "an attitude on the part of the speaking subject to the content ... of an utterance". Hence, we believe that Yoo should not be separated from the rest and designated as tense marker. For, according to Chung and Timberlake (1985:243),

"Any future event is potential rather than actual, and there are more degrees of possibility depending to some extent on the speaker's (or source's) convictions: a future event may be evaluated as relatively certain, merely possible, conceivable or unlikely, and so on".

Because of the characteristics of Yoo mentioned above, we include it among the modal verbs to be discussed in this work.

We have not come across any systematic analysis of the Yoruba modal verbs. So, unlike in the preceding chapters where previous studies are first reviewed, we shall go straight into the treatment of the semantics of these items. In our analysis, we shall try to follow Coates (1983) which is one of the most recent corpus based treatments of modality. Coates' approach has proved fruitful in the study of English language. In the rest of this chapter, we shall extend this approach to Yoruba thereby giving the approach further support. We begin our discussion with the modal meanings of Yoo "will". The pages of the example quoted from the narrative text are put in curly brackets i.e. "{}".

4.3. The Modal Meanings of Yoo "will"

4.3.1. Predictability

This gives the sense "I confidently predict that it is the case that p ..." (Coates 1983:175). It indicates an assumption made by the speaker concerning the prevailing state of affairs. The following examples illustrate this meaning.
In (22) (a), speaker X reports a boy to Y and in (22) (b), Y asks a question but instead of answering the question, X says with confidence in (22) (c) that she knows that Y will support the boy. X's confidence here is based on the previous behaviour of Y i.e. her own experience. X must have supported the boy more than once. In (23), the speaker's confidence is based on common sense. In his opinion, Jane would have waited in expectation for hours and would have gone to sleep. It will be noted that both examples have third person subjects. This is one of the features of "predictability" use of yôô "will". Another important feature is that the main predication is always either in the present or in the past. While the main predication in (22) is in the present, the predication in (23) is about a past event.

4.3.1.1. Harmonic Combination

The harmonic clause, Mo ti mó pé "I have known that" in X's statement in (22) is used to show that he is making a confident statement about what she knows of Y from experience. It would be inconsistent for X to add the clause, sùgbón kò da' mi lojú "but I am not sure" because the statement excludes the
possibility of the speaker not knowing that Y will support the boy. The use of the harmonic adverbials is also often crucial, just as in French and German (Ladd (personal communication)), for distinguishing the “predictability” sense from “prediction” sense. For example, while Yóó ti dé báyi “He will have arrived now” is “predictability”, Yóó ti dé níwọyí òla “He will have arrived by this time of tomorrow” is “prediction”.

4.3.1.2. Syntactic Cooccurrence

"Predictability" yóó “will” freely cooccurs with stative verbs. An example of this is (23). In (24), two points should be noted. First, the main predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking which extends to the moment of speaking and second, the occurrence of the phase marker in the environment of the progressive is obligatory in this type of construction. Without the phase marker, (24) would be given a “prediction” reading.

(24) nígbà tí wón bá bá ìkú òdè ... [à]wón ọlọpaa ... when that they meet dead hunter ... they police ...

á ti máa sá sòkè sá sódò (p. 143)
will PH PROG run up and down

"After seeing the dead hunter ... the police ... would have started running hither and thither"

4.3.2. Prediction

This can be paraphrased as “I predict that ...” and the prediction is always in the future (Coates 1983:177). Example:

(25) Qwó ó tẹ gbogbo ọjọn [p. 9]
Hand will catch all you
"You (pl.) will all be captured"

The “prediction” use of yóó “will” refers either to a definite or an indefinite time in the future and occurs freely with an inanimate subject.
4.3.3. Volition

This can be paraphrased by "willing, want or intention". Its predication refers to a single future event. Examples:

(26) (a) Ọọ o ọ yá mi lówó ni? [p. 29]
Q you will lend me in money FOC?
"Are you willing to lend me some money?"

(b) N o bá o sọnà owó [p. 29]
I will () you will find way money
"I am willing to help you find some means of getting some money"

The volitional use of ọọ "will" is incompatible with an inanimate subject and a phase marker, thus, (N o ti yá o lówó "I will have lent you some money") has a "predictability" meaning.

4.3.4. Omnitemporal

Lyons (1977:680), defines omnitemporal as follows:

An omnitemporal proposition, ... is one that says that something has been, is and always will be so : it is a proposition whose truth-value is constant for all values of t; in a finite or infinite set of time-points or time-intervals, {t₁, t₂, t₃, ... tₙ}.

Haegeman (1983:43) then classifies the over-all meaning of omnitemporality into (i) inference (timeless truth), (ii) habit and (iii) disposition (capacity). The major difference between the three is that the time-span of inference cover all time while the other two are "restricted to (part of) the life-time of their specific subject referents" (Haegeman 1983:76). Other differences noted are as follow:
4.3.4.1. Inference

This is the use of ụọọ "will" for "timeless truth" which according to Palmer (1980:112) may be proved inductively. Example:

(27) Omi ni ụọọ se ọja jina [p. 3]
Water FOC will do fish well-cook
"Fish will get cooked in water"

Simply put, despite the fact that the fish lives in water, we still need the same water to cook it. The following characteristics are noted: (i) the subject is generic and (ii) any occurrence of either the progressive or the phase marker or a future time adverbial narrows down the time-sphere.

4.3.4.2. Habitual

This indicates what Palmer (1980:112.) regards as a characteristic activity. Example:

(28) Eni tí ụọọ tí ilé-ịwe dé, tí ụọọ tún padà lọ pọnmi
He that will from school come, that will again back go
tí ụọọ gbále, tí ụọọ fọpp [p. 20]
fetch water, that will sweep, that will wash clothes

"He will return from school, fetch water, sweep the floor and wash clothes"

Characteristics: It always has a specific animate subject and the occurrence of the progressive or phase marker or a future time adverbial narrows down the time-sphere.

4.3.4.3. Disposition

This expresses general capacity. Example:

(29) Gbọnàn yen ụọọ gbà tó ènlyàn mọwàà
Hall that will take equal people ten
"That hall will take ten people"
Characteristics: It cooccurs with only non-animate specific subjects. The occurrence of either the progressive or phase marker or future time adverbial also narrows down its time-sphere.

4.4. The Modal Meanings of lè “can”

4.4.1. Possibility

This has the sense “it is possible that ...” or to use Chung and Timberlake’s (1985:242) terms - “there is at least one world one could imagine in which ...”. Following Coates (1983:131), we note the following examples which show the syntactic and semantic cooccurrences of lè “can”, the range of time reference possible in its use and its hedging quality.

4.4.1.1. Possible Time Reference

Main Predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking

(30) Bí mo bá mọ pé wọn lè pa ọ ni, n bá jèwọ [p.10]
If I know that they may kill you FOC I would confess
"If I had known that you could be executed, I would have confessed"

Main Predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking which extends up to the moment of speaking

(31) O sò lè mà rò pé oró tí o dá mi ni òmi ná dá ọ san [p.10]
You may continue think that suffer which you suffer me before FOC I revenge
"You may now be thinking that I am avenging the wrong I suffered from you"
Main Predication refers to time subsequent to the moment of speaking

(32) 世界各地的汉族人 contextualizing kankan t' o lè gbà lọdọ iyà ṣe ọpọ̀ (p. 53)
You that NEG have change any that you can get in place groundnut seller
"You do not have any other money to collect again from the groundnut seller"

4.4.1.2. Concessive Use

"Possibility" le "can" can occur in a subordinate clause "expressing a state or condition in spite of which the truth or validity of the main clause holds good" (Hartmann and Stork 1972:47).

(33) ọjọkọkan ọmọ ọmọ maa ri mi ọfọ́ (p. 53)
Once in while FOC you will continue see me in house
ṣugbón iwo lè maa ọfọ́, but you may continue enter house,
kí o maa jàde bi ọbá ti wù ọ (p. 55)
"Although you will seldom see me at home, you can enter and leave the house as you like"

4.4.1.3. Hedging Quality

Hedging quality is defined by Coates (1983:134) as the way "the speaker avoids committing himself to the truth of the proposition" e.g.

(34) ọjọ iroṣọ wọn lè lọ gbá bọjulù (wọn sì lè maa ọjọ) (p. 37)
In evening they may go play ball (they may even not go
"In the evening, they may go out to play football
(or they may not go)

In (34), the speaker is not sure whether the boys do go out to play football in the evening or not.
4.4.1.4. Syntactic Cooccurrence

Le “can”, in its possibility use, cooccurs freely with the following syntactic and semantic features.

Phase Marker

(35) Ṣ’rí won mú ju bí oun qanan ti le laláa telé lọ [p. 15]
    He see them take than as he himself have may dream before go
    "He caught them unaware more than he could even have expected"

Stative Verbs

(36) Ọ lè wà nílé, ọ sì lè m’a sí nílé [p. 60]
    He may be in home, he even may not be in home
    "He may be at home or he may not be at home"

Progressive Aspect

(37) Wón ... le m’á wá inú báńki kiri báyá àwọn
    Ṣ’rí ohun t’ìwọ wá wá qanan [p. 137]
    They may PROG search inside bank around whether they will find thing that they come look itself
    "They may be searching the bank whether they will be able to find what they have come to look for"

4.4.1.5. Harmonic Combination

Le “can” is found in conjunction with some modally harmonic adverbs and some phrases which have hedging quality. In the following example, adverbs and phrases with hedging quality are underlined:

(38) (a) Bóyá oun tilé le bèèrè lọwọ rẹ pé ibo
    ni báà báà àdìewù wà [p. 58].
    Perhaps he may ask in hand his that where FOC father Odiewu is
    "Perhaps he may be able to find out from him where Odiewu is"
4.4.2. Ability

This can be paraphrased as "is able to ... is capable of ...". It can either be a physical or learnt ability (Asher 1982:169-171) or a mental ability (Hermeren 1978:102). Examples:

(39) Won le jë ju kôkôrô lô [p. 37]  
They can dance more insect go  
"They can dance more than an insect"

(40) Ò n foju së lwë kîkâ dîdîf, kî ò lë sq Geësl [p. 59]  
He PROG put eye into book reading small, COMP he can speak English  
"He is taking some time off to study so as to be able to speak English"

(41) Omi gbígbônà ti dàpâ mo tûtù, âfi Olôrun lô lë yanjù rë [p. 194]  
Water hot has mixed with cold, only God alone FOC he can settle it  
"Both warm and cold water have mixed together, only God is capable to separate them"
The following characteristics noted by Coates (1983:89) also apply to the three examples: (i) the subject is animate and has agentive function; (ii) the verb denotes action/activity; (iii) the possibility of the action is determined by inherent properties of the subject (including what the subject has learnt).

4.4.3. Permission

This has the sense "you are allowed to" or "you are permitted to". This use of lè "can" signals a permission given by the speaker or a general permission irrespective of who does the permitting. The following are some examples from the corpus:

(42) bo o bá fê jeun ni tîrê ... o lè dîde [p. 32]
    If NEG want eat in you ... you can stand
    "If you do not want to eat ... you can stand (and leave)"

(43) O lè màa wâ gbê lôdô mi [p. 55]
    You can come gbé lôdô mi
    "You may/can come and live at my place"

The following characteristics are also true of these examples: they have (i) animate subject and (ii) agentive verbs (Coates 1983:87).

4.4.3.1. Harmonic Combination

The harmonic clause bo o bá fê "If you do not like" shows that any permission granted by the use of lè is neutral in terms of the speaker’s wishes. It is left entirely to the addressee to decide if he wishes to carry out the action.

4.4.3.2. Syntactic Cooccurrence

"Permission" lè "can" does not cooccur with an inanimate subject or a phase marker, hence the following are not acceptable:

(44) *ôdjò o lè rô
    Rain HTS may fall
    "There may be rain"
4.5. The Modal Meanings of gbodo “must”

4.5.1. Necessity

This has the sense “the only possible conclusion from the evidence available is that ...” or to use Chung and Timberlake’s (1985:242) terms “in all alternative worlds that one could imagine at this time, $x$ is ...”. Examples:

(46) Lọsọlọ to wọ sọrun ti kóbọ, ojú rẹ ti gbọdọ ti nákan (p. 5)
Lace that he wear in neck has fade, eye his has must see something
"The lace garment he is wearing has faded, he must have suffered"

(47) Ọ sà ní oye ẹnlàyān tì oun ganan ti fọwọ ara oun pa
It (41) have number people that he even have use hand body his kill
Bi ko ba to ogun, yoo fere to bee. O tile gbodo ju bee lo (p. 222)
If not up to twenty, it will almost up to that. It must even be more
"At least he has also killed a number of people, if the number of those killed by him is not up to twenty, it will be nearing that in fact, they must be more.

In (46), the speaker’s confidence is overtly expressed and the reason for his confidence is given (the condition of the lace garment). In (47), the speaker starts with an unsubstantiated assertion yọdọ fẹrẹ “they will” but replaces this with a substantiated one gbọdọ jù bẹẹ “must be more”. The harmonic modifying verb tilẹ “even” overtly expresses the speaker’s confidence. It is a fact that the “necessity” use of gbọdọ “must” applies to state and activity either in the past or in the present but this does not mean that the item cannot be used to indicate the speaker’s confidence in a future state or activity. Example:

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In (48), the main predication refers to the future. The harmonic phrase Ṣọ mọ pé “You will know that” also indicates that the statement is subjective. (49), on the other hand, is an objective use of gbódò “must” based on pure logical necessity without any element of speaker-involvement.

(49) Ò pé ni, ò yá ni, òmọọse gbódò yáṣe lọdọ ọgbá [p. 75]
      It late FOC, it early FOC, apprentice must separate
      work in place master
      "Sooner or later, an apprentice must complete his
      period of apprenticeship and start practising his
      craft"

4.5.1.1. Syntactic Cooccurrence

Phase Marker: In (46), the phase marker precedes gbódò “must” but as shown in (50), the phase marker can follow gbódò “must”. Gbódò “must”, while occurring with the phase marker, can refer to a past state or activity stretching up to the moment of speaking as in (46), or it may refer to a future state or activity contemplated from the present as in (50)

(50) Kí ó tóò dé, owó àwọn gbódò ti bùrèkè
      COMP he before come, money their must grow
      considerably
      "Before he comes back, their money must
      have increased considerably"

Stative: See examples (46) and (49).

Progressive Aspect: There is no example of a progressive aspect alone cooccurring with gbódò “must” in the text. The one we invented (shown in (51)) includes the occurrence of the phase marker and the sentence is given a reading in which the time he starts going precedes the time of speaking:
4.5.1.2. Harmonic Combination

(48) and (49) are examples where gbọ́dọ́ “must” expresses the same degree of modality with the harmonic clauses Ọ́ọ́ mọ́ pé “You will know that” and Ọ́ pé ni ọ́ ọ́ yá ní “Sooner or later” respectively. In such cases, the harmonic forms are said to be mutually reinforcing” (Coates 1983:77). There are no examples of phrases with hedging quality cooccurring with gbọ́dọ́ “must” in the text but an example of these can be invented:

(52) Mo lèró pé ọ́ gbọ́dọ́ ti dé
    I think say he must have come
    “I think he must have come”

(52) is subjective in that it shows the speaker’s attitude to the proposition in the main predicate.

4.5.2. Obligation or Compulsion

The use of gbọ́dọ́ “must” here involves the authority of the speaker. It is the speaker who states that an event must hold “in all subsequent worlds” (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246). Example:

(53) È gbọ́dọ́ sè náírà méjì kù [p. 43]
    You (pl.) must break naira two left
    “You must leave a two naira balance”

In (53), the speaker is the person in authority telling the addressee that they are obliged to leave a two naira balance. There are cases where the speaker exerts power over himself. Leech (1981:72) refers to such cases as self-compulsion in which some power is exerted on oneself through “a sense of duty, through self discipline, or merely through a sense of expediency”. The
following are examples:

(54) Önì tí o wọlé mi yí, mo gbọdọ wẹ ẹ ni
Today that you enter house me, I must wash it
"Today that you enter my house, I must
celebrate it"

(55) Mo gbọdọ dè ilé Millioná kí n kí wọn níbè
I must reach house Millionaire let I greet
them there
"I must go to Millionaire's house to say hello
to them there"

In (54) and (55), the reasons for the self imposed compulsion are explicitly stated. The use of gbọdọ “must” for an obligation also has the following characteristics: (i) the subject is normally animate and (ii) It also excludes the occurrence of the phase marker.

4.6. Relations between the Modal Verbs

Both philosophers and linguists have recognized two distinct kinds of meaning associated with the modals. The names most commonly used are “epistemic” and “deontic/root”. As stated earlier, Chung and Timberlake (1985:242) define epistemic modality in terms of actual world and the alternative worlds. According to them, the “epistemic mode characterizes the event with respect to the actual world and its possible alternatives. If the event belongs to the actual world, it is actual, if it belongs to some alternative world (although not necessarily to the actual world), it is possible; and so on”. They also define the deontic/root as characterizing “an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation. Given the actual world at any point in time, there are a number of worlds that could conceivably develop out of that world. The deontic/(root) ... restricts these subsequent worlds with respect to an event, such that the event has to belong to some or all of the subsequent worlds (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246). For example, Ô gbọdọ ní iyàwọ can
mean:

(56) I (confidently) infer that he is married
(57) He is obliged to be married

The first meaning is called the epistemic while the second is called the deontic/root (Lyons 1977:791). It will be noted that the relationship between the deontic/root and epistemic meanings of a given modal is non-arbitrary. For example, the same modal used to convey a deontic/root meaning under “permission” is used to convey epistemic meaning under “obligation”.

In addition, both deontic/root and epistemic modality can be given either a subjective or an objective interpretation. While a subjective modalized utterance is a statement of opinion, an objectively modalized utterance contains “an unqualified or categorical, I-say-so component” (Lyons 1977:799). In an objectively modalized utterance, the speaker is committed to the factuality of the information. For example, $\text{gb}ó́dó́lo$ “You must go” can be given an objective interpretation meaning that the addressee is expected to go because this is what everybody does. What the speaker says to be the cause of an objective modalized utterance can be denied or questioned, accepted or referred to by the complement of a factive predication (Lyons 1977:799 and Velupillai 1983:86). The following are examples:

(58) $\text{gb}ó́dó́lo$ ló
You (pl) must go
"You must go"
Iró ni "That is not true"
Lóóóta? "Is that true?"
N o gbà "I don’t agree"
Mo gbó "I agree"
Mo mò "I know"

If the above utterance is given a subjective interpretation, it means that the speaker is subjectively qualifying his commitment to the possibility of the
addressee going to the said place. An appropriate clause Mo rò pé “I think that”
can be added to the utterance to show the speaker’s commitment.
Subjectively modalized statements are not statements of facts hence in
reporting (58), what we have is:

(59) Œ ní ìùn rò pé a gbódò ọ̀ọ
    He say he think say we must go
    "He says he thinks we must go"

To report the objectively modalized version of (58), what we have is:

(60) Œ ní a gbódò ọ̀ọ
    He say we must go
    "He says we must go"

Given the parallelism just mentioned, it is appropriate to comment on the
differences between the two modal meanings. Two of the differences between
deontic and epistemic modalities noted by Lyons (1977:823-825) are “that there
is an intrinsic connexion between deontic modality and futurity” and that
“deontic necessity typically proceeds, or derives, from some source or cause”.
Another major difference is that while a deontic modal normally excludes the
presence of the phase marker, the epistemic modal goes well with it. Examples:

(61) Permission: *Ọ ti lè ọ̀ọ ẹ̀rẹ ní ìta
(62) Possibility: Ọ ti lè ọ̀ọ ẹ̀rẹ ní ìta
    "He may have gone out to play"

4.7. Modal Combination

It is possible to combine either gbódò “must” yóò “will” with lè “can”. When
this happens, lè “can” always follows the other modals. Examples:

(63) (a) Ọ gbódò lè şẹ ẹ̀
    He must can do it
    "He must be able to do it"
When modals occur together, they are said to be mutually reinforcing in significance. Both yóóo “will” and gbódó “must” cannot occur together.

4.8. Summary

In this chapter, we have made a straightforward presentation of a classification of the Yoruba Modal Verbs using the approach proposed by Coates (1983) for treating the semantics of modality. Examples are taken from a narrative text to avoid, as much as we can, a subjective interpretation of modal syntax and semantics.
4.9. Notes and References to Chapter 4

1. The English glosses given for the modal verbs here are not quite accurate because, according to Afolayan (1968:350)**, "there is a many-one relationship between the modal forms in English and those in Yoruba; for example can, could, may and might are matched by Yoruba le". Despite this many-one relationship, we shall use the glosses given to these three modal verbs here all through this work.

2. The terms "meaning", "use" and "sense" will be used in the rest of the chapter with the three having almost the same meaning.
5.1. Introduction

Negation has also been recognized as another complex phenomenon in linguistic analysis. In his work on raising in English, Postal (1974:239) notes that "the facts of negativity are everywhere extremely complicated and poorly understood". What applies to negation in English, to a great extent, also applies to negation in Yoruba. One of the devices used in the language "in order to effect standard negation" is the negative verb (Payne 1978:52). As stated in Chapter 2, the negative verb and its variants belong to the auxiliary subclass of verb. In this chapter, we shall examine the negative verb and its variants to see how each of them interacts with other items in a given sentence. We start by reviewing Banjo's (1974) work on negation and then proceed to discuss the negation of some constituents including the quantifiers. We conclude the chapter by presenting arguments to show that the Yoruba negative verb is not a reinforcer (Oke 1982).

5.2. Banjo (1974)

Banjo (1974) defines negation on the basis of its syntactic and distributional criteria and goes on to talk about the different types of negative verbs in the language. He also advances arguments for the recognition of the following negative verb classification:

*Kò and its variants ô, ì* are the sentence negator.

(1) Olu kò ọ
Olu NEG go
"Olu didn't go"
$K\$ is the negator of the NP.

(2) Olu $K\$ ni $l\$ 
Olu NEG POC he go 
"It was not Olu who went"

$Má/mó/yé$ is the imperative negator.

(3) Má $l\$ 
NEG go 
"Do not go"

$Má$ negates part of the predicate phrase that follows it in a sentence.

(4) O lè má $l\$ 
He may NEG go 
"He may not go"

$Tí$ and $mó$ are preverbal and postverbal adverbials respectively, their presence unambiguously marking sentence negation in non-interrogative sentence.

(5) (a) Olu $k\$ $l\$ $m\$ 
Olu NEG go again 
"Olu has stopped going"

(b) Olu $k\$ tí $l\$ 
Olu NEG () go 
"Olu has not gone"

5.3. Some Comments on Banjo (1974)

Banjo's analysis is straightforward enough but it is not without its problems especially when it comes to possible interpretation of his examples. For instance, though sentence (1) permits a sentential performative paraphrase of the type "I say of Olu that it is not true that he went" (Payne 1985:201)**, the sentence also has several other uses in which a subsentential constituent is negated. Depending on the context of discourse in which (1) occurs, it admits
of two non-sentential readings paraphrasable as:

(6) (a) It was not Olu who went (If Ojo went)
(b) Olu didn't go (Olu did something else)

In Gabbay and Moravcsik's (1978) view, a sentence made up of a subject and a predicate such as (1) contains a subsentential negation. They do not deny that (1) can be interpreted as involving sentence negation as claimed by Banjo, but apart from this, (1) still has additional uses such as the ones exemplified in (6).

Payne (1985:200)** supports this view when he states that as "the contextual articulation of the sentence varies, so does the apparent scope of negation, and in such a way that what is negated is the contextually free information".

The view of these two writers is made more explicit by Aldridge (1982:109) when he gives as an example the sentence "Milton did not write Paradise Lost" and states that the sentence is in three ways ambiguous:

it may be that the speaker is denying Milton's authorship; he may be denying that he physically wrote the poem, perhaps implying that he dictated it; or the negation may be centred upon Paradise Lost, implying that some other work, e.g. Paradise Regained was written by Milton.

To account for the contextual variation of the use and the interpretation of a sentence that contains a negative verb, Gabbay and Moravcsik (1978) associate a set of elements V* with each basic element V of the same basic category. Thus, if V=Olu then V* contains other names different from Olu. If V=ô "he" then V* contains the variables mo "I", o "you" etc. "The choice of V* depends on V. For example if V has an antonym, then the leading element of V* will be this antonym denoted by V**" (Gabbay and Moravscik 1978:259). In short, V* is the family of all those members of the same category as V that are incompatible.
5.3.1. The Negative Adverbials

If kọ does not necessarily mark sentence negation, how then do we account for the claim that kọ occurs only with the negative adverbials such as mọ “again” and tii “has” which, according to Banjo, mark sentential negation, and does not occur with negative forms such as alaikorpri “the fact of not singing”. Observe (7):

(7) (a) Olu kọ kọriri mọ
     "Olu has stopped singing"

(b) *Olu qe alaikorpri mọ
     "Olu do the fact of not singing again"

The non-cooccurrence of the negative form alaikorpri “the fact of not singing” and the negative adverbial mọ “again” as shown in (7) (b) can be explained by the fact that alaikorpri “the fact of not singing” is a nominal derived from the verb kọriri “sing” by the prefixation of the derivational morphemes onf and a! as in (8).

