

SELECTED SYNTACTIC PROCESSES IN THE ŞÚPÁRÈ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ
LANGUAGE

BY

FRANCIS OLAYINKA, ADEFABI

B.A. (AAUA), M.A. (UNIBEN)

(PG/ART1918673)

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS STUDIES,
FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF BENIN,
BENIN CITY, NIGERIA.

AUGUST, 2025

SELECTED SYNTACTIC PROCESSES IN THE ŞÚPÁRÈ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ
LANGUAGE

BY

FRANCIS OLAYINKA, ADEFABI

B.A. (AAUA), M.A. (UNIBEN)

(PG/ART1918673)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PH. D)
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS STUDIES,
FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF BENIN,
BENIN CITY, NIGERIA.

SUPERVISOR:

PROF. L.C. YUKA

MAY, 2025

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Francis Olayinka, Adefabi in the Department of Linguistics Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria.

Student

Signature _____

Date _____

Supervisor

Signature _____

Date _____

Head of Department

Signature _____

Date _____

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God who has granted me the strength to do it. I also dedicate it to my lovely wife (Oluwaseun Ojo), my son (Adefabi Stephen) and my daughters (Adefabi Dorcas and Adefabi Hannah).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will like to express my appreciation to the Almighty God who has supplied everything needed for this PhD programme. The Almighty has not failed even when everything that I least expected failed. My entire life has been full of the mercy of God in all ramifications. No doubt, the last few years have been full of a lot of challenges but the Almighty God took me through all of them. May His Name be glorified forever in Jesus Name (Amen)

I will also like to express my gratitude to all the people that the Almighty God has blessed me with all through this programme. I appreciate their encouragement and support. It has been a memorable experience with you.

I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor L. C Yuka, for consistently being there for me to read all my drafts, give comments and advise me on how to go about the thesis. He patiently and selflessly took me through the journey of being a Linguist. I cannot thank him enough for what I have learnt from him.

I am very grateful to all the lecturers of the Department of Linguistics Studies: Prof. L.C. Yuka, Prof. C.U.C. Ugorji, Prof. E.M. Omoregbe, Prof. M.S. Agbo, Prof. E.O. Okoyo-Eweto and all other lecturers that time will not permit me to mention. I thank all of you for your support and constructive criticisms geared towards improving me in the world of Linguistics.

My sincere appreciation also goes to all my course mates and research colleagues in the Department of Linguistics Studies: Fisayo Ajala and Deborah Chukwu for their comments, encouragement and support. You are all wonderful.

I am very grateful for my wife (Oluwaseun Adefabi) and children (Adefabi Stephen, Adefabi Dorcas and Adefabi Hannah) for their understanding and support during this PhD programme. I cherish and adore you more than any king and queen in the world.

I also thank my special friends, Abdulbasit Abdulsalam and Emmanuel Adesida for their diverse contributions to my success in this PhD programme.

ABSTRACT

This study examines selected syntactic processes (negation, WH-constructions and relative constructions) in the Šúpàré dialect of Yorùbá, a variety spoken in southwestern Nigeria. The research seeks to identify the structural properties that distinguish Šúpàré from Standard Yorùbá and to highlight the dialect's unique strategies for clause formation.

Data were collected through elicitation and validation from competent native speakers of Šúpàré across different quarters of the speech community. Analysis reveals that each syntactic operation requires two obligatory markers: one in sentence-initial or post-subject position and another in sentence-final position. In relative clauses, the subject argument is obligatorily filled with a resumptive pronoun, unlike Standard Yorùbá where the position remains empty. WH-constructions are realised through split interrogative markers at two syntactic positions, with no involvement of the focus marker “ni”. Negation is achieved through tonal alternations and low-tone syllables, in contrast to the segmental negator “kò” in Standard Yorùbá.

The findings are interpreted within the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986), which explains the observed patterns as outcomes of universal grammatical principles shaped by dialect-specific parametric settings. In particular, the study shows that Šúpàré grammar recognises the Aspectual Phrase as an independent projection, providing evidence for parametric variation in Yorùbá syntax.

By documenting these features, the research contributes to comparative Yorùbá dialectology, advances the understanding of parametric variation in Niger-Congo languages and offers fresh insights into the interaction between universal principles and dialect-specific syntax.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Why focus on the Grammar of a Dialect?	1
1.3 The Şúpàrè Dialect	3
1.4 Research Topic	7
1.5 Motivation of Study	8
1.6 Aim and Objective of Study	17
1.7 Research Questions	17
1.8 Methodology	18
1.9 The Tone Convention	20
1.10 Significance of the Study	21

1.11 Scope of Study	21
1.12 Summary	22
CHAPTER TWO	23
LITERATURE REVIEW	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Conceptual Review	23
2.2.1 Negative Construction	23
2.2.2 Negation in Yorùbá and Dialects	24
2.2.3 WH-Construction (Interrogative Structures)	25
2.2.4 WH-Construction Across Languages	25
2.2.5 WH-Questions in Yorùbá and Dialects	25
2.2.6 Relative Construction	26
2.3 Empirical Studies	29
2.3.1 WH-Construction	29
2.3.2 Relative Clause Constructions	33
2.3.3 Negative Clause Constructions	36
2.4 Issues from the Previous Works	42
2.5 Principles and Parameters Theory	43
2.5 Summary	45
CHAPTER THREE	45

WH-CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ	45
3.1 Introduction	45
3.2 Constituent Movement and its Trace	46
3.3 The Wh-markers	47
3.3.1 Resumptive Wh-Markers	49
3.3.2 kí (what)	50
3.3.3 Èsí (who)	53
3.3.4 kí (how)	58
3.3.5 Trace wh-markers	61
3.3.6 Ìgbà ní (When)	61
3.3.7 Ibo ní (where)	63
3.4 Summary	66
CHAPTER FOUR	68
RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ	68
4.1 Introduction	68
4.2 The Relative Marker	68
4.3 The Internal Structure of a Relative Clause	73
4.4 The Resumptive Pronoun and Argument Positions	76
4.5 Summary	86
CHAPTER FIVE	87

NEGATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ	87
5.1 Introduction.....	87
5.2. The Negative Marker in Şúpàrè.....	87
5.3 Negation in Aspectual Constructions.....	101
5.3.1. Perfective Aspect.....	104
5.3.2 Inchoative Aspect.....	112
5.3.3 Progressive Aspect.....	119
5.3.4. Iterative Aspect.....	126
5.3.5 Stacking of Aspectual Markers.....	128
5.3.6. Habitual Aspect.....	134
5.4. Summary.....	138
CHAPTER SIX.....	139
FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	139
6.1 Introduction.....	139
6.2 Findings.....	139
6.3 Recommendations.....	141
References.....	144

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: Yorùbá Language Family Tree

Figure 2: South East Yorùbá Dialect Tree

Table 3: Şúpàrè Vowel Sounds

Table 4: Şúpàrè Consonant Sounds

Table 5: Phonological comparison of Şúpàrè and the standard Yorùbá

Table 6: Allomorphic distribution of the Resumptive wh-markers

Table 7: Arguments and their Phi-features

Table 8: Rule Description

Table 9: Sequential Arrangement of Aspects

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- FOC – Focus Marker
- PL – Plural Marker
- REL – Relative Marker
- 3P-SG – Third Person Singular Pronoun
- 3P-PL – Third Person Plural Pronoun
- HTS – High Tone Syllable
- PREP – Preposition
- 3P-POSS – Third Person Possessive Marker
- S/N – Serial Number
- INT – Interrogative Marker
- 2P-PL - Second Person Plural Pronoun
- 1P-SG-OBJ – First Person Singular Object Pronoun
- LTS – Low Tone Syllable
- INT₁ – First Interrogative Marker
- INT₂ – Second Interrogative Marker
- 1P-SG-OBJ – First Person Singular Object Pronoun
- 3P-PL - Third Person Plural Pronoun
- PROG – Progressive Marker
- NEG – Negative Marker
- PST – Past Tense Form of the Verb
- 1SG-SUBJ – First Person Singular Subject Pronoun
- NEG – Negative Marker

2PL-SUB – Second Person Plural Subject Pronoun

Obj-Arg – Object Argument

InterP – Interrogative Phrase

QPI - Question Polarity Item

Agr – Agreement Marker

ASP-PERF – Perfective Aspectual Marker

1-SG-SUBJ – First Person Singular Pronoun

3-PL-SUBJ – Third Person Plural Subject Pronoun

1-SG-OBJ – First Person Singular Object Pronoun

3-PL-OBJ – Third Person Plural Object Pronoun

3-SG-OBJ – Third Person Singular Object Pronoun

2-SG-SUBJ – Second Person Singular Subject Pronoun

1-SG-OBJ – First Person Singular Object Pronoun

FUT – Future Tense Marker

PL – Plural Marker

REL – Relative Marker

DET – Determiners

NEG – Negative Marker

NegP – Negation Phrase

3-SG-POSS – Third Person Singular Possessive Marker

ASP-PERF – Perfective Aspectual Marker

PAO: Positive Aspectual Marker

NAO: Negative Aspectual Marker

CONJ – Conjunction

ASP.INCH – Inchoative Aspectual Marker

ASP-ITE - Iterative Aspectual Marker

ASP-HAB – Habitual Aspectual Marker

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Human language is a creative system that enables speakers to generate and interpret novel utterances (Chomsky, 1965; Oyebade, 1998). This ability stems from linguistic competence, the unconscious knowledge that allows native speakers to produce and decode unlimited sentences, both simple and complex (Finigan, 2004; Ndimele, 2003). Native speakers judge the acceptability of utterances intuitively (Haegeman, 1991) and such competence is distinct from performance, which is affected by external factors.

Basic clauses in language are characterized by the presence of a single finite verb, core clausal elements such as subject and complement and the possibility of affirmation or negation (Bamgbose, 1986; Adejube, 2020). More complex structures are derived through syntactic operations. Since competence is language-specific and shaped by culture, one dialect cannot fully represent another. Hence, grammar books codify rules for each language or dialect as a concrete reflection of abstract knowledge.

This linguistic variability underlies the divergence between Standard Yorùbá and the Šúpàrè dialect. The present study is motivated by these differences and investigates points of divergence in selected syntactic operations.

1.2 Why focus on the Grammar of a Dialect?

Language has been defined as the human specific natural feature that aid communication via its naturally endowed expressive tools that foster unity among a group of people (Sapir, 1921; Bloch & Trager, 1942; Crystal, 1985). A dialect is the internal variation of a language. A dialect is identified by the socio-cultural colouration (Petyt, 1980). Each of these internal variants is

assumed to have some historical connections with one another. Therefore, a language is not a homogenous speech form but a collection of some sub-regional differentiated speech form attributed to the same source.

According to Claire (2000), culture is embedded in the language. The language is the pointer to the degree of cultural richness of a group of people. It therefore means that the development of a language cannot be separated from its cultural development since language is an important indicator of the culture of a people. Different regions of the same speech area can breathe unique cultures (a variant of a language with identifiable difference from the standard form) signifying the richness in the cultural endowment of the entire speech/language community. The aftermath of the geographically defined socio-cultural variation is known as Dialect. In other words, the unique features of each dialect within the Yorùbá speech area shows the richness of the Yoruba language.

More so, dialects carry regional culture. All dialects of a single language are assumed to share the same cultural and historical connections in their historical development. By regional culture we mean, the uniqueness of each sub-community area under a speech community where a language is being spoken. Since dialects are the variations of a language with remarkable differences, each dialect has the capacity to change over a period of time at the exclusion of the other dialects of the same language. The transformations in a dialect can be influenced by several factors including contact with other cultures (Zhou & You, 2006).

Dialects help to define the standard dialect in terms of the comprehensive features of the language. Dialect grammars show the features that either originate from the standard dialect to the other dialects of the language or the features that originate from the dialects to the language grammar. Features that get into a language through the standard dialect gets standardized. This

standardization therefore increases its number of users for many purposes across the domains of the language.

Harmer (2001) observes that grammar is the description of the ways in which lexical items of a language can change their forms and can be combined into bigger utterances in the language. Lado (1957) also recognizes grammar as the study of the rules that are assumed to be the students' guide on what the language approves and what the language detests. In Lado's view, grammar is therefore the tool to transfer the knowledge of a language to the young generation. We can simply say that grammar is a compendium of the workings of a language. In other words, what makes a language to fulfil its communicative function is the grammar.

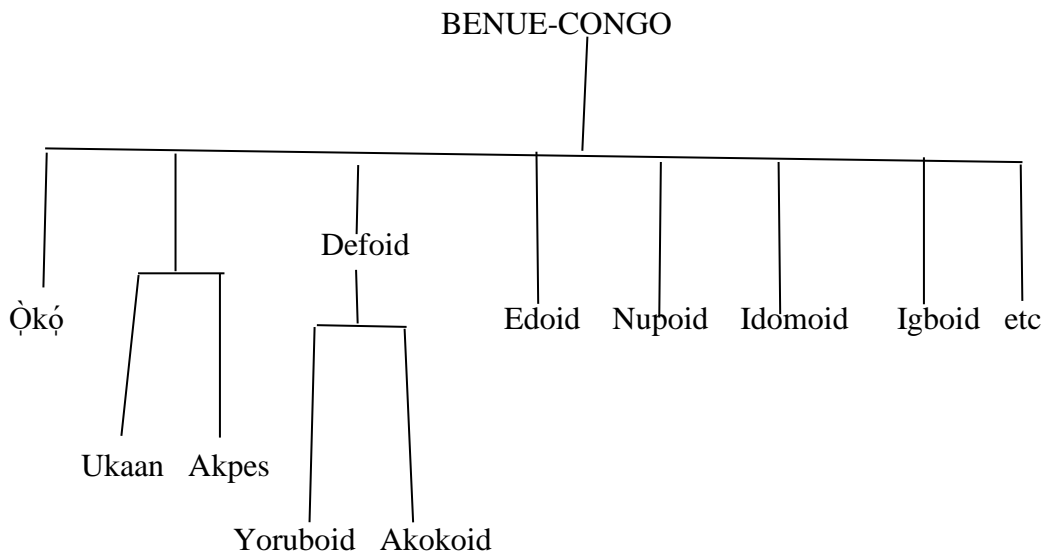
According to Cheshire and Edwards (1998), each dialect develops individually to bring out their culturally and geographically relevant features. The personal development of each dialect is triggered by the culturally relevant features that is inherent in them. The combination of a speech form and all its mutually intelligible variants makes up a language. In other words, the prestige of the standard dialect over the other dialects of the same language is a matter of preference for official use.

It is through the eyes of the dialects of a language that we can standardize a language since standardization is a continuous process. The different studies on the dialects of a language will lead to the expansion of the standard dialect to accommodate the desired features of the language. Therefore, the study of the dialect grammars is a good determiner of the scope of the standard dialect of a language.

1.3 The Şúpàrè Dialect

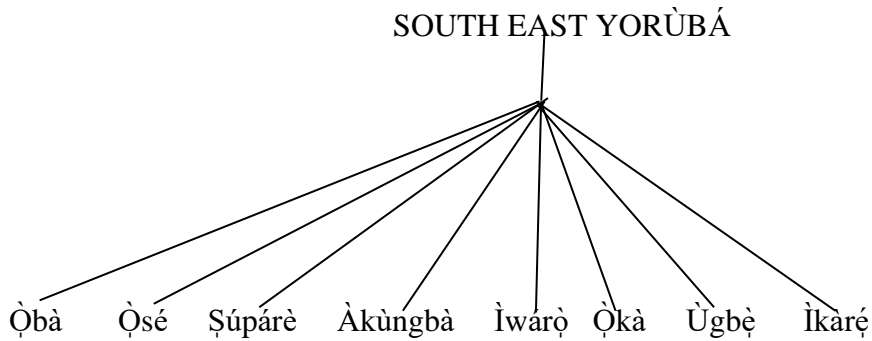
Yorùbá language is classified under the Benue Congo language family (Williamson, 1989). Şúpàrè has been classified as a dialect of Yorùbá (Crozier & Blench, 1992; Oshodi, 2011). Şúpàrè dialect has been categorized alongside other dialects as the South East Yorùbá dialects (Awobuluyi, 1998; Adeniyi, 2010). The name Şúpàrè is used to refer to the people who are geographically situated in Şúpàrè Akoko in the Akoko South-West Local Government Area of Ondo State as well as the speech form that serves as their means of communication. Şúpàrè therefore reflects the Şúpàrè people and the Şúpàrè dialect of the Yorùbá language. Şúpàrè with latitude 5° 43'E and longitude 7° 25'N is approximately 100km from the State Capital (Ojo, 2012).

