A SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC STUDY OF NOMINALIZATION IN YORÙBÁ

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ABSTRACT

Our aim in undertaking the present study is to discover and present the semantic and syntactic rules or conventions that determine the meanings of nominalizations in Yoruba. There has been a relatively accurate outline of grammatical structure of the Yoruba language in about half a dozen or so more or less traditional individual descriptions of the language. Some scholars have also worked on specific aspects of its grammatical structures; what has never been attempted is the study of nominalizations on a full scale.

The present study evaluates the contributions of earlier writers in very general terms in the first chapter, the rest of the chapter is devoted to the verb system and the definition of nominalization as it appears in this study. Chapter II gives the theoretical orientation of the thesis. It overviews the present position in transformational grammar, and we have to choose either the 'Extended Standard Theory' of Chomsky, Katz, Doughert, Jackendoff etc.; or the Basic Theory of Lakoff, Ross, McCawley, Bach, Postal etc. as our syntactic model. Considering the nature of Yoruba structures, we choose the Basic Theory. The problem of choice rests mainly on one basic question; whether the relationships between pairs of Yoruba Structural types could be correctly stated if only the purely syntactic deep structure of the 'Established Standard Theory' were available. In work in the tradition of the 'Basic Theory' the usual argument is that there is no autonomous level P_1 of syntactic deep structure

where all lexical insertion must take place in a block. The 'EST' on the other hand, maintains that all the lexical insertion takes place in the deep structure and furthermore, it is syntactically based in that it asserts that 'the sound - meaning relation P.S. is determined by ' Σ ' (i.e. syntax). The rest of Chapter II asserts that greater generality in description is achieved and the duplication of rule representation is forestalled if we break the main condition on P_1 that is, the level where all transformations have applied and from which all true syntactic transformations start to operate.

Chapter III describes the infinitives and related nominalizations i.e. Purposive and Non-Purposive. It goes on to describe the Gerundive Structures. Chapter IV examines the relative clause constructions and the bearing they have on nominalization and other related structures in Yoruba. It proves that it is a conjunction hypothesis that is appropriate for the formation of the relative clause.

Chapter V deals with factive/non-factive, emotive/ non-emotive nominalizations and some nominal pieces identified as ideophones by some Yoruba grammarians. The point on the achievement of economy of description is made for derived nominals and most proper noun derivations in chapters VI and VII where the classifiers in relation to Yoruba proper nouns and nominal compounds are treated respectively.

We have applied some transformational rules which are not numbered, because the rules in chapter II are formulated to justify the choice of our grammatical model. We

number the rules which are applicable to the underlying representation of nominalization in Yoruba and which, we hope, can apply to any natural language with or without modifications.

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CHAPTER I

1.0.0 INTRODUCTION.

The Yorùbá language has been described as a dialect continuum.[1] It is the major language of Ọyọ́, Ògùn, Oǹdó, Kwárà, Lagos (and part of Bendel) States of Nigeria. It is also spoken in the neighbouring country, Dahomey. Variants of Yorùbá are also used as religious languages in Sierra Leone, Brazil and Cuba. It is a member of/ Kwa family of languages and its speakers number / the several millions.

It has as many dialects as there are districts in all the states mentioned above, principal among the dialects are Ọyọ́, Ẹ̀gbá, Ìjẹ̀bú, Èkìtì, Oǹdó and Àkókó-Ẹ̀dó; each of which has distinct characteristic features of its own. Delanọ (1958: XII-XIV) makes a brief comparison of the major dialects of Yorùbá. The type of Yorùbá studied here is known as Standard Yorùbá, it does not belong to any particular place, but it can be correctly labelled as the Ọyọ́ dialect if the provincialisms of Ọyọ́ have been removed from it. It is the type studied in schools, used by news-casters and by an educated Yoruba to address other people whose dialects are different from his. Since it is in most cases not the first learned by a speaker, it is invariably tinged with localisms from the speaker's district of birth; for this reason the standard Yoruba has many idiolectal variants. Disagreements among Yoruba scholars,

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[1] Bamgboṣe, A. (1966: 2 Fn.)

particularly concerning syntax and semantics, have often resulted from such differences.

1.0.1 The Yoruba People and the Language

It is simply impossible for a Yoruba to discuss the most ordinary subject to any depth without recourse to the use of illustrative metaphors, proverbs, aphorisms, and almost poetic expressions. Dennett (1910) who knew this aspect of the Yoruba people was wonderstruck that man, governed more or less by his senses and environment, should have instinctively built up trains of thought and ways of expressing them that have led native philosophers to divide their mythology into certain well-defined categories. Writing three years later, Frobenius confirms the same point when he describes 'the Yoruba' as a people so vivacious and alert, so skilful in the management of life that they may very well be called the nation of practical philosophers of dusky Africa, people who are ready with apt illustration of whatever may be under discussion. As a result of these characteristics of Yoruba, being an agglutinative language, compound words are numerous. Substantives are formed by a regular system of prefixes. This is a prominent feature in the language and it renders it susceptible of increase to an indefinite extent. For example, notice the different derivations from the verb;

	mọ̀	(to know)
1.	mọ̀	(to know)
2.	mímọ̀	(knowing)
3.	ìmọ̀	(knowledge)
4.	Àìmọ̀	(without knowing)

5. Aláìmọ̀ (the state of having no knowledge)
6. Aláìmọ̀kan (one who knows nothing)
7. Àtimọ̀ (the problem of knowing).

1.0.2 Early Grammatical Studies.

In 1817, Bowdich, who was the English Diplomatic agent in Ashanti, collected some Yoruba words and got them printed in 1819. From then on the missionaries stationed at Sierra Leone took up the challenge. Their activities got crowned by Crowther's publication in 1852 of his Yorùbá Grammar. Before Bamgbọṣe's A Yorùbá Grammar, the offspring of his Doctoral Thesis submitted to Edinburgh University, there were quite a few grammatical descriptions of Yoruba. Many of them are short grammars mainly intended as companion pieces to major works in other fields or adjuncts to dictionaries. Examples are, Johnson's Grammar attached prefactorily to his History of the Yorùbá; Abraham's and Delanọ's grammars are prefaces to their dictionaries. Others which are mainly for teaching Yoruba are Rowlands: Teach Yourself Yorùbá, Ward: Introduction to the Yorùbá Language and Beecroft and de Gaye's Grammar and composition. Though traditional in approach, all these grammars together provide us with a valuable outline of the grammatical structure of the Yoruba language.

However, the general traits of these traditional grammars are that Latin grammar and terminology are transported via English grammar to the Yorùbá language. This wholesale transportation proves inadequate for the structures of both English and Yorùbá. Besides, traditional

grammars only make an essential appeal to the intelligence of the reader, they do not actually formulate the rules of the grammar, but rather give examples and hints that enable the intelligent reader to determine the grammar, in some way that is not at all understood. However, inadequate as their system may be, the studies of early Yorùbá grammarians Studies in the syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb. Ọkẹ: have prc A grammatical Study of the Yoruba verb system. Our choice of (the) Yorùbá grammar.[1]

1.0.3 Recent Studies in Yorùba

Professor Ayọ Bamgboṣe's A Grammar of Yorùbá is á is the first and the only complete[2] grammar of modern Yoruba ruba to be written within the coherent framework of a general linguistic theory. The theoretical framework is the one outlined in 'Categories of the theory of Grammar.'[3] The main body of the grammar presents an excellent and very helpful sketch of Halliday's theory and of the description of the form and structural classes of the Yoruba grammar. That it excels earlier grammar in being systematic is obvious. Next to it in being a complete grammar is the work of Afọlayan: The Linguistic problems of Yorùbá Learners and users of English based on systemic grammar which is an improvement on the model used by Bamgboṣe. In these two works, it is obvious that no attempts have been made to concentrate on a single syntatic category of Yoruba, these are to come in the works of Awobuluyi: Studies in the syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb. Ọkẹ: A grammatical Study of the Yoruba verb system. Our choice

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1 For the inadequacies of the grammars, see Bamgboṣe (1966: pp.2-5).

2 Complete in the sense that it covers major Yorùbá Syntatic structures.

3 Hilliday (1961)

of area of study now becomes clear after considering the foregoing review of the existing works. To the best of our knowledge no attempt has been made to present a syntactic and semantic study of Yorùbá nominalization. All the works we have are on the Yorùbá verb or verb system by Awobuluyi and Ọkẹ.

1.0.4 Bamgbọse's Grammar

For a new approach to replace an older model there appear to be two things necessary. First, the new model must account for roughly the same amount of data as the old one. Second, there must be some reason other than simple novelty for preferring the new one to the old. The model must be able to provide a formal demonstration that the old model is unable to account for certain classes of data considered to be an essential part of the subject-matter of the discipline.

Starting from Bamgbọse, it must be noted that due to the inadequacy of the theory applied to Yorùbá as the framework within which the authors worked, they have certain faults in common. Bamgbọse based his work on Halliday's Scale and Category Grammar. It is however, fair to say of him that the application of the theory has been adhered to to the letter. As for the theory itself, it is what Haas (1960) called a reductive approach wherein one begins with the smallest atomic unit of the system. At the time the theory was formulated it was referred to as the scale-and-category theory of grammar (Bamgbọse 1966: 14). Later, Halliday and others[1] developed it to a

[1] See Halliday, M. A. K. (1961) and (1965), Hudson, R. A. (1967).

systemic theory of grammar. Within the scale-and-category theory 'system and structure' deal with one plane, that is, surface, but system in the systemic theory is a property of the deep grammar. The attendant fault of the work based on the first theory is pretty obvious. Bamgbọṣe in his introduction wrote 'the criteria used in establishing or distinguishing grammatical categories are structural and the categories set up for the grammar are based on the internal structures of the language'. This simply means that the application of the formulation is restricted to linear structure only, to the exclusion of 'logical structure' or the underlying representation. Afọlayan's work which is based on the revised form of the 'Scale and Category' comes nearer the mark in the underlying representation.

Ọkẹ and Awobuluyi worked on specific area(s) in the language which as we have mentioned earlier, are based on Yorùbá verbs. Also Awobuluyi based his work on Transformational Grammar[1] which is near the model chosen for the present study. But all the same, they are not without their own faults, which we discuss in the present study in places where they are relevant.

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[1] The inadequacy of TG. will be discussed in Chapter II of this work. However, Chomsky still maintains his basic stand, though he had modified the model and had also changed the label 'deep structure' and 'Surface structure' because according to him the terms are too technical, so much so that people misunderstood and misapplied them (London: 'Sunday Times', May 16, 1976).

1.1.0 THE BASE RULES.

With the above explanation, it is clear that we shall have more recourse to the works of Bamgbọse and Afọlayan than others' as needs call for them in the course of the present work.

Yorùbá is basically a subject, verb, object (SVO) language. Besides the imperatives and some embedded relative constructions, the sentence always has a subject in the surface structure. With the exception of sentence fragments like short replies to questions where a single noun phrase will do for an answer, the verb is always present in a sentence.

Our definition of the sentence will generally follow the theoretical framework we adopt unless otherwise stated. The sentence is dominated in the tree structure of a phrase structure grammar by the S node. So is a S which contains no internal occurrence of another S node. The internal structure of S is usually NP VP where VP may be rewritten as V NP, or V alone, or V NP PP.

1.1.1 Orthographic Representation.

The following letters, and symbols which are phonemic will be used.

(a) Consonants: b,t,d,k,g,gb,m,n,f,s,h,l, r,w,j, =/ʤ/, p=/kp/ṣ=/ʃ/, and y=/j/. Broadly speaking the symbols have I.P.A. value, /kp/ is voiceless and /gb/ is voiced labiovelar stops respectively.

(b) The Oral vowels: i,e,a,o,u,ẹ, /Ɛ / and ọ /Ɔ/

(c) The nasal vowels are represented by the corresponding oral vowels followed by 'n' e.g. in = /ĩ/, ẹn = /ɛ̃/, un = /ũ/ which has the allophones /ŋ/ after the velar stops as in Òkun (okŋ) the sea' and /ũ/ elsewhere. It should be noted, however, that we shall not follow the traditional orthographic convention of representing the third person pronoun object of a verb that ends in a nasal vowel by using an oral vowel symbol. So, instead of the traditional mo din i we shall have mo dĩn in = / mo dĩ ĩ/(I fried it)

mo tàn án
mo tà á
I deceived him/her/it

mo pọ́n ọn
I sharpened / flattered him / her / it.

(d) Tones: Basically the tone will be marked lexically in the present study.[1] However, we shall indicate pitch occasionally to clarify certain difficult/ to determine elements.

The following tones are present in the language. High tone (ˊ) low tone (ˋ); mid tone is indicated by leaving the vowel unmarked. The compound tones are: low high (᷄) mid high (᷅), high low (᷇), high mid (᷈) low mid (᷆) and mid low (᷅).

[1] For tone, pitch and intonation, See Carnochan, J. (1961). Bamgbọse, A. (1966), Afọlayan, A. (1968).

We do not intend either to double our vowels unless of course condition warrants it such as in case we have significant minimal contrasts e.g. má don't Vs. Máa 'going to' 'continue to'.

(c) Word Division: We write each word separately contrary to traditional orthography in such cases as:

nígbàtí = nígbà tí 'when' ẹnití - ẹni tí person who, and some predicates and adverbials are written together occasionally, e.g. dẹ́kun for dá ẹ̀kun 'to stop' lọ́la for ní ọ̀la 'tomorrow'.

1.1.2 Terms Used in the Present Study

(1) Analyzability

This is the basic predicate in terms of which the theory of transformational generative grammar is formulated. X is analyzable as Y if and only if Y is a proper analysis of X (i.e. all the members of Y can be mapped onto X and all the members of X can be mapped onto Y). For instance, let P be a phrase - marker with Terminals t_1 k t_n and X a string $X_1 \ldots X_n$ of category symbols and terminals, P is analyzable as X if and only if:

X_1 dominates $t_1 \ldots t_p$
X_2 dominates $t_p + 1 \ldots t_q$
.....(where $i \leqslant p \leqslant q \leqslant r \leqslant n$)

(2) Category Symbol

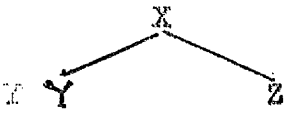
A category symbol is an element which can appear to the left of the rewriting arrow in an Aspects grammar.

Category Symbols are distinguished from terminals which are not rewritten in rules of grammar.

(3) Logical Structure

The syntactic level that provides the input to the semantic component of grammar or the syntatic level postulated for determining semantic interpretation of sentences.

(4) Dominate



X immediately dominates Y means Y is an immediate constituent of X. So in the Tree diagram, here the Y node will come directly under the dominating category (See under T rules below for examples.)

(5) Phrase Marker

A representation of the constituent structure assigned to a sentence (See Lyons, J. 1970:56).

(6) Rules for forming Complex Symbol on Major Lexical Categories

Rules forming complex symbols on major lexical categories N and Det (though Det is not a major lexical category) are not ordinary PS-rules but elementary T-rules of some sort, or local transformations (Chomsky 1965: 98-99). There are two types of rules forming CS on major lexical categories. First we have context free rules which introduce inherent features such as

(+ animate), (+ count).

The second kind of rules are context sensitive; and their

are of two types:

(1) Strict sub-categorisation rules, and

(2) Selectional restriction rules.

Strict sub-categorisation rules are of the form.

$$A \longrightarrow CS \;/\; Z - W$$

where 'A stands for any symbol ready for re-writing through sub-categorisation rules, such as N or V. CS stands for any partial matrix in the CS of lexical entry of the form +A, +X-Z' (Seuren: 1969:41) Z and W are complex, perhaps null strings acting as context restriction, and ZAW is some X category symbol that appears on the left of the rule X ZAW that introduces A. In concrete terms, then, if A is a verb, then only the VP which in this case substitutes for X determines the strict sub-categorisation of A. If, however, A is an N., then the strict sub-categorisation of A is determined by frames dominated by NP.

(7) Selectional Restriction Rules

Selectional Restriction rules "sub-categorise" a lexical category in terms of syntactic features that appear in specified positions in the sentence; they are of the form

$$+A \longrightarrow CS/\ \alpha - \beta$$

where α & β are variables ranging over a set of specified features. Thus if +A is +V and α is N, and β is also N, then the rules abbreviated by the above schemata states simply that each feature of the preceding and following noun is assigned to the verb and determines an appropriate selectional sub-classification of it (Chomsky: 1965:97).

Selectional Restrictions have come under severe criticism by generative semanticists. For example

McCawley (1970) argues that:

(I) Selectional Restrictions have no independent status in linguistics, whereas Chomsky (1965) employs them as a form of constraint on deep structure which, for generative semanticists, is not a clearly defined level as it is in Aspects (See Chapter II below).

(II) Selectional Restrictions are predictable from the meaning of the lexical items in question;

(III) Many of the so called selectional violations do, in fact correspond to "possible messages" in possible words.

McCawley, therefore, concludes, rightly it seems, that the deviance of sentences arising from the violation of the so-called selectional restrictions is in fact a consequence of extra-linguistic factors in the context of situation. (McCawley (1970), pp.166-168). If selectional restrictions are seen as the semantic property of lexical items, then the need to analyse them as a syntactic constraint will cease to exist. It happens that certain properties or features of lexical items may have certain syntactic reflexes, for example, the application of Equi-NP deletion happens to be sensitive to the specific property of certain verbs being forward-looking. This is a semantic property which has a corresponding syntactic reflex. Kempson (1975: 4-7) in a published University of London Ph.D. thesis, argues along similar lines.

(8) The Lexicon

The lexicon in a transformational grammar is a set of lexical entries, each lexical entry being a pair (DC), where D is a phonological distinctive feature matrix 'spelling' a certain lexical feature, and C is a collection of specified syntactic features, a complex symbol (Chomsky 1965: p.84). The lexicon will also contain the following information:

(a) features peculiar to a formative which can trigger a transformation or block it;

(b) relevant features for semantic interpretation. In the lexicon, we are primarily concerned with syntactic and semantic features.

(9) Lexical Insertion Rules

The PS rules generate strings consisting of grammatical formatives for example, past C. To derive a terminal string from preterminal strings, a lexical insertion rule of the following kind is required: "HQ is a complex symbol of preterminal string, and (DC) is a lexical entry, where C is not distinct from Q then Q can be replaced by D" (Chomsky, op. cit., p.84). This rule permits lexical items from the lexicon to be inserted into the preterminal string generated by the PS- and sub-categorisation rules if the markers in the lexicon for that item and the markers in the complex symbol under the particular node do not conflict (Grinder and Elgin 1973, p.129). As Seuren (1969, p.38) observes "one notices that this lexical rule is not so much a rule as a rule schemata: it is a cover formula for a large number of individual rules, each of which would apply to a particular complex symbol and a particular lexical item. The formal abstract structure generated by the base rules plus lexical insertion constitute the deep structure of a sentence and may be represented in the form of a tree!"

Other rules: Semantic projection rules p.144, phonological redundancy rules pp.168-170, syntactic redundancy rules pp.168-170, transformational rules in the base and in the transformational sub-component of the syntactic component; all in the Aspects.

(10) (a) Structural Description:

The structure form of a phrase marker before the

operation of a transformational rule.

(b) Structural change: The form of a phrase marker after the operation of a transformational rule.

(11) Surface Structure

The syntactic level that contains the last phrase marker Pn - in the syntactic structure

(P1 ... Pn) of a transformational grammar. It provides the input to the phonological component of a transformational generative grammar.

(12) Transformational or T rules

T rules map phrase markers, onto phrase-markers meeting the Boolean[1] conditions of analyzability. Certain elementary transformations that are commonly used in the present work are:

deletion, replacement and adjunction e.g.

SD:	#	/S	/NP	A	B/	NP	/VP	C	D	E	F/	VP/S	#
		1		2	3			4	5	6	7	8	
SC:		1		5	3		6.4	ø	ø		7	8	
						adjunction		deletion					

(where '# #' = boundary symbol)

Condition: 2≠5.

In the SC; we have sister adjunction of 6 to the left of 4 since both 6 and 4 are sisters under the common dominance of the same VP node.

(13) Two other forms of adjunction are possible in transformational grammar. We shall illustrate them with tree diagrams: (a) Daughter adjunction and (b) Chomsky-adjunction as shown below:

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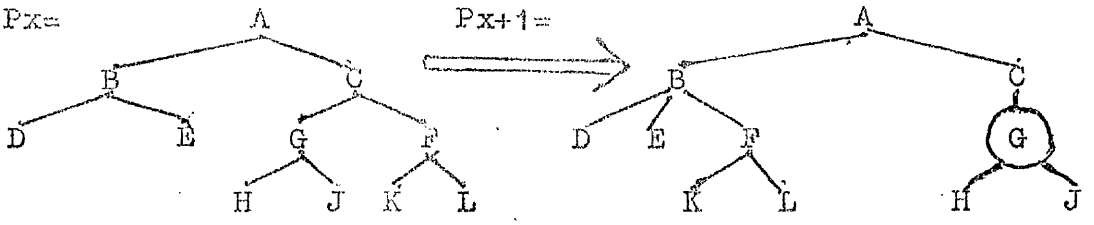
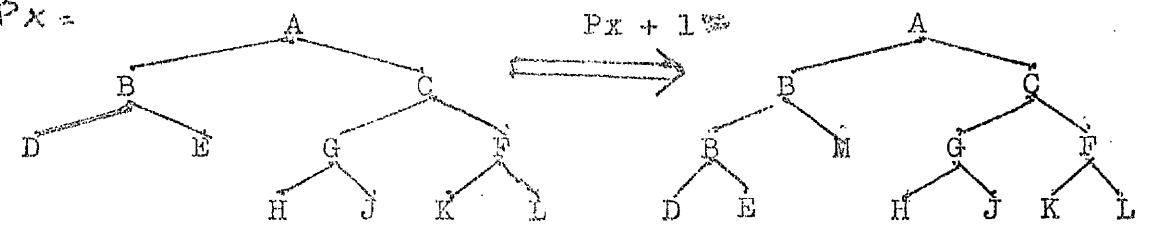
[1] Boole, F. (1951).

(a) Px=



Thus, adjoining a daughter of C (i.e. F) in Px above to the right of B we have the derivation above, (where G is removed as a result of Ross' tree pruning and the successive terminals will be Px - D E H J K L, Px + 1 - D E K L H J.

(b) Px =



With successive terminals Px= D E H J K L, and Px + 1 - D E M H J K L. Only syntactic transformations are illustrated so far.

(14) Variables: The late capitals like U, W, X, Y and Z are used to represent variables in structural description (SD). They stand for all possible category symbols and terminals in the relevant structural description. Early capitals like A B C D E F are used to represent category symbols as in the example (b) above for the elimination of the distinction between category symbols and features. (See Chomsky 1970: 208).

1.1.3 The Verb Phrase

As remarked earlier in 1.0.3, much penetrating work has been done on the Verb Phrase in Yorùbá, so we would just present an elementary discussion of it here. Moreover, our interest in the Verb Phrase is in the use we can make of it in the description of nominalization. In this respect, our discussion will be rather utilitarian in nature and it will be

determined by the relevance of the items discussed to the Yorùbá Nominalization.

A verb phrase rule might look like Rule (1) as an expansion of the base rule on VP.

Rule 1. VP → (NEG) AUX V (NP) (PP)
(where the obligatory elements are V and AUX), the auxiliary is regarded as obligatory because in many cases, the absence in the surface structure of the tense indication in Yorùbá verb phrases is a result of an auxiliary transformation. This is made obvious if the case of a class of verb described variously as 'qualitative/stative' verbs and predicative adjectives[1] is considered. In surface structure representations it is not always possible to indicate tense for this class of verbs. However, it is not always the case that if an element is not present in the surface structure it is not there in the Logical Structure. The class of the stative verbs includes ga 'to be tall' gbẹ 'to be dry/lean'. Adverbs with double underscore are often regarded by traditional grammarians as the only time indicators. This assumption is not always true as we shall soon see; consider:

(15) Adé ti burú rí ṣùgbọ́n kò burú mọ́
(Ade have been wicked before but not wicked again)
'Ade has been wicked in the past but he is no longer wicked'.

It should be noted that the aspect marker ti also participates in tense indication and not the adverbs with double underscore alone. The stative verbs also take on

[1] Bamgboṣe, Awobuluyi, Delano, Ward, Abraham, Ọkẹ and Afọlayan.

certain auxiliaries like the future indefinite tense marker as observable in such sentences as:

(16) Òjó yío ga tó Adé ní ọdún yĭ
(Ojo shall tall equal Ade in year this)
'Ojo will be as tall as Ade this year'.

(17) Ọlá máa tó gbọ́n
(Ọlá going-to right- time-to-be-wise)
'Ọlá will soon be wise'

The following are what we consider as VP structures in the language. We underline the VP in the examples.

(18) Adé kò lọ sí ọjà VP=NEG.V PP
(Ade not go to market)
'Ade did not go to the market'.

(19) Adé kò ti lọ sí ilé VP=NEG. AUX V PP
(Adé not have go to house)
'Ade has not yet gone home'.

(20) Adé kì yío lọ sí ilé lóla VP=NEG AUX. V PP PP
(Ade not shall go to house tomorrow)
'Ade shall not go home tomorrow'.

We have discontinous verbs in some structure as witnessed by:

(21) Adé kò mú owó wá sí ilé léna VP=NEG. V NP V PP PP
(Adé not take money come to house yesterday)
'Ade did not bring any money home yesterday'.

(22) Adé kò mú owó lọ sí ilé léna VP=NEG V NP V PP PP
(Adé not take money go to house yesterday).
'Adé did not take any money home yesterday'.

The difference in meaning, brought about by the polarity created by 'go' and 'come', of the two sentences suggests that

there may be two separate verbs rather than a discontinuous verb in the structures. One can argue that all discontinuous verbs are a series of the verb structures in the verb phrase. To engage in such an argument is beyond the scope of the present work which is mainly on nominalization.

In the expansion of the base rule we have above i.e. 1., we choose only one NP but in the rule we have two. It is possible to have two NP's which need not be conjoined. If they are conjoined they would be derived by the rule (1) above, but if no conjoining were possible, in such cases, the trf ni is inserted between the two NP's as witnessed by:

(23) Dada kó Òjó ní ilé VP=V NP trf[1] NP.
'Dada burgled Ojo's house'

(24) Adé gbá Àìná ní etí VP as in (23).
(Adé slap Àìná trf ear)
'Adé slapped Àìná (or Aina's ear)'.

(25) Ọlá tẹ Adé ní ẹsẹ̀ VP as in (23)
(Ọlá step Adé trf foot)
'Ọlá stepped on Adé's foot'.

From (23)-(25) it should be noticed that it is not necessary that there should be a connection between the two NP's in the VP. They may be direct and indirect objects, or they may even have genitival relationship (e.g. in the inalienable possessive relationship existing between the two NP's of (24)-(25).

The last feature of the verb phrase we discuss here is its relationship with the adjective. Two items are invariably used for comparison in Yoruba i.e. ju and lọ. For the comparative degree, in its conventional and traditional sense,

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[1] For fuller information on ní as a transformational formative see Awobuluyi (1969b, pp.67-77).

ju and lọ are discontinous, but for the superlative degree they occur together as one lexical item. Consider:

(26) Ọlá tóbi ju Adé lọ.
(Ọlá big exceed Ade beyond)
'Ọlá is bigger than Adé'.

(27) Òjó gbọ́n ju Àìná lọ.
(Òjó wise exceed Àìná beyond)
'Òjó is wiser than Àìná'.

(28) Ọlá lè purọ́ ju Bọ́sẹ̀ lọ.
(Ọlá can lie exceed Bọ́sẹ̀ beyond)
'Ọlá can lie more than Bọ́sẹ̀'.

(29) Ọlá lè ṣiṣẹ́ ju Àìná lọ.
(Ọlá can work exceed Àìná beyond)
'Ọlá can work more than Àìná'.

(30) Ọlá ni ó tóbi jùlọ.
(Ọlá is he big exceed-beyond)
'Ọlá is the biggest'.

(31) Adé ni ó gbọ́n jùlọ.
(Adé is he wise exceed-beyond).
'Adé is the wisest'.

(32) Bísí ni ó lè ṣe ìmẹ́lẹ́ jù lọ nínu gbogbo wọn.
(Bísí is he can do laziness exceed-beyond them all).
'Bísí is the laziest of them all'.

As could be noticed examples (26-32) cover verbs, predicative adjectives, and also both the comparative and superlative degrees. Notice that no modal auxiliaries (e.g. lè 'can') occurs with the predicative adjectives examples. This however does not mean that they cannot co-occur with predicatives as witnessed by:

(33) Olú máa ga ju Bùnmí lọ láìpẹ́ yí
(Olú going to tall exceed Bùnmí beyond soon this).
'Olú will soon be taller than Bùnmí'.

Olú lè ga ju Bùnmí lọ.
'Olu could be taller than Bunmi'.

Two other forms of comparison exist but the only one we have already discussed above is relevant to this work. However, in passing we may mention the other two briefly. The two forms are described as the 'comparative of equality' and the 'comparative of inferiority'[1].

(34) Adé tóbi tó Olú.
(Adé big equal Olú)
'Adé is as big as Olú'.

An example of the second type will be the negation of the first as in

(35) Adé kò tóbi tó Olú
(Adé not big equal Olú)
'Adé is not as big as Olú'.

It should be noted however, that the earlier examples (26)-(32) will not constitute a comparison of inferiority in this sentence. Consider:

(36) Ọlá kò tóbi ju Adé lọ.
(Ọlá not big exceed Adé beyond)
'Ọlá is not bigger than Adé'.

In (36) it is possible for Adé to be as big as Ọlá but the possibility of equality is ruled out in case of (35). Since, the comparisons of 'equality' and 'inferiority' is of marginal significance for us in the present study we may end our discussion of it here.

1.1.4 Yorùbá Modal System

The modal system of the Yorùbá verbs coincide with the following three terms; Probability, Obligation and Condi-

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[1]Beecroft and de Gaye (1923: 16).

tion as indicated by the following preverbs - lè, gbọ́dọ̀, ìbá and ìba. They can co-occur with the aspectual markers but never with tense markers. Their occurrence may be illustrated by the following examples.

1. Probability

(i) Ó lè lọ.
'He may go'.

(ii) Ó lè ti lọ.
'He may have gone'.

(iii) Ó lè máa lọ.
'He may be going'.

(iv) Ó lè ti máa lọ.
'He may be going already'.

Or

'He may have been going'.

2. Obligation

(i) Ó gbọ́dọ̀ lọ.
'He must/should go'.

(ii) Ó gbọ́dọ̀ ti lọ.
'He must/should have gone.'

(iii) Ó gbọ́dọ̀ máa lọ.
'He must/should be going'.

(iv) Ó gbọ́dọ̀ ti máa lọ.
'He must/should be going'.

3. Condition

(i) (a) Ìbá lọ.
'He would have gone'.

(b) Ìba lọ.
'Even if he is gone'.

(ii) (a) Ìbá ti lọ 'He would have gone'.

(b) Ìba ti lọ. 'Even if he has gone'.

(iii) (a) Ìbá máa lọ. 'He would have been going'.

(b) Ìba máa lọ. 'Even if he is/should be going'.

(iv) (a) Ìbá ti máa lọ. 'He would have been going'.

(b) Ìba ti máa lọ. 'Even if he is already going'.

1.2.0 AUXILIARY IN YORÙBÁ

The category symbol Aux. stands for a number of elements which occur between the subject and the verbs of a sentence. They are otherwise referred to as pre-verbs cf. Bamgboṣe (1966: 69-70). The list comprises:

1. Yíọ ò 'will' (future tense marker).
2. á " " " "
3. ti 'already' (erstwhile aspect marker).
4. ń (indefinite aspect marker).
5. máa " " "
6. Ibá 'would have' (conditional mode marker).
7. Ibáa 'even if' (" " ")
8. lè 'may' (potential mode marker).
9. gbọ́dọ̀ 'must' 'should' (obligation mode marker).
10. tètè 'without delay'
11. mọ̌mọ̀ 'on purpose'
12. sì 'still'.
13. pàpà 'still'.
14. kúkú 'for all I know'
15. ṣèṣè 'just'
16. tiè 'even'
17. tún 'again'
18. dédé 'suddenly, without reason'.
19. Sa 'just merely.'
20. wulè 'in vain'.
21. jọ 'together'
22. jàjà 'finally'
23. kò 'not'
24. bá 'happen to'
25. ti 'yet'
26. má (ṣe) (do) not.

What is notable about ìbá 'would have' is that it could occur both protastically and apodostically with non-factive predicates of unfulfilled conditions. Consider the following:

4. ìbá ṣe pé Adé dúró sí ilé ni kò ìbá tí jà.
'Had it been the case that Adé had stayed at home, he would not have fought'.

It should be noted that the sentence

5. pé Adé dúró sí ilé ni

'pe Adé stayed at home ni'

is derived from the logical structure string:

6. ~ ~ Ó ibá ṣe pé ~ ~ Adé dúró sí ilé ~ ~ ni.
It would-have been pe Adé dúró sí ilé ni.
Adé kò ìbá tí jà.
'Adé not would-have fought'.

The second occurrence of Adé in (6) is first pronominalized into Ó, after which both this pronominal and the subject, Ó 'it', of the protasis matrix sentence are deleted by a regular rule of morphophonemic because this pronoun is represented by a null argument[1] before the modal ìbá and ìbáà.

Other sentences contain the modal ba 'happen to be' in the protasis only, for example:

7. (i) tí Adé bá wà ní ilé kì yío jà.
(if Adé happen-to stay at home not will fight).
'Adé won't fight if he stays at home'.

(ii) tí ó bá dúró kì yío jà.
(if he happen to stay not will fight).
'He won't fight if he stays'.

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[1] See Leech, G. (1974: 140), for null argument and Delano, I. (1958: 92) for an example.

The modal ìbáà is used in concessive clauses as witnessed by

8. Adé ìbáà dúró sí ilé o á jà.
(Adé even-if stay at home he will fight).
'Adé will fight whether or not he stays at home'.

1.2.1 The Temporal System

The temporal system comprised two tenses. Borrowing from Rowlands we can designate the tenses as definite and indefinite[1] tenses. The definite tense indicates action that either has already happened or is happening, while the indefinite tense signals action that is yet to occur. The definite tense can be said to correspond to the English past and present tenses, and the indefinite tense to the so-called future tense.

The Definite Tense

Any verb that is not accompanied by one of the indefinite tense markers is in the definite tense. Depending on the context the definite tense is either interpreted as past or present. In the absence of any aspectual markers the majority of verbs in Yorùbá are for the past time interpretation except those listed below.

gbọ́n	'to be wise'
wà	'to be (in a place)'.
gbà	'to agree'
mọ̀	'to know'
jẹ́	'to be'
gọ̀	'to be foolish'
rò	'to think'

for example

9. mo mọ̀ 'I know' or 'I knew'.

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[1] Rowlands, E. C. (1969, p.97).

10. mo gbà 'I agree' or 'I agreed'

but

11. mo tà 'I sold'

i.e. trading was brisk, and I sold all I had to sell.

On the other hand, in the presence of aspectual markers even those verbs that are marked for past time interpretations are apt to have present and future time interpretations imposed on them.

The Indefinite Tense

The Indefinite Tense markers are the auxiliary verbs máa, yío, Ó and á as exemplified by:

12. (i) Adé máa wá.
'Adé will come'.

(ii) Adé yío wá.
'Adé will come'.

(iii) Adé Ó wá.
'Adé will come'.

(iv) Adé á wá.
'Adé will come'.

As could be noticed there appears to be no meaning difference among all the markers in (12 (i - iv); Ó máa and á are more frequently used. The forms yio and O co-occur with the negative form kì an allomorph of the negative form kò 'not' as exemplified by:

13. Adé kì yío lọ
'Adé will not go'.

The indefinite tense is more explicitly expressed in the environment of kò by means of an alternative construction involving the verb ní 'to have' as in:

14. Adé kò ní lílọ.
(Adé not have going)
'Adé will not go'.

1.2.2 The Aspectual System

The Aspectual System comprises two terms - erstwhile and duration.

Erstwhile is indicated by means of the pre-verb ti 'already'. If there are two actions within a construction involving ti it indicates that one action occurred before the other. When there are no two actions involved ti merely indicates that the action took place before the speaker started to speak, or will take place before the time specified or implied by the speaker as exemplified by the following.

15. Adé ti parí rẹ̀.
(Adé already finished it)
'Adé' has (already) finished 'it'.

16. Adé á ti parí rẹ̀.
(Adé will already finish it).
'Adé will have finished it'.

17. Adé á ti parí rẹ̀ ní ìwòyí ọ̀la.
(Adé will already finish it in this-time tomorrow)
'Ade will have finished it by this time tomorrow'.

Duration

The durative aspect indicates action occurring through time. It may be interpreted as either continuous or habitual. It is indicated by means of ń or máa, in some contexts, or by both in others. With one or probably two exceptions, ń co-occurs only with the definite tense, while máa co-occurs with both definite and indefinite tenses, as well as in imperative clauses. Whenever máa occurs with definite tenses, it must be accompained by ń as in:

18. (i) Adé ń ta iṣu.
Present: 'Adé is selling yams'.
or 'Adé sells yams'.

(ii) Past: 'Adé was selling yams (at that moment)'
or 'Ade used to sell yams'.

Máa 19. (i) Máa ta iṣu.
'Keep selling yams'.

(ii) Adé á máa ta iṣu.
'Adé will keep selling yams'.

ń and máa together:

When the two occur within a construction the aspectual meaning is habitual as witnessed by:

20. Adé máa ń ta iṣu.
'Adé sells yams'.
or
'Adé used to sell yams'.

It should be noted that (20) has the same meaning as (18) consequently máa seems redundant in (20). Thus for practical purposes, máa and n are in complementary distribution with the latter occurring with the definite tense, and the former elsewhere. (See 3.1.1 below).

Tense and Aspect Co-occurrence

These tenses and aspects occur in the following arrangements:

(1) Definite. (2) Indefinite. (3) Erstwhile Definite. (4) Durative Definite. (5) Erstwhile Indefinite. (6) Durative Indefinite. (7) Erstwhile Durative Definite and (8) Erstwhile Durative Indefinite.

1. Ó gbẹ. 'It is/was dry'.
2. Yío gbẹ 'It will become dry'.

3. Ó ti gbẹ 'It is already dry'.
4. Ó ń gbẹ 'It is/was becoming dry'.
5. Ó máa ń gbẹ 'It usually becomes/became dry'.
6. Yío máa gbẹ (It will be becoming dry)
'It will be getting dried'.
7. Ó ti ń gbẹ 'It is/was becoming dry already'.
Ó ti máa ń gbẹ 'It used to become dry'.
8. Yío ti máa gbẹ (It will already be becoming dry)
'It will have been getting dried'.

(The morpheme 'O' she/he/it has a null argument before yío and Ó). (Cf. Awobuluyi 1967).

One wonders why we should spend so much time on the verb system in Yorùbá. The fact becomes clear if we realize that the whole range of the verb system is involved in nominalization in Yorùbá. Consider:

à - tètè - dé. 'The fact of coming early'
àì - pẹ́ - dé. 'The fact of not coming late'
à - ló - gbó. 'The fact of using till being worn out'.

And of course the second source of nouns in Yorùbá is the so-called ideophones. (See Chapter V below).

1.2.3 The Noun Phrase

This work is primary concerned with nominalization, and it will be helpful to look at the surface structure of Yorùbá NPs at this stage. The surface word order is the mirror image of the English word order as witnessed by (44).

(44)

Awọn	màlu	sísanra	rọ̀bọ̀tọ̀[1]	mẹ́fà	yẹn	nâ
Plur	cow	fat	stout	six	those	the
	noun	ger, adj.	'Ideophone'	num	Dem.	Topic-marker

'Those six fat stout cows'

[1] The nature of this phemomenon is described in full in Chapter V.

(44) is an example of the possibility of having a noun phrase where all the following elements occur; viz. plural marker, now, Gerundive Adjective, Ideophone, Numerals, Demonstrative Determiner and Topic Marker. Topic marker nâ conveys the idea of the previously mentioned: note that it is quite different from the two other nâ i.e. (a) nâ Determiner as in:

(45) Ọmọkùnrin nâ ń kọ orin. 'The boy is singing'. (b) nâ glossable as 'also'.

(46) O lu Adé nâ. 'You beat Ade also'. It is glossable as 'even' in English as well. Adé nâ lọ. 'Adé even went'.

It is possible for the order of words in (44) to be rearranged but such rearrangements invariably result in doubtfully acceptable Yorùbá utterances. It is not the case that all these elements should be present in all NP's; we present here what we consider to be the maximum length of a NP. IC's

[illegible]'s.

A simple Yorùbá NP may consist of a single lexical item e.g. (47) Ọkùnrin 'man'.

NP like (47) can be found in generic structures, e.g. (48) Ọkùnrin kòlè burú ju Obìnrin lọ. (man not can bad exceed woman beyond). 'man cannot be worse than woman'.

It is quite difficult for unqualified NP's to occur in Yorùbá sentences, and so single element NP's are rare. They are mostly found in generic environments like (48).[1]

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[1] Cf. Ward, I. (1952: 46) "... it is not usual to have a noun alone as subject of a verb, the sentences in which such a usage is natural are few: these are mainly general statements."

As our main concern is with nominalization we do not want to go beyond the above definition of what a NP is in Yorùbá. In the present work nominalization means the derivation of nominal groups from Verbs, verb phrases and simple sentences, as witnessed by the following examples.

(a) V lọ 'to go' Ìlọ (kan) ('certain) going'.

(b) VP wa ọkọ̀ drive a vehicle, in the sentence.
Adé wa ọkọ̀ where the VP is underlined.
Wíwa ọkọ̀ Adé dá ẹ̀rù bà mí.
'Ade's driving frightens me'.

(c) Nominalization: Pé ó lọ ilé ni ohun tí a gbọ́.
That he went home was what we heard.
S Ó lọ ilé 'He went home'.

As the process is actually involved we present an oversimplified form of what is done in the work here. As a sort of generalization which is copiously itemized in the rest of this study, we make the claim that whatever structure is of the nature: NP-S, exclusive of the relative clause which according to traditional analysis,[1] bears a striking similarity to it, is a form of nominalization. In other words, any form, sentential or non-sentential, which is directly dominated by a NP node is a form of nominalization.

This study exludes the primitive or basic nouns because the history of their derivation is not known to us.

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[1] See Chapters IV and V for our analysis of the relative clause constructions.

CHAPTER II

2.0.0 SYNTACTIC METHODOLOGY.

In the preceeding Chapter we mentioned briefly the model we use for our analysis, namely, the Transformational Generative Grammar. Here, it is our intention to present a survey of the model in just the sense of the relevance it bears to the present study.

The syntactic framework is that which was originally proposed by Chomsky in Syntactic Structures (1957) and which has been subject to far reaching modifications ever since. A fundamental claim of Transformational Grammar in its present form is that a grammar of a language is a system of rules that expresses the correspondence between sound and meaning in this language in a language independent way.[1] This Grammar is also assumed to specify an infinite class of surface structure,[2] each of which is mapped onto a phonetic representation by a system of phohological rules (in a phonological Component of the Grammar). Furthermore, this grammar contains a system of grammatical transformations mapping phrase markers onto phrase markers such that each transformation defines a set of well-formed pairs of successive phrase markers Pi - 1 and Pi. The system of Grammatical Transformations defines an infinite class K of finite sequences of phrase markers, each sequence Pi - Pn meeting the following conditions:

(1) (i) Pn is a surface structure.
(ii) Each Pi is formed by applying a certain transformation to Pi-1, in a way permitted by the conditions of grammatical rules (a) 3.

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[1] Chomsky(1971 : 183), Lakoff (1971b : 232).
[2] For the definition of such terms like 'surface structure' see Bach, E.(1974 : 74-75).

(iii) There is no Po such as Po, Pi ... Pn meets conditions (i) and (ii).

The acceptability of conditions (i)-(iii) by transformationalists is not in dispute since both Chomsky 1971 (Setting up the views of the interpretive semanticists)[1] and Lakoff 1971 (explaining the generative semanticists position) accept and assume the validity of conditions (i) to (iii), thence, (i) to (iii) will be our fundamental assumption here. Another major assumption of present day transformational grammar is that the grammar contains lexicon which is a class of lexical entries each of which specifies the grammatical (i.e. Phonological, Semantic and Syntastic) properties of some lexical item.[2]

A Lexical item may be considered as "incorporating a set of transformations that insert the item in question (i.e. the complex of features that constitutes it) in phrase markers"[3] along the line suggested by Chomsky in Aspects:

(2) (1) A lexical transformation associated with the lexical item 1 (i.e. man) maps a phrase marker P containing a sub-structure Q (represented in Aspects by △) onto a phrase-marker Pi formed from P replacing Q by 1 (i.e. man).

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[1] The interpretive semanticists are the Linguists who believe that semantics merely interpretes what has already been fully specified at another level of representation known as the 'Deep Structure'. Their system is known as the 'Standard Theory' which is in opposition to the Generative Semanticists 'Basic Theory' on the existence of a level of representation called the 'Deep Structure', on the relationship between Syntax and Semantics and on some other matters which need not concern us here.

[2] Chomsky(1971 : 184), Note that 'Grammar' is used here as defined in Aspects 1965.

[3] Chomsky(1971 : 184).

A lexical transformation can therefore be considered as a 'well-formedness' constraint on classes of successive phrase markers Pi and Pi - 1 for any i where the only difference between Pi and Pi + 1 is that Pi contains the lexical items associated with Q.

Various versions of present day transformational grammar accept the possibility of lexical transformations defined by (2), although they differ in the conditions on Q e.g. where in the Grammar lexical transformations apply, whether they apply in a block and all lexical items are inserted into phrase markers before any non-lexical transformations (i.e. - 'true syntactic transformations') apply as in Chomsky's condition 3[1] or whether non-lexical transformations occur both before and after lexical insertion so that the existence of an autonomous (and deterministic) level of Syntactic 'Deep Structure', the level after which all lexical insertions have already taken place but before which any non-lexical transformation ever applies is denied. One version of Transformational Grammar that accepts the possibility of all lexical insertion in a block before any non-lexical transformation is called the 'Standard Theory', while the other version that denies this possibility is called the 'Basic Theory' (although the labelling is not intended by the proponents of the theories to confer some unique conceptual or empirical status to the former, or to suggest that there is anything ontologically, psychologically or conceptually 'basic' about the latter). Consequently; (3) below:

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[1] Chomsky (1971 : 183-184). We are leaving out Chomsky's fn (a) on (11) since it is just an elaboration on the conditions on grammatical rules, some specific and some general like the principle of Transformational Cycle as in Aspects (1965)

(3) The Standard Theory specifies, for each sentence, a Syntactic Structure Σ = (Pi.....Pl.....Pn) (where Pi is the deep, and Pn the surface structure) a Semantic representation S, and a phonetic representation P. It asserts furthermore, that S is determined by Pi and P by Pn under the rules of semantic and phonological interpretation respectively. More generally, the theory is 'Syntactically Based' in the sense that it assumes the sound meaning relation (P, S) to be determined by Σ; on the other hand, the level Pi of 3 does not exist in a 'Basic Theory' and the Basic Theory abrogates syntactic 'determinism' my expression for the most important characteristics of the theory which assumes "that the sound - meaning relation" is determined by Σ .