(8) Onf+a!+kọrin=Alaikorpri "the fact of not singing"

Nagucka’s (1978:82) comment on the type of negation in (8) is that it is “limited in its scope only to the lexical item and has no bearing on the other elements of the sentence. It is of local nature ... and it does not affect the relations that exist among the elements of the sentence”. Bamgbose (1986:32)** calls (8) a derivation in which the negation of a “constituent is lexicalized”. Awobuluuiy (1972:108)** also refers to a nominal such as the one in (8) as “negated nominalization” and Zimmer (1964:70)** calls it an abstract noun which expresses “some sort of opposition to the verb” from which it is derived. As “adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns” (Schachter
1985:20), the non-cooccurrence of the negative form alaikorin "the fact of not singing" and the negative adverbial m' "again" becomes clear.

Note that if kô is also nominalized, it can no longer occur with m' "again". For example, from the underlined VP in (9) (a) which contains kô, the nominal in (9) (b) can be derived but whereas (9) (a) can occur with the negative adverbial m' "again", as in (9) (c), a sentence containing the nominal in (9) (b) cannot as shown in (9) (d).

(9)  
(a) O se e kô gbowô  
He did it NEG get money  
"He did it without receiving any financial reward"

(b) Aşeègbowô "that which is done without one receiving any financial reward"

(c) O se e kô gbowô m'  
He did it NEG get money again  
"He did it though he has stopped receiving any financial reward"

(d) (i) O se aşeègbowô  
"He did that which is done without any financial reward"

(ii) *O se aşeègbowô m'  
"He did that which is done without any financial reward again"

5.3.2. Nominalizing the Negative Verb

This has now brought us to another point raised by Banjo in the paper under discussion. According to him, "only m' and never kô" (Banjo 1974:45)** is used in nominalization. This point, he argues, supports the claim that "m' is used for negating units other than sentences" (Banjo 1974:45)**. (9) (a) and (b) are good counterexamples to this claim. It may be the case that because of the deletion of the consonant /k/ of kô in (9) (b) (see (9) (a)) and the assimilation of the
stranded vowel /ɔ/ into the vowel preceding it, one might think that (9) (b) is not the nominalization of a VP in which the negative verb, ko, occurs.

Against this last view is an explicit account of the type of deletion and post-deletion processes taking place in (9) (a) and (b) presented by Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:42-43)** which can be summarized as follows. Consonant deletion occurs when an item such as ko follows “one formative and precedes another” in a sentence. After the deletion of the consonant, the stranded vowel is then assimilated into the one preceding it. This simple rule clearly accounts for the processes taking place in (9) (a) and (b). First, ko finds itself between the pronominal it “it” and the VP gbowo “get money”. Its consonant gets deleted and the stranded vowel is assimilated into the preceding vowel.

5.3.3. Sentential and Sub-sentential Negation: A Critique

Finally, that a sentential and a subsentential negation classification of the negative verbs should not be based on their cooccurrence with the “negative adverbials” (Banjo 1974:45) mọ “again” and tî is shown by the fact that another negative verb, mà, classified by Banjo as a subsentential negator, occurs freely with these “adverbials”.

\[
\begin{align*}
(10) & \quad \text{(a) \quad o lè mà lọ mọ} \\
& \quad \text{He may NEG go again} \\
& \quad \text{"He may not go again"} \\
& \quad \text{(b) \quad o lè mà tî lọ} \\
& \quad \text{He may ( ) go} \\
& \quad \text{"He may not have gone"}
\end{align*}
\]

The cooccurrence of the negative verb mà with both tî and mọ “again” shows that the functions of both tî and mọ “again” are different from the ones suggested by Banjo.
5.4. Modifier Negation

The cooccurrence of the negative verb kò and the “negative adverbial” mò “again” can be explained not in terms of sentence negation marking, as stated by Banjo, but in terms of the interaction of modifiers and negation. When the negative verb occurs with modifiers, negation can apply to the modifier or the VP. This is because if one says Kò kòrin mò “He has stopped singing”, “each part of the sentence”, according to Gabbay and Moravcsik (1978:255), “should have some role in conveying the information intended”. If the intended information is the denial or the criticism of the modified phrase without the modifier playing any role, one would have simply said Kò kòrin “He did not sing”. The inclusion of the modifier in the sentence indicates that it has a role in conveying information for “it would be positively misleading” (Gabbay and Moravcsik 1978:255) to use Kò kòrin mò “He has stopped singing” in order to convey the information that the subject in question did not sing.

In the case of such adverbials as mò “again” classified as “durational adverbial” by Moravcsik (1982:107), the negation stays with the adverbial. Thus, Kò kòrin mò “He has stopped singing/He is no more singing” is the negation of Kò kòrin sibè “He is still singing”. This shows that if mò “again” is V, one of its V* is sibè “still”. When the adverb is negated in this way, we have a case of “jumping” (Gabbay and Moravcsik 1978) in which the negative verb and the element negated are not adjacent syntactic units. Other instances of “jumping” are the cooccurrence of the negative verb with the class of adverbs classified by Moravcsik (1982:108) as “containers” and the ones classified by Oke (1974:241)** as the manner adverbials both of which are exemplified by (11) (a) and (b) respectively.
(11) (a)  Wọn kò parí rẹ ni ọjọ kan  
They NEG complete it in one day  
"They didn't complete it in a day"

(b)  Olu kò rìn jẹ jẹ  
Olu NEG walk gently  
"Olu didn't walk gently"

(11) (a) says that it took longer than a day to finish it i.e. "They finish it not-in-a-day". (11) (b) says "He walked not-gently" i.e. O'rin kemgkemg "He walked briskly".

If we now turn to the "referential" and the "instantaneous" adverbials (Moravcsik 1982:108) like nị ọjọ eti "in Friday" and nị owọ "at the moment" respectively, what we find is that negation applies not to the adverbial but to the VP.

(12) (a)  Kọ wá nị ọjọ eti  
NEG come in day Friday  
"He didn't come on Friday"

(b)  Kọ kọwé nị owọ (Kọ kọwé lọwọ)  
NEG write book in hand  
"He is not writing at the moment"

(12) (a) asserts that on Friday no act-of-coming took place while (12) (b) says that he is not writing at the moment but something else is in progress.

From these examples, it is clear that the adverbial mọ "again" does not mark sentence negation. Like some of the other adverbials, it attracts the NEG element hence instead of the VP it modifies being negated, it is the adverbial itself that is negated. As shown in (10) (a), the adverbial mọ "again" occurs freely with the so-called constituent negator, mā. When it does this, again, it is the adverbial that is negated, not the VP. For example, in O'le mā korin mọ "It is possible that he may not sing again", what is negated is not "everything that
follows it (the negative verb, màf) in the VP" (Banjo 1974:42)** but rather, as in Ko körin màf "He is no more singing/He has stopped singing" which negates Ó if körin tépọ "He was singing before", it is Ó le körin tépọ "He could sing before".

5.5. Focus Negation

As we have stated above, a simple sentence such as Ó pa Dàda "He killed Dada" allows for not only a NP negation either in the subject or object position but also a verb negation. This does not mean that a specific element in a sentence or even the sentence itself cannot be focus negated; some facts about focus negation which are not often noted by some Yoruba linguists are worth noting here. The way an item is focussed for negation with the negative verb kò is different from the way the same item is focussed for negation with the negative verb kọ. To focus Olu for negation with kò in (13) (a), what we have is (13) (b).

(13) (a) Olu u lo
    Olu HTS go
    "Olu went"

    (b) Olu ni ko lo
    Olu FOC NEG go
    "It was Olu who didn't go"

This is quite unlike Nupe where the focus marker does not occur in the negative (Heine and Reh 1984:159). Below, we discuss the operations for associating any element or the sentence itself with kọ.

5.5.1. Subject NP

The element is fronted to the sentence-initial position and a third person singular or plural pronominal is inserted in its former position. The following should also be noted. First, if the subject NP is a pronoun, it has to be nominalized before being fronted. This is exemplified in (14) (e) and (f).
Second, in speech, the third person singular pronominal is often inserted no matter what the number of the NP is hence, instead of (14) (c) and (d), (14) (g) and (h) can be heard.

(14) (a) Olu ọ 1ọ
Olu HTS go
"Olu went"

(b) Olu kọ ni ọ 1ọ
Olu NEG FOC he go
"Olu was not the one who went"

(c) Olu ọti ọjọ ọ 1ọ
Olu and Ojo HTS go
"Olu and Ojo went"

(d) Olu ọti ọjọ kọ ni wọn 1ọ
Olu and Ojo NEG FOC they go
"Olu and Ojo were not the ones who went"

(e) ọ 1ọ
He go
"He went"

(f) Òun kọ ni ọ 1ọ
He NEG FOC he go
"He was not the one who went"

(g) Wọn 1ọ
They go
"They went"

(h) Àwọn kọ ni ọ 1ọ
They NEG FOC he go
"They were not the ones who went"

5.5.2. Object NP
The process that applies to an NP in subject position applies here too. The only difference is that no pronominal is inserted in the gap left behind by the NP object.
(15) (a) ọ na Ade
   "He hit Ade"

   (b) Ade kọ ni ọ na
       Ade NEG FOC he hit
       "Ade was not the one he hit"

5.5.3. Verb

In most cases, the verb is nominalized by the reduplication of its initial consonant and the insertion of the vowel /i/ with a high tone between the double consonants. It is this derived nominal that is now fronted while the verb itself is neither replaced nor deleted.

(16) (a) ọ lọ
       He go
       "He went"

   (b) Lọ̀g kọ ni ọ lọ
       Going NEG FOC he go
       "It was not the act of going that he performed"

5.5.4. Adjective

The adjective can be negated either outside or inside the NP it modifies. What applies to an NP either in the subject or object position without an adjective, as described above, applies to an NP in which an adjective modifies a noun. In both cases, however, the adjective is the item negated. (17) (b) and (d) negate the NP in (17) (a) and (c). To negate an adjective outside the NP it modifies, the adjective is first nominalized without any overt marking and focussed. It is then relativized before it is finally negated. While (17) (e) is the negation of the adjective in (17) (a), (17) (f) is the negation of the same item in (17) (c).

(17) (a) Ọmọ dádá ú lọ
       Child black HTS go
       "A black child left"
(b) Omo dudu kọ ni ọ lọ
Child black NEG FOC he go
"It was not a black child who left"

(c) Mo rí omo dudu
I saw black child
"I saw a black child"

(d) Omo dudu kọ ni mo rí
Child black NEG FOC I saw
"It was not a black child that I saw"

(e) Dudu kọ ni omo tí ó lọ
Black NEG FOC child REL he go
"The child who left was not black"

(f) Dudu kọ ni omo tí mo rí
Black NEG FOC child REL I see
"The child I saw was not black"

5.5.5. Adverbial
Here, we shall base our discussion on the adverbial classification made by Oke (1974)**.

5.5.5.1. Place Adverbial
Under this subheading, Oke (1974)** discusses such items as ní ́bàdàn "in Ibadan" and ní ilé "in the house". These items are nominalized without any overt marking and fronted to the sentence-initial position. After nominalization and fronting, the preposition ní "in" is optionally deleted and a new particle tí, which is different from our phase marker tí "has", is introduced into the VP. The preposition cannot be stranded, hence (18) (c) is not acceptable.

(18) (a) Mo rí ẹ ní ́bàdàn
I see you in Ibadan
"I saw you in Ibadan"
(b) (Ní) Ibadann kò ni mo ti rí è
(In) Ibadan NEG FOC I PRT see you
"It was not in Ibadan that I saw you"

(c) 'Ibadann kò ni mo ti rí è ní
Ibadan NEG FOC I PRT see you in
"It was not in Ibadan that I saw you in"

5.5.5.2. Reason (or Purpose or Result) Adverbial
This adverbial behaves exactly as the place adverbial except that instead of the introduction of the particle ti in the VP, another particle se is introduced.

\[(19)\]
\[(a)\] A wá nítorí ówó
We came for reason money
"We came because of the money"

\[(b)\] (Ní) torí ówó kò ni a se wá
(In) reason money NEG FOC we PRT come
"It was not because of money that we came"

5.5.5.3. Time and Manner Adverbials
These are also nominalized and fronted without any overt marking. No new particle is introduced into the VP and the preposition in the time adverbial is optionally realized after fronting.

\[(20)\]
\[(a)\] ò máa n' rín jéjé
He HAB walk gently
"He normally walks gently"

\[(b)\] jéjé kò ni ó máa n' rín
Gently NEG FOC he HAB walk
"He doesn't normally walk gently"

\[(c)\] ò máa n' wá ní aalaalè
He HAB come in night-night
"He comes every night"
5.5.6. Sentence Negation

As stated above, a sentence can also be focus negated. To do this, the negative verb ko is placed at the end of the sentence. The sentence may or may not be nominalized and the presence of the focus marker is optional. (21) (b) and (c) are the focus negation of (21) (a).

(21) (a) Olu lọ
Olu go
"Olu went"

(b) Olu lọ ko (ni)
Olu go NEG (FOC)
"The point is that Olu did not go"

(c) Pé Olu lọ ko (ni)
Say/that Olu go NEG (FOC)
"That Olu went is not the point"

5.6. Negative Imperative

5.6.1. The Characteristics of the Yoruba Imperative

The Yoruba imperative is distinguished from its declarative counterpart by the following characteristics:

(22) (a) Its structure may or may not have an overt grammatical subject. When it has a subject, this is always a second person pronoun.
Jáde - Go out
Iwọ jáde - You go out
*Emi jáde - I go out
*Oun jáde - He go out
(b) The first and third person pronouns which are impossible as imperative subjects can occur in the je kí "let" construction where the second person pronoun is excluded.

Je kí ní/ó/á/wọn/*e/*o/jade
Let me/him/us/them/*you/*you/go out

(c) In the VP, just as in a sentence with a pronominal subject, the imperative is characterized by an absence of the HTS.

Ọla a' lo
classified with the two studies just cited (i.e. Amuda (1986:197-198)** and CMS (1913:155)**) if his imperative negator  }

(d) Semantically, according to Davies (1986:49), whereas "a declarative asserts a proposition, an imperative merely presents one". Just as the proposition asserted by the declarative may or may not be true, the proposition presented by the imperative also may or may not be true.

5.6.2. Negating the Imperative

With the above distinctions noted between the Yoruba imperative and the declarative sentences, some Yoruba linguists are of the opinion that there should also be a distinct negative verb which occurs only in the imperative and nowhere else. This is the view shared by Amuda (1986:197-198)** when he states that ma' is the imperative negator. The CMS's (1913:155)** A Dictionary of the Yoruba Language also defines ma' as "a negative particle used in the imperative mood". Banjo's (1974)** analysis of the negative verb ma can also be classified with the two studies just cited (i.e. Amuda (1986:197-198)** and CMS (1913:155)**) if his imperative negator ma' "not" in (3) is a distinct item from his verb phrase negator ma' "not" in (4). As he does not make any comment on the two ma's just mentioned, the question that crops up can be framed thus, are the two ma's i.e. the ones in (3) and (4), different items or are
they the same item performing two different functions?

In our opinion, it is the same item that is being used for two different functions. That this is the case is shown by the fact that ye/mọ which are classified as the variants of mọ, the so-called imperative negator, also perform the same function for the VP negator, mọ.

(23) (a) Olu kọ lè mọ ọ
Olu NEG M NEG go
"Olu cannot but go"

(b) Olu kọ lè ye ẹ ọ
Olu NEG M NEG go
"Olu cannot stop going"

Observe that mọ and ye still have the same meaning when used in a declarative sentence such as (23) and when used in an imperative sentence such as (24).

(24) (a) Mo ọ
"Don't go"

(b) Ye ẹ ọ
"Stop going"

Examples (23) and (24) show quite clearly that it is the same mọ that is being classified as the VP and the imperative negator.

Oke (1982)** is more careful in his analysis of the negative verbs. He notes that mọ not only occurs both in the imperative and in the non-imperative sentences but that "when the non-imperative positive verbal group is baà or baà, mọ is the only negator that may be used to effect negation ... as in: kí a mọ baà ọ so that we might not go" (Oke 1982:252)**. The only problem with Oke's analysis is the claim that the negative verb kọ cannot occur in an imperative
sentence. An example which shows that this claim is not correct is (25) where an embedded sentence which forms part of the NP is negated with ko.

(25) (a) Má fẹ ẹni tí kò lówọ
Don't marry person that NEG have money
"Don't marry someone who is not rich"

From the above discussion, it is clear that one cannot distinguish between ko and má on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence in the imperative. Rather, they can be differentiated in terms of their position in a given sentence.

Ko precedes all auxiliary verbs in both the matrix and embedded sentences of a non-imperative construction as in (26) (a) and (b). It also precedes all auxiliary verbs in an embedded sentence of an imperative as in (26) (c).

(26) (a) Olú kò tíí lówọ
Olu NEG PH have money
"Olu is not yet rich"

(b) Ò fẹ Olú tí kò tíí lówọ
He marry Olu that NEG PH have money
"She marries Olu who is not yet rich"

(c) Má fẹ Olú tí kò lówọ
NEG marry Olu that NEG PH have money
"Don't marry Olu who is not rich"

Má, on the other hand, occurs before all auxiliary verbs in the imperative as in (27) (a) and occurs either after an auxiliary verb, a conditional marker (i.e. Ṭbáa “even if”) or a verb (i.e. modifying verb, main verb etc.) in a non-imperative and in an embedded sentence as in (27) (b) and (c).

(27) (a) Máá tíí lọ
NEG PH go
"Don't go yet"
(b) Ọ lè má' lọ
He may NEG go
"He may not go"

(c) Olu ti Ọ lè mà gbọwọ qjà
Olu that he may NEG get money market
"Olu who may not receive (any) money for the articles (he sold)"

The above generalization about kọ makes unnecessary Oke's (1982:252)** remark that kọ does not precede such auxiliary verbs as yọọ/a/máa and m. The reason is that any time kọ follows any of these auxiliary verbs, it does not occur in the same matrix sentence with them. In Oke's example given in (28), the underlined ní "say/tell" is a verb which subcategorises for a sentence hence, kọ following it occurs at the initial position of an embedded sentence i.e. Kọ s'ọwọ "There is no money".

(28) Wọn a jẹ lú run tán, wọn a ni kọ s'ọwọ
"they ruin the finances of the state, and tell you there is no money"

There is also no justification for Payne's (1985:240)** claim, quoting Banjo (1974)**, that in "Yoruba, the main-clause sentential negative is kọ, whereas the subordinate negative is má".

On the interpretation of the negative in the Yoruba imperative, we agree with Davies (1986:75) that there is no difference between negation in the imperative and negation in the declarative sentences. Once it has been realized that the negation may be interpreted with more than one type of scope, then, just as "negation may be associated either with the assertion which a declarative sentence constitutes, or with the proposition of which the declarative is an assertion, so it may be associated either with the presentation constituted by an imperative or with the particular proposition which is presented" (Davies
Finally, it should be noted that the adverbial and focus negation exemplified with declarative sentences above also apply to the imperative. For example, on adverbial negation, Ma' rìn kêm kêm "Don't walk briskly" implies "Walk not-briskly" i.e. Rìn ijé "Walk gently". (29) (b) shows a focus negation of an imperative.

(29) (a) Jo
"Dance"

(b) Ijó kó ni mo ní kí o jó
Dance NEG FOC I say that you dance
"I didn't ask you to dance"

5.7. Modal Negation

Both the event and the modality (Palmer 1979:26) can be negated in a sentence containing a modal verb in Yoruba. When the event in Mo lè bá a ló "I can go with him" or "I may go with him" is negated as in (30) (a), the scope of negation is said to be external, but when the modality is negated as in (30) (b), the scope of negation is internal.

(30) (a) N kò lè bá a ló
I NEG can accompany him go
"I can't go with him"

(b) Mo lè ma' bá a ló
I can/may NEG accompany him go
"I may not go with him"
5.7.1. Epistemic Modality

5.7.1.1. Lè "Can/may"

As shown in (30) (a) and (b), the negation of the epistemic lè "can/may" can either be internal or external. While (30) (a), where the scope of negation of lè "can/may" is external can be paraphrased by "It is not possible that I go with him", (30) (b), in which its negation is said to be internal, can be paraphrased by "It is possible that I may not go with him". Other examples are:

(31) (a) Móriámọ ... Ḗwọ̀ ọ̀ lè déhin-in ìn ọ̀ ràn mi {P. 6}
Moriamo ... you NEG can reach here come look
play me
"Moriamo ... it is not possible for you to come and watch my show" (i.e. to come and see how he is being executed).

(b) Ọ̀ lè wà nílè, ọ̀ sì ọ̀ lè má sí nílè
He may be in house, he also may not be in house
kò yì ètò ohun tì ọlùbá yóò ìṣè pàdà {p. 60}
NEG change arrangement things that Alaba will do turn back
"Whether he is in or not, the plans already made by Alaba are not changed"

It may be argued here that lè "can/may" owes its internal scope of negation in (30) (b) and (31) (b) to the fact that it precedes rather than follows the negative verb. That this is not the case is shown by (32) where the negative verb precedes lè "can/may" and the scope of negation is still internal.
(32) O mọ pe yanrin ni won kọ sinu awon agba ribiti,
He know that/say sand FOC they put inside those
drum round,

ribiti òhùn, kí ọta ọbọn tì won bà yìn ...
round over there, that bullet gun that they shoot to

má le tàtàpò sí òhùn lòhùn-ùn [P. 7]
may not stray to back other side

"He knows that the drums are filled with sand
in order for the bullets from the gun shot not to
pass through them to the other side"

5.7.1.2. Gbódó “Must”

Epistemic gbódó “must” is outside the scope of both the internal and external
negation. That is, neither the event nor the modality can be negated by
combining the negative verb with the epistemic gbódó “must”. Hence, neither
(33) (b) nor (c) is the negation of (33) (a). While (33) (b) which is grammatical is
the negation of the deontic gbódó “must”, (33) (c) is ungrammatical and
unacceptable. Even in “verbal crossing out” (Halliday 1970:33) where a previous
“must” is specifically denied in which the use of “mustn’t” is possible in
English, the use of the negative plus gbódó “must” is still not acceptable. So,
Whereas (33) (d) is possible in English, (33) (e) is unacceptable in Yoruba.

(33) (a) Ọ gbódó wà nílé
He must be in house
"He must be in" (i.e. I confidently infer
that he is at home)

(b) Ọ gbódó sì nílé
NEG must be in house
"He must not be in" (i.e. It is
necessary/important that he is not in)

(c) *Ọ gbódó mà sì nílé
He must NEG be in house

(d) He must be in - Oh no, he mustn’t
This is not to say that sentence (33) (a) cannot be negated. To negate it, we use le “can/may”. This means that the difference between the epistemic gbodo “must” and le “can/may” neutralizes in negation. This type of neutralization also occurs in German (Ladd (personal communication)). Just as in (30) (a) and (b), (33) (a) can be given either an internal or an external negation with the use of le “can/may”. Witness (34) (a) and (b).

\[(34) \ (a) \ \text{Ko le si nile}\]
\[
\text{NEG can be in house}
\]
\[
"\text{He cannot be in}"
\]

\[
(b) \ \text{O le ma si nile}\]
\[
\text{He may not be in house}
\]
\[
"\text{He may not be in}"
\]

While (34) (a) is the external negation of (33) (a), (34) (b) is its internal negation.

5.7.1.3. Yoo “Will”

When the epistemic yoo “will” is negated, it is the event that is affected hence, in N ko nif lo “I won’t go”, what is negated is not the modality but the act-of-going taking place i.e. “I predict that, for me, not-the act of going” (i.e. the act of going is not taking place).

5.7.2. Deontic Modality

5.7.2.1. Le “Can/may”

With the deontic le “can/may”, negation can apply either to the event or the modality. While (35) (a) means “… you are not permitted to stay at work”, (35) (b) means “… you are permitted not to stay at work”.
(35) (a) Mo fé’ rèn q níg’é lọ sib’i kan lóníf
I want INF send you in work go to place one today

ο o níf lè dűrò níbi iṣé {p. 64}
you NEG () can stop/stay in place work
"I want to send you on an errand today, you cannot stay at work"

(b) Mo fé’ rèn q níg’é lọ sib’i kan lóníf
I want INF send you in work go to place one today

ο lè māa dűrò níbi iṣé
you may NEG stay/stop in place work
"I want to send you on an errand today, you may not stay at work"

Examples (35) (a) and (b) show that just as in its epistemic counterpart, the scope of negation in a sentence containing the deontic lè “can/may” can either be internal or external. The deontic lè “can/may” differs from the epistemic lè “can/may”, however, in that the placement of the negative verb is not important in the case of the latter, whereas the placement of the negative verb is very important in deciding the scope of negation of the former. As the examples in (30)-(32) show, the negative verb can either follow or precede the epistemic lè “can/may” to negate either the modality or the event. For the deontic lè “can/may”, the negative verb always precedes it for the negation of modality and follows it for the negation of the event.

