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

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

BY

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EDINBURGH, September, 1963.
This thesis is the result of three years' study and research made possible by a post-graduate scholarship award from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

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

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

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

I am grateful to Dr. J.O. Ellis of the University of Edinburgh for some useful suggestions and to Miss L. Criper, also of the same university, for her constant support and encouragement.
Above all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. M.A.K. Halliday (formerly of the University of Edinburgh, and now of University College, University of London), who painstakingly guided my research from the earliest stages, and without whose help and constant advice and encouragement the thesis could not have been completed.

Finally, I wish to thank my Yoruba friends who gave freely of their time for recordings and experiments.
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LIST OF SYMBOLS

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

(a) **Elements of Structure**
   (i) The Sentence:
      \[ \alpha ; \beta ; \text{Sen.} \] (Element in Compound sentence structure).
   
   (ii) The Clause:
      S (Subject); P (Predicator); A (Adjunct);
      Z (Pre-emphatic element); I (Clause Initiator);
      x (Emphatic element); o (Clause final element).
   
   (iii) The Verbal Group:
      \[ \eta ; r; b ; f ; p ; C \] (Complement)
   
   (iv) The Nominal Group:
      H (Head); Q (Qualifier); n (nominal qualifier);
      j (adjective qualifier); l (numeral qualifier);
      k (rankshifted qualifier); d (deictic qualifier);
      t (post-deictic qualifier); N (Element in compound nominal group structure)
   
   (v) Compound Structures:
      \& (Linking element)

(b) **General**
   * Example drawn from outside the text.
   \[ \rightarrow \text{"is replaced by" or "is changed into"} \]

A figure enclosed in brackets preceded by a name, e.g. Ward (16) is a bibliographical reference.
(See Bibliography pp. 267-270)
1. INTRODUCTION
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Yoruba Language

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

It comprises about a dozen dialects such as Ijebu, Egbá, Ijéṣà, Òyó, Òwó, Òdò, each of which differs considerably from the other phonologically and lexically, and, to some extent, grammatically.\(^2\)

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

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

---

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

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

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

1.2 The Text

The grammatical description in Section 3 is based on a recorded text of a three hours' free conversation between the author and three other educated native speakers of Yorùbá. With the exception of about ten occurrences of dialectal forms typical of the background of each speaker (e.g. ñe (Ijebú) for nóò "that"; wàásùn (Èkiti) for wàásù "preach"; dáño (Øyó) for dürü "stop"; òbó (Ègbádò) for ìdí "anus"), the text is a good example of Standard Yorùbá. (A sample of the transcribed text is given in Section 4.4)

1.3 Previous Grammatical Studies

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


All these studies have thrown much light on many grammatical features of Yorùbá. Even in the earliest of them, one finds perceptive accounts of certain features of the language; for example, Crowther on the tone of the pronoun complement (p.4), and Bowen on nominalisation (pp.13-16) and verbal group structures (p.46). Of the more recent
studies, Ward's description of the tense system (pp.76-105),
verbal combinations (pp.106-116), interrogative clauses (pp.117-122)
and Abraham's subject-predicator junction rules (pp.xix-xx) and word
classes (particularly verbs) are most invaluable.

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

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

(i) Categories based on notional criteria

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

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

(ii) Transfer of categories from other languages

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 "The study of Yoruba, as of other African languages, has been vitiated by an attempt to equate Yoruba words and usages with English, and, ignoring Yoruba idiom, give them the same labels, irrespective of their origin or grammatical function in the Yoruba sentence." Ward (16), p.3.
gender. By far the worst example of this fault is Yoruba Composition by Gaye and Beecroft. In this book, not only are the grammatical categories for English equated with Yoruba ones, but even the exemplification of the Yoruba categories is usually a direct translation of that of the English categories. The following example is typical of their approach:

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

To live a pious life is the duty of a Christian
Latì wà ní ìwà mìmò jẹ iṣé ti Kristiani
Eat to live
Jẹun lati wà" (p.10)\(^3\)

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

"Remote future contingency:— .......
Were I to have money, I should buy a book tomorrow ....
ì bá lówó lówó, èmí màa ra ìwéè kọn lọ́ọ́la" (p.88)

"tèmì ìwé yìí ni
this book is mine" (p.435)

\(^3\) In their preface to this book, the authors wrote: "The authors can rightly claim this production as the first of its kind ever published."
(iii) Undefined and Unco-ordinated Categories

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

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

"A Sentence is an Assemblage of words conveying a complete sense or thought. A Simple Sentence expresses a single statement, command or question. It contains one finite verb only. A Compound Sentence consists of two or more simple sentences, each of which gives, when taken separately, a complete meaning." (p.5)

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

4 cf. Similar definitions of the sentence quoted in Fries (21),pp.9-18.
In a proper grammar of any language, categories cannot be assumed. They must be defined by reference to structures. Not only that, they must be co-ordinated, i.e. related to each other. In a way, this condition is automatically satisfied if the categories are, in the first instance, defined by reference to grammatical structures. In none of the grammars is there any evidence of such interrelation of categories. This, in effect, is a consequence of the ad hoc nature of the descriptions. A proper description must be based on a linguistic theory. This is generally accepted in modern linguistics.

1.4 The Present Study

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

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

---


1 See Section 2.
1.5 The Transcription

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

(a) the need to indicate phonological contrasts which the transcription does not.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ilé bábá</td>
<td>ilé bábá &quot;father's house&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilé kékeré</td>
<td>ilé kékeré &quot;a small house&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) aṣo tuntun</td>
<td>aṣo tuntun &quot;the new cloth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nominal)</td>
<td>(nominal group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(adjective)</td>
<td>(nominal group or clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* aṣo tuntun</td>
<td>&quot;the cloth is new&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(clause)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ọkùnrin</td>
<td>ọkùnrin &quot;man&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okùnrin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) ọlọ</td>
<td>ọlọ &quot;going&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọbọ</td>
<td>ọbọ &quot;coming&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonetics</th>
<th>Phonology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọn</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in ịbọn, ọkan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹ</td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẹi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in ọye, ọiyẹ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Phonetics</th>
<th>Phonology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọlọ</td>
<td>[ọlọ]</td>
<td>/ọlọ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọbọ</td>
<td>[ọbọ]</td>
<td>/ọbọ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọkẹ</td>
<td>[ọkẹ]</td>
<td>/ọkẹ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

1 Abraham does exactly the same in his dictionary.
will syllabic nasals and the vowel [u], and, indeed, so will syllabic nasals and the non-syllabic nasal [n]. This kind of consistency may be disconcerting to those accustomed to the standard orthography and it may make the text unnecessarily difficult to read. Therefore, only one departure has been made from the orthography in this respect:

- All syllabic nasals are represented by one symbol in the transcription (n).
- Since nasal vowels do not contrast with corresponding oral vowels after nasal consonants, nasalisation is not indicated as in the orthography. e.g.

mú "take"  [u]

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

Symbols used in the Transcription

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

II (a)  i, e, e, a, o, o, u
    (b)  in, en, on, un

(All the symbols in I and II except n are the same as those used in the orthography. The phonetic equivalent of the symbols is roughly the same as that of similar symbols in the IPA Chart,
with the exception of: p [kp], ʂ [ʃ], Ɂ [dʒ], y [j], ɭ[c] ɣ[ŋ], ɭ [tʃ], ɭn [tʃ], ɭn [ŋ]. Initial capital letter symbols are used to indicate names).

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

' (high tone) e.g. kọ "teach"

'(low tone) e.g. kọ "refuse"

(assimilated low tone) e.g. yó. "will" (cf. yó "to be filled with food")

Unmarked (mid tone) e.g. kọ "write"

The mid tone is marked (-) when there are two syllables having nasal vowels of the same quality e.g. rón "send him"

(Note that nasalisation is indicated as for one vowel i.e. rón instead of rón on . Also, in the case of a nasal vowel after a nasal consonant, nasalisation is indicated instead of a repetition of the vowel i.e. múń instead of mú u "take it").

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

Ex.

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

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

---

2 This convention agrees with that of Abraham in his dictionary.
two syllables having nasal vowels of the same quality (e.g. won (i.e. won ọ) "they don't"...) and simple single-syllable contractions (4.22l e.g. ri i.e. rí i "see it"). In a reduplicated word (4.3), word division is indicated as between two words.

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

Orthography

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

Transcription

Iwọ ọmọ // ọ sì akiyesi ẹniti ti o duro ni apa ọtun rè yi // wi ọ ò dááááá // ọun ni ṣi ọ // ron si ọ ni ẹhin ọla // n' i.gbá ti iwọ ba kúrọ ni kekeré // ti iwọ ba di ọkunrin // élé.yí ni yó. tọ ọ wá // ti yó. só bi ayé duá ba ti ri fún ọ //

³ This piece of text is taken from Fagunwa (7) p.5
2 STRUCTURES AND CLASSES IN THE THEORY OF GRAMMAR

2. THEORY

(Structures and Classes in the Theory of Grammar)
2 STRUCTURES AND CLASSES IN THE THEORY OF GRAMMAR

2.1 Grammar

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

2.2 Scales of Abstraction

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

2.2.1 The Rank Scale

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

2.2.1.1 Rank Shift

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

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

2.21 Note 1 For "relations of constituency" see Juillard (39) pp. 29 - 32. Cf. Bazell's "relations of containment" Bazell (29) p. 22.
relation is not reversible, it sometimes happens that a unit on a higher rank is found in the structure of a unit on a lower rank. For example, the clause, "I met" in the structure of the group "the man I met". A unit of one rank may also be found within the structure of another unit of the same rank; for example, the group "in the garden" in the structure of the group "the man in the garden". In both of these cases, we talk of a rank shift. In the one case, a clause which is a constituent in sentence structure rankshifted into group structure, in the other, a group which is a constituent in clause structure rankshifted into group structure.¹

2.22 **The Scale of Delicacy**

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

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

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

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

2.22 Note ² See 2.43, 2.52
2.23 The Exponent Scale

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

2.231 Steps in Exponent

These steps are of three kinds:

(i) a statement of class with reference to the structure of the unit next above;

(ii) a statement of structure in terms of elements of structure;

(iii) a statement of the class of the unit next below operating at each place in structure.

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

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

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

2.23 Note 2 This is done without any move on the scale of Delicacy. Cf. Halliday (36) p.271.
The number of steps to be taken depends on (a) the kind of category (for example, a unit, a structure and an element of structure on the same rank differ respectively by one step); (b) the position of the category on the rank scale (for example, there is a difference of two steps in exponent between a clause structure and a group structure) i.e. the higher the category on the rank scale, the greater the number of steps to be taken before reaching the ultimate exponent.

2.24 Interrelation of Scales

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

2.3 Unit

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

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

2.3 Note ¹ Cf. Pike (42) p.4 "Crucial to the setting up of one level as over against another, however, is the analytical requirement that unit types on one level must in some sense (1) be a matrix for controlling the occurrence and relative (fixed or free) order of included constituents, and (2) be structurally organised in a manner which in some sense is sharply in contrast with the layer next higher or lower in the hierarchy."
The number of units to be recognised depends on the particular language. But theoretically, every language must have at least two units (otherwise there will be no rank scale, no structures and no classes). For English, as well as Yoruba, it has been found necessary to recognise five units. These are (in descending order): Sentence, Clause, Group, Word and Morpheme.

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

2.4 Structure

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Unit</th>
<th>S (KKK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K (GGG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank Scale</td>
<td>G (WWW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W (MMM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest Unit</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

It is the nature of a structure that the occurrences of the same unit of which it is composed can be differentiated from one another by the way they pattern in structure - either by the relations they contract\(^1\) or by the positions in which they occur. The possibility of such differentiation is reflected in the setting up of different elements of structure. For example, for a clause structure in which groups are differentiated K \( (G_1 G_2 G_3) \) - roughly G nominal, verbal and adverbial respectively, we may have a structure SPA with the different elements S, P, A (equivalent to Subject, Predicator, Adjunct).

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

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

2.42 Criteria for Structures

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

---

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

2.42 Note 1 Structures may differ in rank and class as well. But these need not be considered separately since such differences are automatically reflected in the differences above.
The first two criteria are crucial because they apply to all structures; the third applies only to structures in which sequence is a feature of the relation between elements of structure.

2.421 Places in Structure

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

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

(i) Although a unit may have a structure of one place, every unit must have at least one structure of more than one place. (The structure of a unit with only one structure of one place is already accounted for by that of a lower unit).

(ii) Every unit must have at least one structure with the maximum number of places i.e. the same number as there are elements of structure. (otherwise there will be a redundant element).

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

2.422 Different Elements of Structure

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

¹ For "primary structures" See 2.43
different structures. This is definitely the case if the elements of structure in the places in one structure are not identical with those in the other. For example, the English clause structures: SPC and SPA (e.g. "He saw a man"; "He worked in the garden"). If however the elements of structure are identical, the structures can only be the same if sequence is not a crucial feature of structure.

2.423 Sequence of Elements

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

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

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

SPC  
  (a) S ...... 
  (b) P ...... 
  (c) C ......

in which the element in initial position is marked. This gives one
non-sequence-determined primary structure and three sequence-determined secondary structures.

2.43 Primary and Secondary Structures

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

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

2.44 Simple and Compound Structures

A compound structure is two or more structures of the same unit plus a linking element (&). For example, the Yoruba compound nominal group: bááá áti iyá (father and mother)

\[ \text{N } \& \text{ N} \]

A simple structure is one without a linking element.¹

2.5 Class

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

¹ In Halliday (26) "simple" and "compound" are used in a different sense. See p.253.
in structure. Such a grouping provides the basis for both elements of structure and classes. The different elements make up the structure of a unit, and the grouping of members of the unit next below according to which elements of structure they expound yields classes. In an SPA clause structure in English, the members of the unit group which expound the elements of structure constitute three classes of the group: Nominal Group, Verbal Group and Adverbial Group.

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

---

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

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

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

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

2.52 **Secondary Classes**

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

![Diagram of secondary classes](image)

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

Type (a) is exemplified by the following diagram:

![Diagram of type (a)](image)

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

---

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

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

```
A ----> D
SP      Sa/b Pa/b
Nominal Group  S(a) Nominal Singular  P(a) Verbal group
B       (b) Nominal Plural  (b) Verbal group
```

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

2.53 **Subclasses**¹

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

---

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

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

2.53 Note 2 For "system" and "systemic choice", See 2.6
This diagram represents a modification of the original to allow for subclasses at C.

Halliday's position in his paper (Halliday, (36)) is that ADC (secondary class) is always equal to ABC (Sub-class): "More delicate classes derived from secondary structures are referable both as exponents to secondary structures and as subdivisions .... to primary classes" p.263, note 50. "their i.e. subclasses' relation to secondary elements of structure is implied but need not be stated" p.265. In fact, ADC ≠ ABC except in type (b) secondary class in which the complementary secondary classes are subclasses of two different primary classes as well. The recognition of independent ADC and ABC secondary classes (See Halliday (37)) is a modification by Halliday of his original position. This modification has the following implications for the theory:

(i) Secondary classes may be set up without reference to secondary structures. This may lead to the setting up of purely contextual choices e.g. animate/inanimate nominals as secondary classes.

(ii) All the possible structures of a unit qualify as secondary classes.

(iii) The distinction between 'class' and 'paradigm' is partially blurred, since paradigms ("groupings of items on the basis of likeness in their own structure" p.262) may become secondary classes of the ABC type.

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

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

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

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

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

2.61 Terms in a System

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


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

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

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

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

2.71 Constituent Structure

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

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

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

2.71 Note 2 Chomsky (30) p.26
2.711 Rewrite Rules

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

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

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

2.72 Transformation

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

2.721 Obligatory and Optional Transformations

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

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1 Chomsky (30) p.111
A transformation may convert one structure into another structure or several structures into one structure. The two types are known as "singularly" and "generalised" transformations respectively. (See Chomsky (31) pp. 22-24). Only the former type will be considered in the present discussion.
in order to produce a proper sentence (or a final structure which can be exemplified in the language). An optional transformation need not be applied to give such a sentence.¹

2.722 Systemic and Non-systemic Transformations

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

\[
C \quad \rightarrow \quad \{ S \text{ in the context NP sing - } \} \\
\text{(past) } \{ \emptyset \text{ in the context NP plu - } \}
\]

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

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

They can arrive \(\rightarrow\) Can they arrive?² or the passive transformation which converts an active sentence into a

2.721 Note 1
A sentence in the generation of which an obligatory transformation has been applied is a kernel sentence. Schachter has recently shown that the distinction between kernel and non-kernel sentences in so far as optional "one-string" transformations are concerned, is at best, trivial, and at worst, misleading, since each optional transformation may be converted into an obligatory systemic transformation (See Later 2.722). See Schachter (45) pp. 319 - 324.

2.722 Note 1
See Chomsky (30) p.39. The arrow is currently being used by Chomsky and others (See Preprints of Papers for the Ninth Congress of Linguists) to differentiate between transformational rules and rewrite rules - a distinction not made in Chomsky (30).

2.722 Note 2
Chomsky (30) p.63.
passive one e.g.

John admires sincerity\[\Rightarrow]sincerity is admired by John.\(^3\)

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

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

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

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

\[T^\text{ob.}_{\text{sep.}}\] (obligatory separation transformation)

The police brought in him\[\Rightarrow]\text{The police brought him in.}

or optional e.g.

\[T^\text{opt.}_{\text{sep.}}\] (optional separation transformation)

The police brought in the criminal\[\Rightarrow]\text{The police brought the criminal in.}

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

\(^3\) Chomsky (30) p.43
(iii) deletion of one or more items e.g.

Elipsis of agent transformation (T3)

They were put by the side of the road by the police→ They were put by the side of the road.4

Combinations of one or more of these three are possible e.g. T adj: The boy is tall→ the tall boy or T passive (see above).5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\( V_1 \) e.g. 'admire'; \( V_2 \) e.g. 'frighten'; \( V_3 \) e.g. 'need'; \( V_4 \) e.g. 'eat'.²

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

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¹ See Chomsky (30) p.42.


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

⁴ The case for a level of lexis is convincingly put by McIntosh. "For there is a difference between speaking about the eligibility of a particular CLASS OF UNIT in some place or places in the grammatical structure of a language and about the eligibility of exponents of that class of unit in such a place or places in a particular sentence." McIntosh (40) p.325. For a recognition of the desirability of a "semantical" as opposed to a "grammatical" level within the framework of transformational grammar, See Putnam (45) pp.23; 32.
3. DESCRIPTION

(Structures and Classes in the Grammar of Yoruba)
The Sentence is the highest grammatical unit in Yoruba, and, as such, can only be structurally defined in terms of its elements of structure. These elements of structure are $\alpha$, and $\beta$, and at their places in structure operate the classes of the clause: free clause and dependent clause respectively. The two primary structures of the sentence are:

$$\alpha, \; \beta \alpha$$

Each of these must have one $\alpha$, but not more than one. But there can be more than one $\beta$ in the latter structure, in which $\beta$ always precedes $\alpha$.

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

Examples of sentence structure:

$\alpha$:

"Families are usually closely-knit"

$\beta \alpha$:

"Whenever there is a festival, they get well dressed."
n' Ìlẹ̀ Yorùbá // ẹbí ma ń so mọ 'raa wọn púpò
"In Yorubaland, families are usually closely-knit."

l' È.kó // t' ọ d ẹ bá da // o k' èròn n' ìyẹn
"In Lagos, if you don't contribute, then you've had it."

Al Compound Sentence Structure

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

tábí "whether .... or".

Ex.

Sen. & Sen. (βp) (βp)  1' áyé átijó // n' ìgba ọ' ì lákó béré aṣo ẹbí ìyẹn // ọ da // sugbón n' î.sìnûn // wọn ti ì fi 'èkò n'ènìin bọ ọ

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

Sen. & Sen. (α) (α)  òwọn Yorùbá ma ń p' òwé .kọn // tábí wọn ma ń d' á.ṣà .kọn pé ....

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

Sen. & Sen. & Sen. (α) (α) (α)  yálàa ìbò ni ẹ ni ì ọ // tábíì Yorùbá ni ì ọ // tábíì Haùsá ni ì ọ ....

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

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

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

El Elements of Clause Structure

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

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

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

1 A free clause may be rankshifted to operate in a unit lower than the sentence. (See El0.1; Fl.3)
Subclasses of the Free Clause

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

Primary Structures: The Verbal Free Clause

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

Basic Structures

Basic verbal clause structures are:

SP, SPA, P, PA.

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

There are two sequence-determined secondary elements of the adjunct: $A_1$ (initial adjunct) and $A_2$ (final adjunct).¹

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

¹ The Adjunct in Clause structure is discussed in F2.
Examples of Basic clause structures:

**SP**

`igi .kɔn wá`

tree one exists

"There is a tree."

**SPA**

`ó ti ŋ kárd dié dié`

it has -ing stop little little

"It's stopping gradually."

**P**

`má. ṣé`

not do it

"Don't do it."

**PA**

`ma són dié dié`

continue pay it little little

"Be paying it by instalments."

---

**B3.11 SP Structure**

There are two types of SP structures:

(i) SP structures with an overt exponent of S;

(ii) SP structures with a zero exponent of S.

---

**B3.11 Structure with overt exponent of S**

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

The junction rules may be stated in terms of modification to the final syllable of the exponent of S.
(i) Final High Tone Syllable: No change.

Ex.

Item

owo "money"

arúgbó "an old person"

Item as S.

owo wá "there's money"

arúgbó wá n' ílé "there's an old person in the house"

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

Ex.

Item

iyení "that"

áwọn egbèè wọn "their colleagues"

aláṣò "the cloth seller"

Item as S

iyení sòro "that is difficult"

áwọn egbèè wọn ti ŋ r' asò iyení "their colleagues are already buying that dress"

aláṣò wá n' íbí "the cloth seller is here"

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

Ex.

Item

tíṣà "teacher"

olúwa rè "the person concerned"

bàtà "shoe"

Item as S

tíṣà pàdé .mi "the teacher met me"

olúwa rè gbó.dó só 'ra "The person concerned must be careful"

bàtà ì t à 'un l' èsè "his shoes pinch"
For the purpose of rules (ii) and (iii), an assimilated low tone (4.112) operates like a low tone. Hence any syllable preceded by it: → High.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Item as S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>igi .kɔn &quot;a tree&quot;</td>
<td>igi .kɔn wa &quot;there's a tree&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| obinrin tì d ʃe 'ke.ji  "a woman who doesn't want a partner" | obinrin tì d ʃe 'ke.ji wa "there are women who dislike the company of other wives"

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Group</th>
<th>Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* aʃø tuntun</td>
<td>* aʃø tuntun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloth new</td>
<td>cloth new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a new cloth&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;the cloth is new&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf. however, * ilé tuntun , which is structurally ambiguous, i.e. "a new house" or "the house is new".)

* * ɛmí pɛlúu wɔn "I with them"
* ɛmí pɛlúu wɔn "They and I" "I am with them"

The SP junction does not occur before the preverbs (D3.2): kòş ki, ḫá, ḫáá, a; nor before the verbs: dà "where is?"; ǹkọ "how about?". It is optional before the preverbs: ỳbọ, ọ, ọ, and
after the subject that follows the preverb ki.  

**Ex.**

iyen ṣ da
"that's not good"

èrè ṣ pò
 cf. iyèn ṣ dòrò
"there will be many people"  "that will stand"

òwò asò dà
money cloth where is?
"pay the bill for the cloth"

k’ òkùnrin m̀a...  cf. k’ òmqò s̀a... 
should man continue  should child run
"a man should be ..."  "a child should run away"

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

"The books written by our elders"

"Does that blouse fit in with the rest of the dress?"
B3.112 Structure with a zero exponent of S

The third person singular pronoun subject (B5.12) has a zero exponent before the preverbs (D3.2): kọ, ki, ibá, ibáá, yó.

Ex.

kọ féé rá "He doesn't want to buy"
not want to buy

ibáá jí óba ni "Even if he is a king"
even if is king is

ki i ƙ' ọjá "It isn't the market"
not -ing is market

B3.2 Subsidiary Structures with the emphatic element

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

Primary structures with the emphatic element are:

ZxSP, ZxSPA, ZxS, ZxSA.

B3.21 Class and Subclasses at x

The class of items at x is the verbal group consisting of either one or both of the verbs: ni "is" and kọ "is not" with or without any of the preverbs (D3.2): tić, sáά, sί, má, sί, dę. These preverbs are characterised by the SP junction when they operate in the predicator. But there is no such junction
between a Z and the following verbal group at x. It is therefore possible to contrast an SP structure with a Zx... structure on this criterion, whenever the verbal group has the same preverb.

Ex.

Verbal group with the preverb mā: olórun  mā ni dō
(No junction before x)
"It's really the same God"

iyēn  mā dāā
(Junction before P)
"That's really good"

There are two subclasses of the verbal group exponents of the emphatic element: positive and negative.

The positive verbal group has the verb ni (with or without preverbs) as its exponent.

Ex.

ZxSP iyēn ni dāā "That is what's bad"
that is not good

iwọ l o ma kọ "It's you that will collect
you is you will collect your share"

ZxS dọtọ  n i iyēn "That's a fact"
truth is that

dọtọ ni "It's a fact"
The negative verbal group consists of the two verbs: \( \text{ko} \) and \( \text{ni} \) (with or without preverbs) in all structures, except the structure \( \text{ZxS} \) with a zero exponent of the third person pronoun subject (B3.23).

Ex.

\( \text{ZxSP owó kó l' à ñ bá jé} \)

Money is not is we -ing spoil

"It isn't money that we are wasting"

" gbogbo wa kó l' a dě ma l' ówó sọqbud

all our is not is we and will have money shop

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

In the structure \( \text{ZxS} \) with a zero exponent of the third person pronoun subject, the negative verbal group is always \( \text{ko} \).

Ex.

\( \text{owó kó} \) "It isn't money"

\( \text{ékó kó} \) "It isn't Lagos"

B3.22 Structures with \( P \)

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

B3.221 The Positive Subclass

The positive subclass consists of a nominal group (other than a pronoun), or an item which may be an adjunct (Fl).
When the positive subclass is an exponent of $Z$, secondary elements of $Z$ may be established on the criterion of concord between $Z$ and the other elements of structure. These secondary elements are: $Z^a$ (in concord with $Z$); $Z^b$ (in concord with $P$); $Z^c$ (in concord with $A$) and $Z^d$ (not in concord with any element).

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

Ex.

\[
géndé \quad mérin \quad l' \quad 6 \quad 1 \quad 10 \quad gbe
\]

sturdy persons four is he -ing go carry him

"Four sturdy persons will carry him"

\[
\underline{\text{iwo}} \quad l' \quad o \quad ma \quad kó
\]

you is you will collect

"You are the person who will collect your share"

\[
\underline{\text{emi ni}} \quad n \quad ma \quad kó
\]

I is I will collect

"I am the person who will collect my share"

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

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

---

\(^1\)The concord between $Z^a$ and the subject is similar to that between a nominal head and the subject of its rankshifted clause qualifier. (See E10.11)
Z^b_2 correlates with an absence of a complement in the predicator, or with a third person singular pronoun qualifier within the complement of the predicator. The correlation in the former case is best illustrated by a transitive verb (D4.2) which always takes a complement in an SP clause structure having only one verb (D4.2).

Ex.  
* mimú ni won mú mi  
taking is they took me  
"The fact is that they arrested me"

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

* okährin nó ô ni won gb’ asô  
man that is they took cloth his  
"It was the man whose cloth they took"

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

Ex.  
* eko ni won p’ olówó  
type of food is they call seller its
or * Ṣekọ ni wọn p' olówọ
"Ṣekọ was the food being hawked"

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

Ex.