Figure 1: Yorùbá Language Family Tree



Some language families of Nigeria (Adapted from Yusuf, 2007, p.18)

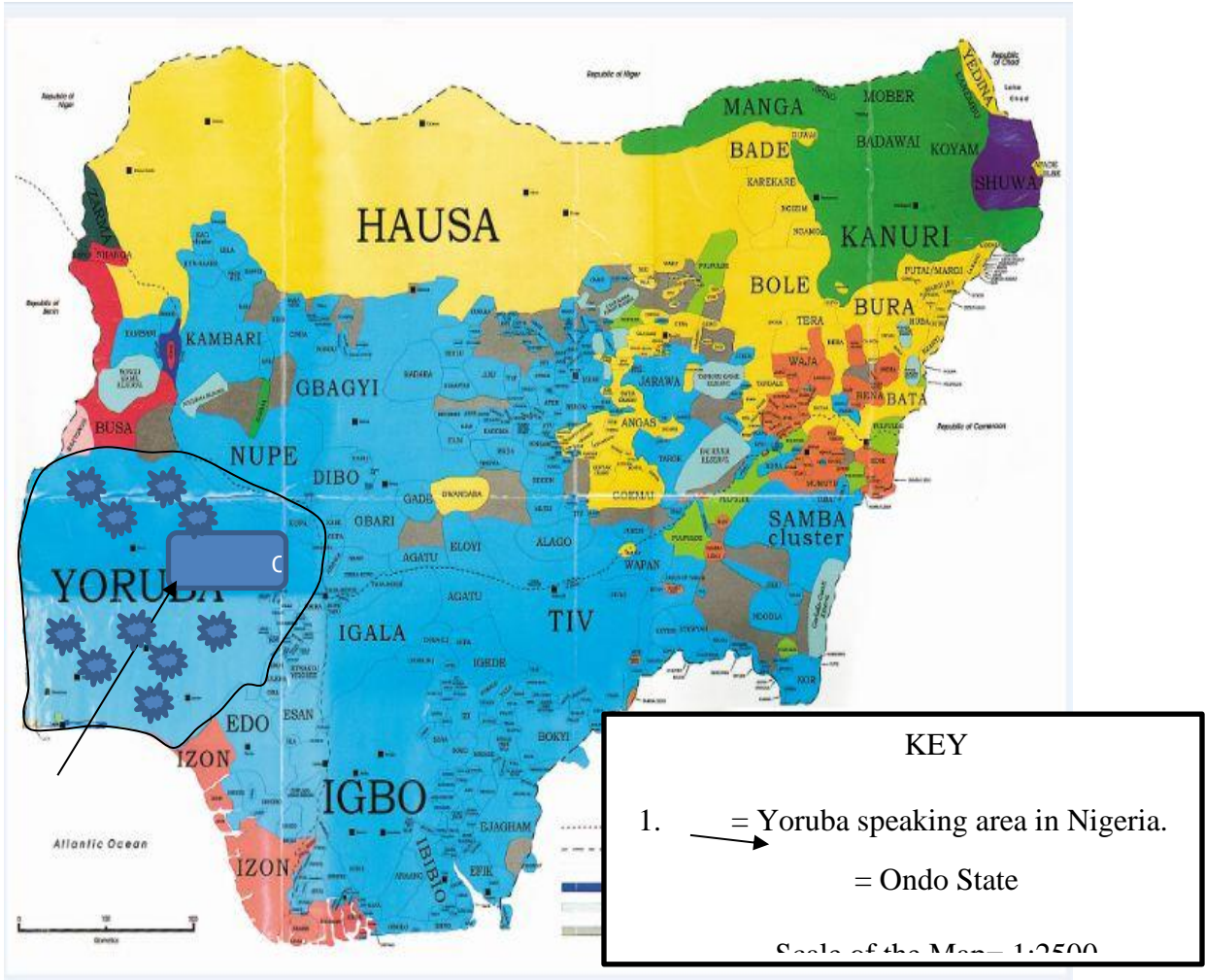
Figure 2: South East Yorùbá Dialect Tree



(Awobuluyi, 1998, pp.2-3); Olumuyiwa & Oshodi, 2012, p.3)

While the figure “A” above shows the Benue-Congo language family tree where the Yoruba language can be found, the figure “B” shows the South East Dialects of the Yorùbá Language where Şúpàré can be located. The Şúpàré dialect is the form of the Yorùbá language spoken in Şúpàré Àkókó and Etí-Òró Àkókó both located in the Akoko South West Local Government Area of Ondo State. This linguistic area is about 100km from Akure (the state capital of Ondo State) with latitude 5° 43’E and longitude 7° 25’N (Ojo, 2012, p.12).

Figure C: The Map of Nigeria Showing Ondo State in the Yoruba Speaking Region



(<http://www.nigerdelta.gov.ng/index.php>)

The figure “C” above is the map of Nigeria showing the Yorùbá speaking area in Nigeria. The arrow points to the location of Ondo State in the Yorùbá speaking region while the stars indicate the Yorùbá speaking area in Nigeria. The figure “D” below shows the Map of Ondo state showing the Akoko South West Local Government Area of Ondo state (indicated by the arrow).

1.4 Research Topic

According to the researchers who proposed Cultural Linguistics (Palmer, 1996; Sharifian, 2011, 2015), the cultural differences of each of the Yorùbá speaking areas allow self-growth of each dialect. This self-growth of the dialects leads to the differences in the manifestation of the internal properties of the language grammar. The extent of the diversion of one dialect from the other is directly proportional to the richness of the diverging dialect. The relativity in the cultural richness of the Yorùbá speaking areas across the world accounts for why some Yorùbá dialects are relatively similar to the Standard dialect while some other dialects of the same Yorùbá language relatively diverge. This is the case for the divergence between the Šúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá. Hence, the choice of Šúpàrè as the dialect of study. Our preliminary investigation shows that the divergence between the standard Yorùbá and the Šúpàrè dialect is mostly concentrated in the different syntactic operations employed in achieving the different transformations in the two dialects. Hence, the present study on Syntactic Operations in the Šúpàrè dialect.

According to Yusuf (1998), the core transformations in the Yorùbá syntax are the Relative Construction, Negative Construction, Focus Construction and Wh-interrogative Constructions. However, this present study will exclude Focus Construction from its scope because similar research on the Focus Construction in Šúpàrè was recently carried out in this same research institution by the same researcher. In this recent research, Adefabi (2018) reports that the Focus Phrase in Šúpàrè houses two near identical morphemes that jointly project the Focus Phrase.

This research will therefore open up the working principles of the Šúpàrè grammar (as a dialect of Yorùbá full of interesting linguistic features). Part of the justifications for this study is therefore the need to account for the basic grammatical features that trigger the divergence

between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá. This research will therefore display the language distinctive qualities of the Şúpàrè dialect with regards to the various syntactic constituents under review (Chomsky, 1981). In essence, this research is therefore set to account for the aspect of the formal grammar of the Şúpàrè dialect. With this research, we will establish a sound footing for a further description of the features of the Şúpàrè dialect.

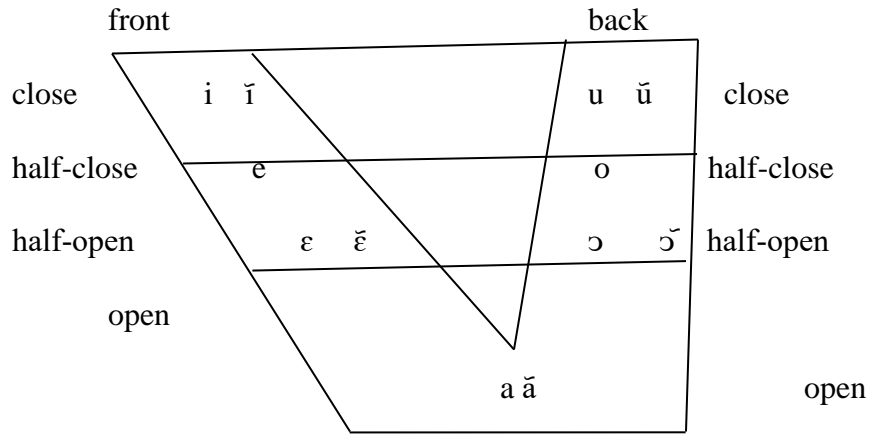
1.5 Motivation of Study

The present research is motivated by the several grammatical differences that are found across the different levels of language description between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá. The divergences show the parametric variations that exist in the Yorùbá language. The different choices made by the different dialects of the language reflects as the differences across the different grammatical levels of the Yorùbá language. These discrepancies across the different levels of formal language description make it imperative for this kind of research to be honoured. According to Arokoyo and Lagunju (2019), there are several divergent areas between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá. Some of the key pointers to the parametric variations between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá include:

- I. Şúpàrè is governed by a different set of phonotactic constraints. Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where vowel sounds [u] (the high back vowel sound) and [ɛn] (the –HTR mid front nasal vowel) are not productive in the word initial and word final positions respectively (Bamgbose, 1990), these sounds are very much productive in the Şúpàrè dialect. Take for instance:

According to Adefabi (2022) the following are the vowel and consonant phonemes attested in segments found in Supare.

Table 3: Şúpàrè Vowel Sounds



Oral Vowel Sound: /a/, /e/, /ɔ/, /ɛ/, /o/, /u/ and /i/

Nasal Vowel Sounds: /ã/, /ɔ̃/, /ẽ/, /ũ/ and /ĩ/

The vowel chart above shows the description of the phonemic vowel sounds in Şúpàrè. While there are seven phonemic oral sounds and seven phonemic nasal sounds in the dialect. The vowel chart also shows the place of articulation as well as the manner of articulation. Just like the standard and all its dialects, all the vowel sounds in Şúpàrè are voiced in nature (Bamgbose, 1990).

Table 4: Şúpàrè Consonant Sounds

	Bilabi	L	L	Al	P	P	V	G
al		abio-dental	abio-Velar	veolar	alato-Alveolar	alatal	elar	lottal
ve	Plosi	b	kp gb	t d			k g	

ive	Fricat	f		s	ʃ		ɣ	h
ate	Affric				ɖʒ			
	Trill			r				
oximant	Appr		w			j		
al	Later			l				
	Nasal	m		n				

The consonant chart above has shown the nineteen phonemic consonant sounds attested in Šúpàrè.

Consonant Sounds: /b, m, n, ɣ, w, k, kp, r, d, t, l, gb, s, ʃ, ɖʒ, f, g, h, j/

Plosive: [b, k, g, kp, gb, d, t]

Fricatives: [b, s, ʃ, f, h, ɣ]

Affricates: [ɖʒ]

Trill: [r]

Approximant: [w, j]

Lateral: [l]

Nasal: [m, n]

Voiced Consonants: [b, m, n, w, , r, d, l, gb, ɖ, g, j]

Voiceless Sounds: [ɣ, k, kp, t, s, ʃ, f, h]

Table 5: Phonological comparison of Şúpàrè and the standard Yorùbá

S/N	Standard Yorùbá	Şúpàrè Dialect	Gloss
i.	Ìdun	Ìɖen	Bedbug
ii.	ìgbín	Ùgbén	Snail
iii.	ìrin	Ùrɛn	Walk
iv.	ìgbá	Ùgbá	Calabash
v.	ìrin	Ùrɛn	Iron

Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where the high back vowel [u] cannot be found at the word initial position, this vowel (just like every other vowel in the Şúpàrè dialect) is functional without restriction in the dialect. According to Bamgbose (1990) and Awobuluyi (2013), the only example of the nasal vowel “ɛn” in the standard Yorùbá is “ìyɛn” (that). On the other hand, “ɛn” is phonologically productive in the Şúpàrè dialect.

II. Our preliminary research shows that the Şúpàrè dialect contains the Voiced Velar Fricative (/ɣ/) that are not found in the Standard dialect. Take for instance:

1 **Şúpàrè**

- i. [èɣɛ̃] “you” (plural),
- ii. [ɛɣɛ̃] “egg”,
- iii. [ùɣɛ̃] “walk”

- iv. [uɣě] “iron”
- v. [èyĩ] “laughter”

III. Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where the third person subject argument of an internal clause is empty (Awobuluyi, 2013), Şúpàrè always fills the subject argument position with a resumptive pronoun that must agree with the antecedent in terms of number features (Adefabi, 2013). Take for instance:

2 Standard Yorùbá

- i. Ọmọ tí ó pè mí
Child REL HTS call me
“The child who called me”
- ii. Dayọ tí ó fi ìwé pè wá
Dayo REL HTS use book call us
“Dayo that invited us”
- iii. Àwọn ọmọ tí ó ra mọtò fún bàbá wọn
PL child REL HTS buy car PREP father 3P-POSS
“The Children that bought a car for their father”

3 Şúpàrè Dialect

- i. Ọmọ iyí ò ó pè mi
Child REL 3P-SG HTS call me
“The child who called me”
- ii. Dayọ iyí ò ó hun ìwé pè wa
Dayo REL 3P-SG HTS use book call us
“Dayo that invited us”

- iii. Òwọ̀n ọmọ ìyí ọ ọ ra mọ̀tò hún iba wọ̀n
 PL child REL 3P-PL HTS buy car PREP father 3P-POSS
 “The Children that bought a car for their father”

Data 2 and 3 above show the difference in the internal structure of the relative construction in the standard Yorùbá and the Şúpàrè dialect. While Şúpàrè always fills the subject argument position of the internal clause with a pronoun that has the same phi-feature (number feature) with its antecedents (the subject argument that is relativized) in a relative construction, the position is always left empty in the standard Yorùbá. According to Awobuluyi (2008) and Adefabi (2013), the differences in the internal structure of the Relative Construction in the two dialects should actually compel us to have separate studies of the grammar of the two dialects.

IV. Adefabi (2018) reports that, the Şúpàrè focus constructions contain two focus markers as well as two different syntactic positions unlike in the standard dialect where there exists only one focus marker and one syntactic position. Take for instance:

4. Şúpàrè Dialects

- i Wálé ra Ulí
 Wale buy house
 “Wale bought “Wale bought A HOUSE.”
- iii. [_{Foc}’ Ulí [_{Foc}’ ni [_I’ wálé [_V’ rà [_{Foc}’ ní]]]]]
 House FOC wale buy FOC
 “Wale bought A HOUSE.”

(Adefabi, 2018, p. 19)

It can be observed that, there are two near identical focus markers (at two different syntactic positions) that are obligatory in a single Şúpàrè focus constructions. On the other hand, only one

focus marker exists in the standard Yorùbá. The implication of this dichotomy is an obvious pointer to that fact that there are many areas of divergence between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard dialect. Hence, the need to have an investigation of the grammar of the Şúpàrè dialect since the standard dialect cannot give us a true reflection of the Şúpàrè dialect.

V. Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where the focus marker {ni} is an obligatory part of the wh-question, (Awobuluyi, 2013), the focus marker does not partake in question formation in some Yorùbá dialects like Şúpàrè (Owolabi, 1995). Another supporting evidence for a need of Şúpàrè grammar is the fact that, the Interrogative Marker in Şúpàrè is a split of two morphemes at two different syntactic positions unlike in the standard dialect. Take for instance:

5. Standard Yorùbá

i. kí ni olú rà?