It must be noted that the differences between the 'Standard Theory' and the "Basic Theory" as represented here appears to be only differences caused by disagreement on a single suggestion namely, that lexical insertion should occur in a block before non-lexical transformation applies. Simply put, this is the main difference. However, the difference itself is not one that can easily be resolved since the position of the Standard Theory cannot be easily changed because it is dictated by a major attitude to linguistic description which has always characterized all works in the Standard Theory tradition, and which was originally proposed in Syntactic Structure as:

> (4) "Only a purely formal basis can provide a firm and productive foundation for the construction of Grammatical Theory"[1].

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[1] Chomsky (1957 : 100).

Since the version of Transformational Grammar to be used here will tend more towards the Basic Theory, it will be necessary to discuss the objections of the 'Standard Theory' that could justify any adoption of the basic theory in a work like this one. It should be noted, however, that those working within the Basic Theory do not actually constitute a unified school since various systems of analysis e.g. McCawley's indices and Bach's contentives are found in recent works. However, they all agree on the non-existance of a level of Deep Structure which is defined as condition (3) of Chomsky 1971.

In 4, above not only does Chomsky contrast form with meaning (i.e. Syntax with Semantics) but he also states as an instrument of policy, the direction which future research in transformational grammar should take (i.e. the one observed in 3 earlier where everything linguistic is determined by 'form' (i.e. $\sum$ = Syntax). Thus it had been stated already in Syntactic Structures that whatever is included in future extentions of Transformational Grammar should have only a purely formal basis. Hence in Aspects, when Semantics was first officially recognized[1] as a subject for linguistics to describe, its only function was to interprete what had previously been fully specified in the 'purely formal' omnipotent syntactic component, since the syntactic component specifies an infinite set of abstract formal objects, each of which incorporates all information relevant to a single inter-

[1] Semantics was first recognised as a proper area of T.G. Studies by Fodor and Katz (1964: 479-518) But one might say that its official recognition came only with its incorporation into the general framework of TG in Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1965)

pretation of a particular sentence.[1]

However, recent attacks on the standard theory are directly referrable to the requirement 4 above, that 'only a purely formal basis' is needed for the construction of a grammatical theory and the deterministic definition of the Syntactic component in Aspects. For instance, since the syntactic component specified 'an infinite set' of abstract formal objects, and since each of these objects contains all information needed for the interpretation of any 'sentence', there is bound to be a duplication of information in the semantic component if the semantic component itself were developed as a system of projection rules. One such duplication of effort is that noted by Weinreich whereby there is a dictionary in the semantic component and a separate lexicon in the syntactic component. Thus, in an integrated theory, the existence of a lexicon separate from the dictionary is a vestigial absurdity, but one which can be removed without difficulty.[2] It is a vestigial absurdity because the duplication was originally caused by the reliance of linguists on "a conception of linguistic theory as a whole which did not anticipate a semantic component"[3] (i.e. the conception of a purely formal linguistic theory).

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1 Chomsky (1965: 16). This definition of the Syntactic Component is the original Aspects statement of 'Syntactic determinism' and Chomsky's definition of standard theory represented as 3 is a restatement of deterministic theory. In 3 Chomsky was unequivocal in asserting that "the sound-meaning relation (P.S)" is determined by Σ = (i.e. Syntax) existential Quantifier).

2 Weinreich (1966) reprinted in Steinberg and Jakobvits (1971: 312) fn b "Katz and Postal (1964: 161) postulate a 'lexicon' (distinct from the dictionary) which presumably specifies the phonological form of morphemes. Chomsky (1965) has the underlying phonological shape of morphemes specified by the same component - the lexicon - as the syntactic features.

3 Weinreich (1966).

So, objections to the Standard theory arise as a result of the lack of simplicity and generality entailed by a duplication of efforts in both the interpretive semantic component and the 'deterministic' syntactic component beside many other objections that have been noted by transformationalists. One such is the fact that the base of an Aspects Standard Theory generates many deep structures which are blocked by restrictions on the application of transformational rules and consequently have no surface structure realizations. This same filtering effect of transformations must be duplicated in some ways at least in the semantic component. Another duplication occurs in the existence of semantic selectional restrictions in the semantic component postulated by Fodor, Katz and Postal vis-a-vis the syntactic selectional restrictions of Chomsky (1965) which have the syntactic features like Human and Animate which are not completely distinct from the semantic features having the same names.

Apart from duplication, the standard theory as formulated by Chomsky (1971) makes the status of semantic representation more indeterminate than previously. In pre-(1971) standard theory (i.e. Aspects), the deep structure was set up only to determine semantic interpretations whilst the surface structure (a less significant level of representation at that time) determines only phonological interpretation. In the revised standard theory of (1971), there are three significant shifts of positions although the first two are related.

First, the reconstructed theory gives Fn - surface structure or rather "the structure determined by the phonolo-

gical interpretation of Pn with intonation assigned"[1], more powerful than the deep structure since it is capable of determining both phonetic representation and parts of semantic representation, whereas Pi, the deep structure, determines only the remaining part of semantic representation; thus, the significant level of representation now is the surface structure which is necessary for both semantics and phonetics.

Secondly, it was only the projection rules of Fodor and Katz (1963) and Katz and Postal (1964) that functions in the semantic component, but we have a different situation in the reconstructed standard theory of 1971[2] i.e. (5):(113) base: (P1, ..., Pi) (P1 the K-initial, Pi the post-lexical (deep) structure of the syntactic structure which is a member of K)

transformations: (Pi, ..., Pn) (Pn the surface structure; (P1, ..., Pn) ∈K)

phonology: Pn —— phonetic representation

semantics: (Pi, Pn) —— semantic representation (the grammatical relations involved being those of Pi, that is, those represented in P1).

In (5), Chomsky's final formulation of the standard theory, the (Syntactic) phrase markers at Pi and Pn including the grammatical relations represented in Pi[3], also participate

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[1] Chomsky (1971: 213) and (1972), Jakendoff (1975: 650), for redundancy rules in morphology.

[2] Chomsky (1971) and (1965), theories will henceforth be referred to as the 'Standard' and Aspects respectively in this Section.

[3] Note the parenthesized information following 'semantic representation' in (5) or Chomsky's (113). This does not suggest that P1 determines semantic representation, but that the grammatical relations represented in P1, the first phrase markers for lexical transformations, are the relations involved in Pi the DS.

in the determination of semantic interpretation, although it is not clear whether they are syntactic converses of, or actual replacements for semantic projection rules. Lakoff (1971b:269) actually assumes that the phrase markers (P1.....Pi) in the standard theory are replacements for the projection rules Am.....Ao in the Aspects theory. It is likely that Lakoff has misinterpreted the standard theory notation since both Chomsky and Lakoff used the same formula, the 'Syntactic Structure' (P1, ..., Pn) for entirely different purposes. Lakoff stated: 'Given a Syntactic Structure (Pi ... Pn) we define the semantic representation SR of a sentence as SR=(Pi, Pr, Top, F, ...) where PR is a conjunction of presuppositions, Top is an indication of the 'topic' of the sentence, and F is the indication of the focus of the sentence a'.[1]

As far as Chomsky was concerned, all P's with subscripts are in syntax, and there is no P1 in semantic representation SR e.g. in

(6) = "(32) $\sum$ =(P1, ...Pi.....Pn)"
↓ S ↓ P

Where the S and P on the lower line respectively represent semantic representation and phonetic representation. In the final version of the standard theory (i.e. 5 above), the only necessary change from the Aspects theory is that there is another arrow from Pn leading to S giving:

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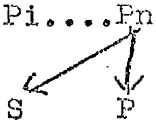
[1] Lakoff (1971b: 234) fn (a) suggests the possibility of eliminating topic and focus and representing them in the presuppositional part of the sentence. Perhaps this can make for simplicity in description when it is done.

(7) (Pl....Pi....Pn)[1]



Thus, the only clear difference between the Aspects theory represented as (6) and the latest standard theory (7), is that there is another arrow leading from Pn to S. If the vertical arrow from Pi to S in both (6) and (7) is interpreted as 'projection rules' and the vertical arrow from Pn to P as phonological rules the diagonal arrow (representing 'surface structure interpretation rules') cannot be interpreted as 'projection rules' - which are vertical, and which do not rely on phonological information like intonation from Pn or as 'phonological rules' (which are also vertical, but which do not lead to semantic representation). Perhaps a comprehensive and comprehensible formulation of 'surface structure interpretation rules' may later clarify the position of the diagonal arrow and the way it operates. Nevertheless, the schemata (6) and (7) still show that the standard theory has not yet abolished projection rules although it has abandoned the strong position in Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1965) that only the deep structure determines semantic 'interpretation'.

Hence, until the proponents of the standard theory give a full specification of the diagonal arrow in (7), it will be rash to suggest that the Standard theory has abolished the Katzian semantics, thus, Lakoff's account of the Standard

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[1] Note that (7) is the statement of the standard theory presented in Chomsky (1971). There are however corrolaries of (7) e.g. the suggestion in Chomsky that "it is quite possible that other terms in syntactic structure (Pl,...Pn) are also relevant for semantic representation". Since this suggestion will only increase the number of diagonal arrows, its discussion will be postponed till we have finished dealing with the problem of one diagonal arrow.

theory (1971: 234), and his reformulation of the standard theory in a full deviation (1971:264-5)[1] may be incorrect. All that can be said is that the semantic component of the standard theory is non-descript since it is no longer the vertical projection rule arrow of (7) alone, which directly determines semantic representation, but this vertical projection arrow plus a diagonal arrow which could even interprete items like presuppositions which are not represented directly in any part of Pn. It should be noted that one of the implications of the surface structure interpretation rules is that the surface structure could determine the semantic representation of structurally available formal objects like 'focus' (in normal intonation) and structurally unavailable formal objects like 'presuppositions', whereas the deep structure could determine only the semantic 'interpretation' of available formal objects like 'complex symbols' it should also be noted that presuppositions cannot be assumed to be structurally available the way the main verbs of sentences are, hence, the surface structure is even more stronger and significant than the deep structure in the latter's only field of operation - that of the semantic representation. By this, it only means that the only important reason for postulating a level of deep structure (for determining semantic interpretation) is not really cogent since the surface structure which can use

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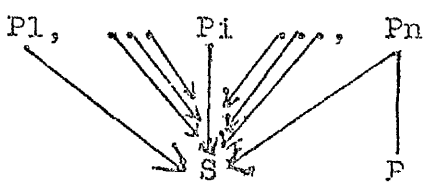
[1] It is very unlikely that Chomsky could have formulated the integrated standard theory the way Lakoff did it since the part from P. to Pn in Lakoff's reformulation (p.265) violates condition 1 (iii) of Lakoff (1971b). and Chomsky (1971) that "(iii) that there is no Po, Pl .... Pn meets conditions (i) and (ii)".

Assuming that Chomsky has abandoned Katzian Semantics, he is unlikely to incorporate a Po which violates one of the conditions he set up into the revised standard theory.

both structurally avoidable and structurally unavoidable information for determining semantic interpretation is now more powerful than the deep in its only task.

The third Shift in the standard theory is that it is assumed that it is possible for other terms in the syntactic structure (Pl .... Pn) "to be relevant for semantic interpretation". Apart from dwarfing the deep structure further, if it has not technically eliminated it, this assumption allows semantic interpretation to be multiply determined by an unspecified number of possible 'terms' in Pl, ... Pn, and some of these possible terms could be identical with some of the derivational constraints in the basic theory like subject raising, predicate lifting, quantifier lowering etc. In other words, both syntactic and lexical transformations affect meaning so that there can be many diagonal arrows now leading to S from Pl to Pn in (7) above. If every part of Syntax can now affect meaning (as the reconstruction of the corollary of (7) indicates in (8) below), then one is justified to doubt the necessity of a Syntax/Semantic distinction since semantics can now be relevant at every state in the syntactic component as suggested by:

(8) =



So, the third shift of position in the standard theory looks like a subtle move towards the basic theory position although the statement of principle from Syntactic Structures that

"only" a purely formal basis" (where purely formal, is

"only" a purely formal basis" (where purely formal, is

interpreted now as 'Syntactic') "can provide a firm and productive foundation for the construction of a Grammatical theory",[1] will always make the standard theory proponents resist the basic theory position (in theory but not in actual practice).

One can note at this stage, that Chomsky actually criticized and rejected what was variously referred to as 'a semantically based' theory of generative grammar,[2] and a semantically based grammar,[3] because "what one believes, realizes, etc., depends not only on the proposition expressed, but also on some aspects of the form in which it is expressed".[4] However, his general interpretation of 'based' e.g. when syntactically based, means that the 'sound-meaning relation (p.s.) is 'determined by Σ'[5] (where Σ ='Syntax') will make it difficult for his criticism to be justly applicable to the basic theory. For instance, the basic theory did not state that the deep structure-phonetic representation relation (Pi, P) is determined by semantics. Hence, the basic theory is not 'semantically based' in the sense in which the standard theory is 'syntatically based', and so the standard theory's proponents' real criticism of the basic theory is yet to come on this crucial point.

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[1] Chomsky (1957: 100).
[2] Chomsky (1971: 186).
[3] Chomsky (1971: 197).
[4] Chomsky's fn. 9 (1971: 197) is omitted here.
[5] Chomsky (1971: 185).

2.0.1 Linearity in the Surface Structure.

In 1.0.4 above we discussed briefly Bamgboṣe's model. Here, we are going to show how inadequate the model is, to handle the linear structure for the surface nominal.

If we have, in Bamgboṣe's Nominal Group, m, H, Q,[1] on the top line, in the expansion of Q we have n, j, l, k, d, t. If these two factors are brought together we shall have m, h, n, j, l, k, d, t, as a single line representation. From this, it is clear that l obligatorily comes between j and k. Now, let us consider the analysis of a nominal using the model.

(9) Ẹgbẹ̀rin ajá dúdú ó lé kan (800 dog black it increases-by one) '801 black dogs' (where the underlined part constitutes a sentence).

Using Bamgboṣe's analysis we shall come up with Ẹgbẹ̀rin as h, ajá as n, dúdú as j and ó lé kan as k (the ranshifted qualifier). So for (9), Bamgboṣe's grammar will give us the structural description hq where q is realized as njk i.e. (9) is hnjk. But we know that what we actually have is a numeral, a noun and an adjective. In the structural description there is no mention of the 'numeral' at all. It should be noted that the type of inadequacy now being pointed out actually occurs in Bamgboṣe's structural analysis (1966: 114). This inadequacy is not peculiar to Bamgboṣe's grammar alone as we shall shortly see.

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[1] Bamgboṣe (1966: xii & 99).

If we use Afọlayan's analysis what we shall come up with is m h g where Ẹgbẹ̀rin (800) will be m, ajá will be the head, dúdú will be the adjective, and ó lé kan will be rankshifted qualifier. This will now give us m h j k. However, we get better information by the designation m h j k than is provided by the earlier h n j k since it, at least, gives us the information that the head of the N P is ajá 'dog' and not Ẹgbẹ̀rin '800'. However like Bamgbose's analysis, it fails to tell us that there is any numeral in the NP. So, it is quite obvious now that this constituent cannot be adequately handled by the systemic grammar. However, we can reasonably assume that no serious efforts have been made to provide an adequate and generative structural description which indicates the right place that the numeral occupies in the Yoruba nominal group, moreover from our discussions in the preceeding paragraph we can come to the conclusion that the linear NP structure of the Systemic Grammarians is difficult to justify if established as the only structural model for the Yorùbá Nominalization. There are more structural types to be examined, but in this section, we shall not go into further details since our main aim here is just to show that we are not using a new method to rework other people's grammars, and that no work, to the best of our knowledge, has actually been done so far on Yorùbá Nominalization in full scale.

2.0.2 Phonology and Syntax.

In terms of the version of transformational generative phonology presented by Chomsky and Halle (1968: pp.6-7), a grammar consists of three main components, namely, the Syntactic, Semantic and Phonological components.

The syntactic component comprises two major Sub-components: the base component and the transformational component. The base component, in turn, includes a categorial component, the lexicon, and the lexical insertation Rule. The Categorial Component specifies in terms of Grammatical Categories and relations and lexical categories the basic sentence patterns of a language. The lexicon consists of a finite number of lexical items or morphemes. Each lexical item is constituted by three sets of features: Syntactic, Semantic and Phonological features. These features represent the idiosyncratic syntactic, semantic and phonological properties of a language. A set of lexical redundancy rules, specifies the predictable syntactic, semantic and phonological characteristics of the morphemes. The function of the lexical insertation rule is to place the lexical items in the appropriate positions in the basic sentence patterns generated by the Categorial Subcomponent.

The level of structure of sentence that is specified by the base component constitutes its logical structure. A syntactically unambiguous sentence is assigned only one logical structure. A syntactically ambiguous or homonymous sentence is assigned as many distinct logical structures as there are ways in which it is syntactically ambiguous. The logical structure generated by the base component constitutes the input to the semantic component of a grammar. The semantic component assigns to each sentence, via its one or more logical structures, a semantic interpretation.

The major task of the transformational components is to derive the surface structure of each sentence from its logical structure and other underlying structures. The other

structures are the input of the phonological component. This component assigns to each surface structure a phonetic representation. Both the semantic and phonological components operate solely on impulses which they receive from the syntactic component.

In Yoruba it can be said that phonology is often dependent on syntax as argued in the preceeding paragraphs, but it will not be right to suggest that syntax completely determines phonology contrary to Chomsky's (1965) suggestions that 'the knowledge of syntactic structure representation helps in phonological descriptions so that phonology is not completely independent of Syntax', one of the distinguishing characteristics of Yorùbá sentences is the presence of (phonological) high tone between the subject NP and the following VP. In other words, the knowledge that there are NP's and VP's is relevant to tone assignment in most cases. In many published works this phonomenon is described and used in arguments to prove that Yorùbá 'Predicative Adjectives' are verbs (see Delanç, 1965). Here, we may prove that what follows the junction could be a VP and not necessarily a verb. However, there are certain exceptions that are difficult to explain. For instance, this phonological high tone does not occur if the first element in the VP is the Neg. formative 'Kò' 'not' or if it is the future tense formative yío 'will/shall' although it appears before the perfective aspective formative ti 'have'. The environment of the exception is difficult to state since both yío and ti could be called auxiliaries and while the exception holds for one it does not hold for the other.

It should be noted that to a very large extent, the distinctions that are normally made in Syntax are also reflected in Yorùbá phonology. We shall use example of the distinction which Bamgboṣe made between his 'pronominals' and his 'pronouns' for this discussion. Bamgboṣe called the 'pronominals' - a closed system sub-class of nouns which are pronoun substitutes. In one particular respect, it is quite clear that 'pronominals' and nouns are similar in that monosyllabic verbs ending in low tones change their tones into mid whenever they preceed 'pronominals' and nouns but retain their low tones if they preceed 'pronoun'.

In the examples below, we use object pronouns in (10) object pronominals in (11), and object nouns in (12). We shall mark the mid tone on the verbs since it is what we want to call attention to. The item nâ at the end of every sentence means 'also'. It is not to be confused with the homophonous determiner nâ 'the'.

(10) (a) Ó tì mí nâ (he push me also) 'He pushes me also'
(b) Ó tì ọ́ nâ (he push you also)
'He pushes you also'
(c) Ó tì í nâ (he push him/her/it also
'He pushes him/her/it also'
(d) Ó tì wá nâ (he push us also)
'He pushes us also'

(11) (a) Ó ti èmi nâ (he push I-myself also)
'He pushes me also'
(b) Ó ti ìwọ nâ (He pushes you also)
(c) Ó ti ọ̀un nâ 'he pushes him/her/it also'
(d) Ó ti àwa nâ 'he pushes us also'

(12) (a) Ó ti Pàdé nâ 'he pushes Pàdé also'
(b) Ó ti Ọlá nâ 'he pushes Ọlá also'

(c) Ó ti Jókǒ na 'he pushes Jókǒ also'
(d) Ó ti Ọkùnrin yẹn nâ 'he pushes that man also'.[1]

(12) (a-d) could be either surprise or additional information.

We may note that the low tone on the verb tì is retained when it preceeds pronouns in (10), but this low tone is changed to mid elsewhere i.e. before nouns and 'pronominals'. In (12), the first three examples shows that the tone on the following noun can be high, mid or low. The example (12)(d) is intended to show that the following noun need not be a personal name. A determiner yẹn is inserted between Ọkùnrin and na in (12)(d) in order that nâ might not be interpreted as the determiner 'The'. This is done to complete the symmetry stated from (10)(a) when all nâ's are interpreted as 'also'.

A second observation about the phonological evidence for grouping pronominals with nouns is found in the behaviour of 'conjunctive pronouns' i.e. Bamgboṣe's 'pronouns' that occur before VP's. Earlier, we stated that there is a high tone junction between subject NP's and the following VP's, but there is an exception in the case of prnouns. Any pronoun that preceeds a VP retains its tone. Consider (13) (a-c) which are mid, mid and high respectively.

(13) (a) mo rí ọ 'I see you'
(b) O rí mi 'You see me'
(c) Ó rí wa 'he sees us'.

It is likely that the retention of the tone is necessary in the case of pronouns as a disambiguating phenomenon between the second and third person singular pronouns.

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[1] For further information on tones, see Rowlands, E.C.(1969 : 9-12).

Note that the third person singular pronoun has a high tone in (13) (c) whereas the second person singular pronoun has a mid tone. If the NP tone junction rule is applied to pronouns, then there would be some ambiguity between the second and third person singular pronouns when they function as subjects in syntactic structures.

The third piece of phonological evidence we intend to give here is that all nouns in Yorùbá are polysyllabic. This fact proves that they are not self dominant. All abbreviated forms of nouns are also polysyllabic. Even when personal names are abbreviated, the abbreviated forms are polysyllabic. Thus, there is no abbreviated form of any Yorùbá personal name that is monosyllabic. Here, we find that Bamgbọṣe's pronominals too behave like nouns since all of them are polysyllabic. But all pronouns and verbs like some articles are monosyllabic.

There is, in fact, syntactic evidence for grouping pronominals with nouns, and in determining what the ideophone is in the language, this will be discussed at length in Chapter V, below. Here, our main interest is in the significance of syntax for phonology, and it seems that with the pronoun - pronominal examples, the points that are necessary have been made. However, phonology plays a very important role in Yorùbá grammar.

2.0.3 The Framework.

The framework that is used in this work is in the tradition of the basic theory. Apart from the observations on the standard theory in (2.0.0) above, there are reasons to suggest that the basic theory will help us in obtaining a

more satisfactory solution to the problems attacked than the standard theory. For instance, we wish to propose a sentential derivation not only for Yorùbá nominals but also for elements within the nominal rules, like nouns, verbs and adjectives. One of the advantages of sentential derivation for forms like the Yorùbá numeral system is that we are able to provide a common underlying form for different classes of numerals (e.g. cardinals, ordinals, distributives etc.) although in most Yorùbá descriptions of the numeral system, only the cardinal can be produced beyond a certain low limit. If the rules postulated by those Yorùbá grammarians who cared to discuss the numeral adequately for generating ordinals were applied beyond the one hundred and eighty fourth position (184th), only ungrammatical, unacceptable and uninterpretable forms would be obtainable e.g. *Ẹ̀kọgọ́sanlémárun for the 185th position. It is through the type of sentential representation suggested here that the productive capacity of the Yorùbá numeral system can be adequately accounted for.

It is certainly the case, that one implication of sentential derivation for parts of nominals is that syntactic rules like syntactic transformations would have applied to the suggested underlying representations of these parts of nominals in order to derive the single lexical item that is ultimately inserted in the appropriate parts of the nominal. For instance, Ẹ̀kẹrìnlélógọ́san (the 184 position) could be derived from:

(14) ipò tí ó jẹ́ ọgọ́san ó lé ẹrin
(Position which it is 180 it plus 4)

'the 184th position' through some syntactic transformations like deletion, and it is the derived structure Ẹ̀kẹrìnlélógọ́san

that is inserted as a lexical item in Pi or logical structure of the standard theory.

The underlying similarity of '184th' and '185th' could be shown in a representation of '185th' that follows the pattern of (9) above e.g.

(15) ipò tí ó jẹ́ ọgọ́san ó lé àrún
(position which it is 180 it plus 5) the 185th position.

The difference between '184th' and 185th will then be a derivational rather than an underlying one since(14), can later develop into Ẹkẹrìnlélọ́gọ́san through a series of syntactic transformations like the deletion of ipò tí ó jẹ (position which it is). The sister adjunction of lé 'plus/increase' to the right of Ẹrin 'four' giving Ẹ̀rìnlé, the adjunction of nf - (the Trf = Transformational formative) to the left of ọgọ́san '180' giving nf ọgọ́san lọ́gọ́san and the sister adjunction of the derived Ẹrinole to the left of lọ́gọ́san giving the numeral form Ẹ̀rìnlélọ́gọ́san. From this numeral form, the Cardinal forms: Ẹ̀kẹrìnlélọ́gọ́san 'the 184th' or Kẹrìnlélọ́gọ́san '184th' could be derived. If instead of ipò 'position' of(14)&(15)we had iye 'amount' we would have now derived merìnlélọ́gọ́san '184th' which is the Ordinal form. The main point here, is that all Yorùbá Ordinals are similarly represented at a certain stage and are converted into the forms normally inserted at Pi. Thus, without violating the Boolean condition of analyzability, true syntactic transformations like adjunction, sister adjunction and deletion could even apply before Pi, the stage which must precede all Syntactic transformations (or 'Upward-toward-the surface cyclical transformations') in the standard theory.

Since true syntactic transformations like deletion and adjunction would have already applied before we reach Pi , the main condition on Pi, that it precedes all post-lexical i.e. Syntactic transformations, is violated. But if we do not violate this condition (and thereby reject the deep structure as defined in the standard theory), we will be unable to state the similarity between the 184th position and higher positions, i.e. (from 185th to infinity) which are similarly represented in underlying representation as demonstrated in the preceding paragraph. Moreover unless we violate the condition on Pi, and provide sentential transformation for nominalization such as in numerals, we will be unable to prove that Yorùbá can actually generate and conceptualize the 185th position and positions with higher figures, since there is no single formative representing '185th' (the way Ẹ̀kẹ̀rìnlélógóṣan represents 184th), which can be inserted at Pi. Consequently the abandonment of the standard theory for the basic theory is absolutely correct while the standard theory is incorrect. In fact, the basic theory itself may be wrong in some of its assumptions. It is still in the formative stages. Nevertheless, since the publication of Lakoff's article on 'Instrumental adverbs',[1] one common and significant style of argument in linguistic research by transformationalists, had been to show that the relationships between some pairs of sentence types could not be correctly stated if only the purely syntactic deep structure of the standard theory were available. The suggestions about the Yorùbá numerals in the preceding paragraphs also follow this general trend. However, whether the basic theory were basically correct or not is irrelevant,

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[1] Lakoff, G. (1968).

provided it can make for greater generality and simplicity in describing the areas where the standard theory will make the statement of generalization impossible.

2.0.4 Syntactic Transformation Before Pl

It is assumed that the phrase marker Pi of the Syntactic Structure $\sum$ = (Pl ... Pi ... Pn) of the standard theory in present-day transformational grammar refers to the 'autonomous' level of syntactic deep structure, and is described as:

(16) Given (Pl ... Pn) in K, there is an i such that for $j < i$, the transformation used to form Pj + 1 from Pj is lexical, and for $J \geq i$ the transformation used to form Pj + 1 is nonlexical b.[1]

The main implication of (16) is that there is a certain level Pi between Pl and Pn which is the level from which all Syntactic Transformations start to operate. In 2.0.3 above, it was suggested that certain similarities in underlying representations are very easily statable only if we have sentential derivations for some Yorùbá noun phrases, and that true syntactic transformations would have applied in such derivations even before we derive the lexical items that are later inserted at Pi. A sketch of this proposal is given below. It is worked backwards from Pi, the level of syntactic deep structure, in the sense that the phrase markers are numbered Pi-1, Pi-2 etc. The numbering is done this way, because we make no assumption about what the representation at Pl (the K-initial phrase marker) is, Pi-6 in the representations below would have occurred between Pl and Pi.

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[1] Chomsky, N. (1971: 184), Condition (3), for further information see Chomsky, N. (1972: 71) on the standard theory.

Let us assume that in the Yorùbá sentence:

(17) Adé wà ní ipò kẹrìnlélógọ́jọ

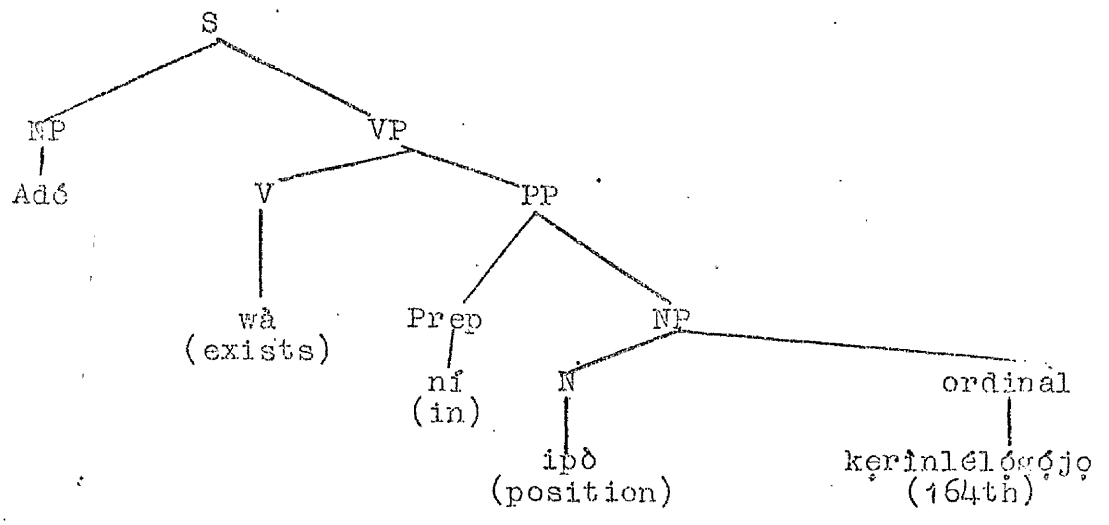
'Ade is in the 164th position'.

the item Kẹrìnlélógọ́jọ '164th' occurs as a single lexical item which is an ordinal at the level of syntactic deep structure. Let us further assume that this single lexical item was derived only through lexical and morphological rules, and that it has not yet been operated upon by any syntactic transformational rule. If our assumptions were correct, then the derivational history of Kẹrìnlélógọ́jọ from smaller elements would not violate condition (16) above, and so, it would guarantee the existence of the autonomous level of syntactic deep structure.

However, only one of our assumptions is correct, and the correct one is the first assumption that Kẹrìnlélógọ́jọ occurs as a single lexical item at the level of Pi of the Syntactic deep structure. The incorrectness of the second assumption is demonstrated through the following derivations for numerals in underlying representations.

At the level of syntactic deep structure, we can have a simplified representation like (18) for (17).

(18)

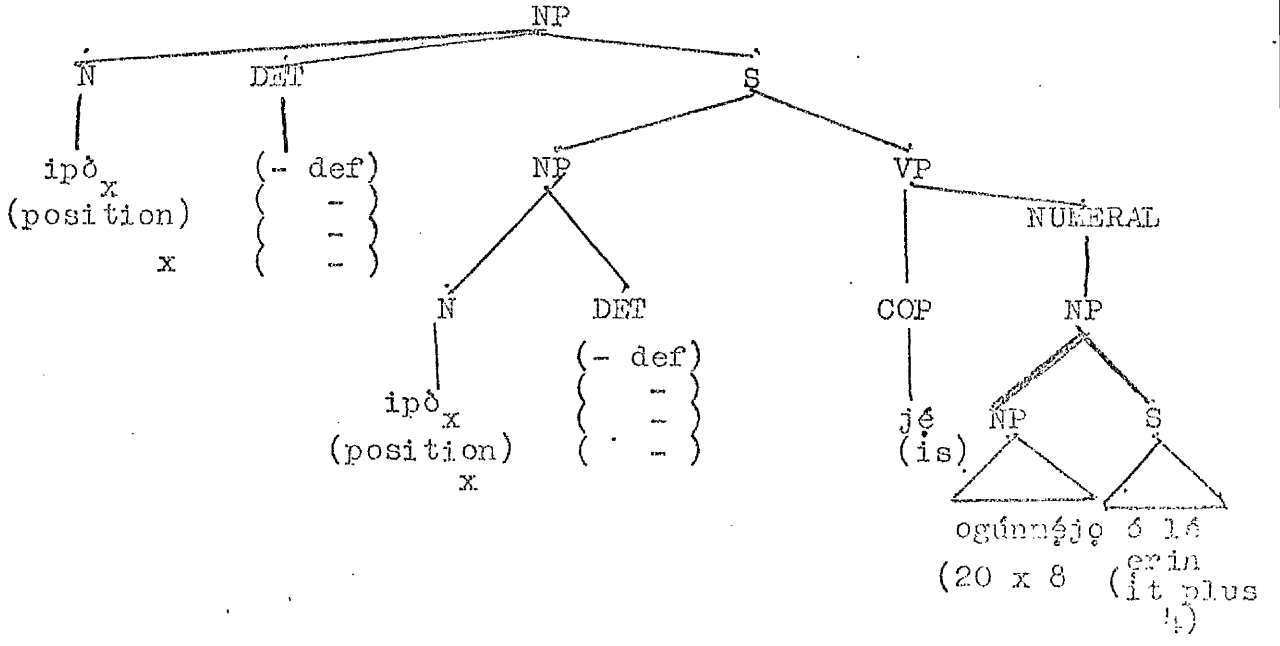


(18) represents a typical tree representation for (17) at Pi after lexical insertion, that is, after all lexical transformations have applied so that there is no complex symbol representation or any Aspects representation on the tree. We shall leave the deep structure representation as it is in (18) and now operate at another stage before Pi.

Suppose at Pi-6, we concentrate only on the NP that was dominated by PP (prepositional phrase) at Pi, i.e. in (18), then at this level we can disregard other parts of (18) except NP = ipò Kẹrìnlélógójọ under the assumption that there is no change in the syntactic structure of the disregarded part of (18) throughout the derivation from Pi-6 to Pi. Thus, although we apply transformational rules on NP representations from (19) below, the complete structure index on which such transformational rules operate is a sentence like (18).

Hence, at Pi-6, we can expect the lowest NP of (18) (the NP dominated by PP) to be represented as (19).

(19) Pi - 6.

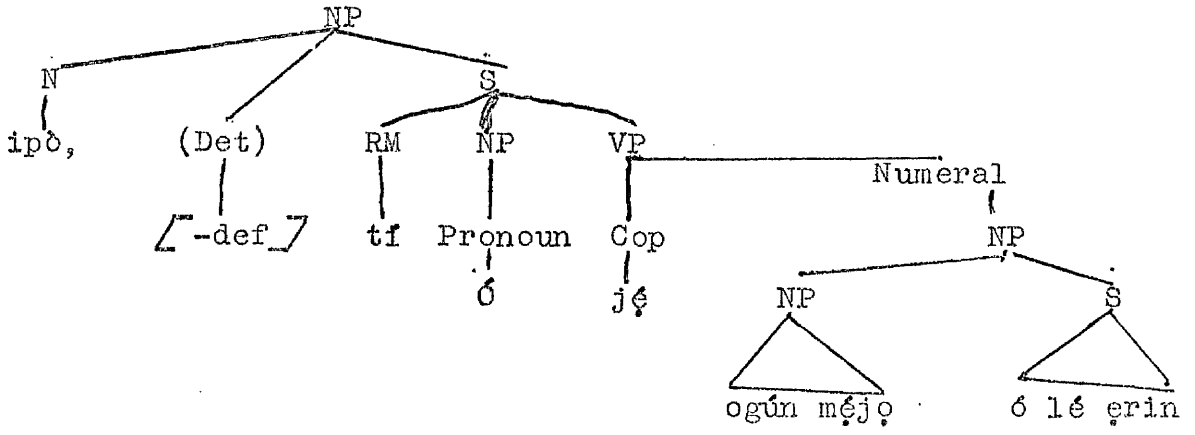


literally (position a (position a is twenties eight it increased - by four)).

'the 164 position'

We assume for convenience that the final forms of the lexical items used could be represented on the trees as in (19). Note the similarity of (19) to the underlying structure we propose for NP's in general. From (19), through a relativization transformation, we could derive (20), the phrase marker Pi-4 (assuming that the two similarly indexed items ipò 'position' in (19) are coreferential.

(20) Pi - 4



literally (position which it is 160 it increased by 4) 'the position which is 164'.

Notice that the formulation chosen in (20) for the derivation of the relative clause construction is quite the traditional one, for an alternative formulation see 4.1.0 - 4.1.1 below.

The derivation of Pi-4 from Pi-6 (i.e. (20) from (19)) involves two processes. First, we have the relativization process which involves the adjunction of the Relative Marker (RM) to the left of the second occurrence of $ipò_X$ in (19). Then we have the pronominalization of the second $ipò_X$.

Both the relativization and pronominalization processes involved in the derivation of Pi-4 from Pi-6 are respectively represented as (21) (a) and (b) below:

(21) (a)

		N		DET		N	DET		COP	NP	
SD:		NP				S	NP		NP	VP	
										NUM	VP
	Pi-6	1	2			3	4		5	6	⟹
SC:	Pi-5	1	2		RM	+3	4		5	6	

Conditions: 1 = 3 and 2 = 4

(b)

		N		DET		RM	N	DET		COP	NP
SD:		NP				S	NP		NP	VP	
										NUM	VP
	Pi-5	1	2			3	4	5		6	7
SC:	Pi-4	1	2			3	PRON	Ø		6	7

Conditions (i) 1 = 4 and 2 = 5
(ii) (21) (a) has applied.

The output of 21(b) is the tree diagram (20) above which represents the P-Marker Pi-4.

Note that both the relativization rule (21) (a) and the pronominalization rule (21) (b) are true syntactic transformations which should normally occur after Pi, the level of syntactic deep structure, but now we find them operating from Pi-6 to Pi-4 (i.e. before Pi, the level from which true syntactic transformations should start to operate). Note that the boundary symbol '#' is not used in the derivation from 4 downwards since the NP being considered is no longer the whole of the sentence in (17).

Next, we wish to consider Pi-3 and at this stage we intend to expand the Numeral NP i.e. 6 of the sentence description of (21) (a) above. Since other parts of (21) will remain unchanged in the derivations that follow, we shall now concentrate only on the numeral NP. So, we have reduced

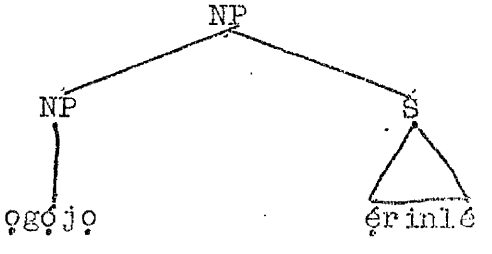
the Sentence Description twice. First, we limited our description to the NP that is dominated by a PP in (18), and now, we intend to limit the description to the Numeral NP that is dominated by VP in the Sentence Description of (21) or in both Pi-4 and Pi-6.

(22)	SD:	NP / $\bar{N}$P	/ $\bar{S}$	PRON	V	N] S	] NP
		Pi-3 1		2	3	4	⟹
	SC:	Pi-3 1		- ø	ø	4 + 3	

Where 2, 3 and 4 of the SD constitute the expansion of (21) (i.e. ẹ́ lẹ́ ẹ̀rin) in examples (19) to (21) (a) and where the numeral NP at Pi-3 is the 6 of the SD of rule (21)(a) or the 7 of rule (21) (b). We have omitted one stage in the derivation, that from Pi-4 to Pi-3. That stage is reserved for the derivation of (20 x 8) '160' from Ogún ẹ́ jẹ́ ọ̀nà mẹ́jọ (20 it is times 8) '160'. It is the derived ọgọ́jọ at Pi-3 that will be dominated ultimately by the NP represented by 1 in the Sentence Description of (22).

The transformational operation in (22) is the conversion of Pi-3 to Pi-2 through the sister adjunction of the verb lẹ́ 'exceed/increase by' to the right of ẹ̀rin the the 4 of the Sentence Description. After the operation of (22), we now have a tree like:

(23)



and this becomes the SD at the next stage in derivation where Pi-2 is transformed to Pi-1. The next major operation is the

permutation of the remaining element in (23), by a prepositional element nf[1] that occurs between Ẹ̀rìnlé and ọgọ́jọ after their permutation. Suppose the adjunction of nf to the left of ọgọ́jọ takes place during the mapping of Pi-2 onto Pi-1, and the permutation of nf ọgọ́jọ and Ẹ̀rìnlé takes place during the transition in derivation from Pi-1 to Pi. Then at Pi, we can take Ẹ̀rìnlénfọgọ́jọ which later becomes Ẹ̀rìnlélọ́gọ́jọ after the operation of the necessary phonological adjustment rules outside the Syntactic component (i.e. after Pn). We shall however, use the final form Ẹ̀rìnlélọ́gọ́jọ in our discussions here. But this does not imply that phonological rules can apply within the syntactic component. The form, Ẹ̀rìnlélọ́gọ́jọ '164', will be the general numeral form, and from it, the ordinal forms kẹrìnlélọ́gọ́jọ '164th' and ikẹrìnlélọ́gọ́jọ 'the 164th and the cardinal form mẹrìn lé lọ́gọ́jọ '164' could be derived morphologically as suggested in 2.1.2 below. What one finds is that true syntactic transformations have to apply between Pi-6 and Pi, and unless some syntactic transformations could also be called lexical transformations, this derivation will have grave consequences for condition (1) p.32 above which draws a strict line between lexical transformations needed before Pi, and non-lexical transformations from Pi to Pn.

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[1] Abraham 1958: 440 treated this prepositional element nf as the nf which occurs after some verbs like kúrò "leave". With verbs like lé in Ẹ̀rin lélọ́gọ́jọ (160 + 4) '164' or dín, 'less' in Ẹ̀rin dín lọ́gọ́jọ (160-4) '156'. It appears the formative nf is a construction from nf orí, lórí 'on top of' 'lé' and nf inú, nínú (in stomach of) 'inside of' for dín. Hence, an alternative way of expressing Ẹ̀rìnlélọ́gọ́jọ '164' and Ẹ̀rìndínlọ́gọ́jọ '156' is to use Ẹ̀rin ó lé and 1 orí ọgọ́jọ 'four extra on top of 160' for former and Ẹ̀rin ó dín ọgọ́jọ 'four less from within 160' for the latter.

However, in an effort to save the concept of syntactic deep structure and guarantee the autonomy of Pi, one can propose an alternative derivation. For instance, assuming that a prepositional element had to be introduced between ẹ̀rinlé and ọgọ́jọ after their permutation, one may propose underlying structures for ẹ̀rinlélọ́gọ́jọ which will put ẹ̀rìn before ọgọ́jọ and give underlying representation to the prepositional element. In fact, this is a possible way out of the problem.

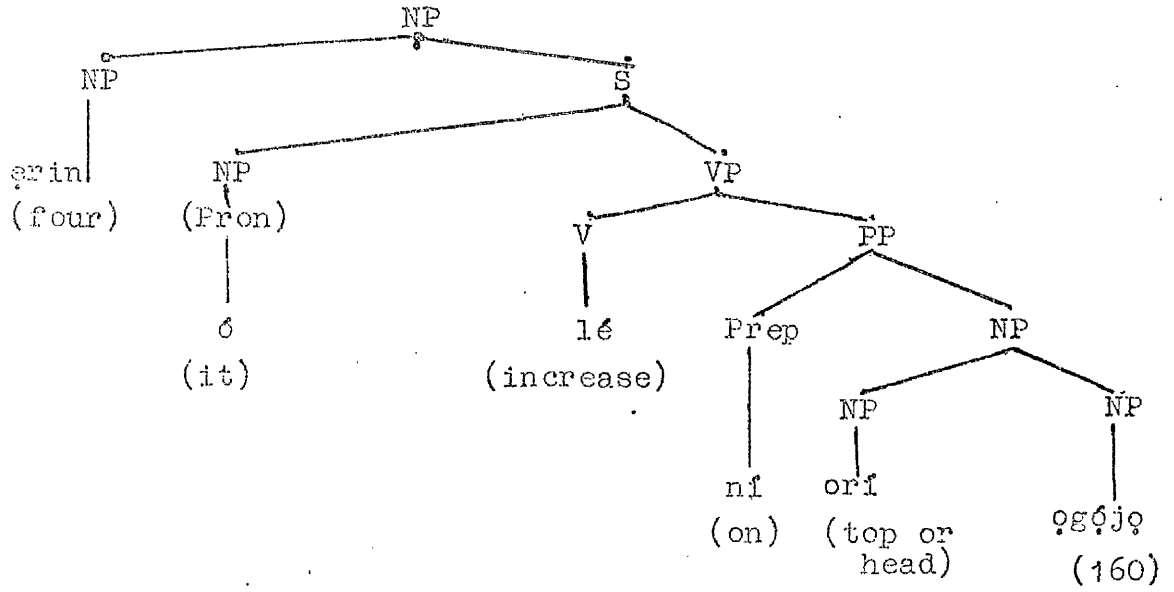
Thus, we can have the following representation as a replacement for the numeral NP at Pi-3 i.e. (22) above.

(24) ẹ̀rìn ó lé lórí ọgọ́jọ
(four it increases on-top-of 160) = 4 + 160 = '164'

A counterpart of (24) for the representation of numerals subtracted from groups of tens between 20 and 180 will be:

(25) Ẹrin ó dín nínú ọgọ́jọ
(four it decreases from within (160) = four from 160 = '156'

A tree for (24) will look like this:



i.e. (four, it increases on top of 160) = '4 + 160' or '164'

from (25), we may allow the deletion of ọ́ 'it' and orí 'head' to take place before Pi, and after the operation of all necessary phonological adjustment rules in the phonological component, we have 'Ẹ̀rìnlélógọ́jọ'. We shall modify the labelling Pi-3 of (22) above to Pi-1 since a smaller number of P-marker mapping is required for the derivation. This means that corresponding adjustments of earlier P's will be necessary so that the Pi-6 of the earlier derivation is the Pi-4 of the present one. Different stages of this derivation may then have the lexical representations in (26).