ṣeyin obinrin l' ó lè mọ
you women is she can know
\(Z^a\)xSP: "It's you women that can know"
\(Z^{b2}\)xSP: "It's you women that she can know"

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

Ex.

ṣeyin obinrin nọọ l' ó wà l' òwọ è
you women that is it is in hand her
"It's all left to you women"

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

²For criteria for resolving this ambiguity, see E10.11.
³For a full account of these preverbs, see D3.24.
Ex.

*ɪgbá bá.yí l' a lo aṣọ .yí*

time such is we used cloth this
"We wore this dress on such and such occasion"

*Ẹkó l' ọ ti bẹrẹ*

Lagos is it started
"It was in Lagos that it started"

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

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

Ex.

*t' ìwọn alùfáá l' a sẹqẹ sọ tọn .yí ní.síni*

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

*ìwọn n' ọh ma ì wáású kiri .yẹn*

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

(b) The rankshifted clause with *nì* as clause initiator.

Ex.

*n' 1.ìgbá tí ìwọn àjọyọ yín wá kí wa n' ọh rí bá a ṣe ọ ṣe // n' ọh bá lo ọ ṣe è.*

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

---

^4^ The structures with these adjuncts point again to the similarity in structure between a clause with the initial emphatic element and a nominal group structure with a rankshifted clause qualifier. In the latter structure, the items in (a) above are qualifiers.
B3.222  The Negative Subclass

The negative subclass consists of the clause: \( k\hat{f} \hat{i} \) se .... "It isn't ...." with an item from the positive subclass as a complement in its predicator.

Ex.

\[
\begin{align*}
&k\hat{f} \hat{i} \text{ se } gbogbo \text{ won } \text{n}i \ sp \ k\hat{l} \hat{i} \ \hat{s}e \ \hat{d}\hat{a}\hat{d}a\hat{a} \\
&\text{it isn't all their is not -ing do well} \\
&\text{"It isn't all of them that fail to do well."} \\
&\text{cf. } gbogbo \text{ won } \text{n}i \ sp \ k\hat{i} \ \hat{s}e \ \hat{d}\hat{a}\hat{d}a\hat{a} \\
&\text{positive } \\
&\text{"It's all of them that fail to do well."} \\
&\text{ki } \hat{s}e \ n' \ i.\hat{s}i\hat{n} \ nikon \ n\ i \ kini \ \hat{y}e\hat{n} \ \hat{w}a \\
&\text{in religion alone is thing that is} \\
&\text{"It isn't in religion alone that that thing exists."} \\
&\text{cf. } n' \ i.\hat{s}i\hat{n} \ nikon \ n\ i \ kini \ \hat{y}e\hat{n} \ \hat{w}a \\
&\text{positive } \\
&\text{"It's in religion alone that that thing exists."}
\end{align*}
\]

B3.23  Structures without P

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

Ex.

\[
\begin{align*}
&ZxS \ \hat{d}o\hat{t}o \ n' \ \hat{i}e\hat{n} \operatorname{truth} \text{ is that} \\
&\text{"That's a fact."}
\end{align*}
\]
custom of European is that completely
"That's entirely a European custom."

In these structures, the pronoun subject is anomalous because it is of the same series as the pronoun complement (B5.12),

Ex.

"You are friends of mine."

"I am a teacher."

and the third person pronoun subject has a zero exponent.

Ex.

"It's a fact."

"It isn't money."

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

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

Ex.

Positive witch is certainly
"She's certainly a witch."
n' ípa ìmu ìlàjú dë n' ịyen (ZxS)
"That's in the way of a sophisticated person."

Negative  ki ị s' ọniyọn ni wọn (ZxS)
it isn't person is them
"They are not persons."

cf.  ìnyọn ni wọn
positive  "They are persons."

ki i tiège se torí arúgbó ni (ZxS)
even reason old person is
"It isn't even because of old persons"

cf.  torí arúgbó ni
positive  "It's because of old persons."

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

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

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

Ex.
ZxS  wọn ti ọtụ n' ịyen
"That means they've finished."
ZxS  ara ɖे gbó  'nô  gôn  ni
     "The fact is that she's very jealous"

ZxSA  wọn wá gbé ba n' ilé ni pàápáá
     "The fact is that they brought it home for her."

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

B3.3  Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element.

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

Primary structures with the clause final element are:

SPo, SPAo, Po, PAo,
ZxSPo, ZxSPAo, ZxSo, ZxSAo

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

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

(b) The Strong emphatic subclass which is found only in verbal clauses.

B3.31 The Weak Emphatic subclass

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

SPo mo dú 'pé do
"I am very grateful."

Po má. dǎ 'rúkọ do
"Don't mention names!"

SPAao ó dě ti ŋ sọn diě diě n' i.siíń do
"Things are now improving gradually"

SPAoa èmí ò lè sọ̀ do / tori mìnń ti i r' ìdí ọ
"I can't say for sure, since I don't know the cause yet."

ZxSo tíśá ni mí do
"I am a teacher."

ZxSao ara ṣ ni gā do
"It's part of it."

ZxSPAo kí l' a ti ma á pè é ní òdọ̀ọ̀ wa do
"What name do we give that in my district?"

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

Ex.

iyón ,yén dáa ́sá do
"That pounded yam is really very good."

ara ṣ ni ́sá do
"It's really part of it."

ẹ ́sé ́do ́járe
"Thank you very much."
mi ì fẹ́ẹ́ sè mó ó dò jáре
"Please, I don't want to do it any more."

B3.32 The Strong Emphatic subclass

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Item Preceding Clause final element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPo ó burú</td>
<td>burú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's really bad.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó dún ju t' ilé lọ́p</td>
<td>lọ́p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's really better than the home-made stuff.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JxSo ó da gọ́n níí</td>
<td>níí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex.

| SPo wón ma ŋ ko lọ́p | lọ́p |
| "They do carry them off." |

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

Ex.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Item Preceding Clause</th>
<th>final element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPo</td>
<td>ó pọ̀</td>
<td>&quot;It is quite plentiful.&quot;</td>
<td>pọ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPAo</td>
<td>iyá .yên ti sọ télẹ̀</td>
<td>&quot;That woman did give a notice.&quot;</td>
<td>télẹ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPoA</td>
<td>ó sọ̀ / t' ó ba jé pé ....</td>
<td>&quot;It's even better if ....&quot;</td>
<td>sọ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSPAo</td>
<td>ìyin obínrin nọ̀ l' ó wà l' ówó őọ̀</td>
<td>&quot;It's really up to you women.&quot;</td>
<td>őọ̀</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>Item Preceding Clause</th>
<th>final element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPAo</td>
<td>ó pọ̀ kẹ̀</td>
<td>&quot;It's really quite plentiful.&quot;</td>
<td>kẹ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSPAo</td>
<td>óótọ̀ ni mọ́ ọ̀ sọ́ kẹ̀</td>
<td>&quot;I'm really speaking the truth.&quot;</td>
<td>kẹ̀</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B3.4 Subsidiary Structures with the Clause Initiator

The clause initiator occurs initially in clause structure.

Primary structures with the clause initiator are:

- ISP, ISPA
- IZxSP, IZxSPA, IZxS, IZxSA
The exponents of the clause initiator are:

- .onerror="this.onerror=null;this.src='https://js挨住.php?b=11'"

  ūjé  "is it a fact that?"
 slander  "Is it a fact that?";  "isn't it a fact that?"
  ṣèbì  "isn't it a fact that?"
  ṣèbì  "the fact is that"
  âné  "I didn't realise that"
  ti, ni  "connective"

Ex.

ISP  ñj' á á tó
"Will it be sufficient?"

  ẹ' ẹ m' ökété
"Do you know what a giant rat is?"

IZxS  ṣèbì  wón ị k' ájọ ni
"Isn't it a fact that they are raising a fund?"

IZxSP  ṣèb' ásà òyínbó ọ' ọ àsọ t' élé
"Isn't it true to say that we follow European customs?"

ISP  âné tísá .yen nóọ bọ sì
"The title 'teacher' is good enough."

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

The numerous lessons they've learnt.

If somebody dies, they will buy a 'family dress'.

The clause initiator may be discontinuous in sentence structure, i.e. it may be separated from the rest of the clause by a dependent clause. Fairly delicate contrasts may be expressed by this variation in sequence.

Ex.

Isn't it a fact that at that time they were enough for them?

At that time, isn't it a fact that they were enough for them?

B3.5 Summary of Primary Structures

The primary structures of the free verbal clause may be generalised in two sets of formulae. The brackets indicate non-obligatory elements of structure, and the sequence of the elements indicates the order in which they occur in structure. (cf. however, restriction in the sequence of \( \sigma \), relative to secondary elements of \( A \) (B3.3)).
(a) Structures without the emphatic element:

\[(I) \ (S) \ P \ (A) \ (o)\]

Structural Restriction: I presupposes S.
I excludes o.

(b) Structures with the emphatic element.

\[(I)Z\times S(P)(A)(o)\]

Structural Restriction: I excludes o.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>&quot;There's a tree.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| SPA                      | "It's stopping gradually."
| P                        | "Don't do it."           |
| PA                       | "Be paying it by instalments." |
(ii) Structures with the emphatic element

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZxSP</td>
<td>iyên ni dâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;That is what's bad.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSPA</td>
<td>kî i ṣe gbogbo won ni dâa dâa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It isn't all of them that fail to do well.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxS</td>
<td>dôtô n' iyên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;That's a fact.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSA</td>
<td>âsha t' òyinbó n' iyên pâtâpâtá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;That's entirely a European custom.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Structures with the clause final element

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPo</td>
<td>ó p dó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It's really plentiful.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPAo</td>
<td>iyá .yên ti só téjé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;That woman did give a notice.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po</td>
<td>s' òròò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Do speak.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAo</td>
<td>màa só lò kë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Please continue to say it.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSPo</td>
<td>ërín l' à fi gb' aṣo .yên òo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;We took the cloth cheerfully.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZxSPAo</td>
<td>dôtô ni mó ò sò kë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I am really speaking the truth.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ZxSo  tíṣà ni mí ò
"I am a teacher."

ZxSAo  ara ẹ ni ọ̀ṣà ò
"It's really part of it."

(iv) Structures with the clause iniator.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISP</td>
<td>ṣẹj' ọ à tọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Will it be sufficient?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISPA</td>
<td>ṣẹj' ọkùnrín tìë ọ se n' ènù ẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Do men also take part in it?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IŻxSP</td>
<td>ṣèb' ọ́ṣà òyínbó À ò tẹ lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Don't we follow European custom?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IŻxSPA</td>
<td>ṣ' ọbìnrin l' ò pọ jù n' ìbè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Are women in the majority there?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IŻxS</td>
<td>ṣ' éni t' ò wà n' i.lú ọlá n' ịyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;That's for a person in a big town, isn't it?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IŻxSA</td>
<td>ṣ' ọjá .yẹn sùn mọ 'lú ni ọ́ ti gbogbo ìdýọ́n lè ọ máa ra ụnọ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Is the market so near the town that all the people could go and buy things?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B4. Primary Structures: The Non-Verbal Free Clause

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

B4.1 Basic Structures

The possible structures are:

S, A, SA, SS

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

Ex.

(S)     (A)
(c' e m' Ọkọtę) // họ́n / dada
"Do you know what a / "Yes", // "Certainly"
giant rat is?"

orin // ọ̀ sọ̀lpá
"Songs?" // "In the moonlight?"

(S)     (A)
ọrọ obinrin // (S)
"A discussion about women?"
The structure SS is formed by two juxtaposed nominal groups within one contour group (4.1). It is identical with a nominal group structure consisting of a head plus a nominal qualifier (E5.4) except that there is an optional possibility of a facultative pause between the two elements of the clause when the second element begins in a vowel. In practice, there is usually no ambiguity between the two structures because the clause structure, which in any case is not common,

(i) tends to have as the first nominal group a set of nominals which do not usually have nominal qualifiers when standing as head in nominal group structure, e.g. ificación "that", őkon "one", őmín "another";

(ii) usually occurs contrastively with one or more of its kind in the same utterance.

Ex.

iómm șọọshi a lá.durá // íóng șọọshi oníkini SS // SS
another church Apostolic

"Some are Apostolic churches, some are whatnot."

őkon őbó // őkon Yōdóba SS // SS

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

éyí ọkùnrin // éyí obìnrin SS // SS

this man woman

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

(cf. Nominal Group Structure: éyí ọkùnrin "the one who is a man")
By far the most common exponent of the first element is iyẹn which usually occurs in single structures. This item is also the only subject found in the text for the structure SA.

Ex.

SS iyẹn 'kọn
"That's one."

SSo iyẹn b' á.wa Ydóbá șe ri ọ̀o
"That's how we Yorubas see it."

SA iyẹn l' ọ.nọ .kọn
"That's one way of looking at it."

SAo iyẹn n' i.1ú ọ̀lá ọ̀o
"That's only in a big town."

B4.2 Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element

Subsidiary Structures with the clause final element are:

So, Aọ, SSọ, SÀọ

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

Ex.

So ìmín ìọ̀o
"Amen!"

SSọ ọkọn hásá ìọ̀o
"One is a Hausa."

SAọ iyẹn n' i.1ú ọ̀lá ìọ̀o
"That's only in a big town."
B4.3 Subsidiary Structures with the clause initiator

Subsidiary Structures with the clause initiator are:
IS, IA, ISS, ISA

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

Ex.

IS sé imâle
"Is it a Muslim?"

IS sé inọq epo pupâ
"Is it an oil Lamp?"

IA sé n' i.lâu wa
"Is it in our town?"

ISS * sébí iyêd' kòn
"Isn't that one?"

B5 Systems: The Verbal Free Clause

There are two systems of the verbal free clause: Mood and Emphasis.
B5.1 Mood

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

B5.11 Imperative Mood

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

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

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

Ex.

Singular P lọ sí sọgbù bá.yí
"Go to such and such a shop."

Po má. dá 'rúkọ ìò
"Don't mention names!"

PA ma són díè díè
"Be paying it by instalments."

PAo máa sọ lọ kẹ̀
"Please continue to say it."

¹cf. Westermann's treatment of a similar feature in Ewe, Westermann (26), p.76.
Plural SP ẹ gbọ
you hear
"Listen!"

SPo ẹ jọwọ ọ
"Please!"

SPAo ẹ ba mi ra n' ibi ọ
"Please buy from my stock."

The following restrictions in exponentence apply to imperative clauses:

(i) Verbal groups with restricted preverbs (D3.21), or with the verbal particle (D3.1), do not occur as exponents of P.

(ii) Unless preceded by certain preverbs (D3.23, D3.3 note 1), the negator mà. and the bound verb màa or ma occur only in imperative clauses.

Ex.  
ma sọn díé díé  "Be paying it by instalments."
ẹ mà. ẹ̀se bá.yí  "Don't behave like this."

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

Ex.  
ẹ jọwọ ọ  "Please!"
k' áárọ ọ  "Goodmorning!"
pèlé  "Accept my sympathy"
Non-Imperative Mood: Interrogative

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

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

There are four subclasses of Interrogative clauses:

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

Clauses with I Question Items

The question items at I are: sé, ñjé, ñebí, ñebi (B3.4).

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñjé ’enkōn 're n’ iyên</td>
<td>ñyen ɗ da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Is that a good thing?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;That's bad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñj' ñkùnrin tiè ọ ọ n' inú ọ gōn</td>
<td>ñkùnrin ńgō ọ ñeè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Do men even take part in it?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Men do take part.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñjé kò tiè tún níi ọ' ñjìjì</td>
<td>(Np  Answer )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Won't it even be strange?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹cf. Ward (16), p.117.
The items: sebí and sóhí occur in rhetorical questions (i.e. questions which do not demand a reply).

Ex.
sebí wón á k' á.jo ni
"They are organising a thrift fund, aren't they?"
 sóhí à.sà òyínò l' á n tè lé
"We follow European customs, don't we?"

The item só occurs in both types of questions.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s' è m' òkété</td>
<td>hón // dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Do you know what a giant rat is?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes!&quot; &quot;Certainly!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só ojú dè tì lá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;People are now sophisticated, aren't they?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só 'só .míì wá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;There's another job, isn't there?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B5.122 Clauses with Z Question Items

The question items at Z are, or have in their structure, nominal groups with the following items as head or qualifier:
ki ta èwo, .wo èló mé.ló ibo
"what?"; "who?"; "Which?"; "how much - price?"; "how many?"; "where?";

Ex.

ki l' è ma ì sè
"What do you usually do?"

2With the exception of the items noted in this section, question items usually occur in non-rhetorical questions.
ta n' ijo
"Who are church members?"

èwo l' ó wá yá jù
"Which is better?"

òrọ .wo l' ọkùnrin ma ọ sọ
"What sort of discussion do men have?"

èló ni wón ọ gbà l' ósú
"How much are they paid monthly?"

èdọ̀n mé.ló l' ó ri
"How many people saw it?"

n' ibó ni k' á. wón t' ó kà yá sì
"Where should the rest turn to?"

B5.123 Clauses with P Question Items

The question items at P are verbal groups with:

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

Ex.

ó se jé pé/iyen n' iwó ri
"Why is it that you saw only that one?"

* ó ti jé
"How is it?"

* ó tí í gé nọ
"Has he done it yet?"

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

Ex.

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

dáwọn tí ọ́ bí 'mọ wọnyẹn ńkó
"What about those without children?"

tí ọ́ bá kí ówó lọ ńkó
"What about if he embezzles the money?" (i.e. "Suppose he embezzles the money!")

ıp gbó
"What do you think?" ²

B5.124 Clauses with A Question Items

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

Ex.

* ó tôbi bí
"Is it big?"

* wọn ń s' óró: don
"Are they talking?"

1 (contd. from p. 72)

The interrogative clause with tí i is always positive.

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

2 The subject before ńkó may be a nominal group, a clause or an item capable of operating as an adjunct.
Non-Imperative Mood: Affirmative

Non-imperative clauses which are not interrogative are affirmative. An affirmative clause may be a statement or a question. It has been suggested\(^1\) that the contrast between two affirmative clauses, the one a statement, the other a question, may be described in terms of a register difference. It is observed in the text, however, that both statements and questions occur on normal as well as high registers. It is difficult to say accurately whether an affirmative clause is a statement or a question, if it is heard in isolation. The crucial factors of contrast appear to be both context and co-text.\(^2\) But there is one relevant formal feature — an affirmative clause having a clause final element can only be a statement.

Ex.

(i) Question

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

(kí l' e ma ã ñe) // ã ñe bojúbojú

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

(t' ô bá tún ma bí 'mín ūkó) // à à bì fun: ɛlɔmíñ

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

\(^1\)cf. Ward (16), p.118; Carnochan (4).

\(^2\)An experiment conducted with a group of native speakers of Yoruba confirms that both statements and questions occur on either register. But the probability of a clause on a normal register being taken as a statement, and of a clause on a high register being taken as a question when heard in isolation, is about 3:1 and 2:1 respectively. These ratios show that register difference is significant. But it is not a clear-cut exponent of the statement/question contrast.
(ibi mé.ło ni) // sinnimá wà n' i.łu .mi
"How many places? Have a cinema in my village?"

(b) Context only
è ċ n' i'rú i'yën
"You don't have that type?"
elé.yí sά ñ dún ċ sά
"This one just hurts you, doesn't it?"
o ð rí mi ni
"Don't you see me?"

(ii) Statement
i'yën sòro
"That's difficult."
i'yën ni ð da
"That's what is bad."
ó burúl
"It's really bad."
iwa ð ð da nóò ni
"That too means that he has no character."

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

(a) Imperative: "Listen!"
ě gbó
(b) Affirmative: "You heard."
cf. the negative verbal group in the two clauses:
(a) Imperative: ě má. gbó "Don't listen."
(b) Affirmative: ě  ámb gbó "You didn't hear."

B5.2 Emphasis

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

B5.21 Emphatic Clauses

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

B5.211 Element-type Emphasis

In the element-type emphasis, the pre-emphatic element is marked for emphasis. This emphasis may be positive or negative. A positive emphasis involves a positive verbal group exponent of the emphatic element and a positive or neutral subclass of items at Z. A negative emphasis involves a negative verbal group exponent of the emphatic element or a negative subclass of items at Z.
If the emphatic clause has a predicator, there is a corresponding non-emphatic clause; and the pre-emphatic element is, or contains, an item from the non-emphatic clause.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic Clause</th>
<th>Non-Emphatic Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Positive Emphasis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Iyen ni ṣ dáa</em></td>
<td><em>Iyen ṣ dáa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That is what's not good.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;That's not good.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṗkó l' ó ti běrẹ́</td>
<td>Ṣ běrẹ́ l' Ṣ.kó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It was in Lagos that it started.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;It started in Lagos.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Negative Emphasis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>owó kó l' à ŋ bá je</th>
<th>à ŋ b' owó jé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It isn't money that we are wasting.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;We are wasting money.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãi ì se gboogo won ni ṣ ki i se dááááa</td>
<td>gbogbo won ṣ ki iše dááááá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It isn't all of them that fail to do well.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;All of them fail to do well.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>Non-Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dié dié ni k' o ma'són</td>
<td>ma són dié dié</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's by instalments that you should be paying it.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Be paying it by instalments&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The emphatic clause with this preverb can also have a non-imperative, non-emphatic equivalent.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>Non-Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìwọn sisì t' ó t' ḣkó wá ni</td>
<td>k' á bi awọn sisì t' ó t' ḣkó wá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's the fashionable ladies from Lagos that we should ask.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;We should ask the fashionable ladies from Lagos.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Positive Emphasis ìọtọ n' ọjọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That's a fact.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Negative Emphasis kí i ọjọ níyọn ni wón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;They aren't persons.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Emphatic**  

wọn ni ẹye ni  
"The fact is that they have witches' birds."

wọn fi úṣ' òwọ ni  
"The fact is that they commercialise it."

**Non-Emphatic**  

wọn ni ẹye  
"They have witches' birds."

wọn fi úṣ' òwọ  
"They commercialise it."

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

Ex.

ñse l' a máa lo aṣọ .yen  
(cf. a máa lo aṣọ .yen ni)  
"The fact is that we are going to make use of that dress."

ñse n' ọ́h ma lù è pa  
(cf. wọn ma lù è pa ni)  
"The fact is that they will flog you to death."

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

Ex.

**Emphatic**  

ñse ni k' o lọ̀ f' Òkùnrin  
"The fact is that you should go and marry."

**Non-Emphatic**  

lọ̀ f' Òkùnrin  
"Go and marry."
B5.212 Clause-type Emphasis

In the clause-type emphasis, the whole of the clause is marked for emphasis.

There are two types of emphasis: Weak and Strong.

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

Ex.

Emphatic
mo dá 'pê do
"I am very grateful."
ma. dá 'rûkô do
"Don't mention names!"
Iyên şôro do
"That's quite difficult,"

Non-Emphatic
mo dá 'pê
"I am grateful."
ma. dá 'rûkô
"Don't mention names!"
Iyên şôro
"That's difficult."

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

Ex.

Emphatic
ô buró
"It's really bad."
Iyà .yên ti sô têlê
"That woman did give a notice."
ô daa
"It's quite good."

Non-Emphatic
ô buró
"It's bad."
Iyà .yên ti sô têlê
"That woman gave a notice."
ô da
"It's good."
B5.213 Double Emphasis

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

Ex.

gbogbo ṣỳọ́n nọ ọ ọ fẹ́ẹ ọ̀ akápò (ZxSPo)
"It's everybody that really wants to be the treasurer."

ọ da gōn nị́ (ZxSo)
"The fact is that it's really very good."

tiṣá ní mí ọ̀ (ZxSo)
"I am a teacher."

B6 Systems: The Non-Verbal Free Clause

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

B6.1 Mood

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

B6.11 Interrogative Mood

A clause with a question item is an interrogative clause.

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

ṣé inégọ epo pupa
"Is it a palm-oil lamp?"
1' ọ.nọ wo
"In which way?"

B6.12 **Affirmative Mood**

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

Ex.

(i) **Question**

orin // 1' ọ.ṣupá
"Songs?"  "In the moonlight?"

1' álaalé
"Every evening?"

(ii) **Statement**

dada
"Very well."

ięn bé ė
"That's so."

B6.2 **Emphasis**

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

Emphatic

כן דו

"Yes!"

יֵּן n' י.לָלָל do

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

Non-Emphatic

כן

"Yes."

יֵּן n' י.לָלָל

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

Dependent clauses may be verbal or non-verbal.

Cl. Verbal Dependent Clauses

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

(i) The clause with the preverbs: kí, tôô "before"; ìbáà "even if".

Ex.

\[ k' ô tôô tô wákåtí mé.jì // kò nì ñ rò dàda mó \]

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

\[ k' é'yìn tôô lè dá 'rí jì // mà á rí pé .... \]

"Before you can forgive, I will see that .... "

\[ ìbáà j' óba ni // .... á á pa 'nu mó \]

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

\[ ìbáà màá s' åâkë // .... \]

"Even if he belongs to the 'Cock' party, .... "
(ii) The clause having the preverb Ḳbá "would have" is a dependent clause before another clause having the same preverb in a sentence structure with only one dependent clause. (However, when the predicator of the clause is Ḳbá Ḷé pê or Ḳbá .jetbrains "if it is the case that", the clause is always a dependent clause, and it may occur in a sentence structure with more than one dependent clause.)

Ex.

* Ḷ̣ 'bá l' ówó l' ówó // Ṣ 'bá râ 'wé .kɔn
  "If I would have had money, I would have bought a book."
  i.e. "If I had money, I would have bought a book."

* Ḳbá  Jets pê wón wá // Ṣ 'bá rî wón
  "If they had come, we would have seen them."

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

Ex.

k' : á n' ọh ma kô 'lé ạ.síá // ilé t' ọh ti wá .yên n'
  ọh ma kô 'lé si
  "If they wish to put up a building, they will do so in their home town."

k' á nî .kôn n' ináu wá jé 'mâle ni // Ṣ 'bá rî 'řkôn
t' Ṣ wà n' ibê
  "If one of us were a Muslim, we would have seen the faults."

(iv) The clause with the clause initiator tí. The preverb bá "happen to" is obligatory in the predicator of this clause, unless the clause is immediately preceded by another clause with
the same initiator.¹

Ex.

(a) Without preceding clause

β β t' ó bá d' éjé q’dún // wón á lọ k' áṣò wọ
"When it is festival day, they will go and get well dressed."

tó o bá ti sê mé.ta.yẹn // ó ti pà 'rí
"If you've done those three, it's finished."

(b) With preceding clause

(1) With preverb bá:

β β t' ọ m bá kọ 'rin .yẹn tön ọ̀ọ // t' ọ̀n bá wà ọ̀ lọ̀ 'lẹ //
á á sin wọ́n
"When they finish singing that song and get ready to go home,
she will see them off."

(2) Without preverb bá:

β β t' ọ̀bá ti d' ọgbà // t' ọ̀tò ọ̀fọ̀ ....
"As soon as it is old enough, and can fly ...."  

β t' ọ̀yẹ̀ bá dè fọ̀ dè // tí ò r' ńbi wọ̀ ....
"And if the bird flies back and finds nowhere to enter ...."

(v) The compound sentence structure with the linkers:  yálà ,... 

tábí linking clauses with the emphatic element is rankshifted 
as a dependent clause (cf. Al).

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

cf. ifga tá a bá ọ̀lọ́ tön  "When we finish doing it."  
tá a bá ọ̀lọ́ tön  "If or when we finish doing it."
Ex.
β "Whether you are an Ibo, or a Yoruba, or a Hausa,...."
In this compound structure, there may be a zero exponent of the linkers.