5.7.2. Gbọ́dọ́ “Must”

Only the event can be negated in a sentence containing the deontic gbọ́dọ́ “must”. O gbọ́dọ́ se è means “You are required not to do it or I order you not to do it”. The meaning of the deontic gbọ́dọ́ “must” is adequately captured in the following conversation where X tells Y what he must not do.
(36) X O ò gbọ̀dọ̀ wí nǹkan kan nípa ọgbá rẹ́
   You NEG must say thing one about master you
   fún ẹ̀nì kan kan
   for person one one
   "You must not say anything about your master to
   anyone"

Y Kín lá ọ̀ ọgbá mì sà
   Q FOC it do master me sir
   "What happened to my master sir?"

X O ò gbọ̀dọ̀ sọ pé ọ̀ fara pa
   You NEG must say that he take body cut
   "You mustn't say he was wounded"

Y Ọgbá mì kò fara pa sà
   Master me NEG take body cut sir
   "My master was not wounded sir"

X O ò gbọ̀dọ̀ sọ pé ọ̀ gbé e wá síhǹ-ín lóru
   You NEG must say that we carry him come to here
   in late in the night
   "You must not say we brought him here late in the
   night"

Y È è gbé e wá síhǹ-ín lóru sà [p. 142].
   You (pl.) NEG carry him come to here late in the night
   "You didn't bring him here late in the night sir"

5.7.2.3. Yoo "Will"

The negation of the deontic yoo "will" contrasts with that of the epistemic yoo "will". While with the former, negation affects modality, with the latter, it is the event that is negated. Both can be exemplified as follows: N ò níf fun un "I won't give it to him"

(37) Deontic - I do not intend to give it to him
   I am not willing to give it to him

   Epistemic - I predict that, for me, not-the
   act of giving it to him (i.e. the
   act of giving it to him is not
   taking place)
5.8. Phase and Aspect Negation

5.8.1. Aspect Negation

Neither aspect nor phase can be negated in a direct manner in Yoruba. That is, given a sentence such as (38) (a) which in formal language can be written as (38) (b), the interpretations available are those in which either “He” or “jump” is negated. PROG can be negated, according to Moravcsik (1982:96) “only by such awkward circumlocution” such as (38) (c).

(38) (a) Ọ̀ n fọ̀
   He PROG jump
   "He is jumping"

(b) PROG(Jump(He))

(c) It is not the case that he is jumping now, but that he has completed jumping.

The way out of this circumlocution, in Moravcsik’s (1982:96–99) opinion, is “to interpret negation with aspect on the subsentential level” and apply negation “inside the PROG operator, directly to the VP”. Thus, for (38) (a), the negation is (39) (a) which, in formal language, is not (39) (b) but (39) (c).

(39) (a) Rọ̀ fọ̀
   NEG jump
   "He is not jumping"

(b) -Ex(x is in progress, and x is a jump by HIM)

(c) Ex(x is in progress, and x is not a jump by HIM)

With (39) (c), the negation of (38) (a) can be true then “if and only if at the point or interval of evaluation, the agent” is not jumping but doing something else (Moravcsik 1982:99). This contrast principle of negation also applies to both the perfective and the habitual aspects. For the perfective, (40) (b), which
is the negation of (40) (a), is true if and only if at the point of evaluation, the agent does/did not jump but did/does something else.

(40) (a) Olu ū fò
Olu HTS jump
"Olu jumps/jumped"

(b) Olu kò fò
Olu NEG jump
"Olu did/does not jump"

It will be noted that the distinction between the perfective and the progressive neutralizes in negation, hence, (39) (a) and (40) (b) have everything in common except the subjects. The reason for this neutralization, according to Givon (1978:97), is because "tense-aspect in affirmative is almost always larger - but never smaller - than in the negative. Thus languages tend to innovate more tense-aspectual elaboration in the affirmative, and only slowly do these innovations spread into the negative. For the habitual, (42), the negation of (41), is true if and only if at the point of evaluation, the agent does not regularly perform the act of jumping but performs some other act.

(41) ō māa n fò
He HAB jump
"He usually/often jumps"

(42) Kì fò
NEG jump
"He doesn't often jump"

5.8.2. Phase Negation

The contrast principle of negation does not work well with the phase negation. That is, (43) (a) does not say that in the interval at the point of evaluation, instead of jumping, the agent has completed another act. Rather, it says that at the interval before the point of evaluation, the act of jumping was not
completed by the agent. (43) (a) does not rule out the agent spending his/her
time doing something else other than jumping. Hence, we can still continue
(43) (a) to give us (43) (b).

(43) (a)  Kò tí fò
   NEG PH jump
   "He has not jumped"

   (b)  Kò tí fò, ọ́n gbá bóólu lọwọ
       NEG PH jumped, he PROG play ball in hand
       "He hasn't jumped, he is still playing football"

The denial in (43) (a) "leaves it open as to whether something else is
completed some time within the interval, or whether the interval is taken up
with a state or event that does not lead to completion" (Moravcsik 1982:101).
In contradistinction to aspect, therefore, when NEG element attaches to PH(VP),
negation applies before the PH operator.

5.9. Quantifier Negation

Three types of quantifiers have been recognized in Yoruba. They are the
universal quantifier, gbogbo "all"; the absolute quantifier, mọwàá "ten" etc.; and
the relative quantifier, e.g. púpọ́ "many", díwẹ́ "few/a few". (Ekundayo (176:59)**.
The three are distinguished from each other as follows:

Universal - identifies whole sets without indicating exact
numbers.

Absolute - gives exact numbers of items quantified.

Relative - quantifies relative to some unspecified sets.

These three types of quantifiers fall within two classes of Jespersen’s
‘tripartition’ of values in his treatment of “Negation in general as expressed in
language” (Jespersen n.d.:3). Jespersen’s (1924:324-325) ‘tripartition’ is based
upon the two logical extremes and the intermediate state lying between them.
The 'tripartition' is set out as follows:

Next we have to consider some terms of paramount importance to the logician as well as to the linguist, namely the two absolute extremes 'all' and 'nothing' with the intermediate 'something'. Let us call the two extremes A and C and the intermediate B. They are most naturally represented in a descending scale

A everythiing, all, everybody (all girls, all the money)
B something, some, somebody (some girls, a girl, some money)
C nothing, none, nobody (no girls, no money)

Jespersen comments further:

The intermediate B of course admits many subdivisions of which we may mention some of special linguistic interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1</th>
<th>many (girls)</th>
<th>much (money)</th>
<th>very (sorry)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>a few (girl)</td>
<td>a little (money)</td>
<td>a little (sorry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>few (girls)</td>
<td>little (money)</td>
<td>little (sorry)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jespersen also puts all numerals in class B. This is justified by the fact that apart from zero, all numerals fall between the two extremes represented by A, e.g. "all" and C, e.g. "nothing".

The C class is not realized as a lexicalized quantifier in Yoruba. According to Ekundayo (1976:62)**

Yoruba has no single word analogous to English "none", "nobody", "nothing" etc., but it expresses the senses of such lexical items existentially. Thus, "nobody" is kọ sì enikan (not exist person one); "nothing" is ko si nnkan (not exist thing-one) and "none" is kọ sì (ọkan) (not exist (one)). The Yoruba word for "zero" i.e. òfo does not express the sense of "none" and it cannot be used in partitive constructions ... Thus, there is no *òfo ninú wa "*zero of us" analogous to kọ sì ninú wa "none of us".

The Yoruba expressions for "none, nobody and nothing" can be explained in terms of Jespersen's (n.d. 81) scalar values. According to him, 'not four' does
not mean “whatever is above or below 4 in scale, but what is below 4 ... something between 4 and 0 ... ‘not everything’ means something between everything and nothing”. Horn (1978:136) explains this in terms of scalar predicates, items “which can be arranged on a strength scale defined by entailment of the form $P_1 < P_2 \ldots P_n$ (where $P_n$ entails all $P_k$ such that $k < n$), (and which) can be said to assert or entail the lower bond”. In the same manner, ko si eni kan/nnkan/ikan “no one person/one thing/one” means something or somebody below one which is equivalent to “nobody, nothing or none” in languages that have lexicalized quantifier terms for such items.

This is not to say that a “not” followed by a numeral cannot be interpreted as ‘more than’. On this, Jespersen (n.d. 81) states that “when not+numeral is exceptionally to be taken as ‘more than’, the numeral has to be strongly stressed, and generally to be followed by a more exact indication: the hill is not two hundred feet high, but ‘three hundred’.”

From the foregoing, it is quite clear that Ekundayo’s Yoruba universal quantifier is in Jespersen’s A class. Both his absolute and relative quantifiers belong to the B class but in a different classification from that of Jespersen. The Yoruba quantifiers can be represented as shown below where Bii and Biii can be said to be almost identical to Jespersen’s B2 and B3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universal</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>gbogbo ”all“</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute</td>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>mewaa ”ten“, ogun ”twenty“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>Bii</td>
<td>dij ”few/a few“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biii</td>
<td>pupi ”many“, ogunlogo ”several“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9.1. Negation and the A class

The negation of the Yoruba universal quantifier is discussed by Ekundayo (1976)** within the framework of the predicate calculus. The major shortcoming noted is that the framework used for the discussion does not allow for enough
interpretation of the effect of negation on the quantifier. The fact is that any description of quantifier negation in Yoruba must take account of three important factors which are (i) the properties of the said quantifier, (ii) the position of the quantifier relative to the negative verb and (iii) the type of sentence in which the quantifier occurs i.e. whether any of the items is focussed or not. As none of these three factors is discussed in any detail by Ekundayo, we shall adopt Jespersen’s ‘tripartition’ to discuss the interaction of the negative verb with the universal quantifier using the examples given by Ekundayo. We shall briefly examine Jespersen’s system in dealing with English quantifier negation. Then, we shall present our interpretation of this system regarding Yoruba examples and contrast our proposal with Ekundayo’s approach.

5.9.1.1. Jespersen’s Observation

For the negation of the A class, Jespersen (1924:326) has this to say:

.... Here we have the general rule that if the negative word is placed first, it discards the absolute element, and the result is the intermediate term: Not A = B, .... If, on the other hand, the absolute term is mentioned first, the absolute element prevails, and the result is the contrary notion A ... not = C

Some of the examples used to justify his claim are the following:

They are not all of them fools [not A = B]
The one (uncle) I was always going to write to.
And always didn't [A not = C]

On the ‘A ... not’ configuration, Horn (1978:139) notes that

Jespersen observes correctly that the ‘A ... not’ configuration ... often has a different interpretation in natural language, if the A-term is a quantifier. Examples like

(48) All that glitters is not gold
Thank Heaven, all scholars are not like this
Tout le monde n'est pas fait pour l'art

abound, where A ... not = B (or, more correctly, A ... not = not A = B ... not).

Jespersen attributes this phenomenon to "the result of two tendencies, to place the subject first and to attract the negation to the verb" (1924:327), so that the negative which would logically precede the universal ('Not all that glitters ...') is attracted instead to the unmarked nexal position as in (48) (the numbering is ours).

Huddleston (1985:431) also states that the two interpretations available for constructions such as Jespersen's A ... not where the A-term is a quantifier can be "distinguished prosodically" in English. In Yoruba, both interpretations can be distinguished by focussing. Hetzron (1980:279) presents convincing arguments to show that both grammatical intonation and focus should be regarded as part of the sentence and therefore should be given their rightful place in grammar.

From these writers' remarks, one can conclude that Jespersen's 'A ... not' can be 'not A' if both focussing and prosody are regarded as part of the sentence.

Having discussed the A class in Jespersen's three-cornered system, we can now examine Ekundayo's data to see what additional information can be provided here about the interaction of the Yoruba quantifiers and the negative verbs.

5.9.1.2. Ekundayo (1976)** on the Negation of the Universal Quantifier

Ekundayo's (1976)** discussion of the universal quantifier negation is based on the following examples (the numbering is ours)

(49) (a) Gbogbo wa ni ọ lè sọ ẹdè Gààẹsi
All we is he can speak language English
"All of us can speak the English language"
Out of these examples, five are relevant to our discussion. The one that we shall not be discussing is (49) (e) because it is an example of what Payne (1985:199)** regards as a performative paraphrase. As a performative paraphrase, it can be used not only when the whole sentence is in the scope of negation but also when the VP or the NP is. It can also be used when any of the sentence term is in the scope of negation (Aldridge 1978:109). Our stand on (49) (e) is identical to the one taken by Ekundayo (1976:62)**. On it, he states that

(49) (e) could be right if either of the constituents in what follows kí í se pé “it is not the case that” were negated. Hence, (49) (e) is true if not all of us can speak English, but at least one of us can ... It is also true if none of us can speak English but all of us can speak German. In that case, what is in dispute is the language all of us can speak, and nothing there indicates that any of us can speak English, kí í se pé “it is not the case that”
specifies a null set. Thus, depending on what constituent of (49) (a) is negated in the internal structure of (49) (e), it, (49) (e), ambiguously describes cases where ‘none’ or ‘some’ or ‘many’ of us can speak English. This possibility of multiple interpretation of (49) (e) makes it unsuitable for our discussion (the numbers in the quotation are ours).

On (49) (b), Ekundayo says it completely denies (49) (a). This is not surprising if we note Jespersen’s remark on this type of sentence. It will be noted that (49) (a) is a focus sentence, that is, it is a sentence in which the universal quantifier is focussed. It is this focussed item that is now negated in (49) (b) in Jespersen’s A ... not configuration. The possibility of the negative verb being attracted to the verb base form is then blocked by the presence of the focus marker. The only meaning available, therefore, is that of Jespersen’s A ... not = C which is the same with Ekundayo’s null set.

Ekundayo states that both (49) (c) and (d) do not deny (49) (a) and he gives the following logical representations for both of them

If ‘be a person’ = p, ‘be here’ = H, ‘speak English’ = Se, ‘all (the universal quantifier)’ = V, ‘the existential quantifier’ where there exists one, ‘if – then’, & = ‘and’, ~ = ‘logical negation’, let ‘y’ be the variable to be used, then (49) (c) and (d) can be represented as

\[ \sim (Vy) ((Py \& Hy) \Rightarrow Sey) \]

i.e. Not for all y is it true that if y is a person and y is here, then y speaks English

We agree with Ekundayo that both (49) (c) and (d) do not deny (49) (a) especially as both are right if at least one of the people concerned can speak English. But the problem with his analysis is that the way each fails to deny (49) (a) is not made explicit in his representations. It will be noted that the negative verb follows the universal quantifier in (49) (b) and (c) and both have the configuration A ... not. The question then is if (49) (b) is a complete
negation of (49) (a), why not (49) (c)?

The reason for this is that whereas (49) (b) is the negation of (49) (a), (49) (c) is the negation of another sentence. A close look at both (49) (b) and (c) shows that the focus marker, ni, which Ekundayo glosses as "is", occurs in different places in the two sentences. Whereas the focus marker precedes the negative verb in (49) (b), it follows the negative verb in (49) (c). What this means is that whereas (49) (b) negates (49) (a) where there is a focussed universal quantifier, (49) (c) is the focus negation of (50) where there is an unfocussed universal quantifier.

(50) Gbogbo wa lè sò èdè Gëgïl
All we can speak language English
"All of us can speak the English language"

If focus is taken, following Jackendoff (1972:255), as denoting "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer", then, one can say that "the presupposition (i.e.) ... the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer" (Jackendoff 1972:230) of sentences (49) (b) and (c) differs.

Another possible negation of (50) is (51) (a). Whereas (51) (a) allows for more than one type of interpretation i.e. (51) (b) and (c), (49) (c), in which the negative verb is "specified as new, within a contrastive sentence" (Chafe 1970:229–230), allows for only (51) (b) as its negation.

(51) (a) Gbogbo wa kò lè sò èdè Gëgïl
All we cannot speak language English
"All of us cannot speak the English language/Not all of us can speak the English language"

(b) One/some/many of us can speak the English language
(c) Not one of us can speak the English language.

As it is the negative verb that is focussed in (49) (c) and not the universal quantifier, Jespersen's 'A ... not' configuration does not work as well with it as it does with (49) (b). Though the focus marker blocks verb attraction both in (49) (b) and (c), the 'A ... not' configuration of (49) (c) gives rise to only a B interpretation in Jespersen's 'tripartition'. This interpretation contrasts with the observation of Jespersen in English where 'A ... not' should normally be a C and only by verb attraction can it be interpreted as B.

As for (49) (d), it will be noted that the negative verb precedes the universal quantifier which indicates a 'not A' interpretation in Jespersen's configuration. A 'not A' in Jespersen's configuration always results in a B except "when the negative is attached prefixally or implied" (Horn 1978:139). As there is neither a prefixal negative nor a negative by implication in (49) (d), it is not surprising that the only interpretation available agrees with Jespersen's 'not A' = B configuration i.e. "one/some/many of us can speak the English language". This shows that though our analysis agrees with that of Ekundayo in his claim that both (49) (c) and (d) have a B interpretation, the way each arrives at the B interpretation differs.

That (49) (f) is a complete negation of (49) (a) can also be explained in terms of Jespersen's scalar values and Horn's scalar predicates that we have touched upon above. The scalar values and predicates account for the use of "not one" for "none", "no" and "not one thing" for "nothing" in languages such as Yoruba. In Jespersen's (n.d. 81) words, this scalar hypothesis "explains how 'not one' comes to be the natural expression in many languages for 'none', 'no', and 'not one thing' for 'nothing'."
5.9.2. Negation and the B class

Jespersen's (1924:325) suggestion that on numerals, "the general rule ... is that not means 'less than' or in 'other words 'between the word qualified and nothing'" accounts for the relation between negation and the Yoruba numerals. Thus, the expression, Kò ka ìwé méta lódún "He does not read three books a year" means that he reads less than three books. This does not mean that such an expression cannot be given a "more than three books" reading but, in such a case, as we have stated earlier, "the whole combination has generally to be followed by a more exact indication" (Jespersen 1924:325) i.e. Kò mú ìwé méta, mérin ló mu "He does not take three books, he takes four".

The effect of negation on our Bii, diè "few/a few" and Biii, púpò "many" is also straightforward. The negation of the former gives the latter and that of the latter gives the former. This is quite unlike English and some other languages where items in the same class as Bii are often classified as covering Jespersen’s B2, "few", and B3, "a few". In such languages, B2 is always negative and B3, always positive i.e. "few" = 'less than you would expect'; "a few" = 'more than you would expect'. In Yoruba, Bii is neither positive nor negative, it is neutral.

5.10. Yoruba Negative Verb as a Reinforcer – A Critique

The last aspect of negation to be considered in this chapter is a point raised by Oke (1982:257–261)** in which he claims that Yoruba negative verbs often act as reinforcers in a given sentence. According to him, the occurrence of double negation in a clause does not always result in cancellation, producing a positive reading. In some cases, he states further, one of the negative verbs gives the other an emphatic reading. The examples given are the following:
The deletion of the negative verb in I, according to him, produces II both with the same meaning but with loss of emphasis in II.

A close scrutiny of the examples given by Oke shows that none of them supports the suggestion that double negation can be used for emphasis in the language. (52) (a) is easy to dispose of: the kî in (52) (a) II is not a negative verb. The item is often glossed in English as "let" hence, the correct representation of (52) (a) I and II is (53) (a) and (b) respectively.

(53) (a) Ko maa lọ ọ
Let him NEG go EMPH
"Let him not go (if he likes)"

(b) Kî o maa lọ ọ
Let him NEG go EMPH
"Let him not go (if he likes)"

From our observation and from what we gather from some other Yoruba speakers, what happens in (53) (a) and (b) is just the deletion of vowel "i" in kî of (53) (b) to produce ko of (53) (a). With this explanation, it is not clear to us where Oke gets his two negatives. The only negative verb in the two clauses is mâa.
We note too that the ƙi in (52) (a) is not a negative verb as Oke would want us to believe but is what Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:43) call the possibility marker. (52) (b) I and II (reproduced below for convenience), where we have the third person pronominal subject can be compared with (54) and (55) where we have the first and second person pronominal subjects respectively.

(52) (b) I ƙi baa maa ri i
    PROB even if NEG see/find it
    "Even if he doesn't find it"

II ƙi baa maa ri i
    PROB even if NEG see/find it
    "Even if he doesn't find it"

(54) (a) A ƙi baa maa ri i
    We PROB even if NEG see/find it"
    "Even if we do not find it"

(b) A baa maa ri i
    We even if NEG see/find it
    "Even if we do not find it"

(55) (a) ƙi baa maa ri i
    You(pl) even if NEG see/find it
    "Even if you do not find it"

(b) ƙi baa maa ri i
    You(pl) even if see/find it
    "Even if you do not find it"

We shall not discuss the deletion of the item ƙi in (54) (b) and (55) (b) if compared with (54) (a) and (55) (a) respectively because the deletion of the item has been given a comprehensive treatment by Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975)**.

As for (52) (b) I and II, it will be noted that the third person pronominal subject is not realized in them whereas the first and second person pronominal
subjects are present in (54) and (55). The reason for this is that "the first person singular pronoun (3rd sing. pro.) deletes obligatorily before kò/kí (NEG), yóó ("will") and kí (PROBABLE)" (Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975)). To account for the difference between expressions such as (52) (b) I and II, Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:42)** postulate some rules needed for the deletion of consonants in "Yoruba grammatical formatives". According to them, the initial non-syllabic segment of a grammatical formative deletes in Yoruba whenever it follows one formative and precedes another. The difference between (52) (c) I and II can be explained, according to them, in terms of which of the following two rules applies to each of them:

(56) (i) Obligatory deletion of the 3rd sing. pro. before kò/kí "NEG", yóó "will" and kí "PROBABLE".

(ii) The optional deletion of the initial non-initial segment of a grammatical formative that follows one formative and precedes another.

The full representation of (52) (b) I and II, therefore, is (57).

(57) 3rd sing. pro. kí báà máà rí i
     3rd sing. pro. PROB even if NEG see it
     "Even if he does not find it"

If the obligatory rule in (56) (i) applies first, kí "PROB" would find itself in the initial position without any other formative preceding it. If this happens, (56) (ii) will be blocked and what we can them have is (52) (b) I. As for (52) (b) II, (56) (ii) applies first i.e. kí "PROB" is preceded by one formative and followed by another, it, therefore, deletes the consonant "k" leaving the vowel "í". After this deletion, (56) (ii) applies. The application of these two rules produce (52) (b) II.

We also agree with Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:41 n.9)** that kí "PROB" never negates the kind of sentences in (52) (b) I, (52) (b) II, (54) and (55). Any
negation that is noted in the sentences is brought about by the presence of the negative verb māa.

As for (52) (c) and (d) the view shared by us and the other Yoruba speakers we have consulted is that they are the type of sentences used by Lagos Yoruba speakers where, in standard Yoruba, we have the following:

(58)  Kì báà wà nílé/i báà wà nílé
PROB even if is in house/PROB even if is in house
"Even if he is at home"

(59)  Kì i jẹun ọsán
NEG eat afternoon
"He doesn't eat lunch"

The Yoruba dialect spoken by the Lagos speakers differs considerably from the ones spoken in the other parts of the Yoruba-speaking area and most importantly, from the standard Yoruba on which Oke bases his work.

On the difference between the type of Yoruba spoken by the people of Lagos and the ones spoken by the people in the other parts of the Yoruba-speaking area, Simpson (1979:5)** states that:

While the Yoruba ... in Oyo State ... is expected to be highly competent in his mother-tongue, the average inhabitant of the Lagos area is expected to be ... less competent ... in his Nigerian mother-tongue, having been exposed to an urban civilization in which terms are frequently borrowed from English in Yoruba speech, more so than is the case in other Yoruba-speaking States such as Oyo, Ogun and Ondo States.

An example that can be used to support the claim made by Simpson above is as follows: In Yoruba, there is a rule that changes the first person singular subject (1st per. sing.) Mo "I" to N before the negative verb kọ/ọ. With the application of this rule, the negation of (60) (a) is (60) (b).
(60) (a)  Mo 1p
    I go
    "I goes/went"

(b)  N ò 1p
    I NEG go
    "I didn't/don't go"

As this type of rule is not available in English i.e. "I go", "I didn't go", the rule is not often observed in the speech of the Lagos speakers of Yoruba. So, instead of (60) (b), we have (61).

(61)  Mo ò 1p
      I NEG go
      "I didn't/don't go"

As Oke's analysis is concerned with the standard Yoruba and not the type of Yoruba spoken by the people of Lagos, examples (52) (c) I and II and (52) (d) I and II are not very safe in making grammatical decisions. A grammatical decision based on such examples can be compared with one in which a decision of grammaticality in Modern English is based on such sentences as "Nobody doesn't like me" which, though is correct in English dialects and in earlier periods of the language, is asterisked in Modern English.

5.11. Summary
As will have been noted, the scope of the analyses presented in this chapter is far narrower than the scope of negation in the language demands. Nevertheless, many prevailing views have been called into question in the analysis and some new problems have been identified.

We have shown that neither mo "again" nor tọ marks sentence negation in the language. We also suggest that the contrast principle of negation which works well for aspect encounters some problems when applied to the phase system.
We also give examples to show that apart from cases where the universal quantifier is focus negated, Jespersen's tripartition of value can be used to account for the negation of the Yoruba quantifiers.