INT FOC Olu buy

“What did Olu buy?”

ii. kí ni wón sọ?

INT FOC 3P-PL say

“What did they say?”

iii. kí ni ẹ fẹ bá mi sọ?

INT FOC 2P-PL want meet 1P-SG-OBJ say

“What do you want to discuss with me?”

6. Şúpàrè Dialect

i. kí Olú ù rà á?

INT₁ Olu LTS buy INT₂

“What did Olu buy?”

- ii. kí ọ ọ fọ ọ?
INT₁ 3P-PL LTS say INT₂

“What did they say?”

- iii. kí é è yá bá mi fọ ọ?
INT₁ 2P-PL LTS want meet 1P-SG-OBJ say INT₂

“What do you want to discuss with me?”

It can also be noted from data 5-6 above that while the interrogative marker is a single morpheme in the standard Yorùbá, the interrogative marker in the Šúpàrè dialect contains two different morphemes of different morphological shapes and at two different syntactic positions. It is also noted that the Šúpàrè Interrogative Construction seeks the help of the Low Tone Syllable (LTS) in question formation (Yuka & Adefabi, 2016)

VI. While Negation is achieved through a segmental morpheme in the standard Yorùbá, Negation is achieved via the use of supra-segmental morphemes and tone polarisation in the Šúpàrè dialect (Yuka & Adefabi, 2016). For example:

7. Standard Yorùbá

- i. Olú ń lọ sí ọjà
Olu PROG go PREP market

“Olu is going to the market”

- ii. Olú lọ sí ọjà
Olu go PREP market

“Olu went to the market”

- iii. Olú kò lọ sí ojà
Olu NEG go PREP market
“Olu did not go to the market”

8. Şúpàrè Dialect

- i. Olú í re ojà
Olú. PROG go market
“Olu is going to the market”

- ii. Olú yú ojà
Olu go-pst market
“Olu went to the market”

- iii. Olú ù yú ojà
Olu NEG go-pst market
“Olu did not go to the market”

The data above shows that negation is achieved in the Şúpàrè dialect using a different syntactic operation from the standard Yorùbá. While the standard dialect uses the segmental element (kò) to achieve negation, Şúpàrè uses a low tone (as a supra-segmental feature) alongside tone polarisation to achieve negation.

It can also be observed that unlike in the standard Yorùbá where there is no overt tense marking (data 7 i-iii above), the Şúpàrè data (8i-iii above) shows that the dialect has some fragments of tense features. While “re” (to go) is the present tense of the verb in the data 8 above in Şúpàrè, the past tense is “yú” (went).

Based on the fore arguments as well as the motivations, there is a compelling need to have a study like this (as an aspect of the Şúpàrè grammar) because:

- a. There are wide differences between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard dialect across all levels of language description;
- b. The grammar of a language is not static but an evolving reality of human language;
- c. The evolving nature of human language has also accounted for the existence of multiple grammar books even in the standard Yorùbá (just as it is in other languages);
- d. Depending on the standard Yorùbá to account for the nature of the Şúpàrè dialect despite the multiplicity of differences is an unjust way of appreciating this natural gift of man.

1.6 Aim and Objectives of Study

The aim of this research is to investigate selected syntactic operations in the Şúpàrè dialect of Yorùbá and to account for their divergence from Standard Yorùbá within the Principles and Parameters framework.

The specific objectives are to:

- i. examine the strategies employed in the expression of negation in Şúpàrè as well as account for all the markers in the realisation of negative expression;
- ii. analyze the structure of WH-constructions in Şúpàrè, highlighting the distribution of interrogative markers and their syntactic implications;
- iii. investigate the nature of relative clause formation in Şúpàrè, particularly the obligatory use of resumptive pronouns;
- iv. establish the role of Aspect in Şúpàrè clause structure and determine whether it functions as an independent syntactic projection;

- v. demonstrate how the identified features reflect universal grammatical principles while also arising from dialect-specific parametric variation.

1.7 Research Questions

This research on the Šúpàrè Syntactic Operations is designed to explicitly define the grammar of the Šúpàrè dialect as well as to answer the following questions among others:

- i. What are the major syntactic features of the Šúpàrè Relative Construction?
- ii. What are the major syntactic features of the Šúpàrè Negative Construction?
- iii. What are the major syntactic features of the Šúpàrè Wh-interrogative Construction?
- iv. What are the major syntactic structures of the Relative Construction, Negative Construction and Wh-interrogative Construction in the Šúpàrè dialect?
- v. What are the major syntactic operations as well as the markers involved in the Relative Construction, Negative Construction and Wh-interrogative Construction in the Šúpàrè dialect?

1.8 Methodology

This study employs the Descriptive Method to investigate selected syntactic operations in the Šúpàrè dialect of Yorùbá. The focus is on three major constructions: Negative Constructions, WH-Interrogative Constructions, and Relative Constructions. The descriptive approach is chosen for its capacity to document and account for syntactic structures as they naturally occur in an under-documented dialect, without superimposing rigid theoretical abstractions (Payne, 1997; Crystal, 2008). It provides a reliable methodological pathway for capturing linguistic generalisations based on observable patterns in usage rather than theoretical predictions.

The research is based on primary data collected through oral interviews and linguistic elicitation from competent native speakers of Šúpàrè. Informants were selected purposively, focusing on elderly speakers (aged 60 and above) with fluent and intuitive command of the dialect. In addition to eliciting responses from others, the researcher's own native speaker intuition was also employed in generating, testing, and validating syntactic constructions. This aligns with established practice in generative and dialectal linguistics, where linguist–native speakers can draw on their internalised grammatical competence to supplement observed data (Chomsky, 1965; Hyman, 2001).

The elicitation sessions targeted affirmative and negative statements, WH-questions, and relative clause constructions. Responses were recorded, transcribed, and analysed for morphosyntactic and tonal patterns. The clause serves as the primary unit of analysis, as it most transparently reveals syntactic operations and structural asymmetries.

Data were transcribed using the standard orthographic conventions of Yorùbá, with additional tonal annotation where necessary. Interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing was employed using standard Leipzig conventions to facilitate syntactic comparison and analysis. This process enabled the identification of key syntactic markers, positional variations, and tonal behaviour critical to understanding the constructions under study.

The use of the descriptive method in this research is strongly justified. First, Šúpàrè is minimally documented, and no prior comprehensive syntactic study of its negation, interrogatives, or relativization exists. Second, the dialect employs tonal strategies for negation, a phenomenon that demands close descriptive scrutiny. Third, the descriptive method aligns with best practices in linguistic fieldwork and dialectal documentation, which emphasize empirical

accuracy over theory-driven assumptions (Newman & Ratliff, 2001; Hyman, 2001). As Payne (1997) affirms, descriptive methodology is indispensable for structurally unfamiliar or typologically rich languages where generalisations must emerge inductively from real-world usage.

While the descriptive method underpins data elicitation and structural categorisation, the interpretation of findings is guided by the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky, 1981, 1986). This dual orientation ensures that the research remains empirically grounded while also contributing to theoretical discussions in generative syntax—particularly regarding parameter-setting and dialectal variation. For example, the study explores how Šúpàrè diverges from Standard Yorùbá in its treatment of subject positions in relative clauses or in its morpho-tonal encoding of negation, reflecting variation in underlying syntactic principles.

This methodological approach also contributes to the broader study of Yorùbá dialectology. By documenting the syntactic structure of Šúpàrè with precision and clarity, the study fills a critical gap in comparative Yorùbá linguistics and provides a descriptive foundation for future typological or theoretical work.

1.9 The Tone Convention

Yorùbá language attests three different level tone system (Courtenay, 1968; Connell & Ladd, 1990). The High Tone is marked with an acute accent (´). Low Tones are marked with a grave accent in the Yorùbá language (`) while the Mid-tones are conventionally left unmarked in the language (Bamgbose, 1990). For instance:

9. Standard Yorùbá

- i. Apá “Arm”
- ii. Àpà “A wasteful person”

- iii. Àpá “Scar”

Since there is no separate writing system for the Şúpàrè dialect that is different from the established convention of the standard Yorùbá, this present study is going to explore the tone marking convention of the standard Yorùbá for all our data in both Şúpàrè and the standard Yorùbá. In essence, the tones on the following Şúpàrè data will be interpreted in accordance with the tone convention of the standard Yorùbá.

10. Şúpàrè

- i. Ilá “Okra”
- ii. Ìlà “Line”
- iii. Ilà “Tribal mark”

While 10i is a sequence of mid-high tones, 10ii is a sequence of low-low tones. And of course, 10iii is a sequence of mid-low tones.

1.10 Significance of the Study

Based on the divergences between the standard Yorùbá and the Şúpàrè dialect as well as the fact that the description of the standard Yorùbá cannot give an adequate representation of the Şúpàrè dialect, there is therefore the need to have a just description of the selected syntactic construction that descriptively reflect the true picture of the Şúpàrè speech form. As a speech community with people that share certain cultural and linguistic identities different from the standard dialect, we hope that this work helps in the production of materials on the distinctive features of the Şúpàrè people for the local community as well as to the world at large. It is also hoped that this research will trigger more research on the parametric variations across the dialects of the Yorùbá language. This present study has therefore opened up our minds on the existence

of some parametric variations that are socio-culturally motivated across the Yorùbá dialects. Hence, the need to investigate the socio-cultural variations across the Yorùbá dialects.

1.11 Scope of Study

Because of the divergencies observed between the standard Yoruba and the Şúpàrè dialect in Relative Construction, Negative Construction and Wh-interrogative Construction as the selected areas of research as well as the fact that it is quite impossible to have a complete and exhaustive grammar of Şúpàrè in a single book (just like every other language and dialect), this present study is limited to the three common Syntactic Operations in Şúpàrè. This research is therefore set to examine: Relative Construction, Negative Construction and Wh-interrogative Construction in the Şúpàrè dialect. The scope of this research is therefore limited to the syntactic and the semantic features of the selected syntactic operations: Relative Construction, Negative Construction and WH-interrogative Construction in the Şúpàrè dialect. By implication, the scope of this present study does not include the phonological features as well as the morphological features of the Şúpàrè dialect. This study also does not cover the phrase as well the simple clause structure of the Şúpàrè dialect.

1.12 Summary

The need to preserve language as the species-specific natural gift to human is a strong motivation for this study. The variability between the standard Yorùbá and the Şúpàrè dialect as well as the concentration of the differences in the syntactic constructions has been established as the motivation for this research. This research has also been justified by the effect of the socio-cultural factors on the dialect-to-dialect divergences across the geographical variants of a language. While the basic sentence structure of the sequence of Subject, Verb and Object (Subject > Verb > Object) is preserved across all the dialects of the Language, syntactic operations in the

Şúpàrè and the standard dialects diverge a lot to justify a separate investigation of the grammars of the two dialects.

Because of the mandate of this research to account for the nature of the Şúpàrè grammar without reference to the standard Yorùbá as a yardstick, this research has chosen to investigate the grammar of Şúpàrè dialect using a descriptive approach rather than subjecting it to a theoretical framework. The motivation for this descriptive approach against a theoretical approach is therefore the need to account for the true nature of the Şúpàrè grammar based on its peculiar features rather than subjecting it to a framework. We have also justified the scope of this present research based on the areas of the perceived dissimilarities between the standard Yorùbá and the Şúpàrè dialect as well as the impossibility of having a comprehensive account of a language grammar in a single document.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In our Chapter One, we outlined the motivation for this research. This chapter sets out to review the previous works in the Yorùbá language as well as some similar researches in the other dialects of Yoruba. Because of the paucity of works in the Šúpàrè dialect, this chapter examines the previous works on the following syntactic operations in the standard Yorùbá: Relative Construction, WH-interrogative Construction and Negative Construction.

2.2 Conceptual Review

This section provides a conceptual review of the three major syntactic operations examined in this study: Negative Construction, WH-Construction and Relative Construction. These syntactic operations are fundamental to sentence formation and transformation in natural language. While they are universal in human languages, their structural realization varies significantly across languages and dialects. This review outlines their general linguistic properties and how they are typically analyzed in linguistic theory.

2.2.1 Negative Construction

Negation is a core syntactic and semantic operation in all human languages. It is used to reverse the truth value of an assertion, transforming a positive statement into a negative one (Horn, 2010). The primary linguistic means of negation include:

Segmental markers: e.g., "not" in English, "ne...pas" in French, "kò" in Standard Yorùbá (Klima, 1964; Swan, 1996; Zanuttini, 1997)

Tone-based negation: as seen in some African languages like Nupe and Šúpàrè (Kawu, 1990).

Double/multiple negation strategies (e.g., Spanish "No veo nada" – ‘I don’t see nothing’ which is a standard negation structure).

2.2.2 Negation in Yorùbá and Dialects

In Standard Yorùbá, negation is typically achieved through a segmental morpheme, *kò*, which appears before the verb (Bamgbose, 1990; Awobuluyi, 2013)

11.

- i. Òjọ̀ kò lẹ̀ sí ọ̀jà.
Ojo NEG go to market
“Ojo did not go to the market”
- ii. Mi kò ní owó
1SG NEG have money
“I don’t have money”
- iii. Wọ̀n kò gbàgbọ̀
3PL NEG believe
“They don’t believe”

However, in some Yorùbá dialects like *Şúpàré*, negation is realized through supra-segmental features, such as low tone and vowel harmony, rather than a distinct morpheme. Studies on African linguistics suggest that this type of negation is found in some Niger-Congo languages where tone plays a grammatical role (Dahl, 1979; Yuka & Adefabi, 2016).

In the context of *Şúpàré*, the negative marker is tonal rather than segmental, and the process of negation triggers phonological changes in the subject and negation structure. This suggests

that negation in Šúpàrè follows a prosodic negation strategy, aligning with findings from related Defoid languages (Arokoyo, 2012).

2.2.3 WH-Construction (Interrogative Structures)

WH-constructions refer to content question formation, which is universal across languages. These questions typically inquire about persons, places, times, reasons, manners and objects. They are introduced by WH-words like who, what, when, where, why and how in English (Radford, 2004).

2.2.4 WH-Construction Across Languages

Languages differ in how they handle WH-questions. Some common strategies include:

- i. WH-Movement Languages: The WH-word moves to the beginning of the clause. Some of the languages in this category include: English, Yorùbá, French (Lamidi, 2010).

Example: What did John buy? (WH-movement to sentence-initial position).

- ii. WH-In-Situ Languages: The WH-word remains in its original position, and word order is unchanged (e.g., Chinese, some African languages).

Example: John bought what? (instead of fronting what to the beginning).

- iii. Mixed Systems: Some languages allow both WH-movement and WH-in-situ strategies depending on context.

2.2.5 WH-Questions in Yorùbá and Dialects

In Standard Yorùbá, WH-movement is the default strategy, and the focus marker {ni} is required at every instance of the WH elements (Bamgbose, 1990; Awobuluyi, 2013)

12. i. Kí ni Ọlá rà?

INT FOC Ola buy

“What did Ọlá buy?”

- ii. Ta ni wálé rí
INT FOC Wale see
“Who did Wale see?”
- iii. Níbo ni owó mi wà
INT FOC money 1SG-OBJ exist
“Where is my office?”

However, in Şúpàré, WH-questions are structured differently. The WH-marker splits into two separate morphemes, occupying both initial and final syntactic positions. The focus marker {ni} is absent in WH-constructions, unlike Standard Yorùbá. This structure deviates from the standard Yorùbá pattern and aligns more with dialects that use distributed interrogative markers. Such split WH-markers have been observed in some African languages (Aboh & Pfau, 2011), indicating that Şúpàré’s WH-strategy represents an alternative parametric selection within Yorùbá.