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

C2 Non-Verbal Dependent Clauses
Non-verbal dependent clauses are of the basic structure S or A or the subsidiary structure with either of these basic elements and the clause final element.

C2.1 Dependent Clauses, Structure S or So
There are two secondary classes of dependent clauses:
(i) Concordial Clauses; (ii) Non-Concordial Clauses.

C2.11 Concordial Clauses
Concordial clauses are dependent clauses in concord with the following free clause in the sentence structure.
There are two further secondary classes of concordial clauses: P-Concordial and C-Concordial.
C2.111 P-Concordial Clauses

In a P-Concordial clause, there is a concord between the dependent clause and a pronoun (or very rarely a noun, usually a pronominal (E5.12l)) in the free clause.

Ex.

βα awọn iyá arágbó // wọn á wá s'ọjá
"The old women; they will come to the market."

isu apá Àkókó. yen // ọ da dada
"The yams from Akoko; it is very good
"The yams from Akoko are very good."

nìkọn tẹ e so. yen // dótọ ni (clause in concord with zero subject 63.23)
What you say; it is a fact
"What you say is true."

dỳí t'ọ bá mu lọ s'ìnú igbó // ìyen 1' ọ l' ọmọ
"It's the one that takes her to the bush, it's that who owns the baby
"It is the one that takes her to the bush that owns the baby."

ββα awọn t'ọ ń lọ si (school) // awọn tịsà t'ọ ń kọ won // wọn ká 'riri won
Those who go to school; the teachers who teach them; they are enough for them.

There are enough teachers to go round the pupils."

C2.112 C-Concordial Clauses

In a C-Concordial clause, the concord is between the clause and a following clause with an emphatic element. The C-Concordial clause is expounded by a nominal group whose head word is a nominalisation of the predicator in the rankshifted clause qualifier (E10.1).
C2.12 Non-Concordial Clauses

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

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

C2.121 Vocative Clauses

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

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

Ex.

* rírí t' ó rí mi // ṣe l' ó sá já'.
de seeing that he saw me
"On seeing me, the fact is that he rushed out."

mother my greeting on getting back home
"Mother, glad to see you on my return."

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

all inhabitants world
"Attention everybody! The king's father is back from heaven."
 Introductory Clauses

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

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

Ex.

ýa en // ò da kẹ̀
"Yes; it's really quite good."
èn // iyẹn ò da
"No; that's bad."
à // iyẹn da
"Of course; that's good."
yéé // mo dú 'pé òò
"What a relief! I am very grateful."
o // ò sé
"Yes, you did it.
"Yes; thank you."

Dependent Clauses, Structure A or Ao

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

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

Ex.
Ex.

\[\text{dondoN} \quad // \quad \text{ma á bá won lọ}
\]

"Certainly, I'll go with them."

télélé // ó dà bí ěni pé ... 

"Originally it appeared as if ...."

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

Ex.

\[\text{n' i.lú dyínbo .ýí do} \quad // \quad ó pé t' óń ti ní kiri
\]

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

\[\text{l' áyé àtijó} \quad // \quad \text{ngá t' óń kókó bërè aṣọ ēbi .ýěn} \quad // \quad ó da
\]

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

\[\text{ju gbogbo .è lọ} \quad // \quad \text{a gbó.dọ mọ pé} ... .
\]

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

\[\text{kàkà t' ó ma fí jẹ 'kọn} \quad // \quad \text{k' ó kúkú jẹ mé.ji me.ji}
\]

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

(iii) Nominal Groups: These are:

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

Ex.
Ex.

b’ ọ s’ ọchelè mé.jì pére // olúwa è á bù
"Even if it's only two morsels, the person will have a bite."

b’ ọn bá ti ní 'ńkòn sè // wùn à gb’ ára jọ pọ
"Whenever they have something to do, they will get together."

b’ i.yàwọ .yèn bá bí 'mọ // á á pa qmò .yèn
"If that wife has a baby, she will kill it."

b’ ọ ti wù kí wùn pa èlòmín tò // wùn ní l’ á.tì mú qmòqò wòn
"No matter how they (witches) may kill others, they must kill children of theirs."

bí ènikọkọèn wa kẹ // ọ dẹ yẹ k’ à ....
"As individuals too, it is necessary that we ...."

* títí osù .kọn // yó. pa dá wá
"In about a month, he will come back."

àf’ àwọn t’ ọ tún ma ŋ ta ráìsí // ọ tòn
"Those selling rice excepted, there aren't any others."

(b) Nominal groups with the nominal òrì "reason" or t’ òótò "of a truth" as head.

Ex.

tòrì nọ̀tì // .... k’ ọ jẹ ....
"For that reason, he should be ...."

t’ òótò ñò // ñdá ní wòn
"Admittedly, they are fellow creatures."
(c) Nominal groups of time of the structure head plus qualifier.

Ex.

βỌ igbá . míi // ajá á mu
time another
"At other times, the dog will catch it."

ọsẹ . kọn // wón f ọ jọ 'jọ ẹgbẹ
time another
"For a week, they will still be carrying on the age-group dance."

ọjọ . kọn // ịgị . kọn wá
day one
"At a certain time, there was a tree."

C3 Combination of Dependent Clauses

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

Ex.

(i) Verbal + Verbal

βbá t' ẹ. nyón bà gun // k' ọ tôô tô wákâtí mé.ji //
kọ níi ró dada mọ
"If one pounds it, in about two hours, it won't be quite sticky any more."

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

βbá a // n' fia. ró pàapà // ọja alé n' ọn ma ọ nọ
"Yes! Even in Ilaro town, people go to the market in the evening."
(iii) **Verbal + Non-verbal (A)**

> Òst tì n' bá wọ sọ ò / n' 1.lú .mi / òpọlọ.pọ ènìyòn / l' ó n'1.yàwò púpọ ò / òn'ì yawi / òn'ì yawò pùpò ò 

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

(iv) **Verbal + Verbal + Verbal**

> kò 'báà wà n' ilè ọkọ ì / t' òń bá fẹẹ ìẹ̀ 'èkọn / t' òń bá i ti ì à rí / wọ̀n níi ẹ̀

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

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

> n' 1.jẹ́bú .ẹn pàápáà / àwọn 'màlẹ / oṣú .kọn / wọn i ń j' ijọ egbẹ́

"Even in Ijebu district, Muslims carry on the age group dance for more than a month."
The verbal group is that class of the group that operates as the predicator in clause structure.¹

D1 Primary Elements of Structure

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

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

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

The nominal element is the complement (C).

D2 Primary Structures

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

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

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

1. r precedes b and f;
2. p follows b and f;
3. b and f may occur in either sequence;
4. η immediately precedes or follows r, b or a secondary element of f (D3.41);
5. c may precede or follow any element, except that it may not precede r.

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

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

D3 Classes of Verbs

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

D3.1 The Verbal Particle

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

Ex.

(i) Without following verb

wôn tîę ƞ ko 'rin dada
"They even sing well."
And people are now getting sophisticated.

(ii) With following verb

(a) Without optional exponent

wọn ọ̀pọ̀ okôn si
"They concentrate on it."

nakôn ti ọ̀pọ̀ pa dà
"Things have started to change."

(b) With optional exponent

wọn ọ̀pọ̀ okôn si gôn (cf. example above)
"They really concentrate on it."

ẹ̀ ọ̀pọ̀ ọ̀júu t’okùnrín wò ẹ̀ (cf. okùnrín)
"You are considering it from a man’s point of view."

aso ọ̀pọ̀ gbóó lọ (cf. gbó)
"Her clothes are getting worn out."

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

Ex.

(i) Marked Pronoun Subject

à tó ọ̀pọ̀ bojúbojú
"We play 'hide and seek'."

nakôn ti mọ̀ tó ọ̀pọ̀
"What I am doing."

After the negator ọkù (D3.23), the exponent of the verbal particle is ọ. Ex.: à ọkù tó ọ̀pọ̀ bẹ̀ ẹ̀ "We don’t do that."
(ii) **Unmarked Pronoun Subject**

*a ọ s' ọkú*

"We are engaged in funeral ceremonies."

*Ọ f' ojú t' ọkúrín wọ ọ*

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

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

**D3.2 The Preverb**

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

There are three subclasses of preverbs:

(i) Restricted Preverbs;

(ii) Unrestricted Preverbs;

(iii) Negators.

**D3.21 Restricted Preverbs**

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

¹Two exceptions to these restrictions are the preverbs: *kí* which does not exclude *ba* and *tőô*; and *bá* which does not exclude *máa*, *nil* (in rankshifted clauses only, D3.24) and the verbal particle.
The full list of restricted preverbs is as follows:

ibá     "would/should/could have"
bá      "happen to"
ba      "preverb after kí"
ibáá    "even if"
gbó.dó  "must"
yó., ó.  "will"
á       "will"
máa, ma  "to be going to"
a       "habitual preverb"
kí      "should"
tóó     "preverb after kí"
níí      "will" "preverb after kọ́jọ̀"

Ex.

à ́bá ri 'ǹkọ́n t' ó wá n' íbè
"We would have seen what's there."
t' ò bá d' ojó ṣódún ....
"When it is festival day, ...."
ibáá j' óba ni
"Even if he's a king."
k' ó ba lè ma gún 'yón n' íbí
"So that she may prepare pounded yam here."
ò gbó.dó mó i ohun tí : éniyón fé
"He must know what one likes."
èd yón ó. ri pé ....
"One will see that ...."
won à ní ....
"They will say ...."

ójó ma rọ
"It's going to rain."

*wọn a máa lọ s'óko
"They usually go to the farm."

k' ó má. kükú sè rárá
"He shouldn't do it at all."

k' ó tóó mọ
"Before he knows."

ǐnówọ ã dí níí pọ
"His expenses won't be excessive."

D3.22 Unrestricted Preverbs

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

The full list is as follows:

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

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

(a) Two exponents of ụ obligatory:

tiɛ: "even"
sáa "just"
tún "again"
kókó; kó "first"
ma  "emphatic preverb"
si; de  "and; in addition"
kon  "only"
kuku  "rather"
si; i  "still"
dede  "just by chance"
ti  "have"
ti; gbé)  "preverbs in
fi  )  rankshifted
še  )  clauses"
(D3.24)

(b) Two exponents of η optional:
túnbo  "further"
šeše  "have just"
jàjà  "managed to"

(ii) Without restrictions:--
tète  "quickly"
mòmò  "intentionally"
jàmò  "together"
nikon  "alone"

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

(i) Can be preceded by the verbal particle only after
the negator ki:
le`  "can; be able to"
(ii) Without restrictions:

sábaá  "usually"
féreé  "almost"

Ex.

kó sáa lè t'í ọ ọ́ s'ise
"He couldn't have worked yet."

wọn ọ́ ọ́ sábaá ọ́
"They don't usually do it."

kí ọ́ sí ọ́ sẹ́ pé ....
"And it isn't the case that ..."

ẹni t' ọ́ ọ́ tài tẹ́ gba ụkọn gbọ́
"One who easily believes things."

b' ọ́ tíé ọ́ ma kó
"Even if he is still going to build."

émi dé tí rí; àlúfáá
"And I have seen a priest."

ọmọ tí'à ọ́ kókọ́ kú
"His own child died first."

mo sèè dè dò
"I've just come."

a à kúkú mo 'ụkọnkon
"Of course, we don't know anything."

mo kọ̀n dé yá lọ́ sè
"And I just went out of my way to do it."
That is what further spoils it.

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

D3.23 Negators

There are three negators: ko or ò; ki and má.

(i) má.

The verbal group in which má occurs operates as a predicate only in an imperative clause, except when the negator occurs after the preverbs: îbá, îbàà, gbó.dó, kí, lè, féréé.\(^1\)

The negator excludes the verbal particle.

Ex.

má. dá 'rúkọ ṣọ

"Don't mention names!"

će má. se bá.yí

"Don't behave like this."

ó lè má. wùn mí

"It can fail to please me."

k' ólúwa ò má. sé

"The person shouldn't do it."

(ii) ki

This negator occurs before îbá; yó., ò, and the verbal particle.

\(^1\)cf. Abraham (1), p.416. This negator does not occur after any other verb. The type of nominalisation in which this appears to happen (B5.11(a)) really involves two imperative clauses, the second of which begins with the negator.
Ex.
* a kî ó. lô mô
  "We won't go any more."

* kî ñbá têtê dé
  "He wouldn't have arrived early."

a à kî í ñ́ bég
  "We don't do that."

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

Ex.
îyën ò da
  "That's not good."

ajá ò nîí lê mu
  "The dog will not be able to catch it."

îyên ò ñ' âjé
  "That is not witchcraft."

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

Ex.
a ò n' ìsgé
  "We don't have any work."

è ò lê ....
  "You can't ...."
wọd ŋi kiri
"They don't hawk their wares."

cf. unelided example:
a ọ lè .... "We can't ...."

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

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

Ex.
* kọ gbọ.ọọ má. wá
"He mustn't fail to come."

k' ọbá má. kú
"He wouldn't have died,"

(b) kọ and kì before the verbal particle.

Ex.
wọd kì i tú ká
"They don't break apart."

kì i ñe gbgbọ wọn ni ò kì i ñe dáááá
"It isn't all of them that fail to do well."

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

D3.24 Restrictions on the occurrence of Preverbs in Clauses

The following restrictions apply to the occurrence of preverbs in clauses:
(i) ìbáá, tóó (always after kí) are found only in dependent clauses (Gl).

(ii) ba (always after kí) is found in a rankshifted clause operating as an adjunct (Fl.3).

(iii) sè, tì or gbé, fì are found as preverbs in rankshifted clauses with the clause initiator tì and in the clause with emphatic element.¹

(a) tì or gbé: After place nominals as H or Zd.

Ex.

Ekó l' ó tì bẹrẹ
"It started in Lagos."

n' ibi t' ó tì ma máa gb' owó
"At the place where he is going to be getting money."

* ibi t' ó gbé rà á
"Where he bought it."

A nominal with the nominalising prefix á before the verb tì "from" (B5.11, note 3) is treated as a place nominal.

átilelè l' ó tì wó wá
from the ground
"It was bad from the beginning."

(b) fì: After nominals of reason, and a few nominals of time such as ígbà "time", ẹkókó "season, time", ojó "day".

Ex.

tórì iyen l' ón fì kúrọ
"It was for that reason that he left."

idí è t' áwón fì lọ
"The reason why they went."

¹ cf. B5.123, Note 1
* l' á.kókò tí mo ti wá l' óko
  "At the time that I was on the farm."

(c) ṣe: After nominals of reason.

Ex.
  torí 잡 l' a ṣe ṣọ pé ....
  "It was for that reason that we said that ...."
  torí ṣe ọmọ l' a ṣe ọ́ṣẹ' iṣẹ'
  "It is because of our children that we work."
  i.e. "We work in order to keep our children."

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

Ex.
  b' ṣọ́ ṣe ọ́ jé 'un
  "How they eat"
  bí wón ti ṣa 'jà
  "How they sell things."
  bá a ti ṣe ọ́ ṣe ti wa
  "How we do ours"

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

Ex.
  ṣe ọ́ ní bá ti ma ṣe ăluñáá
  "Any person who has decided to be a priest"
  tá à bá dè níí tẹ́ le
  "And if we aren't going to follow it"
(v) All the preverbs not specified above as restricted to certain clauses only, can be found in all types of clauses.

D3.25 Sequence of Preverbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negators</td>
<td>ibá</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>tië</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ści</td>
<td>gbó</td>
<td>dọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yó.</td>
<td>sáá</td>
<td>kòn</td>
<td>dë</td>
<td>kúkú</td>
<td>tọ́</td>
<td>All the other preverbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá</td>
<td>ibáá</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>kì</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex.

t'ó bá tún ma bí (II, VIII, VIII)
"If she's going to have another baby."

b'ó tië i ma kó (IV, VI, VIII)
"Even if she's going to build one."

obinrin ò gbó.dọ já 'de (I, VII)
"No woman must go out of doors."

áwọn sọòsí gbogbo tá a tië kòn tië dë wá ní (IV, IV, IV, V)
"And even all the churches that we have"

---

1The structure in which the negator mà. occurs after the six preverbs listed in D3.23 is an exception to this sequence pattern.
"I can't weep while doing that."

"Gari has also become ...."

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

D3.3 The Bound Verb

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

The complete list of bound verbs is as follows:

(a) Can be preceded or followed by the verbal particle

(b) Can only be preceded by the verbal particle

(c) Can only be followed by the verbal particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fi &quot;with&quot;</td>
<td>tán (with complement) máa or ma &quot;continue to&quot; &quot;again&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó bá &quot;with, for&quot;</td>
<td>dá (with complement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti &quot;from&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>máa or ma &quot;continue to&quot; &quot;again&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex.

wón ó' ođgún áp sé

"They do it with medicine."

á á dẹ lọ fi rà á

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

1Except before the verbal particle, after restricted preverbs, and after unrestricted preverbs that can only be preceded by the verbal particle, the bound verb máa or ma is found only in imperative clauses.
ma á bá wọn lọ
"I'll go with them."

àwọn eni t' ó ma m' ájá dá ní
"Those who will hold the dog"

ó yẹ k' á tún lè tún wọn wọ
"It is necessary that we should be able to examine them again."

ma són dié dié
"Be paying it by instalments"

àwọn n' čá ma ma wọ
will continue to
"They are the people they will be looking up to."

àwọn t' ó ó t' oko bọ
"Those returning from the farm"

D3.4  The Free Verb

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

D3.41  Secondary Classes of Free Verbs

On the criterion of the position of the element \( \eta \) in verbal group structure, two secondary elements \( f_1 \) and/or \( f_2 \) may be established:

- \( f_1 \) which may be preceded and/or followed by \( \eta \)
- \( f_2 \) which may be preceded but not followed by \( \eta \)

These secondary elements are not bound by sequence. Hence \( f_1 \) operates before \( f_2 \) and vice versa.
There are two secondary classes of the free verb corresponding to the secondary elements: $f_1$ free verbs, and $f_2$ free verbs.

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

(a) free verbs not associated with specific complements: lo "go", wé "come", jo "assemble", mú "make to", dúró "stand".

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

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

Ex.

wón jọ ń jà d' oye

\[ f_1 \quad f_2 \quad f_2 \]

"They contest against each other for posts."

wón lọ ń ri babaláwo

\[ f_1 \quad f_2 \]

"They go to see a fortune teller."

ó rọ 'ra ń kó 'bekon

\[ f_1 \quad f_2 \]

"He is carefully learning something."
D3.42 Junction between free verbs

When there is more than one free verb in a verbal group structure, there is a junction between each verb and the next. There are two types of junction:

(i) High Tone junction;
(ii) Zero junction.

D3.421 High Tone Junction

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

*bèresi* "start",  tô "to be sufficient",  se "do",
*fé* "want",  nî "have",  mò "know",  dún "to be sweet",
*vé* "stop",  sôro "to be difficult",  wù "please".

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

won wa  bërësil so
    come  start
"They started to tell."

mën feŋ  se mó
    want  do
"I don't want to do it any more."

ò mo  'ndçon  kò
    know  write
"He could write."

k'  á yeé so pé
    stop  say  say
"We should stop saying"

won  dùn  tôn
    sweet  deceive
"It's easy to deceive them."

ènit'  ó tun  ni  'ndçon  mëh'm  so
    have  say
"Any person who has something else to say" \(^1\)

kô  seé  rí
    see
"It can't be seen."

\(^1\)The high tone junction may probably be traced to an elided original prefix i before the following verb. cf. Ward (16), p.116; Rowlands (11), p.386.
D3.422  Zero Junction

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

Ex.

wón á sôn 'wó fún mi
pay mone give me
"They will pay me."
wón á lò k' ásò wò
go take dress wear
"They will go and get dressed."
â á jò jò.kó jë ê
assemble sit eat it
"We will sit down to eat it together."
a mò wí pé ,...
know say say
"We know that ...."

D3.43  Subclasses of Free Verbs

Two open set subclasses of free verbs may be established on the criterion of the junction they make when preceded by the subclass of high tone junction - contracting verbs in D3.421. These subclasses may be called: Strong Verbs and Neutral Verbs.
D3.431 Strong Verbs

A strong verb is a free verb which must contract a high tone junction when preceded by a high tone junction-contracting verb.

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

(For examples, See D3.421)

D3.432 Neutral Verbs

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

Ex.
jù "exceed", fún "give", lo "go", wi "say"

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure with high tone junction</th>
<th>Structure with zero junction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* a mọ́ wí pé ....</td>
<td>a mọ́ wí pé ....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know say say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We know how to say that ....&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;We know that ....&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ọ̀ṣóroó fún won</td>
<td>ọ̀ṣóroó fún won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is difficult give</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It is difficult to give them&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;It is difficult for them&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The postverb is the class of verbs that must be preceded by a free verb in verbal group structure. The complete list of post verbs is

si "into", lé "on", kâ "on", dé "for one's arrival" ni "in".

In verbal group structure, a postverb is the final verb.¹

¹ One important exception to this sequence pattern is the post verb ni which may be followed by a free verb. There are two types of structures with this post verb:

(i) The structure in which ni plus its complement is a fixed verb-nominal collocation (D6.2). In this structure, the post verb may be preceded by any free verb. When this fixed collocation is preceded by a verb with a complement, the resulting fCpC or pCpC structure corresponds contextually to a verb-complement structure in which the complement is composed of the two complements in the former structure.

Ex.

lâ won 1' òjú (fCpC) = la ojúu won (fC)
open them in eye open eye their "open their eyes"

lé won 1' òrí (pCpC) = lé oríi won (pC)
on them in head on head their "on their heads"

(ii) The structure in which ni plus its complement is a separable verb-nominal collocation (D6.1). In this structure, only a subclass of free verbs precede ni.

Ex.

fún "give", kó "teach", pè "call", bi "ask",
fun mi ni tóré "Give me threepence";
pè é ni aṣò ọjọ "Call it 'family dress'."

Ward's classification of this subclass of verbs as "verbs which can take two objects", (Ward (16), p.144-5), is therefore a little misleading.
Ex.
á á mu lọ s' inú igbó
take her go into inside forest
"He will take her into the forest."
á á gbe ka 'nó
carry it on fire
"She will put it on the fire."
wére ni ñ máa jà lè wọn l' órí
quickly is I will fight on them in head
"I will quickly engage in a quarrel with them."
wọn á fun l' óbí je
give him in kolanut eat
"They will give him kolanuts to eat."
* důró dè mí
stand
"Wait for me."

D4 Subclasses of Verbs

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

D4.1 Intransitive Verbs

An intransitive verb cannot be followed by a complement in the structure of the verbal group.
All preverbs are intransitive. Of the bound verbs, only máa is intransitive. Intransitive free verbs are an open set, e.g. bó "drop", jö "assemble", pò "to be many", pupa "to be red", ga "to be tall", dára "to be good".

Ex.

\[t'óó bó dá dë lë šë\] (Preverbs)

not happen and can

"And if you can't do it"

\[áá túnbó máa gb' ilë si\] (Bound verb)

"It will continue to take root further."

\[wón á jö pé jö pò\] (Free verbs)

assemble to be complete/to be many

"They will assemble together."

\[orii wón ti funfun\] (Free verbs)

to be white

"Their hairs have become white."

D4.2 Transitive Verbs

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

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

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

(a) Complement

(i) Transitive verb without preceding complement:

\[ \text{won á lọ k' áso wọ} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
g & \quad \text{go} \\
t & \quad \text{take} \\
d & \quad \text{dress} \\
w & \quad \text{wear}
\end{align*} \]

"They will go and get well dressed."

(ii) Transitive verb with preceding complement:

(1) Followed by complement:

\[ \text{won á sọn 'wọ fún mi} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
p & \quad \text{pay} \\
m & \quad \text{money} \\
g & \quad \text{give} \\
m & \quad \text{me}
\end{align*} \]

"They will pay me."

(2) Not followed by complement:

\[ \text{nọ 'ngọn pa} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
b & \quad \text{beat} \\
p & \quad \text{person} \\
k & \quad \text{kill}
\end{align*} \]

"beat a person to death"

(b) Verb

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

\[ \text{won wá gbe ba} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
c & \quad \text{come} \\
c & \quad \text{carry} \\
i & \quad \text{it} \\
m & \quad \text{meet} \\
h & \quad \text{her}
\end{align*} \]

"They came and brought it to her."

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

(1) Followed by complement:

\[ \text{mọ̀ fẹ̀ sẹ̀ mọ̀} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
w & \quad \text{want} \\
d & \quad \text{do} \\
& \quad \text{it} \\
m & \quad \text{anymore}
\end{align*} \]

"I don't want to do it anymore."
(2) Not followed by complement:
   * 6 dún gbé
   sweet carry
   "It's pleasant to carry."

In a rankshifted clause qualifier (B10.1) and in a clause with an emphatic element, a transitive verb is not necessarily followed by a complement. When it is not, there is a correlation between the absence of a complement and the nominal head or the Z element. (B3.221(ii))

Ex.
(i) **Transitive verb without complement**

oun t' 6 gbé 1' ọrì
carry on head
"What she's carrying."

àwọn obinrin 1' a ma ń i.yén
ask
"We should ask the women that."

(ii) **Transitive verb with complement**

ẹni t' 6 s' əlūfàdà
do priest
"A person who was a priest."

i.yén 1' ọ 1' ọmọ
possess child
"It's that one that owns the child."
All bound verbs except màa and dá are transitive. Transitive free verbs are an open set, e.g. bi "ask", gbé "carry", fún "give", jo "resemble", wò "wear", dé "cover". All post verbs are transitive.

Ex.

mà á bá won lọ (Bound verbs)
with them go
"I'll go with them."

won f' oògún ń șé ( " " )
with medicine do it
"They do it with black magic."

won ń s'ón'wó fún mi (Free verbs)
pay money give me
"They will pay me."

ọ ọ lé s' ịsẹ olụkọ ( " " )
do work teacher
"You can't be a teacher."

.... lọ ọ ọko (Post verbs)
go to farm
"Go to the farm."

ọ fun ni 'ńkọn ( " " )
gave in something her
"He gave her something."
D4.3 Unmarked Verbs

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

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb without following complement</th>
<th>Verb with following complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tà</td>
<td>ta &quot;sell&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mọ</td>
<td>mọ &quot;know&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rạ</td>
<td>ra &quot;buy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọ</td>
<td>lo &quot;use&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo</td>
<td>wo &quot;look&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) Verb without following complement

mà á lẹ mọ "I'll be able to know."
ki 1' e rọ "What do you think?"
wọn mọ ọ̀ọ̀ wo "They know how to examine it."

(ii) Verb with following complement

lo aṣo .kọnnọ̀ pọ "use the same dress together"
i.e. "wear the same type of dress"
wo t' àwọn ọ̀jì́nbo "Look at the Europeans!"
lọ ta 'yọkan "Go and sell something"

¹This contrast does not apply in the case of a pronoun complement (D4.42).
The only unmarked bound verb is *dá*. Most of the free verbs are unmarked, e.g. *jó* "dance", *son* "pay", *gbó* "hear", *bí* "give birth", *so* "tell", *kú* "remain".

Ex.

ááti m' ájá dá ní \(\) (Bound verb)

\[\text{take dog alone have}\]

"He would have held the dog."

ùmì ò lè só òò \(\) (Free verbs)

"I can't say, really."

\(t'\) ènyón bá *gbó* \(\)

"If a person hears"

ó sësë bí 'mọ'

"She has just had a baby."

wón i'ú i' íjó ẹgbé

dance

"They still organise the age-group dance."