(26)	(a)	Ẹ̀rin ọ́ lé ní orí ọgọ́jọ	at Pi-2
	(b)	Ẹ̀rìn lé ní orí ọgọ́jọ	at Pi-1 and
	(c)	Ẹ̀rìn lé ní ọgọ́jọ	at Pi which becomes
	(d)	Ẹ̀rìn lé lógọ́jọ	after Pn in the phonological component -

Note now that deletion is the only syntactic rule employed. In order to guarantee the autonomy of Pi, all we have to do now is to suggest that deletion is also a lexical rule. This suggestion is necessary since we actually have deletion operations in (26) (b) and (c) rather than the phonological rule of assimilation which is excluded from syntax. For instance, assuming that the pronoun ọ́ were assimilated into Ẹ̀rin in (26) (a) it will change the tone on Ẹ̀rin to Ẹ̀rìn as indicated in the representation (26) (b). This is the only possible surface form of (26) (b) since Ẹ̀rin with the mid tone on the second syllable will sound odd there. But if what we have in (26) (b) had been real assimilation, them, this modified tone pattern on Ẹ̀rìn will be retained on the final form Ẹ̀rìnlélógọ́jọ. On the other hand, there are two low tones on the Ẹ̀rìn of Ẹ̀rìnlélógọ́jọ, and this shows that the pronoun ọ́

was not really assimilated and that the operation in (26) is syntactic and not phonological.

The deletion of Ori 'head' at Pi-1 however, can hardly be disputed since it has had no phonological effect on the surrounding items at Pi the next stage, which is the level of syntactic deep structure. Thus, it appears that some radical changes about the concept of lexical and syntactic transformational rules (e.g. the labelling of 'deletion' as both a syntactic and a lexical transformational rule) may have to be done in order to guarantee the autonomy of Pi, the level of syntactic deep structure.

Note, however, that the above discussion is based on what happens to the Numeral NP from Pi-2 to Pi, and nothing was said about the levels Pi-4 and Pi-2 to corresponding respectively to the former Pi-6 and Pi-4) where a relativization transformation was used to map Pi-4 onto Pi-2. It is now certain that relativization is recognized as a lexical transformation so that whatever happens at this level is a further support to the maintenance of the level of syntactic logical structure.

The only way out of the dilemma posed by the Pi-6 of the first proposal (or Pi-4 for the second) for the proponents of an autonomous Pi level is to repudiate it and suggest that there is no such phrase-marker as Pi-6 and no such transformational derivation as example (21) above. But the purpose of Pi-6 and Pi-4 is to show the similarities in the underlying representations of subclasses of the numerals like ordinals, cardinals and distributives. These subclasses of numerals are different to the extent that they use different

to the extent that they use different 'Classifiers' in the place of the ordinal classifier - ipò 'position' in Pi-6 and that they are similar in that all other parts of their underlying representations are identical for instance, the only difference between the ordinal Ẹ̀kẹ̀rìnlélógọ́jọ 'the 164th' and the cardinal Mẹ́rìnlélógọ́jọ '164' is that the former uses the classifier ipò in the tree representations (19) and (20) above whereas the latter will use the classifier iye 'amount' in the same place in (19) and (20). A disregard for Pi-6 and Pi-4 of the first proposal in order to guarantee the autonomy of Pi implies that generalities and similarities concerning subclasses of elements in the Yorùbá nominalization will be unstatable.

So, one finds that the alternative derivation suggested in order to guarantee the autonomy of Pi and safeguard condition (1) above still fails to exclude the operation of true syntactic transformation before Pi. There are reasons to reject the alternative derivations e.g. the dissimilarity in underlying representations between low numerals (i.e. those below two hundred) and the higher numerals (those above 200) which (25) and (26) above imply, or even the treatment of deletion as a lexical transformation, but it seems there is no need to discuss the inadequacies of this alternative solution since it does not solve the problems of an autonomous Pi level.

2.1.0 THE STRUCTURAL SKETCH OF YORÙBÁ.

As the transformational generative framework is used, the terms we use e.g. S for sentence, N for noun, NP for Noun Phrase, Conj, for Conjunction etc. should be understood within the theory of the grammar we use. Some brief

comments on the grammatical model used here and a glossary of the syntactic terminology employed appear later in the work.

Bamgboṣe (1966) suggested two requirements for any good grammar. First, 'a proper description must be based on a linguistic theory'[1], and secondly, categories cannot be assumed. They must be defined by reference to structures.[2] The present work satisfies the first requirement since it is based on the transformational generative theory of linguistic description. Before it can satisfy the second requirement, we should examine how Bamgboṣe's Grammar met the requirement and then follow his example.

Bamgboṣe described the sentence as 'the highest grammatical unit in Yorùbá' and added that 'it can only be structurally defined in terms of structure'. Since Bamgboṣe used Halliday's Scale and Category Theory of Grammar, in which unit is a technical term, it seems any direct reference to the theory underlying a descriptive grammar could help in the task of Category definition. We shall take note of this technique when we define the categories used. Another technique of category definition from Bamgboṣe ~~is to~~ suggests that certain categories are determined only by surface structure sequence, for instance he suggests the structure, 'n, j, l, k, d, t, for 'qualifiers' of the 'head' noun where the six symbols represent nominal, adjective, numeral, rank shifted, deictic, and post deictic qualifiers respectively. Thus

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1 Bamgboṣe (1966: 5).

2 It appears he found the definition of categories used so significant that he had to emphasize the principle 'that a bad definition is better than no definition', (p.5).

Bamgbọṣe had six 'sequence determined secondary elements of structure',[1] in the ''nominal group''[2]. Having listed the surface structure sequence of the six secondary elements of structure, he was able to give definitions like this: 'the class of words operation at d is deictic' and 'the class of words operation at j is adjective'[3]. This second technic of definition fails to satisfy what Chomsky described as the condition of 'descriptive adequacy'[4] since no reason or explanation is given to show why the numerals are not adjectives or vice versa. It appears that Bamgbọṣe's 'numerals' are indistinguishable from his 'adjectives'. He has several examples where he analyses what he calls 'numerals' as 'adjectives' although the two classes (i.e. numeral and adjective) are 'Sequence determined'. In effect, this second technique of definition is inadequate, and it seems the only justification for it is the statement quoted earlier: 'A bad definition is better than no definition'. Our definition here will generally refer to the theoretical framework we are using unless we use terms in peculiar ways, then we shall give our own definitions of the terms we use.

The sentence is what is ultimately dominated by a S node in the tree structure of a phrase structure grammar (where node, S, tree, dominated, and phrase structure have their conventional interpretations in transformational grammar). Bamgbọṣe divided the Sentence into (i) 'the single sentence structure[5] (ii) the complete sentence structure,[6] and (iii)

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1 Bamgbọṣe (1966: 99).
2 Bamgbọṣe (1966: 98).
3 Bamgbọṣe (1966:114).
4 Chomsky (1965: Chapter 1).
5 Bamgbọṣe(1966:112).
6 Bamgbọṣe (1966: 28).

the compound sentence structure; Bamgboṣe's grammar will be, in transformational grammar, one in which no other sentence is embedded.

Examples:-

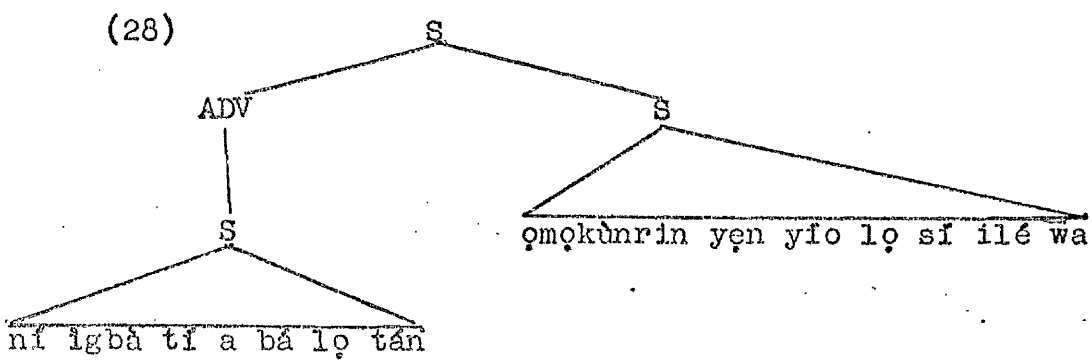
(27) Ọmọkùnrin yẹn yío lọ sí ilé wa
(boy that will go to our house)
'That boy will go to our house'.

This proves, beyond reasonably doubt, that 'single sentence structure' is an 'S' which contains no internal occurrence of another 'S' node. The internal structure of an 'S' is usually NP, VP, where VP (i.e. Verb Phrase) may be rewritten as V, NP or V alone, or V, NP, PP etc. This contrasts with Bamgboṣe's analysis where the NP object of the NP dominated by the VP is absent. Afọlayan (1968), has correctly pointed out that Bamgboṣe's SPA analysis is not adequate for the Yorùbá Language since Yorùbá actually has surface structure objects.

A complex sentence is one in which some sentences are dominated by non-sentential elements like ADV (adverb), NP (noun phrase) etc.

Example:-

(28)



(at time which we happen go finish, boy that will go to our house). 'When we are gone, that boy will go to our house'.

A compound sentence structure is one in which one S node dominates directly more than one S node (and the dominated S nodes are linked by linking elements known as conjunctions). The parentesis is unnecessary since the direct dominance of more than one S by an S often involves the occurrence of at least one linking element in underlying representation, e.g. S——→ and S. Moreover, as one can see later, in this work, not all these linking elements will be represented in surface structure representations: e.g.

(29) Ọkùnrin yẹn yío lọ sí ọjà ôun yío sì ra ọ̀bẹ kan níbẹ̀
(man that will go to market he will conj. buy knife one there)
'That man will go to the market and he will buy a knife there'.

(30) Ọkùnrin yẹn yío lọ sí ojú ogun ṣùgbọ́n kò ní padà
(man that will go to the face war, but not have to return)
'That man will go to the battlefield but he will never come back alive'.

(31) S ——→ S Conj S

But a complex sentence is derived through rules like in (21) and (22) above.

(32) S ——→ ADV S

(33) ADV ——→ S

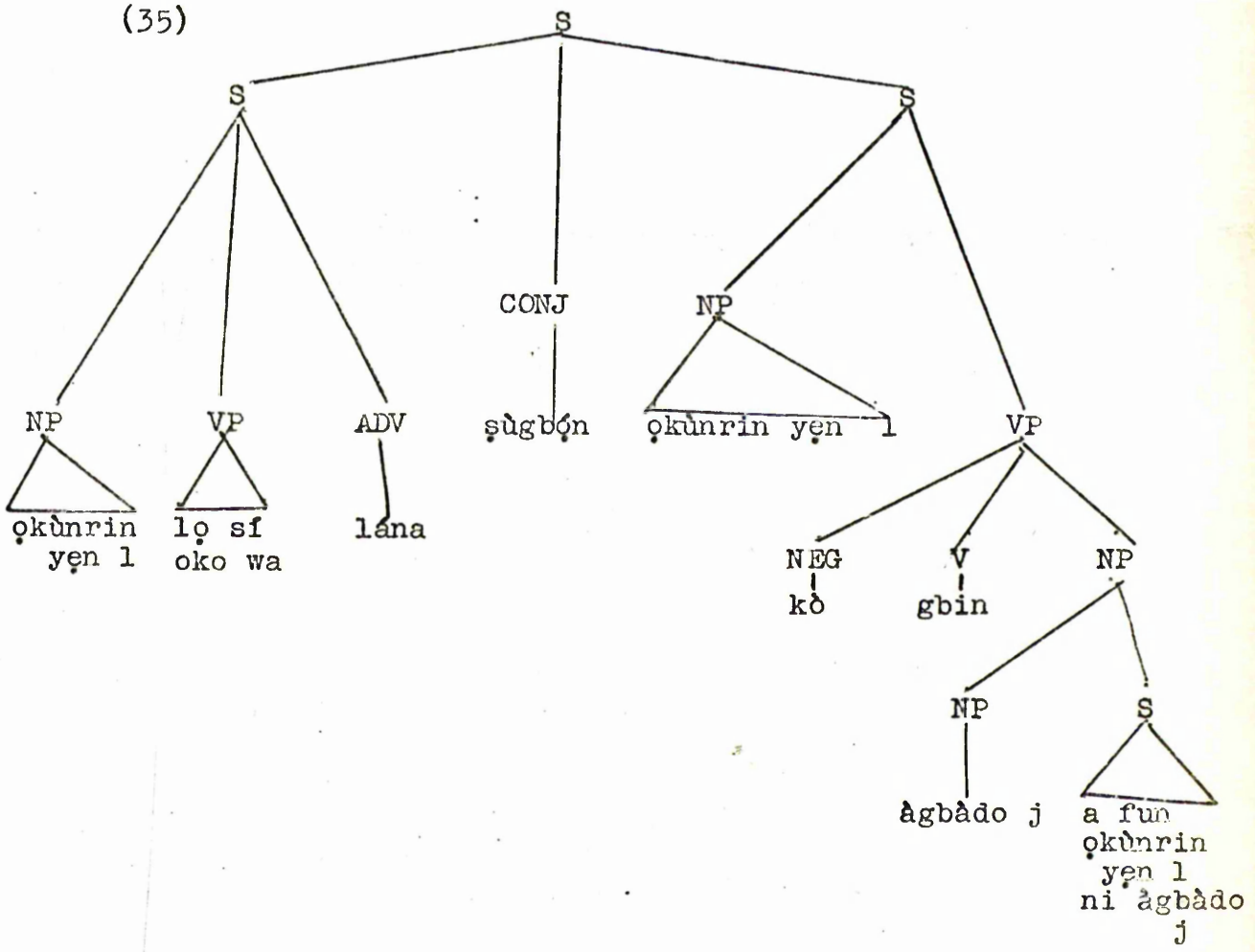
Note that when S is directly dominated by ADV as in (33), it is often preceded by an adverbial formative like nígbà tí (at time which, when) ní ibi tí (at place which) where, tí or bí 'if' bí ó tilẹ̀ jẹ́ pé (If it even is that) 'although' etc. .... If S is dominated directly by NP, it could be preceded by elements like pé 'that' etc. (See Chapter V below).

There are more involved structures where compound setences occur within complex sentences or vice versa. Since examples of such involved structures will be used later when we examine the relative and other structures, we shall just give two examples now.

(34) Ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána, ṣùgbọ́n kò gbin àgbàdo tí a fún un.
(Man that go to farm our yesterday, but not plant maize which we give him).
'That man went to our farm yesterday, but he did not plant the maize which we gave him'.

We can represent (34) by the tree diagram (35).

(35)



Where items with the same index are coreferential e.g. the three instances of ọkùnrin yẹn 1 and the two àgbàdo j in (35).

In (35) the conjoined sentences occur immediately below the topmost S while the embedded sentence occurs towards the end of the tree diagram.

However, it is possible for conjoined sentences to occur within a complex sentence i.e. not immediately dominated by the S node which is the topmost element in PS trees.

Example:

(36) ilé yín ni mo ti rí ọkùnrin tí ó lọ sí oko wa, tí kò gbin àgbàdo wa, tí kò bá wa ká kòkó wa, ṣùgbọ́n tí ó fi ilá wa fún àgbọ̀rín jẹ́,[1] (house your is I have see man which he go to farm our, which not plant maize our, which not for us pluck cocoa our, but which he give okro our give deer eat)[2].

'It is in your house that I saw the man who went to our farm, who did not plant our maize, and did not help us to pluck our cocoa, but who used our okro to feed some deer.'

In (36) there are four conjoined sentences, each 'modifying' or saying something about ọkùnrin 'man' an element of a higher sentence in tree structure.

Structure like (36) cannot be described by Bamgboṣe's grammar since he defined a 'complex sentence' as one which consists of an α preceded by one or more β 'S' where α is defined as 'the free clause element' i.e. (one S not dominated by categories like ADV, NP etc.) While a β is

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[1] In (36) we indicated the β Clause of Bamgboṣe (1966: 28), by a single under score and we use a double underscore to mark the first part of the α Clause. Actually, the rest of the sentence is a part of the α Clause, since the four relativized sentences that follow the underlined parts of (36) modify ọkùnrin 'man' (and could be treated as 'rank-shifted clauses' in Bamgboṣe's framework).

[2] This item fi ... fún is discontinous. It is Synonymous with fun 'to give' hence we literally gloss it as (give .... give).

defined as 'the dependent clause element (i.e. one S structure that is dominated by non-sentential elements like ADV etc.). Since his dependent clause element must precede his free clause element, his grammar can only account for  structures and not  structure. Hence, his grammar can produce:

(37) nkan tẹ́ ẹ sọ yẹn ỏótọ ni.[1]
truth is thing that you say
'What you say is true or what you say is the truth'.

Note that the 'dependent clause element' (i.e. nkan tẹ́ ẹ sọ yẹn) in (37) contains a noun nkan 'thing' a relative clause marker tí 'which' which becomes tẹ́ through a vowel assimilation and a sentence, the underlying form of which will look like ẹ sọ nkan yẹn (you say thing that) 'you said that thing'. It is a perfect example of a S dominated by NP in tree structure, and at some stage during its derivational history, it is likely to have a rule like:

(38) NP ⟶ N RM S (where RM is a relative marker).

2.1.1 Some General Sentence Types.

The Yorùbá sentence types are worth mentioning at this stage. They are the 'declarative', 'the interrogative' and 'the imperative'. These three types which are recognized in transformational grammar are correct for Yorùbá. Since we do not use any of those terms (e.g. 'declarative') in any sense that is different from its conventional usage and interpretation, it will be superflous to hunt for language specific

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[1] Bamgbọ̀sẹ (1966: 28). His transcription is retained.

definitions of such terms. They actually belong to the theory within which we work.

All the sentences we have provided so far are examples of declarative sentences. For the interrogative sentence, some question words are used in the surface sentences e.g. ǹjẹ́ and ṣé initially in sentence structure with bí and ndan finally. The question word will be represented as QW (Question word) in the literal translation of examples here e.g.

(39) Ǹjẹ ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána ?

(40) Ṣé ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána ?

both (39) and (40) are (QW man that go to farm our yesterday)
'Did that man go to our farm yesterday ?'

(41) ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána bí ?

(42) ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána ndan ?

both (41) and (42) are (man that go to farm our yesterday QW)
'Did that man go to our farm yesterday ?'

The interrogative can also be realized through a tag[1] e.g.

(43) Ọkùnrin yẹn lọ sí oko wa lána, tàbí kò lọ ?
(Man that go to farm our yesterday, or not go)
'that man went to our farm yesterday, didn't he ?'

A sentence of declarative structure generally functions in utterance as a statement. But when declarative sentences occur on high registers, they usually function as questions. However, both statements and questions are found on high or low registers in Yorùbá so that the surface structure realiza-

[1] In English, a question tag does not necessarily require an answer, invariably it requires a sort of reaction from the listener, but in Yorùbá it requires an answer.

tion of underlying sentences having the declarative structure could ambiguously represent statements and questions when taken out of contexts, Bamgboṣe observed:

'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 of a question if it is heard in isolation.[1]

It seems that ambiguity between statement and questions is a surface structure phonomenon since surface structure questions and surface structure statements would normally have different underlying representations. If we adopt Ross's[2] suggestion 'that every deep structure contains one and only one performative sentence as its highest clause', we can use the differences between the underlying performatives for statements and questions to handle such surface ambiguities.

The Imperative Structures like:

(44) Dìde 'Stand up'

(45) Fún mi nf owó yẹn (give me (Trf) money that)
give me that money.
The imperative is a prohibition when it occurs in the negative e.g. in:

(46) Má fún mi nf owó yẹn (don't give me Trf money that)
'do not give me that money'.

2.1.2 Derivational Morphology in Syntax

Chomsky concluded the Aspects with an ironical verb phrase 'remains an open question'. This sums up many of the

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[1] Bamgboṣe (1966: .54).
[2] Ross (1970: .261).

crucial syntactic discussions in the book. Where Chomsky has not explicitly kept some questions open, it is easy to find certain locutions that can be interpreted as ways of keeping the questions open: and where such locutions cannot be found, post Aspects generative literature has reopened several topics from Aspects. Without reopening any of the open questions already mentioned in the preceeding chapter e.g. autonomous level of the syntactic deep structure, and while ignoring other equally significant problems e.g. the centrality of syntax, the problem of selectional restrictions and the syntactic relevance of case categories, and finally the filtering power of transformations, we shall reopen the question of derivational morphology with special reference to Yorùbá nominalization, and suggest that more than one duplication is inevitable in Yorùbá syntactic structure if the controversial requirement that lexical insertion takes place in block makes us list certain classes of derived nominals in the lexicon.

The listing of derived nominals in the lexicon is symptomatic of restrictive conditions on rules which were stated in Aspects as:

(47) (a) "Once a subcategorization rule has applied to a certain category symbol α no branching rule can apply to any of the symbols that are derived from α [1].

The restrictive condition represented as (47) (a) also occurs as:

(b) "once a subcategorization rule has applied

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[1] Chomsky (1965: 112).

to form a complex symbol Σ, no branching rule can later apply to Σ".[1]

The implication of condition (47) (a), is that derivational morphology is prohibited in syntax. Since branching rules[2] will be needed for deriving 'horrid' and 'horrify' from horror etc. such derivations must not take place because complex symbols like (+ N), (+ Common), and (- Count) must have been derived from the category symbol N through subcategorization rules before getting the root 'horror', and once the first subcategorization rules have applied, no branching rule can apply. Hence all derived lexical items must be listed in the lexicon. The main reason for listing them is that they are quasi-productive and besides, they will complicate the transformational subcomponent of the grammar. At this stage, we may say that a branching rule with a categorial symbol like NP, V, N, VP, etc. occurs on the right hand side of the rewriting arrow $\longrightarrow$ e.g. S $\longrightarrow$ NP, VP. Note that one type of branching rule excluded by condition(1)is; Personal Name $\longrightarrow$ S or Personal Name NP. Since the personal name will be specified as the feature complex (or complex symbol [+ N] - Common - Count + Human).

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[1] Chomsky(1965: 113). The earlier form of this condition will be the preferred one here for notational reasons. Since we have already used the symbol Σ for the syntactic structures (Pi ... Pn) of transformational grammar we should refrain from using the same symbol for 'Complex' 'Symbols'. Since (47) (a) and (b) are different ways of stating the same condition, this notational preference creates no differences in empirical consequences.

[2] See Chomsky (1965: 112) for branch rules which are rewritten rules of the categorial subcomponent in grammar.

No branching rule can develop S or NP from such features by condition(1). A subcategorization rule on the other hand has complex symbols or sets of specified syntactic features on the right of the rewriting symbol (which is still an arrow in Aspects). Hence a subcategorization rule "forms or extends a complex symbol".[1]

The position represented by condition (1) was however recognised as being too severe: "This restriction may be a bit too severe, and we must apparently weaken it slightly" (Chomsky 1965: 112). This weakening took place later when the restriction was stated to 'hold only above the level of the word' (p.189). However, this weakening of Condition (47), was reserved by the establishment of the lexicalist hypothesis. The lexicalist hypothesis which was stated earlier will be repeated here for convenience as Condition(48) It implies that 'derived nominals' as opposed to 'gerundive nominals' must be entered in the lexicon.

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[1] See Chomsky (1965: 112) for the definition of branching and subcategorization rules. The problems of the use of the rules to derive related items like horror horrid horrify terror (*terrid) terrify: Candor candid (*Candify): or telegram phonography gramophone, etc" are discussed in Chomsky 1965: 186-9. It seems the syntactic and semantic idiosyncracies of the English derived nominals which were discussed by Chomsky and by Stockwell et al could make the lexicalists proposal admissible for English. The problems of semantic idiosyncracies actually exist for a few Yorùbá derived nominal groups, e.g. Fàiyàwọ́ = fi-àiyà-wọ́ (take chest crawl) 'smuggling' where the semantic content of the derived fàiyàwọ́ is not a summation of the derivation, but on the question of productivity. The derived nominal groups discussed are unlike those in English.

In this work we are not actually disproving the lexicalist hypothesis generally but suggesting that there is no reason to draw sharp distinction which Chomsky and the lexicalists did for gerundive and derived nominals, (see Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1970: 187).

(48) 'We might extend the base rule to accommodate the derived nominal directly (I will refer to this as the "lexicalist position"), thus simplifying the transformational component: or, alternatively, we might simplify the base structures, excluding these forms, and derive them by some extension or the transformational apparatus' (the "Transformationalist position").

The main suggestion in Chomsky's lexicalist paper was that a lexicalist framework (involving a list in the lexicon) could be proposed for 'derived' nominal groups while the transformationalist position could be adopted for gerundive nominals,[1] since there exist three principal differences between gerundive nominals and derived nominals which justify the solution. The first basic difference concerns the matter of productivity where "the transformation that gives gerundive nominals applies quite freely ... but there are ... many restrictions on the formation of derived nominals." On the productivity questions, the Yorùbá examples to be examined here fail to justify Chomsky's separate treatment for gerundive nominals and non gerundive nominals. The second main difference deals with the 'idiosyncratic character of the relation between gerundive and derived nominals and the associated Verb',[2] and the third principal difference between gerundive and derived nominals is that "Only the latter have the internal structure of noun phrases, through their occurrence

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[1] In the last paragraphs of the lexicalist paper (Chomsky 1970: 214-5), the discussion was extended to nominals of a third group with some peculiar properties e.g. 'The growing of tomatoes' which Chomsky labelled 'The "Mixed" form', p.215. The lexicalist solution was half heartedly proposed for the mixed forms. Later in this work, the term derived nominal group will be used to include gerundive nominals also.

[2] Chomsky (1970: 188).

with the full range of determiners, their ability to pluralize, their inability to contain aspect" etc. However, in Yorùbá language, as we shall soon see, there is no special class of gerundive nominal derivational processes, they are not always clearly distinguishable from the derivations of other forms of derived nominals e.g. the àì + VP or (àì + V) nominalization which derives both negative factive nominals and negative abstract nouns as in:

(49) (a) àìsùn fact of 'not sleeping' or 'wake keeping' from sùn to sleep'.

(b) àìlèsùn fact of 'not being able to sleep' or sleeplessness' from lè sùn 'can sleep'

and

(c) àìgbọ́ràn fact of not obeying 'disobedience' from gbọ́ràn to obey.

Thus, the anti-lexicalist suggestions we make for Yorùbá derived nominals (where derived nominals include gerundive nominals) are based on very productive syntactic derivational processes. And besides, it has even been observed by linguists that similar productive derivational processes could be found in several West African languages and in a number of American Indian languages, that the majority of nouns appear to be derived from verbs by means of productive syntactic processes.

In all, we examine seven sources of nominalization viz: infinitival, Gerundive, Factive, Non-Factive, Personal and Place names, Ideophones, and Nominal compounding. Note that each of these has its own subgroups, that is, Infinitival, for example, has Purpose Nominalization, Non-Purpose Nominalization etc. (See Table of Contents above).

In this study the following assumptions are made (a) That the English examples used by Chomsky for the discussion of derivational morphology at word level in the Aspects and for the 'derived nominals' of the lexicalist paper are quasi-productive and so could have justified the imposition of condition(1) (p.31 above). But then the Yorùbá examples that will be discussed here, like Chomsky's gerundive nominals in the lexicalist paper are very productive, and are covered by generalizations used elsewhere in Yorùbá grammar for the nominalization of sentences. (b) That although it is sometimes possible to choose between complicating the base or complicating the transformational subcomponent while working with Chomsky's English examples in the lexicalists paper; in the Yorùbá examples here it is only possible to choose between complicating the base or not complicating it, and neither choice reduces the burden on the transformational sub-component.

Note that the pure syntactic rules like deletion and adjunction will be needed even for the derivation of derived nominals though this is not mentioned as one of our assumptions now since the fact provided independent evidence against the use of lexicalist framework for Yorùbá nominalization derivational morphology. It seems we shall ultimately arrive at the conclusion that there is no possibility of a solution within the standard theory framework (lexicalist) that could be used to prevent the duplication of purely syntactic transformations in the lexicon (i.e. between Pl and Pi) and in the transformational subcomponent of the syntactic component (i.e. between Pi and Pn for Yorùbá nominalization derivational morphology). The arguments that will lead to this conclusion will be advanced in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER III

3.0.0 INFINITIVAL NOMINALIZATION

The infinitives are taken to be the secondary consequence of several distinct processes, which have the effect of leaving the subject of the embedded sentence dangling. Infinitives occur regularly when the subject of an embedded sentence is removed by a transformation or when it is raised into the superordinate clause, and the VP is simultaneously daughter - adjoined to the right of the VP of the higher sentence.

The subject of the contained sentence can be deleted under identity with a noun phrase in the containing sentence, that is, Equi - NP Deletion rule.

Rule 2. Equi - NP Deletion

SD: X - NP - V - NP - V - Y

1 2 3 4 ⇒

SC: X - 1 - 2 + $\emptyset^{R1}$ - 4 - Y

Conditions 1. X - Y variables

2. 3 is erased and the relic is sister-adjoined to 2.

Consider (1). Mo fẹ ẹ lọ

(I want ẹ - go

'I want to go'

the logical structure of which is represented as (2).

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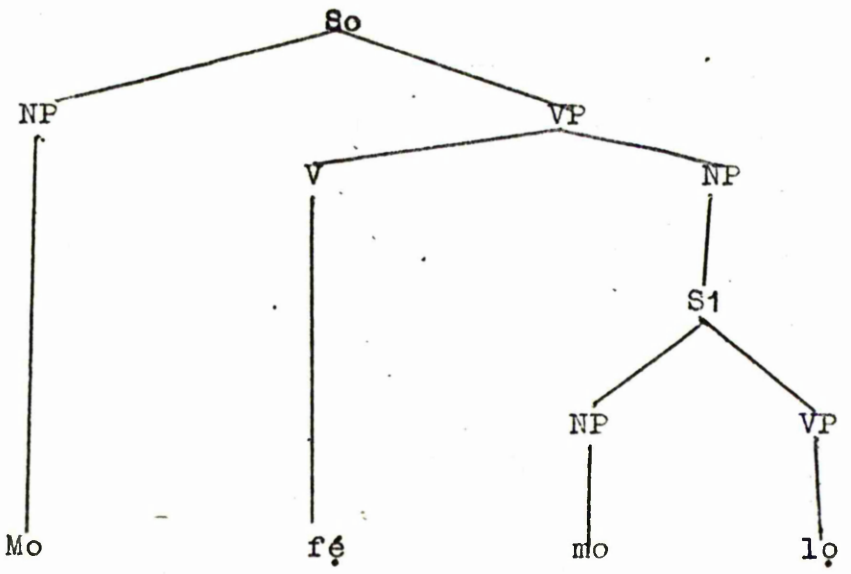
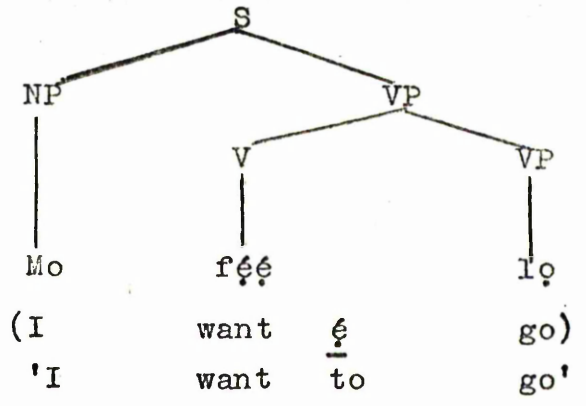
[1] Where R represents the relic of the deleted NP.

(2)



Notice that the subject of S1, that is, the embedded sentence, is deleted under identity with the subject of So, the matrix sentence. Then the S1 gets pruned, and the VP becomes an infinitive which is sister-adjoined to the right of the VP of the higher S as witnessed by (3) below:

(3)



(see Chapter V below for the length of the verb fẹ́).

The second way, as mentioned above, is by raising the subject of the embedded sentence, and at the same time the VP is daughter-adjoined to the right of the VP of the higher sentence.

Rule 3. Subject Raising

Raise the subject of the contained sentence to make it the object of the containing sentence. Then change the subjective

to objective pronominal.

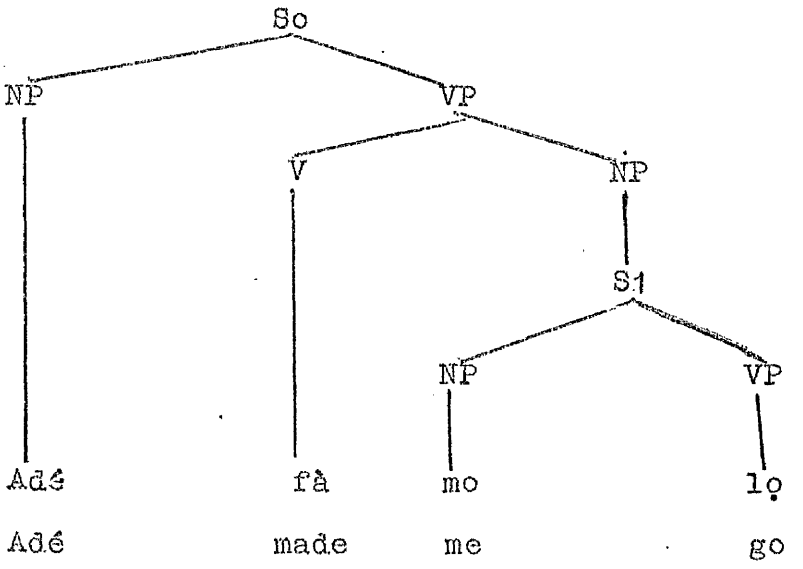
Consider:

(4)

Adé	fà	mí	lọ
(Adé	pull	me	go)
'Ade	made	me	go'

in which the subject of lọ is raised to become the object of the verb of the containing sentence. Sentence (4) is represented in the logical structure as (5).

(5)



The verbs which trigger the infinitive formation as in (3) in the language are listed, among others, in Ward (1952: 116) as 'verbal combinations where a long vowel occurs when certain verbs are immediately followed by another verb ... in every case the lengthening is on the high tone, and would therefore correspond to the reduplicated form which is the noun'. Bamgbọṣe (1966: 76-7) attributes the occurrence of the phenomenon to 'the high tone nature of assimilation of the original verbal prefix f. Rowlands (1969: 67) takes more or less the view already expressed by Ward, that is, 'the extra length given to the vowel in these cases is best regarded as really a prefix of an infinitive form'.

Bamgbose (1971: 77) apparently takes the syllable to be a prefix, he concludes 'the non-occurrence of high tone junction after the verbs can simply be explained by the fact that such verbs cannot occur before the infinitive, the assimilation of the prefix admits no exception'. Awobuluyi (1967: 139) proposes the following frame for the A-verbs (we shall present the classification later in this section).

" ~~+~~ S ~~+~~ láàti ~~+~~ NML (ti) NC ~~+~~"

and for the B-verbs (p.129) he proposes the following frame:

"marked [+ --- NML (ti) NC] in the lexicon".

There are a number of reasons to doubt, at a very high level of abstraction the appropriateness of the conclusions of the aforementioned scholars - at varying degrees.

Notice that all (the scholars) but one, base their conclusions on phonological evidence alone, and this of course is a surface level property. As far as that goes they are correct.

Professor Awobuluyi, who presents his argument on a syntactic basis has to formulate five rules for reducing conjoined sentences into complement structures, our conclusion is that only one rule is required as we shall soon demonstrate. Professor Bamgbọse on the other hand makes us believe that 'verbs take prefixes to become verbs', which is contrary to the normal theory of Yorùbá word formation, because prefixation leads naturally to nominalization in the majority of, if not in all, cases.

There are two types of infinitives in the Yorùbá language, first, there are those with overt marker <u>láti</u> (nf/lí + àti) or àti ? (à + ti) and the second, those

with high tone lengthened vowel preceding them. It is quite obvious that láti is a compound whether àti is a compound consisting of (à + ti) is not clear.[1] However, it is observed that the extra vowel and láti 'to' are mutually exclusive as they occur in the same position in the surface structure configuration in the language.

We present the table of the verbs which trigger the infinitives according to the authors mentioned above (for Abraham's extra see below the table).

(6) Awobuluyi (1970:29-38)	Bamgbose (1966:76-77)	Ward (1952:116)	Rowlands (1969:101)	Abraham (1958:xxvi)
bẹ̀rẹ̀ (si) to start, begin to	✓	✓	✓	-
tó 'to be enough'	✓	-	✓	✓
ṣe 'to be possible'	✓	✓	✓	-
fẹ́ 'to want'	✓	✓	✓	-
ní 'to have'	✓	✓	✓	-
mọ̀ 'to know'	✓	✓	-	✓
dùn 'to be sweet'	✓	-	-	-
yé 'to stop'	✓	-	✓	-
ṣòro 'to be difficult'	✓	-	-	-
wù 'to please'	✓	-	-	-
ṣíwọ́ 'to stop'	-	-	-	-
kọ́ 'to learn'	-	-	-	-
kú 'a verb in greeting'	-	-	-	-
sú 'to tire'	-	-	-	-
pẹ́ 'to be late'	-	-	-	-
yá 'to be quick'	-	-	-	-
gọ́ 'to tire'	-	-	-	-
wá 'to come'	-	-	✓	-
lọ 'to go'	-	-	✓	-
dára 'to be good'	-	-	-	-

[1] See Chapter IV on conjunction [cf. Awobuluyi (Forthcoming) and Rowlands (1969)].

Abraham has on his list the following: bọ̀ and dù: bọ̀ 'of emerging',
as in:

(a) Ó ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ ń dìde bọ̀
'He's beginning to make his way in the world'.

(b) dù 'to strive'
A du u epo ra
'We struggled to buy oil'.

The following are the list of verbs with which láti cooccurs, alternating with the high tone syllable:

(7)

Group A	Group B
pẹ́ 'to be late'	fẹ́ 'to want'
yá 'to be quick'	bẹ̀rẹ̀ (si) 'to begin (to)'
tó 'to be ready/enough'	dẹ́kun 'to refrain'
ṣe 'to be possible'	ní 'to have'
dùn 'to be easy/sweet'	ṣíwọ́ 'to stop'
ṣòro 'to be difficult'	yọ́ 'to sneak out'
sú NP 'to bug NP'	kọ́ 'to learn'
wù NP 'to appeal to NP'	wá 'to come'
yé NP 'to be clear to NP'	
rọrùn 'to be easy'	
gọ̀ 'to be stupid'.	

These are the verbs that are claimed to induce a high tone syllable between them and the following infinitives. Notice that some of them are compounds and also that A-verbs correspond to the intransitive subject - embedding verbs in the language. Many, though not all of them take inanimate deep subjects and always cooccur with the inanimate pronoun ó 'it'. Most of the verbs are factive and emotive (see Chapter V below).

The group B verbs invariably have animate deep structure subjects, as opposed to the group A verbs, they are

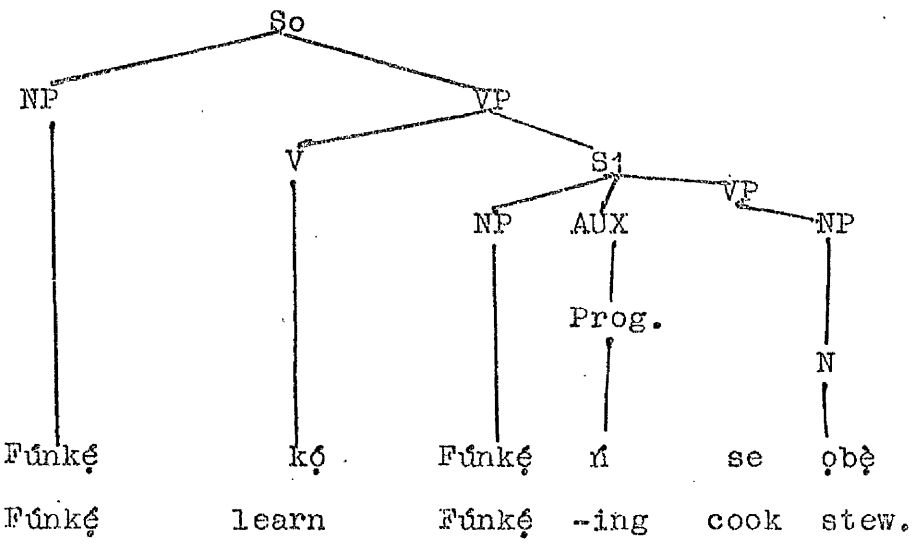
transitive object embedding verbs. They do not cooccur with the inanimate pronoun ọ́ 'it'. They are mostly non-factive and non-emotive verbs (see Chapter V).

Notice that they are all Equi-NP-Deletion verbs which almost at all times allow object-to-object raising or embedded object deletion under identity. In the diagrams that follow we leave out details about the matrix sentence and concentrate on the embedded sentence because it is the source of the infinitive. Consider:

(8) Fúnkẹ́ kọ́ ọbẹ̀ é sè
(Fúnkẹ́ learn stew cook)
'Fúnkẹ́ learns how to cook stew'.

It should be noted that ọbẹ̀ 'stew' originates from the object position of the contained sentence as witnessed by the logical structure represented as (9).

(9)



Then Equi-NP-Deletion will delete the second occurrence of Fúnkẹ́ while object-raising will move the object of the contained sentence, that is, ọbẹ̀ 'stew' to the right of the containing sentence. Consider:

(10) * Fúnkẹ́ kọ́ ọbẹ̀ ń sè
Fúnkẹ́ learn stew -ing cook.

To convert (10) into (11)

(11) * Fúnkẹ́ kọ́ ọbẹ́ sè (Fúnkẹ́ learn stew cook)

the progressive marker would have to be deleted by the progressive marker deletion rule, that is:

Rule 4: Progressive Marker Deletion

SD: X - 1 - 2 - 3 - ń - Y ⇨
SC: X - 1 - 2 - 3 - Ø - Y

Condition = X - Y variables

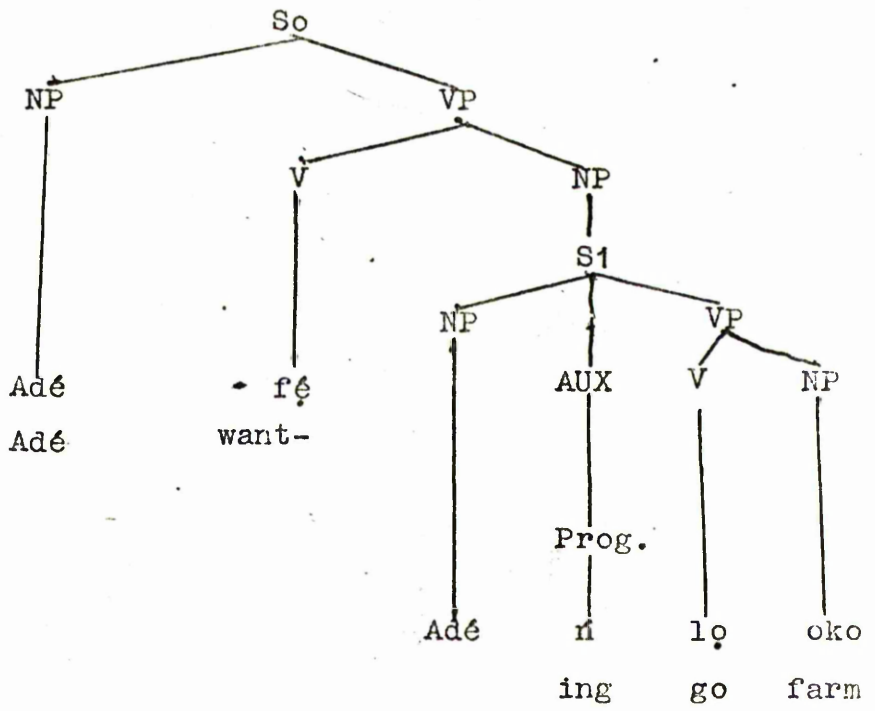
it should be noted that the vacuum created by the deletion of the progressive marker cannot be left unoccupied without making the sentence ungrammatical, hence (11) above. It is the relic of this marker that induces the presence in the surface structure of the high tone syllable, which the earlier analyses could not account for.

As observed earlier in this section, 'láti/àti' 'to' is conceived of as inserted element in the surface structure, which is obligatorily introduced to replace the progressive marker in the deep structures of complement sentences, just as the case of the high tone syllable discussed in the preceding paragraphs. It is introduced either after Equi-NP-Deletion rule or Raising has applied. It should be noted that in cases where 'lati/ati' does not replace the progressive element, the progressive marker occurs in the surface structure configuration of the infinitives. Notice that the high tone is the assimilated relic of the progressive marker, which is always present in the deep structure of the contained sentence according to this analysis. Consider:

(12) Adé fẹ́ ẹ́ lọ oko
Adé want é lọ oko
Ade want/-s-ed to go the farm.

which is represented as (13).

(13)



Notice that Yorùbá does not have an overt present tense marker instead Yorùbá has a marker for the progressive (or continuous) tense. Notice that the contained sentence in (13) cannot be interpreted to convey the meaning that the action of going is accomplished.

After the Equi-NP-Deletion rule has applied to (13) the S1-node is pruned (Ross 1967) and the remaining VP is daughter-adjoined to the right of the higher VP. The auxiliary node is replaced by either a relic of a progressive element with no tensing property, or <u>láti</u> replaces it altogether thereby rendering the verb nonfinite.

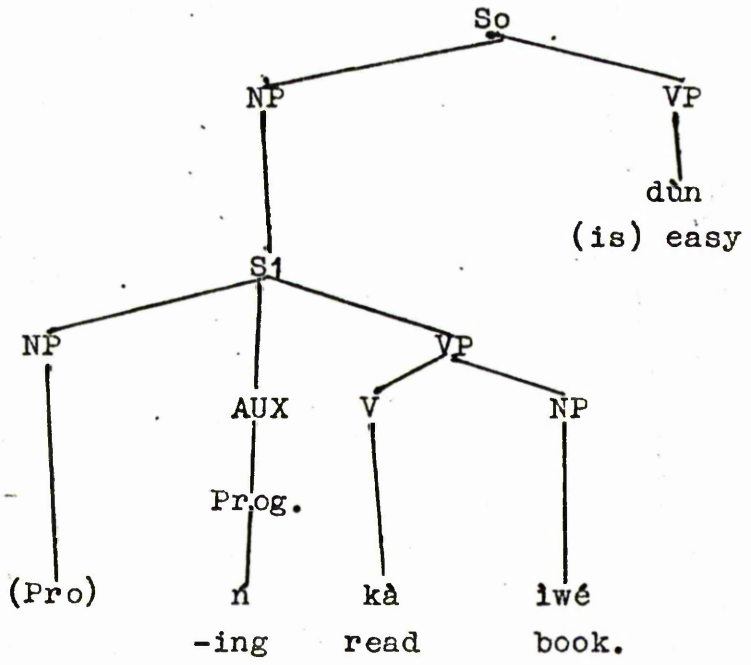
The A-verbs present a not altogether different situation as we shall soon demonstrate. Consider:

(14) Ìwé dùn ún · kà
(Book sweet to read)
'Book is easy to read'

i.e. 'It is easy to read a book'

which is represented in the deep structure as (15).