2.2.6 Relative Construction

Relative constructions are used to modify a noun phrase (NP) by providing additional information (Borsly, 1997). In syntactic terms, a Relative Clause (RC) is a subordinate clause that serves as a modifier to a noun. Relative Constructions can be categorized into two groups of Restrictive Relative Clauses (that are essential to the meaning of the noun they relativized) and Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses (that give additional information, often separated by commas in writing).

Cross-linguistically, Languages are known to explore some strategies to realise Relative Constructions. Gapped Relative Clauses are recognized by a missing argument in the internal

clause (Kayne, 1994; Bianchi, 2000). English language realizes its relative construction through this method. For Instance:

13. i. I saw the man who came yesterday
 ii. I saw the man who NP came yesterday

The unfilled syntactic position (the underscore in 13ii) shows is understood as a gap in the Relative Construction.

Resumptive Pronouns also a productive strategy in the realization of a relative construction. In this relative strategy, the argument is replaced with a pronoun in the internal clause. This strategy is attested in Arabic, Hebrew and some African languages (Bamgbose, 1975).

While in Standard Yorùbá, relativization involves a gap strategy where the subject argument position is left empty in the internal clause, the strategy is different in the Şúpàrè dialect.

Standard Yorùbá

14. i. Dúpé rí ọmọ tí ó pè mí.
 Dupe see child REL HTS call 1-SG-OBJ
 “Dupe saw the child who called me”
 ii. Dúpé rí ọmọ [RelP tí [NP ____ [VP ó pè mí]]]

While relative marker **tí** is obligatory, the subject argument of the embedded clause remains empty (as shown with the underscore). However, in Şúpàrè, relative constructions differ in two ways:

- i. The subject position of the embedded clause is not left empty—it is occupied by a resumptive pronoun.
 ii. The relative marker differs in form (**iyí** instead of **tí** in Standard Yorùbá).

Şúpàrè

15. Ọmọ̀ iyí ọ̀ ó pè mi.

Child REL 3-SG-SUB HTS call 1-SG-OBJ

“The child who called me”

Here, the resumptive pronoun “ò” explicitly marks the subject position, unlike in Standard Yorùbá. This pronoun retention strategy is common in languages where resumptive elements serve to clarify syntactic relations (Aoun et al., 2001).

This suggests that Şúpàrè employs an alternative relativization strategy, aligning with languages that retain subject agreement morphology in relative clauses (Yuka & Adefabi, 2016).

This conceptual review highlights that while Negative Construction, WH-Construction, and Relative Construction are universal syntactic operations, their realization in Şúpàrè is significantly different from Standard Yorùbá. The following therefore summarises our conceptual review:

- i. Negation in Şúpàrè is achieved through tone changes and vowel modifications, rather than segmental negators.
- ii. WH-Constructions in Şúpàrè involve a split-marker strategy, contrasting with the single WH-fronting seen in Standard Yorùbá.
- iii. Relative Constructions in Şúpàrè require resumptive pronouns, while Standard Yorùbá relies on a gap strategy.

These findings confirm that Şúpàrè exhibits unique parametric selections in its syntactic operations, reinforcing the need for independent grammatical analysis of its structure. Studying these differences contributes to a deeper understanding of Yorùbá dialectology, linguistic typology and syntactic theory.

2.3 Empirical Studies

This sub-section will therefore examine the different empirical studies on the selected syntactic constructions in the Yorùbá language and the neighbouring languages. This section will therefore examine the previous works with regard to: WH-Constructions, Negative Construction and Relative Construction.

2.3.1 WH-Construction

The wh-interrogative construction has been identified as a language universal feature while the form and behaviours of the wh-markers are accounted for as the language specific features reflecting their language choices in the parametric section (Radford, 2004). Every human language has this content-word question which can be expressed via different tools and strategies. While the name wh is traceable to the morphological shapes of the markers in the English language (what, where, why, when, who and how), other languages have different morphological forms for the equivalents of these markers. Many studies have been conducted in the realm of wh-markers across many languages. These studies have accounted for the different syntactic positions of the wh-markers (Uwalaka, 2003; Ndimele, 2003; Yuka, 2006). Wh-markers have been said to be associated with two syntactic positions. These positions are the internal argument position (Wh in-situ) and the specifier position of the Complementizer Phrase (a secondary position reserved for moved arguments). The two associated positions (Internal argument position and the Specifier position of the CP) are nominal positions in linguistic constructions across all human languages. Since it is assumed that, the wh-markers are nominal subcategorized for at the Arg-Obj position, it has been proposed that a trace (a ghost copy of the wh-marker) replaces the wh-marker at the canonical position once it is moved to the specifier position of the

Complementizer Phrase (Chomsky, 1977). According to Radford (1988), the wh-markers are: what, when, where, why and how.

English

16. i. What is your name?
- ii. Where is Samuel?
- iii. When will you come?
- iv. How did it happened?

All the Interrogative markers except “how” starts with wh in data 16 above. The equivalents of these question markers (otherwise known as content word questions) do not necessarily come in wh-format in every language. While these Interrogative markers are morphologically defined by wh-words in English, the equivalents in Yorùbá come in different morphological shapes just like in every other human language.

Akanbi (2016) explains that “wo” is not a wh-marker in Yorùbá but rather the combination of “Nígbà wo”. His argument is that the interpretive capacity of “wo” alone does not result in the expected wh-construction. However, the question running through one’s mind is, if “nìgbà wo” are the same constituent, how come they are separated by other morphemes in the same structure

17. Standard Yorùbá

- i. Ìgbà méta wo ni Wálé pè mí?
time three INT FOC Wale call me
“What kind of three times did Wale call me?”
- ii. Ìgbà méjọ òtòòtò wo ni Kólá sọ fún mí?
Time eight separately INT FOC Kola say PREP me
“What kind of eight separate times did Kola tell me?”

If “nígbà wo” are indeed one single phrase in a wh-construction, we do not expect that they should be separated by other independent morphemes even in similar structures in the same language. If indeed “nígbà wo” can be separated by other independent morphemes (as seen in 17 above), it definitely means that “nígbà wo” are two separate morphemes in the language.

Yusuf (1992) examines the question formation in the Yorùbá language and submits that the Yorùbá yes/no questions have been derived by adjunction rather than movement. He further claims that no morphophonemic rule is employed in this kind of derivation. Thus, movement and trace are not functional in the Yorùbá yes/no question formation. Even though the wh-questions are formed through the operation of movement while the markers are replaced with trace at the extraction site. The two separate syntactic positions are therefore in a co-indexed relationship.

On the other hand, Nkemnji (1995), Aboh and Pfau (2011) challenge this position by Yusuf (1992) and proposed that both yes/no questions as well as the wh-questions are projected by the same functional head INT (for the interrogative marker) and also that wh-markers do not participate in tagging wh clause as interrogative since they have similar structure with their yes/no counterparts in the language.

In the same way, Ilori (2010) posits that a yes/no question clause in Igala and Yorùbá is derived by joining the IP with the question marker. The question markers are said to occur in the sentence final position in Igala while these same markers are associated with two structural positions (sentence initial position as well as sentence final position) in Yorùbá. The research submits that the wh-constructions in Yorùbá are derived by moving the wh-markers to the Spec, QstP (Question Phrase) where they are immediately followed by the focus marker “ni” where “ni” (the focus marker) is an obligatory part of the wh-construction.

Oshodi (2016) examines the structural configuration of the Interrogative Construction and Focus Construction in Owo. The paper reports that the Interrogative markers in the Owo dialects behaves like the standard Yorùbá by coming at the sentence initial position. On the other hand, while the focus marker in the standard Yorùbá occurs contiguously with the focused constituent, the focus marker and the focus constituent are distributed apart in Owo such that the focus marker occurs in sentence final position while the focused constituent is moved to the sentence initial position from its canonical position.

Olaogun (2018), while aligning his opinion with those that advocate movement for both yes/no questions and wh-questions, claims that a group of Yorùbá dialects (that he called “Njò-kóo in 2016) have similar methods of forming both wh-question and yes/no question. He accounts for the wh-question in terms of the movement of the wh-markers from the Arg-Obj position to the specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase (InterP) in the left periphery of the syntactic tree.

Olawuwo (2021) takes a comparative look at the question markers in the standard Yorùbá and the Ọ̀hòrí dialect (the Yorùbá dialects spoken in some set of communities in the Republic of Benin). The paper reports that though both the standard Yorùbá and the Ọ̀hòrí dialects are attributed to the same Language (Yorùbá), these two dialects employ different morphological items to achieve interrogative constructions in their respective dialects. The research however points out that the question markers in both dialects occupy the sentence initial position and under the interrogative Phrase in the left periphery.

Olanrewaju (2022) examines the question formation strategies in the Central Yorùbá dialect. The research paper reports that the question markers do not move to the left periphery of the syntactic tree but remain in their subcategorized position. The paper also observes that the

focus markers (li, ni & ri) are absent in some instances and can therefore be optionally excluded from the syntax without affecting the semantics of the construction.

The implication of the previous works on the wh-construction as reviewed above include:

- i. the focus marker is an integral part of the wh-interrogative construction in Yorùbá;
- ii. there is always a single structural position associated with the wh-marker in the interrogative construction;
- iii. there is only one interrogative marker per wh-construction.

All these are against the reality of the wh-interrogative construction in the Şúpàrè dialect. Our data shows that, the focus marker does not take part in the wh-interrogative construction in Şúpàrè. The wh-marker splits itself into two structural positions in the sentence such that the two structural positions actively work together as a single wh-marker to realize a wh-interrogative construction. There is a single wh-interrogative marker but a split of two non-identical morphological items in a single wh-interrogative structure in Şúpàrè. These differences are parts of the strong motivations for this present study.

2.3.2 Relative Clause Constructions

A Relative clause is a sub-set of the syntactic expressions which some researchers have examined and named according to their various perspectives. Some of the researchers (as well as their respective terms) that have examined this structure include: wh movement (Chomsky, 1977), \bar{A} dependencies (Chomsky, 1981), unbounded dependencies (Pollard & Ivan, 1994) and long-distance dependencies (Bresnan, 2001) among other names.

Bamgbose (1967; 1975a; 1975b; 1990) and Awobuluyi (1975; 1978) account for a relative construction as a qualifier of a Noun Phrase and as a complex construction that is derived from a simple sentence. Awobuluyi explains that “ti” is a Relative Marker rather than a complementizer.

It is also submitted that a Relative Construction can be sub-divided into a nominal clause and subordinate clause introduced by the Relative Marker “ti”. The relative marker is said to immediately follow the modified Noun Phrase.

Bamgbose (1975) examines the gap between Noun Phrases and Relative Constructions. The study makes a difference between Nominalization and Relativization in the Yorùbá language. In its explanation, Bamgbose (1975) identifies three distinct meanings of “ti” in the Yorùbá language. This study assumes that “ti” can come in the form of:

- a. NPs with the meaning of a Relative Clause
- b. NPs stating the fact behind an expression
- c. NPs showing the manner of doing something

The study observes that, though the three categories of NPs have similar features in the fact that each of the categories has Noun initial structure that is modified by the “ti” expression, the different classes of words that substitute for these expressions make the meaning difference between one and the other because the expressions can be substituted by different word classes in the language. The study hereby proposes that the semantics of the expressions should be used as a basis for the classification rather than the morphological shape of “ti” in the several expressions that have different semantics interpretations.

Ajeigbe (1977) sees “ti” as a conjunction rather than a relative marker in Yorùbá. In its explanation, Ajeigbe (1977) points out the different constructions derivable from “ti” as:

- a. Genitive Construction
- b. Contrastive Construction
- c. Positive Construction
- d. Gerundive Adjective as NP modifiers

- e. Restrictive Relative Construction
- f. Non-Restrictive Relative Construction
- g. Attributive Adjective Constructions

The research concludes that it is better and semantically logical to account for “ti” as a conjunction and the “ti” construction as Conjunction Construction.

Olanrewaju (2007) takes a comparative study of the Relativization in the standard Yorùbá and the Ife dialect of the Yorùbá language. In accounting for the differences between the two dialects of Yorùbá, Olanrewaju (2007) observes that while the standard Yorùbá uses an overt Relative Marker “ti” to make a relative construction, the relative marker in the Ife dialect is covert and does not have any phonological realization in the dialect. This same relative marker has a semantic property interpretable in the utterance even without a morphological element. In terms of the similarity between the two dialects, Olanrewaju (2007) observes that both the Standard Yorùbá and the Ife dialect relativizes six nominal positions in the Yorùbá syntactic constructions.

Akintoye (2017) examines the Relative and Conditional Clause Constructions in Iyagba dialect of Yorùbá. The research accounts for two Relative Markers that are in complementary distribution in the Iyagba dialect. “n” is restricted to the environment of a Resumptive Pronoun while “ghin” is restricted to the environment of a Noun. Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where there is a Conditional Sentence, the research reports that Iyagba does not attest Conditional Constructions.

The implication of the existing literature on the current research is that, while the Sub-Arg position of the lower IP is said to be empty in a Relative Construction with only the presence of the High Tone Syllable (HTS) (Awobuluyi, 2013), the Subj-Arg in the Šúpàrè Relative Construction is always occupied by a morphologically realized element alongside a Subject

Agreement Marker for all pronoun subjects (Yuka & Adefabi, 2016). The extend of this kind of variability can only be determined through an independent study of the Şúpàrè grammar that is not tied with the standard Yorùbá.

2.3.3 Negative Clause Constructions

Negation is a universal feature of the human language because the feature of the human language subsumes both positive and negative utterances (Dahl, 1979; Lindstad, 2007). It is the strategy to refute or contradict a positive assertion (Horn, 2010). Negation is therefore a construction used to oppose or reject an affirmative utterance.

Oye (2006) takes a comparative look at the negative markers in the standard Yorùbá and the AO dialect (one of the dialects of the Yorùbá language). While the paper identifies distinct morphemes as the negative markers in the standard Yorùbá, it states that negation in AO is achieved through other functional elements in the dialect like the tense markers, the progressive aspectual marker and the focus marker. Rather than the negative markers in Ao, Oye (2006) classifies a category of pronouns as Negative Pronouns that function in the capacity of negative markers in the dialect. According to Oye (2006), while there are three categories of pronouns in the standard Yorùbá, there are five categories of pronouns in the Ao dialect. The category five of the Ao pronouns are the pronouns restricted to the negative sentences in the dialect. Unfortunately, however, what Oye (2006) regards as category five of the Ao pronouns are the manifestation of the tone polarisation and regressive assimilation. Take for instance:

18 AO Dialect

i. Mo pa ẹran

1SG-SUBJ kill meat

“I killed an animal”

- ii. Mí ì pa ɛran
 1SG-SUBJ NEG kill meat
 “I did not kill an animal”
- iii. A zɛ uyán
 1PL-SUBJ eat pounded-yam
 “We ate pounded-yam”
- iv. Á à zɛ uyán
 1PL-SUBJ NEG eat pounded-yam
 “We did not eat pounded-yam”
- v. In g^wó ulí tié
 2PL-SUB demolish house DET
 “You demolished the house”
- vi. Ín ìn g^wó ulí tié
 2PL-SUB NEG demolish house DET
 “You did not demolish the house”

(Oye, 2006, p. 58)

Rather than what Oye (2006) accounts for as multiple negative markers and the category five of the Ao pronouns acting as the negative markers in data 18 above, it can be observed that:

- a. the basic negative marker in Ao is a supra-segmental Low Tone
- b. the change in the tones of the pronouns is accounted for by tone polarization that always accompany the Low Tone Syllable
- c. the negative marker is assumed to copy the vocalic shape of the last vowel of the pronoun at the Subject Argument position through a regressive assimilation. This is similar to the behaviour of the negative construction in Şúpàrè (Yuka & Adefabi, 2016).