Finally, we suggest that a situation where one of two explicit negative verbs in a clause functions as a reinforcer does not exist in standard Yoruba, hence any sentence of this type should be accounted for dialectically and stylistically.
Notes and References to Chapter 5

1. Terms often used in transformational grammar are used for the operations taking place here.

2. Just as in Chapter 4, most of the examples used in the description of modal negation are taken from the novel, ATÔTÔ ARÉRE. The pages of the examples so used are also put in curly bracket i.e. {}.

3. It is also worth noting that there is some confusion in the examples given by Oke. In (52) (b) I and II and (52) (c) I and II, we have the word bâà. In (52) (c) I and II, the word is glossed as "even if" its correct gloss. In (52) (b) I and II, the gloss used for the same word is "would have" which is the gloss for another word bâ. In discussing (52) (b) I and II, we shall retain his Yoruba example and correct the English translation of the word bâà. To derive (52) (b) I from (52) (b) II, we owe the following discussion to Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:43)**.
In Chapter 2, we present arguments to show that the items classified as the elements of the category Aux by both Oke (1972) and Oyelaran (1982a) belong to two subclasses of verb, the modifying and the auxiliary. In that chapter, our discussion was basically descriptive and no attempt was made to account for the structural differences between the VP in which each of the two verbs occurs first within the framework of any grammar. In this chapter, we shall show, within the framework of the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG henceforth), how a VP in which the auxiliary verb occurs as the first verb differs from or resembles one in which the modifying verb occurs first. We shall then compare the latter with the verb infinitive phrase and the serial verb construction. We begin our discussion with the syntactic component of GPSG.

6.1. The Syntax

GPSG is a monostatal grammar in that it refers to only a single level of syntactic representation. Dr. Ronald Cann has summarized what is contained in the syntactic component of GPSG as follows:

- A set of syntactic FEATURES which, together with a set of FEATURE CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS define the set of SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES used in the grammar, and

- A set of IMMEDIATE DOMINANCE (ID) RULES which defines the possible HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS within PHRASE STRUCTURE TREES, and

- A set of LINEAR PRECEDENCE (LP) RULES defining the LEFT-TO-RIGHT ORDERING of words/phrases within a tree, and

- A set of METARULES that capture regularities between LEXICAL ID RULES by regularly giving as output a set of ID
rules for some already extant input of such rules, and

- A RULE TO TREE ALGORITHM to define the set of admissible
PHRASE STRUCTURE TREES as defined by the set of ID and
LP rules together with,

- A set of FEATURE INSTANTIATION PRINCIPLES which put
restrictions on the way the barely specified ID rules admit
acceptable LOCAL TREES, and

- A set of FEATURE SPECIFICATION DEFAULTS which give the
UNMARKED values of any features, i.e. its value when no
other principle or rule determines this.

Together these define an infinite set of phrase structure trees or syntactic
structural descriptions of expressions in some language, the LEXICON providing
the LEXICAL ITEMS (i.e. WORDS!) to TERMINATE the syntactic structures.

6.2. The Feature System

As will be noted from this brief summary, GPSG is, to a large extent, based on
the theory of features. A feature in GPSG is defined as an ordered pair
consisting of a feature name followed by a value which may be selected from
an unordered set of values. This definition collapses the notion 'feature' and
'value of feature'. Thus, a feature specification can be shown as in (1).

(1) Feature:<feature name, feature value>

Features may be ATOM VALUED or CATEGORY VALUED. An Atom valued
feature takes only a single unanalysable item as value while a Category valued
feature takes a full category as value. The examples of these values in Yoruba
are:

(2) ATOM-VALUED FEATURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE NAMES</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOOLEAN:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(+,-)</td>
<td>(nominal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V     [+,-]     (verbal)  
AUX   [+,-]     (auxiliary)  
PERF  [+,-]     (perf/impfv asp.)  
ASSOC [+,-]     (associative)  
NULL  [+,-]     ("traces")  

OTHERS:  
PER   [1,2,3]     (person)  
VFORM  {BSE,INF,MOD, SPLIT, SER}     (verb form - base, infinitive, modifying, splitting, serial)  
PFORM  {sí "to", ni "in", ti "from"}     (case-marking prepositions)  
COMP   {bá "if" lباب "even if", kí "that"}     (complementizer type)  
CASE   {NOM,ACC}  

B. CATEGORY VALUED  
SLASH  CAT     (unbounded dependencies)  
WH     CAT     (wh-constructions)  
AGR    CAT     (agreement)  

A CATEGORY is a set of features. It is defined as a partial function from the set of feature names to the set of values. The use of the term function in the definition ensures that each feature name is assigned only one value while the use of the term allows for a category to be unspecified for some features.
Some examples of categories are:

\[(3)\quad [<N,+>,<V,->] \quad (=N)\]
\[<N,->,<V,+>] \quad (=V)\]
\[<N,+>,<V,+>] \quad (=A)\]
\[<N,->,<V,->] \quad (=P)\]

but not
\[<N,+>,<N,->\]
\[<V,+>,<V,->\] etc.

The features that will concern us in this chapter are the features that can appear on \([+V, -N]\) categories. These are features which could be associated with V and VP of an S. They are as follow:

\[(4)\quad +\text{BSE} \quad \text{(main verb)}, \quad +\text{MOD} \quad \text{(modifying verb)}\]
\[+\text{SER} \quad \text{(serial verb)}, \quad +\text{INF} \quad \text{(infinitive verb)}\]
\[+\text{AUX} \quad \text{(auxiliary verb)}\]

6.3. Conditions on the Cooccurrence of Properties between Constituents

There are two basic conditions on the cooccurrence of properties between constituents in GPSG. The first relates the properties of the mother category and those of the daughter categories. The second concerns the relationship between the properties in two or more daughter categories under the same mother.

6.3.1. Head Feature Convention

The categorial identity between mother and head is ensured by the Head Feature Convention (HFC). HFC ensures that the FREE head properties in a daughter category are identical to those in the mother category. By FREE head properties, we mean properties of the head which are not
- specifically stated in the rule to differ from that of the mother e.g. bar level in the rule VP ---+ H{BAR 0}, NP

- required to differ from the mother because of the Feature Cooccurrence Restriction i.e. [SUBCAT] ---+ ~[SLASH] which states that a lexical category cannot have a SLASH specification. The V cannot have a SLASH in VP/NP ---+ V, NP/NP

- overridden by another feature instantiation principle.

The set of Head Features are \{N, V, VFORM, PFORM, SLASH, NUM, PER, AGR, PAST, AUX, PRED\}

6.3.2. Control Agreement Principle

The Control Agreement Principle (CAP) requires that two syntactic constituents standing semantically in a 'controller'-'controllee' relationship have the same agreement head properties. It interacts with HFC to ensure that sister categories have the same head properties. Some of the attributes of CAP list are "person, number, gender, definiteness, case, tense, aspect, voice, negation and the like" (Zwicky 1985:174).

6.3.3. Foot Feature Principle

The Foot Feature Principle (FFP) requires that a mother category possesses every foot property appearing in any one of its daughter categories. It acts as a constraint on the free instantiation of FOOT features and ensures that the instantiated FOOT feature specifications of the mother must be the unification of the FOOT feature specifications instantiated on the daughters. It should be noted, however, that like the HFC, FFP may fail to 'propagate' features appearing on categories by virtue of the fact that the features are stipulated by a rule or that they appear through the application of a metarule. SLASH and WH are examples of FOOT features.
6.4. Metarules

The metarules are the rules in the grammar which are based on the properties of other rules. Metarules derive lexical ID rules from other lexical ID rules and thus enlarge the set of rules of a grammar in a regular way. The application of metarules does not change the subcategorization features on lexical categories.

The general form of metarules is:

\[
X \rightarrow W, Y \\
\downarrow
\]

\[
X' \rightarrow W, Z
\]

which states that given a rule of the form \( X \rightarrow W, Y \), the grammar can contain a rule \( X' \rightarrow W, Z \), "where \( Y \) or \( Z \), but not both, may be null, \( W \) is some multiset of categories, \( X' \) is an extension of \( X \) and either \( Y \) is, or \( W \) contains, the lexical head of \( X \)" (Cann 1985:11).

6.5. Subcategorization in GPSG

GPSG uses a context free approach to subcategorization. This involves the use of a feature SUBCAT that takes as value an arbitrary INTEGER (e.g. \(<\text{SUBCAT},2>, <\text{SUBCAT},3>\) ). The feature SUBCAT may only be specified on LEXICAL or MINOR CATEGORIES by the virtue of the Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions (FCRs):³

\[
\text{FCR: [BAR 1]} \rightarrow \neg [\text{SUBCAT}] \\
\text{FCR: [BAR 2]} \rightarrow \neg [\text{SUBCAT}]
\]

The feature SUBCAT is introduced specifically by individual rules so, to prevent free instantiation, we need a Feature Specification Default (FSD):³

\[
\text{FSD: } \neg [\text{SUBCAT}]
\]

The use of SUBCAT allows us to state, for the Yoruba VP, a general Linear
Precedence Rule (LP Rule)\(^3\):

\[
{\text{[SUBCAT]}} < -{\text{[SUBCAT]}}
\]

which states that all lexical categories precede all non-lexical categories i.e. in a rule \(VP \rightarrow V, NP\); \(V\) precedes \(NP\).

The Immediate Dominance Rules (ID Rules)\(^3\) that introduce subcategorized contexts mark the category that does the subcategorization with the SUBCAT feature and some value. The lexicon then specifies which items have which value for SUBCAT and lexical insertion takes place whenever the value on the lexical item matches that on the lexical category. Examples of lexical entries are:

\[
<\text{kú "die", V[SUBCAT l, -AUX]}, \ldots >
\]

\[
<\text{nį "in", P[SUBCAT 8]}>
\]

Subcategorization in GPSG is LOCAL i.e. it is confined to sisters.

6.6. Feature Specification Defaults

The Feature Specification Defaults (FSDs) give the UNMARKED VALUE of some feature when the feature is not determined by anything else in the grammar. Two examples of FSDs are \(\sim[\text{NULL}]\) which requires a category not to be empty except where specifically required to be so and \(N \rightarrow [\text{CASE ACC}]\) which requires any noun to be accusative unless otherwise determined.

6.7. Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions

The Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions (FCRs) require that categories must conform to certain WELL FORMEDNESS CONDITIONS. They require the presence or absence of certain FEATURE given the presence or absence of another FEATURE within some category. For example, in this chapter, we need (5).
(5) \([+\text{PH}], [+\text{NEG}], [+\text{M}], [+\text{ASP}] \supseteq [+\text{AUX}]\)

(5) states that all phase markers, negative verbs, modal verbs and aspect markers in the language are auxiliary verbs.

6.8. Modifying and Auxiliary Verbs – Similarity and Difference

With some aspects of GPSG formalism stated, we are now in a position to state the similarity and difference between a VP with an auxiliary verb as head and one with a modifying verb as head.

6.8.1. Similarity

Consider the set of rules in (6):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(a)} & \quad S \rightarrow NP, H[\text{-SUBJ}] & \text{kú "die", tăn "finish"} \\
\text{(b)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[1] & \text{rī "see", nà "beat"} \\
\text{(c)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[2], NP & \text{lọ "go", wà "come"} \\
\text{(d)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[3], PP & \text{pe' "say" nî "say"} \\
\text{(e)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[4], S [+k1] & \text{răn "sent" rī "see"} \\
\text{(f)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[5], NP, PP & \text{pe' "say" nî "say"} \\
\text{(g)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[6], ADVP & \text{lọ rī "went (there) before"} \\
\text{(h)} & \quad VP \rightarrow H[7], S & \text{pe' "say" nî "say"} \\
\text{(i)} & \quad PP \rightarrow H[8], NP & \text{nî ile "in the house"} \\
\text{(j)} & \quad \text{NP < VP}
\end{align*}
\]

In (6), we have both the Immediate Dominance (ID) and the Linear Precedence Rules (LP). (6) (a)–(i) are the ID Rules and (6) (j) is the LP rule.

The ID rules state the hierarchical relations that obtain between expressions of different categories i.e. in (6) (a), the ID rule states that a NP and a VP are immediately dominated by a S. The rule says nothing about the ordering of the constituents.

To show the order of the constituents, the LP rules are introduced. The antisymmetric transitive relation ‘<’ is used in GPSG to introduce LP rules. So, (6) (j) states that if a NP and a VP appear on the right hand side of an ID rule
or if they both appear on the same mother as in (6) (a), the NP precedes the VP.

Although the rules in (6) give rise to structures like the ones in (7), neither the auxiliary nor the modifying verb can be inserted as the first verb in any subtree that the rules in (6) analyse. This is because whereas both the auxiliary and the modifying verbs must have at least a VP in their complement, each of the rules in (6) introduces a VP containing a single verb without any other VP in its complement. For instance, while (6) (b) introduces a verb that may appear without any overt object, (6) (c) introduces a verb which takes a single object. (6) (c) licences the structure in (7) (a) and (6) (d) and (i) licence the structures in (7) (b).

(7) (a)  
```
           VP
           /\  
          /  \ 
         /    \ 
        /      \ 
       /        \ 
      /          \ 
     /            \ 
    /              \ 
   /                \ 
  /                  \ 
 /                    \ 
V[2] NP
  / \ 
 /   \ 
/     \ 
/       \ 
/         \ 
/           \ 
ri Olu
  / \ 
/   \ 
/     \ 
see Olu
```

(7) (b)  
```
           VP
           /\  
          /  \ 
         /    \ 
        /      \ 
       /        \ 
      /          \ 
     /            \ 
    /              \ 
   /                \ 
  /                  \ 
 /                    \ 
V[3] PP
  / \ 
 /   \ 
/     \ 
/       \ 
P NP
 / \ 
 /   
JP ni ile
  / 
/   
/   
jun
  / 
/   
eat in house
  / 
  "ate at home"
```
6.8.2. Difference

Despite the similarity between the auxiliary and the modifying verb just noted, each of the two verbs appears as the first verb of a unique VP structure. We shall now discuss the difference between the two verbs. We begin with the auxiliary verb.

6.8.2.1. The Auxiliary Verb

In Gazdar et al. (1982:11), the ID rule which introduces auxiliary verbs is given as (8):

\[
(8) \text{VP[AUX]} \rightarrow H[9], \text{VP[-AUX, +BSE]}
\]

(8) states that a VP which has an auxiliary as its first verb can take a VP as its complement. A rule like (8) can generate examples such as the ones in (9) which give rise to structures like (10) but (8) as it is, cannot generate (11).

(9) (a) Mo ń’ lq
     I is go
     "I am going"

     (b) Mo ti do
     I have go
     "I have gone there"

(10) (a) \[
\text{VP[+AUX]}
\]

\[
\text{V[+AUX, 9] VP}
\]

\[
\text{V[1]}
\]

\[
n' \quad \text{Iq}
\]

\[
is \quad \text{go}
\]

"is going"
The examples in (11) show that the rule in (8) needs to be modified. The modification we propose is (12).

(12) \[ VP[+AUX] \rightarrow H[10], (PP[ti]), VP^4 \]

(12) states that when the auxiliary occurs as the first verb in a VP, it can be followed by a PP[ti] and a VP or a VP alone. (12) is an improvement on (8) because it ensures that we generate not only the examples in (9) and (11) but also blocks the generation of such examples as (13) where the PP following the auxiliary verb is not a PP[ti].

(13) (a) *Mo n' ti ilé ló
    I is to house go

(b) *Mo n' í ilé jèun
    I have in house eat

Despite the improvement of (12) on (8), (12) still allows examples such as (14)
which are not allowed in the language.

(14) *Mo màa á lô
    I will INF go

The reason (14) is ungrammatical is that the auxiliary verb immediately precedes an Infinitive marker. It will be noted that there is nothing in either (8) or (12) stopping the generation of (14). For instance, there is no specification on the VP of the two rules; hence the first verb in the VP can be a modifying verb, an infinitive or just any verb. To disallow examples such as (14), we still need to modify our ID rule further. (15) is our new proposal.

(15) VP[AUX] ---> H[11], (PP[ti]), VP[-INF]

(15) ensures that only a VP whose head is a non-infinitive can serve as a complement to an auxiliary verb. Note that (15) does not disallow examples such as (16).

(16) Mo ti fê ê râ á
    I PH want INF buy it
    "I had wanted to buy it"

(15) allows the generation of (16) because the infinitive verb marker does not follow the auxiliary verb immediately.

6.8.2.2. The Modifying Verb

Unlike the auxiliary verb, nothing debars the modifying verb from immediately preceding any verb. For this reason, we could have the lexical rule in (17) to introduce it.

(17) VP[+MOD] ---> H[12], (PP[ti]), VP

(17) says that a V[+MOD] node can be followed by PP[ti] and VP or a VP alone.
(17) can therefore generate not only (18) where the modifying verb immediately precedes a main verb but also (19) where it immediately precedes an infinitive marker.

(18) ḍ tẹ̀tẹ̀ 1ọ́
He hurry go
"He went in time"

(19) ḍ fẹ̀rẹ̀ ẹ́ tán
It almost INF finish
"It is about to finish"

The major difference between the modifying verb and the auxiliary verb, then, is that whereas the former can occur with the infinitive verb marker, the latter does not. Note that nothing in (17) debars a modifying verb from introducing or being introduced by an auxiliary verb phrase. This shows that the examples in (20) and (21) and the the structures in (22) and (23) can be generated.

(20) ḍ ọ́ ti kúkú ẹ̀
He PH already bath
"He has already had his bath"

(21) ḍ kúkú ti ẹ̀
He already PH bath
"He has had his bath already"
6.9. Introducing the Infinitive Verb Phrase and the Serial Verb Construction

A clear-cut distinction is not always made between verb subclasses such as infinitive, serial and modifying verbs by some Yoruba writers. For instance, in their analysis of the serial verb constructions, Ekundayo and Akinnaso (1983:116, 121) give the structure of Yoruba serial verbs as (24) (a) and exemplify them with (24) (b) (the numbering is ours).
(24) (a) NP V (NP) V (NP) V (NP) ...

(b) (i) Won ti tun le wá fẹ́ wá lọ gbé ẹ̀rù náà wá
they have again can come want come go carry
luggage come
"They might have again decided to go
and bring the luggage"

(ii) O' fẹ́ wá wá wá wá
he want come seek us come
"He intends to (come and) look for us here"

We agree with Ekundayo and Akinnaso that there are some serial verbs in (24)
(b) (i) and (ii) but a close look at the two sentences shows that apart from the
serial verbs, there are auxiliary verbs, a modifying verb and infinitive verb
phrases in the VP in (24) (b) (i) and both infinitive verb phrases and serial verbs
in (24) (b) (ii). As these verbs have been recognized as belonging to different
subclasses in the language, the differences between the VP’s which they head
should be made clear in any analysis. In the remaining part of this chapter, we
shall state the rules that handle both the infinitive verb phrase and the serial
verbs and show how the sentences in (24) (b) should be analysed.

6.9.1. The Infinitive Verb
To start with, it should be noted that the orthographic representation given to
sentences (24) (b) (i) and (ii) is not accurate because the infinitive verb marker,
which is the lengthening of the last vowel of the word preceding the infinitive
verb as in (19), is not indicated. If this is indicated, the VP in (24) (b) (i) and (ii)
should be written as (25) (a) and (b) respectively.

(25) (a) Won ti tun le wá á fẹ́ á wá á lọ gbé ẹ̀rù náà wá
they have again can come INF want INF come INF go
carry luggage come
"They might have again decided to go and bring the
luggage"
There are three infinitive verb phrases in (25) (a) and two in (25) (b) none of which are indicated in (24) (b). The rules that introduce the infinitive verb in the language are (26) (a), (b) and (c). While (26) (a) expands the infinitive verb phrase, (26) (b) and (c) introduce the infinitive as a complement.

(26) (a) VP[+INF] ---> H[13], (PP[ti]), VP[-INF]
(b) VP ---> H[14], VP[+INF]
(c) VP ---> H[15], NP, VP[+INF]

While (26) (a) and (b) together generate examples such as (27) (a), (26) (a) and (c) generate (27) (c). (26) (a) which introduces the infinitive verb phrase differs from (17) which introduces the modifying verb in that an infinitive verb does not immediately follow an auxiliary verb. There is no such constraint on the occurrence of a modifying verb for it can either precede or follow an auxiliary verb. So, (15) and (26) (a) taken together disallow the generation of (27) (b). The rules in (26) allow the generation of the expressions in (27) (a) and (c) and licence the structures in (27) (d) and (e).

(27) (a) Mo fę 'ę 19
I want INF go
"I want to go"

(b) *Mo máa ą 19
I will INF go

(c) Oń íség ę 9e
He have work INF do
"He has some work to do"
6.9.2. The Serial Verbs

As with the other three verbal constructions, the serial verb construction also contains at least two verbs in a verb + complements structure but it differs from the other constructions in that its head can be followed by either a VP, a PP or a NP and that this head is always a V[+BSE]. So, to expand the serial
verb construction, we would need a lexical rule like (30).

\[(30) \text{VP} [+\text{BSE}] \rightarrow H[16], (XP), \text{VP} \]
\[XP = [\text{\{-V, BAR2\}}] \]

(30) will generate examples such as the ones in (31) (a) and (b) and will licence the structures in (31) (c) and (d).

(31) (a) \text{O} \text{fi ìwé na Olú}
   He use book hit Olu
   "He hit Olu with the book"

(b) \text{O rìn ti oko wà sì ìlè}
   He walk from farm come to home
   "He walked home from the farm"

(c)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} [+\text{BSE}] \\
\text{V[16]} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{fi ìwé na Olú} \\
\text{use book hit Olu} \\
\text{"hits Olu with a book"}
\end{array}
\]
The examples in (32) (a) and (b) are regarded as serial verb constructions by Oyelaran (1982b).

(32) (a) Ọ sọ pé mo pé
He say say I late
"He said I was late"

(b) Ọ sọ pé kí n pé
He say say COMP I late
"He said that I was late"

One of the sentences contains the complementizer kí. (32) (b) contains an Embedded sentence kí n pé "COMP I late". For introducing the complementizer, we need a feature COMP whose value is the name of the complementizer kí. The complementizer kí is not a head feature. Its distribution is governed by the FCR

[COMP] ⊃ [+SUBJ]

which states that any category in which COMP is assigned a value is one in
which the feature SUBJ is assigned the value +. This means that the only category that can contain a feature specification [COMP ki] is $V^2{[+\text{SUBJ}]}$. (33) (a), therefore, allows any clause positively specified for complementizer features to be expanded.

With (33) (a) introducing the complementizer $k\bar{f}$, the rule in (30) can also be used to generate such examples as (32) (a) and (b) and the structures in (33) (b) and (c).

(33) (a) \[ S[\text{COMP } k\bar{f}] \rightarrow [[\text{SUBCAT } k\bar{f}]], H[\text{COMP NIL}] \]

(b) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP}[^{+\text{BSE}}] \\
\text{V}[16] & \text{VP} \\
\text{V}[7] & \text{S} \\
\text{sq} & \text{pe} & \text{mo} & \text{pe} \\
\text{say} & \text{say} & \text{I} & \text{late} \\
\end{array}
\]

"said I was late"
6.10. The Four Verbal Constructions Exemplified

The rules we have introduced in the chapter so far will assign the trees shown in (34) (c) and (d) to (25) (a) and (b) respectively. This is because, as we have stated earlier, (25) (a) and (b) contain not only serial verbs but also auxiliary verbs, modifying verbs and the infinitive verb phrases. For convenience, (25) (a) and (b) are reproduced here as (34) (a) and (b) respectively.

(34)  
(a) Wọn ti tún lè wá á fẹ́ ẹ́ wá á lọ́ gbé ẹ̀rù nàà wá  
they have again can come INF want INF come INF go  
carry luggage come  
"They might have again decided to go and bring the luggage"

(b) Ọ̀ fẹ́ wá á wá wá wá  
he want INF come INF seek us come  
"He intends to (come and) look for us here"
have again can come again Inf want Inf go and bring the luggage again decided to go and bring the luggage
6.11. Summary

In this chapter, we propose the rules that deal with auxiliary and modifying verbs. The similarity and the differences between the two verbs are noted. We then compare the modifying verb with both the serial verbs and the infinitive verb phrase.
6.12. Notes and References to Chapter 6

1. Familiarity with GPSG as proposed by Gazdar et al. (1985) is assumed in this chapter and the next. So, it is only the formalism of the grammar which is relevant to our discussion that will be discussed here. It should be noted, however, that unlike in Gazdar et al. (1985), both [INF] and [+BSE] are not used as VFORM values in this work. In addition, Dr. Ronald Cann's published and unpublished work and class lectures are used extensively in our discussion. For convenience, we have replaced all references to V", N" etc. with VP, NP. In our analysis, both matrix and embedded VP's, NP's etc. are assigned one bar. Our use of S corresponds to V", the maximal projection of V. We will ignore the matter of semantic translation here, first, on the assumption that they are derived algorithmically from syntactic rules in the manner described by Klein and Sag (1982); and second, because they never contribute to determining string or tree admissibility.