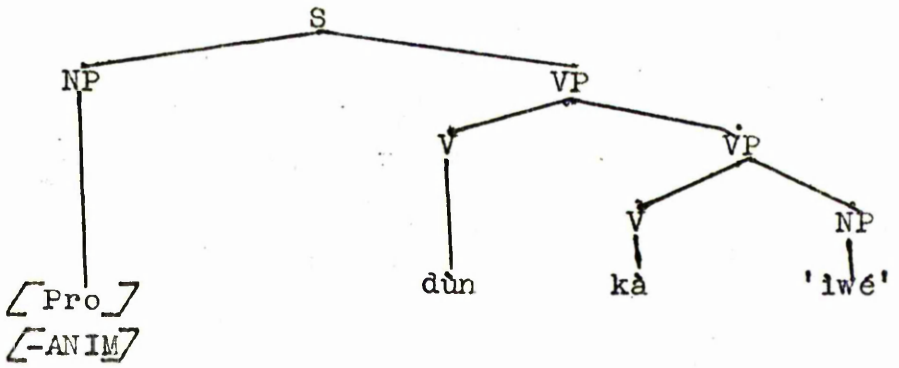
(15)



Omitting many details, the process of derivation is as follows: the agent of reading is not specified, hence, it is represented as a NP. Note that dùn as a factive predicate induced extraposition optionally.. The embedded verb is postposed to the higher verb, the auxiliary node is erased and láti or the high tone replaces it.

First we get sentence (16).

(16)



Either of two things could happen to this structure, first, the subject takes a pronoun with the feature specification [-ANIMATE] and láti/àti is inserted to derive (17).

(17) Ó dùn láti kà ìwé
It is easy to read a book

or the subject is specified by preposing the object to the subject position.

Rule 5: Object Preposing

SD:	X	-	NP	-	V	-	láti	-	V	-	NP	-	Y
			1		2		láti	-	3	-	4		⇒
SC:	X	-	4		2		(ún) (láti)		3			-	Y

Conditions: 1 is an unspecified agent which is deleted for the infinitive to tk take place.

Consider:

(18) Ìwé dùn $\begin{pmatrix} \text{ún} \\ \text{láti} \end{pmatrix}$ kà

'Book is easy to read'

Notice that out of the group B verb bẹ̀rẹ̀sí can be morphologically broken down to bẹ̀rẹ̀ + sí because the meaning of bẹ̀rẹ̀ is included in bẹ̀rẹ̀sí. Consider the following:

(19) Òjó bẹ̀rẹ̀ iṣẹ́ lána
(Òjó start work in yesterday)
'Òjó started work yesterday'

(20) Òjó bẹ̀rẹ̀ sí í ṣe iṣẹ́
(Òjó start to do work)
'Ojo started working'.[1]

In (20) bẹ̀rẹ̀ and sí are broken down morphologically meaning 'to start' 'begin' and 'to' 'into' 'towards' respectively. Both have a deep structure realization as (21).

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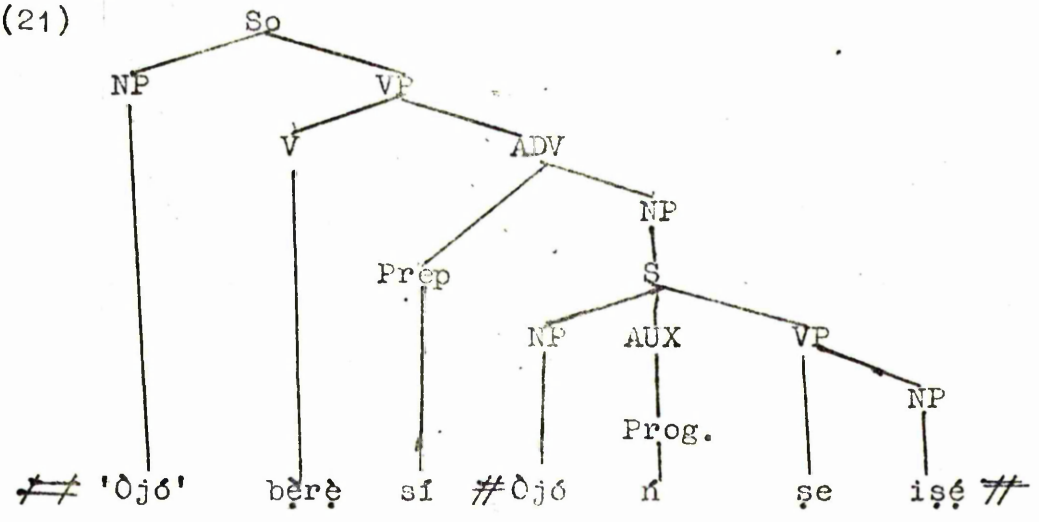
[1] The Yorùbá sentences (19) and (20) function in the same discourse as having the same meaning.

(21)



3.0.1 Purpose Nominalization.

The 'pre-infinitive' verbs behave in a curious manner. They occur in many constructions that make it easy for one to mistake them for instances of other constructions in the language in a variety of ways. The purpose construction is such a case, because in Yorùbá, just as in English it may or may not take the complementizer láti 'to'. In English the full complementizer for the purpose clauses is 'in order to'. Yorùbá on the other hand uses only láti 'to' for both the infinitives and the purpose clauses. Consider the following:

(22) Olú rìn lọ ọ́ ra iṣu ní ọjà
'Olú walked to the market in order to buy yams'

(23) Adé gé igi (láti) tà
Adé cut wood to sell

(24) Adé wá mi wá
(Adé visit me come)
'Ade came in order to visit me'

It is possible to claim that there are two purpose clauses in (22), that is;

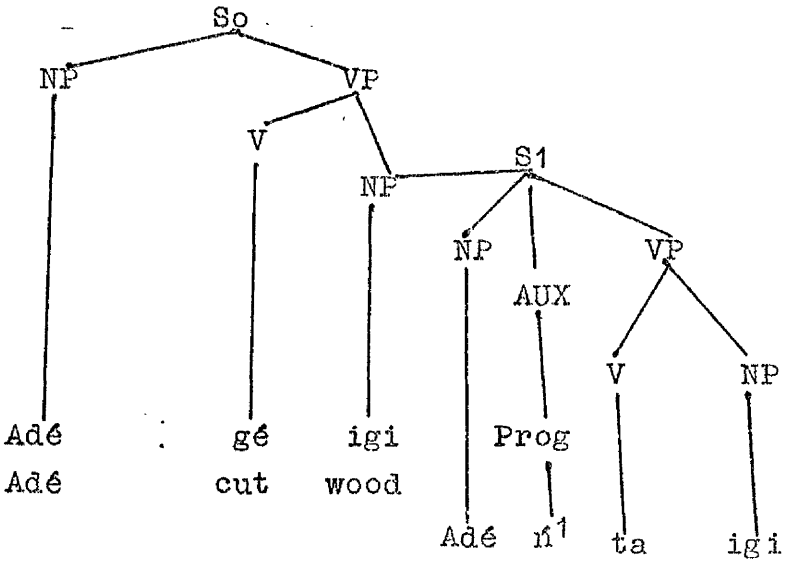
(a) Olú rìn láti lọ sí ọjà
'Olu walked in order to go to the market'

(b) Olú lọ sí Ọjà láti, ra iṣu
'Olu went to the market in order to buy yams'.

The possibility of regarding (a) as a purpose clause depends on whether or not both walking and going are considered as a unit of action or two entities, one leading to another.

The following deep structure is proposed for (23).

(25)



Ade -ing sell wood.

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[1] One can argue that the future marker yío á ó 'will/shall' can take the place of the progressive element in the tree diagram to give the sentence:

(a) Adé ge igi Adé yío/ó/á ta igi
Adé cut wood Adé will/shall sell wood.

This is quite possible if and only if the actions of cutting and selling are for one specific occasion. This analysis also permits the occurrence of the past tense marker ti 'already', consider:

(b) Olú ge igi Olú ti ta igi
(Olú cut wood Olú already sell wood)
'Olú cut wood Olú has already sold the wood'.

However, (25) takes Olú as a habitual wood cutter/seller that is, a - gé - igi - tà 'agent-cut-wood-sell' professionally' (See 7.02 (1) below), hence our choice of the progressive marker. Notice that the habitual and the progressive markers can cooccur in sentences. Consider:

(c) Olú gé igi Olú máa ń ta igi
(Olú cut wood Olú habitually -ing sell wood)
'Olu cuts and sells wood'.

Contd. on following page...

Notice that two rules apply to (25) to derive (23). Since the embedded subject is coreferential to the high subject it is deleted by Equi-NP-Deletion rule and the subject is thus reduced to an infinitive. A similar deletion rule deletes the contained object since it is coreferential to the object of the matrix sentence. It should be noted however, that both Equi-NP-Deletion and Object deletion rules apply quite extensively in the language. Note also that both are governed by the matrix verb. It is observed that immediately the Equi-NP-Deletion rule applies, the contained sentence which is thus infinitivalized takes on the infinitive complementizer láti 'to' to derive (26).

(26) Adé gé igi (láti) ta igi
(Ade cut wood to sell wood)

after object deletion it becomes

(27) Adé gé igi (láti) tà.

The basic claim made by (25) is that essentially, it is not any different from a complement structure as the logical structure is concerned. However, it is the matrix verb that determines whether an embedded sentence is purposive, factive

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Footnote (1) continued from previous page ...

Notice also that the occurrence of either makes no difference in the Yorùbá sentences (d) and (e).

(d) Olú gé igi Olú máa tà igi
(Olú cut wood Olú habitually sell wood)
'Olu cuts and sells wood'.

(e) Olú gé igi Olú ń ta igi
(Olú cuts wood Olú -ing sell wood)
'Olu cuts and sells wood'.

See the next section for details on the cooccurrence of the habitual and progressive markers.

or emotive. In any case, there are some verbs which behave ambiguously as to whether their complements are purposive or not. Consider:

(28) Mo wá á kí ọ
I come to greet you.

This can be purposive or non-purposive, where it is purposive an adverbial or an object can follow the matrix verb as witnessed by (29).

(29) Mo wá ilé láti kí ọ
'I come home to greet you'.

It is quite obvious then that it is the matrix verb that determines the type of embedding a sentence has.

3.0.2 Non-Purposive Constructions.

The main difference between these constructions and those discussed in the preceding section is that these are not purposive but they are infinitives as the earlier ones referred to above. However, it is important to note that in non-purposive constructions there is no cause and effect relation. Perhaps this accounts for the reason why the infinitive complementizer láti does not show up in the surface structure configuration as much as it does in the case of purpose clauses. Even then, in cases where láti occurs in the surface structure configuration of the non-purposive constructions, there is always the strong tendency to give them purposive readings. More often than not, the matrix verb clarifies the situation, but in some instances sentences may be ambiguous between purposive and non-purposive readings. Consider the following:

(30) Mo múra á wá (non-purposive)
(I prepare to come)
'I came fully ready'.

(31) Mo múra láti wá (purposive)
'I was ready to come'.

(32) Adé sáré é wá (non-purposive)
(Adé run come)
{'Adé - came running'}
{'Adé came quickly'}

(33) Adé sáré láti wá (purposive)
(Adé run to come)
'Adé ran to be here (on time').

(34) * Adé gbà wá
* (Adé agree come)
* 'Adé agreed come'.

As could be deduced from these examples, it will not be out of place to conclude that the occurrence or non-occurrence of láti 'to' alone does not determine when a sentence is purposive or non-purposive.

3.0.3 The Gerundive Structures.

Complementizers.

In the preceding section, we discussed láti/àti as complementizer. Here in this section we discuss other complementizers that occur in the language. These are four in all, namely; pékí, pé, ti, kí. Although the last three translate as 'that' in English there are semantic differences among them. The pé - constructions are indicative and are comparable to English that + indicative constructions. Kí - constructions are generally indirect requests. It behaves as the English that + subjunctive[1] construction.

In terms of functions however, consider the following examples:

[1] See Quirk et al (1972: 823) for subjunctive that - clauses in English.

(35) pé (i) declarative

Ó sọ pé wọ́n wá

(He say that they come)

'He said that they came'

(ii) Factive

A mọ̀ pé o lọ́

(We know that you go)

'We know that you went'.

(36) Kí (i) Non-factive

Ó ṣe pàtàkì kí o wá

(It do important that you come)

'It is important that you come'.

(ii) Desiderative

A fẹ́ kí ẹ wá

(We want that you (plur.) come)

'We want you to come'.

(37) Pékí: Desiderative

Ó wù wá pékí ó lọ

(It appeal us that he go)

'We would like him to go'.

(38) Láti Adé kórira láti dáná

(Adé hate to break fire)

'Adé hates to cook'.

As far as we know these are all the complementizers we have in the language.

3.0.4 The Target Structure in Gerundive Structures.

This structure is a phenomenon which is of much interest to us in what follows in the rest of this section. Although there are a great many underlying structures, there are relatively few surface structures. It appears as if there is a conspiracy of transformations over a whole derivation in which transformations literally cooperate to transform

a whole variety of structures into certain surface configurations. So strong is this 'syntactic conspiracy' that it affords a rich stylistic device for two major syntactic categories in Yorùbá. These are a certain restricted serialized verbal structures[1] and the gerundive formation.

Such structural regularities can be recognized in a grammatical description by characterising the set of transformations needed to produce these compounds as in (39-40).

(39) ẹja sísè
fish that is cooking - Verbal Noun
cooked fish - Adjectival Noun.

(40) aṣọ fífọ̀ - Washing clothes - Verbal Noun
washed clothes - Adjectival Noun.

this and other related phenomena will be the focus of this section.

3.1.0 The Gerunds

As we have seen in Chapter II the relative marker tí (for details on tí see the next Chapter) is translatable into English, 'that' 'who' 'when' and 'which'.

Strictly speaking it has ho semantic load, it behaves like 'WH' in all WH words such as relative pronouns and question words in English.

With this background we can proceed in our analysis of gerundive structures in Yorùbá. The rule for deriving the gerundive structure can be formulated thus:

Rule 6: Gerundive Formation Rule

$$C_1 \quad \acute{I} \quad = \quad (C_1 \quad VW \quad (CVW \ldots) \quad V$$

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[1] See Awobuluyi, O. (1973) for this type of structures.

which we eventually condensed to Cí - V, that is, repeat the initial consonant of the verb and insert a high tone (í) between the consonants, e.g.

(41) lọ - lílọ
'go' - 'going'.

Notice that in (1.0.1 (2)), we have lexical gerundive structure, here we deal with clausal gerundive structures. Consider the following:

(42) (a) Adé fẹ́ràn láti máa se ẹja
(Adé like to aspect-marker cook fish)
'Ade likes to cook fish'.

(b) Adé fẹ́ràn pékí ó máa se ẹja
(Adé like that he aspect-marker-cook fish)
'Ade likes to cook fish'.

(c) Adé fẹ́ràn pé kí a máa se ẹja
(Adé like that we aspect-marker cook fish)
'Ade likes us to cook fish'.

(d) Adé fẹ́ràn pékí ènìyàn máa se ẹja
(Adé like that people aspect-marker cook fish)
'Ade like it that people cook fish'.

(e) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja pé kí ènìyàn máa sè é.
(Adé like fish that people aspect-marker cook it)
'Adé likes people to be cooking fish'.

(f) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja pé kí a máa sè é.
(Adé like fish that we aspect-marker cook it)
'Adé likes us to be cooking fish'.

(g) Adé fẹ́ràn pé kí ẹja máa sè
(Adé like that fish - aspect-marker cook)
'Adé likes fish to boil'.

(h) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja tí ó sè
(Adé like fish which it cook)
'Adé likes fish which is cooked'.

(i) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja tí a sè
(Adé like fish which a cooks)
'Adé likes fish which has been cooked'.

(j) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja tí èníyàn sè
(Adé like fish which people cook)
'Adé likes fish which has been cooked'.

(k) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja ti wọ́n sè
(Adé like fish which they cook)
'Adé likes fish which has been cooked'.

In the sentences above, èníyàn 'people' and wọ́n, 'they' do not refer to any specific persons, they function like the impersonal pronoun a which is very close to the English indefinite pronoun one. In these contexts, a wọ́n and èníyàn are interchangeable, but in some other contexts they are not. Consider the following:

(43) A kọ ìwé yĭ láti London

could either mean:

(i) 'We wrote this letter from Lóndòn'

or (ii) 'This letter was written from/in London'.

(44) * èníyàn kọ ìwé yĭ láti Lóndòn
* (people write book this from London).

(45) Wọ́n kọ ìwé yĭ láti Lóndòn
(they write book this from London)
'They wrote this letter from London'.

Notice that in (44) èníyàn has specific reference and requires that we mention the doer. a the impersonal pronoun and èníyàn behave differently under reflexives, but wọ́n pairs with èníyàn rather than with a the impersonal pronoun, as shown in the following examples:

(46) Olú fẹ́ràn pé kí a máa fọ aṣọ fún ara wá
(Olu like that a aspect-marker wash cloth for ourselves).
'Olú likes us to wash our clothes ourselves'
'Olú likes our clothes washed by us'.

(47) * Olú fẹ́ràn pékí a máa fọ aṣọ fún ara wọ́n.
(Olú like that a aspect-marker wash clothes for themselves)
* 'Olú likes that our clothes are washed by themselves'

(48) Olú fẹ́ràn pékí ènìyàn máa fọ aṣọ fún ara wọ́n.
(Olú likes people to wash their clothes themselves)

(49) * Olú fẹ́ràn pékí ènìyàn máa fọ aṣọ fún arawá
* Olu likes people to wash clothes for ourselves.

We have about nine different readings for the sentence (42), (e) and (f) are derived from (d) and (c) respectively by copying ẹja 'fish' from its embedded object position of the matrix sentence, but a pronoun copy is left behind. (a) and (b) are paraphrases of each other; the only difference is in the type of complementizer each takes.

The nine readings fall into two major groups. In one pair of sets (a)-(g) we have the complement readings, while (h)-(k) give relative clause readings.

The following sentences could be analysed to give multiple readings like (42).

(50) Òjó kórira Oko ríro
(Òjó hates farm hoeing/hoed)
'Òjó hates hoeing/hoed farm'.

(51) Fúnkẹ́ fẹ́ràn ẹja jíjó
(Fúnkẹ́ likes fish burning/burnt)
'Fúnkẹ́ likes burning/burnt fish'.

(52) Bísí kórira ògi lílọ
(Bísí hates corn grinding/ground)
'Bisi hates grinding/ground corn'.

(53) Fúnkẹ́ gbádùn ẹran díndín
(Fúnkẹ́ loves meat frying/fried)
'Fúnkẹ́ loves frying/fried meat'.

The following set of sentences allow multiple readings of a different type. They consistently maintain two possible structures, that is, the gerund occurs freely in pre- and post nominal positions with corresponding change of meaning. Consider the following:

(54) Adé gbádùn ilẹ̀ gbígbá - gbígbá ilẹ̀
'Adé likes floor swept clean - sweeping the floor'.

(55) Bísí fẹ́ràn aṣọ fífọ̀ - fífọ̀ aṣọ
'Bisi likes washed clothes - washing clothes'

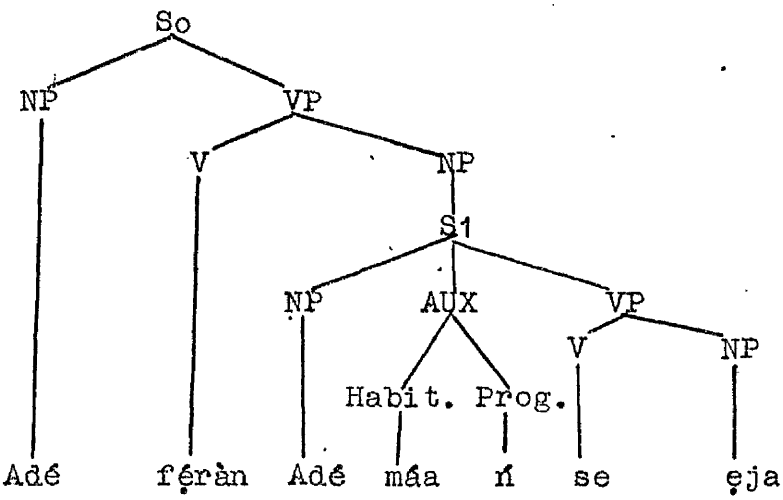
(56) Fúnkẹ́ fẹ́ràn irọ́ pípa - pípa irọ́
'Fúnkẹ́ approves of telling lies - telling lies'.

Why these sets of sentences end up looking alike in the surface structure is what we are going to examine now. There are sets of rules to be applied before we can account for the similarity of both the gerundive and the complement structures above. There must be something in the nature of those rules, or in their operation, which triggers gerundive reduplication and thus seals from the surface structures any trace of the underlying sentences. Furthermore it could be assumed that there must be something which is responsible for the complement structures, to encroach upon the position of the gerundive adjective.

It should be noted that these are two semantically distinct structures, that is, gerund before noun, and gerundive adjective after the noun, which occur in the same position in the surface structure configuration. They occur at the post head nominal position. Consider:

(57) as the deep structure of (42)(a).

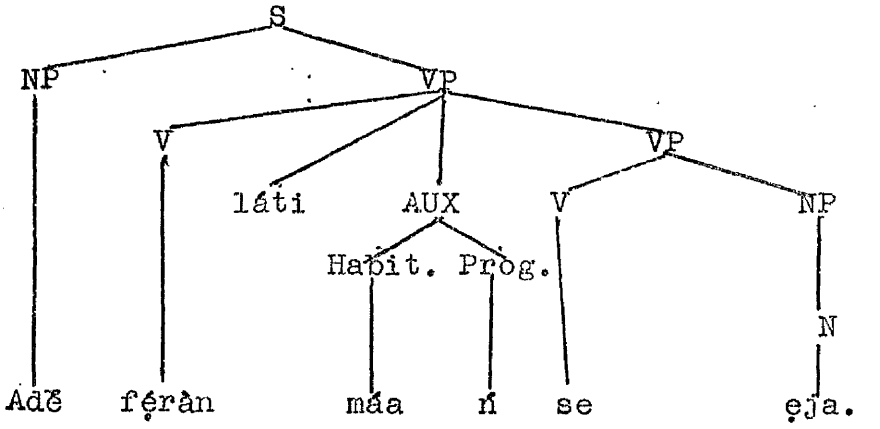
(57)



Adé like Adé habitually progressive cook fish.

First, equi-NP deletion applies obligatorily to the second occurrence of Adé and introduces <u>láti</u> obligatorily (i.e. infinitival substitution) thereby rendering the structure into something like (58) below.

(58)



The derivation in (58) is an intermediate one. The rule of cooccurrence restriction has to apply. This must take place in order for (58) to be grammatical. The complementizer <u>láti</u>, the habitual <u>máa</u> and the progressive <u>ń</u> cannot cooccur in any acceptable Yorùbá sentence. However, the complementizer and the habitual aspect can cooccur. Consider:

(59) Adé fẹ́ràn láti máa se ẹja.

The complementizer <u>láti</u> and the progressive <u>ń</u> cannot cooccur as we remarked earlier. Though it does not

occur in the surface structure configuration, the progressive marker is an indispensable component in the deep structure as its presence or absence makes a semantic difference (see Rule 4 above). Consider the following:

(60) Adé máa se ẹjà (habitual)
Adé (habitually) cooks fish.

(61) Adé ń se ẹja (progressive)
(Adé -ing cook fish)
'Adé is cooking fish'.

3.1.1 Complementizer, Progressive and Habitual Markers.

Sentences (62-68) show the cooccurrence and non-cooccurrence of the complementizers, the habitual and the progressive markers:

(62) Adé fẹ́ràn láti máa se ẹja (comp. + habit)
(Adé likes to usually cook fish)
'Adé likes to cook fish'.

(63) Adé fẹ́ràn pékí Adé máa se ẹja (comp. + Habit)
(Adé like that Ade usually cook fish)
'Ade likes cooking fish always'.

(64) Adé fẹ́ràn kí Adé máa se ẹja (comp. + habit)
(Adé like that Ade usually cook fish)
'Ade likes cooking fish always'.

(65) * Adé fẹ́ràn láti máa ń se ẹja (comp. + Prog. + Habit)
(Adé like to usually -ing cook fish).

(66) * Adé fẹ́ràn pé kí Adé máa ń se ẹja (comp. + habit + Prog.)
(Adé like that Adé usually -ing cook fish).

(67) * Adé fẹ́ràn láti ń se ẹja (comp. + prog.)
(Adé like to -ing cook fish).

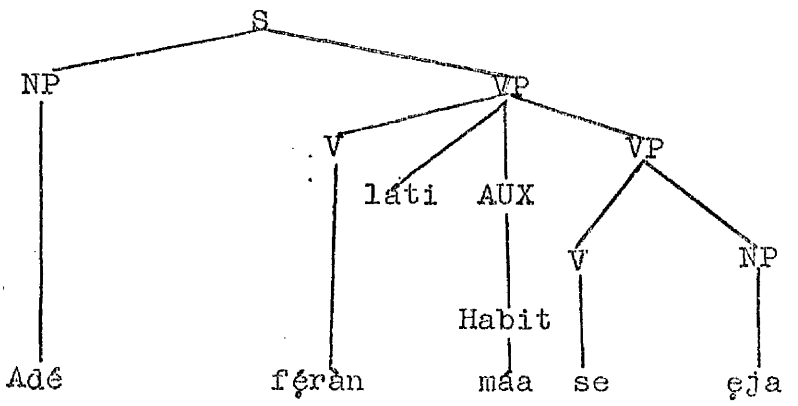
(68) * Adé fẹ́ràn pé kí Adé ń se ẹja (comp. + Prog.)
(Adé like that Adé -ing cook fish).

It should be noted that the rules that apply in the derivation of the sentences in (42) are Equi-NP Deletion, object copying, Pronominalization, Pronoun copying, Progressive and Habitual markers deletion. All these deletion rules as they are known, are not ordered as ordering is of no consequence to the aspect we are dealing with at the moment, that is, gerundive reduplication. Consider:

(69) Adé fẹ́ràn ẹja sísè
(Adé likes fish cooking/cooked)
'Adé likes cooking/cooked fish'.

For convenience we repeat (42)(a) here as (70) to see how gerundive reduplication is formed.

(70)



The infinitival complementizer láti and the aspect marker máa have to be deleted. Up to this stage, we have taken for granted the presence of the complementizers. The elements were inserted rather arbitrarily by a complementizer placement rule under Rosembaum's (1967) analysis. However, Awobuluyi (1967) has shown that infinitives introduced by e.g. láti 'to' are derived automatically when their subjects disappear either by deletion or by movement and that the formation of the infinitive is restricted invariably to factive and emotive verbs. (See Chapter V below). However, this does not explain the presence of pé kí, pé and kí which we assume to be

as equally important as láti. Notice that while we do not need a complementizer placement rule, we actually need some form of complementizer deletion rule which will account for the deletion of the pékí, pé and kí complementizers in the language.

Now, if láti is deleted in (70) we have the ungrammatical (71).

(71) * Adé fẹ́ràn máa se ẹja.

Again, if the habitual aspect marker is deleted, (72) results:

(72) * Adé fẹ́ràn se ẹja.

We posit that it is the deletion of the habitual marker máa that triggers the gerundive partial duplication. If after the deletion of máa, gerundive partial duplication does not occur the sentence automatically blocks. However, a very important semantic information to save the formation is the habitualness of cooking. Gerundive partial reduplication therefore applies to the verb sè which carries the meaning of cooking - and then we have cí + se = síse as in (73) below:

(73) Adé fẹ́ràn sise ẹja.

The final process the gerundivization undergoes is the gerundive hopping. A native speaker knows the difference between a sentence that has a gerund to the left of a noun and one that has a gerundive adjective that occurs to the right of the noun. Consider:

(74)	Noun Gerund	Gerund Noun	Noun Gerund Adj.
	Ẹja síse	síse ẹja	ẹja síse
	fish cooking	cooking fish	fish cooked, i.e. cooked fish.

3.1.2 Distribution of Gerunds.

It is noteworthy that almost all verbs in Yorùbá can undergo gerundive reduplication. The reduplication can apply to a single verb as in (75) or to a set of serial verbs as in (76).

(75) lọ - lílọ
to go going.

(76) bá lò pọ̀ - bíba-lò-pọ̀
'to cohabit with' 'cohabitation'.

Preservation of information is usually maintained by gerunds whether they be the results of derivation from simple verb or a set of serial verbs.

There are at least four broad construction types where gerunds occur in Yorùbá, namely:

(a) after prepositions.
(b) as topicalised predicates.
(c) after verbs of perception, or state.
(d) in factive clefted constructions.

3.1.3 Gerunds After Prepositions

In many languages, including English, any verbal form after a preposition is invariably a gerund. Yorùbá is not excluded in observing this rule. Consider:

(77) Fi ọkàn sí kíka ìwé rẹ̀
(put mind to reading book your)
'pay attention to your studies'.

(78) Fi ojú sí ọ̀nà fún dídé rẹ̀
(put eye to road for coming his)
'Expect his arriving'.

(79) Fi etí sí kíkọ́ Olùkọ́ rẹ̀
(put ear to teaching teacher your)
'Listen to the teaching of your teacher'.

(80) Fi ara ba ilẹ́ ní wíwa ọkọ̀
(put body on ground in driving vehicle)
'Take care in driving'.

(81) Mú ojú tó iṣẹ́ ṣíṣe wọ́n
(take face/eye to work doing their)
'Supervise their working'.

(82) Fi ọwọ́ sí líló wa
(put hand to going our)
'Approve our going (there)'.

3.1.4 Gerunds as topicalized predicates.

The language has a peculiar copying phenomenon when it comes to gerund formation. The matrix verb is copied. This could be a single verb or series of verbs. Consider:

(83) Dídákẹ́ ní erin dákẹ́
(Silence it is elephant silent)
'It is being silent that the elephant does'.

(84) Pípa ni mo pa á
(killing it is I kill it)
'It is the case that I killed it'.

(85) Dídùn ni ó dùn ni à ń bá ọ̀rẹ́ jẹ ẹ̀fọ́
(being sweet is it sweet that we habitually with friend eat vegetable)
'It is being sweet that makes one to partake of a friend's vegetable'.

3.2.0 Gerund after Verbs of Perception or State.

After verbs of perception, an underlying predicate reduces to a gerund as witnessed by the following:

(86) Mo rí jíjó rẹ̀ .
(I see burning/dancing it/she/he)
'I saw/it burning, him/her dancing'.

(87) Mo gbọ́ kíké ọmọ na
(I hear crying child the)
'I heard the crying of the child'.

(88) Mo gbọ́ rírùn ẹran
(I hear smell meat frying)
'I smelled frying meat'.

It is observed that most of the gerundive forms from stative verbs especially predicative adjectives occur after prepositions as abstract nouns. Consider:

(89) Adé mọ́ ní ìwọ̀nba ní kíkúrú
(Adé is in moderate in shortness)
'Ade is moderately short'.

(90) Adé ju Òjó ní gígà
(Adé excel Òjó in tallness)
'Adé is taller than Òjó'.

(91) Adé nã̂ tọ́ jíjẹ ẹgba nã̂ wó
(Adé also taste eating stick that see)
'Adé also experienced the thrashing'.

3.2.1 Gerund in Factive Clefted Constructions.

The type of the construction involved here is the equivalent of the English; The fact that S structure. This is discussed in full in Chapter V. There are two types involved, they are:

(92) Sísùn tí Ó sùn kò dára
(Sleeping that he sleep not good)
'The fact that he sleeps is not proper'.

(93) Lílọ tí Ó lọ dára
(going that he go good)
'The fact that he went is good'.

Notice that Yorùbá, like English, has a peculiar way of turning infinitives into gerunds after prepositions. Examples are:

English: (94) (i) I decided to go.
(ii) I decided on going.

(95) (i) I forced John to do it.
(ii) I forced John into doing it.

Yorùbá: (96) (i) Ó wù mí láti lọ
(It please me to go)
(It pleases me to go'.

(ii) Ó wù mí ní lílọ
(It please me in going)
'I am enthralled in going'.

This observation further supports our belief in the existence of a Universal Base Hypothesis (UBH) in linguistics.

CHAPTER IV.

4.0.1 CONJUNCTION AND RELATIVIZATION.

In this chapter we propose to discuss conjunction in relation to relativization. These two structures are very crucial to the present work as we shall see in the three chapters that follow in succession. However we do not intend to dwell too much on conjunction but to discuss it as briefly as it is relevant to the present study.

In Yorùbá, as in many other languages, all conjoined sentences contain a number of constituents connected in the surface structure. It is possible to join utterances into coordinating sentences with structures involving ti, àti, ọ̀un, pẹ̀lú, sì,[1] all meaning 'and' in various constructions at varying degrees. That is, strictly speaking they do not constitute free variants as we shall see later in this section. We can also join utterances with conjunctive adverbials, thus we have bí ó ti lẹ̀ jẹ́ pé 'although', nígbà na 'then'. Of all these, àti and sì are the most frequently used in the language.

We are concerned with the derivation of surface structures from logical structures by means of conjunction reduction rules in this section. In Yorùbá as well as in

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[1] Rowlands(1969: 203) argues that sì 'and' is better glossed as 'also rather than and' on the strength of this, we presume, Awobuluyi (forthcoming) clearly omitted it, even though he argued in favour of it as a conjunction in Awobubiyi (1967). However, we make the claim in this section that it is better glossed as 'and' rather than the overt omission.

in English conjunctions mainly function in showing particular types of relationships existing between pairs or sets of language elements. The relationships they show are of two types namely, that of association and that of dissociation; i.e. 'that of togetherness and that of separateness' respectively. Consequently the two types of conjunctions there are in Yorùbá correspond to these relationships, namely to show associative relationship we have the conjunctions and to show dissociative relationships we have the disjunctions.

The full list of the associative conjunctions is as follows:

(1) (a) àti
(b) ọ̀un
(c) pẹ̀lú
(d) ti[1]
(e) sì
} 'and'

For the disjunctions we have the following:

(2) (a) ṣùgbọ́n/àmọ́ 'but'
(b) àbí/tàbí 'or'
(c) àfi 'but for, except, unless, apart from'
(d) ábọ̀ńtórí/áńbọ̀sìbọ́sí 'much less'
(e) bóyá[2] ... tàbí 'whether ... or'
(f) yálà ... tàbí 'either ... or'

---

[1] This is not the same ti as the Relative Marker, for that see the section on Relativization (later in this chapter).

[2] There is another type of bóyá which does not co-occur with tabi. It is a sentential which is glossed as 'maybe' consider: Bóyá má a di olóyè ní ọ̀la orí ni ó mọ̀
'Maybe I am destined to rule, who knows?

The pairs 2(a), (b) and (d) are variants, the elements broken by dittoes invariably co-occur in the structure of the language except in questions.

Associative conjunctions relate elements that constitute a unit in the language as will be demonstrated soon.

àti joins nouns, nominalizations and adverbials. Consider the following:

(3) (a) owó àti aṣọ that is, noun + noun
'money and clothes'

(b) àìkú àti àìrí nom + nom
(the fact of not dying and the fact of not seeing) 'indestructible and invisible'

(c) ní ilé àti ní oko adverbial + adverbial
'at home and on the farm'

A double occurrence of àti is possible in most of the elements it is capable of joining, that is, nouns, nominalizations and adverbials. This occurrence invariably makes for emphasis as witnessed by

(4) àti ónílé àti àlejò
(and the native and the foreigner)
'both the native and the foreigner'

(5) àti owó àti ọmọ, mo fẹ́ bẹ
(and money and child I want like that)
'both money and children I like that.'

ọ̀un and pẹ̀lú constitute free variants in the limited range of elements they conjoin, that is, nouns and nominalizations. Consider:

(6) Ikú ọ̀un àrùn kò ní fi ilé rẹ ṣe ọ̀de
(death and illness not ní put house your do outing)

i.e. 'May your house never be visited by death or illness.'

(7) Ikú pẹ̀lú àrùn ní i jọ rìn
(death and illness it is together walk)
i.e. 'death and illness walk hand in hand'

(8) ríríjẹ ọun rírímu
(the fact of getting something to eat and getting something to drink).
'a state of plenty'

(9) àìríjẹ pẹ̀lú àìrímu
(the fact of not getting something to eat and not getting something to drink)
'a state of abject poverty'

ti is used to connect clauses comprised mainly of nouns and/or nominalizations. Double occurrence is prevalent in block language.[1] Consider:

(10) ti ajá ti ẹran
(and dog and animal)
'every Tom, Dick and Harry'

(11) ti egbò ti egbò
(and root and root)
'roots and all'

(12) ti ọmọ ti ọmọ
(and child and child)
'children and all'

Like àti, ti is also used for emphasis as witnessed by the following:

(13) ti ọkọ ti aya
(and husband and wife)
'husband and wife'

---

[1] For details on block language see Quirk et al. (1972:414).

(14) ti agbára ti agbára
(and force and force)
'violently'

(15) ti ọsán ti ọru
(and day and night)
'both day and night'

However, a single occurrence of the conjunction is permissible in the examples that follow:

(16) Ó kú ti àìkú ni esú gba oko rẹ̀
(he die and not-die it is locust get farm his)
'No sooner had he died than the locusts swarmed his farm'

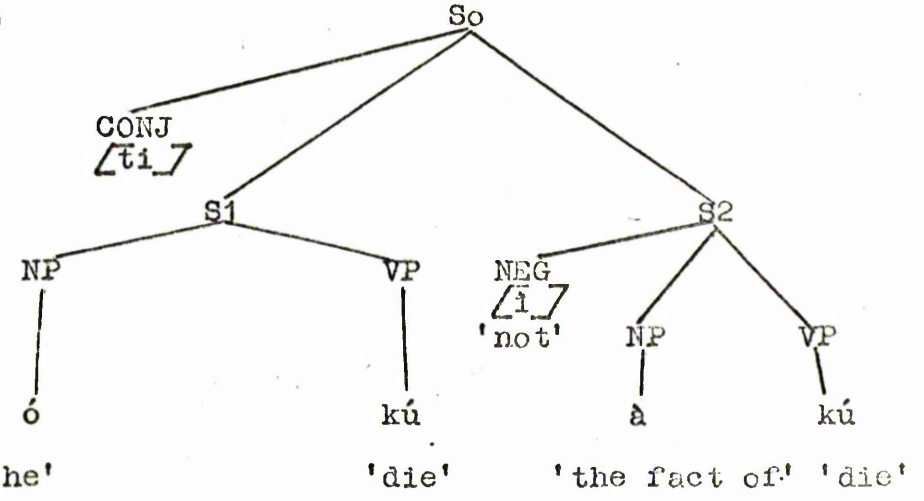
(17) Ó dé ti àìdé ni wọ́n gbe´ara
(he arrive and not-arrive it is they carry body)
'No sooner had he arrived than they moved'

The first parts of (16) and (17) present the combination of sentences and nominalization, that is, (16) repeated in part as (18) will be:

(18) Ó kú CONJ àìkú

which is represented in the logical structure as:

(19)



However, this should be regarded as 'block language' thus:

ó kú ti àìkú

'no sooner had he died'

4.0.2 Negation.

This leads us naturally to negation in Yorùbá. Writers are not agreed on the shape of the negative prefix in Yorùbá. The disagreement is on whether it is àì (cf. Delanọ (1965), Rowlands (1969), Bamgbọṣe (1966) and Afọlayan (1969)) or à (Abraham, 1958) or à + ì (Oyelaran, 1971). None of these authors presents any argument for his claim.

The fact that it is the àì prefix that constitutes the negative element has no foundation at all. And, to justify our claim we offer the following arguments. If it were (that is, the àì- element) it will be seen as performing three functions at the same time. First, it will turn the constituents onto which it is matched into a nominalization. Second, the nominalization will be negativized and finally the nominalization will be factive. Rather we conceive of àì- as a compound consisting of two entities. The à- is a factive nominalizing prefix while ì- is a negative element as we have seen in the example we gave in Chapter I repeated here for convenience:

(20) à-ì-mọ̀
(fact-not-know)

i.e. 'The fact of not knowing'

Other examples supporting our claim abound in the language. Consider:

(21) (a) ì-bá 'would have'
(b) ì-bàà 'even if'
(c) kò-ì-lọ 'not gone yet'

However à alone has not provided a single instance of functioning as a negative marker. Consider:

à-wá-ì-lọ 'fact-come-not-go'
à-lé-ì-bá 'fact-chase-not-catch up with'

4.0.3 The Disjunctives.

Before we discuss the conjunction in full, in relation to relativization, it is necessary to give a brief account of the disjunction observable in the language.

The disjunctions in the language as listed earlier in the preceding section, are treated individually thus:

àfi (àyàfi) is used normally with nouns and adverbials (Prep. Phrases). Consider the following.

(22) N kò ni ọlọ́run mejì àfi Ọba mímọ́
(I not have god two but king holy)
'I have no other God but the Holy King'

(23) Kò sí ewu ní oko àfi gìrì àparò
(not exist danger in farm apart from rustle partridge)
'There is no danger on the farm apart from the partridges taking off'

However, more often than not, the elements related by this disjunction are left unexpressed as witnessed by such examples as:

(24) àfi èmi àfi èníyàn àfi kìníkarara tí dá ẹrù bá kinìun

(except me, except man except kinikarara that
strike terror to lion)
'Except man and me, the lion, that frighten
the lion'

(25) àfi èyí tí e tún gbé dé yi
(but this that you again carry come this)
'But for this new development introduced by you'

Amó and sùgbón are used to relate sentences only. Consider:

(26) Mo rí i àmọ́ n kò mú u
(I see it but I not take it)
'I saw it but I did not take it'

(27) Mo rí i sùgbọ́n n kò kí i
(I see him but I not greet him)
'I saw him but I did not greet him'

In the case of yálà and bóyá, the first of the two elements related by tàbí are preceded by them, that is, either of them always pairs with tàbí. The only difference is, bóyá normally precedes a sentence only. This is not the case with yálà. Consider the following examples

(28) Yàlà mo lọ tàbí n kò lọ mà á rí ọ
(whether I go or I not go I will see you)
'Whether I go or not I will see you'

(29) Wá yálà ní òní tàbí ní ọ̀la
(come either in today or in tomorrow)
'Come either today or tomorrow'

(30) Ohun tí a fẹ ẹ gbọ ni bóyá ó wá tàbí kò wá
(thing that we want to hear is whether he come
or not come)
'All we want to hear is whether he came or not'

The reduplicated tàbí is normally nominalized like the so-called ideophones (see Chapter V in this study)

thus:

(31) kò sí tàbí tàbí ní ibẹ̀
(no exist or or in there)
'There is no doubt about it'

Furthermore it occurs in the environment of nouns, adverbials and sentences. Consider:

(32) Ìgbà wo ni o ń lọ ní ọ̀sán tàbí ní alẹ́ ?
(time which is you -ing go in afternoon or in evening)
'When are you going, in the afternoon or in the evening ?'

(33) Mú ikú tàbí ìyè
(take death or life)
'Choose one, death or life'

The last on our list is <u>ámbọ̀sí</u> with its variants <u>ámbọ̀ntórí</u> and <u>ámbọ̀sìbósí</u>. It normally occurs with nouns and adverbials. Examples are:

(34) Kò ní aya ámbọ̀sìbósí ọmọ
(He not has wife to talk less child)
'He has no wife to talk less of children'

(35) Kì í sùn ní alẹ́ ámbọ̀ntórí ní àrọ̀
(not not sleep in night to talk less in morning)
'He does not often sleep at night to talk less of in the morning.'

4.0.4 <u>Conjunction Reduction</u>.

In recent times generative semanticists focus our attention on two major questions in the treatment of conjunction. The first is, is there a logical structure between a conjoined sentence such as (36):

(36) Báyọ̀ wà ní ilé Bísí sì wà ní ọjà
(Bayo exist in home Bisi and exist in market)

'Báyọ̀ is at home Bísí is at the market'

and other conjoined sentences ? The second question is if there is any such relationship, what is the distinct rule 'schemata' required to derive these other conjoined structures ?

The answer to the first question is that there is a choice between two possible sources for sentences such as (37):

(37) Adé àti Bísí lọ
(Ade and Bisi go)
'Ade and Bisi went'

We either generate (38):

(38) Adé àti Bísí
'Adé and Bisi'

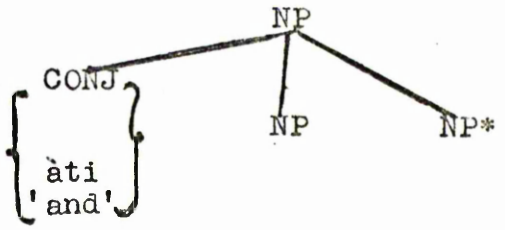
by means of phrase structure rule (7) below

Rule 7 Conjuction Schemata

NP ⟶ NP NP *

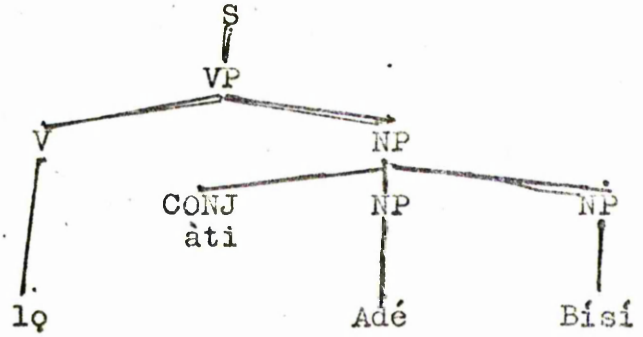
which represents infinite schemata generating in the first instance structures like (39):

(39)



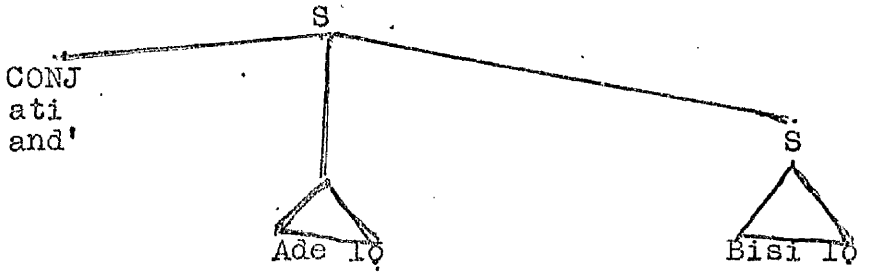
which will yield the structure (40):

(40)



This structure, however, represents 'phrasal conjunction', or we might generate it from the rule generating co-ordinate structures in the base as in (41):

(41)



which involves identity deletion and regrouping. Gapping (Ross, 1967) rule deletes indefinite number of main verbs in co-ordinate structures. Ross, in addition, proposes a directionality constraint which states:

'The order in which Gapping operates depends on the order of elements at the time that the rule applies: if the identical 'elements are left branches, Gapping operates forward; if they are on right branches, it operates backward.'[1] We observe, however, that this directionality constraint holds not only for verbal reductions but also for all other reduced coordinations as well. Consider the following examples:

(42) Bísí lọ Adé sì lọ
(Bisi go Ade and go)
'Bisi went and Ade went'

Obeying Ross' directionality constraint on verbal reduction (42) will be reduced by gapping to (43):

(43) Bísí àti Adé lọ

---

[1] Ross (1967, 5)

and (44) Bísí fò Bísí si jo[1]
(Bisi jump Bisi and dance)
'Bisi jumped and Bisi danced'

Contrary to Ross' directionality constraint the nominal elements will be reduced to:

(45) Bisi fo o si jo
(Bisi jumped she and danced)
'Bisi jumped and she danced'

by pronominalizing the second occurrence of Bisi. However, English provides a better example of the violation of Ross' directionality constraint where (45) will be:

(46) Bisi jumped and danced.