Olumuyiwa (2010) examines the negative markers in the Ekiti dialect of the Yorùbá language. The paper reports that the negative markers in the dialects are a fusion of the negative marker and the High Tone Syllable. Olumuyiwa (2010) claims that, the negative constructions in Ekiti are assumed to contain an underlying High Tone Syllable (HTS for short) and that, the presence of the HTS necessitates the change in the tone of the last vocalic element in the Subject Argument Position. However, the question that Olumuyiwa (2010) could not answer is whether the HTS is a property of the Negative construction or an associate of the negative marker in the Ekiti dialect. More so, we perceive that a lot of facts about the dialect might still be hiding since the research paper restricted all examples to only Intransitive Construction. We believe that a review and analysis of the data across the different forms of constructions in Ekiti will give a convincing explanation on the configuration of negative construction in Ekiti. A review of the data shows that, the said HTS does not surface in declarative constructions in the dialect.

19. **Ekiti Dialect**

- i. Sànyà sùn
Sanya sleep
“Sanya slept”
- ii. Sànyá à sùn
Sanyan NEG sleep
“Sanya did not sleep”
- iii. In gbe
2PL-SUBJ carry
“You carried it”

iv. Ǫ́n ìn gbe

2PL-SUBJ NEG carry

“You did not carry it”

(Olumuyiwa, 2010, pp. 4-5)

It is clear from our data 19 above that, it is more logical to account for the change in the tone of the last vowel of the Subject Argument as a feature of the Negative Construction in Ekiti rather than to assume that the variation is caused by an HTS that cannot be traceable to the positive counterparts of the negative constructions. A closer examination of the data 13 above in Ekiti will show that, the negative marker in Ekiti necessitates a compulsory polarization that causes a change in the tone of the Subject Argument to an opposite direction of that of the negative marker. So, admitting the HTS as the cause of the tone polarization will depend on a convincing answer about the origin and function of the HTS in the dialect.

Arokoyo (2012) examines the syntactic distribution of the negative markers in the Defoid Languages of Niger-Congo. The study captures: Akokoid (Ondo State, Nigeria), Ayere-Ahan (Kogi and Ekiti States, Nigeria) and the Yoruboid languages. The research submits that, negation in Yorùbá is executed at the syntactic level of the grammar. The research also claims that, Yorùbá exhibits double negation (where two negative markers are used in the same syntactic construction) to give a positive reading (rather than a negative reading). The research therefore submits that, the negative marker in the Yorùbá Negative Imperative Construction is inserted at the sentence initial position rather than post Subject Argument position of the syntactic construction.

Fabunmi (2013) examines the syntactic distribution of the negative markers in sixteen dialects of the Yorùbá Language. The paper reports that, the negative markers in all the sixteen Yorùbá dialects occur in the preverbal position in their respective negative constructions and that

no negative marker occurs in the post-verbal position in the Yorùbá language. The paper also reports that the negative markers in the sixteen Yorùbá dialects are a fusion of Tense, Aspect and Mode as well as the negative markers in terms of their semantic components. As a result of the fusion of the aspect and negation in a single morpheme in the sixteen Yorùbá dialects, the paper recommends that both Tense and Aspect be represented under the NegP in the Yorùbá syntactic construction. The motivation for this recommendation is based on the assumption that, a single morpheme that contains the semantic components of Tense, Aspect and Negation projects to the NegP as the maximal projection.

Adebayo (2016) examines the morphological shape of the negative markers in Yorùbá. The research observes that Yorùbá has only two negative markers in the Language (k and má). While “k” is said to have three allomorphic variants (kí, kò, kó) that are in complementary distribution, “má” does not have any variant form. The research concludes that there is no Argument Negation in the Language but that the NPs in the Language are negated as part of bigger constituents in the language. Unfortunately, however the paper gives an assumption that there is no constituent negation in the language especially as it accounted for kó as a sentential negative marker in the data below:

20. **Standard Yorùbá**

i. Adé ni ó wọ ilé ní ànà

Ade FOC 3SG enter house PREP Yesterday

“It was Ade that entered yesterday (not another person)”

ii. Adé kó ni ó wọ ilé ní ànà

Ade NEG FOC 3SG enter house PREP Yesterday

“It was not Ade that entered yesterday (but another person)”

iii. Ilé kó ni Adé wọ ní àná
House NEG FOC Ade enter PREP Yesterday

“It was not house that Ade entered yesterday”

iv. Àná kó ni Adé wọ ilé
Yesterday NEG FOC Ade enter house

“It was not yesterday that Ade entered the house”

Modified from Adebayo (2016, p. 154)

Obviously, data 20ii-iv shows the negation of the various constituents of the sentence rather than the negation of the whole proposition. Therefore, the term “Sentential Negative Marker” does not adequately capture what happens in the data 20i-iv above.

Adeoye (2019) looks at the Tense, Aspect and Negation in the Igasi dialect of the Yorùbá Language. The paper accounts for three different negative markers (kpa, ʃe and àgè) in the Igasi dialects. The paper notes that there exists an agreement between the negative markers and the future tense, the perfective aspect as well as the habitual aspect in Igasi. The paper concludes by proposing that the negative markers in Igasi are divided along the past tense, future tense, progressive aspect, perfective aspect as well as habitual aspect. The paper concludes that the negative markers in Igasi manifest supra-segmental features in terms of tone lowering and tone raising.

It can be noted that all the earlier works reviewed above about the Yorùbá language and its dialects show that the language uses segmental elements to derive negative construction in the language. But this is in contrast with the reality of the negative construction in the Şúpàrè dialect. Our research in the Şúpàrè dialect shows that, negation is achieved through a tone (a supra-segmental feature) rather than a segmental feature attested in the literature. This divergence

between the Şúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá is part of the cultural linguistic effect of a dialect (Sharifian, 2015) as well as the motivation for this present study of the grammar of Şúpàrè.

2.4 Issues from the Previous Works

The literature above reveals the gap between the Şúpàrè dialect and the Standard Yorùbá in terms of the strategy of realizing the negation of a positive construction. While all the literature above assumes that negation in the Yorùbá grammar is realized through a segmental morpheme (kò, kì kó and all the variants in the other dialects), negation is realized in Şúpàrè through a supra-segmental manifestation of tones. In our view, this seems to be the actual reality of the negative strategy in AO (Oye, 2006) and Ekiti (Olumuyiwa, 2010). The negative marker in Şúpàrè contains only a tone property that can take off any morphological shape contiguously to its left depending on the available vocalic element at the Arg-Subj position. It is therefore said to have only a bundle of tone feature (alongside its tonal polarisation feature) without any substantive morphological shape attributable to this negative marker.

The focus marker is assumed to be an integral part of the wh-interrogative construction in the Yorùbá language. Even though the wh-markers are assumed to be associated with two structural positions, only one morphologically realized wh-marker can be attested in a single construction. Conversely, the focus marker (which itself is a pair of near identical morphemes) does not take part (syntactically or semantically) in the wh-interrogative construction in the Şúpàrè dialect. More so, the two structural positions of the wh-markers can be morphologically filled at the same time in the Şúpàrè dialect. This is the case with the Resumptive wh-markers.

The Sub-Arg position of the lower IP in a Relative Construction is assumed to be empty in the standard Yorùbá and many of its dialects (as reviewed above). On the other hand, this Subj-Arg position is always morphologically filled in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction.

This divergence in terms of the strategy for marking negation (segmental marking against tonal marking), the different constituents of a relative construction as well as their semantic contributions as well as the number of morphologically active wh-markers and their relationships are parts of the strong motivations for this current research. According to Awobuluyi (1998), this kind of research is important to acknowledge the content of each dialect because there is no limit to this kind of variation between the Šúpàrè dialect and the standard Yorùbá.

2.5 Principles and Parameters Theory

The Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT), developed by Chomsky (1981, 1986), is one of the major frameworks in generative syntax. It was introduced as a response to the limitations of the earlier Transformational Grammar, offering a more explanatory model of language acquisition and variation. The central claim of PPT is that all human languages share a set of universal principles, while their differences arise from the settings of a finite number of parameters.

Principles are invariant properties of Universal Grammar (UG) that constrain the possible forms of human language. For example, principles regulate structural relations such as government, binding, subjacency and case assignment. These principles explain why certain patterns are impossible in any language.

Parameters, on the other hand, are points of variation that determine how universal principles are realised in individual languages. A well-known example is the pro-drop parameter, which distinguishes languages like Italian (where null subjects are allowed) from English (where overt subjects are obligatory). Once set by linguistic input, parameters account for cross-linguistic and dialectal variation.

Applied to Yorùbá and its dialects, PPT provides a useful framework for examining syntactic processes such as negation, relativisation and WH-constructions. While the principles of syntax ensure that these constructions conform to universal constraints (e.g., clause structure, movement, locality), the parameters allow for the kinds of divergence observed between Standard Yorùbá and Šúpàré.

For instance, in negation, Standard Yorùbá employs a segmental morpheme (kò), whereas Šúpàré uses tonal features and low-tone syllables. Both strategies fulfil the universal principle of clause negation but parameter settings differ in their morpho-syntactic realisation.

In relative clauses, Standard Yorùbá leaves the subject argument position empty, while Šúpàré obligatorily fills it with a resumptive pronoun. This contrast illustrates how parameters govern the treatment of gaps and resumptive elements within relative constructions.

In WH-constructions, Standard Yorùbá requires WH-movement with a focus marker (ni), whereas Šúpàré distributes interrogative markers across two positions without a focus marker. Here, a parameter setting allows for dialect-specific interrogative strategies.

Thus, PPT is particularly suitable for this research because it provides a principled account of both the universal constraints that underlie Yorùbá syntax and the parametric variations that distinguish Šúpàré from the standard dialect. By framing the analysis in terms of principles and parameters, this study situates Šúpàré within the broader typology of human languages while also highlighting its unique grammatical strategies.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined what the previous works say about the different transformational sentences in the Yorùbá language. In this chapter, we have examined Negative Construction, Wh-construction and Relative Construction in Yorùbá and its

dialects in exclusion of the Focus construction which exist in similar research by the same researcher. These four constructions are the core transformations in the Yoruba language (Yusuf, 1998). However, the status as well as the different gaps identified in the literature are summarised below:

- a. the focus marker is an integral part of the wh- interrogative construction in Yoruba;
- b. there is always a single structural position associated with the wh-marker in the interrogative construction;
- c. the syntactic position of the subject of the lower clause in a relative construction is always empty;
- d. the morphological shape of the negative marker is always a k-morphemes

This conclusion from the previous studies is what the present research is building on to expand our knowledge base on the parametric variations that pertain to these areas in the Yorùbá language. Thus, the present study will account for the variabilities in the configuration of transformational constructions in the Şúpàrè dialect of the Yorùbá language.

Your theoretical framework should be properly written and in detail in a separate chapter –chapter 3. This scanty and discontinuous discussion is not accepted. You mentioned part of it in chapter one and part in chapter two.

CHAPTER THREE

WH-CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ

3.1 Introduction


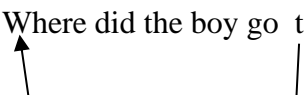
In our chapter one, we have laid a foundation for the present study. We have examined related works on the different transformational constructions in the Yorùbá language (in particular) and in the human language (at large). We have also accounted for the scope of this study to include the Wh-Interrogative Construction, Relative Clause Construction and Negative Clause Construction in Şúpárè. As part of our mandate in our chapter one, we justified every decision made in this research. All the decisions as well as their justifications in this research are set towards establishing a strong foundation for this study. In the same vein, our chapter two has justifiably explained the status of the Yorùbá literature across all its dialects as it pertains to its transformational constructions. Our chapter two has therefore identified the gap in the existing works in the language. As pointed out, the present study is geared towards accounting for the syntactic parametric variations between the standard Yorùbá and the Şúpárè dialect in terms of the selected transformational constructions. In progression of the research, the chapter three of this research is designed to look at the various constituents of the Wh-construction in Şúpárè as well as their contribution to the overall semantic interpretation of the construction. You don't need to say all of this. Be mindful of the use of flowery language. Briefly mention that one of the construction types to be discussed is WH questions. State what they are and how they are conceptualized in African languages this should be brief as well and go on to your analysis.

3.2 Constituent Movement and its Trace

In Human language, constituents are sometimes displaced from their subcategorised position to another location within the syntactic configuration. The displacement of a syntactic

constituent to a place of interpretation is known as movement (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1993; Chomsky, 2000). Move-alpha is the key concept in the concept of Movement. Move-alpha can re-associate any syntactic construction with a secondary position where it can be interpreted (Ouhalla, 1988). One major assumed consequent of movement is that, the moved constituent leaves behind a trace at its take-off site. This trace (an evidence of movement) is assumed to be a non-phonetic copy of the move element (Chomsky, 1973; 1993; 1995).

English Language

21. i. What did Felix see t
- 
- ii. Where did the boy go t
- 

Data 21i-ii shows that the WH elements (what and where above) are associated with two syntactic positions. The arrow shows the movement of the elements from their canonical position to the place of interpretation. This kind of association between two syntactic positions is known as movement, while the evidence of such movement is known as trace (a non-phonetically realised copy at the take-off site).

3.3 The Wh-markers

According to Olawuwo (2021), the basic wh markers in the standard Yorùbá include: *kíni* “what”, *tani* “who”, *níbo ni* “where”, *èlò ni* “how much” and *mélòó ni* “how many”. All these question markers are being accompanied by the focus marker (*ni*) in every sentence.

22. Standard Yorùbá

- i. Kí ni orúkọ rẹ?

Inter FOC name 2-poss

“What is your name?”

ii. Ta ni o fẹ́ rí?

Inter FOC 2-SG want see

“Who do you want to see?”

iii. Níbo ni o ti nì bọ̀?

Inter FOC 2-SG asp-perf prog come

“Where are you coming from?”

iv. Èlò ni owó náà?

Inter FOC money DET

“How much is the money?”

v. Ìwé mélòó ni Dúpé fẹ́?

Book Inter FOC Dupe want

“How many books does Dupe want?”

Examples 22 above shows that all the wh-interrogative sentences in the standard Yorùbá contains the focus element “ni”. The implication of this is that every wh-interrogative construction in the standard Yorùbá is a form of focus construction. It therefore means that there are two basic operations in the wh-interrogative construction. The operations are: focusing and questioning. This interpretation is justified because, the focus marker “ni” can exist alone in the grammar of the language (Bamgbose, 1990).

The basic wh-markers in the Şúpáre grammar are: kí (to query something), èsí (to query somebody), Ìgbà ní (to query time/season), kí ---- şì (to query the manner “how”) and Ibo ní (to

query a place). All these wh-question markers have their distinctive and peculiar features even though they occur in the same syntactic positions. The wh-markers are systematically divided into two different classes based on the type of syntactic elements involved in the derivation of the respective sentences. The wh-markers can be split into Resumptive wh-markers and the Trace wh-markers. Once a Resumptive wh-marker in Şúpàrè is moved from the sentence final position (wh in-situ) to the sentence initial position, it sub-selects a resumptive pronoun to replace it at its extraction site. On the other hand, the Trace wh-markers in Şúpàrè leave a trace (a ghost copy of themselves) at the extraction site. The mark it leaves behind however does not have a morphological shape but a syntactic place filler for the moved constituent.

Therefore, our working definition for the Resumptive wh-markers and the Trace wh-markers can be summarized as:

- a. Resumptive wh-marker: Any wh-marker that replaces itself with a pronoun (with full phonetic realization) at its canonical position such that both the wh-marker and the pronoun agree in number feature.
- b. Trace wh-marker: Any wh-marker that leaves only its ghost copy (an empty category without any phonetic realization) at its canonical position.