D4.4 Subclasses of Transitive and Unmarked Verbs

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

Subclass I: Verbs having a high tone;

Subclass II: Verbs having a mid or a low tone.
D4.41 Subclass I Verbs

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

Ex.

(i) With Nominal Complement

ô ní kóllà funfun
"He has a white collar."

wá sí : ilú ìyìǹbò
"Come to Britain."

wón lọ̀ ń rí babaláwọ
"They go to see a fortune teller."

(ii) With pronoun complement

bá wón lọ̀
with them go
"Go with them."

ô rí i
"He saw it."

fún mi
"Give me."\(^2\)

---

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

\(^2\) Two syllables having vowels of the same quality may be contracted into one syllable according to the rules given in 4.221. Hence the verbal group structure with a third person singular pronoun complement may be rí i or rí and that with a second person plural pronoun complement may be ríi yín or rí rì́n.
When a subclass I or a subclass II verb is followed by a complement which begins with a vowel, its final vowel or the initial vowel of the complement often undergoes an elision. It is difficult to formulate any general rules about which of the two vowels in contact is to be elided. (An attempt is made in 4.2 to indicate some general tendencies.) Whichever vowel is elided, the tone of a subclass I verb is retained before all complements.

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

Ex.

(i) With a mid tone initial complement

\[
\begin{align*}
gb' \; ódo \; (i.e. \; gbé \; odó) \\
carry \; mortar \\
bí \; 'mọ \; (i.e. \; bí \; ômọ) \\
give \; child \; birth \; to \\
j' \; íjó \; (i.e. \; jó \; ijó) \\
dance \; a \; dance
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) With a low tone initial complement

\[
\begin{align*}
b' \; é.ṣù \; (i.e. \; bá \; èṣù) \\
with \; devil \\
r' \; í.dí \; ė \; (i.e. \;rí \; fidí \; ė) \\
see \; cause \; its \\
fé \; 'kejì \; (i.e. \; fé \; åkejì) \;^4 \\
like \; companion
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

In my text, the low tone is usually assimilated. cf.Siertsema (14), p.398, Note 16.
D4.42 Subclass II Verbs

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

Ex.

(i) With nominal complement

te ṭiiǹrù "play the organ"
lo aṣo .kọnnọ̀ "wear the same type of dress"
jẹ gàrí "eat gàrí"

(ii) With pronoun complement

lo ọ "use it"
kọ dúm mì "it doesn't hurt me"
ṣe ë "do it" \(^1\)

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

Ex.

kà 'wè (i.e. ka ìwè )
read book
son 'wò (i.e. son owó )
pay money
ṣ' ìjè (i.e. ṣe ìjè )
do witchcraft

\(^1\) When contracted according to the rules in 4.221: ṣe ë → ṣè.
D5 **The Complement**

The complement is expounded by a rankshifted nominal group. (For exemplification of the complement, see D4, D7.)

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

D6 **Verb-Nominal Collocation**

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

(i) Separable;  (ii) Fixed.

D6.1 **Separable Verb-Nominal Collocation**

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

**Ex.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Emphatic Clause</th>
<th>Emphatic Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọ gb' ọdó wá</td>
<td>ọdó l' ọ gbé wá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;She brought a mortar.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;It was a mortar that she brought.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ma ń ị ịvón</td>
<td>ịvón l' a ma ń ịje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We usually eat pounded yam.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;It's pounded yam that we usually eat.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 After the verbs: nị, nê "say", the complement is usually one or more rankshifted sentences.
All consonant-initial complements enter into separable verb-nominal collocations with the immediately preceding verbal elements.

Ex.

Non-Emphatic Clause

\[
\text{ó ma } \tilde{\text{t}} \text{è duùrú} \quad \text{Emphatic Clause}
\]

"He used to play the organ."

\[
\text{dúùrú l' ó ma } \tilde{\text{t}} \text{è}
\]

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

\[
\text{ó ra móto} \quad \text{ móto l' ó ra}
\]

"He bought a car."

"It was a car that he bought."

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

Ex.

(i) Contracted

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j'} \quad \text{égba} \\
\text{steal whip} \\
\text{j' } \quad \text{ijó} \\
\text{dance a dance} \\
\text{d' } \quad \text{òṣèlú} \\
\text{become legislator}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) Uncontracted

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jí } \quad \text{égba} \\
\text{jó } \quad \text{ijó} \\
\text{di } \quad \text{òṣèlú}
\end{align*}
\]

D6.2 Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

A fixed verb-nominal collocation is one where the complement cannot be separated from the verbal element, i.e. it can only be found in a verbal group structure.\footnote{Fixed verb-nominal collocations are treated in an earlier paper by me as a class of verbs which are rankshifted verb-nominal compounds (See Bamgbose (2)). The present description accounts for the difference between a fixed verb-nominal collocation and a separable one at the same rank, and consequently avoids the incongruity, implicit in the earlier description, of a nominal junction (E4) between a "verb" and a nominal complement. cf. ó pàdée bábá "he met father". (contd. on p.129)} A fixed verb-nominal collocation is always contracted.
There are two types of fixed verb-nominal collocations:

(i) Unique fixed verb-nominal collocations.

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

D6.21 Unique Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

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

Ex.

pàdè "meet",  gbàgbé "forget",  dide "stand",
jó.kó "sit",  bérè "start",  pélú "be with"

D6.22 Non-Unique Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

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

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

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Separable</th>
<th>Fixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fé</td>
<td>f'</td>
<td>fé .rôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>like cause</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbà</td>
<td>gba 'nó</td>
<td>gb' inó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>take fire</td>
<td>catch fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>gb'</td>
<td>gbé 'sè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>remove foot</td>
<td>walk briskly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Contd. from p. 128)

1 As a "verb", pàdè makes a nominal junction with the complement bábá, whereas, as a fixed verb-nominal collocation, it contains a nominal item which makes the junction with another nominal item.
But most non-unique fixed verb-nominal collocations are homophonous with their contracted separable verb-nominal collocation counterpart.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Separable</th>
<th>Fixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pè</td>
<td>&quot;call the owner of money&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;hawk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní</td>
<td>&quot;has eye&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;there are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>&quot;buy meat&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;be done for&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D6.23 Complement in Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

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

(a) have no qualifier at all

Ex.

| gb'  ilẹ | "take root" |
| gb'  inó | "catch fire" |
| k'  érọn | "be done for" |

or (b) have only a nominal qualifier (B5.4).

Ex.

| pàdée  wọn | "meet them" |
| p' olówọ  ẹkọ | "hawk ẹkọ" |
| bërẹ Ļ  ọ̀ọ̀ | "start work" |

When this nominal qualifier is the same item as a $Z^b_2$ in a corresponding emphatic clause (B3.221), the third person singular pronoun with which the $Z^b_2$ item is in concord may be a zero. This is never the case with a separable verb-nominal collocation.
Ex.

(i) Fixed Verb-Nominal Collocation

Non-Emphatic Clause

wọn p' olówọ ṣkọ

"They hawked ẹkọ."

Emphatic Clause

* ẹkọ ni wọn p' olówọ ṣkọ
* ṣkọ ni wọn p' olówọ

"It was ẹkọ that they hawked."

(ii) Separable Verb-Nominal Collocation

Non-Emphatic Clause

wọn gb' aṣọ ọkùnrin nọd

"They took the man's cloth."

Emphatic Clause

* ọkùnrin nọd ni wọn gb' aṣọ ṣkọ

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

D7 Exemplification of Verbal Group Structures

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

Subjects are enclosed in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ｆ</td>
<td>(6) pọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It is plentiful.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ｏｆ</td>
<td>ọkọkọ tí (mọ) ẹ se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;What I am doing.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ｒｆ</td>
<td>(ọjọ) ma rọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It's going to rain.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ｂｆ</td>
<td>(g) ma gbọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>continue to hear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|           | "Listen!"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Exemplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fp</td>
<td>ibi t' (6) ya sí turn to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Where he went to&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fC</td>
<td>(6) ri i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;He saw it.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣf</td>
<td>(6) ti ụ kūrọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It's stopping.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣbf</td>
<td>ìgbọọ n' (ọhụ) ụ báá lọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;They deal with people.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣfp</td>
<td>ësà ìyìbọ l' (à) ò t³ lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It's European custom that we copy.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣfC</td>
<td>(à) ò ụ se bojúbojú C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;We play 'hide and seek'.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣp</td>
<td>bèè nóọ ni ('àkọn .6) tùnbọ ma tọbị sí ụ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r  r  f  p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>further will be big to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It's in the same manner that your things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will further increase.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣbf</td>
<td>(à) á ma jọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;She will be dancing.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣṣfC</td>
<td>(6) sọsọ bí 'mọ C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;She has just had a baby.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bfp</td>
<td>* ibi t' (6) dá sùn sì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alone sleep into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The place where she slept alone.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Exemplification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bG</td>
<td>(g) bá mi rà b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Buy from me.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fC</td>
<td>(f) hòn sí ayé f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>show to world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It is clear to everybody.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrbf</td>
<td>ẹdré tá (a) ti ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ń ní r b f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The ideas we used to have&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrfp</td>
<td>nụkọn tí (obinrin) tun ń jà sị</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;What a woman fights over&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nrfC</td>
<td>(wọn) tiẹ ń kọ 'rin r f C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>even sing song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;They even sing.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbfp</td>
<td>* ibi t' (ő) ń dá sùn sị</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The place where she usually sleeps alone.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbfC</td>
<td>(wọn) f' odegún ń ń sé b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with medicine do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;They do it with black magic.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>npfC</td>
<td>(f) wá ń jí lọ s' ibẹ f f f p C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come steal go to there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;He then went there stealthily.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rbfp</td>
<td>* ibi t' (ő) ti dá sùn sị</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The place where she had slept alone.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rbfC</td>
<td>(mà) á bá wọn lọ r b C f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will with them go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I'll go with them.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Structure**

rfpC  
(á) á gbe ka 'nó  
will put it on fire

"He will put it on the fire."

**Exemplification**

bfpC  
(o) wá bá wa s' ọrọ s' ińú ọ  
come with us say talk into inside its

"You've come to join us in talking into it."

ηrbfp  
* ibi t' (ó) ti ń dá sün sí

"The place where she used to sleep alone."

ηrbfC  
àngọn n' (óń) kó ma ń tè sí: ọ̀nọ̀ .kọ́n  
first continue bend to way one

"They are usually the first to incline one way."

ηrfpC  
(ó) kọ́n ń nọ̀ wọn l' égbà  
just beat them in whip

"He just beats them."

ηbfpC  
(ẹ̀nyón) ọ́lọ́rọ̀ raa wọn l' ọ́wọ̀  
with it extend themselves in hand

"People help one another through it."

rbfpC  
(á) á tánbọ̀ méa gb' ilẹ̀ si  
will further continue take ground to it

"It will continue to flourish."

ηrbfpC  
tá (a) bá ń f' ọbànújè lọ̀ s' ińú kọ̀tọ̀  
happen with sadness go to grave

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

D8 Systems of the Verbal Group

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

D8.1 Transitivity

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

D8.2 Emphasis

A verbal group may be emphatic or non-emphatic. It is emphatic if it contains the preverb mâ, and it is non-emphatic if it does not. An emphatic verbal group is always found in an emphatic clause with the clause final element.¹ And the clause in which the emphatic verbal group occurs is either affirmative or imperative.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic Verbal Group</th>
<th>Non-Emphatic Verbal Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìyèn mà burú do</td>
<td>burú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That is really bad.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;is bad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìyèn mà daâ</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That is really good.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;is good&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kini .yen d mà da do</td>
<td>d da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That thing is really not good.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;isn't good&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òlò. run .onné ì mà ni do</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's really the same God.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;is&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà. mà bá won ọ s' óko ì skétè do</td>
<td>mà. bá won ọ s' óko ókétè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Don't you go with them to kill the giant rat.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Don't go with them to kill the giant rat.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### D8.3 Linkage

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

The clause in which the linked verbal group occurs presupposes a preceding clause.\(^1\)

---

\(^1\) It is probably for this reason that the items si and dê have been called linking words (traditionally, "conjunctions"). cf. Ward (16), p.153; Délanoé (6), p.lxvii.

In fact, the items share all the characteristics of preverbs (cf. Abraham (1), p.589), and may contradict linking items. e.g. sugbón t' ô bá j' ēdyèn l' álufáá // álufáá nóô l' ô dê ye k' ô fi ìpeñère rere lé 'lè

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

Linked Verbal Group

Ex.

Unlinked Verbal Group

D8.4 Tense and Polarity¹

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

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

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

While recognising its importance ("aspect" plays a significant role in the construction of actual tense"), Bull (19), pp.24-26 excludes aspectual contrasts as terms in his tense system. cf. his description of Yoruba tense system (pp.28; 30) which on account of this restriction ignores many of the contrasts recognised in the system being presented in this section.
D8.41 Tense without perfective modification

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

D8.411 Terms in the Positive

The five terms in the positive are: Future, Continuous, Habitual, Unmarked.

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

Ex.

dányon ó ri
"One will see it."

wón á ni ....
"They will say ...."

djó ma rô
"Rain is going to fall."
i.e. "It's going to rain."

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

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

Ex.

á 'bá ri 'ŋkon t' ó wå n' íbá
"We would have seen what's there."

ópółó pó dányon ni d 'bá máa p' araa wón
"Many people would have been committing suicide,"
(iii) **Continuous**: The verbal particle (without máa) marks a tense which can be replaced in the negative by a habitual tense or an unmarked tense (D8.422). This tense is given the label "continuous", although contextually, it is both continuous and habitual.

**Ex.**

2 ḋịkwọn tí mọ ị ụ ụ ụ

"What I am doing"

aṣọ ọhụ gbọ ọ

"His dress is getting worn out."

wọn tię ị kọ 'rin dada

"They even sing well."

a ị ụ ụ ụ bojúbojú

"We play 'hide and seek'."

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

**Ex.**

ebí máa ị so mó 'ra wọn

"Families are usually close-knit."

a máa ị kọ 'rin

"We usually sing."

* ụmụ a máa ọ

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

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

The past tense is expounded by an open set sub-class of verbs such as: Ṽ' go", rìn "walk", bò "return", râ "sell", pè "call", ło "use", rî "saw".

Ex.

wòn Ṽ' öl ło
used it go
"They used it while going."

wòn gîe wà ba
carry ́d come meet her
"They brought it to her."

wòn jî egba yên
stole whip that
"They stole that whip."

ô rî i
saw it
"He saw it."

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

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

"That's better."
"I think/thought that."
"It's difficult."
"He had a dog collar."

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

Ex.

(a) Neutral preceded by Neutral:

"It's rather bad."
"It's even better."

(b) Past followed by Neutral:

"It first existed"

(c) Neutral followed by Past:

"When he arrives."

---

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

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

"They cut it for a long time."
"When she's been speaking for a long time"

---

3 See D3.22, preverbs under (a), except sèsè, kó, ti.
Any of the tenses above, except the conditional past, and the past, could be contextually past or non-past depending on the context or co-text. For example, with a dependent clause or an adjunct indicating a past time, or in a narration of a past event, the tense is contextually past.4

Ex.

(Habitual)  k' ô tôô di pé ô kú // ô ma à s' òrò wi pé ....
"Before he died, he used to say that ...."

(Unmarked Neutral) a à mò 'yen telèle telèle
"We didn't know that before."

(Continuous) * wôn à lo l' ô,la
"They are going tomorrow."

(Future) mâmâ .mi à so fun mi pé ....
"My mother would tell me that ...."

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

D8.412 Terms in the Negative

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

(i) Future: Markers of the future tense in the negative are:
   (a) The negator kî with the preverb ô.
   (b) The negator kô or ô with the preverb míî "will".

   The latter of these two markers is the usual one.

4 The same is true of the corresponding negative tenses in D8.412.
Ex.

ajá ọ nịl le mu
"The dog will not be able to catch it."

dje kọ tiẹ tún nị s' djeji
"Won't it even be strange?"

* a kí ó. lọ mo
"We will never go."

(ii) **Conditional Past:** In the negative, the conditional past involves a double system of polarity (See D8.44).

(iii) **Habitual:** The habitual tense is marked in the negative by the negator kọ or ọ and/or kí before the verbal particle.

Ex.

wọn ŋ kiri rará
not
"They don't hawk their wares at all."

kí í s' ọrọ
not
"He doesn't speak."

ínúyin ọ kí í wú ni
not not
"Doesn't your stomach swell?"

(iv) **Unmarked:** In the negative the unmarked tense is expounded by the negator kọ before a verb in the positive unmarked tense, ¹

Contextually, the unmarked negative tense may be past or non-past, irrespective of the two sub-classes of verbs in the positive.

¹ The preverb sì or i is an exception (See D8.422).
Ex.

iyen ða
"That's not good."

kö fée rá
"He doesn't want to buy."

a à n' iṣẹ́
"We don't have any work."

wọ́nd tete dé
"They didn't arrive early."

D8.42  Tense with Perfective Modification

Tense with perfective modification consists of exactly the same number of terms as tense without perfective modification. The difference between the two sets of terms is the occurrence of the perfective modification marker ti "have" in the former. This marker is neutral as to past time, i.e. it may be past or non-past depending on the context or co-text.

D8.421  Terms in the Positive

The terms in the positive are: Perfective Future, Perfective Conditional Past, Perfective Continuous, Perfective Habitual, Perfective Unmarked.

Ex.

(i) Perfective Future:

ebi à ti pà gójù
"He will have become hungry."
wón á ti s' iṣé diẹ
"They would have done some work."

(ii) **Perfective Conditional Past**:

į 'bá ti lọ
"I would have gone."

(iii) **Perfective Continuous**:

wón ti ń rò ọ télẹ
"They've been thinking of it before."

ọ ti ń ta (paper) télẹ
"He used to sell newspapers."

nǹkọ̀n ti ń yì pa dà
"Things have started to change."

(iv) **Perfective Habitual**:

èrọ tá a ti m̀ a ń ní
"The ideas that we used to have."

(v) **Perfective Unmarked**:

ọ ti yé mì
"I have understood it."

gbogbo ń̀kọ̀n ti ń Ọ̀ 'tọ̀
"Things have changed."

èmí ti r' á.lufáà
"I have seen a priest."
D8.422 Terms in the Negative

The terms in the negative are Perfective Future, Perfective Conditional Past, Perfective Habitual and Perfective Unmarked.

Tense with perfective modification in the negative is expounded by the appropriate negative tense verbs in D8.412 with either:

(a) the preverb i "yet";

or (b) the perfective modification marker followed, or followed and preceded, by the preverb i.¹

Ex.

(i) Perfective Future

o ô tí i nií lè to

"You won't be able to train it yet."

(ii) Perfective Conditional Past (See D8.44)

(iii) Perfective Habitual

* ëmi kò tí ô lò s', ô.de ôru ri

"I wasn't in the habit of staying out late."

(iv) Perfective Unmarked

kò i s', ôro ê tòn

"She hasn't yet finished speaking."

kò tí i bí 'mô

"She hasn't had any child yet."

¹ In these structures, the sequence of i in relation to other preverbs may be different from that outlined in D3.25. The tone of the perfective modification marker is also replaced by a high tone (i.e. tì). In the case of the perfective habitual, the markers are the negator and ti (See below).
kò f tì f kú rárá
"It isn't dead yet."
èmi ò mà f tì f ní dó
"I don't really have any yet."

D8. 43 Polarity in Imperative Clauses

The negative verbal group in an imperative clause is marked by
the negator má.

Ex.

má. dá 'rúko dó
"Don't mention names!"

má. sè
"Don't do it!"

è má. sè 'bá.yí
"Don't behave in this manner!"

Tense with perfective modification occurs only in the negative
in a verbal group operating in an imperative clause.

Ex.

má. f tì f ló
"Don't go yet!"

D8.44 The Double System of Polarity

In the case of the six preverbs after which the negator má.
can occur (D3.23), there is a double system of polarity in the verbal
group, corresponding to the two positions of the negators. The
preverb, or the verb following it, is either positive or negative.
It is positive when it is not preceded by a negator. It is negative when it is preceded by a negator.

Ex.

ó lè má. wàn mí (Positive - Negative)
"It may fail to please me."

dàyon ó lè dáa tón (Negative - Positive)
"People can't be all good."

k' olúwa ẹ má. sé (Positive - Negative)
(always positive)
"The person shouldn't do it."

* kọ gbọ. dọ má. wá (Negative - Negative)
"He mustn't fail to come."

Since the preverb ɪbá which marks the conditional past is one of these six preverbs, the negative conditional past involves a double system of polarity.

Ex.

(i) Tense without perfective modification

* n k' ɪbá mọ (Negative - Positive)
"I wouldn't have known."

k' ɪbá má. kú (Negative - Negative)
"He wouldn't have died."
(ii) Tense with perfective modification

\[ \text{Ibá má. ì mọ} \]  
(Positive - Negative)

"He wouldn't have known yet."\(^1\)

---

\(^1\) Before \(\text{Ibá}\) or \(\text{Ibạ́}\), the negator \(\text{kọ}\) is anomalous in being an exponent of the positive term.

Ex.

\[ \text{kọ 'báá wà n' ílé ọkọ ẹ} \]
"Even if she's in the husband's house."

\[ \text{kọ 'bá wú '.lọ} \]
"It would have been useful."
The Nominal Group is the class of the group that operates at S in clause structure. By cross-identification, members of the class also operate at Z and a few at A.1

E1 Primary Elements of Structure
The primary elements of structure of the nominal group are:
Head (H) - that element which can operate in a nominal group structure of only one element; and Qualifier (Q) - that element which must be preceded by a head in a nominal group structure.

E2 Primary Structures
The primary structures of the nominal group are:
H, HQ

E3 Secondary Structures
Secondary structures of the nominal group involve a further differentiation of the primary element Q into sequence-determined secondary elements of structure as follows:

```
H
```

```
n j l k d t
```

1 Nominal groups are also rankshifted as complement in verbal group structure (D5) and as head or nominal qualifier in nominal group structure (E12.3; E5.42).
Any combination of secondary elements with H is possible in each secondary structure, with the restriction that there can only be one H, n or d in any structure.

The names of the secondary elements of structure and the classes operating at their places in structure are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary Element</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nominal qualifier</td>
<td>nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>adjective qualifier</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>numeral qualifier</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>rankshifted qualifier</td>
<td>clause; verbal group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>deictic qualifier</td>
<td>deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>post deictic qualifier</td>
<td>post deictic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the classes, except those at k, are classes of words. The class operating at H is the nominal.

B4 Junction in Nominal Group

Items in the nominal group are of two morphological types:

(i) Vowel Initial; and (ii) Consonant Initial.

The junction between a preceding item (always vowel final) and a following item depends on which of the two types the following item is.

B4.1 Vowel-Initial Item

A vowel-initial item retains both its initial tone and vowel (other than [i]) when preceded by another item.¹

¹ Close compounds involving an elision of vowels other than [i], such as ìlàándó "place name", òmòbìnrìn "girl" (cf. Rowlands (11), pp.378-9) are treated in this study as single nominals, and not nominal groups with qualifiers.
Ex.

aṣọ ẹbí     "family dress"
áwọn ọjọ́nbó "the Europeans"
ilú ọjọ́nbó "the country of the Europeans"
i.e. England

The initial vowel [i] is often elided and replaced by the final vowel of the preceding item.

Ex.

(ará ilú) → aráá 'lú
inhabitant town "the citizens"
(áwọn ọmàle) → áwọn 'màle
they muslim "the muslim"
cf. sàsà ilú "few towns"

If the last two syllables of the preceding item have low tones, the latter of these tones is replaced by a mid tone before the initial mid tone of the following vowel-initial item.²

Ex.  

ôró aṣọ ẹbí
"a discussion about family dress"
sóọsi alá.durá
"Apostolic church"

---

² cf. Ward (16), p.54; Siertsema (14), pp.393-4.
E4.2 Consonant-Initial Items

Consonant-initial items are of three types: (i) Elided Consonant-Initial; (ii) Nominal; (iii) Other Consonant-Initial Items.

E4.21 Elided Consonant-Initial

An elided consonant-initial item results from the elision of an initial low tone syllable from a vowel-initial item. The initial tone is, however, assimilated to the high or mid tone of the final syllable of the preceding item.¹

Elided consonant-initial items are (full list):

- Yí "this",
- Wonyí "these",
- Wonní "those",
- Yen "that",
- Wonyen, Wo "which?",
- Mi "my",
- Re or e "your",
- Mirí "another",
- Kon "one",
- The numeral series (E7) kíni "first", kejí "second", kẹta "third" etc.

Ex.

- Ilú dyínbó Yí "this England"
- Obínrin Yen "that woman"
-Odún kíni "the first year"
- Ğẹ. Mi "a friend of mine"

Elided consonant-initial items are always qualifiers in nominal group structure; but they have corresponding vowel initial items which can stand as head.

¹ cf. Initial low tone of complement to a sub-class I verb (D4.41) and 4.112.
Ex.

Head | Qualifiers
--- | ---
èyi | .yi
èyen | .yen
èkiní | .kiní
èwo | .wo

E4.22 Nominal

When an item precedes a consonant-initial item which is a nominal (E5), a mid tone syllable is added to the final syllable of the preceding item.¹

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding Item</th>
<th>Following Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyá; bábá</td>
<td>iyáa bábá wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Our grandmother&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Our grandmother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilè ôdóba</td>
<td>ilèôdóba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yoruba land&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yoruba land&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìyínôó dôkità</td>
<td>ìyínôó dôkità</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;European doctor&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;European doctor&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àwọn kèfèrì</td>
<td>àwọn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;the heathen&quot;</td>
<td>(Final mid tone: no syllable added)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìmọọ wọn</td>
<td>ìmọọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;their children&quot;</td>
<td>(Final mid tone: syllable added)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ If the nominal is, however, an elided consonant-initial item, e.g. .mi, the appropriate junction for that item applies. This junction is sometimes (but very rarely) extended to a vowel initial item. Ex. ègbèè ogùsú "political party" inọọ èpò pùpà "an oil lamp"

The additional syllable is optional if the last syllable of the preceding item has a mid tone. Ex. orúko Mòómòdu "Mohammed's name". Although not a nominal, the deixtic ni "that" makes this junction with a preceding item. Ex. ìgbàa ni "that time"
If the last two syllables of the preceding item have low tones, the final low tone is replaced by a mid tone before the additional syllable is added.

Ex.

| àwọ́ kořikọ́ | àwọ́
| colour leaves |
| "green colour" |
| ọrọ bibélí | ọrọ́
| word bible |
| "the Scriptures" |
| érọо won | érọ́
| thought their |
| "their ideas" |
| àṣa t' òyínbọ́ | àṣa
| custom of European |
| "European custom" |

**E4.23 Other Consonant-Initial Items**

Consonant-initial items other than the first two types above are adjectives, numerals (other than those in E4.21), post deictics and exponents of the rankshifted qualifier.

The item preceding any of these consonant-initial items remains unchanged.¹

¹ The nominal bí "like" makes this junction with a preceding item.

Ex. àwọn èdyọ́n bíí mé.ta
"about three people"
Ex.

(Adjective) kántá kékeré
"a small counter"

(Numeral) šílè mé.wà
"ten shillings"

(Adjective; Rankshifted Qualifier) òwọn òșà burúkú tá a ní
"The bad customs that we have"

(Post deictic) ọjàa ti wa nóò
"Even our own market"

E4.3 Combination of Items

At any place in the structure of the nominal group where any of the above items occurs, the appropriate junction applies between it and the preceding item.