It is observable that in Yorùbá there is a conspiracy of the second occurrence of the subject in a conjoined structure to resist deletion. What takes place is pronominalization as mentioned above. The second rule that applies to the structure is the conjunction postposing rule which places the conjunctive element sí after the pronominalized subject. Notice however, that the coreferential condition must be met before pronominalization could take place. Conjunction postposing rule operates on the structure irrespective of whether pronominalization takes place under NP identity or not, in the case of non-identity NPs Consider:

(47) Bísí lọ ata Báyọ̀ sí sè ẹja
(Bisi grind pepper Bayo and cook fish)
'Bisi ground peper and Bayọ cooked fish'

As our intention here is just to show what conjunction does within nominalization via relativization we hope to end the

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[1] Hudson (1975; 27-8).

discussion of conjunction here and refer to it from time to time as occasions call for it.

4.1.0 The Relative Marker.

In English, the set of relative pronouns is the same as the set of question words. This is not true in Yorùbá. Yorùbá has only one relative marker which is quite distinct from question words. It is tí translatable in English as 'which, who, that, when and why'. Much of the confusion that surrounds relativization in Yorùbá stems from the fact that the relative marker tí has the freedom to refer to both animate and inanimate objects.

As pointed out earlier in this study, relativization is very crucial to a great majority of Yorùbá syntactic structures. The following, according to our investigation, are the constructions which derive from relative clauses.

i. The genitive construction;
ii. The oppositive construction;
iii. The gerundive adjectives (as NP modifiers)
iv. The restrictive relative clause constructions and the non-restrictive relative clause constructions;
v. The attributive adjectives.

Before we discuss (i-iv) in some detail, we deem it necessary to present what the nature of the relative clause itself is in Yorùbá.

The study of relative clauses is clearly a rich field of enquiry which has attracted a wide range of

intensive work by good minds over a long span of the history of linguistics. To the searching minds, nothing is ever conclusive. This is observed even in the case of well-studied and well-documented English and other European languages where the results currently accessible are uneven. Transformational Grammarians are not agreed on what the nature of the relative clause is. Chomsky (1965), Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), G. Lakoff (1969), and Ross (1967) all agreed that the appropriate underlying representation for a relative clause is a sentence embedded into a noun phrase. A similar view is held by some Yorùbá grammarians.[1] This proposal can be represented in the deep structure as: (48)

(48)

4.1.1 Nominalization and Relative Clauses.

We have our doubt as to the appropriateness of this claim, we have just referred to above. Rather, we suggest tentatively that the appropriate underlying representation for a relative clause is a sentence conjunction. There is a set of structural distinctions between relative clause constructions and those complex

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[1] Rowlands (1969; 87-91), Awobuluyi (1967, 165-179), Bamgbose (1966; 115-120).

sentences which are clearly realizations of structures containing embedded sentences (see 5.0.0 below), viz. those containing sentential subjects or objects such as:

(49) Pé Ọjó fẹ̀ràn àti máa se ẹja dájú
(that Ojo like to usually cook fish obvious)
'That Ojo likes to cook fish is certain'

(50) Mo rò pé Ọjó fẹ̀ràn àti máa se ẹja
(I think that Ojo like to usually cook fish)
'I think that Ojo likes to cook fish'

For sentences like (49) and (50) an embedding analysis is well motivated since the embedding sentence is required as an obligatory argument of the verb. It plays a role with respect to the verb which is the objective role and without which the verb cannot stand. Furthermore, the verb governs both the occurrence of clause and the type of clause which can occur. These conditions, it should be noted, do not hold for the relative clause sentences. This is the basic point that eludes some Yorùbá grammarians[1] and which has led them into confusing nominalization with relative clause construction.

A relative clause, we hold, is always structurally superfluous, it plays no role whatever with respect to the main verb and no morphemes in Yorùbá are marked as requiring it. A relative clause construction is equivalent to two independent predications on the same argument. These differences are captured by an analysis in which sentential subjects and objects are instances of underlying embedding,

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[1] Awobuluyi (1972, 1975, a & b), Bamgbose (1975).

and relative clauses are only superficially embedded. See Chapter V below.

In order to present the schematic outline for forming relative clause sentences, two assumptions must be made explicit. The difference between parts of the sentences such as the following:

(51) Mo mọ ọkuḥrin kan tí máa fun ipè
(I know man a who usually blow bugle)
'I know a man who blows the bugle'

(52) Mo mọ ọkuḥrin ná tí máa fun ipè
(I know man the who usually blow bugle)
'I know the man who blows the bugle'

will be assumed to be introduced at some level of derivation other than the one at which 'content morphemes' and the relations among them are specified. We leave open the question of just where such a distinction must be made, for the present study, it suffices to point out that (51) and (52) must have identical representations in so far as the meanings of the nouns and verbs and the relations among them are concerned, definite and indefinite articles apart. We shall further assume that the choice of the definite determiner will in general correlate with certain presuppositions which the speaker makes about the extent of his listener's knowledge.

4.1.2 Numerals and Quantifiers.

We propose here that numerals and quantifiers must be introduced outside the clause in which they ultimately appear. This is illustrated by the fact that the sentences of (53) are not matched by their respective

pairs in (54).

(53) (a) Mo ní ọrẹ́ méta tí ń jẹ ata
(I have friend three who -ing eat pepper)
'I have three friends who are eating pepper'

(b) Mo mọ ènìyàn díẹ̀ tí máa jẹ obì.
(I know people some who usually eat kola nut)
'I know some people who eat kola nut'

(c) N kò rí obìrin ti ó pupa.
(I not see woman who pron. red)
'I saw no woman who is light (in complexion)'

(54) (a) Mo ní ọrẹ́ méta
(I have friend three)
'I have three friends'
Ọrẹ́ méta ń jẹ ata
(friend three -ing eat pepper)
'Three friends are eating pepper'

(b) Mo mọ ènìyàn díẹ̀
(I know people few)
'I know few people'
Ènìyàn díẹ̀ máa jẹ ata
(people few usually eat pepper)
'Few people eat pepper'

(c) N kò rí obìrin.
(I not see woman)
'I saw no woman'
kò sí obìrin tí ó pupa.
(not exist woman who pron. red)
'No woman who is light (in complexion)'

Returning to our proposal for deriving relative clause constructions from conjunction we suggest that underlying (55) is a structure like (56).

(55) Mo pàdé ɔkuǹrin nâ tí ó ń ʂɔ Haúsá
(I meet man the who pron. -ing speak Hausa)
'I met the man who is speaking Hausa'

(56) Mo pàdé ɔkuǹrin ɔkuǹrin ń ʂɔ Haúsá
(I meet man) (man -ing speaking Hausa)
' I met man' 'man is speaking Hausa'

4.1.3 Presupposition in Clauses.

The choice of the clause to become the relative clause correlates with certain presupposition on the part of the speaker about what the hearer knows, and accordingly with the choice of the determiner. Consider (56) again. If the speaker presupposes that the hearer knows neither about the meeting a man nor about a man speaking Hausa, then both the following conjunction realizations of (56) are possible.

(57) Mo pàdé ɔkuǹrin kan ó sì ń sɔ Haúsá
(I meet man a pron. and -ing speak Hausa)
'I met a man and he is speaking (speaks) Hausa'

(58) ɔkuǹrin kan wà tí ó n sɔ Haúsá mo sì pàdé rẹ̀
(man a exist who pron. -ing speak Hausa I and meet him)
'There is a man who is speaking (speaks) Hausa and I met him'.

as well as both of the following relative clause constructions with indefinite head nouns:

(59) Mo pàdé ɔkuǹrin kan tí ń sɔ Haúsá
(I meet man a who -ing speak Hausa)
'I met a man who is speaking (speaks) Hausa'

(60) ɔkǔnrin kan tí mo pàdé ń sɔ Haúsá
(man a who I meet -ing speak Hausa)
'A man whom I met is peaking (speaks) Hausa'.

If on the other hand, the speaker presupposes that there is a man such that it is known by the hearer that he met him, the relative clause construction corresponding to this presupposition will have the conjunct containing pàdé 'to meet' as a relative clause, and the head noun will be definite. Consider:

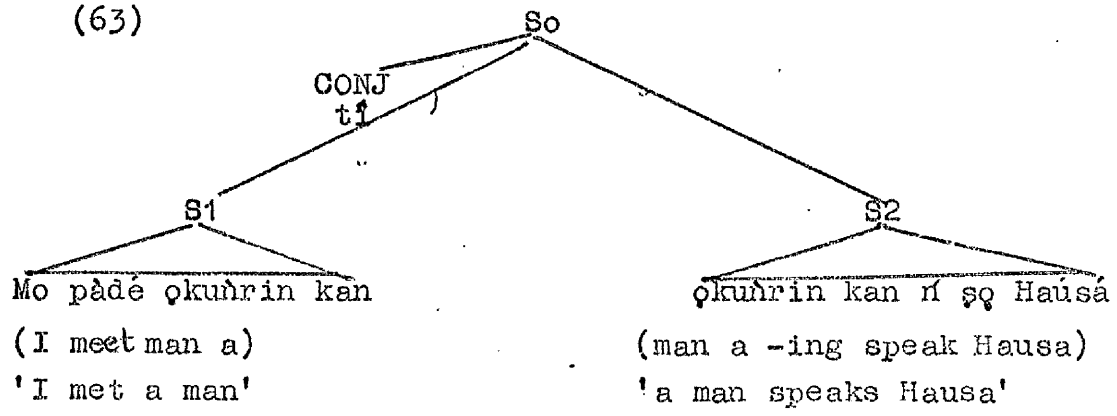
(61) Ọkuṅrin nâ tí mo pàdé ń ṣọ Haúsá
(man the who I meet -ing speak Hausa)
'The man who I met is speaking (speaks) Hausa'

Similarly, if the speaker presupposes that his hearer knows about the man who speaks Hausa, the corresponding relative clause construction will have the conjunct containing ṣọ Haúsá 'speak Hausa' as the relative clause, and again the head noun will be definite. Consider:

(62) Mo pàdé ọkuṅrin nâ tí ń ṣọ Haúsá
(I meet man the who -ing speak Hausa)
'I met the man who is speaking (speaks) Hausa'.

It should be noted however, that tí 'who' of (59) is not all that different from the ti 'and' of (19) above. (59) is represented here as (63):

(63)



The fact that ti is a conjunctive element can be accounted for by its being able to be replaced by si 'and' in structures such as (57).

4.1.4 The Genitive Construction.

This construction can be said to derive from the relative clause source. First, let us consider the nature of a genitive construction. It is an endocentric structure with two nouns, the first of which is the head and the second the attribute. For details on this see 7.3.3[1] below. For the moment, let us consider (64)

(64) Aṣọ Adé
clothes Ade
Ade's clothes

(64) derives from either (65) or (66):

(65) Aṣọ tí Ó jẹ́ ti Adé ni èyí
(Clothes that pron. be of Ade is this)
'These are Ade's clothes'

(66) Aṣọ tí í ṣe ti Adé ni èyí
(Clothes that be of Ade is this)
'These are Ade's clothes'

Both (65) and (66), after deletion has taken place, will produce the intermediate structure of (67).

(67) Aṣọ Adé ni èyí
(Clothes Ade is this)
'These are Ade's clothes'

which eventually becomes (64)

(64) Aṣọ Adé
(Ade clothes)
'Ade's clothes'

[1] The section on 'The Possessive Construction'.

Notice that in (65) and (66) the high tone tí is the relative marker 'that' and the midtone ti is the genitive marker glossed as 'of'.

4.2.0 The Appositive Construction.

The genitive construction and the appositive construction share many characteristics in common. First, like the genitive construction, the appositive construction is an endocentric structure of two nouns the first of which is the head noun and the other the modifier or attribute. An example is:

(68) Adé gbẹ́nàgbẹ́nà kú
(Ade carpenter die)
'Ade the carpenter died'

which derives from two sentences thus:

(69) Adé kú
(Ade die)
'Ade died'

(70) Adé jẹ́ gbẹ́nàgbẹ́nà
(Ade is carpenter)
'Ade is a carpenter'

Both of which have the relativized form (71):

(71) Adé tí ó jẹ́ gbẹ́nàgbẹ́nà kú
(Ade who pron. is carpenter die)
'Ade who is a carpenter died'

Notice that just as in the genitive construction example (65) above tí ó jẹ́ 'who he is' has to delete in (71) to derive (68).

However, it is observed that both the genitive and appositive structures are different in some characteristics. One such difference is that the condition for

coreference is met in the appositive constructions while it is never met in the case of a genitive structure. We discuss the differences in full in Chapter VII.

4.2.1 The Gerundive Adjectives (as NP modifiers).

The Gerundive Adjectives are derived from predicative adjectives by means of regular gerundive reduplication. The process is repeated here for convenience. A syllable which consists of a copy of the initial consonant of a verbal stem, and a high tone /í/ is prefixed to the verb stem: Example:

(72) (i) fẹ̀ 'to be broad'
(ii) fífẹ̀ 'broadhess'

Yorùbá, unlike English, invariably has gerundive adjectives in post nominal positions. Notice that this type of gerundive structure is quite different from the one that is from a complement source. The latter invariably hops on the noun to assume the position of the former as demonstrated in Chapter III above. The gerundive adjectives come from restrictive relative clause sources. Consider:

(73) ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ pípọ́n
(banana red)
'ripe banana'

underlying it is (74)

(74) ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ ti ọ̀ jẹ̀ pípọ̀n dùn
(banana which is red sweet)
'banana which is ripe is sweet'

Again, notice that the relative marker and the anarphoric pronoun Ọ 'it' are deleted to derive :

(75) ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ pípọ́n dùn (banana red (be) sweet)
'ripe banana is sweet'

A further evidence that justifies our claim that (74) is a relative clause construction lies in the fact that it could take on another head noun (our classifier in Chapter VI below) as in:

(76) ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ èyí tí ó jẹ́ pípọ́n dùn
(Banana the one that it red sweet)
'This banana that is ripe is sweet'.

4.2.2 Restrictive/Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses.

Just as in English, Yorùbá restrictive relative clause has distinct characteristics which mark it out as different from the non-restrictive relative clause. In English the restrictive relative clause construction permits that as a relative pronoun but the non-restrictive relative clause construction does not. Restrictives do not require comma intonation after the head NP whereas non-restrictives do. Restrictives may modify any + N but not the non-restrictives. Consider (77):

(77) *Any plane, which crashes, is a failure.

Restrictives do not modify an entire proposition but non-restrictives do. Example:

(78) He said he would leave the service which I think is a good idea.

Restrictives do not modify proper nouns that have no determiners while non-restrictives do. Consider:

(79) *John that came early left early.

In Yorùbá, no article occurs between a noun modified by a relative clause if the latter is restrictive. For instance, (80-82) below cannot be restrictive relative clause constructions since some articles occur between the

head nouns and the relatives, whereas in the restrictive relatives the main articles usually occur after the relatives. Examples are:

(80) Ẹnì kan, tí ó rò pé òun gbọ́n, kò mọ ọ̀tún yàtọ̀ sí òsì.
(person a, who pron. think that he wise, not know right different to left).
'a (certain) person who considers himself wise cannot distinguish between left and right'

(81) ẹni yẹn, tí à ń sọ ọ̀rọ̀ rẹ̀
(person that, we -ing speak word his)
'that man about whom we talk'

(82) Ọkuńrin yì tí ó ń pa irọ́
(man this, who he -ing kill lies)
'This man who tells lies'

in (83-84) where the articles do not precede the relatives.

(83) ẹni ti à ń sọ ọ̀rọ̀ rẹ̀ yẹn
(person who we -ing speak word his)
'that man we talk about'

(84) Ọkuńrin tí ó ń pa irọ́ yì
(man who pron. -ing kill lie this)
'this deceitful man'

The article can precede the surface form of non-restrictive relatives mainly because Yorùbá non-restrictive relative constructions can be replaced with an appositive noun phrase whereas the restrictive relative clause constructions cannot be so replaced. Thus examine the following pairs. The (a) forms of the structures (85-87) are restrictive relative clause constructions while the (b) forms are non-restrictive. Consider:

(85) (a) Ọkuṅrin ti kò fẹ̀ràn àwọn ọmọ rẹ̀ yẹn
(man who not love plur. child his that)
'That man who does not love his children'

(b) Ọkuṅrin yẹn, ti kò fẹ̀ràn àwọn ọmọ rẹ̀.
(man that, who not love plur. child his)
'That man who does not love his children'

(86) (a) àwọn olùkọ̀ àgbà ti ó ń jìjàdù ipò wọ̀nyẹn
(plur. teacher elder who pron. -ing struggle position those)
'Those lecturers who are obsessed with posts'

(b) Àwọn olùkọ̀, àgbà wọ̀nyẹn, ti wọn ń jìjàdù ipò
(plur. teacher elder those, who pron. -ing struggle position)
'Those lecturers, who happen to be obsessed with posts'.

(87) (a) Ilé ti mo kọ̀
(house which I build)
'The house which I built'

(b) Ilé kan, tí mo kọ̀
(house one, which I build)
'The house, which I built'

The (b) forms of (85-87) are non-restrictive. Each of them can be replaced with a NP particularly those starting with èyi ti 'the one which' in the singular definite, ọ̀kan ti 'one which' in the singular indefinite, or àwọn ti 'those ones which' in the plural definite (where àwọn ti is alternatively interpreted as 'those which). Thus the (b) forms of (85-87) can respectively be realized as (88) if we substitute appositive NPs for them.

(88) (a) Ọkuṅrin yẹ̀n eyi ti kò fẹ̀ràn àwọn ọmọ rẹ̀
(Man that this who not love plur. children his)
'That man, the one who does not love his children'

(b) Awọn olùkọ̀ àgbà wọ̀hẹ̀n, àwọn tí wọn ń jíjàdù ipò
(plur. teacher elder those, they who pron.
-ing struggle post)
'those lecturers, the ones who are obsessed
with posts'.

(c) ile kan, ọ̀kan ti mo kọ̀.
(house a, one which I build)
'A certain house, one which I built'.

From (85-87) we observe that where we have non-restrictive relative clause constructions, the pronoun which follows the relative marker ti and which is coreferential with the modified noun must agree in number with the latter. But this requirement does not hold for the restrictive relative clause constructions. Thus in (86) (a) we have the relative as either ti ó ń jíjàdù ipò or tí wọn ń jíjadu ipò whereas in (86) (b) only the latter, that is, tí wọn ń jíjàdù ipò is grammatical the former, that is, tí ó ń jíjàdù ipò is not acceptable in the language. But if the non-restrictive is replaced with a NP as in (86) since the plural from àwọn ti 'those who/which' is used instead of singular form èyí tí e.g. in (86) (b) the coreferential pronoun which follows the relative marker ti could be either singular or plural since number agreement has already been satisfied through the employment of àwọn tí in that structure. The fact that number agreement is obligatory for non-restrictive relative construction actually specifies an appositive construction rather than the modification of the noun that is supposed to be modified by the relative. Since a restrictive relative construction and the noun it modified are dependent on each other, number is shown in the principal element modified by the relative, whereas for non-restrictives the independence of the relative from the noun shows that it

is a separate detachable construction, and explicitness in number is expected in such constructions in case detachment takes place.

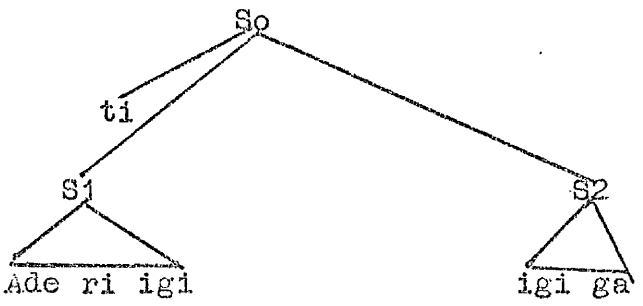
So, one really significant point about (88) is that non-restrictive relative constructions could be considered as versions of appositive constructions which must normally be in concord with the nouns they are in apposition to, whereas the restrictive relative constructions and the nouns they modify are integral parts of a single noun phrase. Consider:

(89) Adé rí igi ti ó ga
(Ade see tree which it high)
'Ade saw a tree which was high'

(90) Adé jí aṣọ ti a rà
(Ade steal cloth which we buy)
'Ade stole the cloth which we bought'

Notice that (89-90) are restrictive relative clause constructions by our analysis. The relativized NP in (89) is an embedded subject while that of (90) is an embedded object. The deep structure of (89) is (91):

(91)



Ade see tree tree (be) high

This as could be seen at a glance, adheres to our conjunction hypothesis. In further support of our claim S2 can

still be extended by supplying a further head noun thus:

(92) Èyí tí ò ga 'the one which is high'

which is a reduced form of (93):

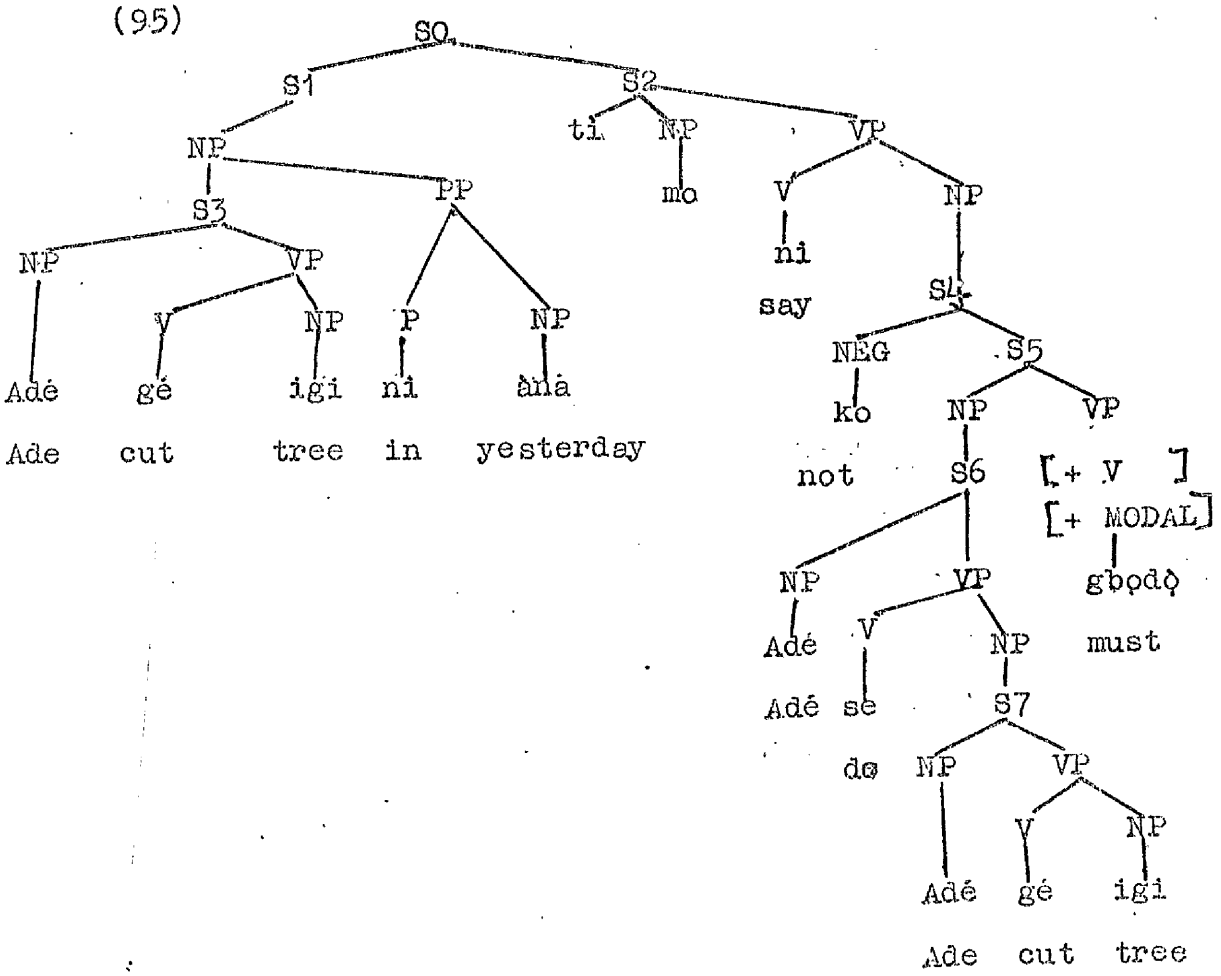
(93) Èyí tí ò jẹ́ igi tí ó ga
(this which it be tree which it high)
'The one which is a tree which is high'

See Chapter VI for details about this type of construction.

Even for the non-restrictive relative clause constructions the conjunction hypothesis is far stronger than in the restrictive relative constructions. Consider (94) which has the deep structure (95).

(94) Adé gé igi ni àná ti mo ni kò gbọdọ̀ ṣe
(Ade cut tree in yesterday which I say not must do)
'Ade cut the tree yesterday which I said he must not do'.

(95)



Notice that in order to drive (94) S7 of (95) deletes under identity with S3, S6 undergoes subject-to-subject raising with gbọdọ̀ thus becoming a preverbal element. The negative kò is then placed in its place by negative element movement rule.

4.2.3 Stacked Relatives

When the Noun Phrase relativized is itself a relative clause construction, the result is a stacked relative clause construction. However, native speakers differ in their judgements on the acceptability of some of these sentences. Witness:

(96) Aṣọ tí ó hun tí ó fi ṣe ọdún dára púpọ̀
(cloth which he weave which he put do festival good much)
'The cloth which he wove which he wore for the festival was very good'.

However the acceptability of (97) is doubtful.

(97) ? (a) Mo ti pàdé àwọn ènìyàn tí wọn sọ pé àgbàdo ọ̀sìngín dùn púpọ̀ (b) papã àwọn ti wọn jẹ́ àgbẹ̀ àti (c) àwọn ti wọn ń ṣe dàrùkẹ́
(I already meet they people who they say that maize fresh sweet much, particularly they who are farmers and (c) they who they -ing do village trade)
i.e. 'I have met people who say fresh maize is very sweet, especially those who are farmers and those who are female village traders'.

Notice that the anaphoric pronoun wọn 'they' of (a), (b) and (c) could be ọ̀ if it is so marked and makes no difference in the meaning of each of the clauses in which it

occurs. Compare (97) with (98).

(98) Mo tigbọ lẹnu awọn ẹnìyàn, àwọn tí wọn jẹ
I already meet they people, they who they be
àgbẹ̀ àti àwọn tí wọn ń ṣe dàrukẹ̀, pé
farmer and they who they -ing do village trade that
àgbàdo ọ̀sìngìn dùn pùpọ̀
maize fresh sweet much

i.e. 'I have heard from some people especially farmers and female village traders, that fresh maize is very sweet.'

Notice that the two relative clauses are immediately to the right of the matrix sentence they modify and to the left of the nominalization introduced by the complementizer pẹ́ 'that'. Both (97) and (98) are heard in everyday speech but (98) is preferred to (97). This proves that stacking tends to be clumsy.

4.2.4 Recursive Structures.

These are relativized structures involving recursive use of tree structures. Consider (99):

(99) Èyí ni ọkùnrin tí ó lu obìnrin, obìnrin tí ó ta ajá, ajá tí ó lẹ̀ kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ̀, kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ̀ tí ó pa àkùkọ, àkùkọ tí ó jẹ àgbàdo, àgbàdo tí Bọ́sẹ̀ rà

i.e. This is the man who beat the woman, the woman who sold the dog, the dog who chased the fox, the fox which killed the cock, the cock which ate the corn, the corn which Bọ́sẹ̀ bought.

Notice that for (99) there is no problem of interpretation since each modified NP is repeated in the relevant surface structure construction, that is, obìnrin, ajá, kọ̀lọ̀kọ̀lọ̀,

àkùkọ and àgbàdo (woman, dog, fox, cock and corn respectively).

Consider (100)

(100) Èyí ni ọkùnrin tí ó lu obìnrin, tí ó ta ajá tí ó le kòlọkòlò tí ó pa àkùkọ tí ó sì jẹ àgbàdo tí Bọ́sẹ̀ rà

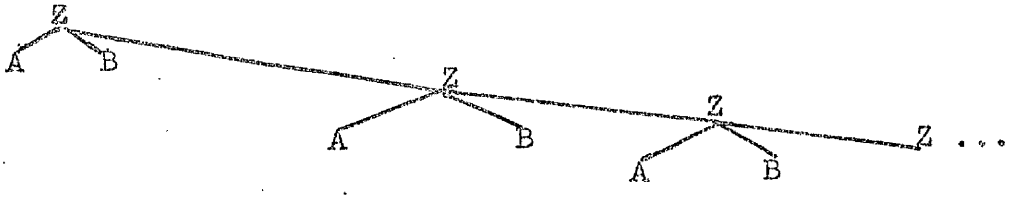
i.e. 'This is the man who beat the woman who sold the dog that chased the fox that killed the cock that ate the corn that Bọ́sẹ̀ bought.'

As opposed to (99) ọkùnrin 'man' performed all the actions except the last in(100) 'that is, buying' whereas he performed only one action in (99) that is, beating of the woman. Note that(99) and (100)constitute different structures in Yorùbá. This is an important area in which Yorùbá structures differ considerably to English structures. While the two can be given the same structure representation in English and be distinguished only through intonation features, their underlying differences are well illustrated in the surface representations in Yorùbá without the necessary assistance of intonation features.

This type of structure is the right branching recursive construction which has the schema;

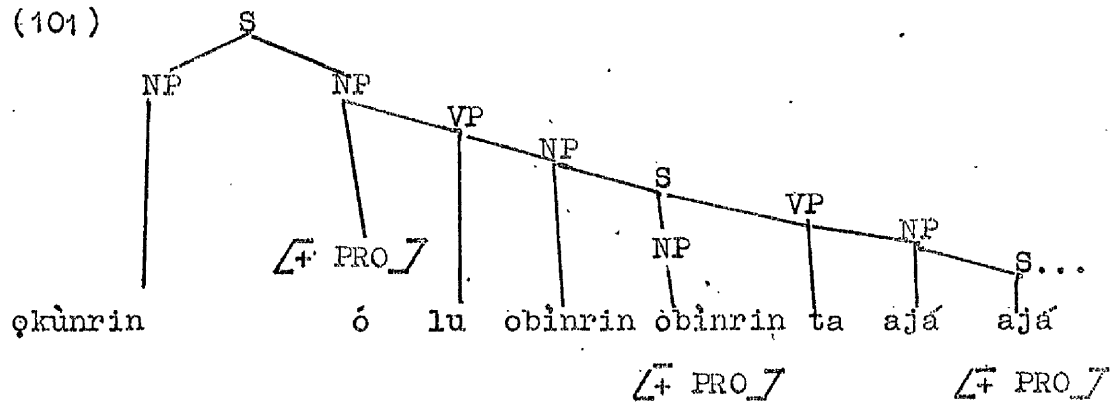
Rule 8 Z ⟶ A + B (+ Z)

i.e.



Spelled out (99) will be represented as in (101) excluding the head noun Èyí 'this'

(101)



Notice that (101) proves beyond reasonable doubt that relative clause constructions result from conjoined sentences. Our conjunction hypothesis seems to be the only way to resolve the 'relativization or nominalization' arguments that are currently raging among Yorùbá scholars. Professor Bamgbọṣe (1975) follows the traditional NP —— S configuration. Recall that we reject this configuration (see 4.1.1 above and 5.0.0 below) on the ground that the frame is that of a nominalization. Schachter, P. (1973, p.19) proposing 'promotion hypothesis' for constructions involving relative clause constructions, writes:

> "Evidence is presented showing that, while neither (i.e. focus and relative clause constructions) constructions can be derived from highly similar underlying configurations, and that the derivation of both constructions involves the PROMOTION of material from an embedded into a matrix sentence."

Notice that his 'underlying configurations' consist of two sentences viz. the matrix and the embedded sentences. Also recall that we pointed out the fact that embedding in relative clause construction is superficial while embedding in nominalization is underlying (see 4.1.1 above). Professor Awobuluyi (1972: 16) agrees with Schachter on

this hypothesis; he writes:

> "It is here proposed as such an alternative that relativization be redefined as a syntactic process operating selectively on elements of sentences in such a way as to turn such sentences into noun phrases, that is, more explicity, noun-plus-qualifier constructions.".

It should be noted that it is sentences that are to be reduced to noun phrases, and as we remark in 5.0.0 (Examples 35-39) sentences are essentially noun phrases. So, instead of weakening our points the arguments of the aforementioned scholars lend support to our conjunction hypothesis.

Another reason for the confusion in relativization and nominalization is that writers do not always give full sentences in order to show that the construction is limited to a context where the matrix verb is factive.

Many of the structures they regard as relative clause constructions are nominalizations. This is discussed at length in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER V.

5.0.0 FACTIVE/NON-FACTIVE NOMINALIZATION.

In an attempt to characterize the syntax and semantics of complement structures, we make a distinction between factive and non-factive verbs on one hand and emotive and non-emotive verbs on the other hand. We posit that in many respects, the syntactic form of a complement depends on whether or not the speaker presupposes the truth of the complement (cf. Kiparskys 1968). It is observed that where a speaker presupposes the truth of the complement, the verbs are invariably found to be factive, and where the speaker does not presuppose the truth of the complement the verbs are usually found to be non-factive.

Here, we intend to subsume under the category verb, the predicative adjectives, some of the pre-verb modifiers, the modals and the so called 'verb nominal collocation' or verb-noun contraction.[1] In so doing, we observe that there is nothing to lose but much to gain. In our considered opinion this makes for simplicity and descriptive adequacy[2] as we shall demonstrate later in this section.

It is noticed that some of the factive and non-factive verbs take sentential subjects which are usually non-animate, and also most of them are intransitive subject embedding verbs.

In English only factive predicates allow the noun "fact" with a sentential complement consisting of a *that* clause or a gerund to replace the simple *that* clause as

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[1] Ward(1952: 121). Bamgbose (1965). Awobuluyi (1964).

[2] Chomsky, N. (1965: 30-38).

witnessed by:

(1) The fact that Julie went during the might:
(2) The fact of Julie's going during the might:

can be continued by such factive predicates as, is significant, bothers me but not by non-factive predicates as: is likely, it seems to me. (cf. Kiparsky's 1968).

In Yorùbá, it is observed that the factive predicates which are the equivalents of English The fact that S structures are as follows:

(a) Pé that

(3) Pé Adé ń lù ìlù kò jọ ni lójú
(that Adé -ing beat drum not seem one in eye).
'That Adé is beating the drum, is not surprising'.

(4) Pé mo lọ bí wọn ní inú
(that I go turn them in Stomach)
'That I went, annoyed them'.

(5) Pé Òjó sùn dára
(that Òjó sleep good)
'That Òjó slept, was good'.

In the above sentences, it should be noted that Pé is an essential element, it can not be deleted without doing violence to the structures. Consider:

(6) * Adé ń lù ìlù kò jọ ni lójú
* Adé -ing beat drum not seem one in eye.
* 'Adé is beating the drum is not surprising'.

(7) * Mo lọ bí wọn ní inú.
* I go turn them in stomach
* I went annoyed them.

In some other constructions with factive verbs pé 'that' deletes optionally, and this will be demonstrated in

the paragraphs that follow:

(b) Kìkì (dá (pé)) S. (The mere fact that S).

As indicated by the brackets, dá and pé can be deleted in the environment of kìkì without loss of meaning in the constructions in which they could appear. Consider:

(8) Kìkì dá pé Olú sun ẹkún dùn Òjó
(the mere fact that Olú issue cry pain Òjó)
'The mere fact that Olú cried hurt Òjó'.

(9) Kìkì dá Olú sun ẹkún dun Òjó
(the mere fact Olú issue cry pain Ojo)
'The mere fact that Olu cried, hurt Ojo'.

(10) Kìkì pé Olú sun ẹkún dun Òjó
(the mere fact Olu issue cry pain Ojo)
'The mere fact that Olu cried, hurt Ojo'.

(11) Kìkì Olú sun ẹkún dun Òjó
(the mere fact Olu issue cry pain Ojo)
'The mere fact that Olu cried hurt Ojo'.

In effect, it is observed that the most essential element, that is, the nominalizer, in the types of constructions above is kìkì which is capable of selecting both or either dá or pé or of doing away with both without loss of meaning.

(c) Àsán (pé) S (The mere fact that S).

This could be a substitute of kìkì in some structures, but it should not be taken as an absolute free variant of kìkì. Consider the following:

(12) Kìkì dá pé Adùn nf ẹwà ni ó bí Adùkẹ́ nf inú.
(the mere fact that Adùn has beauty is it -ing turn Adùkẹ́ in stomach).
'The mere fact that Adun is beautiful is what Adukẹ is annoyed about',

but not

(13) *Àsán pé Adùn ní ẹwà ni ó bí Àdùkẹ́ ní inú.
(the mere fact that Adun has beauty is it -ing turn Àdùkẹ́ in stomach).
'The mere fact that Adùn is beautiful is what Àdùkẹ́ is annoyed about'.

However it could replace kìkì in (8-11) above without resulting in any difference in meaning as witnessed by;

(14) Asán pé Olú sun ẹkún dun Òjó
(the mere fact that Olu issue cry pain Ojo)
'The mere fact that Olu cried hurt Ojo'.

It should be noted that (13) is unacceptable because àsán, occurs with the stative verb ní 'to have', 'possess' and a qualitative noun object ẹwà 'beauty'.

(d) Ògédé pé S ('The fact that S').

(15) Ògédé pé a lọ pá wọn ní àiyà.
(the fact that we go bald them in chest)
'The fact that we went gave them concern'.

(16) Ògédé pé Olú lọ dùn mí.
(the fact that Olu go pain me)
'The fact that Olu went hurt me'.

It is observed that Ògédé and kìkì are free variants except that the former can not cooccur with dá in the same environment as the latter can; even then, as mentioned earlier, dá is optional where it occurs.

(e) ti, Nom tí S. (The fact that S).

Yorùbá has a peculiar copying phenomenon which involves copying either a cognate noun or an ideophone, in front of a sentence. Followed by ti 'that'. The function of this element is still a matter of unresolved controversy among Yorùbá grammarians. First, it is regarded as a variant

of the relative marker (RM) ti. We reject this claim on the ground that it has nothing to do at all with the relative clause construction. Second, it is also thought to be the ti that occurs in structures involving topicalization, that is, emphasis. Abraham (1958p.xxvii) argues that:

> 'The reduplicated verbal noun is commonly used for emphasis plus the verb from which it is derived:
> e.g. Yíyọ tí a yọ sí bẹ̀
> 'as soon as we appeared there'.
> Jíjáde tí mo jáde
> 'On my going out'.

Rowlands (1969: 189) observes that:

"When followed by the relative word ti or the emphasizing word ni, this form (that is, the cognate noun) is used to emphasize the verb e.g. Jíjáde tí ó jáde ni ó rí mi 'the coming out that he came out it is he saw me' as soon as he came out he saw me'".

Awobuluyi (1973: 21) after noticing that the coreferential relationship that is expected in a relative clause construction is not met in structures involving a cognate noun and ti, argues that 'That category can be called Predicates; so that — (such) expressions can easily be seen to be examples of the relativization of Predicate, rather than of 'verbs' or verbal nouns'. His conclusion, apparently, is that it is still a form of relative clause construction. A claim which we do not subscribe to on the ground that tí just like its English gloss that functions as a relative marker as well as a marker of other clauses. Consider:

(17) The road that/which Joe made is broad.

It is obvious that <u>that</u> here is a relative marker and in:

(18) He said <u>that</u> Peter came

it is a complementizer.

The presence of <u>ti</u> in constructions involving a cognate noun or an ideophone is not an instance of relativization as claimed by the previous writers, but an instance of factive nominalization. Consider the following:

(19) Mo gbọ́ tí o sọ̀rọ̀
(I hear that you talk)
'I heard you talking'.

(20) Mo gbọ́ ní gbà tí o sọ̀rọ̀
(I hear at time that you talked)
'I heard when you talked'.

(21) Mo ri sisí kan tí ó jó kúsímiláiyà
(I see lady one who she dance kúsímiláiyà)
'I saw a lady who danced kúsímiláiyà'.

In (19) above <u>tí</u> 'that' marks an indicative clause which is a pure example of plain reporting as opposed to (20) which is a time clause. <u>tí</u> 'that' in (21) is a relative marker as could be deduced in the coreference of <u>Ó</u> 'She' and <u>Sisí</u> 'lady' in the matrix sentence.

<u>Factive nominalisation</u>

(22) Pípa tí mo pa ajá rẹ̀ dùn ún
(Killing that I kill dog his pain him)
'The fact that I killed his dog hurt him'.

(23) Pípa tí mo pa ajá rẹ̀ ni ó ń bínú sí
(Killing that I kill dog his it is he -ing annoy for)
'The fact that I killed his dog is what he is annoyed about'.

Let us apply extraposition and o 'it' insertion to (22-23) to test the credibility of our claim.

(24) O dùn ún pé mo pa ajá rẹ̀
(It pain him that I kill dog his)
'It hurt him that I killed his dog'.

(25) Ó ń bínú sí pé mo pa ajá rẹ̀
(he -ing annoy for that kill dog his)
'He was annoyed that I killed his dog'.

However, it should be noted that after extraposition has applied and O 'it' insertion has taken place tí 'that' of (22-23) is obligatorily deleted and pé 'that' is inserted to produce the grammatical structures of (24-25) as opposed to:

(26) * Ó ń bínú sí tí mo pa ajá rẹ̀
(he -ing annoy for that I kill dog his)
'He was annoyed that I killed his dog'.

which is unacceptable in the language. Sentences (22-25) are all instances of nominalization because first, the tí 'that' in (22-23) is not a relative marker as it can be substituted with, pé. Second, it is the nominalization that takes pé 'that' complementizer in the analysis above.

Hitherto, we have been discussing factive nominalization. Now we want to examine non-factive.

(27) Ògédé pé mo lọ jẹ́ irọ́ 'nonfactive'
(The fact that I go is false)
'The fact that I went is false'.

(28) Ògédé pé mo lọ dùn Òjó -factive
(The fact that I go pain Ojo)
'The fact that I went hurt Ojo'.

(29) Ó burú pé Òjò ń rọ̀ -factive
(It bad that rain -ing fall)
'It is bad that it is raining'.

(30) Ó dàbí pé òjò ń rọ̀ -Non-factive
(It appear that rain -ing fall)
'It appears that it is raining'.

It is noticed that by uttering sentences (27) and (30), the speaker does not assert the proposition of either of the utterances whereas in (28) and (29) the propositions are asserted.

The factive and nonfactive distinction could also be deduced from the fact that only a factive complement allows extraposition and still retains its acceptability without change of meaning whereas nonfactive resents extraposition as witnessed by the following:

(31) Pé òjò ń rọ̀ burú
(that rain -ing fall bad)
'That it is raining is bad'.

After extraposition we have:

(32) Ó burú pé òjò ń rọ̀
(It bad that rain -ing fall)
'It is bad that it is raining'.

Both (31) and (32) are acceptable sentences in Yorùbá and they both mean the same thing. As mentioned above, if extraposition were to apply in the case of a nonfactive complement the result will be an unacceptable sentence. Consider:

(33) Ó jọ pé òjò ń rọ̀
(It seems that the rain -ing fall)
'It seems that the rain is falling'.

(34) * Pé òjò ń rọ̀ jọ.
(that rain -ing fall seems)
'That it is raining seems'.

Just as the glosses show sentence (33) is acceptable while (34) is ungrammatical. Below we give examples of factive

and nonfactive verbs:

Factive	Non-Factive
Predicative Adjectives	
dára 'to be good'	Ṣe 'to be possible'.
burú 'to be bad'	
tóbi 'to be big'	jẹ́ irọ́ 'to be false'.
dúdú 'to be black'	
pupa 'to be red, ripe'	jẹ́ òtítọ́ 'to be true'.
kúrú 'to be short'	
korò 'to be bitter'	
gbóná 'to be hot'.	
Verbs	
to 'suffices'	dàbí 'seems'
jọ jú 'amazes'	jásí 'turns out'
pé 'pays'	jọ 'seems'
Pre-verb modifiers (with verbs of past tense)	
tilẹ̀ 'even'	gbọdọ̀ 'must'
tún 'again'	
kúkú 'nevertheless'	
Modals	gbọdọ̀ 'must'
	lè 'can'
	máa 'will'

Factive and non-factive object embedding verbs.

Factive	Non-Factive
gbàgbé 'to forget'	lérò 'to suppose'
rántí 'to remember'	wòye 'to figure out'
mọ̀ 'to know'	sọ 'to say'
fẹ́ràn 'to love/like'	gbàgbọ́ 'to believe'
korira 'to hate/dislike'	fẹ́ 'to want'.

It is observed that because there are no underlying transitive predicative adjectives, pre-verb modifiers and modals, it is only the surface verbs that show up in this last group.

The examples we have given so far by no means exhaust the available ones in the language. Nevertheless, they present extremely productive representation of factive and non-factive predicates in Yorùbá.

We propose, basically, two deep structures for factive and non-factive nominalization in the following paragraphs.

We observe that sentences are essentially NP's because they could be pronominalized as witnessed by the following:

(35) Adé mọ̀ PÉ ÒJÓ JÉ ÒMÙGỌ̀ èmi na sì mọ̀ BẸ̀
(Adé know THAT OJO IS FOOL I also and know SO)
'Adé knows THAT OJO IS A FOOL and I also know IT'.

(36) Ó sọ PÉ O TI DÉ. Q. KINI Ó WÍ ?
(He say THAT YOU ALREADY ARRIVE. Q. WHAT he say ?
'He said THAT YOU HAD ALREADY COME. WHAT did he say?'.

(37) Q. WH. ÉWO ni o fẹ́ẹ́ ? ÀTI TÈTÈ SÙN tàbí ÀTI TÈTÈ JÍ?
(WHICH is you want ? TO SLEEP EARLY or TO WAKE EARLY)
'WHICH do you like ? TO SLEEP EARLY or TO WAKE EARLY'.

Moreover, if structures such as gerundives and infinitivals are assumed to be full sentences at a deeper level of analysis. Then sentences can fit into the slots of NP's as in the following examples.

(a) SUBJECT:

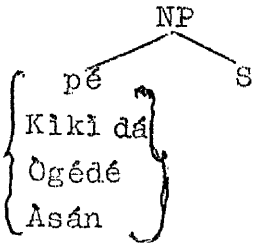
(38) RÍRÌN KIRI NÍ ÒRUGÀNJỌ́ ni ewu.
(WALKING ABOUT IN NIGHTDEAD has danger)
'ROAMING ABOUT IN THE DEAD OF THE NIGHT is dangerous'.

(b) OBJECT:

(39) Ó sọ PÉ Ó SÚ ÒUN
(He say THAT IT TIRE HIM)
'He said THAT HE WAS FED UP'.