2. This is taken from a class lecture

3. These items are discussed below.

4. The general LP Rule, [SUBCAT] < ~[SUBCAT], introduced earlier, is assumed here and in subsequent rules.

5. See Awoyale (1983) for discussions on the infinitive verb phrase and the serial verb constructions. See Chapter 2 of this work for discussions on the auxiliary and the modifying verbs.
CHAPTER 7

SEQUENCE AND COOCCURRENCE BETWEEN THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS

7.1. Introduction

Just as in several other languages of the world, the Yoruba auxiliary verbs can be stacked, that is, there can be more than one auxiliary verb in a structure. In this chapter, we shall propose an analysis, within the framework of GPSG, which accounts for the distribution of the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work. The following features would be useful in our analysis.

(1) (a) +NEG(NEGATIVE), +BSE(BASE-FORM), +PERF(PERFECTIVE), +PROG(PROGRESSIVE), +HAB(HABITUAL), +INF(INFINITIVE), +ASS(ASSUMPTIVE), +POT(POTENTIAL),
+OBL(OBLIGATIVE), +PH(PHASE),
+MOD(MODIFYING), +FOC(FOCUS).

(b) +AUX(AUXILIARY), +ASP(ASPECT), +ALT(ALTERNANT), +M(MODAL),

7.2. Comparison with Gazdar et al. (1981)

Although the following analysis has a great deal in common with Gazdar et al. (1981), it differs from their analysis in at least two ways.

First, some Yoruba auxiliary verbs have what is often referred to in the literature as variants. Here, we shall use the terms “primary” and “variant” to distinguish between an auxiliary verb and its variants. The relationship between these primaries and their variants is like the relationship between the English negative particle n’t and the unstressed not. The two are often analysed differently because the latter “occurs in a variety of environments” in which the former “is barred”, e.g. in tags like “can’t we?”, “*cannot we?” (Jeffer and Zwicky 1980:225).
Like n't and not, these primaries and their variants often occur in mutually exclusive environments. For this reason, we shall also analyse them differently in this work. We shall use the feature in (2) to distinguish these variants from their primaries.

\[(2) \ [+ALT \ n] \]
\[n \in \{1,2,3\} \]

We can simply write [+ALT] if our discussion concerns all the values in (2). As the typical occurrences of the auxiliary verbs are the primaries, we shall need (3) to specify the value that the features in (1) (a) will have if no other principle such as the ID rule causes this value to be different.

\[(3) \text{ FSD3: } [\neg ALT] \]

(3) allows us to simply write [+PROG] for [+PROG, \neg ALT].

Second, Gazdar et al.'s analysis represents a relation between what Owens (1984:11) calls "a verb of a certain lexical class (left side) and a verb of some morphological form (right side)". For instance, a V[+ASP] lexical class composed of say "be" and "have" on the left side of Gazdar et al.'s rule schema may have a past participle form of any class of verb on the right. In this chapter, unlike in Gazdar et al. (1981), all items to be discussed belong to Owen's (1984:10) "lexical class".

7.3. Other Rules

The following are the FCR's already introduced in Chapter 6 which we still need here:

\[(4) \]
\[(a) \text{ FCR3: } [+PH] \supset [+AUX] \]
\[(b) \text{ FCR4: } [+NEG] \supset [+AUX] \]
\[(c) \text{ FCR5: } [+M] \supset [+AUX] \]
\[(d) \text{ FCR6: } [+ASP] \supset [+AUX] \]
Other points to note are that the perfective cannot be preceded by any other verb. The same applies to all negative verbs except ma' and kô which we assign the feature [+NEG, +ALT 1] and [+NEG, +ALT 3] respectively (see (8) below). Also, no auxiliary verb can immediately precede either itself or its variants. The former two are shown in (5) while the latter is indicated in (6).

The symbols "/" and "{}" are used to indicate "or" i.e. "a/b" means "a or b".

\[(5)\text{ LPR1: } V \prec \begin{cases} [+\text{PERF}] \\ [+\text{NEG}] \\ [+\text{NEG}, +\text{ALT}2] \end{cases}\]

\[(6)\text{ LPR2 :} [+\text{AUX}, +\theta, +/\text{-ALT}] + [+\text{AUX}, +\theta] \]

Other FCR's needed here are the following:

\[(7)\]
(a) FCR7 : [+HAB] ⇒ [+ASP]
(b) FCR8 : [+PERF] ⇒ [+ASP]
(c) FCR9 : [+PROG] ⇒ [+ASP]
(d) FCR10 : [+ASS] ⇒ [+M]
(e) FCR11 : [+OBL] ⇒ [+M]
(f) FCR12 : [+POT] ⇒ [+M]

Having stated the FCR's, LPR's and FSD's needed in the chapter, we can now give the examples of the VP's in which the [+V, -N] heads have the features in (1). The VP's are exemplified in (8).

\[(8)\]
+NEG: the head verb of the VP is a negative verb: e.g. kô "not" in Olu kô lô "Olu didn't go".

+BSE: the head verb of the VP is a main verb: e.g. ri "see" in ri Olu "see/saw Olu".

+PH: the head verb of the VP is a phase: e.g. ti "have/has/had" in ti lô "has gone".

+PERF: the head verb of the VP is a perfective: e.g. the HTS in Olu ü lô (Olu HTS go) "Olu goes/went".

+PROG: the head verb of the VP is a progressive:
e.g. ń "PROG" in ń lọ "is going".

+HAB: the head verb of the VP is a habitual: e.g. māa ń "HAB" in māa ń lọ "usually go/goes".

+INF: the head verb of the VP is an infinitive: e.g. INF in fé ñ lọ (want INF go) "want to go".

+MOD: the head verb of the VP is a modifying verb: e.g. têtê "quickly" in têtê lọ (quickly go) "go quickly".

+ASS: the head verb of the VP is an assumptive: e.g. yədə "will" in yədə lọ "will go".

+POT: the head verb of the VP is a potential: e.g. lè "can/may" in lè lọ "can go".

+OBL: the head verb of the VP is an obligative: e.g. gbôdô "must" in gbôdô lọ "must go".

+AUX: the head verb of the VP is an auxiliary verb: e.g. ń "PROG" in ń lọ "is going".

+ASP: the head verb of a VP is an aspect: e.g. māa ń "HAB" in māa ń lọ "usually go".

+M: the head verb of the VP is a modal verb: e.g. lè "can/may" in lè lọ "can go".

+ALT: the head verb of the VP is an alternant: e.g. [ass, +ALT 1] is māa "will" in ô māa lọ "He will go".

Other [+ALT] features are:

[+PROG, +ALT 1] = māa "PROG" in māa lọ báyìi "start going now"

[+PH, +ALT 1] = tìi "has/have/had" in kò tìi lọ "he has not gone"

[+ASS, +ALT 2] = nìì "will" in kò nìì lọ "he will not go"

[+HAB, +ALT 1] = māa "HAB" in māa lọ wò ô "(go and) be visiting him"

[+HAB, +ALT 2] = ń "HAB" in ô lè ñ ọ̀se ó "He is able to do it"

[+NEG, +ALT 1] = má "not" in mà lọ "do not go"
7.4. The Order of the Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs

In Chapter 6, we introduced the auxiliary verbs with a rule like (9):

(9) $\text{VP}[+\text{AUX}] \rightarrow H[n], (\text{PP}[ti]), \text{VP}[-\text{INF}]$

$\text{[SUBCAT]} < \sim[\text{SUBCAT}]$

Following Gazdar et al. (1981:11), our "solution to the problem of getting the various auxiliary verbs in the right order is encapsulated in the following finite rule schema".

(10) $\text{VP}[+x, +\text{AUX}] \rightarrow H[n], (\text{PP}[ti]), \text{VP}[y, -\text{INF}]$

where values for $n$, $x$ and $y$ are given in (11).
In (11), the first rule says that the value of \( n \) is 17 while that of \( x \) is [+ASP] and \( y \) is [-AUX]. It states further that VP[+ASP, +AUX] node may dominate a lexical head [SUBCAT 17] followed by an optional PP (see (10)) and a VP[-AUX, -INF] node. The type of lexical head that appears in a VP admitted by rule 17 may dominate the terminal symbols ń/máa "PROG" and ń/máa "HAB" which are
[+PROG, +ALT 1] and [+HAB, +ALT 1] respectively. Thus, (12) (a) and (b) are grammatical while (12) (c) and (d) are not.

(12) (a) ọ n’ lọ
He is/He usually go
"He is going/He usually goes"

(b) Māa ta ḍwe
Start/keep sell book
"Start/Keep selling books"

(c) *ọ n ti lọ
He PROG PH go
"He is has gone"

(d) *Māa yōो ta ḍwe
Start/keep sell book
"Start/Keep will selling books"

Rule 18 introduces the habitual marker māa n and requires that if it occurs first in the VP introduced in (11), the only auxiliary verb that can follow it is the modal verb lè "can/may". The rule says (13) (a) is grammatical while (13) (b) and (c) are not.

(13) (a) ọ máa n le lọ
He HAB POT go
"Often, he was able to go"

(b) *ọ máa n ti lọ
He HAB PH go
"Often, he has been able to go"

(c) *ọ máa n yōो lọ
He HAB ASS go
"Often, he will be able to go"

Rule 19 introduces the high tone syllable (HTS) which is the perfective marker and makes the first verb of the following VP, [-NEG], [-ASS] and [-ASS, +ALT 2]. LPR1 in (5) also ensures that the HTS cannot follow another verb in a VP.
Examples:

(14) (a) ọjọ ọ màa rọ
Rain HTS ASS fall
"It will rain"

(b) *ọjọ ọ yóó rọ
Rain HTS ASS fall
"It will rain"

(c) ọjọ ọ ti rọ
Rain HTS PH fall
"It has rained"

(d) *ọjọ ọ kọ rọ
Rain HTS NEG fall
"It did not rain"

Rule 20 introduces the phase marker ọrọ "has" and requires it to be followed only by either the obligative gbọdọ "must", the potential lè "can/may", the habitual màa or the assumptive nifì "will". Assignment of grammaticality:

(15) (a) Kọ tì ọ gbọdọ lọ
NEG PH OBL go
"He should not go yet"

(b) Kọ tì ọ lè lọ
NEG PH POT go
"He could not have gone yet"

(c) *Kọ tì ọ yóó lọ
NEG PH ASS go
"He would not have gone yet"

(d) Kọ tì ọ nìfì lọ
NEG PH ASS go
"He would not have gone yet"

Rule 21 introduces the phase marker tìrọ "has" and requires that it can be immediately followed only by either the habitual marker màa, the obligative
gbódò “must”, the potential lè “can/may”, the assumptive máa “will” or the progressive n. Assignment of grammaticality:

(16) (a) ò ti n' lò
He PH PROG go
"He has started going"

(b) ò ti lè lò
He PH POT go
"He might have gone"

(c) *ò ti yóò lò
He PH ASS go
"He has will go"

(d) *ò ti kò lò
He PH NEG go
"He has not gone"

Rule 22 introduces the modal verb yóò “will” and one of its variants máa “will” and makes sure that they can be followed only by either the phase marker ti “has”, the progressive máa, the potential lè or the habitual marker máa.

(17) (a) Olu yóò máa lò wọ ó
Olu ASS HAB go look him
"Olu will be visiting him"

(b) Olu yóò ti lò
Olu ASS PH go
"Olu would have gone"

(c) *Olu yóò máa n' lò wọ ó
Olu ASS HAB go look him
"Olu will be visiting him"

(d) *Olu yóò kò lò
Olu ASS NEG go
"Olu did not go"

Rule 23 introduces the modal verb gbódò “must” and makes the following
auxiliary verb to be either the phase markers ti/ti i “has”, the potential le “can/may”, the progressive maa or the habitual marker maa. Hence:

(18) (a) Ọ gbọdọ ti lọ
He OBL PH go
"He must have gone"

(b) Kọ gbọdọ tí i lọ
NEG OBL PH go
"He could not have gone"

(c) Ọ gbọdọ maa wọ ọ
You OBL HAB look it
"You must be looking at it"

(d) *Kọ gbọdọ yọdọ lọ
NEG OBL ASS go
"He must will go"

(e) *Ọ gbọdọ n lọ
He OBL PROG
"He must going"

Rule 24 introduces the modal verb le “can/may”. It requires the item to be followed by either the progressive maa, the habitual markers n/maa, the negative verb maa “not” or any of the phase markers ti/ti i “has”:

(19) (a) Ọ le maa şe é lọwọ báyi
He POT PROG do it in hand now
"He may be doing it now"

(b) Ọ le n’ şe é
He POT HAB do it
"He is usually able to do it"

(c) Ọ le má şe é
He POT NEG do it
"He may not do it"
Rule 25 introduces the modal verb \textit{nh} “will” and requires it to be followed by either the potential \textit{le} “can/may”, the habitual \textit{maa} or the phase marker \textit{tī} “has”:

\begin{align*}
(20) \quad & (a) \quad \textit{kō nhī tīl \textit{še ē}} \\
& \quad \text{NEG ASS PH do it} \\
& \quad \text{"He would not have done it"} \\
& (b) \quad \textit{kō nhī māa lō wō ē} \\
& \quad \text{NEG ASS HAB go look him} \\
& \quad \text{"He will not be visiting him"} \\
& (c) \quad *\textit{kō nhī gbōdō lō} \\
& \quad \text{NEG ASS OBL go} \\
& \quad \text{"He will not must go"} \\
& (d) \quad *\textit{kō nhī tī wō ē} \\
& \quad \text{NEG ASS PH look it} \\
& \quad \text{"He would not have looked at it"}
\end{align*}

Rule 26 introduces the negative verb \textit{kō} “not” and requires it to be followed only by either the potential \textit{le} “can/may”, the obligative \textit{gbōdō} “must” or the phase marker \textit{tī} “has”. LPR1 in (5) will not allow this negative verb to be preceded by any verb.

\begin{align*}
(21) \quad & (a) \quad \textit{kō ti lō wō ē} \\
& \quad \text{NEG PH look it} \\
& \quad \text{"He has not looked at it"}
\end{align*}
(b) *Kò ti wò ó
NEG PH look it
"He has not looked at it"

(c) Kò lè wò ó
NEG POT look it
"He cannot look at it"

(d) *Ó gbdɔ gɔ kò wò ó
He OBL NEG look it
"He must not look at it"

Rule 27 introduces the negative verb ma’ “not” and allows it to be followed by either the potential lè “can/may”, the phase marker ti “has” or the habitual marker máa. LPR1 in (5) also allows it, unlike some of the other negative verbs, to either precede or follow another verb in a VP.

(22) (a) Má tí lọ
NEG PH go
"Do not go yet"

(b) Kò gbdɔ má lè še é
NEG OBL NEG POT do it
"He must be able to do it"

(c) *Kò lè má gbdɔ nè še é
NEG POT NEG OBL do it
"He may must do it"

(d) *Má tí lọ
NEG PH go
"Do not has gone"

Rule 28 introduces the negative verb kɔ/kɔ “not” and makes sure that only the assumptive yɔɔ “will” or the phase marker ti “has” or the potential lè “can/may” can follow it. LPR1 in (5) will not also allow it to be preceded by another verb in a VP.
(23) (a) Ki yòó lọ
NEG ASS go
"He will not go"

(b) Ki i ti lọ dé níwọyí
NEG PH come in now
"He was not used to arriving at this time"

(c) *Ki i gbóó lọ
NEG OBL go
"Not must go"

(d) Olu ki i lè se e
Olu NEG POT do it
"Olu was not usually able to do it"

(e) *Ki i ti se e
NEG PH do it
"Not have do it"

Rule 29 introduces the negative verb kọ “not” and requires it to be followed only by the focus marker ni. LPR1 in (5) does not disallow it from being preceded by another verb. An example of this is (24) (b) where it negates a sentence.

(24) (a) Olu kọ ni
Olu NEG FOC
"It is not Olu"

(b) ò lọ kọ ni ò sọ
Hei go NEG FOC hej say
"He did not say that he went"

(c) *Olu kọ ti ni
Olu NEG PH FOC
"It is not has Olu"

With (25), (26) and (27) as our S-expansion, serial verb expansion and a VP expansion rule respectively from Chapter 6, some of the rules in (11) taken together can generate the examples in (28) and (29) which give rise to the
structures in (30) and (31) respectively.

(25) \( S \rightarrow NP, H[-\text{SUBJ}] \)

(26) \( VP[+BSE] \rightarrow V[16], ([XP]), VP \)
    where \( XP = [-V, \text{BAR2}] \)

(27) \( VP[+BSE] \rightarrow H[1] \)

(28) Olú ú gbóda tì le màa da' a še
    Olu HTS OBL PH POT HAB alone do it
    "Olu must have been able to keep doing it on his own"

(29) Olú kò gbóda tì lè màa da' a še
    Olu NEG OBL PH POT HAB alone do it
    "Olu could not have been able to do it on his own"
"Olu must have been able to do it on his own"

Note
(a) is by (25)
(b) is by rule 19 in (11)
(c) is by rule 23 in (11)
(d) is by rule 21 in (11)
(e) is by rule 24 in (11)
(f) is by rule 17 in (11)
(g) is by rule 16 in (26)
(h) is by rule 1 in (27)
Olu could not have been able to do it on his own

Note
(a) is by (25)  
(b) is by rule 26 in (11)  
(c) is by rule 23 in (11)  
(d) is by rule 20 in (11)  
(e) is by rule 24 in (11)  
(f) is by rule 17 in (11)  
(g) is by rule 16 in (26)
(h) is by rule 1 in (27)

7.5. Comparison with Some Previous Analyses

7.5.1. Introduction

Some of the elements classified in this work as auxiliary verbs have been listed as preverbs by Bamgbose (1966)** and as auxiliaries by Oke (1972)**. They also attempted to account for the order in which the elements could occur in a S.

These writers' very useful contribution is, however, limited in at least two respects; the first relates to the status of the variants of the these elements while the second concerns the problem of "exceptions" to the rules they propose for the cooccurrence restrictions among the elements.

In the remaining part of this chapter, we shall take a closer look at these two issues as they apply to each of the writers mentioned above. We shall also compare our analysis with each of theirs. We begin with Bamgbose's (1966) analysis.

7.5.2. Bamgbose (1966)

Bamgbose's (1966:74)** proposed sequence for the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work can be summarized as follows:

\[(32) \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{I} & \text{II} & \text{III} & \text{IV} \\
\text{Negators} & \text{yọọ "will"} & \text{gbọdọ "must"} & \text{All the others}
\end{array}\]

In (32), IV is the nearest to the verb base form. Although Bamgbose touches upon the variants of the assumptive (nif "will" and mà/máa which he translates as "be going to") and the variants of the negative verb (kì "not" and mà "not") elsewhere in his work (Bamgbose 1966:69-73), he does not include them in (32).
We quite agree with Bamgbose (1966:74 Fn. 31) that any structure in which the negative verb má “not” occurs as a negator is an exception to the sequence in (32) but in addition, we notice that apart from má “not”, both the negative verbs kò “not” and ko “not” also cannot occur in position I in (32) when they combine with yoo “will” in II. For instance, our analysis predicts that we cannot have the sequence *kò yóó “not will” (rule 26 in (11)) and *ko yóó “not will” (rule 29 in (11)). Our prediction here agrees with the facts of the language because the two combinations are also unacceptable. These two combinations would be allowed by Bamgbose’s I and II in (32).

What applies to the negative verbs also applies to the assumptive. The ungrammatical structure *yóó gbóó “will must” which is allowed by Bamgbose’s sequence II and III in (32) is disallowed by our rule 22 in (11).

Finally, from Bamgbose’s (1966:68–74) lists, one can deduce that the following auxiliary verbs could be classified under IV in (32):

\[(33) \text{ti/tí} “has”, \text{ní/máa/máа́n “HAB”, lè “can/may”} \]
\[\text{ní/máa “PROG”} \]

If we classify the items in (33) under IV in (32), the only prediction that could be made from such a classification is that all the sentences in (34) are correct. Our own analysis, on the other hand, agrees with the facts of the language in predicting that only some of the sentences in (34) are grammatical:

\[(34) (a) \text{*Kò ti lò \hspace{1cm} Rule 26 in (11)} \]
\[\text{I IV \hspace{1cm} NEG PH go} \]
\[\text{“He not have go”} \]
(b) *Kọ̀ ti lọ
   I IV
   NEG PH go
   "He not have go"

(c) *Kẹ̀ tị̀ ti lọ
   I IV
   NEG PH go
   "He not have go"

(d) Kọ̀ tị̀ ti lọ
   I IV
   NEG PH go
   "He has not gone"

(e) Kẹ̀ tị̀ ti lọ níwọ̀f
   I IV
   NEG PH go in now
   "He was not used to leaving at this time"

(f) Yọ̀ lè ṣe è
II IV
ASS POT do it
"He will be able to do it"

(g) *Yọ̀ máa ń ṣe è
II IV
ASS HAB do it
"He will usually do it"

(h) Ọ gbọ́ọ̀ lè ṣe è
III IV
He OBL POT do it
"He must be able to do it"

(i) *Ọ gbọ́ọ̀ máa ń ṣe è
III IV
He OBL HAB do it
"He must usually do it"

7.5.3. Oke (1972)

Oke (1972)** is the most recent attempt at stating the cooccurrence restrictions among the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. The table and rule in (35) are
the summary of the possible cluster he proposes for the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work.

(35) (a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRE-EMPTIVES</th>
<th>MODAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTATION**

1. A square marked '+' indicates that co-occurrence of Aux elements is possible. The cluster will thus be constructed by tracing an element on the vertical axis to a square where '+' occurs and following this element by the one dominating the square on the horizontal axis (i.e. t + máannée).

2. A blank square indicate that no such co-occurrence is possible; e.g. there cannot be a sequence: lè + yóö.

(35) (b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yóö</td>
<td>&quot;will&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;has&quot;</td>
<td>máannée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>&quot;can&quot;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>&quot;PROG&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méă1</td>
<td>&quot;will&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 is nearest to the verb base form

The problems with Oke's analysis are identical to the ones noted of Bamgbose (1966). These are the problems of "exceptions" and that of non-inclusion of all the auxiliary variants. The non-inclusion of the negative verb among the auxiliary verbs by Oke can even be traced to the problem of accounting for the variants of this verb within the grammar he sets up for the auxiliaries. According to him, the inclusion of the negative verb among the auxiliaries will force him to "include other negators like máă and kö" (Oke 1969:108–112). Má
"not", according to him, "is unlike any other element in distribution" (ibid).

As will be noted in rule 27 in (11), that the distribution of mà "not" differs from those of the other auxiliary verbs does not mean that the item cannot be accounted for within a grammar set up for the auxiliary verbs. Other items not included in his analysis are listed in (36).

(36) tī "has", n/māa "HAB" and nī "will"

In not including them, he might have thought that they could be accounted for in the columns he sets up for the items in (37).

(37) tī "has", màa nī "HAB" and yōo "will"

However, as the rules in (11) clearly show, the distributions of the items in (36) differ from those in (37).

The rule in (38) used by Oke (1972:146) to account for the progressive n' and its variant màa cannot be extended to the items in (36) and (37).

(38) (a) If ANY of the elements preceding M in the new cluster normally selects the màa₂ variant, then M ---→ màa₂;
(b) otherwise, M ---→ n₁

As will be noted from our rule 17 in (11), the progressive n' shares the same distribution with its variant mà so, the rules in (38) together with (35) could be used to account for both of them but, as the other rules in (11) show, the items in (36) and (37) do not share the same distribution hence, they cannot be accounted for with the rules in (35) taken together with rules formulated in the same way as (38). For this reason, we are of the opinion that they should be analysed differently.
In giving the items different analyses, we do not lose sight of what the two have in common. Take the case of the phase markers ti and ńi "has" for instance. While the former has an entry in the lexicon with the features \{<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+>, <PH,+>, <ALT,->\}, the latter has an entry \{<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+> <PH,+>, <ALT,+>\}. Thus, the two items have the features \{<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+>, <PH,+>\} which would allow for the generalizations that could be made about them.

The second problem with Oke's analysis is that of the "exceptions". Commenting on the "exceptions" noted in Oke's analysis, Oyelaran (1982a:2) states that the "counter examples to the cooccurrence restrictions proposed for the formatives call for a ... reconsideration of the category AUX in the language". Oke (1972:142) himself notes that his rules can account for only the combinations ńi m à a₁ "will" and ti lè "has can/may" but not m à a₂ ti "will has" and lè ti "can/may has" all of which are acceptable. All these combinations are accounted for by our rules 21 and 22 in (11).

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have accounted for the cooccurrence restrictions among the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. We have been able to demonstrate that any attempt to describe the distribution of the auxiliary verbs in a given sentence remains incomplete unless it takes the variants of these auxiliary verbs into consideration. The problem of "exceptions" noted in some of the previous proposals have been avoided in our analysis.
Notes and References to Chapter 7

1. This term is taken from Palmer (1986:62).

2. These terms are suggested by Awobuluyi (1967:253)**

3. The high tone syllable marking the perfective does not occur after the pronominals. See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of this syllable.


5. The high tone syllable is present in items other than the item in 19. The reasons for not classifying the high tone syllable in 19 along with these other items are discussed in Chapter 3.
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we shall draw attention to some of the areas in which this work has contributions to make in the study of Yoruba grammar in particular and universal grammar in general.

8.1. Yoruba Grammar

8.1.1. The Distribution of the Auxiliary Verbs
The approach adopted in the analysis of the distribution of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs has made it possible to throw some light on the distribution of the variants of these verbs and to account for the "exceptions" noted in some previous analyses. It was noted in our review in Chapter 7 that the interest of linguists in the distribution of the auxiliary verbs rarely extended to their variants, largely because these variants share the same meaning with the verbs.