Ex.

ìlú óyìnbo .yí pàápàá
junction junction junction
E4.1 E4.21 E4.23
"Even this England"

òró bíbélíi won .yén
junction junction junction
E4.22 E4.22 E4.21
"Matters affecting their dogma"

òwọn 'màle tá àú tí .yén
junction junction junction
E4.1 E4.23 E4.21
"Those muslims whom we see"
B5 Classes of Words: The Nominal

Words operating at n and H in nominal group structure are nominals.

B5.1 Subclasses of Nominals

There are two subclasses of nominals:

(i) Noun; (ii) Pronoun.

B5.11 Noun

Nominals which may take qualifiers when operating as head are nouns. The subclass noun is an open set.\(^1\)

Ex.

\(ọrọ\) "word", \(omo\) "child", \(ilú\) "town",
\(iyáwó\) "wife", \(bábá\) "father", \(ódún\) "year",
\(ẹgbé\) "society", \(ślaló\) "place name", \(Adélabá\)
"personal name" \(^2\)

\(áwọn iyáwó\) \(ọ\) \(mé.ta\)
"his three wives"

\(ódún\) \(kíní\)
"the first year"

\(áwọn\ \(arúgbóo\) \(wa\) \(Awóló\) \(wọ\) \(nó\)\)
"our aged persons" \(Awóló\) \(wọ\) \(nó\)\)
"even Awoló\(wò\)"

\(^1\) There is a further subclass within the nouns. This subclass is a closed system of items (pronominals), which are pronoun substitutes in certain structures. This subclass is fully discussed in B5.121.

\(^2\) The English translation equivalence of most Yoruba nouns could be singular as well as plural. The translation into the singular above is only for the sake of convenience.
The morphemic structure of many nominals involves a nominalisation. This nominalisation may consist of a prefix (or an infix) plus another item, or a reduplication of an item.

The following types of nominalisations are found in the language:

(a) Prefix + Clause: Nominalising prefixes are:
- d "that which is"; -ing; a "one who";
- i "that which is; -ing"; âi "not -ing"; âti "to".

(i) d

Ex.  lò → âlò
"go" "going" i.e. "departure"

rò ó sò → âròsò
think it say "that which is imagined and said"
    i.e. "fiction"

(ii) a

Ex.  j' é.rí → ajé.rí
bear witness "one who bears witness"
    i.e. "a witness"

    With two imperative clauses:

    lò; má. dá gbére → almá.dágbére
    go not bid goodbye "one who leaves without
    saying goodbye"

---

3 The prefix d is very common as a nominalisation of a clause with the bound verb ti "from" which may occur without a following free verb in this nominalisation.

Ex.  ti ṣará → âtâará
from morning "since morning"

t' ilè wá → âtilèwá
ground come "from the beginning"
(iii) ì
Ex.
fü → ìfù
"love" "love"

gbà gbó → ɪgbàgbó
take hear
"believe" "belief"

(iv) ëì
Ex.
ní ɪ̀kọ̀n ụpụdụ → àìní ɪ̀kọ̀n ụpụdụ
"have many things" "not having many things"
má. ì' े.ṣè → àìmá. ì' े.ṣè
"Don't commit sin" "not committing sin"

(v) ì... ëì (combined)
Ex.

With two clauses
* jé ; jé tón → àjèjètόn

eat it eat it finish "Eating without finishing"
i.e "inexhaustible (food)"

(vi) ìtì
Ex.
r' asò .yẹn → ìtì r' asò .yẹn
"buy that dress" "to buy that cloth"

lọ s' i.lùù wa → ìtì lọ s' i.lùù wa
"go to our town" "to go to our town"
(b) Prefix + Nominal Group: The nominalising prefix is *oní* "one who has". When the final vowel of this prefix is elided, $n \rightarrow 1$ before all vowels, except [i]. The initial vowel of the prefix is also replaced by that of the following item.

**Ex.**

(i) Vowel Unelided:

\[
\text{kiní} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{oníkiní}
\]

"That thing" "the owner of that thing"

(ii) Vowel Elided:

**With the vowel i**

\[
\text{iṣẹ ṣọ̀rún} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{oníṣẹ ṣọ̀rún}
\]

"God's work" "one who does God's work"

i.e."a priest"

**With other vowels**

\[
\text{órí búnúkú} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{olorí búnúkú}
\]

"bad head" "a luckless person"

\[
\text{aṣò} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{aláṣò}
\]

"cloth" "cloth seller"

\[
\text{ẹpọ pupa} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{elépọ pupa}
\]

"palm-oil" "one with palm-oil"

\[
\text{ẹrọn} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{elérọn}
\]

"meat" "seller of meat"
(c) Infix + Reduplicated Nominal: The infix kí "any" comes between the two nominals.

Ex.

ŋùkòŋ → ʊŋkùnkìŋkòŋ
"something" "anything"
oun → ounkòun
"thing" "anything"
èni → ènikèni
"person" "any person"

(d) Reduplicated Verbal Root + Clause: The reduplicated verbal root consists of the initial consonant of the verb plus the vowel [i] with a high tone, i.e. í.

The verbal group in the nominalised form may be of the same sequence as that in the clause or, alternatively, the sequence may be changed so that the complement precedes the verb.

Ex.

(i) Normal Sequence:

rin kàākiri → rírin kàākiri
walk all about "walking about"

gbé 'yàwó → gbìgbé 'yàwó
take wife "to get married" "getting married"

(ii) Alternative Sequence:

la 'jú → ojú lílá
"civilisation"

kò 'rin → orìn kíkò
sing song "singing"
(e) Reduplicated Verbal Group: This is an alternative to the "agentive" nominalisation a + clause. But unlike it, it embraces human as well as non-human agents, i.e. "one who" or "that which". It is not common.

Ex.

bojúbojú → b'ojú

"one who covers face"  
i.e. "hide and seek"

jèjèdëjèdë → jè'dìjèdì

"that which eats the anus"  
i.e. "piles"

(f) Reduplicated Noun: In this reduplication, the nouns are largely restricted to vowel initial nouns of time. The tonal and vowel changes involved in the reduplication are specified in 4.311.

Ex.

òdùn → òdùnòdùn

"year"  
"every year"

òsè → òsèòsè

"week"  
"every week"

ègbè → ègbèègbè

"society"  
"society by society"
E5.12 Pronoun

Nominals which do not take any qualifiers when operating as Head are pronouns. They have different forms in the syntactic positions: S, C and n.

(i) Pronoun Subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mo</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ô</td>
<td>wôn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms of the pronoun subject occur before all verbs subject to the following restrictions.

(a) Before the verbal particle, a marked form of the first and second person pronouns occurs in addition to the above series. This marked form has a low tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mò</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ô</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Before the preverb à "will", the subject pronoun series are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mà</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wà</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. à</td>
<td>wôn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Before the preverbs: kò, ki, ìbá, ìbáà, and ýó., the third person singular pronoun has a zero exponent (cf. E3.112), and the first person pronoun is ã. This item is also the first person pronoun before the preverb, ba, and an alternative pronoun before the preverb bà.
(d) The third person plural pronoun has a mid tone when followed by a preverb before which the SP junction does not occur. (B3.111).

(e) Pronouns do not occur before the preverb a, and the free verbs: dâ "where is?", ūkó "what about?", mi "is", kó "isn't". ¹

(ii) Pronoun Complement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ə/ə</td>
<td>yín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vowel of Verb</td>
<td>won</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tone of the pronoun complement (other than the second person plural) depends on the subclass of verb which precedes it - mid tone after a subclass I verb and high tone after a subclass II verb (D4.4).

The third person pronoun complement is a reduplication of the vowel of the subclass I or II verb.

Ex.

rí i "see him"
wò ə "look at her"
jé ə "eat it"

When contracted according to the rules in 4.221,

rí i → ri; jé ə → jé.

(iii) Pronoun Qualifier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>.mi</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>.rə/ə</td>
<td>yín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>rə/ə</td>
<td>won</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ As an exception, the third person plural pronoun is found before the preverb a.
E5.121 Pronominals

Before the verbs in E5.12(e) above, in non-verbal clauses, and in compound nominal group structures, pronouns do not occur. Their places are taken instead by pronominals - a closed-system subclass of nouns which are pronoun substitutes in these structures.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ëmi</td>
<td>ãwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ìwọ</td>
<td>ëyìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ñun</td>
<td>ãwọn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these structures in which both pronouns and pronominals may occur, the contrast between them corresponds to that between an emphatic term and a non-emphatic term of a system.²

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo rọ pé ,...</td>
<td>ëmi-rọ pé ....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I think that . . .&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I think that . . .&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* iyẹn ọ rí</td>
<td>iyẹn n' ìwọ rí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That is what you see&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;That is what you see.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For the theoretical status of substitution in linguistic description, see R.H. Robins (25), p.140, note 3.

² Perhaps it is on account of this correspondence that these items have been classified as "pronouns". cf. Ward (16), p.78; Siertsema (14), p.51; Delanoé (6), p.lvii; and Abraham (1), p. xxix ("independent pronouns which are nouns"). Only Rowlands (11), p.377, separates them entirely from pronouns and classifies them as nominals (i.e. nouns). This is by far the best analysis because these items behave formally like nouns rather than pronouns. A further step is taken here by making them a special subclass of nouns.
After verbs of reporting (nî, pé "say"): the third person pronominal is also the reflexive equivalent of the pronoun, when the subject preceding the verb is a nominal group other than a first or second person pronoun. The correspondence may be stated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Singular:</td>
<td>Non-Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Plural:</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ex.

(3rd Singular) ọ ri pé ọụl l' ọwọ
"He saw that he himself had money" he: not himself.

(3rd Plural) wọn ọ ni wọn ọ d' ásó ọbí
"They will say that they are buying family dress" i.e. they themselves or not themselves.

E5.122 Systems of Number and Person

There is a system of number and a system of person at any place in nominal group structure where a pronoun or a pronominal occurs.

The terms in the systems are:

(i) Number: Singular and Plural
(ii) Person: 1st Person, 2nd Person, 3rd Person (indicated by the figures 1, 2, 3 in the series listed above).

1 The contextual reference of the 3rd person pronoun to non-human objects is not accounted for by these systems.
The contextual equivalence of the two systems is as follows:

**Speaker:** mo, emi

**Speaker +**

**Addressee(s) or**

**Other Person(s):** a, ãwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Within speaker's social group</th>
<th>Outside speaker's social group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Addressee:</strong></td>
<td>o, ìwò</td>
<td>ë, ìyìn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Addressees:</strong></td>
<td>ë, ìyìn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Person:</strong></td>
<td>ë, ìnìn</td>
<td>wón, ãwón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Persons:</strong></td>
<td>wón, ãwón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F5.2 Clause rankshifted as nominal**

A clause may be found at a place usually occupied by a nominal in a nominal group structure. Such a clause is a clause rankshifted as a nominal.

**Ex.**

(i) **Clause as H**

(a) **Without Qualifier**

à h lò ìòòsì ò m' onì.ìgbàgbó

We go to the church
"Going to the church does not prove a Christian"

(b) **With Qualifier**

k' ì.ìyòón màà w' ì.ìsì .ìyìn

One should contribute to the thrift fund
"That question of contributing to the thrift fund"
(ii) Clause as n

"talk say they are even selling things this "This question of people selling things"

E5.3 The Nominal as Head

All nominals can be H in nominal group structure. (For other items as head, see E12)

Ex.

āhräd .kɔn
"one priest"

āwɔn mɔtɔ kɛkɛkɛ .wɔnyɛn
they car small those
"Those small cars"

ɔpɔlo[pɔ] wɔn
"myriads of them"

E5.4 The Nominal Qualifier

Any nominal may be an exponent of the nominal qualifier.

E5.41 Subclasses of Nominals at n

There are two subclasses of nominals at n:

(i) Marked  (ii) Unmarked

E5.411 Marked Nominal

A marked nominal is marked as restricted to the position, n by the genitival particle ti "of".
Ex.
da sa  ti  dyinbu
"custom of European "European customs"
dawo  om o  ti  isinyin
"they child of nowadays "The present generation of children"
Marked pronouns are :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ti  wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ti  yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ti  rę</td>
<td>ti  wön</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marked pronominals are :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>t'  ěmi</td>
<td>t'  āwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>t'  īrę</td>
<td>t'  ėyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>t'  āun</td>
<td>t'  āwön</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(In this series, the second person singular pronominal iwo is replaced by īre).

A marked nominal enters into a genitival structure with the head.

E5.412 Unmarked Nominal

An unmarked nominal is one without the genitival particle. It enters into either a genitival or an appositive structure with the head.

(a) Appositive Structure

An unmarked nominal entering into an appositive structure with the head is referentially identical with the head.
The pronoun (the third person singular excepted) which can be substituted for an appositive structure is of the same number and person as the pronoun qualifier. (cf. E10.112)

Ex.

(i) With Pronoun Qualifier

ghogboo wa (kọ 1' a)
all us we
"all of us"
ołóří burúkú ə ( o )
luckless person you you
"You luckless person" (pronoun substituted)
gbogboo yín .yi // (ọré .mi ni yín)
all you this you
"all of you" (pronoun substituted)

(ii) With Noun Qualifier

ọyínbóo dòkítà
European doctor
"A European doctor"
ing lọmọnọmọnọ
fire lightning
"lightning"
ọyín obinrin
you . women
"you women"

The appositive structure with the pronominal ṣawọn as head is the structure most commonly used to indicate "more than one-ness". ¹

¹ It has not been considered necessary to set up a system of number for Yoruba nouns, since "plurality" or "singularity" of nouns can only be inferred from the context or co-text. cf. Carnochan (20) pp.114-5.
Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>Hn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọjọ &quot;market or markets&quot;</td>
<td>ọjọ &quot;markets&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọmọ &quot;child or children&quot;</td>
<td>ọmọ &quot;children&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Genitival Structure

An unmarked nominal entering into a genitival structure cannot be identical with the head.

Ex.

baba wa
father our
"our father"

ilu ọyinbọ
country European
"country of Europeans i.e. England"

àwoo koriko
"colour of leaves i.e. green colour"

Contextually, an unmarked nominal in a genitival structure contrasts with a marked nominal in that the latter is always "possessive" (i.e. expresses a general sense of "belonging to"), whereas the former is not necessarily so.

(i) Marked * asọ t'ebi

dress of family
"dress of the family" i.e. dress belonging to the family.
(ii) Unmarked *aṣọ ẹbí* "dress belonging to the family" "family dress" - dress worn by all the family on a special occasion.

When the marked and the unmarked nominals are "possessive" the marked nominal is a more emphatic "possessive".

Ex.

*dàsa* ọjìnbo  "European custom"
*dàsa t' ọjìnbo* "Custom of Europeans"
*ọjàa wa*  "Our Market"
*ọjàa ti wa*  "the market of ours"

**E5.42 The Rankshifted Nominal Qualifier**

A nominal group may be rankshifted as a nominal qualifier. Such a rankshifted nominal group may, like a nominal at n, be marked or unmarked. An unmarked rankshifted nominal group is usually found in a genitival structure except after a head which is (a) a pronominal, (b) a personal or place name, or (c) a nominal which rarely takes a qualifier other than a nominal qualifier. In these cases it is usually found in an appositive structure.

Ex.

(i) Marked

*ọmọ ti Ịlù .mìn*
child of town another
"a child belonging to another town"

*dàsa t' àwọn ọjìnbo*
custom of the European
"the customs of the Europeans"
(ii) Unmarked

(a) In Genitival Structure
èro okóò won
tought heart their
"Their thoughts"
èlyón ìwọn t'ò kù
people they who remain
"The relations of the rest"

(b) In Appositive Structure
ìwọ ìwàwò .mi
you wife my
"You, my wife"
ṣyaín ará .mi
you relation my
"You, my friends"

Since the structure of a rankshifted nominal group may consist
of a head plus a nominal qualifier (Hn), there is a possibility of
recursive Hn structures.

Ex.

| iyáa | bábáa | wa | "Our father's mother
mother | father | our | i.e. our grandmother"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| itọjú | ìwọn | arúgbọọ | wa | "the care of our
|-------|-------|--------|-----| aged persons"
| care  | they  | old people | our |        |
| H     | H     | n       | H   | n     |

|           |           |           |           |           |
|           |           |           |           |           |
|           |           |           |           |           |
Classes of Words: The Adjective

The class of words operating at j is adjective. It is an open set of words.

Ex.
keke "small", pùpò "many", dúcú "black"
funfun "white", rere "good", dí̂ "little"
lí̈le "hard".

Hj Structures
kó lá funfun "a dog collar"
collar white
qjá keke "a small market"
market
dẹẹrẹ rere "a good example"
example
isẹ́ lílé "a hard job"
work

Adjectives display a system of intensification which consists of the terms: Intensive; Non-intensive.

The intensive term has as its exponent a reduplicated form of the non-intensive term.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Intensive</th>
<th>Intensive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burúkú</td>
<td>burúkú burúkú &quot;bad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úlá</td>
<td>úlá úlá &quot;big&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keke</td>
<td>keke keke &quot;small&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextually, the intensive term almost always indicates "more than one-ness".
Ex.

aṣa burúká burúká
"bad customs"

aṣa burúká
"a bad custom/bad customs"

E7 Classes of Words: The Numeral

The class of words operating at 1 is numeral.

Numerals may be classified into four subclasses: Types 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Type 1
Ex. mé.ji mé.wá má.rún ìbọ mé.jidinlógún
"two" "ten" "five and a half" "eighteen"¹

Type 2
Ex. mé.jèèjì mé.tèèta mé.jèèje mé.wèèwá
"both" "all three" "all seven" "all ten"
(This series is limited to 2 - 10)

Type 3
Ex. kòkòkòn mé.ji mé.ji mé.són mé.són
"one each" "two each" "nine each"
mé.rinlá mé.rinlá
"fourteen each"

Type 4
Ex. èke.ji, ke.ji èkè.fà, ke.fà èke.je, ke.je
"second" "sixth" "seventh"
èke.ji.lá, ke.ji.lá
"Twelfth"

For multiples of ten from twenty upwards, there are only two subclasses.

(i) Non-Reduplicated

ogún "twenty"
ogbòn "thirty"

(ii) Reduplicated

ogoogún "twenty each"
ogbogbòn "thirty each"

¹ The series of items for naming the figures 1, 2, 3 etc. and for counting e.g. ọkọn, èjì, èta; ení, èjì, èta "One! Two! Three!" "1, 2, 3" are nouns.
Morphologically, the relation of the four subclasses to one another is uniform for all numerals except "one".

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
<th>Type 3</th>
<th>Type 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mé.jî</td>
<td>mé.jèjî</td>
<td>mé.jî mé.jî</td>
<td>èke.jî, .ke.jî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé.rin</td>
<td>mé.rèrin</td>
<td>mé.rin mé.rin</td>
<td>èke.rin, .ke.rin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subclasses Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 are mutually exclusive, and they precede Type 4 in nominal group structure.

Ex.

Type 1 ọjọ má.rùn "five days"
śilè mé.jî òbò "two and a half shillings i.e. a half-crown"

Type 2 àwọn mé.tètèta "all three of them"

Type 3 iyàwò mé.jî mé.jî "two wives each"

Type 4 ọjọ .ke.jî "the second day"
qdùn .kìní "the first year"

(Two Numerals ) * àwọn ọmọ móta .kìní
(Type 1 - Type 4) "the first three children"

For numerals which are multiples of ten from twenty upwards, the structure Hj is rare. The common structure with this series of numerals is an Hn structure in which the numeral is a qualifier as H. (El2.2)

Ex.

ogùn ọdùn "twenty of years' i.e. twenty years"
twenty year

ogò.rùn ònyùn "one hundred persons"
hundred people

---

2 The series for the numeral "one" is: .kòn "one", .kòkòn "one each", èkìní, .kìní "first".

3 The numeral .kòn is an exception.
There is a contrast between the two structures when the numeral is of the non-reduplicated subclass.

Ex.

Hj * orin ogún "the twentieth hymn"
Hn * ogún orin "twenty hymns"

B8 Classes of Words: The Deictic

The class of words operating at d is the deictic. It is a class of closed system items comprising the following (complete list).

• yi "this"
• wonyi "these"
• yen "that"
• wonyen "those"
• ni "that"
• wonni "those"
• wo "which"
• ohun "that"¹

Ex.

aṣa t' ilú .mín t' ó ṣá mú wá .yi
"This custom belonging to another country which they've introduced"

oko .yen
"that farm"

àwọn tí ó bí ' mọ .wonyen
"Those persons without children"

ìgbàa ni
"that time"

¹ The deictics wonni and wonyen sometimes (but very rarely) precede the rankshifted qualifier.
E9 Classes of Words: The Post-deictic

The class of words operating at $t$ is post deictic. It comprises the following items (full list) which are not mutually exclusive.

- **nọ́d** "that very"
- **gōn** "exactly; even"
- **páápadá** "too"
- **níkon** "alone"
- **gbogbo** "all"\(^1\)
- **kê** "even"

Ex.

- **áwọ́ .yen nọ́d** (Hdt) "That same colour"
- **ilú ìyímbó .yi páápadá** (Hndt) "This England too"
- **áwọn gōn nọ́d** (Htt) "Even they too"
- **iyan nọ́d pāapā́dá** (Htt) "That very one too"
- **obínrin .yen níkon** (Hdt) "That woman alone"
- **oun tá à ́ sọ gbogbo** (Hkt) "All the things that we are saying"
- **bí èníkòjọ́n wa kê** (Hnt) "As individuals too"

E10 The Rankshifted Qualifier

Items operating as the rankshifted qualifier are rankshifted clauses and verbal groups.

\(^1\) The item "gbogbo" is an adjective when it precedes the rankshifted qualifier, because it is only in this structure that a deictic (immediately after the rankshifted qualifier) can follow it.
E10.1 The Rankshifted Clause

The rankshifted clause is of the structure 1SP(A), with the item tì "who", "whom" "which" as clause initiator.

Ex.

áwọn tì ó bí 'mọ .wọnyẹn
"Those people who don't have children"
áwọn sisi tì ó tì ókó wá
"The fashionable ladies who come from Lagos"
áwọn 'mále tà à ní rí .wọn (tì ó contracted to tà à)
"Those muslims whom we see"
èyì tì ó da nọ̀
"That which is bad too"
áwọn tì ' s' isé dúkó nọ̀ (tì ó contracted to tì)¹
"Those who are engaged in teaching"

E10.11 Concord between Head and Subject

In a nominal group structure with a rankshifted clause, the subject of the clause may be:

(i) antecedental i.e. in concord with the head,
(ii) non-antecedental i.e. not in concord with the head,
(iii) Neutral i.e. unmarked as to antecedental non-antecedental and therefore potentially ambiguous.

The concord is one of person or number (See below).

Ex.

(i) Antecedental

èni tì ó wà n' íwákù ẹnì
person who he is in front him
"The person who is in front of him"

¹ A possible but rare structure is a rankshifted clause with a zero exponent of the clause initiator.

Ex. èni mo mọ́ rí "a person whom I knew before". This is the only type of rankshifted clause qualifier after the nominal bí "like" as head. Ex. bí wón sè mọ́ "How they knew".
(ii) Non-antecedental

oun tî = no kon ré

thing which I only see

"What I only see"

(iii) Neutral

êni t' ò bá ré

person who he happens to like

(a) Antecedental: "The person who likes"

(b) Non-antecedental; "The person whom he likes"

For the purpose of describing which of the three types a subject is, the subject of a rankshifted clause may be classified into:

(i) Noun Subject  (ii) Pronoun Subject  (iii) Nominal Group Subject (i.e. nominal group with qualifier(s)).

E10.111 Noun Subject

The Noun subject is non-antecedental.

Ex.

mîkon .mî t' e.îyon ma ñ se

"The other things that people do"

ígba t' e.lurâsá bá ñ já

"When the priest quarrels"

E10.112 Pronoun Subject

The pronoun subject may be subdivided into:

(i) All pronouns except the 3rd singular

(ii) 3rd person singular pronoun.
(i) All pronouns except 3rd singular. When the subject is a pronoun other than the 3rd person singular, it is non-antecedental, unless the head is a pronominal of the same number and person. When the head is a pronominal of the same number and person, the pronoun is antecedental.

Ex.

(i) With non-pronominal head

ōjâ tá ə nî

"The market that we have"

ōjô tí mo kô d' Ọ.yọ

"The day that I first arrived in Oyo"

(ii) With pronominal head

(1) Of same number and person

ẹyin tí ọ wà n' íbí ọ.yî

you who you are in place this

"You who are in this place"

awọn àlúfájá t' Ọ já d' oyè

they priest who they fight

"The priests who scramble for posts"

(2) Of different number and person

awọn 'mâlè tá ọ rî ọ yên

they muslims we

"Those muslims whom we see"

ẹyin tí mo mô

you I

"Those of you that I know"
(ii) 3rd Person singular pronoun. The third person singular is antecedental, non-antecedental or neutral

Ex.
(a) Antecedental
\[ \text{ẹhí t' ọ kú} \]
person he
"a person who died"
\[ \text{àwọn t' ọ kú} \]
they he
"those who are left"

(b) Non-antecedental
\[ \text{ọnọ t' ọ bá fé} \]
"the way that he likes"
\[ \text{njọọ t' ọ n'ọ} \]
"what he is saying"

(c) Neutral
\[ \text{àwọn t' ọ mọ} \]
they he

(i) Antecedental: "Those who know"

(ii) Non-antecedental: "Those whom he knows"
\[ \text{áṣíkọ t' ọ kọjá} \]
time it

(i) Antecedental: "The time that is past"

(ii) Non-antecedental: "The time that it passed"

Since the 3rd person singular is potentially ambiguous, it is necessary to supply a set of criteria for determining which type of subject it is in a particular case. The following criteria are
suggested for this purpose.  

(i) If a noun cannot be substituted for the pronoun, it is antecedental.

Ex. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{enedi t' o kú} \\
\text{mankan t' o le se}
\end{array}
\]

"The person who died"  
"What can happen to him"

(ii) If the deletion of \( t_1 \) and the pronoun results in a lexico-grammatically unacceptable clause, the subject is non-antecedental.

Ex. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ADn t' o bá fé} \\
\text{odún kíni t' o báre 'sé}
\end{array}
\]

"The way he likes"  
"The first year that he started to work"

(iii) If a nominal can be substituted for the pronoun, and the deletion of \( t_1 \) and the pronoun does not result in a lexico-grammatically unacceptable clause, the subject is neutral.

Ex. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{enedi t' o bá fé} \\
\text{awon t' o mé}
\end{array}
\]

(a) Antecedental: "The person who likes"  
(b) Non-antecedental: "The person whom he likes"

Delano's criterion for determining transitivity of verbs in rankshifted clause qualifiers is the reference of the subject to the head (i.e., concord between subject and head) Delano (6) p.xx. Siertsema criticises him for assuming that reference can be determined without knowing whether or not the verb is transitive: "It is true, then that we must know whether the pronoun points back to the noun preceding "t1" before we can say if the verb is transitive or intransitive in Delano's sense. But it is equally true that we must know whether the verb is transitive or intransitive before we can say whether the pronoun refers to the noun preceding "t1". Siertsema (15), p.573. The criteria which follow show that the reference of the subject can in fact be determined outside transitivity.
E10.113 Nominal Group Subject

The nominal group subject may be subdivided into two types:

(i) Nominal group subject without pronoun qualifier
(ii) Nominal group with pronoun qualifier

(i) Nominal group without pronoun qualifier: A nominal group without a pronoun qualifier is non-antecedental (i.e. like a noun subject).

Ex.