3.3.1 Resumptive Wh-Markers

The Resumptive wh-markers are the wh-markers that replace themselves with a morphologically realized nominal elements rather than just a place filler with no phonetic form (empty category). The nominal that resumes the vacated position have both semantic and syntactic attributes that tally with the moved wh-marker. These wh-markers are: “kí” what, “èsí” who and “kí ---- ši” how. As part of the distinctive features of these three wh-markers in Şúpàrè, they have allomorphs that are distributed along the two syntactic positions associated with the

wh-markers in Şúpàrè. The two morphemes for each of these wh-markers are distributed according to the canonical position (Obj-Arg position) and the landing site of the syntactic elements after movement (a pre-position to the original position). Each of these forms of the three wh-markers in Şúpàrè is therefore restricted to a particular syntactic position. The table below shows the distribution of each of the two forms of the three resumptive wh-markers in Şúpàrè.

Table 6

Allomorphic distribution of the Resumptive wh-markers

Spec InterP Position	Obj-Arg Position	Gloss
Kí	Èré	What
èsí	oní	Who
kí --- şí	bọoní	How

The distribution table in table 2 above shows that the Resumptive wh-markers have two forms each that are distributed on D-structure and S-structure bases. The forms that are restricted to the D-structure cannot be found at the S-structure just as the forms for the S-structure cannot be found at the D-structure. This complementary nature of the Resumptive wh-markers describes the rules that govern their distribution in the grammar of Şúpàrè.

3.3.2 kí (what)

“kí” is a wh-marker that is used to question object (-human). “Kí” is accompanied with “èré” which technically translate to “thing” in English at the object position where it is subcategorized for. It therefore means that when “kí” is moved from its canonical position to the Spec CP position at the left periphery, it is not moved with the “èré”. Because “èré” is not moved

along with the wh-marker to the left periphery of the syntactic tree, it is stranded and deleted at the sentence final position. It invariably means that, “èré” is stranded at the S-Structure but phonetically pronounced at the D-Structure in Şúpàrè.

23.

- i. Olú ra kí èré
 Olu buy Inter thing
 “Olu bought what?”
- ii. Kí Olú rà á
 Inter Olu buy 3SG-Obj
 “What did Olu buy?”
- iii. Ajá jẹ kí èré
 Dog eat Inter thing
 “The dog ate what?”
- iv. Kí Ajá jẹ é
 Inter dog eat 3SG-Obj
 “What did the dog eat?”

Data 23i-iv above will show that the position of the “kí” is not left open for any empty category like trace at any time. 23i & iii shows that when “kí” is at the Arg-Obj position (the canonical position where it is subcategorized for just like any other nominal), it is accompanied by a Null Pronoun (èré). 24 below will show that, èré does not move with **kí** to the higher clause in the left periphery, since èré is stranded after the movement of the marker, it is further deleted. At the deletion of the Wh Polarity Item (èré), the third person pronoun replaces the moved wh-marker and not the stranded Question Polarity Item (Hence QPI) at the extraction site. According

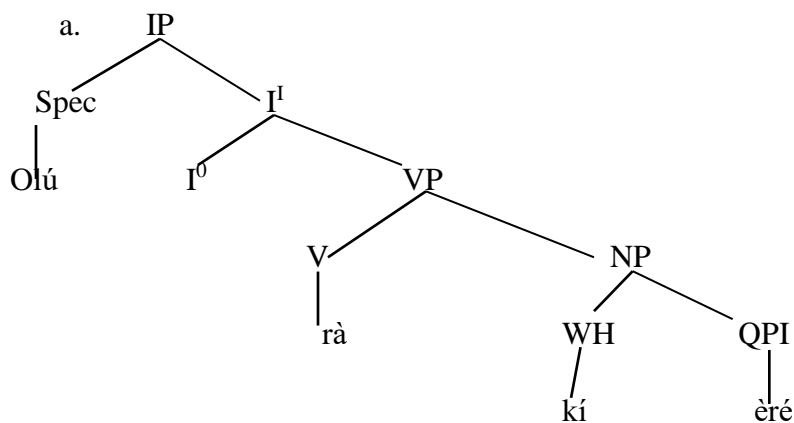
to Awobuluyi (2008; 2013) as well as Yuka and Adefabi (2015), the shape of the third person singular pronoun in Yorùbá is fluid. It copies the shape of the lexical item that occurs contiguously with it in that environment to survive in the syntactic position. The shape of the third person singular pronoun therefore depends on the vocalic shape of the lexical items that is in contiguous environment with it. The syntactic tree in data 18 will show the different syntactic positions of the **kí** as well as the relationship between the **kí**, the QPI and the third person pronoun.

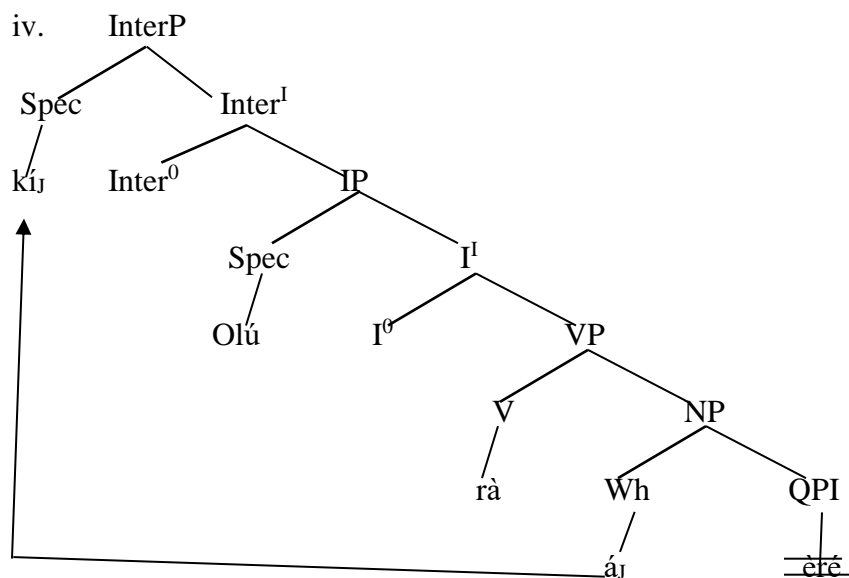
24.

- i. Olú ra kí èré
 Olu buy Inter thing
 “Olu bought what?”

- ii. Kí Olú rà á
 Inter Olu buy 3SG-Obj
 “What did Olu buy?”

iii.





The tree diagrams in 24iii & iv above show that the Wh-marker is generated at the D-Structure alongside the QPI that accompanies it as its complement. 18i-iv show that the QPI (èré) is deleted after the movement of the wh-marker to the left periphery of the syntactic tree. It can also be seen that, the pronoun (á) replaces the moved wh-marker in its base generated form. The essence of the replacement is to avoid vacuum in the syntactic structure. This replacement therefore blocks the presence of a Trace (an empty category) in the syntactic position.

3.3.3 Èsí (who)

“Èsí” is used to ask about the personality of the doer of the action of the verb. This wh-marker contains the +human feature that makes it possible for the marker to initiate a wh-interrogative construction. This Wh-Marker is a split of two morphemes that occur in complementary distribution. While “òni” occurs at the D-structure in the Arg-Obj position where it is generated, “èsí” is only licensed to occur at the S-structure in the sentence initial position.

“Èsí” only occurs at the Specifier position in the left periphery clause (a position reserved for a moved element). It is proposed that, there is a movement of the wh-element from the D-structure to the S-structure. The change in the morphological shape is accounted by the agreement features at the head of the Inflection Phrase that converts from the Arg-Obj form “ɔni” to the Arg-Subj form “èsí”. Let us examine the data below to show the distribution of the wh-marker in Şúpàrè.

25.

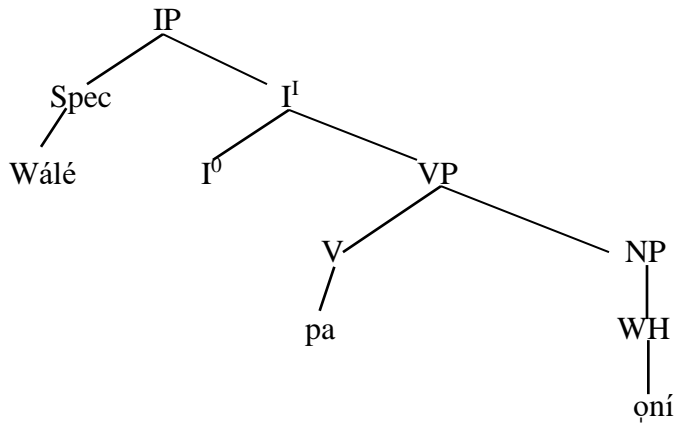
- i. Tùndé pe ɔní
Tunde call Inter
“Tunde called who?”
- ii. Èsí Tùndé pè é
Inter Tunde call 3SG-Obj
“Who did Tunde call?”
- iii. Wálé pa ɔní
Wale kill Inter
“Wale killed who?”
- iv. Èsí Wálé pà á
Inter Wale kill 3SG-Obj
“Who did Wale kill?”

The data 25i-iv above will show the distribution of the wh-marker when the Arg-Obj is queried. A look at 24i & iii will show that “ɔni” is subcategorized for at the D-Structure because it contains +object features and as such, it cannot appear beyond the Object position. On the other hand, data 25ii & iv show that, the wh-marker changes to “èsí” as it is moved from the base generated position to the higher clause. It will also be noted that, the extraction site of the wh-

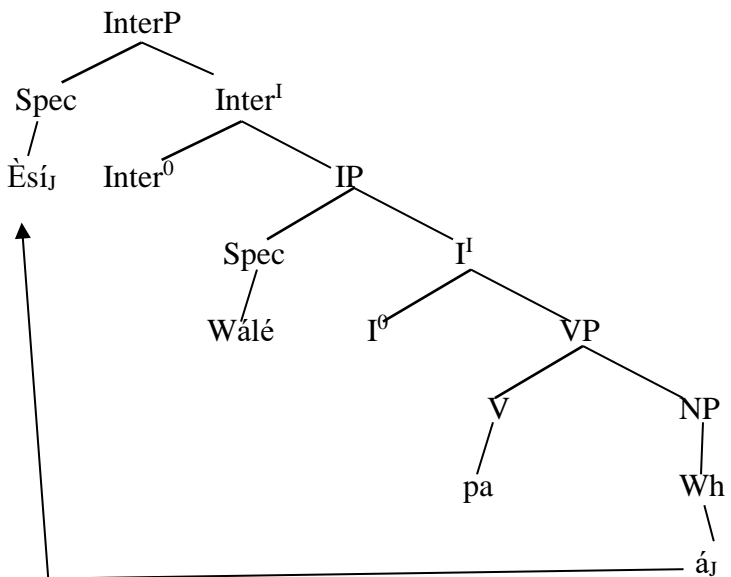
marker is filled with a resumptive pronoun. According to Yuka and Adefabi (2016), a resumptive pronoun that resumes to the position of a moved argument in Şúpàrè must have the complete semantic features of the moved argument. The two arguments are expected to have the same phi-features. Let us consider the tree diagrams below:

26.

i.



ii.



The tree diagrams in 26 above show the movement of the wh-marker from the subcategorized position at the D-structure to the Specifier position of the interrogative Phrase at

the S-structure as well as the change in the morphological shape of the marker from “*ɔni*” at the D-structure to “*èsí*” at the S-structure because of the sensitivity of the wh-marker to the Arg-Obj features. However, the data below will examine the behaviour of the wh-marker when an Arg-Subj is moved with clarity on the shape of the wh-marker at the D-structure when it is generated at the Arg-Subj level.

27.

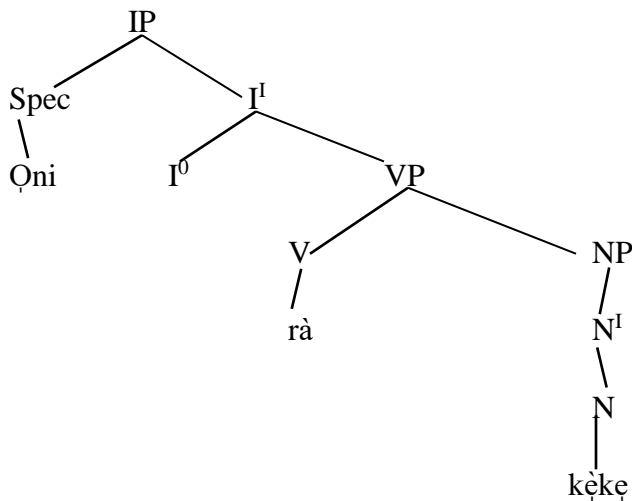
- i. *ɔni pe Wálé*
 Person call Wale
 “A person called Wale”
- ii. *Èsí é è pe Wálé*
 Inter 3SG-Subj Agr call Wale
 “Who called Wale?”
- iii. *ɔni ra kèkè*
 Person buy bicycle
 “A person bought a bicycle”
- iv. *Èsí é è ra kèkè*
 Inter 3SG-Subj Agr buy bicycle
 “Who bought a bicycle?”

Data 27i-iv above show that “*ɔni*” is only found at the D-Structure and it is substituted at the S-Structure with “*èsí*” when it is moved to the Specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase. It is also evident from the data 27 above that, the resumptive pronoun replaces the moved wh-marker at the extraction site. Hence, the resumptive pronoun blocks the occurrence of the Trace

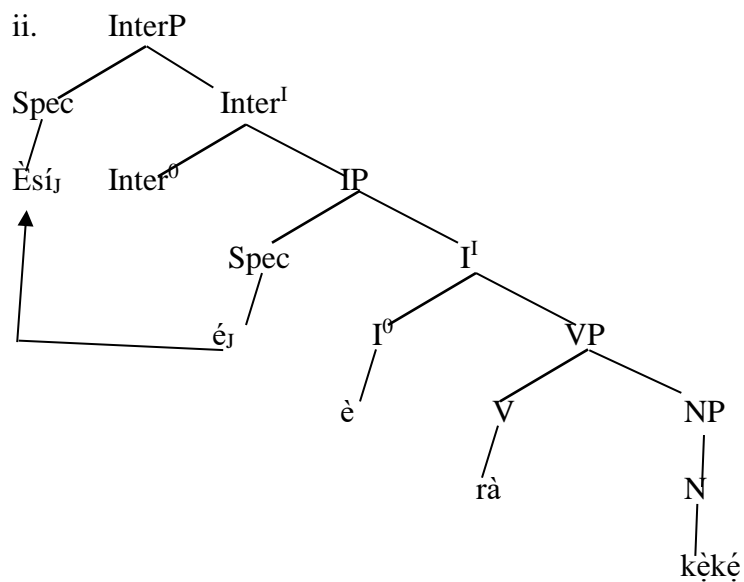
which is an empty category. Unlike the data in 25-26 above where the wh-marker is subcategorized for as an Arg-Obj, the data 22 shows that the wh-marker is generated at the Arg-Subj position and moved to the Specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase just as it replaces itself with a resumptive pronoun that has the same semantic content with itself. Let us examine the tree diagrams below for the movement as well as the association between the two structural positions.

28.

i.



ii.



The tree diagrams in 28i-ii above show that the wh-marker is generated at the D-Structure as the Arg-Subj of the sentence and it moves to the specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase at the S-Structure. As a result of the extraction from the external argument position of the Inflection Phrase to the specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase, the extraction site of the wh-marker is filled by a resumptive pronoun that has the same semantic component. Hence the two syntactic positions are co-indexed.

3.3.4 kí (how)

This wh-marker is accompanied by the QPI (şı). Just as “èsí-ọni” alternation, this wh-marker is alternated between the form at the D-structure and the form at the S-Structure. “bọṣi” is based generated at the D-Structure where it is subcategorized for. When the wh-marker is extracted from the base generated position to the specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase, it is replaced with “kí” at the landing site while the extraction site is replaced with a resumptive pronoun.