However, we have seen from (12) in Chapter 7 that except the progressive, no other auxiliary verb shares the same distribution with its variants.

8.1.2. The Auxiliary and Some Related Subclasses of Verb
The relationship between the auxiliary, the infinitive, the modifying and the serial verbs are not always discussed by Yoruba linguists. This often leads to confusion because when one of these verbs is being discussed, some of the others are used to exemplify it. In Chapter 6, we have been able to show what these subclasses of verb have in common and how they differ.
8.1.3. The Bibliography

The first linguistic work on Yoruba was published in 1852 by Samuel Ajayi Crowther. Since then, there have been a great number of books, articles and doctoral dissertations written on the language but the major problem concerns where to find them. As stated in the introduction to this work, some of the bibliographies available are compiled either on all African/Nigerian languages in which very few pages are devoted to Yoruba (i.e. Meier 1984; Ita 1971)** or on many Yoruba disciplines in which Yoruba language in Nigeria is just one (i.e. Baldwin and Baldwin 1976)**. The latter say nothing, and the former very little, about the Yoruba in diaspora.

To the Yoruba linguists, the bibliography in Appendix C of this work therefore will be an essential aid to their work and should serve as a starting point for a wide range of linguistic enquiry on the language.

8.2. Universal Grammar

8.2.1. The Category AUX

This work shows that the category Aux cannot be convincingly established for Yoruba language. Some of the points noted are:

(i) The Yoruba auxiliary verbs do not take "a special form of the main verb - a participial or infinitive form" (Steele 1978:14) as complement as required of languages with category Aux

(ii) No Yoruba auxiliary verb occurs rigidly in the initial or final position in S. The only auxiliary verb that always occurs in the second position in S is the high tone syllable but according to Thrane (1983:158), a language specific category cannot be established on the basis of one element.

(iii) The auxiliary verbs cannot be clearly distinguished from the verb base form in Yoruba. This is quite unlike English where we have the NICE properties (i.e. Negation, Inversion, 'Code' and Emphatic Affirmation)
to distinguish the verb base form from the auxiliary.

(iv) Tense which is a necessary condition for the establishment of category Aux is not available in the language.

Thus, the study supports the view that category AUX is not a "necessary, predicate-bound linguistic property, rather, it is a merely possible, significant, language-bound linguistic property" (Thrane 1983:14).

8.2.2. Syntactic Theory
Zwicky (1986:855) describes the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) as "a generative, but nontransformational, theory of syntax". According to him,

GPSG is of recent vintage, less than a decade old, and English is its first language. It is no surprise, then, that the first book-length exposition of the theory, the 1985 volume by Gazdar, Pullum, and Sag, relies on English to illustrate the features of GPSG. Nevertheless, GPSG is intended as a ... universal, ... theory of syntax.

Although Chapters 6 and 7 of this work do not go very far, they are able to show that GPSG can provide a framework for describing the syntax of what we now regard as one of its second languages, Yoruba. The importance of the auxiliary verbs to any grammar cannot be overemphasized (Chomsky 1957:38). The fact that GPSG can handle several difficult problems of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs left unsolved by some previous writers demonstrates the usefulness of the grammar for providing analyses for Yoruba syntax.

8.2.3. The Locative-Progressive Relationship
This study has made some contributions to the study of the locative-progressive connection. It has been suggested that progressive markers derive from four types of verbs:
(a) copulas
(b) motional or postural verbs
(c) pro-verbs like "do" and
(d) progressive auxiliary verbs whose full lexical origin is unknown
   (Heine and Reh 1984:122)

(d) is said to be very rare. Our discussion on the progressive in Chapter 3 shows that Yoruba is one of those few languages in which the progressive cannot be traced to any of (a), (b) and (c).
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## I. Nigerian Administrative Areas with Predominantly Yoruba Speaking Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Area</th>
<th>Area ('000 km)</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>Major constituent Yoruba Subgroups</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>LAGOS STATE</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>1444</td>
<td>Àwórl, Ègùn etc.</td>
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<td>Èjèbú etc.</td>
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<td>450</td>
<td>665</td>
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<td>3984</td>
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<td>1259</td>
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<td>482</td>
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<td>853</td>
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<td>905</td>
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<td>Òwọ Division [h]</td>
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<td>225</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>Òwọ, Àkókó.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


[a]. These areas now include most of Metropolitan Lagos, with an
extremely mixed population.
[b]. Includes present Ìbàdàn city, Ìbàdàn and Ìbàràpá Division.
[c]. Includes Òṣùn Central, North East, North West and South Divisions.
[d]. Includes Òṣùn North and Òṣùn South Divisions.
[e]. Figures relate only to predominantly Yoruba-Speaking areas of Kwara State, i.e. Ìlòrin and Kabba divisions.
[f]. Includes Ìlòrin, Òṣùn (Òfà) and Ìgbòmòlò-Èkòlì Divisions.
[g]. Includes Òkèti North, South, West and Central Divisions and Akure Division.
[h]. Includes Òwò and Àkókó Divisions.

I.II. Yoruba-speaking Subgroups in Togo and Benin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBGROUP</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ànàgò&quot; (Awori, Ohori, Ifoyin)</td>
<td>120,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kétu</td>
<td>18,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sábê</td>
<td>50,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àjàṣé (Porto Novo)</td>
<td>30,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ìdaisa</td>
<td>40,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ìsa</td>
<td>14,000.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manigiri</td>
<td>7,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifẹ</td>
<td>60,000.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Igue and Yai (1973:9).
I pay homage to Esu,
Esu nicknamed Laalu,
Esu, kinsman of Nana,
I salute you,

5 I say good bye to you.
I pay homage to your ancestors,
I salute and pay homage to them,
I say good by to them.

10 I salute Obaluaye,
I salute and pay homage to you,
I say good bye.
You Osanyin
With one leg

15 And those with two legs,
I salute you and pay homage to you,
I say good bye.
Sango whose salute is Kawoo, the
king whose greeting is Kabiyesile,
The hard man of blazing fire,

20 I salute and pay homage to you,
I say good bye.
This son of Babalawo,
Son of Ifa and Ogun,
I like to find the eledaa
   Of this son of Ogun,
I salute Osun, Oore yeye,
I salute you,
I also say good bye ...
I. Appendix C: A Comprehensive Linguistic Bibliography of Yoruba

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**JOURNAL OF FOLKLORE INSTITUTE.** Bloomington, Indiana.


**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION.** London: University College.


**JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY.** Washington: The Study of Negro Life and History Inc.


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LANGUAGE SCIENCES: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY FORUM. Chome, Osawa, Japan: International University Language Sciences Summer Institute.

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LINGUISTIC INQUIRY. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.


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NATAIS. Ibadan, Nigeria: The Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

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published by the University of Ife Press.

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*PROSPECTS: QUARTERLY REVIEW OF EDUCATION.* Paris: UNESCO.

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WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF MODERN LANGUAGES. Maiduguri, Nigeria: Department of Linguistics, University of Maiduguri.

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ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WIRTSCHAFTSGEOGRAPHIE. Hagen: Pick-Verlag.
I. III. The Bibliography


[Indexes periodicals published in Nigeria or of Nigerian interest and combines subject/author listing of articles published in 1966.]


4. ___ (1982), "Notes on Collection, Transcription, Translation and Analysis of Yoruba Oral Literature", in YORUBA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, (see A. Afolayan), pp. 73-81.


[Suggests that the orthographic systems of the major Nigerian languages should be subject to analytical study.]


11. ___ (1982a), LEARNING AND TEACHING YORUBA IN
POST-PRIMARY INSTITUTIONS. Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.


["I regard this (dictionary) ... as a very great work, a monument of British scholarship and initiative. It opens many opportunities to the Yoruba, and it will help the development of understanding" (Armstrong 1959:92).]


["My (dictionary) ... embraces every aspect of Yoruba civilization: ... almost all trees, flowers and plants of Yorubaland are included ... Also included are riddles and proverbs ... religion and magic are covered ... History from the earliest time is also included. There is an introductory section elucidating the theoretical aspect of Yoruba from the point of view of tone, sound, grammar, and the complex numerical system ...", p. 659.]


[Discusses the problems encountered by the anglophone students of French with special reference to Yoruba students.]

Ibadan, Nigeria: The Author.


[Calls for research into English in relation to major African languages.]


[Includes the discussion of the place of Nigerian languages in education.]


LANGUAGES 1:23-30.


(Includes the discussion of some works written on Yoruba language in education.)


(A study of contemporary Nigerian performance in English influenced by mother tongue interference.)


44. ODUMA (1971), "The Pronoun in Yoruba: Its Functions in Three
Dialects”, ANNALES DE L'UNIVERSITE D'ABIDJAN: ACTES DU CONGRES DE LA SOCIETE LINGUISTIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTAL, SERIE H 1, pp. 203-219


[Includes the discussion of bilingualism and language interference. According to him, "iya in Yoruba roughly translates 'mother' but it is a term I apply not only for my female parent but also to any relation as old as my female parent or to the mothers of my friends. It is very unlikely that I'll address a letter to my friend's mother as 'Dear Mrs X'. I dare not as in my culture it will be damn rude. I'll address her 'My dear mother', p. 137.]


54. *** (forthcoming0), “Yoo:The So-called Future Particle in Yoruba”, UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS.

55. *** (forthcoming0), “Dahl (1985) and the Yoruba
Perfective*, BELFAST WORKING PAPERS IN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS.


57. Adeyemi, M.C. (1932), A COMPANION TO YORUBA LANGUAGE SIMPLIFIED. Ondo, Nigeria: The Author.

58. ____ (1933a), YORUBA COMPOSITION. Ondo, Nigeria: The Author.

59. ____ (1933b), YORUBA CONVERSATION. Ondo, Nigeria: The Author.


   [Discusses the effect the cultural background of a learner has on his/her learning of L2.]


   [Comments on the 1969 Ife conference on Yoruba.]


68. ____ (1969c), "Constituents of Yoruba Studies", NIGERIA
Also in his **Yoruba Language and Literature**, (see below), pp. 23-35.


[Contrasts English with Yoruba.]


76. ____ (1973), "Using Yoruba as a Medium of Instruction in Schools", in *ATEA* (see Babs A Fafunwa), pp. 66-77.

77. ____ (1974), "Experimenting in the Use of an Indigenous Nigerian Language as the Medium of Primary Education: The Six-Year (Yoruba Medium) Primary Project at Ile", in *Language Education in Nigeria* (see E. Ubahakwe), pp.173-209.

78. ____ (1976), "The Six-Year Primary School Project in Nigeria", in *Mother Tongue Education: West African Experience*, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 113-134.


["African languages should be written in a simple, readable script based on phonetic principle", p. 20.]


[Includes some remarks on his work on the Yoruba language.]


107. ____ (1982), "Lexical Borrowings in Yoruba", in YORUBA

[Most of the examples are taken from Yoruba.]


[The influence of the indigenous languages on English is discussed.]


113. ____ (1981), "Sociolinguistic Consequences of Language Contact: English versus Nigerian Languages", *LANGUAGE SCIENCES* (Chome, Osawa u. a.) 3.2:283-304.


[Most of the examples used to explain the sociocultural constraints on Nigerian English are taken from Yoruba.]


[Includes the discussion of the relationship between
Yoruba and Ogori languages.


[A report on the Ife 1968 seminar the theme of which is "the development of Yoruba for Modern age ... (and the advancement) of Yoruba language and literature"; p. 531.]


120. _____ (1978), "A Comparative Phonology of Yoruba (Dialects), Itsekiri and Igala." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ibadan.


129. _____ (1983b), "Yoruba Traditional Names and the


133. ___ (1931), DICTIONARY OF YORUBA LANGUAGE (Parts 1 and 2.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.

134. ___ (1932), LECTURES ON YORUBA LANGUAGE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS GRAMMAR Lagos, Nigeria:ljaye Press.

135. ___ (1933), TRAINING IN ENGLISH:IWE AKOMOLEDE GESI Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.

136. ___ (1941), FIRST STEPS IN YORUBA COMPOSITION Lagos, Nigeria:Alebiosu Press.

137. ___ (1942), YORUBA LANGUAGE AS A SYLLABIC AND EUPHONIC LANGUAGE Lagos, Nigeria:Alebiosu Press.


139. ___ (1945), MODERN GRAMMAR OF YORUBA LANGUAGE Lagos, Nigeria:Alebiosu Press.

140. ___ (1947a), IWE EDE GESI OLOHUN IYO, PART II (English Language Text, Part II) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.


[Touches upon some of the effects the Benin contact have on Ikere, Akure, Idoani and Owo dialects of Yoruba.]


147. ____ (1984), "Ikekun to wa ninu kiko ese Ifa sile". (Some noted problems in the transcription of Ifa verse.) LAANGBASA 1:1–38.


151. ____ (1972), AN INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGES IN AFRICA London:Heinemann.


[He includes some Yoruba structures in what he regards}
as African correlates of some Creole constructions.]


[The influence of Nigerian tone languages, such as Yoruba, on English is discussed.]


[The historical, cultural and social factors involved in the influence of English on speakers of West African languages including Yoruba are stated and the structural characteristics of the items that are accepted by the languages from English noted.]


[Comments on writing and orthography in Yoruba.]


[“I have been told by people who should have known better that Yoruba is a ‘primitive language’ (but) .... [when Dr. Abraham was completing his recently published DICTIONARY OF (MODERN) YORUBA, he told me, ‘Yoruba is an endless ocean’”, pp. 66-68.]


[Contains the summary of the discussion of the Kwa working group at Dakar.]


[Includes an appendix wherein the network of linguistic relationships in West Africa are illustrated by eighty words, each of which appear in basic vocabularies of many languages.]


[Includes Abraham's work on Yoruba.]

179. ____ (1965), "Comparative Wordlists of Two Dialects of Yoruba Igala", JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES 2.2:51-78.


[A long text in the Ekiti dialect of Yoruba, with translation and grammatical notes.]


182. ____ (1972), OBA KOSO. (Bilingual Literary Works, 1.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

[The transcription and translation of the Yoruba text of Duro Ladipo's opera OBA KOSO.]


[The transcription and translation of the Yoruba text of Kola Ogunmola's opera OMUNTI.]

[Examples are taken from Yoruba.]


[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]


196. ____ (1970d), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA KINI (Reading Book 1.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.
197. ____ (1970e), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA EKEJI (Reading Book 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.

198. ____ (1970f), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA EKETA (Reading Book 3.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.

199. ____ (1973a), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA EKERIN (Reading Book 4.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.

200. ____ (1973b), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA EKARUN (Reading Book 5.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.

201. ____ (1973c), AKOMOLEDE YORUBA: IWE KIKA EKEFA (Reading Book 6.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.


205. ____ (1974b), AKOMOLEDE IJINLE YORUBA APA KEJI (Secondary Yoruba Course Book 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.

206. ____ (1976), AKOMOLEDE IJINLE YORUBA APA KETA (Secondary Yoruba Course Book 3.) Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan.


   [Examples are taken from Yoruba.]

209. Ashiwaju, Michael (1968), LEHRBUCH DER YORUBA-SPRACHE (Handbook of the Yoruba Language.) Leipzig: VEB-Verlag

California.


   [Prepared for Education in Africa.]


231. (1972d), "The Morphophonemics of Owon Afa (Yoruba)", RESEARCH NOTES 5:25-44.


234. (1975b), "On 'the Subject Concord Prefix' in Yoruba", STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 6,3:215-238.


236. (1978a) "Focus Construction as Noun Phrase", LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS 4, 2:93-114.


239. (1983), IYOPA-FAWELI: AMOJUFO ARA FONOLOJI YORUBA (Vowel Coalescence: A Neglected Aspect of Yoruba Phonology.) (Adeyemi Karunwi Memorial Lectures (in Yoruba), 2.) Lagos: Department of African Languages and


244. ____ (1971a), YORUBA ATATA FUN ODE ONI (Yoruba for Today.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Onibonoje Press.


   (Discusses some of the works written by Bowen on Yoruba.)


252. (1976a), "Mother Tongue Education in West Africa: A Historical Background", in MOTHER TONGUE EDUCATION: WEST AFRICAN EXPERIENCE, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 46–86.


263. (1984d), "Language Medium/Media Choices and Their Effects on the Learning of Science Oriented Subject (i.e.
Mathematics) at the Primary School Level in Ilorin, Kwara State", *THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION* 58,12:293–300.


274. ____ (1962a), *IWE EDE YORUBA* 1. (Yoruba Language Course Book 1.) Lagos, Nigeria:Longman.

275. ____ (1962b), *IWE EDE YORUBA* 2. (Yoruba Language Course Book 2.) Lagos, Nigeria:Longman.


278. ____ (1966), *THE CONTENT AND FORM OF YORUBA IJALA* London:Oxford University Press. See a review of the work by

279. ____ (1967), "Aniyan Nipa Ede Abinibi Wa Yi, Ede Yoruba." (Efforts on our indigenous language, Yoruba.) *OLOKUN* 7:16-17.


284. ____ (1981a), "Pitfalls in the Use of 'Pelu', *THE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHER* 4,1:11-12.


289. ____ (1986a), "A Case for Suprasegmental Tone in
Yoruba: The Melodic Tone”, WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS, pp. 1-16. Melbourne, Australia: Linguistics Section, Department of Russian and Language Studies, University of Melbourne.


[Includes the discussion of the Yoruba-related languages of Kabba province and Igala.]


["This analysis of Yoruba, ... is particularly welcome since it is the work of a linguist who is himself a Yoruba and so carries on the tradition established by the pioneer work of Samuel Crowther, whose GRAMMAR (OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE) appeared in 1852" (Rowlands 1967:736).]


[Identifies grammatical, lexical and dialectal features of proverbs.]


de l'Academie de la Republique Socialiste de Roumanie.


[Distinguishes Yoruba poetry's tonal, lexical and semantic word plays.]


[The influence of various Nigerian languages on "Nigerian English" is discussed.]


318. ____ (1972c), "What is a Verb in Yoruba?", in his THE YORUBA VERB PHRASE, (ibid), pp. 17-60.


[Among the topics discussed is the famous Ife experiment in Nigeria, in which Yoruba, the mother tongue of the community, is being used as the language of instruction for all six years of primary school.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages used for exemplification.]


334. (1980e), "Towards an Implementation of Nigeria's Language Policy in Education", in his LANGUAGE


342. (1982d), "Lexical Matching in Yoruba", in YORUBA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, (see A. Afolayan), pp. 82–94.


344. (1982f), "Constituents of Yoruba Studies", in YORUBA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, (see A. Afolayan), pp. 1–12.


346. (1983b), "On Timeless Sentences in Yoruba", JOURNAL
OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES 1:1–16.


[Notes that one of the characteristics that divided the 'Christian Creole' from the 'Aku Muslim' society was that the former spoke English and Krio, while the latter spoke Yoruba.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]


[Includes the use of language in riddles.]


[Includes the discussion of the continuity of the Yoruba Language in Cuba.]


[Claims that dialects of Yoruba are also in use in Trinidad, Jamaica (Nago), and Cuba (Lucumi). In Trinidad and Cuba,
their use is mainly within African-derived religious practice (Shango in Trinidad, Santeria in Cuba) but on both islands there are persons, descendants of 19th century migrants, who still have a fair command of Yoruba without being members of the Shango or Santeria religions.


[Reviews Afro-American Studies, i.e., Subjects, Scholars etc., and suggests programmes for further research.]


[A study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa.]


[Includes the discussion of the syntactic similarities between African Languages and Afro-American speech.]


[Translated from the original German.]

[Shows how drum signals reproduce tones and glides of the language.]


[Includes the use of Yoruba language by Fagunwa, a Yoruba novelist.]


[Includes the discussion of vowel+vowel reduction in Yoruba, "the question of which of the two vowels to delete in fast tempo ... has been a problem for linguists describing that language for over a century", p. 120.]


[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages classified.]


["Of Yoruba, little need be said here ... there are far more borrowings from Yoruba into Krio than from any other West African language", p. 302. Some examples of Yoruba loanwords are given.]

["In nine months preliminary work for the projected dictionary of krio, I have so far identified words from 14 West African languages ... And, so far as I could make out, the process of borrowing still goes on: new words are introduced from Temne, Mende and Yoruba", p. 745.]


[Includes some Yoruba loanwords.]


[Suggests that Krio is a tone language and presents a prosodic structure of Krio in which it is shown that Professor Peter Streven's claim that "the tonal system of Yoruba has disappeared (from Freetown Krio) but a sentence stress and intonation pattern broadly like that of Received Pronunciation is present" is not accurate.]


[Further comments on the Krio prosodies.]


[Makes references to tones in Yoruba.]


[Includes the link between Yoruba, Adja, Ewe and Quatchi.]

408. Bickerton, Derek (1981), ROOTS OF LANGUAGE. Ann Arbor.

["Let us suppose that a very common structure of Caribbean Creoles is also attested for Yoruba and perhaps one or two other relatively minor languages .... To most substratomaniacs, the mere evidence of such similarities constitutes self-evident proof of the connection" p. 48.]


[Traces the origin of the Yoruba to Egypt.]


[Discussions based on the Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, Nigeria, where Yoruba Language is one of the courses on the curriculum.]


[a "treatise on the fundamental sources that any historian of the Yoruba would need to consult. There are essays on traditional history as well as contemporary written sources; on proverbs, poetry, oriki, the Ifa cult, and the Yoruba language" (Kirk-Greene 1976:102).]


[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Also includes works written on the Yoruba language.]

[Examples are taken from English, Yoruba and Spanish.]


[Gullah is spoken by the Negro population of the coastal belt of South Carolina and Georgia. It contains many Yoruba words and resembles Yoruba both in form and structure.]


[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Includes the discussion of vocalic nasal in Proto-Yoruboid.]


[Discusses Yoruba among other languages.]


423. Bowen, T.J. (1885a), A GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE. (Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, 10). Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

424. ______ (1885b), "Yoruba Proverbs", CHRISTIAN REVIEW 33:508-528.


[About 200 words are listed.]


[Cites some works written on the Yoruba Language.]

436. ______ (1985), "Language Policy, Planning and Management in
Nigeria: A Bird’s Eye View”, **Sociolinguistics** 15,1:30–32.


[Discusses the collective experience of people speaking different languages. Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


[Discusses the colonial policies and language; he also discusses nationalism and language in Nigeria among others.]


[Includes African survivals in Cuba and Brazil.]


[The tense system of Yoruba is presented in the work.]


[Includes how Bajan is related to some West African languages one of which is Yoruba.]

446. Cabrera, Lydia (1957), ANAGO VOCABULARIO LUCUMI EL YORUBA QUE SE HABLA EN CUBA. (The Yoruba Spoken in Cuba.) La Habana:Ed.C.R.


[Makes references to Yoruba, not only in Nigeria but also in Togo and Benin and he emphasizes the importance of decolonizing African languages.]


[Uses Yoruba, Somali and Dinka as examples of languages which counter Pike's definition of tones. In Pike's definition, the use of tones is restricted to lexical items only.]


   [Includes some Yoruba derived words in English Creole.]


   [Calls for the adoption of ethnic integration as Nigeria’s aim of education.]


464. ___ (1877), IWE EKINI TI O NI KIKA. (The First Reading Book.) London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

465. ___ (1913), A DICTIONARY OF YORUBA LANGUAGE: PART 1, ENGLISH-YORUBA; PART 2, YORUBA-ENGLISH. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

466. ___ (1914), LANGUAGE STUDIES IN YORUBA. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

467. ___ (1921a), YORUBA READING SHEETS AND PICTURES. London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

468. ___ (1921b), IWE AYARA BI ASA LATI TETE MO YORUBA KA APA KINI. (Yoruba Primer 1.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.
469. ____ (1921c), IWE AYARA BI ASA LATI TETE MO YORUBA KA APA KEJI. (Yoruba Primer 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S Bookshop.

470. ____ (1931), IKINI YORUBA ATI ORUKO YORUBA PELU ITUMO NI EDE GESI. (Yoruba Salutation and Meaning in English.) London: C.M.S. Bookshop.

471. ____ (1937a), IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KINI. (Yoruba Readers, Part 1.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

472. ____ (1937b), IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KEJI. (Yoruba Readers, Part 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

473. ____ (1937c), IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KETA. (Yoruba Readers, Part 3.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

474. ____ (1937d), IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KERIN. (Yoruba Readers, Part 4.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

475. ____ (1937e), IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KARUN. (Yoruba Readers, Part 5.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

476. ____ (1942a), YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 1. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

477. ____ (1942b), YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 2. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

478. ____ (1942c), YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 3. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

479. ____ (1947), IWE KIKA FUN AWON AGBA. (Yoruba Readers for the Adults.) Lagos, Nigeria: Ife Olu.


481. Clarke, John (1848), SPECIMENS OF DIALECTS; SHORT VOCABULARIES OF LANGUAGES AND NOTES OF COUNTRIES AND CUSTOMS IN AFRICA. Berwick-Upon-Tweed: Printed by Daniel Cameron.

[Some of the dialects identified are Yariba, Yebu, Aku, Eyo.]