ŋɪkon kẹkẹ kí ìwọn obínrin ̀ì fẹ. ̀wa nyen
"Those small things that the women like"

ŋɪkon kí ìwọn ̀ẹnyon maa so
"What people will say"

(ii) Nominal group with pronoun qualifier: A nominal group with a pronoun qualifier behaves like a pronoun subject (E10.112)

Ex.

ŋɪkon t' Ĭkoo wá ń se
"What our husbands do"

ìwọn obínrin arúgbọ kí oríi wón ti fun fun
"The old women whose hairs are grey"

E10.12 Structures with Rankshifted Clauses

Structures with rankshifted clauses may be exemplified as follows:

(i) With one clause only

(Hjkd) ìba díjìjì t' ọ́h ́ọ́ tá .yẹn

H j k d
"Those few quantities that they sell"
With more than one clause

"Petty things which are cheap and which they can come to buy"

"The priests who scramble for posts, who consult diviners and who try to secure posts through black magic"

El0.2 Rankshifted Verbal Group

Verbal groups rankshifted as qualifiers in nominal group structure are the verbs: ní "in", sí "to, into", fun "give" followed by complements, and pélú "with".

Ex.

ílú òyínbó ní íbí .yí (Ènka)
country European place this
"this country"

íbí .kon ní ápáá 'sálè t' ó jé pé
H l k k
"A certain place in the south which is ... "
ogún ọdún s' é .hin (Ènka)
twenty year to back
"Twenty years ago"
* ilé ọkọ giga fun iwe ọkọ
  house knowledge high give book learning
  "A high school for learning"

* ọkanrin pẹlu obinrin (Eh)
  men with women
  "Men and women"

Ell Sub-modifiers

Nominal groups with adjectives or numerals may have in their structure adverbs (3F) modifying these qualifiers. Although an open set, these adverbs are few in number and they collocate with particular qualifiers or class of qualifiers. For example, nini with the adjectives meaning "cold", "white" or "new"; ọso with the numeral 'one' and pẹrẹ with numerals.

Ex.
   ṣkẹlẹ méjì pẹrẹ
   morsel two only
   "Two morsels only"
   ọdun .kọn pẹrẹ
   "Only one year"
   iyawọ .kọn ọso
   wife one only
   "Only a single wife"
   * aṣo funfun nini
   cloth white snow-white
   "a snow-white cloth"
El2 The Head in Nominal Group Structure

The head in nominal group structure is usually a nominal. But it may also be a qualifier operating as head or a rankshifted nominal group as head.

El2.1 The Nominal as Head (See E5.3)

El2.2 The Qualifier as Head

An adjective, a numeral or a marked nominal, all of which are usually qualifiers, may be found as an exponent of the head. The structure in which this head occurs is very often of one element (i.e. H only).

Ex.

(H) má á gé ́ ti Ayọ fun
I will cut of Ayọ give him
"I will cut Ayọ's for him"

(H) ki i ́ še méta
"It isn't three"

(Hn) ogün ọdún  "twenty years"
irinwọ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣  "thousands of it"
 gbogboo won "all of them"

El2.3 The Rankshifted Nominal Group as Head

The rankshifted nominal group head can be either of simple or compound structure (El3).

(i) Nominal group of simple structure: The nominal group of simple structure rankshifted as head has a nominal, an adjective or a numeral qualifier. The structure with the
nominal qualifier is by far the most common of the three, and, like the nominal quality qualifier, may involve recursive structures.

Ex.
(a) Structure Hn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>n</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilé ìkọq</td>
<td>t' àwọn onìgbàgbọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>n</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

"The Christian schools"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>n</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>òyínìbọ</td>
<td>dòkitàa</td>
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<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>doctor</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>n</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

"Our European doctor"

Two structures consisting of the same items but differing in the position of the rankshifted nominal group may be contrasted as follows:

Ex.
(i) Nominal Group as Head
(aqọ ẹbìí) won "Their 'family dress'"

dress family their

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>n</th>
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</table>

(ii) Nominal Group as Qualifier
*aqọ (ẹbìí won)* "The dress belonging to their family"

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<tr>
<th>H</th>
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</table>

(b) Structures Hj; Hl
Hj (baba ọlọọ ) wa
father great our

H        n

"our forefathers"
HI (ędà .ke.ji ) ë
version second its
"the other version of it"

HI (aago mé.ta ) ësòn
clock three afternoon
"3 p.m."

Two structures consisting of the same items but differing
in the sequence of these items and their places in structure may
be contrasted as follows:¹

Ex.
Hn (ọjọ .ke.ji ) ësẹ
day second week
"The second day of the week"
Hnj ọjọ ësẹ .ke.ji
"The second Sunday"

(ii) Nominal Group of Compound Structure (See E13)

E13. Compound Structures

Compound nominal group structures are of the structure:
N & N;  or N N ..... & N.

Linking items in these structures are:
(i) âti "and"

Ex.
ọlọ ât ' odó  N & N
"Grinding stone and mortar"
t' imàle âti t' ìgbàgbọ  N & N
"That of the muslim and that of the christian"

¹ Cf. Rowlands (11) p.381
ọmọ .mi kekeré "my small child"
ọmọ kekeré .mi "my junior"
(ii) òtì ..... òtì "both ... and"
Ex.
òtì ' ọ̀sun òtì ' ọ̀din N & N
"Both himself and the maggot"

(iii) ti ..... ti "both ... and"
Ex.
t' ọ̀wọ̀ t' ẹsẹ N & N
"Both hand and foot"

(iv) tābī, ẹbí "or"
Ex.
ọdùn .kọnj tābī ọdùn mé.ji N & N
"One or two years"
dwọn kẹfẹrī// tābī dwọn ọmọle N & N
"The pagans or the Muslims"

(v) yàlà ..... tābī "either ... or"
Ex.
yàlà ọmọle // tābī kẹfẹrī N & N
"Either a Muslim or a pagan"

(vi) zero (Only in the structure N N ...... & N)
Ex.
ewẹdú // ilá // ẹfọ // òtì 'ňkònkon
"ewedu, okra, vegetables and the like"
ōgẹdẹ // ata // ńkònkon
"banana, pepper and the like"
The compound structure, N & N is the most common. In the structure N N... & N, there may be more than one overt linker. But usually there is only one overt linker before the final N, and zero linkers between the other N's.

Ex.
(i) With one overt linker (See (iv) above)
(ii) With more than one overt linker
    òkété // tâbì àparò // tâbì q̩̱̣lulú......
    "The giant rat or the bush fowl or the cuckoo"

El3.1 Rankshifted Compound Structure

A compound nominal group may be rankshifted as a nominal qualifier or a head in nominal group structure.

Ex.
(i) Head
    (bâbá àt ' iyáa) wa Hn
    Our father and mother

(ii) Qualifier
    òńọ (iyálé àt ' iyáwó) Hn
    "The problem of the senior and the junior wives"

n' ọpà (ọ́lọ́.run bába //ọ́lọ́.run òmọ //àt ' ọ́lọ́.run ẹ̀mi mìmọ) in respect of

"About God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost"
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<th>H</th>
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<td>1. kágtá</td>
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<td>14. ijọ</td>
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<td>15. àwa</td>
<td>àníyóò</td>
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<td>.wọn- yèn</td>
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<td>18. àwọn</td>
<td>mọ́tọ́ kékêké</td>
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<td>20. kólá</td>
<td>funfun</td>
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<td>.kòn t' ó ọ gbé</td>
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<td>22. èmí</td>
<td>ati s' alúfáá</td>
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<td>23. òpòlòpò</td>
<td>wọn</td>
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<td>25. baba ńláa</td>
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<td>29. awa</td>
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<td>31. òpẹọ̀ẹ</td>
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<td>32. ohun</td>
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<td>34. gbogbo</td>
<td>ńkọn</td>
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<td>35. ọ̀wọn</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. bááá wa</td>
<td>Sáááúna</td>
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<td>37. ọgbẹ̀</td>
<td>òdọ̀ndọ̀n</td>
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<td>38. Awólọ̀.wọ̀</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. ọ̀yìn</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. aṣọ</td>
<td>t' ón ń lọ ńq</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation of Examples**

1. A small counter
2. The name of Mohammed alone
3. This European country too i.e. Even this England
4. That first year in which he started to work
5. Cloth
6. The few quantities which they sell
7. Those middle-aged women who are in Lagos
8. This country
9. One priest in a hundred
10. The jobs that we do, such as teaching
11. My brethren in the Lord
12. The Christian schools
13. These customs belonging to another country which they have introduced
14. Every five days
15. We, Africans
16. Those people without children
17. That very idea of serving one's country
18. Those small cars
19. Four stalwarts
20. A white collar (i.e. a dog collar)
21. One old man who lives in our house
22. The inclination to be a priest
23. Many of them
24. The reverse of it
25. Our forefathers
26. One's own country
27. Only one
28. A few that are bad
29. Even we Christians
30. Those muslims that we see
31. A good example
32. A bad thing which ...
33. A half-crown
34. All those things
35. The very people who have money
36. Our father, Sardauna
37. That very society to which he belongs
38. That man called Awolowo who heads the government
39. You, women too
40. This type of dress that someone is wearing.
3F THE GROUP: ADVERBIAL

The Adverbial Group is the main class of items operating as Adjunct in clause structure. Since all adverbial groups are also words (i.e. adverbs), the structure of an adverbial group is accounted for at the rank of the unit "word".

The adverbial group is an open class of adverbs. These adverbs are of two types:

(i) Adverbs with independent lexical meaning

Ex.

dada  díédíé  púpó
"very well"  "little by little"  "very much"
pátápátá  téléléélé
"completely"  "originally"
ma són díédíé  "Pay it by instalments"
kò mí ró dada mó  "It won't be quite sticky any more"
any more
ebí ma ọ so mó 'raa won púpó  "Families are usually close-knit"

(ii) Adverbs without independent lexical meaning. (The meaning of each adverb depends on the verb with which it is in collocation)

These adverbs may be sub-divided into:

(a) Onomatopoeic Adverbs

Ex.

ři ihọ ñkéyę pu pu pu
sound
"blow hot air into the giant rat's hole"
yọ gbùnú
"come out suddenly"
(b) Intensives

ó dùn sá "It is quite sweet"
mú 'ra gidigidi "do very well"

Fl. The Adjunct: Non-Adverbial Exponents

Apart from the adverbial group, there are a few other items at A which can be identified by their structure as belonging to a class other than the adverbial group. These items are: nominal groups, verbal groups and rankshifted clauses.

Fl.1 Nominal Group as Adjunct

Nominal Groups at A are:

(a) Nominal groups with the nominals bí "like, títí "until, and the nominal beginning with the item ãfi "except" as head. As H in a nominal group structure, the nominals bí and títí must be followed by a nominal qualifier or a rankshifted clause qualifier.

Ex.

bí

(i) With nominal qualifier

wọn ọ jà fáfá bí ãwọn 'mọ ãtìgbà
"They are not as efficient as the children of the past generation"

kò níí pò pùpọ bìi t' òyìnbò
"It won't be as much as that of the European"

(ii) With rankshifted qualifier

kò da fun àwà èniyọ̀n dàdà bí mo ti ń wọ ọ sì like I look it
"From my own point of view, it isn't good for Africans like us"
"They don't care if the government sues them"

**títí**

(i) With nominal qualifier

* wón á lọ títí alé

"They will go towards evening"

(ii) With rankshifted qualifier

ṣun níkon á fí ẹ̀ wó 't' ó ma fí kú

"He alone will hold it until he dies"

k'6.un l' ówó títí d’ ọgbà .kon

reach time of

"He should have money until a certain time"

The nominal beginning with the item á̀fí involves a nominalisation of the clause with fí as predicator

(i.e. prefix á + fí ... )

Ex.

wọ̀d ọ́ ẹ̀sábáá kiri l' Ẹkití // ẹ́fọ́jé ẹ̀gádrọ́

food' morning

"Breakfast excepted, food is not usually hawked in Ekiti district"

èmi ò lè f' ara mó wọ̀n // ẹ̀fí bí mo ba mó ....

"I can't join them unless I know ...... "

(b) Nominal groups with the nominal tóri "reason" or
t' ọcọtọ "of a truth" as head, which is usually found as a complement to the verb ní "in", but which can also be an exponent of the adjunct.

(i) tóri

The nominal tóri is always followed by a nominal
This qualifier is either a clause beginning with the verb pé, or any nominal.

Ex.

kọ lè ju 'ṣu lọ / torí pé wón fẹ 'rọn 'yón
reason say

"It can't be anything other than yams because they are fond of pounded yam"

wón i ṣé pàápáá / torí pé (tó ṣá bá fẹé rà //wón a gbe wa bá e n' ílè)
(Enclosed in brackets is a sentence rankshifted after pé cf. D5 note 1)

"They still do it even so, because if you don't wish to buy it, they will bring it to you in the house."

wón i ṣé iṣe ọsẹlú. yên torí orúkọ

"They become legislators in order to be famous"

(ii) t' dọtọ

The marked nominal t' dọtọ is a qualifier as head

Ex.

ọ yà 'tọ t' dọtọ

"As a matter of fact, it is different"

(c) Nominal groups of time of the structure head plus qualifier which are exponents of the Adjunct only when the adjunct is operating as a dependent clause (For exemplification, See G2.2(c))

(d) Nominal groups of the compound structure N & N with the linker ti ... ti "both ... and".
The two nominals so linked may be the same nominal or different nominals.

Ex.

(i) With same nominal

\[ \text{wón gbà à t' ayọ t' ayọ} \]

joy

"They took it with joy"

(ii) With different nominals

\[ \text{àwọn l' à n wo t' owo t' esè} \]

hand foot

"It's them that we copy in every way"

Fl.2 Verbal Group as Adjunct

Some verbs with their complements are classified as verbal group as adjuncts. The criterion for making these verbal groups adjuncts rather than clauses is that, unlike clauses of structure \( \text{P} \), they can be exponents of the emphatic element \( Z \), they can be preceded by the clause initiator \( \text{ágá} \), and they occupy certain positions which can only be occupied by an adjunct.

There are two subclasses of these verbal groups:

(a) Verbal groups which expound the adjunct in all clause structures.

(b) Verbal groups which expound the predicator, and not the adjunct, in a basic clause structure.

The criterion for separating the two subclasses is that whereas the first subclass can, like other items at \( \text{A} \), be an exponent of \( Z^d \), the second subclass, like other items at \( \text{P} \), cannot.
Ex.

(i) Subclass (a)

\[ \text{àjè ké } l' á.nő \quad \text{cf. } * l' á.nő l' àjè ké } \]

"The witch cried yesterday"  
"It was yesterday that the witch cried"

\[ \text{pèlù òwò l'a ma fi ki } * \text{ à à ki pèlù òwò} \]

"It's with respect that we shall greet him"  
"We shall greet him with respect"

(ii) Subclass (b)

\[ \text{fùn mi nì tòró} \]

"Give me threepence"

\[ \text{wòn à søn 'wò fùn mi} \]

"They will pay me"

Subclass (a) comprises (full list): the verb nì "in, on" with complement, fùn "give" with a nominal of time as complement, the fixed verb-nominal collocation a' ípò "fill place", and pèlù "with" when followed by a non-personal nominal.

Subclass (b) comprises (full list): the verb nì with complement, fùn with a non-temporal nominal as complement, pèlù followed by a non-personal nominal, the fixed verb-nominal collocation kàkà "rather than" and the verb jù "exceed" with complement, followed by the verb lò "go".

Ex.

\[ \text{wòn à jè l' òíò .ke.ìì} \]

"They will eat it on the following day"

\[ \text{ìyèn l' òndò .kon} \]

"That's in a way, i.e. that's one way of looking at it"

\[ \text{wòn à ti ̣ s' iṣe fùn .g̣bà dìè} \]

"They would have worked for some time"
"Instead of this, it is necessary that ...."

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

Fl.3 Rankshifted Clause as Adjunct

Rankshifted clauses at A are:

(a) The clause with the initiator tí.

In this clause, the preverb bá is obligatory unless another clause with the same initiator precedes it, or the predicator of the clause is jé pé "is that", or the verb after which the clause is an adjunct is one of the following: gbó "hear"; rí "see"; tó "to be enough"; pé "to be late"; se "do"; wà, bẹ, ni "is".

Ex.

(i) With preverb bá

inú ,mi á dún t' ó bá kúrò
"I shall be glad if it stops"

à á ma d' é.èsú tá a bá ti ò s' isé
"We will start a thrift fund as soon as we have started working"

(ii) Without preverb bá

(1) After another clause (See Cl (iv))

(2) With predicator

ágbájọ ọwọ l' a lè fi sọ 'ya // t' ó jé pé áá dün góñ
"It is only a collection of fists that can strike the chest with the result that it sounds well"

i.e. "United we stand"
(3) After verb

ō pë t'ôn ti ñ kiri
"It's a long time since they've been hawking wares"

ō tiē gē  tō o wā
You even did it that you come

"Thank you even for coming"

t'ôn bá gbó t' é.ìyón k'ón p' olówó n'kôn
"If they hear that somebody is hawking something"

äwọn ni a lè māa rí / tā a lè māa tì so pé
"It's them that we could be seeing and be saying that"

äwọn obinrin mìí wà t'àraa wón gbó 'nó
"There are other women who are jealous"

(b) The clause with the preverb kè.

Except in the case where the preverb tō or ba is in the
predicator of the clause, the fact that the clause is a
rankshifted clause at A is indicated solely by its
inclusion in one contour group with the preceding clause.

Ex.

òún ìfé ri k' ó.un tōó kú
"She wanted to see it before she died"

ō gbó òdó wà l' á.tílé / k' ó ba lè ma gún 'yón n' ńbí
"She brought a mortar from home so that she might pound
yams here"

ō yè k' ó lè māa y' ayò .yẹn
"It is necessary that she should have that merriment"

wòn fē k' ó s' ìfò
"They don't want it to be wasted"
"A man doesn't exist without a fault i.e. there isn't any man without a fault"

F2 The Adjunct: In Clause Structure

There are two secondary classes of the adjunct corresponding to the secondary elements $A_1$, $A_2$.

The initial adjunct ($A_1$) precedes the clause final element, and the final adjunct ($A_2$) may be preceded or followed by the clause final element in clause structure.

Exponents of the final adjunct are rankshifted clauses or items with rankshifted clauses as qualifiers.\(^1\)

Ex.
- bí mo tǐ ū wọ ó sí "as I see it"
- ìfí bí mo bá mọ "unless I know"
- t' ó bá kúrọ "if it stops"
- k' ó tó d' alé "before evening arrives"

Adverbs, and items without rankshifted clauses as qualifiers, are initial adjuncts.

Ex.
- pátápátá "completely"
- díé díé "gradually"
- ìf' ónjé ìårọ "except breakfast"
- l' ójú èmi "in my own view"
- fún ' .gbà díé "for some time"

---

\(^1\) Some rankshifted clauses with kí are initial adjuncts only.
F2.1 Structures with the Adjunct

Clause structures with the adjunct may be exemplified as follows:

- **SPA_{A1}**
  - kọ nị pọ púpọ bii t' oyinbó
  - "It won't be so much as the European's"

- **SPA_{A0}**
  - ó dún gọọ 1' ọjú ẹmi do
  - "In my view, it is very sweet"

- **SPA_{A2}**
  - wọn à tì s' isé diẹ fún 'gbà diẹ k' ó tóó di pé
  - "They would have worked for some time before .... "

- **SPA_{O2}**
  - emi ọ lè sọ ṣọ / torí mi ẹ tì ọr' i.dì ọ
  - "I can't say because I don't know the cause yet"

- **ZxSA_{1}**
  - èniyọn ni wọn bii ti wa
  - "They are people like us"

- **ZxSA_{2}**
  - wọn ma k' ówó r' èkọ ni t' ọdún bá dé
  - "The fact is that they are going to give their husbands money by festival time"

- **ZxSPA_{A1}**
  - kí l' ọ bẹrẹ aṣọ ẹbí .yí gọọ nọ
  - "How did this custom of buying family dress really start?"

F2.2 The Adjunct and the Complement

The adjunct may be contrasted with the complement in those cases in which the verb is an unmarked low tone verb.

Whereas the junction between the verb and the complement is a mid tone (D4.3), that between the verb (as predicator) and the adjunct is a low tone.
Ex.

(i) Verb + Complement

\[ mọ \text{ ilé} \text{ tọ} \] \hspace{1cm} "know how to run the family"
\[ ro \text{ isírọ̀rọ̀ wọ} \] \hspace{1cm} "consider the matter"

(ii) Verb + Adjunct

\[ mọ \text{ n'ípa t'oju} \text{ yen} \] \hspace{1cm} "Know about the food question"
\[ rọ̀ \text{ bì mo lè sé} \] \hspace{1cm} "think that I can do it"

When an item can be an adjective as well as an adverbial group, ambiguous clause structures may result. Examples of such items are: dáda "good, well"; dié "small, a little"; púpò "many, much".

Ex.

\[ wọn \text{ à ti s' iṣẹ́ dié} \] they will have done work little

(i) Clause structure SP with C iṣẹ́ dié

"They would have done some work"

(ii) Clause structure SPA with C iṣẹ́ "work"; A dié "a little".

"They would have worked a little"

The ambiguity may be resolved by substituting a pronoun complement for the nominal complement

i.e. SP wọn à ti sé "They would have done it"

SPA wọn à ti sẹ́ dié "They would have done it a little"

F2.3 The Adjunct in Discontinuous Verbal Group

Although the adjunct is shown in clause structure as preceded by the predicator, there are a few rare cases of the adjunct only partially preceded by the predicator. Such cases involve a discontinuous verbal group structure.
Ex.

b’ ó ti yọ gbúrù s’ ita (SPA)

"As soon as it bursts out"

ó tún yà ‘tò die sì t’ àwọn alá.durà (SPA)

"It is a little different too from that of the Apostolic sect"
The preceding chapters of Section 3 are entirely devoted to a display and exemplification of the different classes and structures in the Grammar of Yoruba, with all classes and structures getting roughly equal prominence. In fact, from the descriptive point of view, not all structures and classes are equally important. A very common structure or class deserves to be given more prominence than a very rare one. The section that follows is designed to put the various structures and classes into perspective by showing, through a frequency count, how common or rare they are. For the purpose of the counting, 600 sentences, 1,000 clauses, 1,275 verbal groups and 2,500 nominal groups are selected at random from the text.

G1 The Sentence

Figures for the sentence show that the simple sentence structure is far more common than the compound sentence structure (95.5% : 4.5%). Of the 573 simple sentence structures, 433 (or 75.6%) are one-element sentence structures. This means that one-element sentence structures account for 72.2% of all sentence structures. Sentence structures of more than one element are 140 in number or 24.4% of the simple sentence structures (the number of β's in these structures is indicated in the table below).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>433 (72.2%)</th>
<th>573 (95.5%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Structure</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>One β</td>
<td>113 (18.8%)</td>
<td>140 (23.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two β's</td>
<td>24 (4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than</td>
<td>3 (.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two β's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Two Sen.</td>
<td>25 (4.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than</td>
<td>2 (.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two Sen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**COMPOUND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>27 (4.5%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Sen.</td>
<td>27 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than</td>
<td>27 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two Sen.</td>
<td>600 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### G2 The Clause

The class distribution of the 1,000 clauses counted is as follows: Free Clause, 64.5%; Dependent Clause, 21.5%; and Rankshifted Clause, 14%.

#### G2.1 The Free Clause

A free clause has a very high probability of being affirmative. Of the 645 free clauses, 579 are affirmative, 55 interrogative, and only 11 imperative. The breakdown of free clauses into verbal and non-verbal shows that verbal free clauses are predominant. Only 50 (or roughly 6%) of the total number of free clauses are non-verbal.

---

1 The relative paucity of imperative clauses in the text is probably due to its contextual register.
G2.11  The Verbal Free Clause

Well over half of verbal free clauses (62.8%) are of basic structure. Of this percentage only .07% have a structure without a subject (i.e. P(A)); the rest are of a basic structure with a subject (i.e. SP(A)). (For a further breakdown of the exponents of S in these structures into overt exponents and zero exponents, See Table below).

Subsidiary clause structures are 222 in number, and 37.7% of the total number of verbal clauses. Of this number, structures with the emphatic element are the most numerous (156 or 70.3% of the total). Structures with the two other subsidiary elements (clause initiator and clause final element) number 30 and 47 respectively. Since a combination of the emphatic element with either of the last two elements is possible, the figures given immediately above are likely to exceed the total number of subsidiary clauses. In fact, they do by 11. This is the number of clauses with more than one subsidiary element of structure; and it shows that most subsidiary clauses (211 out of 222) have only one subsidiary element of structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure SP(A)</th>
<th>With Overt S</th>
<th>With Junction 296</th>
<th>Total 334 (56.83%)</th>
<th>Total 369 (62.73%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Zero S</td>
<td>35 (5.9%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Structure P(A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>With I</td>
<td>4 (.07%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>With x</td>
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<tr>
<td>With Predicator</td>
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<td>Without Predicator</td>
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<td>Weak Subclass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strong Subclass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidiary</td>
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<tr>
<td>With O</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>595 (100%)</td>
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</table>

(Less 11 structures with more than one element)
G2.2 The Dependent Clause

Unlike the free clause, most dependent clauses are non-verbal (80% of the total number of dependent clauses). These non-verbal clauses are generally of a basic structure (78.6% Basic; 1.4% Subsidiary), and those having a basic element S far outnumber those having a basic element A (50.3% and 29.7% respectively). The verbal dependent clauses are almost entirely those having a subsidiary structure with a clause initiator (41 out of 43).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Structure</th>
<th>2 (0.9%)</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only With Subsidiary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERBAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With I</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Total 43 (19.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With x</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With o</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Structure</th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure $S$</td>
<td>Concordial</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Concordial</td>
<td>Introductory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Structure $A$ | 62 (28.8%) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsidiary Structure</th>
<th>Concordial</th>
<th>Non-Concordial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Total 1 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Structure $Ao$ | 2 (1.9%) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>215 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G2.3 The Rankshifted Clause

Rankshifted clauses are all verbal clauses. Of the total number of 140 rankshifted clauses, 111 (or 79.2%) are of a subsidiary structure, all of them having the clause initiator ti. The remaining 29 clauses of a basic structure are almost entirely those having the preverb kî. Three of these clauses have a double exponent of the subject.

G3 The Verbal Group

The verbal groups counted are distributed in the four possible syntactic positions as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Group at P</th>
<th>( \times )</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G3.1 Verbal Group at P

This syntactic position is the primary one for the verbal group. As shown in the table above, the total number of verbal groups at P is 1,000.

G3.11 Frequency of Structures

Verbal group structures are classified into two: structures of only one element (i.e. f only) and structures of more than one element (i.e. f with other element(s)). The latter of these two types
of structures is predominant (87.4% of the total number of verbal groups). In the structures with more than one element, the figures show that the most common elements of structure found in combination with \( f \) are \( C \) and \( r \) with 570 and 502 occurrences respectively out of a possible 874. The total number of occurrences of all elements with \( f \) is 1339. Since there are only 874 structures of more than one element, the difference of 465 shows that 46.5% of verbal group structures having more than one element have at least three different elements of structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f only</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>126 (12.6%)</td>
<td>126 (12.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>With</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>138 (13.8%)</td>
<td>138 (13.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With r</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>With r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>502 (50.2%)</td>
<td>502 (50.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With b</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>With b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56 (5.6%)</td>
<td>56 (5.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With p</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>With p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73 (7.3%)</td>
<td>73 (7.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With C</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>With C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>570 (57%)</td>
<td>570 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>874</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>874 (87.4%)</td>
<td>874 (87.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,000 (100%)</td>
<td>1,000 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total number of occurrences of other elements with \( f \) ..... 1,339
Total number of structures having more than one element .... 874
Total number of structures having \( f \) with at least two
other elements .................................................... 465

G3.12 Density of Elements of Structure

The density of elements of structure per verbal group is obtained by counting the number of occurrences of the same element of structure and dividing the result by the number of structures having that element.
The figures obtained show that the density is roughly 1 in each case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Structures</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences of Element</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The density of the element \( b \) is a constant 1, since there cannot be more than one occurrence of it in one structure.)