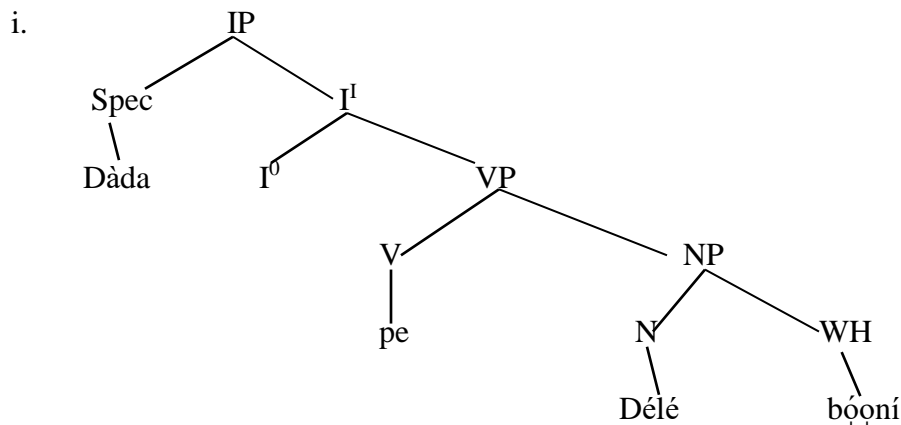
29.

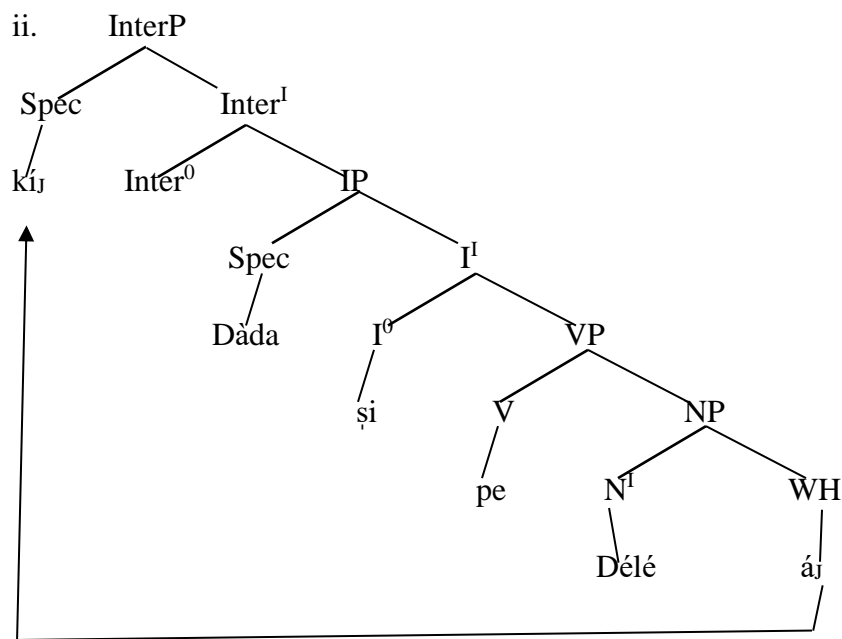
- i. Olú ra bàtà bọṣi
Olu buy shoe Inter
“Olu bought a pair of shoes, how?”
- ii. Kí Olú şı ra bàtà á
Inter Olu QPI buy shoe 3SG-Obj
“How did Olu buy a pair of shoes?”
- iii. Dàda pe Dèlé bọṣi
Dada call Dele Inter
“Dada called Dele, how?”

- iv. Kí Dàda ɕi pe Délé é
 Inter Dada QPI call Dele 3SG-Obj
 “How did Dada call Dele?”

Data 29i-iv above shows the alternation between the two morphological forms of the wh-marker based on the different syntactic positions. The two forms of the wh-marker are mutually exclusive of one another. 29i & iii shows that “bọ̀ọ̀nì” is found only at the D-Structure and at its canonical position. When movement is triggered, the wh-marker is moved to the specifier position of the Interrogative Phrase but substituted by its S-structure counterpart. This alternation is made possible by the agreement features that convert the D-Structure to the D-Structure form. 29ii & iv show that “kí” is the form that appears at the S-Structure. It is also seen that, in the S-Structure, “kí” is accompanied by the QPI just as the extraction site is filled by a resumptive pronoun that has the same phi-features as the moved wh-markers. The tree diagrams below will also show the different syntactic positions of the wh-markers.

30.





The tree diagrams in 30i-ii show the distribution of the wh-markers in Šúpàrè. It is shown in 30 that, “b’òṇi” is subcategorized for at the D-Structure as an Arg-Obj. 29ii shows that the wh-marker is moved to the left periphery while it is replaced with a pronoun at the extraction site. It is shown clearly that the shape of the wh-marker changes from “b’òṇi” at the canonical position at the D-Structure to “kí” at the landing site in the S-structure. The change in the morphological shape of the wh-marker is accounted for by the demand for the wh-marker to fulfil the agreement requirement imposed by the Šúpàrè grammar. Hence, the agreement part of the wh-marker is checked at the I⁰ (the head of the Inflection Phrase) to make sure that only the S-Structure form of the wh-marker is phonologically realized at the landing site of the wh-marker. It is also shown in 30ii that the S-Structure of the wh-marker is accompanied by “ši” (as a polarity item for the S-Structure form of the wh-marker). The S-Structure agreement marker for the

marker can only be found to accompany ‘kí’ as revealed in data 30i above. It is also seen in 29ii that, the wh-marker at the landing site is co-indexed with the resumptive pronoun at the extraction site of the wh-marker. The presence of the resumptive pronoun to replace the wh-marker at the extraction site blocks the occurrence of the trace at the extraction site.

3.3.5 Trace wh-markers

These wh-markers are the wh-markers in Şúpàrè that are not specified for a resumptive pronoun at the extraction site but leave a trace at the extraction site. These wh-markers are: “ìgbà ní” when and “ìbo ní” where. As against the Resumptive wh-markers that have two morphological shapes for the different syntactic positions, the trace wh-markers have only one form. It is therefore the same shape that is subcategorized for at the D-structure that is moved to the S-structure without a change of form. The lack of any resumptive pronoun at the extraction site of these wh-markers licenses the trace to appear as a replacement for the extraction site.

3.3.6 Ìgbà ní (When)

This wh-marker is used to query the time of an action. Unlike “kí” and “èsí” where the resumptive pronoun replaces a moved wh-marker at the extraction site “ìgbà ní” does not require the presence of the resumptive pronoun at the extraction site. Therefore, the absence of the resumptive pronoun licenses the occurrence of the Trace at the extraction site to be co-indexed with the moved wh-marker at the left periphery of the syntactic tree. The wh-marker is accompanied by “sí” the S-structure agreement marker for the wh-marker. Let us examine the Data below on the distribution of the wh-marker in Şúpàrè:

31.

- i. Şèsan kọ ulí ìgbà ní
Sesan build house time Inter.

“Sesan built a house, when?”

ii. Ìgbà ní_{tj} sí Sẹ̀san kọ ulí t_j

Time Inter Prep Sesan build house

“When did Sesan build the house?”

iii. Ojò rọ̀ ìgbà ní

Rain fall time Inter

“Rain fell when?”

iv. Ìgbà ní_{tj} sí òjò rọ̀ t_j

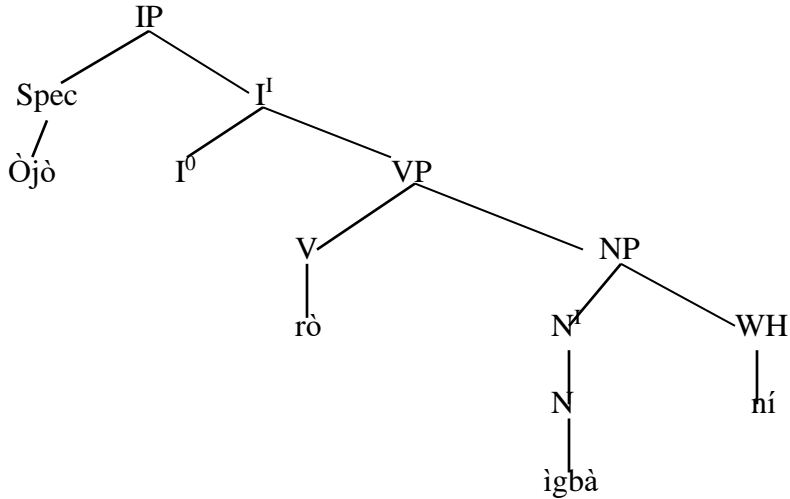
Time Inter Prep rain fall

“When did the rain fall?”

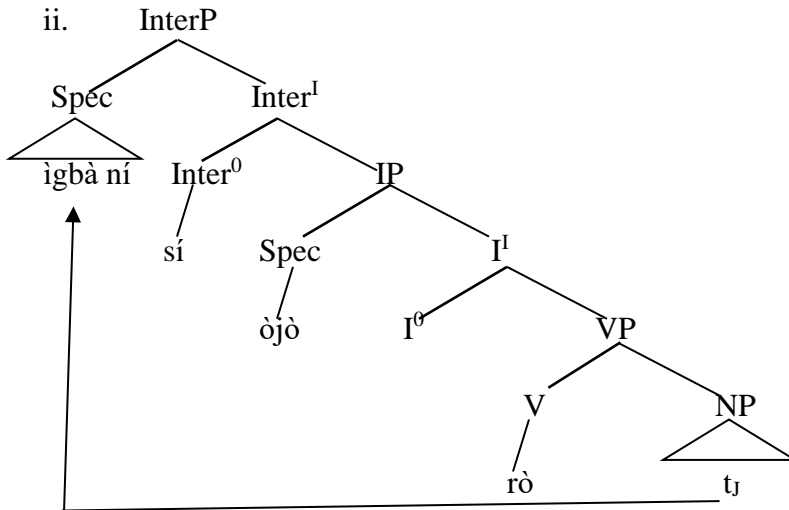
Data 26i-iv shows that the shape of the wh-marker is not different at the D-structure and the S-structure. The wh-marker does not have a resumptive pronoun as a replacement at the extraction site but rather a trace that is co-indexed with the wh-marker at the landing site. Data 31i & iii show that, the D-Structure does not contain any agreement marker just as the S-structure in 31ii & iv shows clearly that the S-structure must contain the S-structure agreement marker. It is also shown in the data above that, the extraction site of the wh-marker is co-indexed with the landing site of the wh-marker at the Interrogative Phrase. The syntactic trees below will further show the distribution of the wh-marker as well as the relationship between the structural positions associated with the wh-markers.

32.

i.



ii.



The tree diagrams in 32i-ii above shows that the wh-marker originates from the Arg-Obj position at the D-structure. The movement of the wh-marker from the canonical position to the landing site at the S-structure is accompanied by the trace that replaces the wh-marker at the extraction site. The wh-marker has the same morphological shape at the D-Structure and at S-

Structure. The tree diagram in 32ii also shows that the trace is co-indexed with the wh-marker at the landing site.

3.3.7 Ibo ní (where)

“Ibo ní” is a wh-marker that literally translates as “where”. The wh-marker originates from the Arg-Obj position and has the same morphological shape at the D-structure and at the S-structure. The wh-marker is not replaced by a resumptive pronoun at the extraction site. The absence of the resumptive pronoun at the extraction site licenses the trace as the ghost copy of the moved element. Because of the lack of the split nature of the wh-marker between the D-structure and the S-structure, there is an S-structure agreement marker to accompany the wh-marker only at the landing site and not at the canonical site.

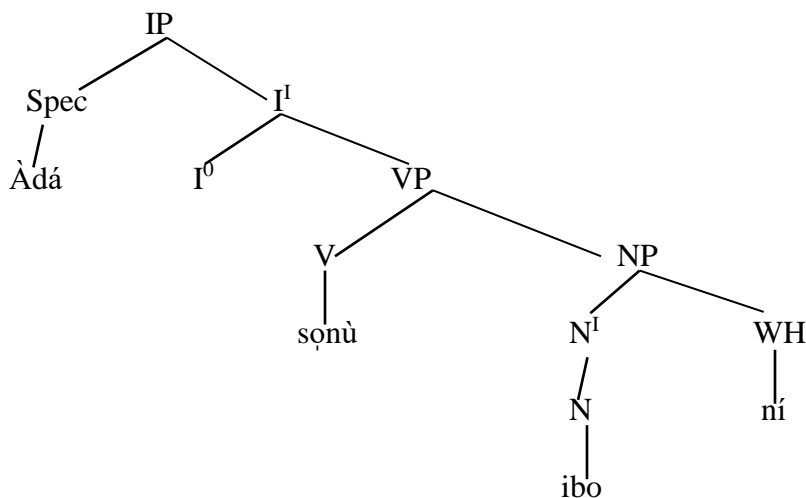
32.

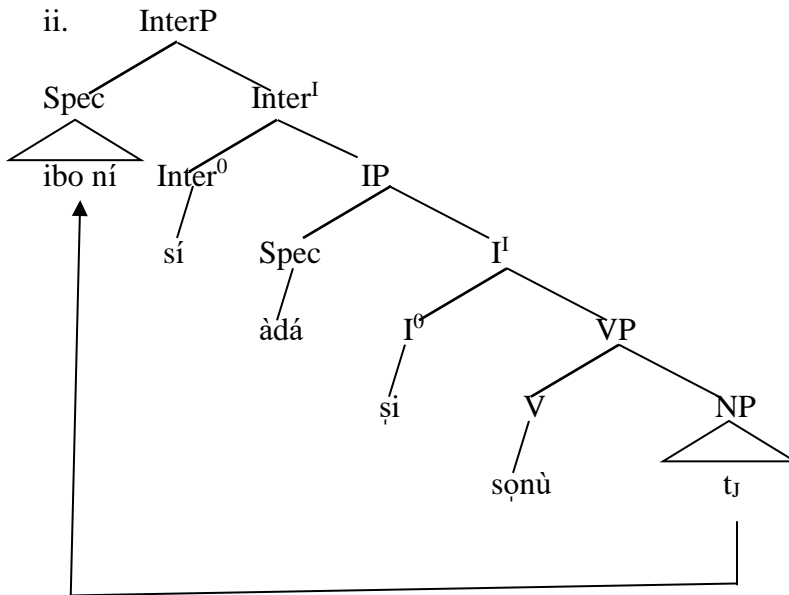
- i. Wálé yú ìbo ní
Wale go-pst Inter QPI
“Wale went where?”
- ii. Ibo ní_J sí wálé yú t_J
Inter QPI Prep wale go-pst
“Where did wale go?”
- iii. Àdá sọ̀nù sí ìbo ní
cutlass lost PREP Inter QPI
“The cutlass got lost at where?”
- iv. Ibo ní sí àdá ̀şı sọ̀nú
Inter QPI PREP cutlass Aux lost
“Where did the cutlass get lost?”

Data 33i-iv above show that “ibo ní” (the combination of the wh-marker and the accompanied polarity item) can be found at both the sentence final and sentence initial positions. In the sentence final position, it is the object of the verb (33i) as well as the object of the preposition (33iii). The wh-marker is seen to always occur with the question polarity item both at the post-position as well as when it is pre-positioned to the beginning of the sentence. When the construction is a transitive verb, the original position of the wh-marker (where it is subcategorized for as the object of the verb) is left without a phonetic replacement (33i). On the other hand, in an intransitive construction, there is an inversion of preposition and the wh-marker (alongside its accompanied polarity item) such that the wh-marker is taking out of the supposed preposition phrase (sí ibo ní) to be pre-positioned in the sentence initial position. It is also noted that when the wh-marker is moved to the sentence initial position, there is an auxiliary verb that is positioned before the verb.

34.

i.