[Includes the description of early Oku (Yoruba), whose descendants constitute the bulk of the modern Creole]
population.]


[Touches upon the formation of the Yoruba Language Society which was formed (a) to awaken and foster among the Yoruba people a pride in their mother tongue, (b) to encourage the study of Yoruba and (c) to give financial and moral support to the publication of works written in Yoruba etc. See also the classification of Nigerian languages on page 16.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Haitian French.]


[Yoruba is given as one of the examples of tenseless languages.]

[Yoruba is one of the Languages discussed.]


[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]


494. Cook, P.A.W. (1953), "The Place of African Languages and of English in School Education and in Education out of School (e.g. in Fundamental Education and in University Extra-mural Work)", in AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION, (see UNESCO), pp. 22–40.


[Includes bibliographies available on African languages including Yoruba.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words.]


[Makes references to Yoruba numerals.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Afro-American Spanish speech.]


501. ______ (1976), "Ideophone Defined as a Phonological Class: The
Case of Yoruba", PAPERS IN HONOR OF W.E. WELMERS.

502. Crossey, J.M.D. (1966a), "African Studies at the University of
Ibadan: Current Research Projects and Recent Publications,
Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences," AFRICAN NOTES,
SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT 3,2:i–xxvi.

503. ____ (1966b), "African Studies at the University of Ibadan
1957–1966: Research Projects and Publications, Faculty of
Arts", AFRICAN NOTES, SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS 4,1:i–xxxv.

504. Crowther, S.A. (1843a), A DICTIONARY OF YORUBA.
London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

505. ____ (1843b), VOCABULARY OF YORUBA LANGUAGE, PART
1: ENGLISH–YORUBA; PART 2: YORUBA–ENGLISH; TO WHICH
ARE PREFIXED GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS OF THE YORUBA
LANGUAGE. London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

506. ____ (1852a), GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE
YORUBA LANGUAGE WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY

507. ____ (1852b), GRAMMAR OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE.
London:Seeleys.

508. ____ (1856), VOCABULARY AND DICTIONARY OF THE
YORUBA LANGUAGE. London:W.M. Watts.

509. Cruickshank, J. Graham (1914), ‘BLACK TALK’: BEING NOTES
ON NEGRO DIALECTS IN BRITISH GUIANA. Damera: The
‘Avgesy’ Company.

[Topics discussed include “How the African lost his
Tongue” and “African Traits in Negro English”. According
to him, Yoruba and Kongo are the two languages the liberated
Africans keep. “A few take a pride in the way they talk
Yoruba or Kongo. If they were to go to Kongo-land or the
Yoruba country to-morrow, they would find themselves
lingually – quite at home”, Pg 5.]

510. ____ (1917), “Among the Aku (Yoruba) in Canal No. 1, West
Bank Damerara River”, TIMEHRI 3RD SERIES 4:70–82.

Inventory”, JOURNAL OF AFRICAN HISTORY 5,2:191–207.

[Yoruba list includes Otta, Egba, Ijesha, Yegba, Ekiti, Bunu,
Aworo, Ijebu, Ife, Ondo, Itsekiri.]

MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA 1, ACCOMPANIED BY A
LANGUAGE MAP PREPARED BY E.G. RAVENSTEIN, p. 205–207.
London: Trubner.


[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the cross classificational analysis.]


[Yoruba/Aku is one of the languages identified.]


[Yoruba list includes Egboro, Egbo, Ijesha, Oyo, Yagba, Bunu, Jumu, Aworo, ijebu, Ile, Ondo, Jekri.]

521. (1966b), "Levels of Relationship in the Classification of African Languages", in AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW 7:171-179.


[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the cross-classificational analysis.]


[The influence of Yoruba on Creole is discussed extensively.]


[The contribution of Yoruba is noted.]


[Published annually and contains "scholarly and semi-scholarly journals published but not necessarily printed within African continent with sources and their publishers".]

534. da Silva, Edson Nunes (1958), INTRODUCAO AO ESTUDO GRAMMATICAL DA LINGUA. Bahia.


[Compares the problems of the Nigerian lingua franca with those of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Pakistan and concludes that "It is in the interest of mutual understanding and of the stability of the Federation of Nigeria that encouragement should be given in the three regions (now nineteen states) for the free study of at least three principal languages in order to give future Nigerians a working knowledge of each", p. 108.]


[Includes (a). Pure Yoruba, i.e. Afumo [sic], Awusa, Lali. (b). Corrupted Yoruba, i.e. Aje-Ofonla (from Aje-kofote 'witch cannot fly into the house'). (c). Yoruba names of which the translation is also current, i.e. Aje-fawo 'eat and lick it up', Jokoje 'sit quiet'.]


552. Dennett, R.E. (1904), "Notes on the Languages of the Efa (People) and the Benin or the Bini Commonly Called Uze

[Includes the comparison of Yoruba words with Jakri and Benin words. It includes the English translations.]


["There is not a more affable people found anywhere than the Akus. Not even the French are more scrupulous in their attention to politeness than they", p.187.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]


[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Includes studies on Yoruba language.]


[Includes the use of linguistic evidence as one of the most reliable sources for the study of History.]


[Includes some of Greenberg's works written on the classification of African languages.]


[The work includes (1). Published library catalogues. (2). General and special bibliographies covering the whole Africa. (3). Reading lists and bibliographies appearing at the end of textbooks. (4). Bibliographies devoted to Nigerian topics. See languages on pp. 23–25.]


[Links both Lucumi and Nago with Yoruba and discusses the fate of African languages in Latin America.]


[Reference is made to some contrasts on system vowel phonemes which manifest themselves in the pronunciation of some foreign vowels borrowed from Yoruba into Nupe.]


[Includes works written on Yoruba.]


[Includes English translations and explanatory notes.]


[See the front and back pages of the book.]

583. (ed.) (1969), TWELVE NIGERIAN LANGUAGES:A HANDBOOK ON THEIR SOUND SYSTEMS FOR TEACHERS OF
312


[English, Efik, Etsako, Fula, Hausa, Igbo, Ijo, Isoko, Itsekiri, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo and Yoruba are the Languages discussed.]


[Argues for the use of the indigenous languages by Nigerian pupils in early years at school.]


[The first chapter discusses Yoruba dialects and the population of the Yoruba in the various divisional areas. It also includes a map showing the Yoruba speakers in Nigeria, Benin and Togo.]


[Languages discussed are Kru and Yoruba.]


[The Africans "would learn English better and more quickly if first they had learnt to understand their own language, in its grammatical construction, in composition, in reading, and in debating, if they had learnt to think in their native language", p. 75.]


[The appendix contains a comparison of the Tshi, Ga, Ewe and Yoruba languages.]


[Includes some reprints of books on Yoruba.]


[Classifies Yoruba as one of the 'very large' languages.]


["Diversity of language is one of the major social problems in Nigeria. Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba are spoken by rather less than two-thirds of the population. No one knows exactly how many different languages (not dialects) are spoken in Nigeria. Eighty is a very moderate estimate. It is almost as hard for a Yoruba to learn to speak Ibo or Hausa as it is for him to learn to speak a European language.", p. 191.]


[Describes Nigerian Pidgin English as a tone language and notes correspondence between the Nigerian Pidgin English and the various Nigerian languages, especially Yoruba and Igbo.]


   [Includes Yoruba tones, word formation and numeration system.]


619. ____ (1973), "The Six-Year Primary Education Project in the Mother Tongue, Yoruba", in *ATEA*, (see A.B. Fafunwa and J.O.O. Ojo Adaralegbe, (ibid)), pp. 36-51.


   [Concludes that “It is my hope that the time will not be far when Nigerian scientists ... will construct ...turbines and even atomic reactor in Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Efik, Nupe, Tiv and other Nigerian languages”; p. 9.]


   [Suggests that Yoruba should be one of Nigeria’s major national languages.]


625. ____ (1981a), *Iwe Kika*. (Reading.) Ikeja: Longman for the Institute of Education, University of Ife, Nigeria.

626. ____ (1981b), *Iwe Kika Odun Keji*. (Reading: Second Year.) Ikeja: Longman for the Institute of Education, University of
Ife, Nigeria.

627. _____ (1981c), *IWE ITOSONA OLUKO FUN IGBARADI IWE KIKA*. (Reading; Teacher's Book.) Ikeja: Longman for the Institute of Education, University of Ife, Nigeria.


631. _____ (1983b), *AKAYE ATI AKOYE:ODUN KETA*. (Reading and Writing; Third Year.) Ikeja: Longman for the Institute of Education, University of Ife, Nigeria.


[Contains papers on Yoruba as language of instruction.]


[One of the languages used in the study is Yoruba.]


Goody in *AFRICA* (1973) 43,1:82.

[Includes the discussion of the relationship between the Yoruba and the ancient Egyptians. He concludes that "I have, however, myself followed some linguistic and cultural clues to suggest that some Yorubas have left Egypt as early as 1000 B.C." (Goody 1973:82).]


[Includes the discussion of the influence of the indigenous languages on the English of Nigerian students.]


[Includes some Yoruba illustrations.]

644. Fonseca Jr., Eduardo (1983), *DICTIONARIO YORUBA (NAGO ... PORTUGUÊS)* (Dictionary Yoruba (Nago) - Portuguese.) Rio de Janeiro, B.J. Brazil.


[The bibliography section - pp. 237-279 - cites some
influence of Yoruba on some Sierra Leone languages and vice versa."


["Her name is already established in the roll of great women who have done much for Africa", p. v.]


["Westermann made a number of visits to Africa at the request of the territorial government to advise on linguistic problems – among others, to Gold Coast in 1926, Sudan in 1928, Nigeria in 1929 .... Diedrich Westermann was the outstanding figure in the development of African linguistic studies in this century", pp. 330-331.]


[Includes research and teaching in African linguistics. Topics suggested for consideration are (i) The development, objectives and needs in African linguistic studies. (ii) The importance of linguistic training for other African Studies. (iii) The teaching of African languages.]


[In most cases, only the Yoruba names of the trees and plants are given. This "is chiefly because I have spent most of my time in that province and am better acquainted with the Yoruba names than with those in use in other parts of protectorate. It is also a fact that Yoruba people have a better knowledge and a more complete nomenclature of their trees and plants than the people of central province", Preface.]

[Includes articles written on the influence of Yoruba on Krio.]


659. ____ (1970b), "Bibliography (on Yoruba Dialect Phonology)", STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT 1:136–139.


[Evidence is cited from Tigong, Ndoro, Akan, Mende, Nupe, Yala and Yoruba.]


[Includes articles in which references are made to Yoruba language.]


664. ____ (1980), "The Term 'Creole': A Footnote to a Footnote", AFRICA 50,4:422.

[See Akintola Wyse below.]


[Includes the Yoruba sources of certain Krio words.]


[Includes linguistic method.]


[Yoruba is among the languages classified.]


[See Yoruba on pp. 47-49.]


[Includes works written on Yoruba.]


[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]


[Discusses some symbols used in place of writing by the Yoruba.]

[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]


[Discusses Yoruba logography.]


[Includes the discussion of the contributions of Crowther, Soyinka, Delano, Babalola and Adeleji to Yoruba literature.]


[Includes some Yoruba examples.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages used for illustration.]


[Uses Enya, Igbo and Yoruba for exemplification.]


[Discusses some uses of logography among the Yoruba.]


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Afro–American Spanish speech.]


[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]

695. Gouffe, Claude (1971), "Une correlation typologique dans quatre langue (Susu, Songhai, Yoruba, Hausa) de L’Afrique Occidental:les fonctions de *N_." (Typological Correlation of Four Languages (Susu, Songhai, Yoruba, Hausa) of West Africa:Functions of *N.) AFRIKA UND UBERSEE 46,4:286–302.


697. Government Printers (1936), VOCABULARY OF NIGERIAN NAMES OF TREES, SHRUBS AND HERBS. Lagos,

[Includes the Yoruba names of some of the trees.]


703. ___ (1955b), STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION. New Have, Conn.: Compass Publication.


705. ___ (1960a), "A Method of Measuring Functional Yield as Applied to Tone in African Languages", GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY MONOGRAPH SERIES ON LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS 12:7–16


707. ___ (1963a), THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA. (Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics of Indiana University, Publication 25.)

[A revision of STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION.]


[Makes reference to some of the pioneering works written by Bishop Crowther on Yoruba.]


714. (1971c), "The Study of Language Contact in Africa", in *LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION*, (see Anwar S. Dil), pp. 137-142.

715. (1971d), "African Tongues and Tribes", in *LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION*, (see Anwar S. Dil), pp. 137-142.


[Includes examples from Yoruba.]

718. (1978b), "Niger-Congo Noun Class Markers: Prefixes,
Suffixes, Both or Neither", STUDIES IN AFRICAN
LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT 7: 97–104.

719. ____ (1978c), “Generalization about Numeral Systems”, in
the UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 3: WORD
Stanford:University Press.

[Includes some Yoruba illustrations.]

720. Gregersen, Edgar A. (1977), LANGUAGE IN AFRICA. New

AND LANGUAGES, pp. 67–82. Ithala, New York: Department
of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University.

ETHNOLOGUE (8TH EDITION), pp. 120–149. Wyeliff,
California: Huntington Beach.

and a Second Language”, OVERSEAS EDUCATION

724. ____ (1953), “The Teaching of English as the Second
Language in African Territories, Where English is the
Accepted Second Language”, in AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND
ENGLISH IN EDUCATION, (see Unesco), pp. 49–65.

[Touches upon the teaching of pronunciation, tone and
rhythm.]

725. Gbadamosi, B. (1965), ORO PEI IDI RE: WORDS AND THEIR
MEANINGS. Ife, Nigeria:University Bookshop.

(Yoruba–Scientific Names, Scientific Names–Yoruba.) Ibadan,
Nigeria:Forestry Research Institute of Nigeria.

AN AFRICAN SURVEY: A STUDY OF PROBLEMS ARISING IN

[Topics discussed include institutions for the study and
teaching of African languages, the problem of orthography
and the developments in linguistic research among others.]

African Languages (Susu, Sherbro, Temne, Mende, Vai and
Yoruba)”, BULLETIN DE L’IFAN 23, 3–4; 683–695.

MAGAZINE 68:79-82.

[What is probably the earliest detailed representation of Yoruba society and the Yoruba language in European records was drawn from this Ijebu man, Osifekunde, by M. d'Avezac in 1839.]


[Includes works written on Yoruba by Crowther, Raban, Vidal, King, Morgan and Macaulay.]


[Includes works written by Crowther and Raban on Yoruba.]


[Includes the influence of Yoruba, Kongo and Mende on the Gullah dialect.]


[Includes some of his works on Yoruba.]


[Includes various names used for Yoruba.]


[Discusses Yoruba on pp. 4-30.]
736. ____ (1968), "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Lower Guinea before 1700, Part 3", AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW 7:47–73.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]


[His Yoruba works are mentioned.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages with which both Pidgin and Creole are compared. For instance, the development of aspeuctual prefixes for verbs in these Creoles is unquestionably due to a carry-over from West African Languages, in which aspect is far more important than tense so far as verb-inflection is concerned. Thus, in Yoruba, the progressive is formed by prefixing a nasal to the verb-stem, the habitual by prefixing ma-, and the perfective by prefixing ti", p. 60.]


[Notes that the words 'Nago' (Jamaican Creole), 'nago' (Haitian French), 'nago' (Brazilian Portuguese), 'anago' (Cuban Spanish) used to describe the Yoruba were derived from 'Anago' which is still used to describe a Yoruba ethnic group living in some eastern part of Benin Republic.]


[Some African derived words, mainly Yoruba, are discussed.]

"Creole English of Banjul (formerly Bathurst), the Gambia, known as Aku, Krio or Patois, is spoken by some 3,500 Creoles or 'Akus' descendants of freed (mainly Yoruba) slaves, and traders from Sierra Leone, as a first Language, and as a lingua franca inland along River Gambia". p. 375.


754. Heine, B. (1968), AFRIKANISCHE VERKEHRSSPRACHEN: (African Lingua Francas) (Schriftenreihe zur empirischen
Socialforschung, 4.) Cologne: lnfratest.

[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


759. ____ (1972), A TYPOLOGY OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES BASED ON THE ORDER OF MEANINGFUL ELEMENTS. (Kolner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, 4.) Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

760. ____ (1977), "Vertical and Horizontal Communication in Africa", AFRIKA SPECTRUM 77,3:231–238.


[Includes discussions on Yoruba.]


765. ____ (1973b), "Constructions with Serial Verbs in Yoruba", 
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 15:349-363.


[Notes some parallels between the Nicaraguan Creole and some West African Languages.]


[Languages studied include Babanke, Bakwiri, Dschag, Hausa, Igbo, Kru, Shona and Yoruba.]


780. __ (1978), "Consonant Types, Vowel Quality and Tone", in TONE: A LINGUISTIC SURVEY, (see V.A. Fromkin), pp. 71-111.

[Includes the results of some experiments carried out on the Yoruba language.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages used for illustration.]


[Concludes that Negro-African languages "represent the evolution of dialectal forms of Egyptian or of Coptic".]

AFRICA 18:112-119.


["Certain important languages, for example, Yoruba, Ibo, and Efik in southern Nigeria are used in schools and textbooks are written in them ... it is obvious that a language must be widely used, if it is going to be worth while commercially to develop it as a literary language", pp. 170, 175.]


794. (1972a), "Nasal and Nasalization in Kwa", STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 4,1:167-205.

795. (1972b), "Natural Tone Rule - Evidence from West Africa", WORKING PAPERS ON LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS 10. Stanford University.


[Examples are taken from Yoruba.]


[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Also includes some works written on Yoruba.]


[Includes 658 works written in Yoruba.]


809. Igue, J. and O.B. Yai (1973) "The Yoruba-speaking People of
Dahomey and Togo", YORUBA 1,1:1-29.


[Includes articles written on Yoruba language in education.]


[Contains works on Africa on all subjects; it takes over from the Quarterly Bibliography of Current Books and Articles published between 1929-1969 in the International African Institute's Journal, AFRICA (London).]


[Includes evidence from Yoruba.]


827. Iso, Asi Olu and Evangelo A. Afendras (1970), MULTILINGUALISM AND COMMUNICATION IN NIGERIA. (Publication B–14.) Quebec: CIRB/ICRB.


[Discusses the language of Sango–Pipe, one of the Yoruba oral genres.]


[Stresses the need for more research on the change-over from the indigenous language to English.]

834. Jacquot, A. (1880), ETUDES SUR LA LANGUE NAGO OU YORUBA. (Studies on the language Nago or Yoruba.) Lyon: Mission Africaine.


[Includes the discussion of Yoruba writing.]


837. __ (1963b), FONETICO-GRAMMATICHESKIJ OCERK JAZYKA JORUBA. (Phonetic – grammatical account of the Yoruba language.) Moscow: Avtoref.


["It must now be accepted that no system of orthography should be devised for any language unless and until a minutely accurate phonetic and tonal analysis of the language has been made", p. 126.]


["In Yoruba, there are several well-defined tones e.g. a high level tone, a mid level, a low tone, a mid falling tone, a low rising tone.... In addition to semantic tone there may be syntactic tones", p. 370.]

841. Jeboda, F. (1977), YORUBA GBAYI, 1. (Language text, 1.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Pilgrim
842. ____ (1979), YORUBA GBAYI, 2. (Language text, 2.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Pilgrim.


848. ____ (1968), OLOYINMOMO:IWE KIKA YORUBA TUNTUN. APA KEJI. (New Yoruba Reader, Book 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: Longman.


[Discusses Yoruba logography.]


[Discusses the influence of Nigerian languages on Nigerian English under the headings: Phonology, Syntax and Semantics. On innovations in semantics, he concludes that "Yoruba will be seen to be the more dominant source language", p. 81.]


['The study is based on tape-recordings of 45 Nigerian speakers of English, 15 each from the three major ethnolinguistic groups" – Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo.]


[Includes Yoruba grammar.]


["Some of the commonest, as well as some of the most expressive words in Krio are Yoruba borrowings", p. 105.]

863. (1971), "Krio: An English-Based Language of Sierra Leone", in THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN WEST AFRICA, (see John Spencer), pp. 66-87.

[Notices "the incidence of Yoruba borrowings" into Krio which "undergo very little shift", pp. 66, 76.]


[See Nigeria on pp. 322-323.]


[Includes some writings on Yoruba.]


[Includes some Yoruba Examples.]


[Contains the translation of the European and scientific names of the plants in the Nigerian Languages.]


[Reflects on the current use of the mother-tongue by the educated Yoruba speakers, with particular regard to reading and writing Yoruba.]


[Includes the discussion of the language of the Akus.]


[Includes papers in which Yoruba is referred to extensively.]


[Includes a chapter on "The Relationship between Speech Tone and Song"].


[Includes Kanuri, Twi, Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani and other languages.]


[Some of the examples used in the work are taken from Yoruba and Hausa.]


887. ____ (1970), "The Problem of National Languages and
Education in Africa*, MONDE LINGVO-PROBLEMO 2,1:21-37.


[The Yoruba speakers in Togo refer to themselves as Ife.]


895. (1921), ENGLISH PRINCIPIA, OR GRAMMAR GESI FOR THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE TUITION, CONTAINING COPIOUS EXERCISES FOR TRANSLATION WITH VOCABULARIES. Lagos, Nigeria:The Author.


[Touches upon the African roots of Black English.]


[“Certain field – those of Yoruba or Swahili for example – have attracted enough research workers so that it is possible for anyone wanting to tackle them to find ample bibliography and at the same time somebody skilled to
teach them. On the contrary, nothing exists even today for the study of other languages, such as Eastern Adamawa or some of those spoken in Portuguese Guinea or in lower part of the Ivory Coast", p. 83]


899. ___ (1967), LINGUISTIC PHONETICS: PRELIMINARY VERSION FOR COMMENT AND CRITICISM. (UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics, 6.)

[Evidence is cited from Yoruba.]


[Topics discussed include (i) Bilabial clicks in Yoruba. (ii) Yoruba as a register tone language. (iii) Velaric features in Yoruba. (iv) Tones in Yoruba.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


905. ___ (1963), YORUBA FOR G.C.E. AND SIMILAR EXAMINATIONS, WITH GRADED PAST QUESTIONS, MODEL ESSAYS AND ANSWERS TO VOCABULARY EXERCISES. Osogbo, Nigeria: The Author.


[225 primary six pupils from 9 schools in the town of
Ile-Ife, Nigeria were selected to participate in the study.


["She had inspired the speakers of Efik, Igbo, Twi, Mende, Yoruba and other African languages, to appreciate in a special way the beauty and significance of their own tongues, and as long as people continue to speak of the high, falling, low, rising, middle and low-middle tones of African languages, so long will they sing to the praise of the English lady who invented the magic which enables a European to speak these languages as perfectly as African does", p. 32.]


[Most of the examples are taken from Yoruba.]


["Language is a great unifying factor .... I feel that the English language should remain our 'lingua franca' but then the government must see to it that the Yoruba man speaks Hausa and Ibo, the Ibo speaks Hausa and Yoruba", etc. p 156.]


931. (1963c), "Literature on the Egba Yoruba", in their PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER AMONG THE YORUBA:A REPORT


[Includes some historical links between the Yoruba language and the Jamaican Creole.]


[Includes the discussion of languages of instruction.]


[Includes such topics as Ethnology, Linguistics and Race, Language and Culture in African Historiography among others.]


[Yoruba examples are used in some of the articles.]


[Includes some comments on the data collected on a two-year old Yoruba girl.]


[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]


[Includes the discussion of “the Aku (Creole)”, p. 319.]


[Includes some Yoruba examples.]

[Includes the response of some Yoruba "interviewees" to a survey of occupation, marriage and fertility. Problems of translation from the indigenous languages to English are noted.]


[Describes some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics that survived among the Yoruba.]


953. ____ (1965), YORUBA LANGUAGE: ITS STRUCTURE AND RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LANGUAGES. Lagos: Orekigbe Press.


[Yoruba is one of the Niger–Congo languages covered in the glossary.]


[Contains some recommendations on the systematic teaching of Yoruba in schools.]

Foreign Service Institute.


[Languages discussed are Yoruba, Yala and Jukun.]


[Attempts to derive the three-tone system of Yoruba from the two-tone system of Niger-Congo through a split conditioned by a fortis/lenis distinction.]


[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]

965. ____ (1974c), "A Possible New Cause of Tone-Splitting: Evidence from Cama, Yoruba and Other Languages", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT 5:205–221*.


[Yoruba is one of the languages used for exemplification.]


[Yoruba is included in his classification.]


[Among the subjects is an adult male Edo/Yoruba speaker.]

[Includes the discussion of some loan segments from English into Yoruba.]


[Languages discussed are Yoruba, Amharic and Zuni.]


[Makes reference to the correspondence between Pidgin and Nigerian languages especially Yoruba which "seems to be the most important substrate of the variety of Nigerian Pidgin being described", p. 109.]


980. (1971), "Glagol'naya Trepochka V Yazyke Joruba Kak


[An Egba myth, written in German with explanatory notes.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages used for exemplification.]


[Translates some Yoruba poetry into Spanish.]


[Includes some Yoruba proverbs.]