On the basis of these facts we take nominalization as an S that functions as an NP and propose the following deep structures for factive and non-factive nominalization in Yorùbá.

Factive



Non-Factive

Presumably, our proposed structure for the factive predicates will go a long way to solving the controversy that has been on for quite some time among Yorùbá linguists on the status of nominalization and relative clause construction (cf. Bamgbọṣe (1975) and Awobuluyi (1975 (a) and (b)). Essentially, both factive nominalization and relative clause construction have identical surface structures but they are dissimilar in the deep structures as pointed out earlier in this section.

It is noticed in English that a 'fact-deletion' rule can account for why 'fact' does not always appear at the surface structure. Consider:

(40) (a) The fact that Adé went hurt me.
(b) That Adé went hurt me.

After the fact-deletion rule has applied to 40 (a) we get 40 (b) which is a paraphrase of it without change of meaning. In Yorùbá there are even more ways of expressing the fact however, if 'Kìkì dá, Ògédé and Àsán' all meaning 'the fact', are deleted just as the English 'The fact that' leaving pé

are deleted just as the English 'The fact that' leaving pé

'that' behind the structures in which they are deleted will still remain acceptable.

5.0.1 Adverbs and 'Ideophones'

Another advantage that accrues from our factive deep structure proposal is that we are able to dispel the misconception that shrouds the functions of some of the so called 'adverbs' and 'ideophones' in Yorùbá once and for all.

Words like wéréwéré 'quickly' and rí 'before' are regarded as adverbs by traditional grammarians[1] in the following sentences:

(41) Ó ṣe é wéréwéré
(he do it quickly)
'He did it quickly'.

(42) Adé lọ Èkó rí
(Adé go Èkó (Lagos) before)
'Ade had been to Lagos before'.

(43) Adé lọ Èkó ní àná
(Ade go Lagos on yesterday)
'Ade went to Lagos yesterday'.

If we apply the topicalization test to the three sentences the result will amaze us considerably because one of them, that is, rí 'before' will be marked out as not belonging: Consider:

(44) Wéréwéré ní ó ṣe é
(quickly topic-marker he do it)
'He did it very quickly'.

[1] On this, see Rowlands (1969: 146), Bamgbọṣe (1966:127), Delanọ (1969: 124), Ward (1956: 151), Johnson (1973: XLVII-VIII), de Gaye and Beecroft (1964:52), Anonymous (1971:140, 200) and Crowder (1852: 182, 250). Awobuluyi, O. (Forthcoming) has a different view.

(45) * rí ni ó lọ Èkó
before topic-marker he go Lagos

* Before he went to Lagos.

Àná ni ó lọ Èkó
(yesterday topic-marker he go Lagos)
'He actually went to Lagos yesterday'.

Considering the dissimilarity in the behaviour of the two kinds of adverbs under topicalization we posit tentatively that adverbs like the one in (41) are adverbials, that is a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition and a noun in the deep structure while adverbs like the one in (42) are indeed adverbs. The fact that the category 'adverb' has traditionally been a catch-all term confuses the issue. However, it is observed that the preposition Ni never occurs in Yorùbá except directly preceding a noun or a pronoun. Consequently, each of the words it precedes in the examples that follow is thereby unambiguously identified as a noun. Consider the following:

(46) (a) Ó lọ kíákíá
(he go quickly)
'He went quickly'.

(b) Ó lọ ní kíákíá
(he go in quickly)
'He went quickly'.

(47) (a) Búrẹ́dì ti a gé pẹlẹbẹpẹlẹbẹ
(Bread which we cut thin thin)
'Bread that is sliced thin'.

i.e. sliced bread.

(b) Búrẹ́dì tí a gé ní pẹlẹbẹpẹlẹbẹ
(Bread which we cut in thin thin)
'Bread that is sliced thin'.

(48) (a) Ó dé wéréwéré
(he arrive quickly)
'He came quickly'.

(b) Ó dé ní wéréwéré
(he arrive in quickly)
'He came quickly'.

(49) (a) Ó ń tẹ ilẹ̀ girigiri
(he -ing step ground girigiri)
'He walked about in girigiri manner'.

(b) Ó ń tẹ ilẹ̀ ní girigiri
(he -ing step ground in girigiri).

(50) Ṣe mí pẹ̀lẹ́ (ambiguity)

i. (do me gently) ii. (Greeting to a guest as he approaches the host's house).
'Treat me gently'.

(51) (a) Ṣe pẹ̀lẹ́ (warning)
(do gently) 'Be careful'.

(b) Ṣe ní pẹ̀lẹ́ (do in gently) 'Be careful'.

The examples given above are all surface structure utterances. Moreover, the (b) member of each pair contains a so-called adverbs which is preceded by the preposition ni. Out contestation is that traditional adverbs like pẹ̀lẹ́pẹ̀lẹ́, kíákíá and girigiri occur preceded always by the preposition ni in the deep structure, and may or may not occur in the same way in the surface structure.

However, it should be noted that not all these so-called adverbs do adhere to the principle of occuring in post-preposition position. Consider the following:

(52) (a) Ó ga ffoffo (it be-tall fiofio)
'It is tall in fiofio manner'.

(b) * Ó ga ní ffoffo (it be-tall in fiofio)
'It is tall in fiofio manner'.

(53) (a) Ó rí roboto (It appear round) 'It is round'.

(b) * Ó rí ní roboto (It appear in round) 'It is round'.

(54) (a) Máà ta félefèle ní ọdọ rẹ
(do -not bounce felefele in presence his/her/its.)
'Don't behave in felefele manner in his/her/its presence'.

(b) * Máà ta ní félefèle ní ọdọ rẹ
(do -not bounce in felefele in presence his/her/its.)
'Don't behave in felefele manner in his/her/its presence'.

(55) (a) Ó funfun láú (it be -white lau)
'It is snow white'.

(b) * Ó funfun ni láú (it be -white in lau)
'It is snow white'.

(56) (a) Ó bá jókǒ jẹ́jẹ́
(he/she/it happen sit-down peacefully)
'And he/she/it sat down quietly'.

(b) * Ó bá jókǒ ní jẹ́jẹ́
(he/she/it happen sit-down peacefully)
'And he/she/it sat down quietly'.

(57) (a) Ó pupa fòo (it be -red foo)
'It is red in foo manner'.

(b) * Ó pupa ní fòo (it be -red in foo)
'It is red in foo manner'.

There is no doubt that the (b) examples of (52) to (57) fail the test of the ní - insertion rule. But this does not preclude them from belonging to the same category of the so-called adverbs, as (46-48). For, they are partially the same both from the standpoint of their phonological and morphological constitution and from the semantic properties ingrained into them. Furthermore, the relation between any

particular 'adverbs' and the verbs in the structure in which they both occur is exactly as for the 'adverbs' and verbs in the other utterances. That is to say, (46-48) and (52-57) actually illustrate the same kind of construction. This fact must be reflected in any explanatory grammar of the language, and the only conventional way to do this is to derive them in exactly the same way.[1] Below we propose the ni -deletion rule to account for the derivation of the (a) sentences from their (b) counterparts as in (58).

(58) Ó sùn (ní) ilẹ̀ ilẹ̀ ⇒ Ó sùn ilẹ̀ ilẹ̀
'He slept on the bare floor'.

Rule 9: The ni-Deletion

SD: ≠≠ X - v - (ni) - NP - Y ≠≠
1 2 3 ⟹

SC: ≠≠ X - 1 0 3 Y ≠≠

Condition: 2 is the preposition ni and it precedes an NP. It should be noticed that rule 9 carries out only one simple elementary transformation of deletion. Note also that rule 9 is intentionally formulated to be neutral, that is, it can apply either optionally or obligatorily depending on the SD: of the given structure. Thus, it applies optionally in the derivation of the following (a) sentences from their (b) counterparts:

(59) (a) Ó ń gbé òkè ọ̀jà
(he -ing reside òkè ọ̀jà)
'He lives in oke Ọ̀jà'.

(b) Ó ń gbé ní Òkè Ọ̀jà
(He -ing reside in Òkè Ọ̀jà)
'He lives in Òkè Ọ̀jà'.

---

[1] It is possible to regard (46-48) as exceptions and describe them separately from (52-57). But such an approach will be counter-intuitive.

(60) (a) Ó mọ̀ ti otitọ (he know that of truth)
'He in fact knows'.

(b) Ó mọ̀ ní ti òtítọ́
(he know in that - of truth)
'He in fact knows'.

(61) (a) Ó ṣòro fṣe (it be -difficult doing)
'It is difficult to do'.

(b) Ó ṣòro ní fṣe (it be -difficult in doing)
'It is difficult to do'.

(62) (a) Ó rìn ìhòhò (he walk nudity)
'He walked in the nude'.

(b) Ó rìn ní ìhòhò (he walk in nudity)
'He walked in the nude'.

For the obligatory application of the rule, each of the (b) sentences will be the input to get each of the (a) sentences as output of the following structures:

(63) (a) Ó rí bẹ (it appear so) 'It is so'.

(b) * Ó rí ní bẹ[1] (it appear in so) 'It is so'.

(64) (a) Ó wí bẹ (he say so) 'He said so'.

(b) * Ó wí ní bẹ (he say in so) 'He said so'.

---

[1] We are led to this assumption and, a fortiori, of the presence of the preposition ní in the deep structures of the (b) sentences by the fact that the so-called adverbs, that is, our nouns, can be topicalized thus:

(i) (a) Ó rí bẹ (it appear so) 'It is so'.

(b) Bẹ ni ó rí (so emph-marker it appear)
'So it is'.

(ii) (a) Ó wí bẹ (he say so) 'He said so'

(b) Bẹ ní ó wí (So emph-marker he say)
'So he said'.

Our next argument is based on the fact that many of the so-called adverbs can be qualified by qualifiers. Consider:

(65) Jẹ́jẹ́ mi ni mo jókǒ
(peacefully my it is I sit-down)
'I sat down in my usual peaceful manner'.

(66) Má ta félefèle rẹ̀ dé ibí yĭ o
(do -not bounce félefèle your reach place this)
'Do not behave in your félefèle manner here'.

(67) Ó ṣe dédé rẹ̀ (it be dédé its)
'It fits it exactly'.

(68) Jẹ kí wọ́n máa ṣe wọ̀dùwọ̀dù wọ́n kiri
(let that they continue do wọ̀dùwọ̀dù their about)
'Let them go about behaving in their wọ̀dùwọ̀dù manner'.

(69) Wàdùwàdù yĭ kò ràn ọ lọ́wọ́
(waduwadu this not help-up in hand)
'This waduwadu manner does n't help you'.

(70) Ń ṣe ni ó ń yan kọ́ńdúkọ́ńdú rẹ̀ kiri
(-ing do it is he -ing strut kọ́ńdúkọ́ńdú his about)
'He indeed went about strutting in his kọndukọndu manner'.

Note that jẹ́jẹ́ is qualified by mi 'my', félefèle by rẹ̀ 'your', dédé by rẹ̀ 'its', wọduwọdu by wọn 'their', wàdùwàdù by 'yĭ' 'this' and kọ́ńdúkọ́ńdú by rẹ̀ 'his' in that order in sentences (65-70). Thus, it follows that since adverbs do not occur qualified by qualifiers in Yorùbá the lexical items in question cannot be rightly labelled adverbs. And since it is the prerogative of nouns to select qualifiers with which they are semantically compatible, words like félefèle, wàdùwàdù, jẹ́jẹ́ and the like can be nothing else but nouns. Any meaningful analysis of the so-called adverbs and 'ideophones' can only be presented against this pragmatic background. And this we hope, we have done.

Furthermore, there are quite a number of words in Yorùbá with which the so-called adverbs share very important syntactic characteristics. Such words are:

ojojúmọ́ 'everyday' ọ̀sọ̀sẹ̀ 'every week'

ọdọdún 'every year' mẹ́taméta 'three at a time'

méjìméjì 'two at a time' ọ̀jíji 'suddenness'

ọ̀gán 'suddenness'.

There is no doubt about it that all the above lexical items are nouns because they all occur in the environment of the preposition ni, and, as pointed out earlier any word that collocates with it is definitely a noun. Consider:

(71) Ó ń ṣiṣẹ́ ní ojojúmọ́ (* ó ń ṣiṣẹ́ ojojúmọ́)
(he -ing work in day-day)
'He works everyday'.

(72) Adé mú wọ́n ní méjìméjì (*Adé mú wọ́n méjìméjì)
(Ade take them in two-two)
'Ade took them two at a time'.

(73) Ó bá mi ní ọ̀jíjì (* Ó bá mi ọ̀jíjì)
(it react me in suddenness)
'It caught me unaware'.

(74) Ó dé ní ọ̀gán (* Ó dé ọ̀gán)
(he arrive in suddenness)
'He came suddenly'.

(75) Ó ń lọ ní ọ̀sọ̀sẹ̀ (* Ó ń lọ ọ̀sọ̀sẹ̀)
(he -ing go in week-week)
'He goes every week'.

It should be noted that the similarities between the nouns in (71-75) and the so-called adverbs are of a different sort. First, they both occur in the environment of the preposition ni as in (46-51) and (71-75). The nouns

in (71-75) do so with few exceptions[1] while those in (46-51) do so with many obvious exceptions.

Second, both sets of words are severely restricted in their capability to cooccur with qualifiers. The nouns in (71-75) are more restricted in this respect than many of the so-called adverbs. Nonetheless, the only few examples we know of are recorded here below:

(76) Kíkó wọn ní méjiméji yĭ kò ńfi yá tó
(gathering them in two-two this not be it quick enough)
'This act of removing them two at a time will not be quick enough'.

(77) Wíwá ní ojojúmọ́ rẹ̀ kò yé mi
(coming in everyday his not clear me)
'His coming everyday puzzles me'.

The noun mejimeji is qualified by 'yĭ' 'this' in (76), and ojojúmọ́ by the genitival qualifier 'rẹ̀' 'his' in (77).

Third, both sets of words normally do not function as subject and/or object of verbs[2]. Thus, there are no strings like the following where the non-terminal symbols could actually be replaced by appropriate lexical items:

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[1] Words like àgbàgbà and ọgbọgbọ̀n are such exceptions we know of.

[2] They invariably occur as the objects of the verb da/di 'to become' as in (i) Ó ń di ojojúmọ́ rẹ̀ (it -ing became everyday your)
'It is becoming an everyday occurrence with you'.

(ii) Ó di kìtàkìtà (it become kìtàkìtà)
'Things suddenly turn into kìtàkìtà'.

(78) (a) * Ọsọ̀sẹ̀ V NP
(b) * NP V Ọsọ̀sẹ̀

(79) (a) * Kíákíá V NP
(b) * NP V Kíákíá.

Finally, by virtue of the function they perform in sentence structure both sets of words can be topicalized and nominalized identically. Consider:

(80) Adé lọ kíákíá (Adé go quickly) 'Adé went quickly'.

Corresponding with the following:

(81) Kíákíá ni Adé lọ (quickly emph-marker Adé go)
'Ade went without any delay at all'.

(82) Kíákíá tí Adé lọ dára (quickly that Ade go good)
'The fact that Ade went quick was good'.

And, (83) and (84) below correspond to (75).

(83) Ọsọ̀sẹ̀ ni ó ń lọ (every-week emph-marker he -ing go)
'He goes every week'.

(84) Ọsọ̀sẹ̀ tí ó n lọ kò dára (every-week that he -ing go no good)
'The fact that he goes every week is not good'.

However, it should be noted that although in the gloss of (84) it is written 'fact of going' it is really the act of going that is not good'.

Thus, we conclude that both sets of words fit in primarily into the slots of NP's as implied in this section.

5.0.2 The Ideophones

Hitherto, what is known about the so-called ideophones is purely conjectural. Rowlands (1970) who gives a penetrating insight into the surface appearances of the phenomena, 'to which it has been found convenient to give the name of ideophones' comes near our analysis of the phenomena by referring to some of them as nominals and

complements. We intend to refer to the relevant parts of the existing works in passing if and when they throw light on our argument in the present study. A close examination of these works shows a non-concensus of opinion as to what the nature of the phenomenon called the 'ideophone' is. Whitehead (1964:Reprinted) says it is an 'indeclinable adjective', Torrend (1921) says it is a 'mimic noun' and 'onomatopeaic substantive'. It is left for Doke (1954) to label them, first as 'descriptive radicals' and finally as 'ideophones', the label they carry up till now.

Note that all the aforementioned authors worked on African languages. Using evidences from English and French we will demonstrate that the phenomenon belongs to the Universal Base Hypothesis (UBH) and it is not just a characteristic of a particular language or a group of languages.

The following, we presume, could be regarded as 'ideophones' in English.

(85)

clikety-clack	dilly-dally	gumbo-limbo
clippety-clop	nush-mash	~~pooh-pooh~~ hotch-potch
ding-dong	slip-shod	highty-tighty
criss-cross	tom-tom	froggy-woggy
dum-dum	wishy-washy	wig-wag
flip-flop	willy-nilly	rifty-tufty
higgledy-piggledy	whittie-whattie	
hugger-mugger	knick-knock	flim-flam
hush-hush	rip-rap	tick-tack
hurdy-gurdy	hanky-panky	helter-skelter
goody-goody	riff-raff	tick-tock
hanky-panky	tip-toe	topsy-turvy
see-saw	tip-top	shilly-shally
zigzag	dilly-dally	dum-dum[1].
wish-wash	tag-rag	

[1] Many of these are recognized as adverbs, and few as nouns, adjectives and verbs in English, here our choice is based on phonological criteria.

These examples are picked at random from OED. Our first observation is that it is not enough to call all of them onomatopoetics because, as could be seen at a glance most of them are not echoes. Our justification for calling them ideophones is as follows: first, they show instances of reduplication which is rare in English, second, certain vowels alternate and finally, the alternation of the consonants seem to be of the pattern (+ grave) (- grave) in many cases just like the Yorùbá 'ideophones'.

The French examples we suspect to be ideophones are as follows:

(86)

passe-passe	'sleight of hand'
fur-furace	'scurfy'
tic-tac	'tick-tack'
mic-mac	'underhand dealing, foul play'
zig-zag	'zig-zag'
cache-cache	'hide-and-seek'
flic flac	'crack (of a whip')'
cahin-caha	'so-so, lonely, poorly, slowly'.

5.0.3 Phonology of the So-called Ideophones.

From the above discussion of the phenomena, it is obvious that what marks them out distinctly, regardless of the syntactic and semantic properties, is their phonological surface appearance. We deem it necessary therefore, to discuss the phonology as briefly as it relates to the present study. However, we do not intend to discuss it in relation to what we consider to be non-productive to the present work, by this we mean, cries of animals,[1] birds and insects; sounds of automobile engines and babbling of children. All these and the like sounds are unique, and almost every human being can

[1] Samarin (1967: 36-7).

respond to them whether articulated or mumbled because they[1] are universal rather than part of any human language.

Hitherto, and to the best of our knowledge, there is only one work in existence on the phonology of the phenomena[2] (a & b) and this of course, is not meant to be a full scale work. And neither do we pretend to present a lengthy work, as remarked earlier, as that is beyond the scope of the present work. What we propose to do is to augment the existing works. Set out below is our observation.

5.0.4 Syllable Constraint of the Ideophones.

First, the phenomena obey the open syllable constraint, the only seeming exception to this constraint, however, is the presence of intervocalic syllabic nasal in the polysyllabic 'ideophones'. But then, there is evidence which suggests that the syllabic nasal is not an underlying feature in either the so-called ideophonic and non-ideophonic forms, hence, the double pronounciation for many of the non-ideophonic forms: Consider:

(87)	kèrègbé	kè- m̀ - gbè	(gourd)
	ọ́rúnlá	ọ́ - n - lá	'dried okro'
	ọ̀rùngbẹ̀	ọ̀ - ǹ - gbẹ̀	'thirst'
	gògòrígò	gògò - ń - gò	'Adam's apple'
	dìde (v)	ǹ - dè	'stand up'
	pẹ̀lẹ́	ǹ - lẹ́	'form of greeting'.

Furthermore, we observe that both the 'ideophones' and 'non-ideophones' observe the following: (i) CV syllable structure,

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1 However, it is noticed that cries of animals and the like are certainly different from language to language for instance, cats do not make the same noise to an Englishman and a Frenchman.

2 (a) Courtenay (1968) Appendix: (b) Oyelaran (1971), quite accurately does not label them ideophones. However, both Courtenay and Oyelaran posit a sort of sequence structure conditions (SSC) for 'non-ideophones' but lack of adequacy in their handling SSC for ideophones is apparent. (See below).

(ii) non-nasal vowel-initial and (iii) non-vowel-vowel sequence structures. Besides these, the so-called 'ideophones' have the following peculiarities (a) abundant reduplication (b) there are no vowel-initial canonical 'ideophones' (c) no single syllabic elements can constitute an ideophone (d) and finally, the canonical CICICIVI sequence is peculiar to Yorùbá 'ideophones'. It is observed furthermore, that a sequence of identical consonants always has identical vowels, but not vice versa. It is found necessary to explain this constraint why the penultimate identical consonant deletion does not apply to this sequence, except of course if it is fully reduplicated. Consider:

(88) pọ̀pọ̀ - / pọ̀pọ̀ + pọ̀pọ̀ / - pọ̀pọ̀ọ̀pọ̀ 'of falling in succession'.

gógó - / gógó + gógó / - gógóógó 'of being costly'.

The identical consonant deletion rule will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.1.0 Consonant Sequence of the Ideophones

The much neglected area, in discussing the ideophones in many languages, is the sequences. It is the order of the day to concentrate on the vowels by the various authors who care to discuss the phenomena. The frequency of occurrence of consonant alternations we observe in the case of Yorùbá is the voicing harmony.

This alternation, that is, of voicing, seems to be confined to disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic 'ideophones' as will be demonstrated soon in this section. It is more of a device rather to create further 'ideophones' than for alternate pronounciations. The different forms are not quite interchangeable, but they display a striking feature of

having sets of voiced and voiceless consonants acting as syllable frames for identical or non-identical vowels. Examples are:

(89) b-r-gb-: b-r-p bọ̀rọ̀gbà: bọrọpà
of being big and heavy.

gb-m-gb: p-m-p gbàm̀gbà: pàm̀pà
of being large and thick.

r-gb-d: r-p-t rọ̀gbọ̀dọ̀: rọ̀pọ̀tọ̀
of being of stately bearing/ formless.

g-d-gb: k-t-p gùdùgbà kùtùpà
of stamping hoofs
gòdòg bò kòtòpò
of being round/of being round and big /and deep.

g-n-g : k-n-g gọ̀ǹgọ̀ / kọ̀ǹgọ̀
curved stick for /plucking fruits/beating drums.

g-n-g : k-n-k gàǹgà: kàǹkà
of being tall and huge: of being huge.

j-g-d : j-k-t jẹgẹdẹ jẹkẹtẹ
of being crest fallen.

r-g-d : r-k-t rogodo : rokoto
of being/round : bright.

b-r-k-t: k-r-b-t birikiti: kiribiti
of being round.
barakata: karabata
of being round and hefty.

These type of alternations are also noted in common nouns of 'ideophonic' nature. Consider:

(90) g-d-gb k-t-p - gúdùgbú: kútùpú
a poisonous potato-like tuber: a low ass
gídígbò: kótópó
of head butting : a small earthenware.

g-g-r :	k-k-r	gúgúrú :	kọ́kọ́rọ́
		pop corn :	key
gb-m-gb	p-m-p	gbómgbó	pómpó
		a club	
p-k-t	b-k-t	pàkútẹ́ :	bọ̀kọ̀tọ
		a trap	cooked cow leg.
s-r-f	s-r-k	séráfù :	sérîkí[1]
		seraphim :	chieftain.

Again, these 'non-ideophonic' nouns are more akin to the 'ideophonic' ones in their being consonant initial. This fact further justifies our claim that the so-called ideophones are nothing more than just nominals and nominalization; an issue which we will take up later in this chapter.

5.1.1 Vowel Sequences.

Unlike the consonant sequences, this is an area on which much that is of interest has been written by earlier writers as pointed out in the preceding section.

As we mention later in this study, (Chapter VII), many of the Yorùbá nouns, apart from the basic nouns, are derived from verbs by prefixation and others are derived via reduplication (gerunds and 'ideophones' and serialization of verbs).

What is peculiar to the so-called ideophones is a sequence of identical vowels, it is most remarkable that all the vowels in the language both oral and nasal have characteristics of occurrences in the so-called ideophones. However, we find that while a sequence of identical consonants usually has identical vowels, on the contrary, a sequence of identical vowels does not always guarantee the occurrence of identical

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[1] These are loan words from Hebrew and Hausa respectively.

consonants. This is why it has not been possible to state a sequence constraint on identical vowels. Consider:

(91) gbàràgàdà 'of being broad'
fẹ̀rẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ 'of being broad'
mìnrìngìndìn 'of being stately' (occasion)
bàràkàtà 'of being heavy and slopy'
rõgódó 'of being round and small'
kọ́rọ́bọ́tọ́[1] 'of being plumpy and awesome'
kurubúsú 'powder'
ròg̀òdò 'of being round and big'
rógódó 'of being round and small'
gúgúrú 'pop corn'

The following are the sequence of occurrence we observe:

(92) (i) V1-V2-(V2)

kongí 'rock'
yangí 'granite rock'
fìlà 'cap'
gbẹ̀du 'a type of drum'
dùgbẹ̀ 'name of market'
gbáko 'for the whole period'
kàngá 'well'
bàkìtì 'of being big'
yàngìdì 'of being hefty'
pàkìtí 'a type of mat'
saworo 'a jingling object'.

(ii) V1-V1-V2-(V2)

kùkùté 'tree-stump'
pátákò 'hoof'
pátákó 'plank'
bẹ̀tẹ̀kùn 'of being big'
gànnàkù 'of being tall and bumpy'

---

[1] Note this saying which is common in Yorùbá: Kọ́rọ́bọ́tọ́ bí Ọ̀ká, 'plumpy and awesome like a Cobra'.

kẹ̀lẹ̀bọ̀ 'of being big-headed'
bírikótó 'of being small and round' (e.g. a hole)
bìrìkòtò 'of being large and round' (e.g. a hole)
bọrọgidi 'of being bare'
kìrìbótó 'a kind of drum'
bọ̀rọ̀kìní 'a respectable man'

(iii) V1-V2-V1-V2

This group is rare in the language the examples we have in our list are kóbíkóbí, kódíkódí } [1] of being knotty.

(iv) V1-V2-V3 (V3)

bàtiyẹ̀ 'of being wide (e.g. feet)'
patiyẹ 'a whip'
yánníbo 'a female tortoise'
lágídò 'a chimpanzee'
jàkùtẹ̀ 'elephantiasis'
fọ̀ngbàdì 'of being huge'
ràkunmí 'a camel'
bàtìkàn 'of being huge'
làkúrègbé 'rheumatism'

(v) V1-N-V1-(V1)

As indicated by (v) the sequence has an intervening syllabic nasal. Consider:

gbànìgbà 'of being wide and heavy'
gòńgò 'a type of insect'
bẹ̀m̀bẹ̀ 'of being rotund'
bẹ̀m̀bẹ́ 'a type of drum'
bém̀bé 'of being small (e.g. of piece of cloth)
kọ̀ńgọ̀ 'a curved stick for beating drum'
póm̀pó 'a club'

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[1] The two examples are found in Delano (1958: 127), as previously mentioned, the pattern is rare in the language hence our suspicion that they may be cases of reduplication.

kọ̀ǹkọ̀sọ̀	'a sieve'
kóǹkóto[1]	'a god: the name of a bird'
yanturu	'of being expansive'
wantara	'of being few'.

As we pointed out earlier, there is an independent evidence which suggests that the syllabic nasals are not underlying features. We shall take up this issue later.

(vi) V1-N-V2-(V2)

làǹtì	'of being heavy'
jòm̀bè	'of being big'
bàǹtẹ́	'a triangular-shaped men's underwear'
sòǹtì	'of protruding object'
pàńsùkú	'stool'

(vii) V1-V2-V1-V1

pákútàrá 'a small earthenware'

(viii) V1-V2-V1-V2

pagidarì 'fancy that'

(ix) V1-V1-V2-V1

gbẹ̀dẹ̀mukẹ̀ 'of being ceremonial'

(x) V1-V2-V1-V3

jẹ̀kúrẹ̀dí 'of inferior quality'

(xi) V1-V1-N-V1

gbalanja 'of being long and slim'

---

[1] Kóǹkóto as a traditional god is asscciated with the children hence the song: kóǹkóto òrìṣà èwe/ /Bí kóǹkóto ń r'odò
'kóǹkóto the god of kids/ /When kóǹkóto is going to the stream'
Ma r'ọ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ ma r'ẹ̀kọ̀
'I will buy bananas I will buy ẹ̀kọ̀'
(a type of corn paste).

Why it should share its name with a bird is not clear.

pẹ́lẹ́ngẹ́ 'of being slim'
jẹ̀lẹ́nkẹ́ 'of being easy and pleasurable'
ṣálánígá 'pit latrine (salga)'
gògónígo 'Adam's apple'.

(xii) V1-V1-N-V2

dòdòǹgbá 'locust bean fruit'
yẹ̀lẹ̀ńkú 'of unsteady running'

(xiii) V1-V1-N-V1-V2

Pabanbarì 'alas!'
kàlàǹbarì 'name of an ethnic group in S. Nigeria'.

The above thirteen patterns are the only possible sequences of occurrences in the language. By this, we mean the only meaningful possible patterns of sequence of occurrences because the sequence is very productive, but there it ends, because beyond the thirteen sequence of occurrences analysed above the productivity results in meaningless Yorùbá lexical items.

5.1.2 Syllabic Forms of the Phenomena.

It is necessary to show different types of syllabic forms of the 'ideophones' for ease of reference rather than for an explanatory insight.

Two types of 'ideophones' are prevalent in the language namely: those we regard as 'regulars' are basically the monosyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic ones. They are not difficult to identify because they more often than not have identical vowels and could be nominalized by prefixation. However, among this group only the monosyllabic ideophones are severely restricted because of their shortness. But they always have identical long vowels. The 'irregulars' are quadrisyllabic in nature and we have some longer ones in the

language. The criterion for our classification is the number of syllables an 'ideophone' has before it under goes syntactically and semantically conditioned reduplications if it is necessary for it to do so.

5.1.3 Monosyllabic 'Ideophones'.

These are mainly of one single consonant and a vowel. The vowel which is always long phonetically can be kept short in the lexicon and the length be extracted as a prosody or feature to be added by a phonological rule of vowel lengthening. This could be justified by the fact that the lengthening is both syntactically and semantically motivated. However, this set of the so-called ideophones could still be further lengthened for topicalized effect. Consider:

(93) (i) gbìl 'of something hitting the ground'
gbàà 'of malleting something'
gbùù 'of a collision'
wọ̀ọ̀ 'of being relieved'
tọ̀ọ̀ 'of outstretched hand'.

This same type of phenomena is found in disyllabic 'ideophones' as witnessed by:

(ii) yọ̀nmùun 'of chewing hastily'
gbùrùu 'of pulling out'
dùgbẹ̀ẹ̀ 'of carrying something sloppily'
sùtàà 'of bumping into something'.

However, it is observed that these disyllabic forms are capable of undergoing 'distributive' reduplication when their vowels are not lengthened as in the following:

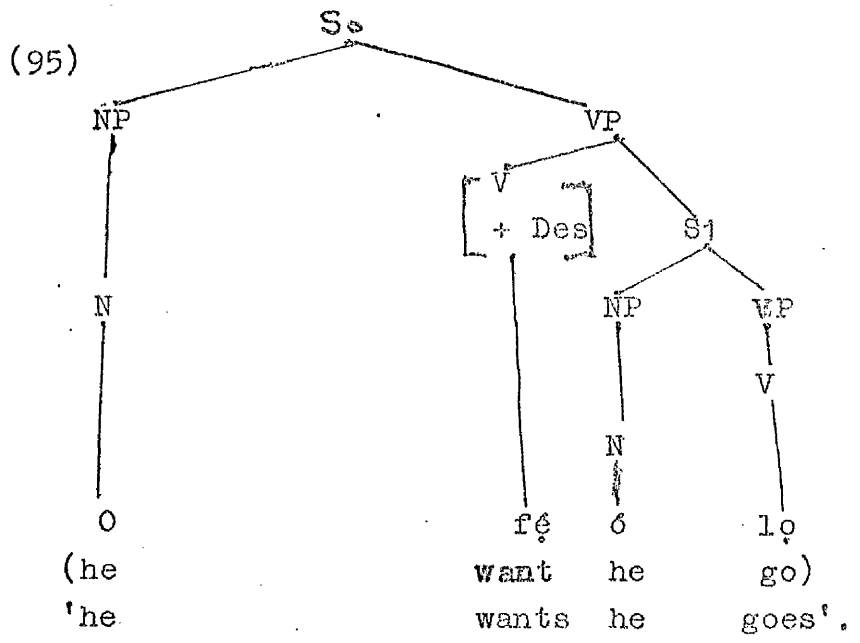
(iii) yọ̀nmùyọ̀nmù
gbùrùgbùrù
dùgbẹ̀dùgbẹ̀

with almost the same meanings except for topicalization. That is to say, that the vowel lengthening and the distributive reduplication are mutually exclusive. It should be noted however that the vowel lengthening is not peculiar to the so-called ideophones alone there are many other instances in the language as a whole. It is this fact that leads to our conclusion that it is syntactically and semantically motivated. Other occurrences of the vowel lengthening we observe are as follows: (a) in desiderative matrix verbs after the application of Equi-NP Deletion rule (see Chapter III for details). Consider:

(94) ó fẹ́ ẹ́ lọ

which derives from (95).

(95)



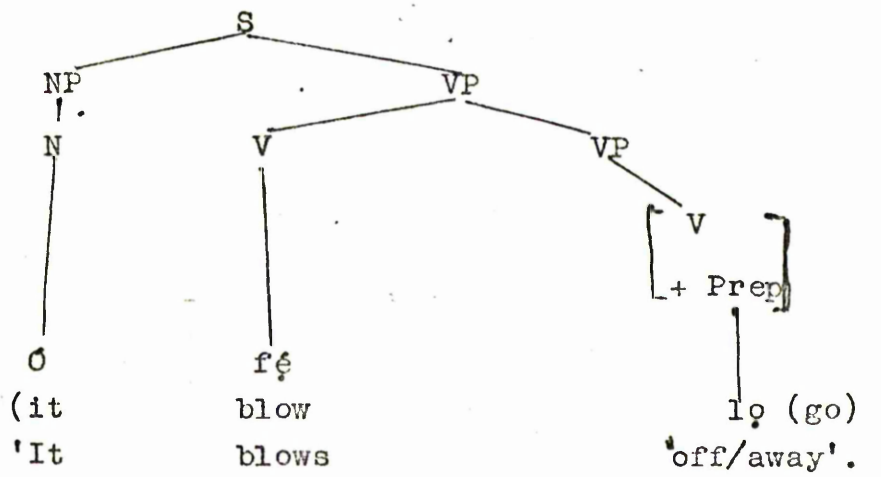
After Equi-NP Deletion rule has applied the subject of the embedded sentence is erased. The dangling NP node is automatically occupied by the lengthening of the vowel of the desiderative verb.

To justify our theory of the source of the extra syllable constructions like (94) above cited below as (96) is an example of a structure that has no desiderative verb.

(96) Ó fẹ́ lọ
(it blow go)
'It blows off/away'

which derives from (97).

(97)



Note that (a) the subject of (96-97) is inanimate (b) Vowel lengthening occurs also in echo questions; (c) in an expression of sincere denial

e.g. mi o rí i ì
(me not see sincerely it)
'Sincerely, I did n't see it'; and

(d) in certain prepositions

(98) e.g. mú un ún lẹ̀
(put it on ground)
'Put it on the ground'.

It is possible that all these instances of vowel lengthening are part of the same phenomenon but their functions are different and contextual. We do not intend to go further on the status and sources of vowel lengthening in Yorùbá as it is a wide enough topic to constitute a thesis by itself. Suffice it to say that its role in the so-called ideophones is for intensity and the sound effect of the activities concerned.

5.1.4 Disyllabic 'Ideophones'

The disyllabic 'ideophones' have a CVCV structure, where the consonants, the vowels and the tones may be identical, that is, identical consonants - identical vowels + identical tones. E.g. pápá 'field';
where we have C1-V1-C1-V1 and (+H) + (+H). Or everything may be different: Consider:

gbáko 'a whole period'

where we have C1-V1-C2-V2 and (+H) + $\binom{-H}{-L}$

Other examples are:

(99) (a) wéré 'quick' (b) dòdò 'fried plantain'
(c) fòrò 'of bursting out' (d) péré 'only/of being cute'.

However, it is observed that many of the so-called ideophones of disyllabic forms can undergo prefixation and reduplication to provide further nominalization. The following are a few examples:

(100) (a) ọ-yàlà 'loose garment'
yàlàyàlà 'of being very loose'
(b) ò-fófó 'tale bearing'
fófó 'of being fast of mouth'
(c) a-jere 'a perforated container'
jerejere 'of having holes'
(d) ọ-kánkán 'straight ahead'
kánkán 'of being fast'.

5.2.0 Trisyllabic 'Ideophones'

The ideophones in this category are of the sequence CV CV CV where the vowels and the tones may be identical. It is rare to find identical vowels in the category. Examples:

kùkùtɛ́	'tree stump'
kámpe	'of being small (garment)'.
pèpéle	'mud bed'
fẹ̀mfẹ̀	'of being wide'
bɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ / bɔ̀bɔ̀rɔ̀	'of removing skin quickly'
dẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀ / dẹdẹrẹ	'of loose and hanging lips'.

5.2.1 Quadrisyllabic 'Ideophones'

These ideophones have the sequence CVCVCVCV which may reduce to CVVCVCV, CV - N - CVCV, and CV CV -N-CV on the surface where only the tones, and the vowels are identical. It is observed that many of the quadrisyllabic ideophones have no identical consonants. In fact, there is not a single one in our list. It should be noted that many, if not all, of the examples with identical consonant sequences are products of one form of reduplication or another. Consider:

(102) (a) gàgàgúgú 'of being huge'
(b) rọrọrọ́rọ́ 'speechlessness'

and

(c) fèfè - /fèfè + fèfè / - fèfèèfe

i.e. 'distributive' reduplication with penultimate consonant deletion. Examples of quadrisyllabic ideophones:

(103) (a) bọ̀rọ̀kọ̀tọ̀ 'of being fat'
(b) kọ́rọ́bọ́tọ́ 'of being coily, fat and awesome'
(c) dɔ̀dɔ̀ŋgbá 'locust bean tree'
(d) pɔ́mpɔ́la 'a type of tree'
(e) porogodo 'of being finished (matter/material)'.

5.2.2. Reduplication.

Just like its sister, the gerund, the 'ideophonic' reduplication is very productive. However, there are two

types of reduplication which should be recognised in generative grammar. One is the morphologically-conditioned reduplication, which is usually partial-reduplication. The other is the syntactically-conditioned reduplication.

Morphologically-conditioned reduplication is unanalyseable and non-recoverable. It usually involves copying a whole syllable. It is correctly labelled as 'frozen' reduplication.[1] It is difficult to tell whether the process of copying is forward or backward. Consider the following:

(104)	(a)	kòkòrò	insect
	(b)	kọ́kọ́rọ́	key
	(c)	dòdò	fried plaintain
	(d)	gbàgbàrà	of being huge
	(e)	pápá	field (see 5.1.4 above).

As there is no obvious way of showing how copying rules apply to produce these forms, we suggest therefore, that they remain in the lexicon in these forms.

But on the contrary, there are those that are of syntactically-semantically conditioned reduplication. This group is predictable, analyseable and recoverable. They are more productive than the morphologically conditioned ones. The reduplication is both full and partial, as well as forward and backward. They could be 'distributive', tone - conditioned or of partial-reduplication.

The distributive reduplication covers a lot of reduplicative processes in the language. It is always full and forward. It covers almost all forms of nominalization in the language, as witnessed by:

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[1] Courtenay (1968: 115).

(105) (i) gbọ́mọ̀gbọmọ (gbé ọmọ - carry child) 'kidnapper'
woléwolé (wo-ilé - look house) 'Sanitary Inspector'
pẹjapẹja (pa ẹja - kill fish) 'fisher man'.

(ii) tọmọtọmọ[1] (ti ọmọ - of child) 'children and all'
tinútinú (ti inú - of stomach) 'sincerely'
tilétilé (ti-ilé - of house) 'all the household'.

(iii) méjìméjì (mú éjì - take two) 'in twos'
ọdọ̀ọdún (ọdún ọdún - year year) 'every year'.

Note that those under group (i) are agentive, (ii), prepositional and (iii) numerals and quantitative nominalizations.

Next is the reduplication of the so-called ideophones:

(106) (a) gbàgìdì (basic) 'of being huge'
gbàgìdì - gbàgìdì (distributive) 'of several huge things'

(b) kẹ́rẹ́ (basic) 'of moving quietly'
kẹ́rẹ́-kẹ́rẹ́ (distributive) 'of moving quietly several times'

(c) gbìrìgìdì (basic) 'of rolling on the ground'
gbìrìgìdì-gbìrìgìdì (distributive) 'of rolling along on the ground'.

5.2.3 Partial Reduplication.

This type of reduplication is about the most productive in the language. It is basically of two types the first being the gerundive reduplication which involves prefixing a copy of the first consonant of the verb stem, and a high-tone / ˊ / on the stem itself, this type has already been discussed in Chapter III and also as cognate nouns at the early part of this Chapter. Examples are:

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[1] See Chapter IV for the formation of this type.

(107) (a) lọ 'go'
lílọ 'going'

(b) sùn 'sleep'
sísùn 'sleeping'.

The second type of partial reduplication which is peculiar to the so-called ideophones involves copying a syllable CV, either final or initial on the stem. Consider:

(108) (i) gogoro - gogorogo: 'loftiness' (copying the initial syllable)

pepere - peperepe: 'of being cute' (copying the initial syllable)

kẹẹrẹ - kẹẹrẹkẹ 'of dragging something' (copy the initial syllable)

(ii) fẹ̀rẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ - fẹ̀rẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀dẹ̀ 'of being wide' (copy the final syllable)

gbàgìdì - gbàgìdìdì 'of being bulky' (copy the final syllable)

rùbùtù - rùbùtùtù 'of being round and thick' (copy the final syllable).

5.2.4 Phonological Rules.

Like many other lexical items the so-called ideophones have almost the same sets of phonological rules, in actual fact, even less phonological rules than most of the other lexical items as will be demonstrated soon.

5.3.0 The r-Deletion Rule

Let us consider personal names/cognomens[1] first.

[1] These are personal Orikì's some of which are taken as personal names by some people. (Cf. Abraham 1958: 482-3).

(109) (i) Awẹ̀ró - Awẹ̀ó (one who is wasked to stay)

Akànró - Akànó (one who is nailed to stay)

Adéríbigbé - Adéíbigbé (crown finds a place to live)

Adégoróyè - Adégoóyè (crown mounts chieftain).

(ii) Basic Nouns:

agbára - agbáa 'strength'
àgbàrá - àgbàá 'erosion'
àbàrá - àbàá 'a slap with open palm'.

(iii) The so-called ideophones:

fẹ̀rẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ - fẹ̀ẹ̀gẹ̀dẹ̀ 'of being broad'
fàràrà - fàárà 'of fast motion'
porogodo - poogodo 'completely'
dọ̀rọ̀mì - dọ̀ọ̀mì 'of being long'.

It should be noted, however that this rule does not apply to many other Yorùbá nominals. Consider:

(110) kerewú 'bracelet'
hóróbo: worobo 'confectionery'
yèrèpè: wèrèpè 'an itching plant'.

The rule then is as follows:

Rule 10: /r/ deletion

/r/ - (V) CV - V (CV CV).

5.3.1 Identical Penultimate Consonant Deletion Rule.

This is another rule which covers almost all nominals in Yorùbá besides the so called ideophones. It could be regarded as a general rule: Consider the following examples:

(111) ọtítọ́ - ọ́tọ́ - ọ́ọtọ́[1] 'truth'
ọtìtẹ̀ - ọ̀tẹ̀ - ọ̀ọtẹ̀ 'stamp'

[1] This is also noticeable in personal names such as: Ajékìgbé - Ajéìgbé - Ajéegbé (money not perish) 'an outlay will never be a total loss'. Ọlákìtán - Ọlàìtán - Ọlàetán (honour not finish) 'honour can never end'. (See Abimbọla, W., Oyelaran, O. (1975: 54).

agogo	-	aogo	-	aago	'clock/bell'
èrírí	-	èírí	-	èérí	'dirt'
egigun	-	eigun	-	eegun	'bone'
ọyiyà	-	ọiyà	-	ọọyà	'comb'
èdídí	-	èídí	-	èédí	'cork'
ọdodo	-	ọido	-	ọodo	'truth'
ọdẹdẹ	-	ọẹdẹ	-	ọọdẹ	'half-way'
ọlẹlẹ	-	ọẹlẹ	-	ọọlẹ	'a dough made of beans'.

However there are examples which the rule does not apply to even though the SD is met; some of the exceptions are:

(112) ọyàyà 'cheerfulness'
ọdọdó 'flower'
ọrinrin 'chilly period'
abẹbẹ 'fan'.

5.3.2 Vowel Deletion.

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, the syllabic nasal is not underlying the so called ideophones. Hence, the following examples have alternative pronounciations in the language:

(113)	(a)	póríṗóla	-	póṁpóla	'a kind of tree'
	(b)	dẹ̀rẹ̀gbẹ̀rẹ̀	-	dẹ̀m̀ gbẹ̀rẹ̀	'loosely'
	(c)	akèrègbè	-	akè ṅ gbè	'gourd'
	(d)	kèrègbè	-	kè ṅ gbè	'gourd'
	(e)	gọ̀gọ̀rígọ̀	-	gọ̀gọ̀ńgọ̀	'Adam's apple'
	(f)	kọ̀rikọ̀	-	kọ̀nkọ̀	'wolf'
	(g)	kóriko	-	kónko	'grass'

The rule we posited for the vowel deletion is this:

Rule 11: Vowel Deletion Rule:

V ∅ /C - CV (CV).

5.3.3 Metathesis

This is found in the following words in which there are transpositions of penultimate and terminal consonants. Examples of such words are:

eruku	ekuru	'dust'
kodoro	korodo	'of being bare'
kọdọrọ	kọrọdọ	'of bent object'
kọ̀dọ̀rọ̀	kọ̀rọ̀dọ̀	

These are the only examples we have in our list, why the transposition is restricted to /k/ and /r/; and /d/ and /r/ is not clear. This, however, is a matter of interest for further research as the scope of the present study excludes an elaborate discussion of Yorùbá phonology.

5.3.4 The so-called Ideophones and Factive Nominalization.

So far, we have been discussing the nature of the phenomena known as ideophones by some Yorùbá linguists. This discussion we hope, serves two purposes; First, we know the nature of the phenomena. Second, knowing the nature puts into true perspective our discussion of nominalization in Yorùbá.