G3.13 The Preverb

Subclasses of the preverb are distributed as follows:

- Restricted ..... 279
- Unrestricted ... 202
- Negator ........ 147

Total .... 628

G3.14 Verb-Nominal Collocation

Verb-nominal collocations are predominantly separable ones.
G3.15 **Distribution in Systems**

Verbal groups are distributed as follows in the following systems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINKAGE:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linked</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlinked</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPHASIS:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Emphatic</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLARITY:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**G4 The Nominal Group**

The distribution of the 2,500 nominal groups shows that nominal groups of compound structure are comparatively rare. Most of the simple structures are H only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMPLE</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H only</td>
<td>1542</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HQ</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2,500 (100%)
G4.1 H-only Structures

H-only structures are distributed in terms of exponence and syntactic positions as shown in the table below. The figures show that just over half of H-only structures (826 out of 1542) are pronouns which occupy only two syntactic positions (i.e. S and C). Most pronouns are found at S (670 at S, 156 at C). The corresponding figures for nouns (other than pronominals) show a striking contrast (134 at S, 376 at C). Whereas pronouns are predominantly S, nouns (other than pronominals) are predominantly C. Pronominals, like pronouns, are predominantly S (38 at S, 2 at C). The only class that can expound an H-only structure at A is the qualifier as H.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(53.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Other than pronominals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifier as H</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause rank-shifted as nominal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(55.8%)</td>
<td>(37.1%)</td>
<td>(6.9%)</td>
<td>(.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G4.2 **HQ Structures**

HQ structures may be examined from three points of view: Syntactic position, Distribution of secondary elements of structure, and Exponent of H.

G4.21 **Syntactic Position**

The syntactic positions occupied by the nominal groups of structure HQ are, with the exception of H and n, the same as those occupied by nominal groups of structure H. Almost half (43.5%) of the total number of nominal groups with qualifiers occur at C. The number of such nominal groups at S is just a little over half of the number at C (26%). A comparison of the distribution of nominal groups of either structure (i.e. H only and HQ) shows that nominal groups at A are almost entirely HQ. The largest number of H-only structures (55.8%) is found at S, whereas the largest number of HQ structures (43.5%) is found at C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>(43.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>(9.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>(15.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>932</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G4.22 Distribution of Secondary Elements of Structure

The most common secondary element of structure is the nominal qualifier which accounts for 553 out of a possible total of 932 structures with qualifier(s). These figures show that over half of all nominal groups with qualifiers have nominal qualifiers. The difference between the total number of occurrences of qualifiers and the total number of nominal groups with qualifiers gives the number of structures with more than one qualifier. This number (88) is surprisingly small.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankshifted</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deictic</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-deictic</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of occurrences of qualifiers: 1,024
Total number of nominal groups with qualifiers: 932
Total number of structures having more than one qualifier: 88

G4.221 The Nominal Qualifier

A breakdown of nominal qualifiers into marked and unmarked shows that all but a few of them are unmarked (538 unmarked; 15 marked). Nouns (other than pronominals) constitute the largest number of the unmarked ones, whereas pronouns constitute the largest number of the marked ones.
G4.222 The Rankshifted Qualifier

The rankshifted qualifier is expounded by a clause or a verbal group. Of the two classes, the clause is the predominant exponent (93.4%). In most of the structures having rankshifted clause qualifiers, there is only one clause. A division of the clauses into antecedental, non-antecedental and neutral shows most of them to be either of the first two (103, 106 and 10 respectively).
G4.23 Exponent of H

The exponent of H is, as may be expected, almost always a nominal. The figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL GROUP</th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>920</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G4.3 Compound Structures

Compound nominal group structures are mainly those having two nominal groups linked (88.5% of the total). The usual syntactic position is either S or C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two N's</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than two N's</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>26 (100%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(34.6%)</td>
<td>(34.6%)</td>
<td>(11.5%)</td>
<td>(19.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3H ANALYSIS OF SAMPLES FROM THE TEXT

SAMPLE A

(1) Text

(1) wọn i ń se ě pàápàá / torí pé(1a) t' ó dì dùbá ní ẹ̀ṣẹ́ they still do it even reason say if you not happen want rà // wọn á gbe wá bá ẹ̀ n' ilé // (2) ẹ̀mi ti ẹ̀ṣẹ́ buy they will take it come meet you in house I even l' ọ̀rẹ́ ,kọ́n t' ó jé pé (2a) wọn wá gbe ba n' have friend one who it is say they came take it meet her in ilé // (3) kọ́ fì fḗ rà // (4) wọn wá gbe ba house she not want buy they came take it meet her n' ilé ni pàápàá // (5) wọn dẹ̀ ba rón // (6) wọn in house is even they and help her sew it they dẹ̀ wá gbe ba n' ilé // (7) ọ̀ d ẹ̀ ní l' á tì and came take it meet her in house she and had in to són 'wọ́ ẹ̀ // (8) àwọn 'mí nọ̀ ọ́ ẹ̀ se bá ẹ̀ // (9) wọn ń pay money its they other too do like it they f' ńịtijú k' árùn // (10) wọn ń ń ma són with shame contract disease they will say be paying it ńi ẹ̀ṣẹ́ // ń gbe ní ọ́ (11) ọ́ ti á d' ọgbẹ́sẹ́ s' á wọn little little but it has become debt to them t' ó ń má: ạsọ ẹ̀bí l' ọgbe / ní torí pé: (11a) ní who he take dress family in neck for reason say by ọsí // tí n bá m' ạsọ ẹ̀bí // mo mọ pé (11b) gbogbo now if I happen take dress family I know say all yín .yín // ọrọ́ .mí ni yín // (12) mà ń gá ti : Ayọ you this friend my is you I will cut that of Ayọ
fun //má á ge : t' eyin fun //(14)má á ge
give him I will cut that of you give him I will cut
ti: sisii wa t' ó jò.kó .yí fun //(15)mo mọ
that of lady our who she sits this give her I know
wí pé : (16) à // mo ní / (16a)ọrẹ .mi //wọn à sọn
say say say yes! I say friend my they will pay
'wó fun mi // sugbón (17) ã 'gbà t' a ma : //
money give me but at time that we will
ðkú á ma dun // (18)gbogbo ê á ma dun //
funeral ceremony will be grand all it will be grand
(19)ò di pé (19a)kí n sọ pé / (19b)owó aṣọ
it becomes say should I say say money cloth
dà // (20) à // èmi i mà i tí i ní
where is? oh! I not emphatic still have still had
do // (21)bé ì kẹ // èrìn l' a fi : gba aṣọ
like it even laughter is we with got cloth
.yen do // (22)ọ lẹ jẹ pé (22a)ijá l' a ma fi pa
that it may be say fight is we will with end
'rí ë //
it

(Different speakers at Sentences 1 and 8)

(ii) Translation

Even now, it (i.e. buying family dress) is still done. Even
if you are not interested in buying, the dress will be brought
to you. There is even a friend of mine to whom it was brought.
Although she wasn't interested, the cloth was made into a dress
and sent to her. And, of course, she had to pay for it.

Others buy family dress in order to keep up with the
Joneses. They decide to pay by instalments. At present,
those who organise the buying of family dress run the risk of financial loss. Suppose I buy some cloth and cut a piece for Ayo, a piece for you and another for this lady sitting here, I might say that you are all friends of mine and that I could count on you to pay for the cloth. But when the grand ceremonies are over, I might ask you for money and you might tell me that you couldn't pay yet. This might result in a quarrel, in spite of our friendship.

(iii) Grammatical Analysis

In this analysis, a figure indicates the beginning of a new sentence, and a figure plus a letter indicates the beginning of a sentence rankshifted after the verbs pé, ni "say" within the sentence indicated by the figure. (For example, (1), (2), (3) are three successive sentences; (1a) is a sentence within (1); (2a) is a sentence within (2)).

(1) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.;
   P, vb. gp. str. rgfc (f y ṣe ẹ); C, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
first A, A₁ adv; second A, A₂ nom. gp. str. Hn;
n, cl. r/s as nominal str. fC (pé .... n' ìlé), C r/s sentence (1a).

(1a) Str. βα; β', dep. cl. str. ISC; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro.;
P, vb. gp. str. rff (δ .... rà), junction between fr. verbs. α', fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp.

1 Abbreviations used in this analysis are: str. (structure), cl. (clause), nom. gp. (nominal group), vb. gp. (verbal group), adv. (adverb), pro. (pronoun), pronom. (pronominal), r/s (rankshifted), fr. (free), dep. (dependent).

(2) Str. O; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pronom; P, vb. gp. str. rfC (tiè ... n'îlé); C, nom. gp. str. Hjk (ôré ... n'îlé); k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fffC; C, r/s sentence (2a).


(3) Str. O; fr. cl. str. SP; S, zero exponent; P, vb. gp. str. rff, junction between fr. verbs.

(4) Str. O; fr. cl. str. ZxSA; Z, r/s cl. str. [As for (2a)]; S, zero exponent; A, adv.


(9) Str. O; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. qbCfC; both C nom. gp. str. H. noun


(10) Str. O; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, r/s sentence (10a)
(10a) Str. α; fr. cl. str. PA; P, vb. gp. str. bfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, pro; A, adv.

(11) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfgCpCpC (ti ... l'órun); first and third C, nom. gp. str. H, noun; second C nom. gp. str. Hk; k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. ηC; C, nom. gp. str. H; A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn (torí .... ni yín); n, r/s cl. as nominal str. fC; C, r/s sentence (11a).

α, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fC; C, r/s sentence (11b).


(13) As for (12)

(14) As for (12), except first C, nom. gp. (marked) str. Hndk (sisí .... yí); k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fC; C, nom. gp. str. H. noun.

(15) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. fff.

(16) Str. βα; β, dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
     α, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb.
     gp. str. fC; C, r/s sentence (16a)

(16a) Str. βα; β, dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hn;
     α, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb.
     gp. str. rfCfC; first C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
     second C, nom. gp. str. H, pro.

(17) Str. βα; β, dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom.
     gp. str. Hk; k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H,
     pro; P, vb. gp. str. r (incomplete); α, fr. cl. str.
     SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, noun; P, vb. gp. str. rbf

(18) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. Hn; P,
     vb. gp. str. rbf.

(19) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;
     P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (19a).

(19a) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P,
      vb. gp. str. rffC; C, r/s sentence (19b).

(19b) Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. Hn; P,
      vb. gp. str. f.

(20) Str. βα; β, (As for 16);
     α, fr. cl. str. SPo; S, nom. gp. str. H, pronoun;
     P, vb. gp. str. rrrrrf.

(21) Str. βα; β, dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hnt;
     α, fr. cl. str. ZxSPo; Z, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
     S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. bfc; C, nom.
     gp. str. Hd.
(22) Str. \( \lambda \); fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rffC; C, r/s sentence (22a)

SAMPLE B

(i) Text

(1) ígba .mín n' i.sin // élómíín wà t' ó jé pé
time other by now another person there is who he is say
(1a) á á bẹ̀rẹ // (1b) á á máa kiri // (2) ígba
he will start he will be hawking wares time
t' ó bá l' ówó si // á á ra káftá
that he happen have money to it he will buy counter
kèkeré // (3) ígba t' ó bá tún l' ówó si //
small time that he happen again have money to it
á á lọ sí ọgbọ // (4) kí i tìèẹ̀ sẹ̀ toríí arúgbó
he will go open shop it not even is reason old person
ni // (5) mo rò pé (5a) àníí 'níkọ́n púpó ni //
it is I think say not having things many it is
(6) ọún l' ó ñ da gbọgbọ 'níkọ́n .yẹn s' ilè // (7) ni
it is it all things those to ground for
torí (7a) n' ílúú wà // wòń kí i : // (8) l' ápá
reason in town our they not not in area
Ekiti // wòń ã kiri rárá // (9) wòń ã
Ekiti they not hawk wares at all they not
sábaá kiri // (10) bá .wo n' ọ́n ẹ́ ń tā 'níkọ́n
usually hawk wares like which is they sell things?
(11) ọjá ni kẹẹ // (12) wón ní ọjá diẹ //
market it is even they have market little
(13) ẹn // n' ilèẹ̀ Yóòbá .mín // wòń ã sábaá
yes! in lands Yoruba other they not usually
kiri kẹẹ // (14) ọjá kèkeré / l' á.árọ / t'
hawk wares even market small in morning that
sometimes there may be someone who starts by hawking wares. when he has more money, he will buy a stall and when he has more money still, he will establish himself in a shop. it isn't even because of old people (that people hawker wares). i think it's all due to poverty.

O: Yes, because in my town in Ekiti area, people don't hawk wares at all. They don't usually hawk wares.

A: How do they sell things?

O: Of course, they go to the market. They have a small market..

N: Yes, in some parts of Yorubaland, people don't usually hawk wares.

O: A small market (in the morning) that they will go to. In the afternoon, there is another. They don't go to the market in the evening. There's no evening market.

(iii) Grammatical Analysis

(1) Str. βα ; β dep. cl. str. S, nom. gp. str. Hnk; k, r/s vb. gp. str.pC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;
(1a) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.

(1b) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.

(2) Str. $\beta \delta$; $\beta$, dep. cl. str. A, nom. gp. str. Hk; k, r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfCpC (bá ... si); first C, nom. gp. str. H, noun; second C, nom. gp. str. H, pro; $\alpha$, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rfC; C, nom. gp. str. Hj.

(3) Str. $\beta \alpha$; $\beta$, (As for (2)), except vb. gp. str. rrfCpC. $\alpha$, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rffC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.


(5) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. ffC; C, r/s sentence (5a).

(5a) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. ZxS; Z, nom. gp. str. H, noun involving nominalisation: $\text{âl} + \text{cl}$; S, zero exponent.

(6) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. H, pronom; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. $\eta fCpC (\text{â} ... s' ilê) \text{first C, nom. gp. str. Hnd; second C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.}$

(7) Str. $\alpha$; fr. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn; n, r/s sentence (7a).

(7a) Str. $\beta \alpha$; $\beta$, dep. cl. str. A, vb. gp. str. pC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn; $\alpha$, fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rrfC (incomplete)
(8) **Str. βα; β**, (As for 7a).  
α, fr. cl. str. SPA; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;  
P, vb. gp. str. rŋfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;  
A, adv.

(9) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;  
P, vb. gp. str. rŋfC; C, (As for (8))**

(10) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. H̃d;  
S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rŋfC  
(see ... Ḫk̄n); C, nom. gp. str. H, noun.**

(11) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. ZxSAo; Z, nom. gp. str. H, noun; S, zero exponent; A, adv.**

(12) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;  
P, vb. gp. str. fC; C, nom. gp. str. Hj.**

α; fr. cl. str. SPAo; S, P, (As for (9));  
A (As for 11).**

(14) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. SA; S, nom. gp. str. Hjk;  
k, (discontinuous) r/s cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rf; A, vb. gp. str. pC (l' á.Árg); C, nom. gp. str. H, noun**

(15) **Str. βα; β, dep. cl. str. ISP; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro; P, vb. gp. str. rřfC; C, nom. gp. str. H, noun;  
α fr. cl. str. SP; S, nom. gp. str. H, noun;  
P, vb. gp. str. f.**

(16) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. SPAo; S, nom. gp. str. H, pro;  
P, vb. gp. str. rŋfC; C, nom. gp. str. Hn.**

(17) **Str. α; fr. cl. str. ZxSP; Z, nom. gp. str. Hn;  
S, (As for (16)); P, vb. gp. str. ŋfC; C (As for (16)).**
4. APPENDICES
4. APPENDICES

4.1 Appendix I  Phonology and Grammar

Formal contrasts made at the grammatical level must be reflected at the phonological level. The latter level is therefore important to a complete understanding of the former. It is not intended in this brief section to give a detailed account of the phonological level. Instead, a sketch of the hierarchy of phonological units will be given, and correspondences between these units and grammatical structures will be illustrated.

4.11 Phonological Units

Three phonological units are established for Yoruba: The Contour Group, The Syllable and The Phoneme. These three form a hierarchy in which each unit consists of one or more of a member of the unit immediately next below - the contour group being the highest unit.

4.111 The Contour Group

A sequence of syllables delimited by two obligatory pauses is a contour group.  

Ex.

dọn ẹ́yẹ́n wa // ṣe gbẹ̀ ni wón
Our people they are farmers
"Our people are farmers"

ewédu // ilá // ẹ̀fọ́ // ìtì 'èkùn kùn
"ewedu, okra, vegetables and the like"

tí ń bá wọ̀ ọ̀ do // ŋ' i. Iú . mi // òpọ̀ọ̀ pọ̀
"If I consider it, I can say that most of the men in my town have more than one wife."

---

1 Contour groups are associated with certain grammatical structures (See 4.121)
Within the contour group, there is an optional system of "breaks". The sequence of syllables making up the contour group may be interrupted by a hesitatory break consisting of a pause with a lengthening of the final syllable or a facultative break consisting of a pause without a lengthening of the final syllable. Both these pauses are optional.

Ex.

(i) Hesitatory break

émi ọ rí : idí ę
"I don't see its cause"

áwọn t' ọ́́n ti : wá s' 1.lú òyínbé
"Those who've been in England"

áwọn : àlùfáá
"The priests"

nìkòn tí : áwọn òyínbé ú ñê
"What the Europeans do"

(ii) Facultative break

ọ́́rí pé / dún l' ọ́wó
"He saw that he had money"

obínrin .yèn á kà / t' ó́n bá ti sọ fun
"That woman would give the facts as soon as she had been told"

b' é.àyón bá sè sè / sì ọ́rẹ
"How a person behaves to a friend"

kò lè ju 'su lọ / torí pé wón fé 'ron iyón
"It can't be anything other than yams because they are fond of pounded yam"

áwọn ó kó / bí ìjòbá bá pè wón l' éjó
"They don't care if the government sues them"

A contour group (or rarely, a section within it delimited by a break) may occur on a normal or a high register. (Register differences are not indicated in the transcription).

2 The high register often coincides with emphasis, interruption, contradiction, or a question.
4.112 The Syllable

Each tone bearing segment is a syllable. The two possible structures of the syllable are CV and V (C and V being the consonantal and the vocalic elements respectively.).

There are two systems of tones for the syllable:

System I consists of the three tones: High, Mid, Low, which occur independently on any syllable (i.e. CV, V; CV, V; CV, V).  

Ex.

\( \ddot{o}k\ddot{o} \) (Mid; High) "hoe"
\( \ddot{o}ko \) (Mid; Mid) "husband"
\( \ddot{o}k\ddot{o} \) (Mid; Low) "boat"
\( \ddot{o}k\ddot{o} \) (Low; Low) "spear"

System II consists of a High or a Mid Tone occurring in combination with an assimilated low tone on the same syllable (i.e. \( \ddot{V} \); \( \dddot{V} \)). The system operates in contracted forms and in nominal group structures with elided consonant initial items.

In a contracted form (4.2), a low tone is assimilated to the high tone of the preceding syllable, whether or not the vowel on which the low tone occurs is elided. (See D4.41). This assimilated low tone is phonological because a high tone syllable contrasts phonologically

---

1 The syllabic nasal expounds a syllable of structure V

2 The so-called glides (Low-High, Low-Mid, Mid-High, Mid-Low, High-Low, High-Mid) recognised by many scholars (cf. Olmsted: (10) pp.247-248; Ward (16) pp.32-33; Rowlands (12) p.336; Abraham (1) pp.x-xiii) are treated in this system as separate tones occurring on two syllables. Cf. Siertsema (13) p.63. The actual pitch exponent of a tone may vary from structure to structure. For example, a high tone preceded by a low tone (e.g. òrë "friend") is realised phonetically as a rising glide.
with a syllable having a high tone with an assimilated low tone.

For example,

Uncontracted  Contracted
ri isè  r' isè (second syllable having high tone)
find work

* ri isè isè  r' isè (second syllable having a high tone with an assimilated low tone)
find poverty

(The phonetic realisation of a high tone preceded by a low tone cf. 4.112 note 2 is preserved even when the low tone has been assimilated to a high tone). 3

In certain close compounds in which the high tone has been replaced by a mid tone, the assimilated low tone continues to be phonologically significant.

Ex.

Ilaró  (i.e. ilú Áró)
Place name  town of Aro
ibe.ji  (i.e. ibí èjì)
twins  birth two

In a nominal group structure, the low tone surviving from the elision of the initial syllable of an elided consonant-initial item is assimilated to the preceding high or mid tone. (In the transcription, this assimilated low tone is indicated before the first syllable of the item).

Ex.

.yí "this", .yén "that", .kíni "first"

owó .yí  (second syllable having a high tone with an "this coin" assimilated low tone)

3 The assimilated low tone also occurs in the contraction of two single items: yóô — yó. "will" (cf. yó "to be filled with food") màâ — mà. "don't"
cf. ọwọ yì  (second syllable having a high tone) "the coin rolls"

ọmọ ŋẹn (second syllable having a mid tone with an assimilated low tone)

4.113 The Phoneme

The phonological item expounding the element C or V of the syllable is a phoneme. For example, in the CV syllable, kọ, the phonemes are /k/ and /ọ/.

4.12 Correspondences between Phonology and Grammar

The contour group and the syllable expound certain grammatical structures.

4.121 Grammatical Structures and the Contour Group

The following elements of grammatical structure are delimited by contour groups:

(a) Sen. in compound sentence structure.
   i.e. Sen // & Sen  (See A1)

(b) β, λ in sentence structure.
   i.e. β // λ

(c) More than one k (expounded by clauses) in nominal group structure
   i.e. Hk // k // k  (See E.10.12)

(d) N in compound nominal group structure of more than two nominal groups
   i.e. N // N // & N

   and of two nominal groups having the linker tābí  (See E.13)

(e) The subject in a clause having a double exponent of S  (See B3.111)
The adjunct is never separated from the rest of the clause by a contour group, except when it is expounded by the following items: (i) the clause having the verbs kí ... ba, (ii) the clause having the initiator ni or tì when rankshifted as an adjunct in a clause with the emphatic element, and (iii) the nominalisation beginning with ãfi. (See Fl)

Whether an item is covered by one or two contour groups is very crucial to grammatical structures. For example,

(i) kiní .yí // kí i š' ejo ọkùnrin
  "This thing, It isn’t the man’s fault"
kiní .yí kí i š' ejo ọkùnrin
  "This thing isn’t the man’s fault"

(ii) pé (àṣa wa // t’ ó bá da ...... )
  "that our custom, if it is good .... "
pé (àṣa wa t' ó bá da )
  "that our custom which is good, ...."

(iii) won fé // k' ó s' òfò
They don’t want it. It should be wasted.
won fé k' ó s 'òfò
  "They don’t want it to be wasted"

The hesitatory break usually coincides with a break in a grammatical structure of the modifier-modified type. It is found between a verbal element and a complement, a head and a qualifier, an initiator and a subject, a preverb and a free verb.

Ex.

(i) Verbal element and Complement

àwọn t' ón mọ : iléé tò
  know house
  "Those who know how to manage the house"

ó yà 'tò sì : ogbón inú èni
to wisdom
  "It is different from inherent wisdom"
(ii) Head and Qualifier

\[ \text{awon : alufáád} \]
"the priests"

(iii) Initiator and Subject

\[ tì : ikón bá wà n' ílè \]
\[ \text{If there is one in the house} \]
\[ ìọn tì : òwôn dýínbo ã se \]
\[ \text{which they} \]
\[ \text{The things that the Europeans do} \]

(iv) Preverb and Free verb

\[ wón á : gé kini \]
\[ \text{will cut} \]
\[ \text{They will cut whatever thing} \]
\[ t' ón tì : wá s' i.lú dýínbo \]
\[ \text{have come} \]
\[ \text{who have come to England} \]

The facultative break usually coincides with a break in a grammatical structure other than the type above. (See examples in 4.111 (ii)).

4.122 Grammatical Structures and the Syllable

Grammatical structures are expounded by:

(i) Change of Tone

(ii) Addition of Syllable (The syllable added has the same vowel as the preceding syllable.)

(i) Change of Tone

Grammatical structures marked by change of tone are those involving:

(a) SP junction (B3.111)

(b) Pronoun Subject preceding verbal particle (D3.1)

(c) Subclasses I and II verbs with pronoun complement (D4.4)
(d) Subclass II verb with low tone preceding nominal complement (D4.3).

(ii) Addition of Syllable

Grammatical structures marked by addition of syllable are those involving:

(a) SP junction (B3.111)

(b) Structure with clause final element (B3.32)

(c) Junction after verbal particle (D3.1)

(d) Junction after high tone, junction-contracting verb (D3.421)

(e) Junction between item and a consonant-initial nominal (E4.22)
4.2 **Appendix II : Contraction**

In Yoruba, when an item precedes another item beginning with a vowel, an elision of the final vowel of the preceding item or the initial vowel of the following item often takes place. The resulting combination is a contracted form.

There are two types of contractions:

(a) Double-Syllable Contraction;
(b) Single-Syllable Contraction.

4.21 **Double-Syllable Contraction**

A double-syllable contraction involves the elision of one of the two vowels in contact, and a replacement of it by the other vowel, i.e. $v_1 + v_2 \rightarrow v_1 + v_1$ or $v_2 + v_2$.

This type of contraction is typical of nominal + nominal, pronoun subject + preverb, a set of items + pronoun subject, and the verb *ku* "verb used in greetings" + nominal complement.¹

4.211 **Nominal + Nominal**

The contracted form, nominal + nominal involves an elision of the initial vowel [i] of the following item (Cf. E4.1).

Ex.

ará  ilú —→ aráá 'ilú
inhabitant town

¹ Cf. Rowlands (11), pp.378; 386-388.
4.212 Pronoun Subject + Preverb

All pronouns before the preverb ọ "negator", and the second person plural pronoun before the preverb ọ "will" have a double-syllable contraction involving an elision of the preverb.

(i) Negator

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. mi ọ-mi</td>
<td>a ọ-a ọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. o ọ</td>
<td>e ọ-e e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -</td>
<td>won ọ-won</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Preverb

e e (from e + á)

4.213 Set of Items + Pronoun Subject

Clause initiators (except ni); the linkers tábá, ãbí; the verbs pé, kí; and the nominal bi have their final vowels elided and replaced
by the initial vowel of the pronoun subject.¹

Ex.

pé ọ → pó ọ
djé ọ → djó ọ
tí a → tá a
kí o → kó o
bí ẹ → bé ẹ

Since the first person singular pronoun is consonant-initial, there is no contracted form with it. But the consonant [W] initial of the third person plural pronoun is elided, and contraction takes place as above.

Ex.

tí won → t' ọn
bí won → b' ọn

4.214 The Verb ku + Nominal

When followed by a nominal, the vowel of the verb ku is elided before all vowels except [i].

Ex.

ku abọ → ká abọ
"Welcome"
ku alé → ká alé
"Good evening"
kú ilé → kú ulé ¹
"Greeting by someone arriving back home"

¹ The third person pronoun after bí, kí and the first person plural pronoun after kí enter into a single syllable contraction (i.e. bí ọ → b' ọ; kí ó → k' ó and kí a → k' á).