[Discusses Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa.]


1003. Megenney, William (1978), A BAHIA HERITAGE, AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF AFRICAN INFLUENCES ON BAHIAN PORTUGUESE. (North Carolina Studies in Romance Language and Literature, 198.) Chapel Hill: Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina.
[The influence of Yoruba is noted.]


1006. **____** (1928), "Principles of Practical Orthography for African Languages", *AFRICA* 1,2:228–236.


1008. **Mendonca, Renato.** (1933), *A INFLUENCIA AFRICANA NO PORTUGUESE DO BRASIL*. Rio de Janeiro.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]


[A report from "a careful enquiry made, on a... tour round the outstations of the... 2nd Battalion of Northern Nigerian Regiment", p. 43. The languages listed include Yoruba and Akoko.]


[Includes the Yoruba translations of the plants listed.]


[The discussion focuses on the three major Nigerian languages and English.]

1014. **Monahan, K.P.** (1982), "Grammatical Relations and Anaphora in Malayalam", *MONTREAL WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS* 17:101–118.
[One of the requirements of Chomsky's Binding Theory is that an anaphor should be bound in its governing category. An element is bound in domain x if the said element is C-commanded by a coindexed antecedent in x: if an element is not bound, then it is free in a given domain. Monahan (1982:182) uses some examples such as "Tolu sofun Segun pe ou, sanra" (Tolu told Segun that he is fat) to show that Yoruba is one of the languages which violate these requirements because this sentence contains an anaphor ou, that is free in its governing category.]


[Includes some Yoruba vocabularies.]

1021. Muller, F. (1877), "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft", WIENER VOLKerkUNDLICHE MITTEILUNG 1/2:126-134.

1022. ___ (1902). "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Atkpame (Yoruba)." (A contribution to the knowledge about Atkpame (Yoruba)) ZEITSCHRIFT FUR AFRIKANISCHE UND OCEANISCHE SPRACHEN 6:138-205.


[Works written on Yoruba are cited.]


[Languages used for illustration are Amharic, Hopi, Japanese, Korean, Navajo, Papago, Pima, Polish, Yoruba and Zuni.]

1025. National Audiovisual Center (n.d.), FOREIGN LANGUAGE COURSE, PRODUCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

[List 61 audiocassette and videocassette foreign language training programs in 35 languages from Amharic to Yoruba. To receive a free copy of the Foreign Language Catalog, write to The National Audiovisual Center, National Archive and Records Administration, Customer Service PF, 8700 Edgewood Drive, Capitol Heights, MD 20743-3701.]


[Most of the vegetables listed still maintain their Yoruba names.]


[Traces the origin of the word ‘Krio’ itself to Yoruba language.]


["Today, Nigeria and the modern state of Dahomey have close ethnic ties, particularly between their respective Yoruba and Bariba communities", p. 225.]


[Includes the syllabus on Yoruba, pp. 27-39.]


1047. ____ (1954b), CATALOGUE 1, 1954: A SELECTION OF BOOKS.
BOOKLETS AND PERIODICALS, IN ENGLISH, HAUSA, YORUBA AND OTHER VERNACULARS FOR SALE BY NRLA. Zaria, Nigeria: North Regional Literature Agency.

1048. (1954c), ONA IKAIWE. (How to read.) Zaria, Nigeria: Northern Regional Literature Agency.

1049. (1954d), ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION IN YORUBA. Zaria, Nigeria: Northern Regional Literature Agency.

1050. (1955), ENGLISH BY RADIO, STAGE 2: WITH EXPLANATIONS IN YORUBA, LESSONS 1–25. Zaria, Nigeria: Northern Regional Literature Agency.

1051. Nigeria. Western Region Ministry of Education (1951), IWE KIKA FUN AWON AGBA. (Reading books for adults.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Adult Education Section.

1052. (1953), KIKO NI MIMO:BI A TI N KO LETA. (We acquire knowledge by learning: How to write letters.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Western Region Literature Committee.


1054. (1956), NOTES ON GRAMMATICAL AND SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGIES IN YORUBA LANGUAGE. Ibadan, Nigeria: Grammatical and Scientific Terminology Committee.


1060. (1971), “Surrogate Languages”, in CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS, 7, (see T.A. Sebeok), pp. 699–758. [Yoruba is one of the languages used for illustration.]

TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS, 7, (see T.A. Sebeok), pp. 733–757.

[Yoruba is also used for exemplification.]


["Recent experiment in Ife on the teaching of science through the medium of Yoruba is noteworthy in that it revealed that science can be effectively taught and learnt when the medium of instruction and the curriculum materials are homogenous with the culture of the child" p. 14.]


[Some of the examples used for comparison are taken from Yoruba.]

1068. (1986a), "Remarks on the Binding Theory", WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS, pp. 73–78. Melbourne, Australia: Linguistics Section, Department of Russian Language Studies, University of Melbourne.

[Languages used for exemplification includes Baule, Fula, Kposso, Yoruba, Swahili, Kru, Serer and Temne.]


[Uses some Yoruba examples.]

1070. (1986c), "The Semantics of Creolisation", WORKING
PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS, pp. 113–123. Melbourne, Australia: Linguistics Section, Department of Russian Language Studies, University of Melbourne.

[Some comparisons are made between Creole and Yoruba.]


[Investigates the dimension of sex among Yoruba-English (YBE) bilingual secondary school pupils learning the French language.]


1077. ____ (1979), "Pronoun Choice and Social Semantics in a Bilingual Situation with Special References to Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba", AFRICANA MARBURGENSIA 12,1/3:3–9.


[Yoruba native speakers are used in the study.]

1080. PROBLEMY JAZY KOVOJ POLITIKI V STRANACH TROPICESKOH AFRIKI. (Problems of Language Policy in Countries of Tropical Africa.) Moscow:Nauka Publishers.


1082. (1951b), IWE KIKA ASIKO, PART 2. (Yoruba Readers, Part 2.) Lagos, Nigeria:Olufunmiso.


1090. Odunuga, Segun and A. Fawole (1981), "Privetstviia V Russkom lazyke i lazyke loruba". (Salutation in Russian and Yoruba Languages.) RUSKII LAZYK ZA RUBERZHOM (Moscow) 5:72–76.


[Discusses some of the loan words received from the Arabic language by Yoruba through Hausa.]


[Provides linguistic evidence to show that the Yoruba
brought with them from their Near-Eastern origins certain features of Arab and Jewish civilizations, with which they had come into contact.)


1105. Ogunlesi, Remi (1951). KIKO NI MIMO:E LE KA EYI. (Learning is knowing:You can read this.) Lagos, Nigeria:Adult Education Division.

1106. Ohaejesi, Michael Chidi (1964), TEACH YOURSELF HAUSA, IBO, YORUBA AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES. Onitsha,
Nigeria: The Author.


[The paper attempts to apply linguistic methods to the analysis of art objects used in ritual contexts by the Yoruba of Nigeria.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages studied at the two institutions.]


[Yourba is among the languages used to exemplify the Nigerian aspect of the topic discussed.]


[The suitability of the three Nigerian major languages for literary work is among the issues raised.]


[Addresses the use of indigenous languages for literary work.]

1122. Olderogge, D. Aleksecvic and Sigmund Brauner (eds.) (1980), SOZIALER WANDEL IN AFRIKA UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG VON FORMEN UND FUNCTION AFRIKANISHER SPRACHEN. (Social Change in Africa and the Evolution of Varieties and Functions of African Languages.) (Linguistische Studien. Reiche A. Arbeitsberichte, 64.) Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR.


1125. ____ (1953), "Comparative Notes on Yoruba and Lucumi", LANGUAGE 29: 157–164.


1128. ____ (1973), "Innovative Approaches to Providing Primary School Books", in ATEA (see A.B. Fafunwa), pp. 78–86.

[Discusses problems of providing books for the six-year (Yoruba medium) primary school programme.]


"[Following Bull's mode, he sets up a feature/non feature tense distinction for Yoruba and Itsekiri.]"


"[Enters some Yoruba linguists and some of their publications.]"


1151. _____ (1970), "Phonetic Realization of Phonological Tone Register", in *TONE IN GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY, RESEARCH NOTES* 3:2/3:59-76. (See Ian Maddieson.)


1153. _____ (1972), "Some Hackened Aspects of the Phonology of the Yoruba Verb Phrase", in *YORUBA VERB PHRASE*, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 163-196.


1162. (1980a), "Initial Literacy in Nigeria: Research and Implementation", in LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA, 2 (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 90–99.


[Argues that Ife belongs to Yoruba proper.]


1174. (1960), YORUBA DUN KA, APA KETA. (Yoruba for beginners, part 3.) London:Nelson.


[Includes some works written on Yoruba language in education.]

[Includes works written on Yoruba language in education.]


1189. (1973b), *EDE E YORUBA KIKO ATI KIKA NI OTUN 2.* (Yoruba language text, 2.) Ilesa, Nigeria: Illesanmi Press.


[Discusses the effect Yoruba and Igbo, as the first languages of the learners, have on the acquisition of English tense, aspect, modals and articles.]


of African Universities.


1213. ___ (1978b), YORUBA ODE ONI, APA KEJI. (Modern Yoruba, part 2.) Lagos, Nigeria: Nelson.

1214. ___ (1978c), YORUBA ODE ONI, APA KETA. (Modern Yoruba, part 3.) Lagos, Nigeria: Nelson.


1222. Omotayo, Simeon (1970a), "Predloznaja sistema jazyke Joruba". (Prepositional system in Yoruba.) SBORNIK NAUC


[Yoruba is one of the languages whose accents are discussed.]

1226. Parrinder, G. (1947), "Yoruba Speaking People of Dahomey", \textit{Africa} 17:122–129.

[Notes some similarities and "differences of word pronunciation of Yoruba" (p. 127) as spoken in Nigeria and Benin.]


[Includes some Yoruba examples.]


[Reports on a study of four cities - Lagos, Kaduna, Aba and Abeokuta. "Linguistic limitations are seen as a serious barrier to more intensive contacts, or at least provide a convenient excuse", p. 119.]


[Yoruba language is one of the subjects discussed.]


[One of the suggestions made is that non-African historians should "master enough of the principal vernaculars, such as Yoruba and Hausa, to include in his sources the additional material which exists in those languages", p. 432.]


1239. Pierson, Donald (1942), NEGRO IN BRAZIL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

[One "still today finds Nago at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of the language is
comparable to his command of Portuguese”. p. 72.]


[“What Professor Ward and her colleagues have done in alerting Africanists to the importance of tone in African Languages, Dr. Pike has done in suggesting a methodology of studying tonal data” (Samarin 1951:340).]


[States that one of the characteristics that divided the “Christian Creole” society from the “Aku Muslim” society was that the former spoke English and Krio, while the latter spoke Yoruba. See A. Banton above.]


1244. Price, H.L. (1925), YORUBA PHRASE BOOK WITH PHONETIC SPELLINGS. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop.


[Includes areas where Yoruba is spoken in the Northern Nigeria.]


[A case study of a number of languages including Dschang–Bamileke, Margi, Tiv, Tonga and Yoruba.]


1249. Raban, John (1830), A VOCABULARY OF THE EYO OR AKU (YORUBA), A DIALECT OF WEST AFRICA, 1. London. C.M.S. Bookshop.

1250. (1831), A VOCABULARY OF THE EYO OR AKU (YORUBA), A DIALECT OF WEST AFRICA, 2. London: C.M.S. Bookshop.


[Includes some comparison of Hausa as an international language with Swahili, Yoruba and Igbo.]


[Yoruba: pp. 118-20, 122-26, 128.]


[Notices that Yoruba language was spoken until the 20th century in Brazil and Cuba.]


27.4:287–295.


[*tape-recordings of the six languages listed by Abercrombie (French, Telugu and Yoruba as syllable-timed and English, Russian and Arabic as stressed-timed) were examined", p. 74.*]


[Reviews some published books written in Yoruba, among them is J.O. Ajibola's OWE YORUBA. London: Oxford University Press.]


[Includes both the phonological and lexical features.]


1271. _____ (1968), "Outline Notes on Some Problems of Dictionary in Yoruba", PROCEEDINGS OF THE STAFF SEMINARS


[Includes the discussion of books published in Yoruba language.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages classified.]


[Discusses some aspects of linguistic analyses of some of the ethnic groups living between the Volta and the Cameroon. Topics discussed include kinship, ecology and language.]


[Touches upon the influence of the Baptist Mission on language education in Nigeria.]


[Includes some Yoruba examples.]


1288. **** (1962), "Lingua Franca's, with Special Reference to Africa", in *STUDY OF ROLE OF SECOND LANGUAGE IN ASIA*, *AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA* (see Frank A. Rice), pp. 54–64.


[Data taken from English, Japanese, Tswana and Yoruba.]

1293. **Scheneider, John T.** (1985), "Sub-Saharan Cultural Extensions in Brazil: The Relevance of Lexical Data Source",
STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 16,2:223–234.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]


[Exemplifies with Ijo, Twi, Yoruba and Sranan.]


[Includes discussions on Yoruba.]


[Indexes to Volumes 1–13. Topics treated include (i): contents; (ii): authors; (iii): languages; (iv): names; (v): subjects; and (vi): bibliographical notes. See the index to Volume 7 on African Languages.]


1304. Shaw, Thurstan (1978), "Peoples and Languages", in his

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]


[Includes some recordings taken from a Yoruba speaker.]


[Includes how some English words are mispronounced by the Yoruba and ways by which mispronunciation can be corrected.]


[Uses Yoruba examples for pitch patterns and tonal contour.]


   [Includes the comparison of Yoruba and Igala tones.]


   [Includes P. Zima's work on tone languages in West Africa and language contact in Africa.]


1322. Skinner, David and Barbara Harrell-Bond (1977), "Misunderstandings Arising from the Use of the Term 'Creole' in the Literature on Sierra Leone", *AFRICA* 47,3:305-320.

   [They claim that Aku (Yoruba) language is used in public meetings by both the Christian and Muslim Creole communities.]


   [They still support the claim that the Aku (Yoruba) have a great impact on the Creole society.]


   [Includes some works written on Yoruba.]

The linguistic and literary work of the Institute is discussed under the following subheadings - the vernacular in education; the orthography of African languages; school books for Africa; the prize competition; bibliography and monographs.


1327. ___ (1925), PREMIER LIVRE DE LECTURE EN YORUBA. (First book of reading in Yoruba.) Lyon:Societe de Mission Africaine.


[Includes the effects various Alphabetic Conferences on African Languages have on Koelle's notation.]

1334. ___ (1971), THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN WEST AFRICA. (The English Language Series.) London:Longman.

[Includes the description of "the varieties of English
involved in many cultures and many purposes" in West Africa, p. v.]


[His views about the Creole and Krio are identical with those of A. Porter and M. Banton. See above.]


["Those recaptives who were originally Yoruba and known in Sierra Leone as Aku remained exclusively far longer than others by virtue of their numbers, retaining their own language", p. 11.]


[Examples are quoted extensively from Yoruba.]


1342. (1974a), "Pronouns and Islands in Yoruba", STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 5:171-204.


1345. (1976b), "The Noun Prefix in Yoruba", in PAPERS IN HONOR OF W.E. WELMERS. (Studies in African Linguistics,

[Discusses some aspects of relativization in English, Dari and Yoruba.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages in which Woo's framework for tone "seem(s) to work well", p. 4.]


[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the comparative studies.]


[Makes reference to Yoruba.]


1360. (1967b), "Vydelitel 'naja i emfaticeskaja casticy v jazyke Joruba". (Definition and Focus Particles in Yoruba.) PROBLEM FILOI, pp. 573-593.

1361. (1974), "Reduplicirovannye otglagol'noe v jazyke Joruba". (Nouns derived from verbs by reduplication in Yoruba.) VOPROSY AFRIKANKOJ FILOLOJI, pp. 133-143.


[Includes works written on the influence of Yoruba on the American languages.]


[Includes works written on the influence of Yoruba on the American Languages.]

1364. Sylvain, Suzanne (1936), LE CREOLE HAITIES. Wettern: Impr. de Miester.

[Includes the discussion of the African base of the morpheme classes, noun and verb phrases of Haitian Creole. See Douglas Taylor's comments on the work in INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS (1965) 11,3:140-155.]


[Some Yoruba towns such as Ife, Iwo, Ogbomosho and Oshogbo are included in the study.]

[Suggests when the mother tongue could be used as medium of instruction in the classroom.]


1369. Talabi, M.A. (comp.) (1968), ENGLISH, YORUBA AND ROMAN NUMERALS, PARTS 1 AND 2. (Published Mainly for Adults and School Children in Yorubaland.) Ibadan: United Fountain Press.


[Includes the discussion of the syntactic similarities between African languages and Afro-American speech.]


[Yoruba is one of languages discussed.]


[The influence of the local languages on English in Nigeria is discussed.]

1376. Tidjani, Abdou Serpos (1943), "Formes differentes en Yoruba". (Different forms in Yoruba.) NOTES AFRICAINES 17:4–5.


[See Olabiyi Yai (1976).]


[The influence of the indigenous languages on the written English of the Nigerian Grammar School pupils is noted.]


1388. **Toporova, I.N.** (1966), *MATERIALY K OPISANIJU*
FONOLOGICHESKIH SISTEM JAZYKOV MANDE I GVINEJSKOJ GRUPPY V SVJAZI S PROBLEMAMI TIPOLOGII. (Material for the description of the phonological systems of the languages Mande and those of the Guinea group – in connection with the questions of typology.) Moscow:Jazyki Afriki.

[Includes some discussions on Yoruba.]


[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]


[Contains tributes and an address in Yoruba, the language on which she was working when she died. It also contains messages of appreciation in fourteen African languages, Yoruba included.]


[Yoruba is one of the Languages mentioned.]


[Includes Yoruba influence on Bahian Negroes and language exchange.]


[The influence of many African Languages, including Yoruba, on Gullah Dialect is discussed.]


[Some of the papers discuss the influence of Yoruba on English.]


[The languages classified include Yoruba.]


[It includes the discussion of the relation of the Yoruba talking drum to its tones.]


1405. **Unesco** (1953), *AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN

[The summary of the report of the meeting is as follows: Part 1: the ideal practice in language of instruction; Part 2: existing practice in territories concerned; Part 3: some causes for divergence from the ideal; Part 4: practical considerations and possible solutions; Part 5: recommendations, pp. 4-21.]

1406. ____ (1953), "Appendix 2: The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction, Both in School and out of School, and the Related Problems of Teaching in Languages Other Than the Vernacular in British Territories in Africa", in AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION, (ibid), pp. 67-90.

[The paper was prepared for Unesco by the International African Institute, expanded and revised by the Jos meeting.]


[Report and papers of the meeting of experts on the use in education of indigenous and second language held at Paris, November-December 1951. The first edition was published in 1953 as THE USE OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION. (Monograph on Fundamental Education, 7.)]

1408. ____ (1963), SOCIAL SCIENTISTS SPECIALIZING IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES, DIRECTORY PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF UNESCO. Paris: Mouton.

[Includes some Yoruba linguists.]


1411. ____ (1985), AFRICAN COMMUNITY LANGUAGES AND THEIR USE IN LITERACY AND EDUCATION: A REGIONAL SURVEY. Neider, BP3311, Dakar, Senegal: Unesco Regional Office for
Education in Africa.


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Haitian French.]


[Dismisses the claim that African languages have some influence either directly or via reflexification on the speech of the Afro-Americans.]


[Text in English and Yoruba.]

1416. (1972), "Automatisme Verbal et Communication du Savoir chez les Yoruba". (Verbal automatism and communication of knowledge among the Yoruba.) L'HOMME 12,2:5-46.


See reference to Yoruba on p. 196.


1424. Voorhoeve, Jan (1962), SRANAN SYNTAX Amsterdam.

[Notes some striking parallels between Sranan and some West African Languages especially Yoruba.]


[Touches upon the degree to which the speech of Afro-Americans was influenced by African Languages.]


[Varieties distinguished include that of the Yoruba speakers of English.]


1432. ____ (1937b), PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE LEARNING OF AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE IN THE FIELD. (Supplement to AFRICA 10.2), 39 pp.


["Yoruba, Ibo, Efik, Ewe, and Ga Languages of West Africa]
have more words for which one's understanding depends on tone alone than do the Twi, Hausa, Madingo and Wolof Languages", p. 384.]


[Illustrations taken from Yoruba, Ewe, Igbo, Efik and Twi.]


[Intonation and its functions are examined in some West African Languages including Yoruba.]


["Professor Ward’s book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the investigation of Yoruba: it is the first scientific study of the language" (Westermann 1953:260).]


[Includes the discussion of Yoruba language and African survivals.]


[Mentions the use of Aku (Krio) as home language of the detribalized Yoruba with English as public language.]

1443. Weight, Ernst (1972), "Benerkungen zum problem der amtssprachen in Afrika". (Remarks on the Problems of Official Languages in Africa.), ZEITSCHRIFT FUR


["Until 1959 he was the only American specialist in the analysis and teaching of African languages", (T. Sebeok (1976:948), CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 14.)


1449. ____ (1964), A START IN YORUBA. Los Angeles, CA: Nigerian Training Project.

1450. ____ (1966), LEARNING YORUBA IN NIGERIA. Oyo, Nigeria.


[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]


[Discusses Yoruba under the following headings and subheadings: Antonym, Synonyms, Variants, Subgroups, Present Location, Previous Locations, Population, Language Affiliation, Name of Language and Literature.]


[Includes Yoruba language and folklordes.]


[Includes examples from Yoruba.]


[“For a long time books have been published in one
standard dialect (of Yoruba) only, which is now recognized.... Yoruba possesses strong vitality and shows a tendency towards expansion", p. 341.]

1468. ___ (1929), ALPHABETS FOR THE EFIK, IBO AND YORUBA LANGUAGES. Lagos: Education Board.

1469. ___ (1931), YORUBA TEXTE. (Yoruba Text.) Berlin: Lautbibliothek Phonetische Platten und Umschriften.

[Phonographic record may be obtained.]


1473. ___ (1939a), "Vernacular Education in Africa: Yes or No?", WEST AFRICAN REVIEW 8, 120:7–8.


[Notes that a Yoruba dictionary and more material on dialectal members of the Yoruba Nupe groups are needed.]


1476. ___ (1944), "Form und Funktion der Reduplikation in einigen westafrikanischen Sprachen", AFRICA 3:83–104.


["She paid several visits to West Africa to collect linguistic material, especially on the Efik, Ibo, Ibibio and Yoruba Languages ... her book on Yoruba was in the press at the time of her death", pp. 2–3.]


[Includes the discussion of his POLYGLOTTA AFRICANA.]

[One of the series of HANDBOOK OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES planned “to provide a systematic and critical study of the incidence, distribution and interrelations of the different African Languages and Dialects, and the extent of literacy among these different groups”]


[Contains phonetics summaries of Ewe, Yoruba, Fante, Bambara, Ganda, Kikuyu, Zulu, Nuer and Dinka of which discussions on Ganda and Kikuyu are contributed by L.E. Armstrong, Zulu by C.M. Doke, and Dinka by A.N. Tucker.]


[Of interest here is the policy suggested for Nigeria.]


[Includes many Yoruba words.]


[Includes some works written on the influence of Yoruba on the language.]


[Includes some comparison between Proto-Ijo, Bantu and Yoruba.]


STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 5:115-138.

1487. (1976), “A list of Long Essays, Dissertations and Theses Accepted by the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan 1967”, RESEARCH NOTES 7, 3 pp.


[Includes Yoruboid-Akokoid.]


[Includes some Yoruba examples]


[The signifiers to Yoruba speakers type of English are among the signifiers identified.]


[Contains 3 maps and discusses, among others, the phonemic systems of some languages of Nigeria, tentative conclusions about the phonemic typology of Nigerian
languages and the linguistic areas within Nigeria.


[Examples are taken from Nigerian Languages including Yoruba.]


[Regards Rara as one of the Discourse Varieties that should be included in a linguistic description of Yoruba.]


1504. ____ (1964), SECOND YEAR YORUBA (Bound with Second Year Yoruba Informant Manual.) East Lansing:African Studies Center, Michigan State University.


[Includes some Yoruba derived words in English Creole.]


[A rejoinder to Skinner and Harrell-Bond’s paper. See above.]


['He suggests that 'Krio' has an historico-ethno-linguistic
basis in the Yoruba expression, "Akiriyo", meaning 'who go about from place to place after church', and shows how the term could have been applied to the early Krio people" (Campbell 1983:186).


1514. ____ (1977), "Alguns aspectos da influencia das culturas nigerianas no Brasil em literatura, folklore e linguagem". (Some aspects of the influence of Yoruba culture in Brazil in literature, folklore and language.) CULTURAL: SPECIAL ISSUE ON AFRO-BRAZILIAN CULTURE, pp. 94–100. Brasilia: Ministero da Educacao e Cultural.


[Yoruba is the medium of instruction for all subjects except English at the 6-year Primary Project.]

1519. Yusuf, Ore (1985), "A Functional Explanation for the Ni–NP Construction in Yoruba", STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS,


[Includes a comprehensive discussion of the numeral system among the Yoruba.]


[Cites V.K. Yakovleva's work on Yoruba.]


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