Earlier in this chapter, we argue that our deep structure proposal for the factive nominalization will solve once and for all, all the mysteries that shroud certain structures in Yorùbá. One of the structures being the so-called ideophones. It should be noted, however, that the phenomena are not more ideophonic than any other Yorùbá lexical items (especially those we have argued to be nouns) of similar phonetic realizations in the language. Bamgbọṣe (1966: 127) says of them, 'adverbs for which no independent

translations are given are ideophones. Their meanings' he contends, 'depend on the verbs with which they are in collocations'. However, no penetrating account of the phenomena is given. Newman (1968: 117) remarks 'ideophonic words in Hausa, whatever their function, are lexically tied to particular verbs or adjectives. This is common feature of ideophones, in African languages' he concludes, 'Tera ideophones, by contrast, are not lexical adjuncts of particular nouns or verbs-ideophonic words may freely co-occur with any word with which they are semantically compatible'. What is observable in these types of remarks is the author's identification of the phenomina with verbs and adverbs, and nothing can be far from truth than this.

As remarked earlier in this section, we are in sympathy with Mr Rowlands conclusion that the so-called ideophones be analysed as nominals. Thus, we discover that they can be qualified by a possessive pronoun and a relative clause. They could be used as adjectives as well they could follow the derived nominal forms of a verb that can follow the verb. Consider the following examples:

(114) Kọ̀bọ̀tọ̀ rẹ̀ ni kò jẹ́ kí ó lè rìn
(flaby his/her/its is not let that he/she/it can walk)
'His/her/its rotundity retards his/her/its movement'.

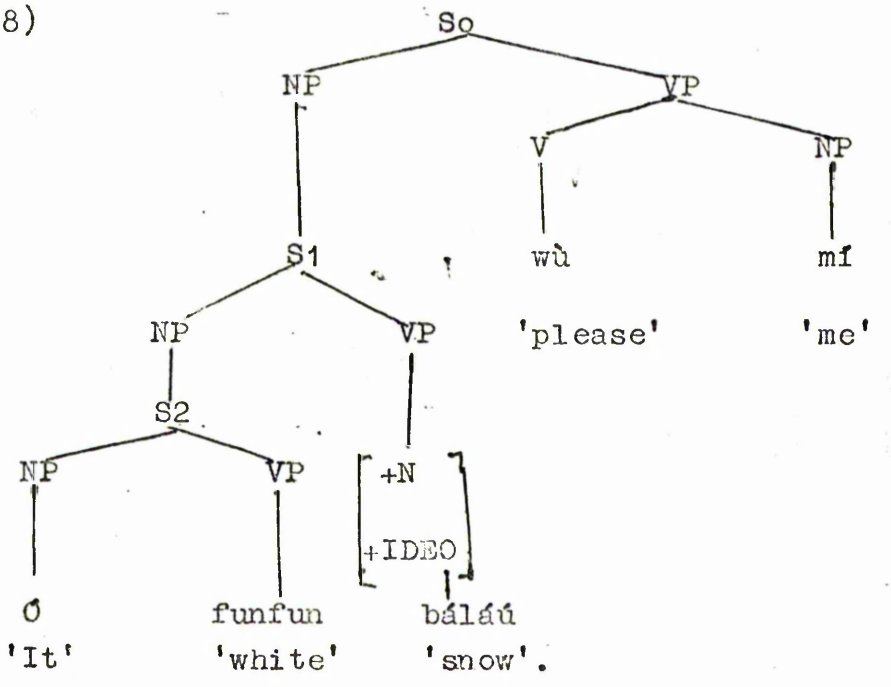
(115) Ọmọ kàbìtì yẹn ní agbára (child hefty that has power)
'That hefty child is strong'.

(116) Fífunfun báláú rẹ̀ wù mí (being white snow its appeal me)
'Its being snow white pleased me'.

(117) Ọmọ roboto na wá a kí mí
(child cute the come to visit me)
'The cute child came to visit me'.

Note that the examples given are the following; the phenomenon qualified by a possessive pronoun (114), modifies a noun (115), follows the derived nominal of a verb (116) and used as an adjective (117) respectively. (116) is conventionally represented as (118).

(118)



That the so-called ideophones are nominals is obvious in that many of them function as factive nominalization. Consider the following:

(119) Roboto rẹ̀ dára
(round and sizeable her good)
'Her being round and sizeable is good'.

(120) Dúdú mìnìjọ̀ rẹ̀ wù mí
(being black and smooth its please me)
'Its being black and smooth pleased me'.

(121) Roboto rẹ̀ wù mí
'Her being round and sizeable pleased me'.

(122) Pé ó fàdìgbọ̀n dára (that he tall and hefty good)
'That he is tall and hefty is good'.

(123) Ó dára pé ó fàdìgbọ̀n
(It good that he tall and hefty)
'It is good that he is tall and hefty'.

(124) Fàdìgbọ̀n rẹ̀ dára
(being tall and hefty his good)
'His being tall and hefty is good'.

The structures (122) - (124) display the complement structure that + Indicative to show factive nominalization as argued in the earlier section of this Chapter.

Now, let us go back to factive and non-factive verbs. It is observed that while the verbs in the two groups are capable of talking pé 'that', it is only the subject embedding factives that take kìkì dá pé S complements. However, it is the presupposition that makes the distinction between object-embedding factives and the non-factives; but not the fact that the factives can take kìkì dá, Àsán and Ògédé as witnessed by the following examples:

(125) Factive

Mo gbàgbé pé ó wá (I forget that you come)
'I forgot that you came'.

Non-factive

(126) Mo fura pé ó lọ (I suspect that you go)
'I suspected you went'.

Note that 'you came' in (125) is presupposed whereas it is not true of (126) 'that you went' is presupposed. Further tests to (125) by negating and questioning it prove that the presupposition is unaffected. Consider:

(127) Ń kò gbàgbé pé ó wá (I not forget that you come)
'I did not forget that you came'.

(128) Ǹ jẹ́ o gbàgbé pé o wá ? (QW - you forget that you come ?)

'Did you forget that you came ?'.

On the basis of this analysis we recommend that factivity be ingrained in the grammar of the language.

5.4.0 Emotive/Non-Emotive Nominalization.

In conventional generative grammar, Rosembaum (1967) proposed that for-to and Poss- ing were the features on the heads of sentential complements. These are arbitrarily inserted by a complementizer placement rule. The infinitives, for instance, are derived by a for-deletion rule. This is unworkable in Yorùbá because Yorùbá does not recognise the placement rule since the appearance of the complementizers in Yorùbá, that is; pé 'that' pé kí that + subjunctive, and láti/àti 'to' depends on some crucial semantic facts about the matrix verbs as we have demonstrated in showing the distinction between factive and non-factive verbs.

The factive and non-factive distinction already outlined can explain the occurrence of pé (that + indicative) in several factive and non-factive nominalizations. It also explains the copying phenomenon peculiar to some verbs and a sub-set of nominals labelled as the ideophones by some Yorùbá grammarians.

The emotive complements are those to which the speaker expresses a subjective, emotional or evaluative reaction, in fact, all predicates which express the subjective value of a proposition rather than knowledge about it or its truth value (cf. Kiparskys (1968: 363), Stockwell et al (1973: 345)). The distinction between the emotive and non-emotive verbs cuts across the factive/non-factive distinction because

there are factive emotive and non-emotive verbs. It will not be out of place here, if we do what we did for the factive/non-factive verbs. Consider the following:

Factive

	Emotive	Non-emotive
as subject-embedding	yá 'to be time' rọrùn 'to be easy' yẹ́ 'right' pé 'pays' dára 'to be good' tó 'suffice' yọ̀dẹ̀ 'to be foolish' páláyà 'bother' ṣe pàtàkì 'important' kọ yọyọ 'surpasses'	hàn 'clear' fi hàn 'show'
as object-embedding	Kórira: 'hate' fẹ́ràn: 'like' kọ̀ : resent:	gbàgbé 'forget' sí payá 'make explicit' fi sọ́kàn 'bear in mind'.

Non-factives	Emotive	Non-emotive
as subject-embedding	bọ́ si ikánjú 'urgent'	jásí: 'turn out' dàbí 'seem'
as object-embedding	yára 'eager' súre 'pray' ṣépè 'curse'	ṣíwọ́: 'stop' sọ: 'say'.

The question, one may ask, is how relevant this second distinction we provide, is. The answer to this question is not so hidden/to be difficult to get at. The distinction, we observe, provides the source for the other complementizer, pé kí 'that + subjunctive' which we have treated in Chapter III above.

The pé kí complements belong to the emotives 'to which the speakers express a subjective, emotional, or evaluative reaction'. Sometimes it alternates with fún- láti 'for-to' as in the following examples.

(129) (a) Ó tọ́ pé kí ń lọ
(It fit that I go)
'It is befitting that I go'.

(b) Ó tọ́ fún mi láti lọ
(It fit for me to go)
'It is befitting for me to go'.

(130) (a) Ó dára pé kí ń lọ (It good that I go)
'It is good that I go'.

(b) Ó dára fún mi láti lọ
(It good for me to go)
'It is good for me to go'.

In the (b) sentences of (129-130) the occurrence of fún can be accounted for as due to an insertion rule which applies whenever subject-to-object raising applies to delete and raise the embedded subject mo 'I' to the object position of the matrix verbs 'tọ́' 'to be fit' and dára 'to be good' while the remaining parts of the sentences become infinitives. (See Chapter III above for details).

Notice that pé 'that' is semantically empty in this environment since it could be optionally deleted by semantic redundancy rule to convert the (a) - sentences of (129-130) to (131 (a) & (b)) respectively as witnessed by:

(131) (a) Ó tọ́ kí ń lọ (It fit that I go)
'It is befitting that I go'.

(b) Ó dára kí ń lọ (It good that I go)
'It is good that I go'.

Notice also that it appears that pé 'that' can be inserted whenever there is an embedded sentence which is not a relative clause. This possibility suggests itself more strongly since of all the complementizers, pé 'that' has the least strict cooccurrence restriction with tense and aspect markers. Consider the following:

(132) (a) Ó sọ Pé òun ń lọ (he say that he -ing go)
'He says that he is going'.

(b) Ó sọ pé Adé máa ń lọ
(he says that Adé - habitual- fut-lọ)
'He says that Ade usually goes'.

(c) Ó sọ pé kí ń lọ (he says that I go)
'He says that I should go'.

(d) Ó sọ pé kí ń máa lọ
(he say that I should go)
'He says that I should keep going'.

Quite unlike pé the complementizer kí cannot cooccur with tense and aspect markers. It should therefore be pointed out that the rule that inserts pé is more general than the one that inserts kí. Notice that in (132 (a) & (b)) the verb sọ 'to say' is not quite the same as in (132 (d) & (c)). In the former it is plain reporting whereas in the latter it is desiderative, hence, it can take the kí- complementizer.

Similarly fún 'for' occurs only after emotive complements, and that, we presume accounts for its insertion in the (b) sentences of (129-130).

In this Chapter we have used the semantic classes of verbs to determine the types of complements they are capable of taking and thereby clear the mist that has surrounded

previous analyses by some Yorùbá Grammarians.[1]

The True Adverbs

The lexical items that are true adverbs in Yorùbá are only four in number. These are (i) sẹ́ 'certainly', (ii) ná 'for a minute', mọ́ 'ever again' and rí 'ever before'. These are post verbal elements. They can occur with any verb or group of serialized verbs.

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[1] Professor Awobuluyi (1967: 61) arbitrarily subcategorizes the verbs into three groups 'according to which of the two embedded sentences they take thus':

(i)		(ii)		(iii)	
sọ	'to say'	fẹ́	'to want'	sọ	'to say'
wí	'to say'	gbà	'to agree'	gbà	'to agree'
rí	'to realize'	jẹ́	'to permit'		
gbọ́	'to hear'				
jẹ́	'to be'.				

To group one verbs, he assigns the frame [+ - pé ≠s ≠≠] for 'sentences whose objects are introduced by pé. He assigns the frame [+ - (ti) NC] to the second group of verbs 'whose objects are always introduced by ki.

Notice that this is a classification of convenience since it is not motivated either syntactically or semantically. First, we observe that it is not enough to sub-categorize verbs because their complements take pé and almost all embedding complements in the language are susceptible to taking pé. Second, note that two of the three examples quoted in the second group of verbs also take láti to introduce infinitives, that is, fẹ́ and gbà. Finally, we do not see any difference between his second and third groups noting the fact that pé is a much more general subordinator, and that the verbs in the two groups are desiderative verbs.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL AND SPECIFIC CLASSIFIERS.

6.0.0 THE ARTICLE.

In this chapter, we propose to discuss the classifier system in Yorùbá. In the first section we discuss the article, and the term 'article' should be understood to mean all the determiner elements in this work. So, we shall make no distinction between 'determiner' and 'article' since all the items discussed in this section are recognized as 'articles'.

The items that are treated include those that are called 'the deictic' and 'post-deictic' qualifiers in Bamgbọse (1966)[1], namely;

(1) the deictics

(a) yí
'this'

(b) wọ̀nyí
'these'

(c) yẹn
'that'

(d) wọ̀nyẹn
'those'

(e) wo
'which'

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[1] Bamgbọse (1966; 114).

(2) the post-deictics

(a) 'nâ'[1]
'exactly; even'

(b) pàápàá
'too'

(c) nìkan
'alone'

(d) gbogbo
'all'

(e) kẹ̀
'even'

These items constitute the 'full list' in Professor Bamgbọṣe's analysis, and they are determined by the surface structure phenomenon of occurring as the last set of elements in surface Yorùbá Noun Phrases. Thus, the criteria of determination are surface (see Chapter I for discussion of the inappropriateness of the surface analysis). The criteria we use in this section to separate the two classes, that is, Bamgbọṣe's deictics and post-deictics are the presence of a syntactic feature which we designate as /+ intensive/ for post-deictics and the nominalizability of the deictics. Thus, the items that can be nominalized turn up on the surface structure as Bamgbọṣe's deictic qualifiers and those that cannot be nominalized turn up as the post-deictic qualifiers. It is observed that the nominal counterparts of the deictic qualifiers are respectively:

(3) (a) èyí
'this, this one, the one'

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[1] We use the standard autography instead of 'nǫǫ' an 'ẹǫnǫn'.

(b) ìwọ̀nyí
'these, these ones'

(c) ìyẹn
'that, that one'

(d) ìwọnyẹn
'those, those ones'

(e) èyìnì
'that, that one'

(f) ìwọnnì
'those, those ones'

Notice that the nominal form èyìnnì 'that one' is apparently a compounding of èyí 'the one' with nì 'that'. This, however, is immaterial to the claim we make, the significant thing is that it is the nominal form of nì 'that'.

We observe, however, that the 'full' lists in 1 and 2 constitute just a part of the Yorùbá determiner system since other deictic categories like that of person for personal pronouns (cf Lyons, J. (1968 : 276-8)) are not considered as deictics in Bamgbọṣe's analysis and there are determined features like specificness which are not accounted for in Bamgbọṣe's system because they are not represented by formatives in surface structure representations. Besides, personal names are generally definite, but they are rarely followed by the definite article at the surface level. Thus no adequate treatment of the Yorùbá determiner system can be carried out at the surface level.

It should be noted that in treating the articles within the transformational generative work, four main positions have been taken. The first position[1] makes the

[1] Chomsky (1957) and Lees (1960).

articles occur as the terminal symbols in grammar. In Chomsky's framework, articles are handled like other lexical items except that they form a closed set while others constitute an open set. However, in Chomsky (1965) where articles were treated the same way like any other lexical items another step was taken, that is, the system of matching features of terminal nodes of articles, for instance, those of agreements, with other lexical items. Thus, if N is specified as [α Number, β Gender, γ Case], where α and β could be an integer, the article is similarly specified. One should note also that articles are still treated as other lexical items in Chomsky (1970) and (1971) although all the symbols of grammar (including the articles) are now regarded as 'complexes of features',[1] which brings about the idea of second lookup.

Thus, the suggestion about a transformational derviation of articles (especially definite articles) is beset with innumerable difficulties. Considering these difficulties, we deem it unnecessary to embark on the process of deriving articles transformationally from deleted sentences.

Yorùbá articles are not content words (Contentives) since they do not have features of contentives[2] like the possibility of constituent negation, or the possibility of [± stative] distinction, or possibility of occurrence as

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[1] Chomsky (1970: 207-8).

[2] For more information on contentives see Bach, E. (1968:115).

the partitive of other items. What is more important is that there is no rule ART ⟶ ART and ART, which is similar to NP ⟶ NP and NP, or S ⟶ S and S. Notice that what we refer to as the nominal forms of articles here are the Demonstratives in traditional grammar.

Now, it is these nominal forms that can be conjoined. Consider:

(4) Mú èyí àti ìyẹn wá
(bring this-one and that-one come)
'Bring this and that'

but not

(5) *Mú yi àti yẹn wá
(bring this and that come)
'Bring this and that.

6.0.1 Definite and Indefinite Features.

As observed in the last part of the preceding section, a proposal of a sentential derivation for articles is not very desirable, as such a proposal will lead to an infinite derivational circularity. For instance, the underlying representations, that is, sentential, will still include articles. The type of sentential derivation we propose for (6) below is treated fully in the latter part of this chapter. Now, if for the definite article, we have the sentential substitute (6).

(6) èyí tí ó dájú
(the-one which is definite)
'that which is definite'

Notice that the first item in the proposed logical structure èyí 'the one' still contains the equivalent of the definite

article as the English gloss even suggests. Notice that it is only what is definite that can be referred to as èyí in the language. Now, in the logical structure of the definite article portion of èyí, the whole of (6) will be repeated. That is, we shall get another èyí and the whole process will be repeated ad infinitum.

The definite article nâ 'the' presents no problem as it behaves just like the English equivalent 'the', except that its occurrence is post nominal while the English definite article occurs prenominal. Consider:

(7) Ọmọkùnrin nâ lọ
(boy the go)
'The boy went'

Notice that the noun ọmọkùnrin 'boy' is identified for us as one special known example of the species whereas in (8)

(8) Ọmọkùnrin kan lọ
(boy a go)
'A boy went'

the noun is not identified for us in which case it could be any ọmọkùnrin 'boy'. However, Yoruba invariably deletes this article optionally in many expressions. Consider:

(9) Bàbá rẹ̀ jẹ́ jagunjagun (father his is soldier)
'His father is a soldier

(10) Bàbá rẹ̀ jẹ́ jagunjagun kan (father his is soldier a)
'His father is a soldier'

Notice that kan 'a' in (10) is not the same as its homophonous singular cardinal number as this will not be semantically compatible with the noun jagunjagun in (10).

However, (10) can be given the interpretation of 'a certain warrior'.

6.0.2 The Determiners.

The remaining determiners in Yorùbá consist of

(11) (a) ṣoṣo 'single'
(b) káká 'shere, hardly'
(c) papã 'especially'
(d) péré 'only'
(e) ganan 'specifically, exact'
(f) nikan 'alone'
(g) mélokan 'some, a few'

The determiners ṣoṣo and péré occur with quantity nouns only, however, the occurrence of ṣoṣo is severely restricted to the environment of the singular cardinal number only while péré is not so restricted. Consider the following:

(12) Mo mú ọkan ṣoṣo (I take one only)
'I took one only'

but not

(13) *Mo mú mẹwa ṣoṣo (I take ten only)
'I took ten only'

rather, (13) will be acceptable if péré is substituted for ṣoṣo thus:

(14) Mo mú mẹwa péré (I take ten only)
'I took ten only'

Professor Awobuluyi (forthcoming) rightly observes that classifiers in general narrow down the conceptual range or meanings of nouns. However, there are general and specific classifiers and this is the focus of the next section. In the meantime let us give further examples of the determiners.

(15) Agbára káká ni ó fi lè rù ú
(force shere it is he put can carry it)
'He could hardly carry it'.

(16) Ọ̀jó fẹ́ràn aṣọ, papǎ ẹ̀wù dàmásì
(Ojo like clothes, especially garment damask)
'Ojo likes clothes, especially damask garments'

(17) Ìyẹn gan an ni mo fẹ́ (that exact it is I want)
'I want the axact one'

(18) Mo lo ọjọ́ mélokan ní Eko ni èsí
(I use day few in Lagos in last year)
'I spent a few days in Lagos last year'

(19) Adé nîkan ni ó lọ
(Ade alone it is he go)
'Ade went alone'

In concluding this section, we suggest that èyí and ìyẹn be treated as the determiner nâ in the component features but different from nâ with respect to the feature [+ DEM] and differing from each other only by a single feature [± FAR].

6.0.3 Classifiers.

In this section we made a distinction between basic and derived nouns. As observed later (Chapter VII) an examination of the internal structure of more complex nominal pieces reveals that it usually incorporates the major grammatical relations found in a whole sentence. That is, within the complex subject of a sentence, for example, we might find the transformed subject, verb, and object of an underlying sentence. The basic nouns on the other hand, are defined as nouns whose derivational histories are obscure. Bach (1968: 92) made a case for deriving all common nouns (basic and derived) from relative clauses and indicated that such derivations make for simplicity and

descriptive adequacy. He decided to postulate that all nouns (at least common nouns) are derived in one way, namely from structures of roughly the form:

(20) Det. + one + S

where S is further developed into a sentence by Rule 12 thus:

Rule 12 Sentence Extension.

Det + one + Aux + be + Predicate Nominal.

This could be further extended by a rule that will insert Relative Marker i.e. rule 13 below:

Rule 13 Relative Marker Insertion.

Det + one + RM + Aux + be + Predicate Nominal (see Chapter IV above for details on Relative structures). Thus, suppose the predicate nominal in Rule 12 were to dominate a lexical item like 'anthropologist' ultimately, the NP 'the anthropologist', will be derived by Rule 13 thus:

(21) the one who is an anthropologist

assumming that the mapping of (20) onto Rule 13 had already taken place. So, from Bach's proposal, common noun structures will have underlying structures that look like (20) and we will derive them by the application of Rules 12 and 13. Thus the surface forms:

(22) (a) the man, (b) the teacher, (c) the school,
(d) the pen, (e) the idea ...

would be derived respectively from:

(23) (a) the one who is a man
(b) the one who is a teacher
(c) the one which is a school
(d) the one which is a pen
(e) the one which is an idea etc.

6.0.4 Derived and Basic Nouns.

We find the general form of Bach's argument not all that necessary to warrant our discussion here because it will unnecessarily impede the progress of this study.[1] However, if we adopt Bach's proposal for Yorùbá there will be a common underlying treatment for both basic and derived nouns. It should be noted that at least two of the English nouns (21) and (22) (b) are derived. Thus, 'an anthropologist' could be 'one who is closely connected with anthropology' while 'a teacher' could be 'one who teaches'. But in the representation (23), there is no distinction in the underlying representation of derived nouns like 'teacher' and basic nouns like 'man'. Hence, if Bach's proposal were used for Yorùbá we would have representations like:

(24) (a) èyí tí ó jẹ́ èniyàn (the-one tí - he is person)
'the one who is a person'

(b) èyí tí ó jẹ́ ọkùnrin 'the one who is a man'

(c) èyí tí ó jẹ́ akọ̀wé 'the one who is a clerk/writer'

(d) èyí tí ó jẹ́ onísègùn 'the one who is a doctor'

(e) èyí tí ó jẹ́ apànìyàn 'the one who is a murderer'

(f) èyí tí ó jẹ́ ilé 'the one which is a house'

In the representation (24) no distinction is made between basic and derived nouns. In order to show the difference between derived and basic nouns, the derived nouns after jẹ́ 'to be' could be represented with the proposed underlying forms in the representation (24) e.g.

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[1] See Dougherty, R. 'Review of Bach and Hams 1968' in 'Foundations of Language' 1970 6:505-561 for a detail discussion of the proposal.

(25) (a) èyí tí ó jẹ́ ẹni tí ó ń kọ ìwé
(the one tí-he is person tí- he ing write book)
'the one that is a person who writes books'

(b) èyí tí ó jẹ́ ẹni tí ó ń pa ènìyàn
(the one tí-he is person tí; he ing kill people)
'the one that is a person who kills people'
for (24) (c) and (e) respectively.

If the type of representation in (25) were used for derived nouns while basic nouns have only the type of representation in (24) it will be possible to have underlying sentential representation for all Yorùbá common nouns while still maintaining the distinction between basic and derived nouns. First, the basic nouns will be those that are introduced directly by the verb 'to be' of Rule (12), while the derived nouns will be those formed from the NP representations that are introduced by the verb 'to be'. In other words, for the basic nouns, the verb 'to be' directly introduces lexical items which are nouns, whereas for the non basic or derived group, it is the nominalization that is introduced by the verb 'to be'.

Secondly, as we mentioned earlier, nominalizations contain some verbal elements (e.g. verbs or 'predicative adjectives') in these cases, e.g. pa 'kill' in apàpàyàn 'murderer' kọ 'write' in akòwe writer, clerk, dú 'be black' in Adúlójú 'one who is dark on the face' etc. The verb 'to be' on the other hand does not occur in the final forms of the nouns that have it in underlying representation e.g. the nouns that follow jẹ́ 'to be' in each of the representations in (24). Thus, one difference between derived and basic nouns illustrated by representations (24) and (25) is that

basic nouns are commonly introduced in underlying representations by èyí 'the one' plus the verb 'to be' both of which disappear in the final forms of the lexical items, whereas in addition to this, the derived nouns also have their internal structures represented there. In particular, nouns and nominals derived from verbs and verb phrases have the verbal elements that later occur in their surface forms represented as verbs in underlying representations. In order to make this second observation general, nominalizations that do not come directly from VP's would have to be given representations that have internal structures by the use of Rule 14:

Rule 14 Oní + Ni Structure.

This could be stated thus:

N2 → /o-ní/ + N1

This rule will be used to derive nouns like:

(26) O- ní- iṣu (Onîṣu)
Agent-has-yam 'one who has/sells yam'

(27) O- ní- ǫgbǫ́n (Ǫlǫ́gbǫ́n)
Agent-has-wisdom 'one who is wise

(see 7.0.4 below)

or the use of word linker /kí/ to derive pejorative/ indefinitizing nominalization thus:

Rule 15 /Kí/Insertion.

N2 → n1+/Kí/+N1

The rule is used to derive such nouns as:

(28) aṣǫ - kí - aṣǫ 'aṣǫkáṣǫ'
(cloth- kí - cloth) 'any/useless cloth'

(29) ènìyàn - kí - eniyan 'ènìyankénìyàn'
(person - kí - person) 'any/useless person.

For the factive negative abstract nominalization, Rule 16 is proposed.

Rule 16. Negative Abstract Nominalization.

The rule is formulated thus:

à + ì + v (VP)

(30) àìgbọ́ràn (fact-not-hear-matter) 'disobedience.

This could further be given a more abstract underlying representation as: (31 a and b) below:

(31) (a) àyè pé kí a má gbọ́ràn (state (indicating) that we do not obey)) (The fact of not obeying) 'disobedience'

(31) (b) àyè pé kí a máa gbọ́ràn (state (indicating) that we continue-to obey)) (The fact of obeying)[1] (ìgbọ́ràn) 'obedience'

For other nominalizations, plausible underlying representations could be proposed, and for different nominatations e.g. those represented by (31), ways of making minute distinctions could be found when necessary. But it is not always necessary to make such distinctions. For instance, in one of their senses, nouns derived through the /a/+VP nominalizations (Chapter VII below) could be synonymous with occupational nominalizations by duplication e.g. the occupational sense of apànìyàn. Note that it is when apànìyàn 'murderer' has the occupational sense that it can really be replaced with its occupational nominalization counterpart panipani or pànìyànpànìyàn 'professional killer'. A similar proposal can be made for jagunjagun 'professional soldier' and ajagun 'one who fights battles'. It seems a more detailed analysis

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[1] Cf Factive/Non-factive nominalizations in the next chapter.

of all nominalizations along these lines could be undertaken in syntactic descriptions that are wholly devoted to nominalizations.

So, we find that common nouns could be sententially derived as suggested above. We also observe that this can even be done without losing sight of the distinction that exists between Yorùbá nouns that are derived through very productive syntactic processes and those that are basic. It seems the same suggestion could be made for Yorùbá proper nouns, and we may direct our attention only to the Yorùbá personal names discussed in (32 a-c) below. For names that are derived through NP's, we can have representations similar to those derived by rule 13 while one that looks like (21) can be proposed for the few exceptions, which are given to childrer born in unusual circumstances (e.g. Àjàyí - the name given to a child born face downwards). Sentence names can also come from representations that look like (25) such that the surface sentences are already dominated by NP's at certain stages in derivation.

6.1.0 Place Names

It may be noted however, that some place names are also derived e.g.

(32) (a) Ògúnrẹ́mí = Ògún rẹ̀ mí (Ogun comforts me)
'Ogun comforts me'

(b) Igbedayọ̀ = igbe di ayọ̀. (Crying becomes joy)
'Sorrow is turned into joy'

(c) Ọlápàdé[1] ọlá pàdé ọlá (honour meets honour)
'Nobility conjoins with nobility'

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[1] Incidentally, there is a village in Ọ̀yọ́ North which bears the same name as the author.

(d) Wásimi = wá simi (Come rest) 'Come and rest'

and NP names like:

(33) (a) Ìbàdàn = ẹ̀bá ọdàn (vicinity savana)
'the vicinity of the savana'

(b) Abẹ́òkúta - abẹ́ òkúta (Underneath stone)
'the underneath of the rock' the city under the Olúmọ Rock

(c) Ilésà-ilé òrìṣà (home idol)
'the home of the gods'

(d) Ògbómòṣó = ògbóríẹlẹ́ṣọ́,ẹni tí ó gbé orí Ẹlẹ́mèṣó (person who he carry head Elemeso)
'the carrier of the head of Elemeso'

Some of the town names were personal names originally e.g. (32) (a) and (c) and (33) (d). The town names which are identical with sentence personal names still remain as personal names. Nevertheless, it appears that our propsal for common nouns can also be suggested for town names although we refrain from discussing town names here. Thus, the town names which are NP's can have representations determined by rule 13 while those that are sentences could have had the sentences dominated by NP's at earlier stages in derivation. For town names that are neither NP's nor sentences e.g. Eko - 'Lagos' one could propose underlying representations that are analogues of (24).

It is possible to suggest from the similarity of many place names to personal names as indicated in the representations (32) and (33) that no distinction should be made between personal names and other proper nouns in description, but it appears that in use (or on the performance level) Yorùbá people make certain noticeable distinctions

between them. For instance, all truly abbreviated Yorùbá personal names are disyllabic e.g. Túndé - 'come again', Délé - 'arrive home' Kọ́le - 'build house' Wándé 'looks for me at home' Ọpẹ́ - gratitude, thanks, Tóyìn - is praiseworthy. Ayọ̀ - 'joy' etc. whereas place names are not abbreviated even when they are identical with personal names. Thus, Ọlápàdé - personal name can be abbreviated as Ọlá or Pàdé but when it is a town's name as in (32) (a), it is never abbreviated. Note that what appears to be trisyllabic abbreviated personal names e.g. Délùmọ̀ for Adélúmọ̀ 'royalty unites' Fọláhàn for Olúfọláhan 'God displays His honours' etc. are not really regarded as abbreviations since such abbreviated forms (if they can so be called) are often regarded as full names. Thus, Fọláhàn as a full name will mean 'display your honours' while Káyọ̀dé will imply 'bring joy home' rather than Olúkayọ̀dé 'God brings joy home' etc.

Another distinction between personal names and town names is that the former refer to objects specified in an Aspects type grammar as /+ human/ whereas this specification does not apply to place names. Hence, there may be reasons for discussing personal names and place names separately, especially with regard to the selection of classifiers.

At this stage, we can examine the types of underlying distinctions already made for Yorùbá names. All nouns are introduced in underlying representations by classifiers where a classifier system can be defined as:

(34) 'The system of noun-classification for the purpose

of enumeration and individuation'[1]

As pointed out by Lyons, 'some of the classifiers are very general and may be regarded as semantically empty. Others are specific to certain classes of nouns, and they may even be used themselves elsewhere as nouns'[2] Lyons illustrated the specific classifiers by suggesting the possibility of using English words like thing, person, tree etc. The classifiers are used in many languages of south east Asia.

The distinction between general and specific classifiers is actually present in the representations above. For instance, only èyí 'the one' in (24) has been used as a general classifier for all common nouns so far. Note that the èyí in (24) is used for all classes of common nouns e.g. human, non-human, abstract etc. Hence to some extent, it may be regarded as being semantically empty, and it may even be replaced with 'common noun' if this system of representation were to be generalized. On the other hand eni 'person' and ipò 'position' in chapter II above are specific. While eni can only be used for 'human beings' or objects regarded as 'persons', ipò can only be used for 'positions'. But while it will be interesting to explore the distinction between general and specific classifiers and the way they can be utilized in any syntactic analysis like this one, it will be enough to merely suggest for further speculation the opinion that classifiers might have been 'inserted' at an earlier stage in derivation than the final lexical items

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[1] Lyons 1968: 288.

[2] Ibid.

they introduce by rules 12 and 13 above. Thus, it is possible that classifiers actually exist in the underlying representations of all languages (and the senses and syntactic contents of these classifiers are fairly equivalent to the sets of specified syntactic features e.g. [+ human], [- Abstract] etc. found in an Aspects type deep structure analysis). However, the further development of the classifier system within a universal syntactic framework can only be left for speculation since the discussion here can only be suggestive. It cannot be conclusive.

Before we close this section, we may summarize the types of classifier conscious underlying representations observed for nouns in Yorùbá syntax. For all common nouns, we had structures that use a general classifier eyi 'the one' and the verb 'to be'. Let us represent the verb jé 'to be' as COP (copula) in this summary. Then all common nouns have one or two representations:

(35) èyí ... COP N or

(36) èyí ... COP NP

where (35) introduces basic nouns while (36) introduces derived nouns and the NP in (36) is further developed in one of the possible ways for the nominalizations in chapter VII. For instance, for those that refer to human beings, the NP could start with ẹni 'person' for the /a/ + VP nominalizations giving representations like:

(37) èyí ... COP ẹni ... V ...

(37) can be generalized by the application of rule 17.

Rule 17 General Classifier Attraction

GC ... COP SC ... V ...

where GC = general classifier', and V could be a verb or a 'predicative adjective'

The generalization made in Rule 17 is necessary since representations like (26), (29), (31) (a) and (b) actually show that specific classifiers may vary a lot for (31) (a) and (b) we used the clasifier àyè 'state', and for (26) the oní + N nominalization, only eni 'person' could be used to drive:

ẹni tí ó ni nkan ṣe pẹ̀lú N
'one who has something to do with N'

However, in structures like (29), there may even be no common classifying element apart from general terms like 'noun' since almost any common noun can acquire the pejorative sense or be indefinitized. Hence, since the second classifier in rule 17 (vis-a-vis structures like (35) which have no second classifiers) also shows that we deal with derived nouns, we may then decide that the second classifier should be called the derived nominal classifier - DNC and modify Rule 17 as rule 18 below:

Rule 18 Derived Nominal Classifier Attraction

GC ... COP DNC ... V ... (where GC need not be distinct from DNC). The DNC is then any classifier that introduces any derived noun, and it may be identical with the general classifier.

When rule 17 is stated in the normal form for transformational grammar, variables will be used instead

of ' ... ', and rule 17 can be combined with rule 18 in a general rule for the underlying derivation of nouns.

Rule 19 General Underlying Derivation of Nouns

$$/GC \quad COP \quad \left\{DNC \quad Y \quad V \cdot Z\right\} \_7 \quad NP$$

(where GC and DNC are as defined earlier, and Y, and Z are variables (see Chapter I for variables)).

The way surface NP's are derived from structures through the application of rule 19 or representations like 1 and 2 is not examined here although it will involve a series of deletion and other transformational operations. Since this work deals with nominalizations' underlying representations, we deliberately minimise the comments we make about surface structure realizations.

Earlier, we suggested that the GC and DNC of both 20 and rule 12 may be non distinct. What constitutes a DNC for some classes of common nouns may be a GC for proper nouns. For instance, all place names can have ibi 'place' as their general classifier (GC) while all personal names could have eni 'person' as their GC since all personal names are primarily applicable to 'persons' (even if these names are later applied to animals or places). Thus, personal names may even have underlying representations in which two eni forms occur if the first were interpreted as the GC and the second as the DNC in the manner of Rules 18 and 19.

Moreover, when other relevant information enters into the underlying representations, it is possible to have more abstract representations than rule 19 suggests.

For instance, if the information that the condition of the home determines a child's name were to be intergrated into the underlying representation of personal names at a stage earlier than the one we deal with here, it is possible to have more abstract underlying representation for nominals e.g. (38) eni tí ítàn ilé rè fihàn pé ðun jé eni tí ó ń fi ọlá yan (person who story home his show that he-ing use honour stride) 'one whose home condition shows that he is a person who marches about with honour' for Afoláyan. Note that the two eni representations already suggested for personal names earlier actually occur in (38). Although it may be profitable to examine what further developments in underlying representations are still possible, we intend to end the speculation here with the observation that our proposal for common nouns can in fact be developed in conjunction with an integrated classifier system as applied to all classes of nouns and nominalizations in the Yorùbá language.

CHAPTER VII

7.0.0 NOMINAL COMPOUNDS.

Hitherto, we have presented nominalization at lexical, clause and sentence levels. We have looked at the various parameters of Yorùbá nominalization like factive non-factive complements, infinitives, gerunds and relative clauses. In fact, we have covered almost all the processes in the language by which sentences are reduced or embedded; and processes in the language by which means verbs serialize. However, we now turn our attention to the last, and perhaps the most complex aspect of nominalization viz: nominal compounds.

Nominal compounding serves the important pragmatic function of achieving compactness of expression without loss of essential information. It is equally important to note that the same pragmatic function is served by two other syntactic configurations particularly in Yorùbá and natural languages in general. The first of these two other configurations is the genitive NP (see 4.1.4 above). This construction, consisting of an NP containing superficially, two non-conjoined nouns of which one is the head and the other the atribute, appears in many, perhaps most of the world languages. It serves to compress underlying propositions into shorter surface configurations and in so doing, it is typically prone to creating syntactic and semantic ambiguity. The last means of compounding is the appositive construction attributive nouns (see 4.2.0 above).

7.0.1 Compounding by Affixation.

All writers on Yorùbá without exception recognize prefixation as the most basic means of nominal compounding in the language. Ward (1952: 54) writers: "The great majority of nouns in Yorùbá begin with a vowel which is frequently a prefix added to a verb root". This is perhaps the most pertinent observation in the prefixation theory for Yoruba, because all the seven except one oral vowel (see 1.1.1 (b)) above can be prefixed to a verb stem for form a nominal. The only exception in Standard Yorùbá is the vowel /ù/ which does not occur initially in any nominal.[1]

Formulating a prefixation theory for Yorùbá is not as easy as it first appears. Much that is involved both syntactically and semantically has to be accounted for by such a theory. This, precisely, is what the previous writers on Yorùbá have not been able to capture. Professor Bamgboṣe (1966: 103) has this to say:

à - 'that which is -ing.
a - 'one who'.
ì - 'that which is -ing
àì - 'not -ing'
àti - 'to'

while Professor Awobuluyi (1967) presents four types of prefixes:

i. /o/ Agent: and derives the following from it:
(a) /a/ - Adájọ́ 'a judge'
(b) /ọ/ - ọ̀bẹ 'a knife'
(c) /ọ/ - ọ̀bí 'parents'
(d) /ẹ/ - ẹ̀pa 'antidote'

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[1] Onḍó, Ekiti, Ọwọ and Akókó have /ù/ for the standard /ì/ e.g. ùbẹ̀rẹ̀ for ìbẹ̀rẹ̀ 'squatting'.

ii. /i/ - "that which is used for X" and it has the following allomorphs: /ì - à -`è-ò/

iii. /è/ has the past participal meaning: 'that which was X-ed' and the following are its allomorphs: /è - ẹ̀ - ì - /

iv. The numerals."

Why one prefix should be basic and others allomorphs remains a matter for conjecture. We quoted these scholars to drive in our point on how difficult it is to formulate a prefixation theory for Yorùbá nominals.

Notice that in Chapter VI we formulate rules for deriving lexical items particularly Yorùbá personal names. Here in this section, we are concerned primarily with the syntax and semantics of prefixation, and of course, the stems onto which these prefixes are attached to form nominal compounds.

7.0.2 Agentive Nominalization.

This is perhaps the most productive form in the language. It has many manifestations of which two forms viz: /ā-/ and /ō-/ are basic. /ā-/ is the more productive because it gives the most literal meaning and can occur in almost all instances where /o-/ occurs. However, /ọ̄/ on the other hand sounds idiomatic wherever it occurs. Moreover /ọ̀/ invariably depicts the habitual or professional agent. The /ā-/ nominals are the most literal. They invariably retain the tones and the base meanings of the forms in which they occur. We consider it basic because, in its class, it is the most productive; where a different vowel substitutes for it, for example, vowel harmony rule,

it is always recoverable since the change is contextually determined. Consider:

Non-idiomatic		Idiomatic	Verb-nominal collocation	
(1) (a)	adẹdɔ̀	ɔ̀dẹdɔ̀	dẹ	odɔ̀
	agent-hunts in the river	agent - professionally hunts in the river	hunt	river
(b)	ajíṣẹ́	ɔ̀jíṣẹ́	jẹ́	iṣẹ́
	agent runs errand	a messenger	run	errand
(c)	adáràn	ɔ̀daràn	dá	ɔ̀ràn
	Agent - causes trouble	a criminal	cause	trouble
(d)	agbọ́fọ̀	ɔ̀gbifọ̀	gbọ́	ifọ̀
	Agent understands speech	interpreter	understand	speech
(e)	amutí	ɔ̀mutí	mu	ọtí
	Agent drinks wine	a drunkard	drink	wine

Notice that the examples given in (1) come about by verb-nominal collacations taking prefixes. These callocations are unique phenomenona in the language, where it is possible for verbs to colligate[1] with nouns (that is, their objects). In several cases such colligations result in frozen idioms which function independently as verbs in the surface structure.

These agentive prefixes invariably attach to subjectless surface verb-phrases. These may consist of a single verb, two or more serial verbs, or verb nominal colligations. In these cases, the polysyllabic verbal stems are easier to deal with than the monosyllabic stems.

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[1] See Bamgboṣe(1964: 27-32); Afọlayan(1970: 120 footnote 2).

(2) is an example where the prefix [a-] is attached to a subjectless verb phrase.

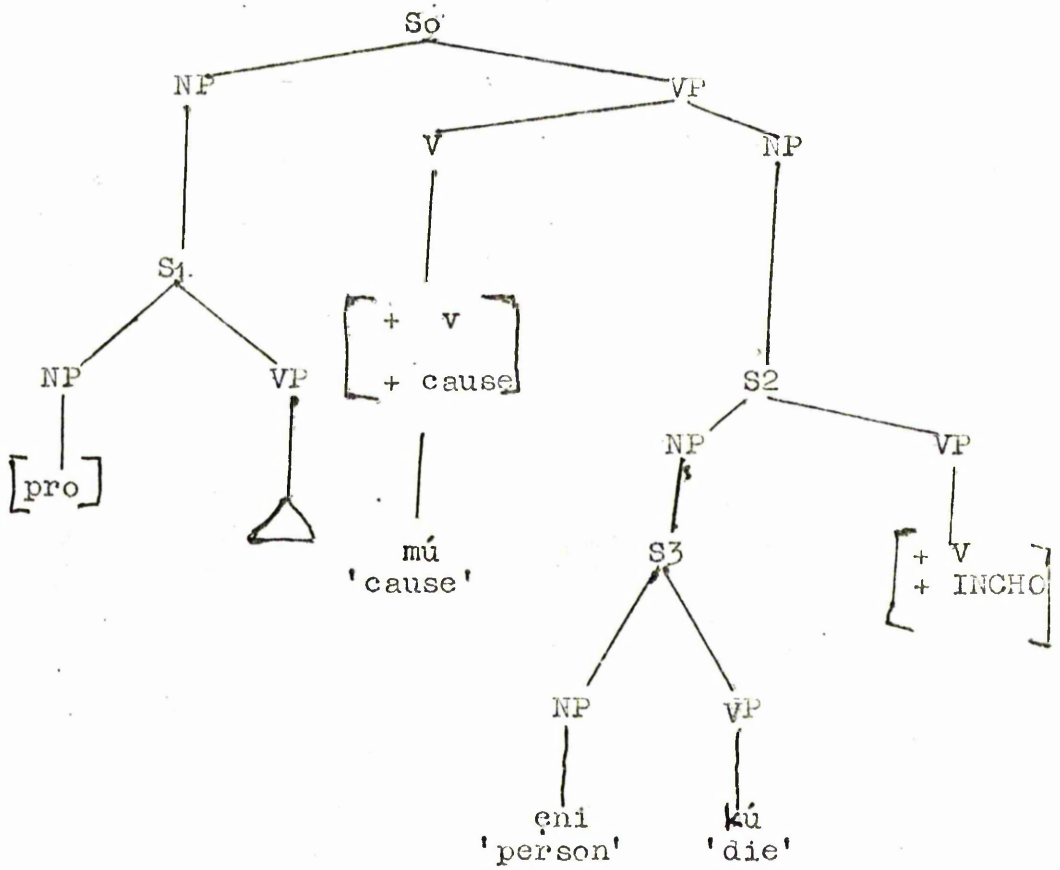
(2) a- pa- ni- kú

agent kill person die

One who kills a person completely.

The deep structure of (2) is (3).

(3)



The deep structure (3) is meant to show that (2) is causative;[1] that is, what someone does causes another person to die. Both the agent and the action leading to death are not specific in (2). Subject-to-subject raising applies to S3. By causativization and inchoativization the features of both the inchoative verb and causative verbs are combined with their verbs. It is at this stage that the verb pa 'kill' is inserted. The subject of the embedded sentence

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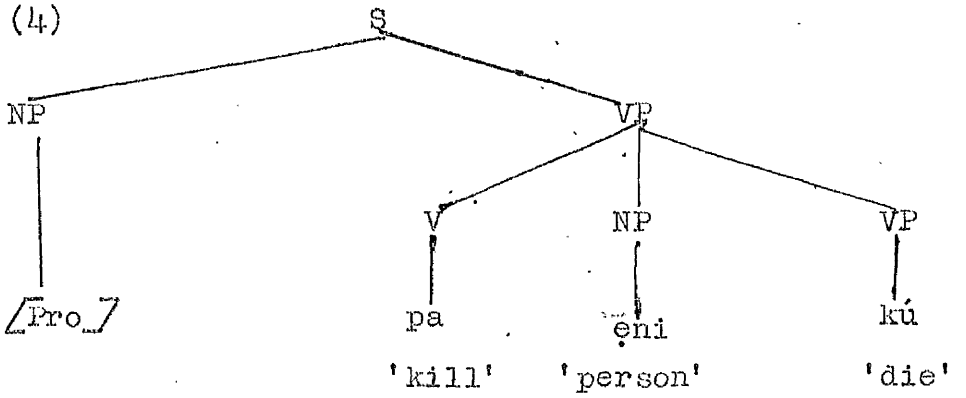
[1] See McCawley (1968b).

will have to be raised to derive (4).