4.214 Note 1. With ku + nominal, contraction rarely takes place before vowels other than [ai] or [ii] e.g. kú ọdún "Greeting on festival day"
4.22 Single-Syllable Contraction

A single-syllable contraction involves the elision of one of the two vowels in contact, without a replacement of it by the other vowel i.e.

\[ v_1 + v_2 \rightarrow v_1 \text{ or } v_2 \]

There are two types of single-syllable contractions: Simple and Complex.

4.22.1 Simple Single-Syllable Contraction

A simple single-syllable contraction involves a following item of only one syllable which has the same vowel as the final vowel of the preceding item. The rules for contraction are as follows:

- \( v v \rightarrow v \)
- \( v \hat{v} \rightarrow \hat{v} \)

Ex.

- \( ri \ i \rightarrow ri \) see it
- \( fun \rightarrow fun \) give him
- \( se \ \hat{e} \rightarrow \hat{s}e \) do it
- \( je \ \hat{e} \rightarrow \hat{j}e \) eat it

A double-syllable contraction may be further contracted into a single one.

Ex.

- \( ti \ a \rightarrow \hat{t}a \ a \rightarrow t' \ a \ "which \ we" \ldots \)
- \( \hat{s}e \ \hat{e} \rightarrow \hat{s}e \ \hat{e} \rightarrow \hat{s}' \ \hat{e} \ "did \ you \ \ldots\?" \)

1 The simple single-syllable contraction may also involve two syllables within the same item e.g. dáadáa → dada "well"; más → ma "continue to".
4.222 Complex Single-Syllable Contraction

A complex single-syllable contraction involves a following item of more than one syllable. This type of contraction is typical of a verb (or one of the set of items in 4.213) + a following nominal.

The difficulty of formulating phonological rules to account for which of two different vowels in contact is to be elided has long been recognised.¹ For example, a vowel in contact with another vowel may be differently contracted.

Ex.

\[(\varphi + a) \rightarrow f\varphi \rightarrow 's\varphi\]

wash clothes

\[f\varphi \rightarrow f' \varphi\]

wash pot

and two different vowels in contact with the same vowel may be contracted in the same way.

Ex.

\[
\begin{cases}
\{e\} + a \\
\{\varphi\} + a
\end{cases}
\]

\[gbé a\varphi \rightarrow gb' a\varphi\]

lift clothes

\[gbó ariwo \rightarrow gb' ariwo\]

hear noise

The diversity in the contraction of individual items may be illustrated by the following:

(a) the vowel of the same verb may be elided before one nominal and not before another.

Ex.

\[gbé inó \rightarrow gbé 'nó\]

lift fire

\[gbé odó \rightarrow gb' ódó\]

lift mortar

(b) the vowel of the same nominal may be elided when preceded by one verb, and not elided when preceded by another.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Ex.} & \\
\text{fo aṣọ} & \rightarrow \text{fo 'ọọ} \\
& \text{wash clothes} \\
\text{gbé aṣọ} & \rightarrow \text{gb' ăṣọ} \\
& \text{lift clothes}
\end{align*} \]

(c) The vowel of a verb may be elided or retained before the same nominal (or vice versa)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Ex.} & \\
\text{jẹ iyọn} & \rightarrow \{ \text{jẹ 'yọn} \\
& \text{eat pounded yam} \{ \text{j' iyọn} \}
\end{align*} \]

Examples such as these tend to discourage any further inquiry into this problem and to lead to one of two conclusions: that the elision of vowels is not governed by any rules at all, or that, if governed by rules, these rules are lexical and we have to know a particular verb and a particular nominal before we can know their contraction.

The first of these conclusions is false because, except for rare cases such as (c) above, the choice of the vowel to be elided in the case of a particular verb with a particular nominal is generally not free. It is fixed. An elision of the wrong vowel in such a case produces a different item. For example,

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{fo 'ọọ} & \text{ "wash clothes"} \\
\text{but f' aṣọ} & \text{ "pull clothes"}
\end{align*} \]

---

2 In some cases, the alternative contracted form is restricted to a nominal followed by a qualifier e.g.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{şe iṣẹ} & \rightarrow \text{s' iṣẹ} \\
\text{cf. şe iṣẹ olúkọ} & \rightarrow \text{s' iṣẹ olúkọ or şe 'ẹọ olúkọ} \\
& \text{do work teacher}
\end{align*} \]
The second conclusion is also defective as will be shown by the principles indicated below.

There have been attempts by two scholars to indicate some general principle(s) involved in the elision of vowels. The first is by Bowen who gives the formulation: "The stronger of any two concurring vowels is retained in preference to the weaker". According to him, vowel strength depends on whether the vowel is long or short, grave or acute, accented or unaccented, open or close. But since "these elements of strength and weakness may be variously distributed", and since the principle formulated by him may be "reversed to prevent ambiguity", it is impossible to know which of the two vowels in contact is to be elided. The second is by Rowlands who gives an arrangement of nominals and verbals "in an ascending scale according to the degree of survival of their vowels". As the author admits, the scope of this kind of analysis is severely limited.

In the sections that follow, an attempt will be made to suggest rules which are mainly phonological and partly grammatical to indicate which of the two vowels is to be elided.

As already mentioned in D6, a fixed verb-nominal collocation is always contracted. Therefore the two items of which it is composed are never found independently, and, for that reason, it is not necessary to account for which vowel is to be elided. The discussion which follows will therefore be confined to separable verb-nominal collocations.

The following principles govern the elision of vowels in complex single syllable contractions:

(i) The vowel /i/ whether of the verb or of the nominal is almost

3 Bowen (3) pp 6-7
4 Rowlands (11) pp.382-385
always elided.

Ex.

ri owó → r' ówó
see money
jí égba → j' égba
steal whip
ní ọmq → l' ọmq 5
have child
gbé inó → gbé 'nó
lift fire
gba iṣé → gba 'ṣé
take job
wo ilè → wo 'lè
look ground

Exceptions

ṣé iṣé → š' iṣé
do work
bí ọmq → bí 'mq
give birth to child
jẹ iyón → j' iyón or jẹ 'yón
eat pounded yam

(ii) The vowel [u] of the verb is almost always elided, except before the vowel [i] .

Ex.

(a) Before [i]
wú inú → wú 'nú
swell stomach
ju iṣu → ju 'ṣu
exceed yam

5 Before vowels other than [i] , [l] replaces [u] .
(b) Before other vowels

du oyè → d' oyè
scramble over title

bu omi → b' omi
take water

bu epo → b' epo
take oil

Exception

bu qôbè → bu 'bè
take soup

(iii) The initial low tone vowel of a nominal (other than [i]) is usually retained.  

Ex.

še âjé → š' âjé
do witch
dé òyó → d' ò.yó
reach place name
wá ṧòñò → w' ṧ.nò
find way
kó êkó → k' ê.kó
learn lesson
ra èrò → r' èrò
buy 'corn'-mill
da èšè → d' è.shè
sin

(iv) The initial vowel of a nominal whose first two syllables are vowels of the same quality is usually retained.

Ex.

jë dótò → j' b.ótò
be truth

A few nominals such as ṣòñò, ëòyôn, ëkôn and vowel initial numerals e.g. èke.jì, èke.ta, have their initial low tone vowels elided.

Ex. la ṣòñò → là 'nò ; nò ëòyôn → nò ëòyôn; fë èke.jì → fë 'ke.jì
open way beat person want a second
gba odgün → gb' odgün
take medicine
kó eegun → k' eegun
collect bone

(v) In the case of the other vowels, it is more useful to determine the elision of the vowel from the verb rather than from the nominal, because nominals beginning with different vowels show much less variation than verbs ending in different vowels.

Ex.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gba} & \quad \text{ewé} \\
\text{take} & \quad \text{leaf} \\
\text{Ø} & \quad \text{eja} \\
\text{fish} & \quad \text{owó} \\
\text{money} & \quad \text{omó} \\
\text{child} & \quad \text{ewé} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Cf. gba (ebé)

\[
\begin{align*}
té & \quad \text{ewé} \\
\text{spread} & \quad \text{te} \quad \text{'wé} \\
wó & \quad \text{leaf} \\
\text{shed} & \quad \text{wó} \quad \text{'wé} \\
kó & \quad \text{k'} \quad \text{éwé} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The following additional principles apply to vowels of the verb not covered by principles (i) - (iv) above.

(a) The nasal vowel of the verb is usually elided and nasalisation is transferred to the initial vowel of the nominal\(^7\) with the following exceptions:

(1) The nasal vowel [ə] of the verb is usually retained before the initial vowel [o] of the nominal. Before other vowels, this nasal may or may not be elided.

\(^7\) Cf. Rowlands (11) p.384
(2) Nasalisation is dropped when the elided nasal vowel [u] occurs after verbs beginning with [f] or [m].

Ex.

Nasal vowel elided

With nasalisation transferred

din eja → dén 'ja
fry fish
rón ápó → rán '.pó
sew bag

With nasalisation dropped

fún oko → f' óko
give husband
má aṣq → m' ǎṣq
take dress

Nasal vowel not elided

son owó → són 'wó
pay money
gbón epo → gbón 'po
scoop oil

(b) The vowel [a] of the verb having a high tone is usually retained, except when preceded by [b] or [w].

Ex.

gbá epo → gbá 'po
fry oil
dá owó → dá 'wó
contribute money
fá qbë → fá 'bë
scrape soup
já 'ewé —> já 'wé
pluck leaf

yá 'ówó —> yá 'wó
be hand
quick of

Preceded by [b] or [w] :

bá 'éron —> b' éron
with domestic animal

wá 'ówó —> w' ówó
seek money

(c) A subclass II verb with a low tone is often differently contracted from a subclass II verb with a mid tone (For subclasses I and II verbs see D4.4).

Ex.

tá )
sell )
ta epo —> (sell
ta )
sell oil (tá 'po
spill )
spill

ra )
buy )
ra 'ówó —> (buy
ra )
or rub (ra 'wó
rub

(d) In cases other than (a) – (c) above, the vowel of the verb is usually elided.

Ex.

fẹ 'ọkènrin —> f' ọkènrin
marry man

kó 'èbí —> k' ètí
collect family
gbọ  ariwo  →  gb'  ariwo
hear  noise

gbé  ọlọ  →  gb'  ọlọ
lift  grinding  stone

gba  owọ  →  gb'  owọ
take  money

A casual study of the examples of contracted forms given in this section (i.e. 4.222) is enough to show that complex single-syllable contractions are liable to be ambiguous. For example, K' ọmọ is a contraction of the nominal ọmọ  "child" and three different verbs: kọ  "teach", kọ  "collect", and kí  "greet".

In practice, ambiguities tend to be avoided by leaving structures uncontracted (e.g. f' ọkun  "with rope", as opposed to fi ọkun  "swing the rope"), by departing from expected contractions (e.g. bọ asọ  →  bọ 'aso  "remove clothes" and not b' asọ  which is the only possible contraction of bá asọ  "with clothes"), and by a preference for the structure fCpC as opposed to fC in the case of the postverb ní (See D3.5, note 1) (e.g. dàmí  l' ẹsẹ  as opposed to a' ẹsẹ  mí  tie me in foot  tie foot  my  "tie my foot").
4.3 Appendix III Reduplication

When the morphemic structure of a word comprises two or more items which are themselves words (or groups), this word is said to be a reduplicated word.

There are two types of reduplication:

Item + Item; Item + Infix + Item

4.31 Item + Item

There are two types of "item + item" reduplication: vowel-initial and consonant-initial.

4.311 Vowel-Initial

Vowel-initial "item + item" reduplication is restricted to nouns of time and number, a few other nouns and numerals (from twenty upwards) which are multiples of ten.

In this reduplication, the final tone of the first noun is replaced by the initial tone of the second noun, and if the final vowel is different from the initial vowel, one of them replaces the other.

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>cf.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọdọdún</td>
<td>ọdùn</td>
<td>&quot;every year&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọsọsẹ</td>
<td>ọsẹ</td>
<td>&quot;every week&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alaalẹ</td>
<td>alẹ</td>
<td>&quot;every evening&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oṣoosù</td>
<td>oṣù</td>
<td>&quot;every month&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are two types of consonant-initial "item + item" reduplication:

(i) Without tonal variation;  (ii) With tonal variation.

(i) Without tonal variation: Reduplication of consonant-initial items without tonal variation involves the following:

(a) Adjective + Adjective (cf. E6)

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 1</th>
<th>Item 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burúkú</td>
<td>burúkú</td>
<td>&quot;bad&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>álá</td>
<td>álá</td>
<td>&quot;big&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púpú</td>
<td>púpú</td>
<td>&quot;many&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pélè bè pélè bè</td>
<td>&quot;flat&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Numeral + Numeral

Ex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mé.ta</td>
<td>&quot;three each&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé rin</td>
<td>&quot;four each&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé wá</td>
<td>&quot;Ten each&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mé.jilá mé.jilá  "twelve each"
twelve

(c) Adverb + Adverb

Ex.
kiá kiá  "quickly"
quickly
wéré wéré  "quickly"
quickly
pátá pátá  "completely"
completely
dié dé  "little by little"
a little

(d) Verbal Group + Verbal Group

Ex.
jédíjédí  cf. jé 'dí  
"piles"  eat anus
woléwo  cf. wo 'lé  
"sanitary inspector"  examine house
pánópanó  cf. pa 'nó  
"fireman"  extinguish fire

(ii) With Tonal Variation: Reduplication of consonant-initial items with tonal variation involves the following:

(a) Adjective + Adjective

(With the tones: low and mid respectively)

Ex.
róótò róótò  "very fat"
fat
gbandu gbandu "very big"
big
lantilanti "very big"
big

(b) Adverb + Adverb
(With the tones: high, mid; and low, mid respectively. The meaning of the reduplicated word is always pejorative).
Ex.
wuru wuru "rough"
jati jati "useless"
were were "crazy"

(c) Adverb + Adverb + Adverb
(With the tones: high, low, high respectively)
Ex.
wuru wuru wuru\{ Meaning depends on verb with which item collocates.\}
wuye wuye wuye\{\}
reuru reuru\{\}

4.32 Item + Infix + Item
The infix ki is inserted between two nominals (cf. E5.11(c)).
Ex.
ɲọnkonkiɲọn cf. ɲọnkon
"anything" "something"
ɛnikëni cf. ɛni
"any person" "person"
ọjọkojo cf. ọjọ
"any day" "day"
iwakì.wà cf. ìwà
"any behaviour" "behaviour"
i.e. "bad manners"

\(^1\) cf. Abraham (l), p.xii
4.4 Appendix IV  Sample from the Text

A: t' é.żyón bá tię gb' iyọnju 1' á.ti rón 'tí gbọbo : n'kọn
If one even tries to remember all the things
that he used to do when he was a child I
ma ñ rón 'tí b' 1.gbá t' a ma ñ lọ s' óko //
usually remember such times when we used to go to the farm.
mâmá .mi á so fun mi pé : má.á bá wọn lọ s'
My mother would tell me "Don't go with them to
óko ṣkété do //
the farm to hunt the giant rat".

T: kí ní dé //
Why not?

A: s' é m' ṣkété //
Do you know the giant rat?

T: hôd // ãada //
Yes! Very well!

A: n' 1.gbá t' a wà n' ílé .yẹn // t' ọn bá
At that time when we were at home, whenever people
ti lọ s' óko // òwọn éni t' ó ma m' ájá dá ní
went to the farm, those who would hold the dog
ti m' ájá dá ní // wọn ma fí: ihọ
would have held the dog; they would blow hot air into
ṣkété // pu pà pu //
the giant rat's hole (sound of blowing
the air)
T: s' e ma ți ri pa dáadáa //
Did you usually find several to kill?

A: ți ă ă ți ri paă // t' ŏ bă ti yo //
Yes, we usually did. As soon as it jumps out
wön ti ní kì ñ má. bá won lọ // sùgbón má ā
they've said that I shouldn't go with them; but I would
ní dọnójọn má ā bá won lọ // t' ŏ bă
say that certainly I would go with them. When everything is
ti yá // wön ā ní k' énlọṣọ lọ důrọ 'bẹ ,yèn //
ready they would ask one person to go and stand there.
ìyèn ā důrọ t' ihò // ā ā ma fin //
That one would stand near the hole. He would be blowing air into it.
ā ā ma fin // ā ā ma fin //
He would be blowing air into it. He would be blowing air into it.
. gbà t' ŏ bá yá l' énlọṣọ nọọ // ā ā kòn yọ
After some time, suddenly it would just rush out
gbůrù // b' ŏ ti yọ gbůrù s' ita //
(noise of As soon as it rushed out (noise) to the surface,
rushing out)
wön ā . ní / ŏ yọ ṃọ // ŏ yọ ṃọ // gbogbo olúkúlúkú
they would say, "It's out! It's out!" Everybody
ā bẹrẹsíi má 'rẹ k' ájá mu // igbà .mìn //
would start to run so that the dog might catch it. Sometimes,
ajá ā mu // igbà .mìn // ajá ọ ní lè
the dog would catch it. Sometimes, the dog would not be able
mu // pàápaá irú 'nkọn .mìn gbogbo t' è.yèn
to catch it. Especially such other things that one
ma ń́se bẹ' .yèn n' 1. gbà t' ő wa ní kẹkeré //
used to do like that when one was a child!
T: ó dún gōn l' ójú ēmi ṣo / tori pé
From my own point of view, it was very interesting; For if I
kí ni // ēmi ma ń rón 'tí ìgbà t' a ma ń:
may say so, I usually remember the time when we used to
fi: ọkáté j' iyón l' óko bá' yẹn //
eat the giant rat with pounded yam on the farm in that way.
ó ma ń dún ụgbọ t' ilé lọọ
It is usually sweeter than something cooked in the house.

N: mo rọ pé t' oko yẹn gōn l' ó fẹrẹ
I think that that of the farm really is the one that is almost
dún jú sweeter.

A: ẹyẹ ṣe // ụjọ ẹyìn ọpọ s' òko rí /
Life on the farm! Have you gone to the farm before,
k' ọn se 'ọkọn l' óko / ẹ̀ẹ́ jẹ́ jẹ́ l' óko //
while something is cooked on the farm which you eat there?

N: à // iyón okó ma ń dún //
Yes, the pounded yam prepared on the farm is usually sweet.

T: àwọn aya ìgbè nọdọ ma ń je diẹ diẹ diẹ n' ìnù è //
The farmers' wives too eat bits of it.

A: ìbíìm //
Yes.

N: ọjújẹ okó dẹ́ ma ń dún ju
And the food prepared on the farm is usually sweeter than that
t' ilé //
prepared in the house.
A: en // ó n' i.dí //
Yes. There's a reason for that.

N: bẹ́ ẹ̀ kọ́ // oun t' a fi ẹ̀ sè è n' ílé //
Even though the things we use in cooking it in the house,
éló // oun éló t' a fi ẹ̀ sè è
the ingredients, the ingredients that we use in cooking it
n' ílé // ó jú t' okó lọ //
in the house, they are more than those used on the farm;
sùgbón óńjẹ̀ okó ma ń dún // mo rò pé /
but the food prepared on the farm is usually sweet. I think that
ń' torí pé gbogbo wá ma ń .... // à á jọ pé jọ
because all of us usually ... We will be assembled
pọ // à á jọ jẹ́ kọ́ jẹ́ //
together. We will sit together to eat it.

A: en // kí i Şè 'yèn níkọ̀ // kí i Şè 'yèn níkọ̀ //
I agree. It isn't that along. It isn't that alone.

T: ş'े mọ́ wí pé t' é.Şòyón bá wà l' óko //
You know (don't you) that if one is on the farm,
á á ti ş' iṣé l' ẹ̀.tšáá.şè // ara Şè á
he would have worked from the morning. His body would have
ti jà k' ó tó d' alé // ebí á ti pá
become weary before evening. He would have become very
gön // okọ́ n'ọ̀ gön á ti wà l' ọ́nọ̀ wí pé /
hungry. His mind too would have been occupied with thoughts that
b' ọ́yòn .şèn bá ti: şe tón do.... //
as soon as the pounded yam is ready, ....
N: won ay ak imo 'le konron //
They would quickly eat it up in no time.

T: bi s' kele ameji pere l' oluwa qe bu //
If it's only two mouthfuls that the person can get,
\( \text{a} \ \text{a} \ \text{dun} \ \text{gon} \ //
\) it will be very sweet.

N: doto ni sa / tori pe // ojiye t' enyon ma n je
That's quite true, because it's the food that one eats
l' oko // dun l' o ma n ma ni lo there
on the farm. It's that that makes me go there.

T: ati paapaa // mo tun r' wi pe awon 'onkon .miini
Furthermore, I also think that other considerations
\( \text{tun wa n' be} // \) s' e m\( \) wi pe awon eron bii \( \text{okete} // \) are involved. You know (don't you?) that such game as giant rat,
tabi aparcd // tabi: qulu.lu // tabi yaa // tabi
or bush fowl, or the cuckoo, or the cane rat, or
bi ori.siri.si eron wonyen // won dun ju eron t'
such other game as these, they are sweeter than meat
il elo // mo r' wi pe won dun ju
from domesticated animals. I think that they are sweeter than
nomelo // ati paapaa // igb\( a \) miin // a ma n lo: awon elo
beef. Furthermore, sometimes we use other ingred-
\( \text{miin} \ bii \ egboyin // \)
ients such as raw palm-oil.

A: kini e // eyin ope yen //
Its whatnot. The oil-palm fruit.

T: en // be e ni
Yes. So it is.
A: won á gbo ó dada //
They will crush it well.

T: ó férgé dùn ju épo gōn lọ //
It's almost sweeter than palm-oil itself.

A: ẹn: do // kí l’ a ti ma ọpẹ ‘yẹn ní: ëdọ
Yes. What is it that we call that in our
wa do // mo ti gbàgbé ’ækọn t’ ọn ọ pẹ è //
place? I have forgotten what they call it.
t’ ọn ma ñe l’ ọjọ ẹkọọ // t’ ọn ma bo
That stuff that they make on the same day for which they crush
çeyin // t’ ọn ma fi ñe : épo l’ èsèké sè //
the oil-palm fruit and use it to make oil instantly —
ti ọ jè ẹyín t’ ọn ñe ní kìnì //
which is not the type that is made in whatnot.

T: mo rò pè. ‘yẹn gōn l’ ọ ọ má k’ ọ dùn gōn //
I think that that exactly is what makes it very sweet.

A: ẹkọn .mín tí n ma tun á rón ’tí n’pa : igba t’
Another thing that I also usually remember about the time that
é.ìyọn wà ni kékeré ni : k’ é.ìyọn máa : ọ’ eré èsùpá //
one is a child is playing games by moonlight.
kí l’ ëyín ma ñe l’ érè èsùpá l’ Òkíti //
What do you usually do by moonlight in Òkíti?

T: òmọdè ò ma ñ ọ’ eré èsùpá mo do //
Children don't really play by moonlight any more.
ọ yà mí l’ énu //
I am surprised.

A: l’ ìyé ìsin // wọni ì ñe má //
At the present time, don't they do it any more?
T: mǐn ró b' ọn á ṣé mọ gōn //
   Really, I don't think that they do it any more.
A: á // ì mà burú ṣọ //
   What a pity! It is really very bad!
T: bóyá // ọ kú sì : àwọn ilú káxéké sá ṣọ //
   Perhaps it's still done in some small villages even so.
   mǐn lè sọ //
   I can't say
N: wōn ń ṣé tó bẹ ẹ mọ n' isìn //
   They no longer do it so much these days.
O: wōn ṣé mọ n' isìn //
   Don't they do it these days?
A: kí l' eyin ma ń se l' éré ìṣùpá m' i. gbà t' é wà ni kéké //
   What did you usually do by moonlight when you were children?
N: en // ṣé 'ǹkọ́n t' ọ́n ṣé ń s' éré ìṣùpá
   Now, isn't the reason why they played games by moonlight
l' ayé ńtijó ni .... // mo ro wé pé ńt' torí
   in the past, the fact that ....? I think because
   ó jẹ ńko n' ọ́n ń lọ // t' ọ́n bá wá dé l'
   it was the farm that they went to. Whenever they came back in
   álẹ ... // sugbón /l' ẹ́hin : .gbà t' ó jẹ pé
   the evening ... but since the time that
wōn ń lọ́ 'léè 'wé // élómíń // ó wà n' ibí tábílì è /
   they go to school one he is by his table
   t' ó rọ 'ra ń kọ 'ǹkọ́n tí olùkó ní k' ó
   and he is quietly studying the things that the teacher asked him
kọ wá // mo rọ pé. 'yẹn ni ọ jẹ k' ọ́n ma ẹ̀̀ẹ́: to study. I think that that is what stops them from playing
eré ọṣùpá mọ // mo rọ wí pé/ àwọn ọmọ games by moonlight any more. I think that the present
isíí ọ̀n / owó owó tiẹ̀ ni wọ́n
generation of children, it's money and only money that they are
mọ // wọ́n ọ́ mọ wí pé àrẹ̀ s' eré:.....//
interested in. They don't know about playing ..... sinnimá ọ́ ṣà ọ lọ́ ọ́ wó //
It's the pictures that they go to.

A: iyẹn n' 1.lú ńlá do //
That's only in a big town, of course.

N: ṣùgbón eré ọṣùpá dún sá do //
But playing games by moonlight is interesting.

A: s' ẹ́ni t' ọ wà n' 1.lú ńlá n' iyẹn //
That's for someone who is in a big town, isn't it?
ibi mé.ló ni // sinnimá wà n' 1.lú mi //
How many places? Are there picture houses in my town?

T: ẹ́ni bá wà n' 1.lú kékèrè ńkò //
What about a person in a small village?

N: èn // ń torí pé / n' i.gbà t' a wà l' Ẹ.kó n' i.gbà
Yes; because when we were in Lagos when
t' é.mí i kéré l' Ẹ.kó // à á kó 'raa wá jọ
I was still a child in Lagos, we would gather together
l' álẹ // à á máá ẹ̀̀ẹ́̀ ẹ́rẹ̀ ọṣùpá //
in the evening. We would be playing by moonlight.
T: bọyá // ighá .yẹn // inó ímọnômọnọ ọ tị i pọ // Perhaps at that time, there was little electricity.

N: ọ pọọ
There was plenty

T: s'ẹ dè mọ wí pé / inó ímọnômọnọ .yẹn // And you know (don't you?) that electricity
ọ tì gba ọṣupá gọn l' ọwọ àwọn ará Èkó bà.yí n' i.sin // ìt has now deprived those who live in Lagos of moonlight.

N: bẹ ẹ̀ ni //
That's so.

A: kí l' ṣyín ma ọ ẹ́ sẹ ní: ere ní: ọlú yín // What do you usually do by way of games in your town?
  kí l' e ma ọ ẹ́ sẹ //ẹ ẹ́ ẹ́ sẹ bojúbojú // What do you usually do? Do you play 'hide and seek'?

O: en // wọn ma ọ k' qrin l' È.kiti gọn ni // Yes. They usually sing in Ekiti, really.
  ẹ ọ ẹ́ sẹ bojúbojú // a màa ọ k' qrin // We play 'hide and seek'. We sing.
  a màa ọ pa: ọlọ We tell riddles.

A: orin // l' ọṣupá //
Songs? By moonlight?
Yes. They tell riddles (Song) "What has grey hairs?"

They will join hands. They will be singing whatnot. Songs.

They will be playing all the types of games that are played in places like Ijebu, Egbja, and all other places.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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(B) Other Languages
(C) General

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