(4)



It is only at this stage that prefixation can apply. It must be noted that prefixation applies to constituents, and it is after raising has applied that pa-ẹni-kú becomes a constituent. Prefixation does not apply to sentences whose subjects are already specified. (5) for instance, cannot be an input to the transformation rule.

(5) Ọjọ́ pa ẹní kú
(Ojo kill person dead)
'Ojo killed a person dead'

7.0.3 Causative Constructions.

Every language provides a means of expressing ideas involving the notion of causation. However, forms may differ, but the comparable ideas are expressed cross-linguistically. The causative situation can be said to consist of two phases, "the causing and the caused phase" that are brought into causal relation. The causing phase usually involves an activity, and the caused phase, either another activity or a change of state. Both phases are in causal relation if the realization of the latter is assumed by the speaker to have taken place and that its occurrence

is wholly dependent upon the occurrence of the former. Both situations, necessarily, allow us to infer that if the former had failed to take place, the latter could not have taken place. Consider:

(6) Mo ní . kí Adé lọ
(I say that Ade go)
'I told Ade to go'

Note that (6) does not in any way express a causative situation since the sentence does not commit the speaker to the assumption that Ade's going has taken place. Similarly, sentence (7) cannot constitute a causative commitment on the part of the speaker.

(7) Ó dùn mi pé Adé lọ
(It hurt me that Ade go)
'It hurts me that Ade went'

The event expressed by Adé lọ 'Ade went' in (7) is not dependent on the feeling of the speaker, whereas in (8) below the event expressed by Ade lọ 'Ade went' is dependent on the speaker's causing him to go.

(8) Mo mú kí Adé lọ
(I take that Ade go)
'I made Ade go'

Further examples are:

(9) Adé mu ọtí yó
(Ade drink wine full)
'Ade is drunk'

(10) Adé tan Ojó lọ
(Ade trick Ojó go)

(a) 'Ade tricked Ojo and Ojo went (without Ade)'
(b) 'Ade tricked Ojo and they both went'

(11) Mo mú Adé lọ
(I take Ade go)

(a) 'I did something which caused Ade to go' (causative).

(b) 'I took Ade with me and we went'. (comitative)

(12) Adé fa Ọjó lọ
(Ade drag Ojo go).

(a) 'Ade did something which took Ojo away (causative)'

(b) 'Ade dragged Ojo along with him'. (comitative).

(13) Ìwà ẹṣin ní i ṣe ikú pa ẹṣin
(character horse it is do death kill horse)
'It is the behaviour of the horse that kills the horse'

(14) Ọpó mú ilé ró
(pillar take house stand erect)
'The pillar makes the house to stand erect'.

(15) Ọjó jẹ́ kí ilé jó
(Ojo let that house burn)
'Ojo caused the house to burn'

(16) Ọjó jo ilé na
(Ojo burn house the)
'Ojo burnt the house'

Notice that (8) can be interpreted to mean (11) (a) because both interpretations are causative, but on no account can (8) be interpreted to mean (11) (b) because (11) (b) is not causative but comitative. (9) - (16) except the (b's) of (10) - (12) are causatives in varying degree. Lakoff (1970) develops a logical structure for causative verbs whereby only sentences can be their subjects and objects. In (9) it is the drinking that causes Ade's being 'full up'. Notice that (9) is a case of inchoativization, where there is only

one agent for both the causing phase and the caused phase, that is to say, it is Ade's drinking that makes Ade become drunk.

Rule 20 Inchoativization Rule

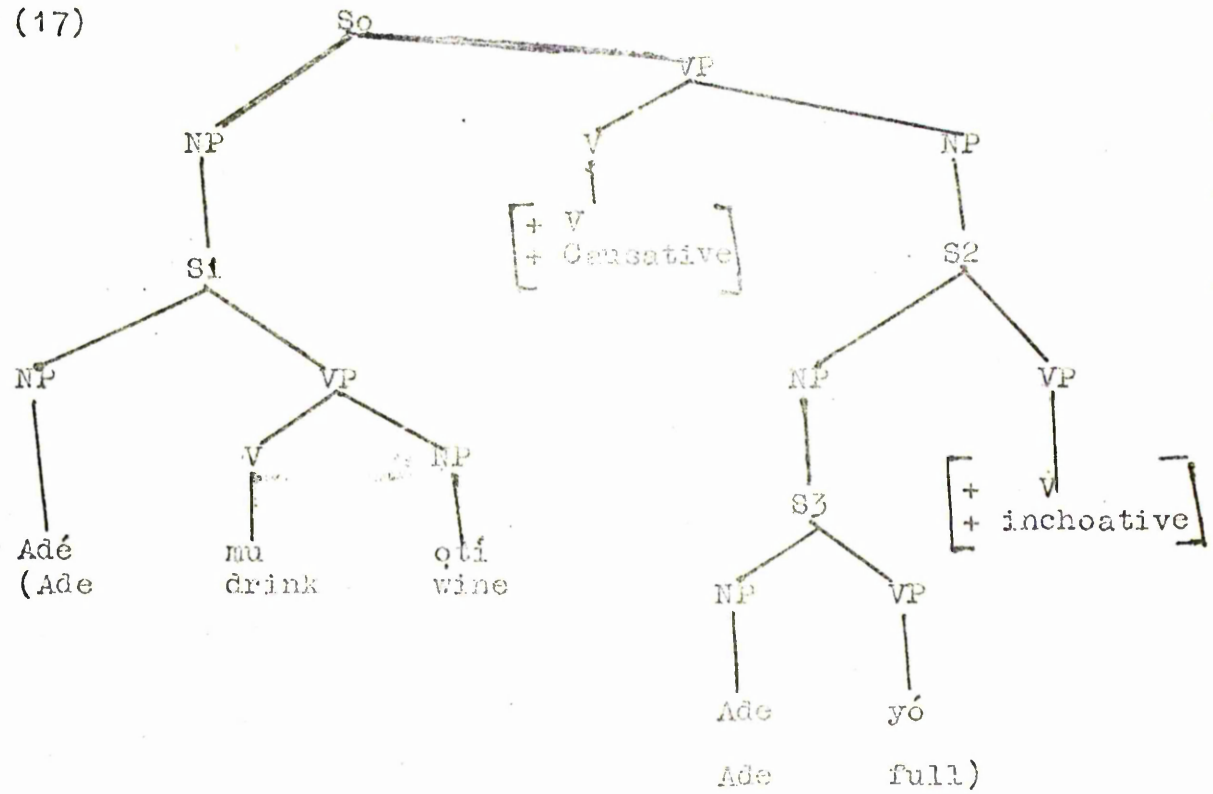
SD	X -	NP	-	V	-	N	-	NP	-	V - Y
		1		2		3		4		5 ⇒
SC	X -	1		2		3		∅		(5 + inchoat) Y

Conditions X-Y Variables

1 = 4

Rule 20 converts the sentence Adé mu otí Adé yó to Adé mu otí yó. The logical structure of (9)is(17) below:

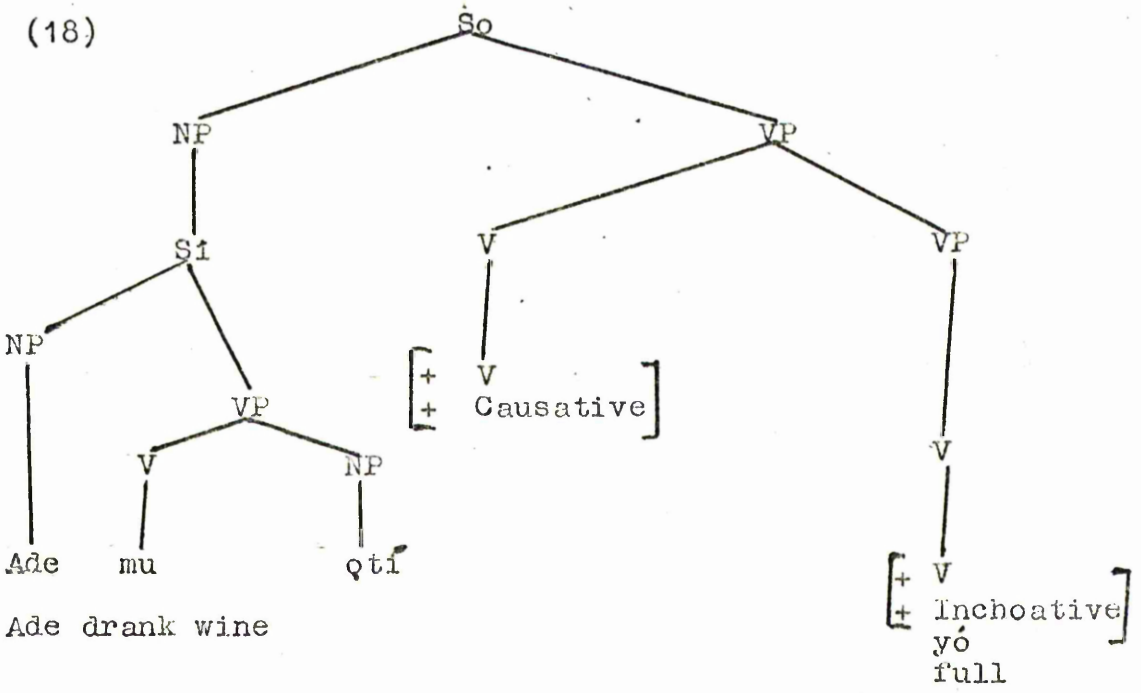
(17)



The features of the inchoative verb merge with the verb yó thereby creating one node for the verb. This rule, as we have mentioned above, is called 'inchoativization'. The next rule that applies is the Equi-NP-Deletion rule which

deletes one of the two NPs to give (18).

(18)



Ade drank wine

At this stage, the features of the inchoative and causative verbs are combined by the inchoativization rule which ultimately applies to the verb yó, so that what remains of the inchoative - causative sentence is the verb yó 'to be drunk'. Notice that the causal relation has been achieved in that the caused phase yó 'to be drunk' is dependent on the causing phase mu 'to drink'. Notice also that the causing phase is an action while the caused phase is a state. Ade cannot be in a state of being drunk 'unless he has actually being drinking'.[1]

Three verbs, viz:mú (to take) 'made' (8) and se (do) 'cause' (13) and jẹ́ (let) 'cause (15) are very common in causative constructions. Notice that (6) - (16)

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[1] Awobuluyi, O. (1973: 88 fn. 2).

cannot be candidates for prefixation because they are full sentences.

However, it is not lalways the case that prefixation just applies whenever there are constituents. While the condition of constituency is vital, all other syntactic requirements must be met. Prefixation, it should be noted, is just a routine process. Where the verb is transitive, this condition must be met before prefixation applies. Consider the following:

(19) * a- mọ (agent - know) 'one who knows'

(20) * a- kọ (agent - write) 'one who writes)

Note that since a-nominalization is the most literal, it seems to require that in the most literal sense too, the verbs must be transitive. Hence we have the following:

(21) a - mọwé (agent knows book) 'one who knows book'

(22) a - ṣere (agent - do good) 'one who does good'

(23) a - kọwé (agent write book) 'one who writes book or letter'.

Notice that we have more than one prefixes for agentive nominalization, that is, /a-/ and /ɔ-/. A pertinent question to ask at this juncture is how do we know the possible stems onto which these affixes are attached; and how do we differentiate the types of agents they signify ? We have already started answering the first part of the question for /a-/, which we consider to be more literal, a possible stem is one with all its complete syntactic requirements such as the transitivity of the verb or whether or not it can be a surface verb or has to be in a string as verbs in series. For example the instrumental verb fi hardly occurs as an independent verb,

and it cannot take on a prefix, as we have pointed out earlier on in this section, prefixation applies at the end of a derivation. It should be pointed out that since fi always occurs in the company of other serial verbs, those other verbs have to be present before prefixation can apply.

The form /a-/ refers to anybody who performs an action once, or twice or occasionally. The sequence of the action may be continuous or interrupted even though it is routine. In other words, the action may be performed but it has not become a characteristic. The /ò-/ form, on the other hand, refers to a permanent characteristic or feature. Consider the following:

(24) a- mọ̀wé : ọ̀- mọ̀wé
'Agent has some knowledge' : 'a learned man'
a- dáran' : ọ̀- daran
'Agent tends animals' : 'a shepherd'

Notice that the choice of either of the forms is not arbitrary, it depends on the meaning and the intention of the speaker. Notice also that the patterns consistently maintain the differences between the literal and the idiomatic meanings conveyed by the prefixes.

It is not the case that the referents of these agentive prefixes must always be human and animate. The examples we have cited so far refer to human beings. The same agentive prefixes can be attached obliquely onto stems that do not refer to animate objects. Consider the following:

(25) (a) a - jere : 'perforated earthenware for keeping smoked meat'

a - pẹ̀rẹ̀ 'basket' (-pẹ̀rẹ̀ 'of dropping')

a - riwo 'noise' (-riworiwo 'noise')

a - fẹ́fẹ́ 'wind' (- fẹ 'to blow')

It is quite obvious, considering our analysis, that Professor Awobuluyi's allomorph hypothesis does not lead anywhere. The prefixes are, of necessity, different realizations with different semantic tokens.

7.0.4 Possessive Nominalization

The prefixation here is motivated by the occurrence of the verb ní 'to have' and a noun at the terminal. The frame is as follows: Prefix + ní + noun. Like the agentive a-prefix we have just treated, it is a mid-tone /O-/. But for the fact that it is restricted to the context of the verb ní it could be regarded as a variant of the agentive a- prefix. It has various phonetic manifestations, all of which are contextually determined. There is a minor rule in the language whereby /n/ changes to /l/ whenever it is followed by any oral vowel except /i/. The rule applies across morpheme boundaries. Consider:

(26) (a) O-ní-ọlá /Ọlọ́la/

(agent-has-honour) 'one who has honour'

(b) O-ni-iṣu /Ọní ṣu/

(Agent-has-yam) 'the one who has yam'

(c) O-ní-agbára /Alágbára/

(Agent-has-strength) (a strong man)

'one who has strength'

(d) O-ní-etî /ẽlétî/
(Agent-has-ear) 'one who has ears'

(e) O-ní-imú /Ónímú/
(Agent-has-nose) 'one who has nose'

Note that we give direct glosses here to show the connection between the prefixes and the stems to which they are attached. It also shows how regressive assimilation affects the prefixes.

The basic meaning of any derivation involving this prefix is that of possession, either alienable or inalienable. On extension however, it includes having something to sell or having a particular characteristic. For example:

(27) (a) O-ní-igi /ónígi/
(Agent has-firewood).
(i) 'one who has firewood'
(ii) 'one who sells firewood'

(b) Ọ-ní-ọgbọ́n /Ọ̃lọ́gbọ́n/
(Agent-has-wisdom) 'one who is wise'

It is interesting to note that sometimes, all the normal activities associated with what is being possessed go to form the meanings of the derived nominal. Consider:

(28) (a) o-ní-epo /elépo/
(Agent-has-oil)

which may have the meanings

i. one who has oil
ii. one who sells oil
iii. one who makes oil.

(b) O-ní-ọkọ̀ /Ọ̃lọ́kọ/
Agent-has-vehicle

i. One who has a vehicle
ii. One who sells a vehicle
iii. One who drives a vehicle.

That (a) iii and (b) iii have the variants:

(a) iii a-fọ-epo /afọpo/
(Agent-washes-oil)
'one who makes oil'

(b) iii a-wa-ọkọ /awakọ/
(Agent-drives-vehicle)
'one who drives a vehicle'

is irrelevant to this analysis. Why the notions of ownership, sales and production have to be interwoven in Yorùbá economics is left open.

However, the following is the pattern of occurrence in the language.

(29)

Alienable Ownership and selling		Inalienable Ownership only	
aláta	'owner and seller of pepper'	Ọlọ́wọ	'one who has hands'
elépo	'owner and seller of oil'	Olójú	'one who has eyes'
eléwé	'owner and seller of leaves'	alápá	'one who has arms'
oníṣu	'owner and seller of yams'	onímú	'one who has nose'
oníyọ̀	'owner and seller salt'	onítan	'one who has thighs'
ẹlẹ́kọ	'owner and seller of corn dough'	ẹlẹ́nù[1]	'one who has mouth'

It should be noted that there is no restriction of animacy and inanimacy in these derived nominals. They could be used to describe the quality or characteristic of another

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[1] In its idiomatic use, it means a vain and boastful person.

noun as well as other nouns could be used to describe their qualities and characteristics. Consider:

(30) (a) ẹran oníyọ̀ (meat agent-has-salt)
'salt mean'

(b) Ọlọgbọn ẹ̀wẹ́ (Agent-has-wisdom trick)
'a trickster'

The picture that emerges is not of derived nominals with totally intractable idiosyncratic properties, but of patterns of meanings. If we have to list all this information in the lexicon, the morphological component will be depleted of all its functions.

The only noticeable restriction on these possessive nominals, which is semantic rather than syntactic, is that a noun has to be preceeded by ní 'has' otherwise the selectional restriction is violated. In other words, the condition of transitivity has to be met in order for any derived nominal, in which it occurs, to be acceptable in the language. It may be necessary to make a distinction between lexical meaning and lexical extension. The ownership meaning is what we consider lexical, while all other meanings are implied.

7.1.0 Factive Nominalization

This prefix is the low tone à- its non-factive counterpart is the low tone ì-[1]. It should be recalled that in 5.0.1 above we define factive complements as those in which the speaker believes or presupposes the complements. The same is true of the derived nominals which result from the à prefixation. Consider the following examples:

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[1] See Rowlands (1969):185.

(31) à-rè-má-bọ̀ kò ní jẹ́ ti wa.

(fact-go-not-return not will be of us)

'The fact of going and not returning will not be our lot'.

(32) à-padà-sí-aburú kò ní bá wa.

(fact-return to evil no will overtake we)

'Returning to misfortune will not befall us!

but not (30) and (31)

(33) * ì-rè-má-bọ̀ kò ní jẹ́ ti wa.

(Going and not returning not will be of us)

'Going and not returning will not be our lot'.

(34) * ì-pada-sí-aburú kò ní bá wa.

(returning to evil no will overtake us)

'Returning to evil will not befall us!

Notice that both (33) and (34) contain the same factual information as (31) and (32) but (33) and (34) are not grammatical because the non-factive complements occur in context where the speaker presupposes their truth. Let us examine more examples:

(35) à-dédé-lọ-yín kò mú ọgbọ́n dání.

(fact-just-go-yours not take wisdom hold)

'The fact of your just going is not reasonable!

but not

(36) * ì-dédé-lọ-yín kò mú ọgbọ́n dání.

just-go-yours not take wisdom hold

'Your just going is not reasonable'

(37) à-tètè-walé-yín bà wá lẹ́rù.

(fact-early-come your frighten us)

'Your coming home early frightened us'

but not

(38) * ì-tètè-walé-yín bà wá lẹ́rù.

(early-come-home your us frighten).

'Your coming home early frightened us!

It is (37) rather than (38) that means:

(39) Pé ẹ tètè walé bà wá lẹ́rù.

(that you early come home us frighten).

'That you came home early frightened us'.

or

(40) Títètè walé yín bà wá lẹ́rù.

(that early come home you us frighten).

'That you came home early frightened us'

which is derived from (41)

(41) Títètè walé tí ẹ tètè walé bà wá lẹ́rù.

(That early come home that you early come home us frighten).

'The fact that you came home early frightened us'.

It is observed that the à- can take most of the preverbal modifiers because it is a factive nominalizing prefix. Consider the following:

(42) (a) à-wulẹ̀-lọ (fact-vain-go)

'fact of going in vain'.

(b) à-dédé-lọ (fact-for the fun-go)

'fact of going for the fun of it'.

7.1.1 Non-Factive Nominalization.

The prefix for this nominalization is /ì/. We regard it as non-factive because (i) it cannot be prefixed to any of the preverb modifiers to make the resulting

nominalization factive. Consider:

(43) (a) * à-wulɛ̀-lɔ̀ (in vain went) 'going in vain'

(b) * à-dédé-lɔ̀ (for the fun of it-go)
'going for the fun of it'

Notice that (43 a-b) are not acceptable in the language because the speaker presupposes the truth of the utterances.

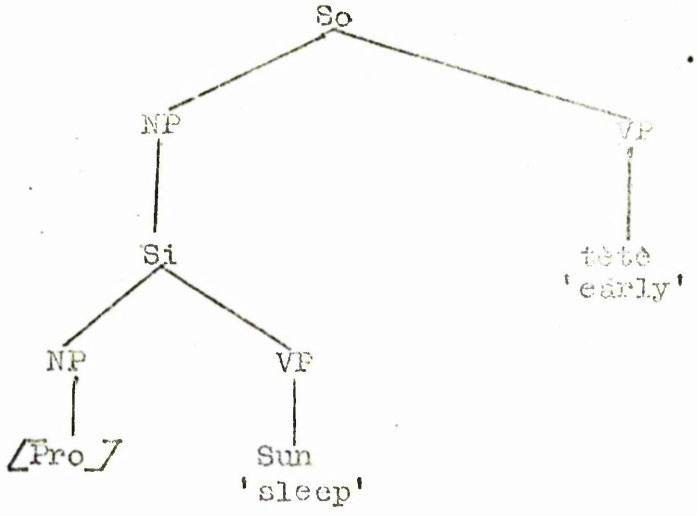
The non-factivity has to do with the blockage in contexts like (33 and 34) above.

Finally, notice that both factive and non-factive prefixes take the place of pro-NP's as subjects of verb-phrases. Consider:

(44) à-tètè-sùn (fact-early-sleep)
'The fact of sleeping early'

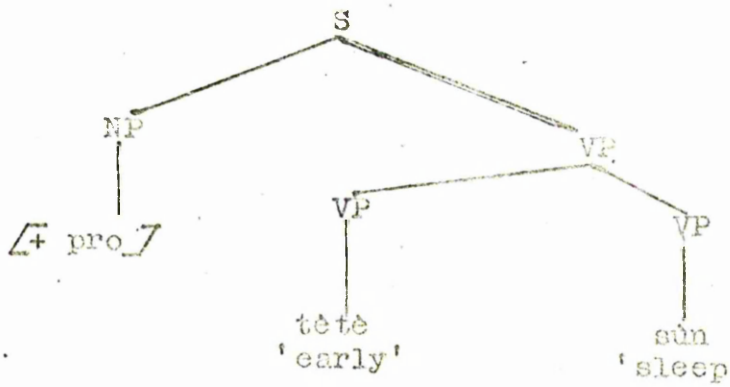
which has the following deep structure:

(45)



which obligatorily undergoes RAISING to derive (33)

(46)



It is when tètè-sùn becomes a constituent which satisfies the condition for affixation that the prefix is matched onto it to become nominalization.

7.1.2 Adverbial Nominalization.

This form of nominalization embraces manner, locative, instrumental, comparative, directional, benefactive and comitative cases. It is observed that the factive/non-factive distinction is restricted to manner adverbial, comparative and dative/possessive nominalization. Consider the following:

(47) i (a) à-fi-ẹ̀lẹ̀-ṣe (factive) (manner)
fact use care to do

(b) * ì-fi-ẹ̀lẹ̀-ṣe (non-factive)
using care-do

ii (a) à-fi-kúkù pẹ́fọ̀n (factive) (instrumental)
fact use fist - kill bushcow
(Syncerus Caffer Beddingtonii)

(b) ì-fi-kúkù-pẹ́fọ̀n
use-fist-kill-bushcow

iii (a) à-lọ-sí-gbórò (factive) (directional)
fact-go-to oro-grove

(b) ì-lọ-sí-gbórò
going-to-orogrove.

iv (a) à-báni-ní-abà (factive) (locative)
fact-meet one-in-hut

(b) ì-báni-ní-abà
meeting-one-in-hut

v (ii(c)) a-fi-kúkù-pẹ́fọ̀n (Agentive)
agent-used-fist-kill bushcow
(Syncerus caffer Beddingtonii)

vi (a) a-bání-kẹ́dùn (factive) (Comitative)
fact-withone-sympathize

(b) i-bání-kẹ́dùn
withone-sympathize

vii(a) à-jù-lọ (factive) (Comparative)
fact-morethan-other
(i.e. superiority)

(b) * ì-jù-lọ

vii (a) à-ní-mọ́-owó (factive) (dative/possessive)
fact-have-plus-money

(b) * ì-ní-mọ́-owó

Notice that (47) (ib), (viib) and (viiib) are not acceptable in the language because of the manner, comparative and dative/possessive constraints mentioned at the beginning of the section. This, in effect, shows that it is only the à- prefix that is possible in the contexts of the three nominalizations mentioned above. A further example is:

(48) i. à-fi-ọgbọ́n-ṣe (factive) (manner)
fact-use-wisdom-do

ii. *ì-fi-ọgbọ́n-ṣe (non-factive)

7.1.3 Case Grammar.

In the preceding section we have presented a number of arguments based on case grammar to support our hypothesis of adverbial nominalization. The theory of case grammar, however, cannot be incorporated bodily into a generative semantic analysis such as our own, because the two theories are mutually incompatible in a number of ways.

While a comparative evaluation of the two theories would be out of place here, it would nonetheless be desirable to show in what ways the generalizations (correctly) expressed on the preceding pages within a case grammar framework can be naturally captured, and hence preserved within a generative semantic analysis.

The semantic facts that are expressed within a case grammar analysis by a combination of case assignments and appropriately drawn underlying representation must be expressed within a generative semantic analysis by a combination of semantic predicates and the correctly drawn semantic structure within which they are arranged. Thus, for instance, the locative, the instrumental, the directional and the Dative/Possessive cases of the preceding section are expressed by the semantic predicates Fí 'USE', Sí 'TO' and 'Ní 'HAVE' respectively, appearing in appropriate syntactic configurations as in (47 ii-iii and vii) above. One may argue that Fí participates invariably in serialization, it indeed does, but that does not remove the fact that it is still a predicate. (See page 70 fn 2 above).

7.1.4 Stems or Constituents for the Prefixes.

Knowing the language presupposes an intuitive knowledge of the speaker about how to match a prefix onto a stem or constituent to form a meaningful compound. In other words, this means that predictability is involved in nominal compounding in Yorùbá in particular, and any natural language of an agglutinative nature in general. If predictability is not involved, it will be possible for us to list

every word in the lexicon, and then speakers and learners will simply memorize all the forms. However, we have shown that everything is not idiosyncratic. The purpose of this section is an attempt in characterizing what can or cannot be a potential stem. Recall that we have already pointed out that a possible stem must be a constituent at the stage that prefixation applies, and must also meet the grammatical conditions of transitivity, serialization and semantic compatibility.

There are four conceivable sources for the stems, viz: a single verb, a whole verb phrase, an ideophone (see 1.2.2 above) and a gerundive form.

7.2.0 A Single Verb Stem.

The so much often stressed productivity of affixation is a severely restricted process with a single verb stem. By this we mean, first and foremost, that there is no one-to-one match, of the seven oral vowels in the language, with a single verb. If this were to be the case there would be the possibility of deriving fourteen new lexical items (nominals), taking into consideration the fact that affixes are only found with either a low or a mid tone. This is not the case, because, second, there is no ɪ̀- initial noun in the standard Yorùbá language as mentioned earlier in this chapter. However, many of the remaining six oral vowels do not occur as prefixes with distinct meanings and functions. Consider:

(49) (a) a+ dé 'crown' (-dé 'to cover/crown')
(b) ọ+ gbọ́n 'wisdom' (-gbọ́n 'to be wise')
(c) è+ rò 'thought' (-rò 'to think')

(d) o+ gbó 'old age' (-gbó 'to be old')
(e) o+ dẹ 'hunter' (-dẹ 'to hunt')
(f) i+ jó 'dance' (-jó 'to dance')
(g) à+ dá 'cutlass' (-dá 'to break')

Despite the fact that the nominals in (46) are clear cases of derivation from basic verbs, they are totally opaque. Notice that the prefixes and the tone on them have no semantic correlation. That the affixes are not predictable proves that they are not productive. The combinations have become frozen idioms in the language so much that they are taken to be basic nouns. The fact that such nouns are few in the language makes it easier for them to be listed in the lexicon. Again, note that we cannot take one of the stems and produce many nominals from it. Consider:

(50) -dé 'to cover/crown'

(a) ʔa+ dé 'a crown'
(b) *à+ dé 'fact of crowning'
(c) *a+ dé 'one who crowns'
(d) *ò+ dé 'one who regularly crowns (a professional)'
(e) *ì+ dé 'crowning'

It is observed that the non-conformity of (b-e) precludes treating the set of basic verbs in this class on case-by-case basis. However, there are exceptions but even then there is a severe restriction on them. Consider:

(51) a+ sẹ́ 'that which seives'
a+ ta 'that which smarts'
a+ bẹ 'that which peels'
o+ dẹ 'one who hunts'

Notice also that some of them take two to three prefixes,

e.g.

(52) tọ́ 'to urinate'

i. (a) i+ tọ́ 'urine'

(b) à+ tọ́ 'semen'

ii. à+ tọ́ + sí 'gonorrhoea'

That ii comprises of the prefix a and the constituent tọ́sí is irrelevant. What we are concerned with in this section is the prefixation.

An admission of the unpredictability of these forms and listing them in the lexicon does not weaken our theory of prefixation. Rather, it clearly shows that although, some of them have apparent prefixes, the history of their derivations is not known.

7.2.1 Verb Phrase as a Stem.

By this, we mean any of the following: a verb-nominal collocation, serial verbs or a clause. It is assumed here, that for a stem or constituent to be productive it must allow for more than three options. These are (a) à- factive nominalization (b) ì- non-factive nomilization (c) a-; ọ̀- agentive nominalization and (d) à+ ì - negativized factive nominalization. See the earlier part of this chapter for examples of (a - c) and 4.0.2 for examples of (d).

7.2.2 Verb Nominal Collocation as a Stem.

A stem of this type is a transitive active verb. Both the tones and the pattern of contraction of the vowels are sensitive to the distinction between literal and frozen idiomatic senses. Consider:

(53) pa ènìyàn -(a) * à-pà-nìyàn
(fact-kill-people)
'the fact of killing people'

(b) a-pà-nìyàn
(agent-kill-people)
'a murderer'

(c) ì-pà-nìyàn
(non-fact-kill-people)
'killing people'

(d) ọ-pà-nìyàn
(agent-kill people)
'an assassin/a professioner killer'

(e) à-ì-pànìyàn
(fact-not-killing-people)
'the fact of not killing people'

Notice that (a) is not acceptable because <u>pà-nìyàn</u> cannot be used factively as it cannot be presupposed as it is. The killing has not occurred hence, the reference is generic. However, the factive sense becomes conceivable and acceptable when it is negativized as in (e).

The examples in (50) are starred because they are not acceptable in the language. However, if we make them verb-nominal collocations, they become grammatical. Consider:

(54) dé 'to cover/crown'

(a) à-dé-ọmi- (à-démi)
(fact-cover-water)
'the fact of covering water'

(b) ì-dé-omi (ì-démi)
(non-fact-cover-water)
'covering water'.

(c) a-dé-omi (a-démi)
(Agent-cover-water)
'one who covers water'

(d) ò-dé-omi (ò-démi)
(Agent-cover-water)
'one who professionally covers water'

The difference between (54) and (50) is that the verb dé 'to cover/crown' is transitive in (54) and intransitive in (50). The violation of transitive restriction renders (50) ungrammatical. Notice that two nouns adé 'crown' and ìdé[1] 'a lid' are derived from dé 'to cover/crown' but neither of their initial vowels have the predicted meaning of agentiveness and non-factiveness respectively. Similarly there are many nominals consisting of prefixes and verb nominals stems such as in (54). They are all idiosyncratic cases which should be listed in the lexicon rather than be derived. Examples are:

(55) (a) a-bú-lé — ilé
'a hut' — house

(b) à-tà-ri — 'orí'
'centre of head' — 'head'

(c) a-gba-ra — gbó, ara
'strength' — 'old', 'body'

(d) a-gba-ri — gbo ori
'skull' — 'old' 'head'

7.2.3 Serialized Verbs[2] as Stems.

A stem of serial verbs consists of two or more semantically compatible verbs juxtaposed to undergo

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[1] It should be noted that ìdé though, exists in the language it is rarely used. Instead 'èdídí or ìdéri are often used.

[2] For details on serialized verbs see Awobuluyi, O. (1975: 87-111).

prefixation to form nominalizations. It is observed that all the different meanings found in serial verb constructions like purpose, non-purpose infinitivies, causative-inchoative, comparative and adverbial senses are found in this type of nominalization. Consider.

(56) (a) à-jà-bọ́ purpose
(fact-fight-get loose)
'the fact of fighting to get loose'

(b) à-jí-kí non-purpose
(fact-wake-greet)
'fact of waking up to greet'

(c) à-tàn-lọ causative-inchoative
(fact deceive-go)
'fact of tricking one to go'

(d) à-jù-lọ comparative
(fact-excelling-go)
'fact of excelling'

(e) à-bá-lọ comitative
(fact-with/on behalf of-go)
'fact of going with or on behalf of'

(f) à-mú-gé instrumental
(fact-take-cut)
'fact of using to cut'

(g) à-ṣe-fún dative
(fact-do-give)
'fact of doing for'

(h) à-bá-ṣe benefactive
(fact-help-do)
'fact of helping to do'

(i) à-mú-wá-fún dative
(fact-take-come-for).
'fact of bringing for'

(j) à-bá-mú-wá-fún benefactive
(fact-help-take-come-give)
'fact of helping to bring for'.

These are a few serial verb forms which can undergo prefixation to derive nominalization. Notice that many of the socalled personal names (oríkì 'cognomens') are derived from serial verbs. Consider:

(57) (a) à-bẹ̀-kẹ́ (female)
(fact-beg-pet)
'fact of begging to pet'

(b) à-dù-kẹ́ (female)
(fact-struggle-pet)
'fact of struggling to pet'

(c) à-tún-wá (male)
(fact-again-come)
'fact of arriving again'

(d) à-pín-kẹ́ (female)
(fact divide-pet)
'fact of dividing to pet'

7.2.4 Ideophones as Stems.

Many nominal compounds have ideophonic stems. The productivity of ideophonic prefixation is however severely restrict. By this we mean that the process is not as productive as the verb systems. The reason is partly due to the fact that the ideophones do not have the type of factual information commonly given to derivations of verb systems. Examples are:

(58) (a) ò-birikiti from -birikiti
agent-round 'round'

(b) ọ̀-pẹ́lẹ́ńgẹ́ -pẹ́lẹ́ńgẹ́
agent-slim 'slim'
a slim person

(c) ò-geere — geere
(fact-of running towards) — 'running towards'
'fact of running towards'

(d) ò-sùùrù — sùùrù
(fact-of gushing) — 'gushing'
'fact of gushing'

Notice that (a) and (b) are the same as the habitual agentive prefix /ò-/ we have already discussed while (c) and (d) behave like the factive /à-/ prefix also discussed earlier in 7.1.0. Although we cannot predict accurately what ideophonic stems will take what prefixes to derive nominal compounds, we do have access to the information on both prefixation and ideophonic stems. In the light of this, we suggest that such ideophonic nominal compounds be listed in the lexicon: but there should be filters in the grammar which will filter out the several possibilities to retain what actually occur.

7.3.0 Gerundive Form As A Stem.

There are many nominal compounds in the language which seem to have undergone both the gerundive reduplication and prefixation as witnessed by the following examples:

(59)

	Verb	Gerundive Constituent	Nominalized form (a)	(b)
(a)	Ké 'to cut'	kíké 'cutting'	à-kíké 'that which cuts'	aké 'an axe'
(b)	dí 'to cork'	dídí 'corking'	è-dídí 'that which corks'	edí 'a cork'
(c)	tú 'to discharge'	títú 'discharging'	è-títú 'that which is discharged'	etú 'pus'

(d)	bɔ̀ 'to cover'	bibo 'covering'	à-bɔ̀bɔ̀ 'fact of covering'	àbɔ̀ 'protection'
(e)	yè 'to survive'	yíyè 'surviving'	à-yí yè 'fact of surviving'	àyè 'being alive'
(f)	fà 'to pull'	fífà 'pulling'	ɔ̀-fífà 'agent-gerund pull'	ɔ̀fà[1] (no English gloss)
(g)	gbà 'to get/ agree'	gbígbà 'getting'	ẹ̀-gbígbà (No English gloss)	ẹ̀gbà[1]
(h)	là 'to split'	lílà 'splitting'	à-lílà 'that which divides'	àlà 'a partition'.

There are several forms that derive from this stem. in the language. Notice that the process is neither productive nor recoverable. Even in cases where it is obvious that tone assimilation has applied to obliterate the underlying representation of the gerundive prefix, it is not clear how such a minor rule is to be formulated. Another problem is that the prefixes do not retain their lexical meaning at the simple surface structure. Notice that although the forms have recognizable verbal stems, prefixation has become so opaque that the process cannot be determined.

In the preceding sections we have attempted to show which nominal forms should be listed in the lexicon and which are to be derived. We have argued that all simple-stem nominals, nominal compounds with gerundive-form stems, and some verb nominal stems be listed in the lexicon. These are the unpredictable and non-productive

[1] These are spirits which perform the actions associated with their names.

forms. However, it must be noted that we cannot use the principle of analysiability alone to determine whether one form should be listed in the lexicon or not.

7.3.1 The Genitive NP.

As observed earlier in this chapter (7.0.0) the genitive NP consists of two non-conjoined nouns of which one is the head and the other the attribute. The construction is an endocentric structure. It should be noted that the term possessive is severely restricted so much so that it is inadequate to describe this construction because it expresses many other notions besides that of possession. The following are some of the notions commonly expressed by the construction: habitation, material, location, content, container, for, to, during and cause.

The predicates of the adjoining nouns that express these notions are already deleted before their surface appearance: Consider the following examples:

(60) (a) iná (wà ní) orí iná orí Habitat
'louse (be in) head' (louse head) 'head louse'

(b) 'iná (wà ní) aṣọ' iná aṣọ
louse (be in) clothes (louse clothes) 'clothes louse'

(c) 'eku (wà ní) ilé' eku ilé
rat (be in) house (rat house) 'mouse'

(d) ẹja (wà ní) Okun ẹja òkun
fish (be in) sea (fish sea) (Sea fish'

(e) eku (wà ní) Oko eku oko
rat (be in) farm 'rat bush' 'rat'

(61) (a) àpótí (tí a fi) igi (se) àpótí igi Material
box (that one put) wood (do) (box wood) 'wooden box'

(b) aṣọ (tí a fi) sányán (hun) aṣọ sányán
'cloth (that one put) silk cotton (weave)' 'cloth silk sotton' 'Silk cotton cloth'

(c) ilé (tí a fi) yanrìn (mọ) ilé yanrìn
'house (than one put) sand (build)' 'house sand' 'sand building'

(d) ọtí (tí a fi) ọkà (pọn) ọtí ọkà
'wine (that one put) millet (brew)' (wine millet) 'millet wine'

(62) (a) abẹ́ ilẹ̀ 'under ground' Location

(b) orí òke (head hill) 'top of the hill'

(c) ìràwọ̀ ilẹ̀ (star ground) 'land star' (Borreria Rampisparsa)

(d) etí/apá òkun (ear/arm sea) 'sea side'

(63) (a) epo ìgò (oil bottle) 'bottled oil' content

(b) ẹmu ìgò (palm-wine bottle) 'bottled palm-wine'

(c) ọtí agbè (wine gourd) 'gourd wine'

(d) ẹmu ìṣà (palm-wine pot) 'pot palm wine'

(64) (a) ìgò epo (bottle oil) 'oil bottle' container

(b) ìgò ẹmu (bottle palm-wine) 'palm-wine bottle'

(c) agbè ọtí (gourd wine) 'wine gourd'

(d) ìṣà ẹmu (pot palm-wine) 'palm-wine pot'

Additional groups could still be identified such as temporal group in which the deleted predicate might conceivably be NI '(occurring) IN' such groups will include NPs like those below.

(65) (a) òjò (ní) òwúrọ̀ (rain) (occurring) (in) morning) 'morning rain'

(b) òrùn (ní) alẹ́ (sun) (in) (evening) 'evening sun'

(c) ìrì (ní) òwúrọ̀ (dew) (in) (morning) 'morning dew'

7.3.2 The Pseudo-Possessive Constructions.

Even some of the genitive structures with overt possession interpretations have the 'recoverable deleted predicates' in their underlying structures. Consider the following examples:

(66) (a) ọ̀nà (sí) oko (road (to) farm) 'road TO the farm'
SÍ DEL

(b) ọ̀nà (sí) ìgbẹ́ (road (to) bush) (road (TO) the bush)
'footpath'

(c) ọ̀nà (fún) ọkọ̀ (road (for) vehicle) 'motorway'
FÚN DEL

(d) ọ̀pá (fún) aṣọ (stick (for) cloth) 'yardstick[1]

What is clearly appreciable in the genitive construction is that the semantic relationship of modification is preserved by the syntactic configuration of post-nominal element plus head noun; a glace at the wide variety of post nominal nouns possible in Yorùbá, as illustrated above, indicates that all post-nominal nouns are interpreted as modifiers of the preceding nouns. So the transformation of a proposition to a two-element NP consistently preserves the information as to which element is the head noun and which is the modifier, by means of the syntactic device of word order.

7.3.3 The Possessive Construction.

The type of ambiguity that the genitive construction is open to is clearly evident in the possessive

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[1] This could mean either yardstick or a yard of cloth in some dialects but in SY it is 'yardstick'.

structures. Consider:

(67) ẹja ọ̀jó (fish ojo) 'Ojo's fish'

which has at the very least the following interpretations:

(68) (a) ẹja tí ọ̀jó ní (fish that Ojo has)
'The fish which Ojo owns'

(b) ẹja tí ọ̀jó pa (fish that ojo kill)
'The fish which Ojo caught'

(c) ẹja tí Ọ̀jó ń sìn (fish that Ojo -ing tend)
'Ojo's pet fish'

(d) ẹja tí Ọ̀jó rà (fish that Ojo buy)
'The fish which Ojo bought'

(e) ẹja tí Ọ̀jó á jẹ (fish that Ojo will eat)
'The fish that Ojo will eat'

Similarly, are the nouns 'àwòrán 'picture' ìròhìn 'news' and ọ̀rọ̀ 'statement' when they occur in possession constructions involving nouns with features [+ Animate] [+ human].

Consider the following examples:

(69) (a) Awòrán Adé (picture Ade) 'Ade's picture'

(b) Awòrán tí Adé yà (picture which Ade draw)
'The picture drawn by Ade'

(c) Awòrán tí Adé hàn ní bẹ̀
(picture which Ade appear in there)
'A photograph of Ade'

(d) Awòrán tí Adé ní (picture which Ade has)
'Ade's picture'

Notice that the only rule that applies to derive the possessive constructions from relative clauses, is the elementary rule of Deletion, which deletes every item except the head noun and the attributive noun.

7.3.4 The Appositive Construction-

Bamgbose (1966: 109) observes quite correctly that an appositive construction results 'if the nominal' that is the attribute, can be substituted for the head in the context. By this, he means that the two nouns that form the appositive construction are referentially identical. Consider:

(70) Adé gbẹ́nàgbẹ́nà (Ade Carpenter) 'Ade the carpenter'

(71) dókítà òyìnbó (doctor European) 'A European doctor'

Notice that (70) and (71) are derived from restrictive relative clauses (see Chapter IV above). In both cases, two verbs, namely ṣe and jẹ both meaning 'to be' are involved. Consider:

(72) Adé tí í ṣe gbẹ́nàgbẹ́nà wá sí ibí
(Ade who he be carpenter come to here)
'Ade the carpenter came here'

which is the underlying representation of (70) while (73) below is the underlying representation of (71).

(73) Mo rí dókítà tí o jé òyìnbó
(I see dokita who he be European)
'I saw a European doctor'

Like the genitive structure discussed in the preceding sections the elementary rule of Deletion deletes all items of the relative clause leaving behind the two referentially identical nouns of the appositive construction.

To sum up, both the possessive and the appositive constructions are similar in that they are both endocentric structures consisting of two nouns of which one is the head and the other the modifier or the attribute. They are both

derived from the relative clause constructions. However, there is a major difference between the two. The attribute of the appositive construction is referrable to its head noun while the modifier and the modified nouns of the generitive construction are not referentially identical.

CONCLUSION

The present study has been carried out with dual purpose viz: to provide an accurate account of the process of nominalization in Yorùbá, and from such an account make some useful general deductions about the natural language and theories about it. One justification for undertaking a Transformational Generative analysis of a language is the expectation that it might give greater insight into language by showing how grammatical categories fit together and by making some contribution to linguistic theory. This consideration has guided our approach to the analysis presented in this thesis. We have adhered to the principle of 'levels of adequacy for Grammatical theory', that is, observational, descriptive, and explanatory adequacies in our analysis.

We have strictly observed the language data and made it our guiding principle. Also we have resisted the temptation of forcing the Yorùbá language data into a descriptive mould designed for Indo-European languages, and, which may not necessarily fit Yorùbá as well as it fits, say, the English language; a temptation into which the traditional Yorùbá Grammarians had fallen.

Yet, if a linguistic theory has any value, it lies partly in its general applicability to any human language no matter wherever it is spoken. For example it is the case that all human languages have Noun Phrases, and Verb Phrases, and most if not all have such syntactic processes as Pronominalization, Relativization, Reflexivization, and probably Equi-NP Deletion. This leads naturally to our belief in the Universal Base Hypothesis. However, how each of these syntactic operations is formally characterised will surely vary from one

language to another.

Several conclusions are inevitable from our treatment of the syntax and semantics of Yorùbá nominalizations, and the implications for a theory of language. First, the processes that produce nominalizations produce infinite forms as the sentences of any human language. It is as impossible to write a dictionary of sentences as it is impossible to write a dictionary of nominalizations. What is needed is a mechanism which will-produce nominalizations.

Our analysis of nominalization in Yorùbá has proved that morphology is essential to the derivational processes of compound nominals. (See Chapters II & VII). In fact, we hope that our description has shown that for a language like Yorùbá, a separate morphological component on the same level with the syntax-semantic and phonological components is needed in order to be able to give an adequate Yorùbá word derivation. Our theory has to be able to distinguish between information which has to be recorded in the lexicon, and the information which is predictable and can be obtained outside of the lexicon.

Chomsky and the lexicalists claim that only gerundive nominals but not the derived nominals could be generated by the same phrase structure rules of the base that generate sentences. We have demonstrated that these restrictions do not apply to Yorùbá because the characteristics of Yorùbá sentences are also found in the derived nominals in the language. We hope we have demonstrated successfully that syntactic transformations are possible before P1 level, that is, the phonological level at which, Chomsky argues, all syntactic transformations should take place.

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BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
CLS	Papers from the Regional Meetings of Chicago Linguistic Society.
FL	Foundations of Language.
IULC	Indiana University Linguistic Club.
JAL	Journal of African Languages.
JWAL	Journal of West African Languages.
JL	Linguistic Inquiry.
SAL	Studies in African Linguistics.
CUP	Cambridge University Press.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
ULP	University of London Press.
EUP	English University Press.

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