Data 34i-ii above shows the syntactic distribution of the wh-marker as well as the relationship between the two syntactic positions associated with the wh-markers. The syntactic tree in 34ii reveals that, the wh-marker is moved from its canonical position to the left periphery and replaced with a trace at the extraction site rather than with a resumptive pronoun.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has examined the various wh-markers in Şúpàré with discussion on the distribution of the wh-markers as well as the relationship between the different syntactic positions of the markers. The chapter has identified two different categories of the wh-markers in Şúpàré based on the number of the morphological shapes of the wh-markers as well as the syntactic category of the elements that replace the wh-elements at the extraction site. The Resumptive wh-markers are said to contain two morphological forms that are in complementary distribution. One of the shapes is reserved to occur at the D-structure while the other form is restricted to occur at

the S-structure. This category has been identified to select resumptive pronouns to replace them at the extraction site. The Trace wh-markers are the wh-markers that leave their ghost copy at the extraction site rather than being replaced by a resumptive pronoun. The trace wh-markers have been identified to contain only one form both at the D-structure and at the S-structure. This chapter identifies “kí” and “èré” as the two lexical items in complementary distribution. While “èré” is restricted to occur at the base generated position, “kí” is restricted to occur at the S-structure at the secondary position where it is moved to. It is also stated that, “kí” is accompanied by a resumptive pronoun to replace the moved element at the extraction site. “Èsí” and “Ọni” are in complementary distribution. While “èsí” is restricted to the S-structure, “ọni” is restricted to the D-structure just as the wh-marker is replaced with a resumptive pronoun at the extraction site. “kí-bọ̀ọ̀nì” is used to query the manner of how something is done. While “kí” is found at the S-Structure, “bọ̀ọ̀nì” is found at the D-structure. The wh-marker is replaced with a resumptive pronoun at the extraction site. The presence of the resumptive pronoun blocks the occurrence of a trace (as a ghost copy of the extracted wh-marker). “Ìgbà ní” and “ìbo ní” are wh-markers without resumptive pronouns and as such, they are replaced by trace at the extraction site.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ

4.1 Introduction

In our not necessary {simply in chapter three} chapter three, we investigated how Şúpàrè forms its wh-question. Our analysis reveals that, the wh-markers can be classified into two categories based on what replaces the wh-marker at its post-position. The Resumptive wh-marker replaces itself with a pronoun at its post-position while the trace wh-marker replaces itself with only a ghost copy that is phonetically null. {not necessary} The sentence final wh-marker contributes to the overall interpretation of the construction such that, the deletion of the sentence final wh-marker renders the whole sentence incomplete. In this chapter, We will be discussing Rel Construction [our attention is shifted to the] Relative Construction in the Şúpàrè grammar. This chapter four is therefore set to investigate the strategy that the Şúpàrè grammar employs to achieve a Relative Construction as well as the contribution of each of the constituents to the overall semantic interpretation of relative clauses in Şúpàrè.

4.2 The Relative Marker

According to Awobuluyi (1978), Bamgbose (1990) and Oluwole (2017), tí is the relative marker in the standard Yorùbá and it is obligatory in every relative construction.

35.

Standard Yorùbá

i. Ọmọ tí ó wá ní ànà

child REL 3-SG come PREP yesterday

“The child that came yesterday”

- ii. Àwa tí a padà wá sí ilé ìwé
 1-PL REL 1-PL return come PREP house book
 “We that returned back to school”
- iv. Àwọn tí wálé pè
 PL REL wale call
 “Those that wale called”
- v. Èmi tí mo tètè dé
 1-SG REL 1-SG early arrive
 “I that arrived early”

Data 35 above show that, when the subject of the sentence is relativized, the relative marker (tí) is immediately followed by a pronoun that has the same phi-features with the relativized argument (35i-iii). It is also noted that when an object argument of sentence is relativized, the canonical object argument position is left vacant without any resumptive pronoun (35iv). In the same vein, 35v shows that when the subject argument of an intransitive sentence is relativized, the relative marker is immediately followed with a resumptive pronoun.

Just like the Standard Yorùbá, the Relative marker in Şúpàrè immediately follows a noun phrase that acts as its antecedent in the syntactic construction. The antecedent and the relative marker are assumed to have the same semantic identity since they both refer to the same entity.

36.

Şúpàrè

- i. Ọni iyí ò ó wá àná ká jí ewó mi
 Person REL 3SG HTS come yesterday ASP-PERF steal money 1SG-OBJ
 “The person who came yesterday has stolen my money”

- ii. iùnjẹ̀ ìyí mò ó sè ùgbẹ̀ ká bàjẹ̀
 Food REL 1-SG-SUBJ HTS cook morning ASP-PERF spoil
 “The food which I cooked in the morning is spoilt”
- iii. Igi ìyí Dúpẹ̀ gé ijéló ká wù
 Tree REL Dupe cut last-time ASP-PERF grow
 “The tree that Dupe fell down last time has germinated”
- iv. Ọ̀wọ̀n ìyí ọ̀ ọ̀ ti Ọ̀sogbo wá ànọ̀ ká gbèèn sí Èkó
 3-PL REL 3-PL HTS PREP Osogbo come yesterday ASP-PERF go-past PREP Lagos
 “Those who came from Osogbo yesterday have gone to Lagos”
- v. Aṣọ̀ ìyí wò ó bá mi fò isén ẹ̀n mó
 Cloth REL 2-SG HTS help 1-SG wash once NEG clean
 “The cloth that you helped me to wash is not clean”
- vi. Ìgbà ìyí ọ̀ ó bá wù ghẹ̀n ni kí ẹ̀ wá ọ̀lá ní
 Time REL 3-SG HTS help like 2-PL FOC that 3-SG come tomorrow FOC
 “You should come at the time that is convenient for you tomorrow”

A look at the set of data in 36i-iv will reveal that there is no intervening morpheme between the Relative marker {ìyí} and its antecedent in each of the examples above. Data 36 shows that each of the sentences has two subject arguments. While the first subject argument is the original subject argument that is relativized, the second subject argument is a resumptive pronoun that resumes the relativized argument in the pre-verbal position. The relative marker comes between the two subject arguments. It is also noted that the High Tone Syllable (HTS) always follows the pronoun argument after the relative marker. Unlike in the subject argument where the HTS is not needed, the HTS marks agreement for the pronoun arguments at the subject argument position.

Data 37 as well as the label brackets and the tree diagram will further show the inter-constituent relations in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction.

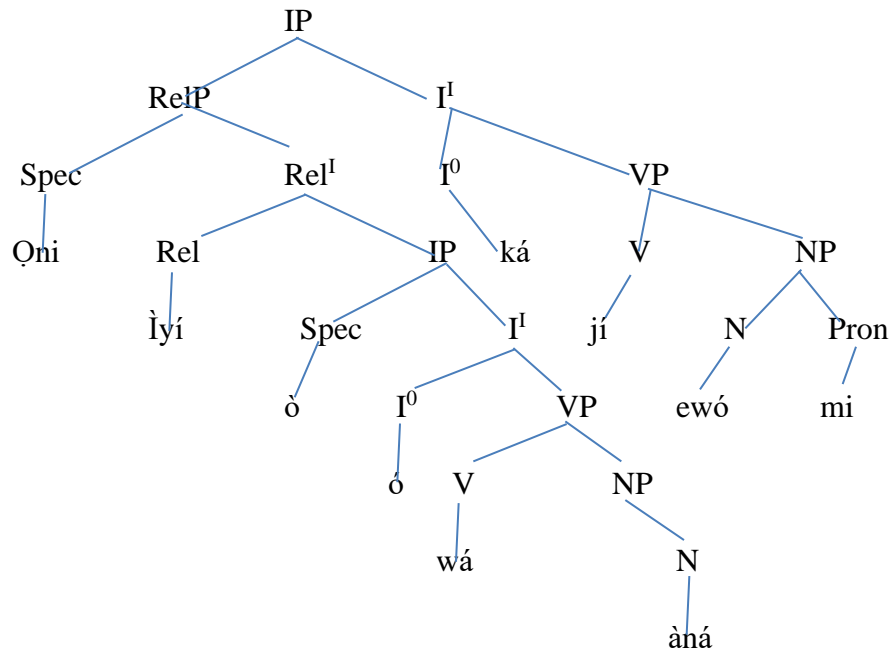
37.

- i. Ọni ìyí ò ó wá àná ká jí ewó mi
 Person REL 3-SG HTS come yesterday ASP-PERF steal money 1SG

“The person who came yesterday has stolen my money”

- ii. [IP Ọni [RelP ìyí [IP ò ó [VP wá àná ká jí ewó mi]]]]

iii.



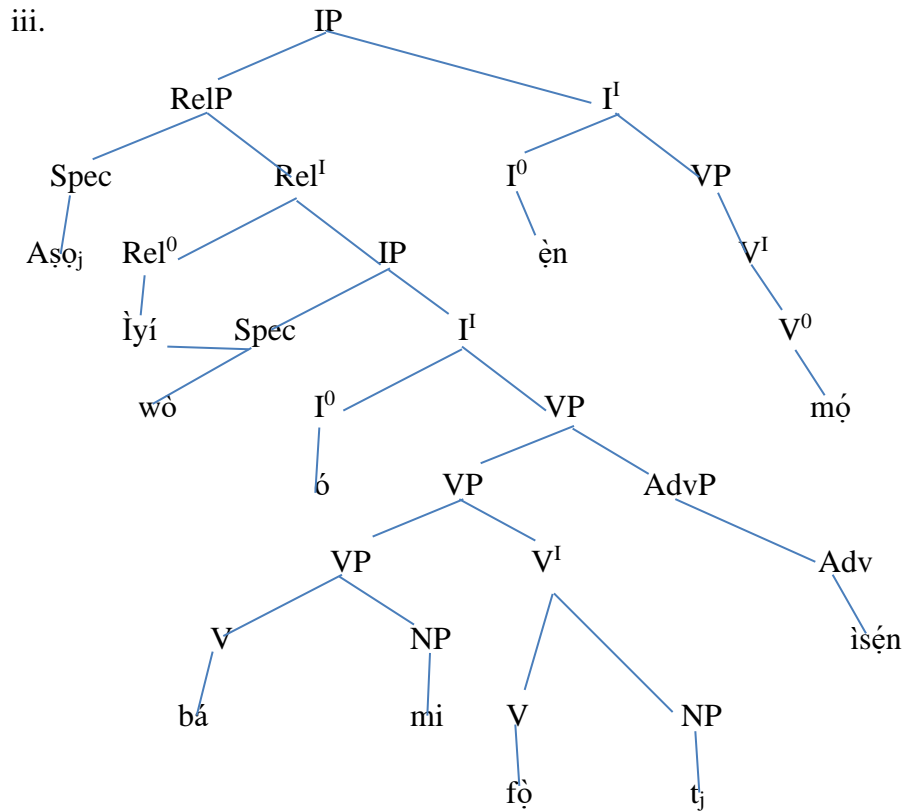
Data 37 above shows the configuration of a relative construction in Şúpàrè. While 37i shows the sequencing of the constituents of a relative construction, 37ii shows the different constituents through label the brackets and 37ii shows the functional distribution of all the constituents of the sentence in terms of their inter-relationship. The status and function of each member of a maximal projection is shown in data 37i-iii above in terms the contribution of each member of the clause to the overall interpretation of a relative construction in Şúpàrè.

38.

- i. Aṣọ iyí wò ó bá mi fò isén èn mó
 Cloth REL 2-SG HTS help 1-SG wash once NEG clean

“The cloth that you helped me to wash is not clean”

- ii. [IP Aṣọ [REL^I iyí [IP wò ó [VP bá mi fò isén] èn mó]]]



A look at the tree diagrams in the data 37-38 will reveal that when the relativized nominal is the Subject of the canonical sentence, the subject argument position is filled with a resumptive pronoun (37iii) that has the same semantic components with the antecedent in the higher clause. On the other hand, when the relativized nominal is the object argument of the canonical sentence,

the object position is filled with a trace rather than a resumptive pronoun (38iii). The trace at the extraction site in the lower clause is co-indexed with the nominal element at the specifier position of the higher clause. It can also be observed that the Subject Argument position of the relativized clause is always filled with a pronoun that must have the same phi-features with the nominal element in the higher clause.

4.3 The Internal Structure of a Relative Clause

According to Jacobson (1995) and Partee (2005), a relative clause is a type of inter-clausal dependency whereby a nominal expression is modified by a sentence. The dependent clause that subsumed under an independent clause as a modifier to a nominal element is attached very close to the modified nominal. The dependent clause itself is a combination of a relative marker and a complete sentence. Each relative clause therefore contains a sequence of a nominal element (the part of the construction that is being modified), the relative marker as well as an Inflection Phrase (that is acting as a complement for the relative marker). The internal structure of a relative in Şúpàrè must contain a sequence of [Rel – Subj – Agree – Verb Phrase]. Unlike the observation of Comrie (1979) and Maxwell (1979) that majority of the languages in Africa do not have pronouns in the Relative Clause, the Subject argument position of the Relative Clause is always occupied in the Şúpàrè dialect. The examples below show the position of the Subject Argument of the Internal Clause of the Relative Clause.

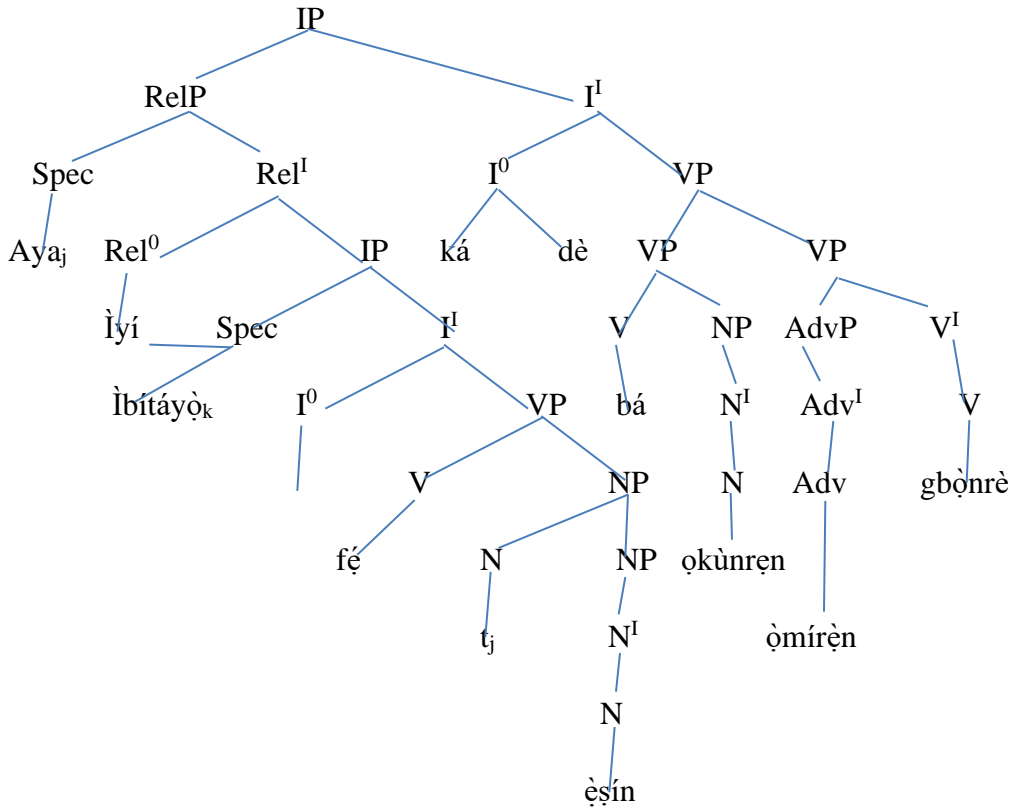
39.

- i. Aya ìyí Ìbítáyò fẹ èşín ká dè bá ọkùnren òmírèn gbònrè
 wife REL Ibitayo marry last-year ASP-PERF again follow man another go-past

“The wife that Ibitayo married last year has eloped with another man”

- ii. [IP [Spec Aya [RelP ìyí [IP Ìbítáyò [VP fẹ èşín ká dè bá ọkùnren òmírèn gbònrè]]]]

iii.



Data 39i-iii above shows the structure of a relative construction in Sùpàrè when the second subject argument (the argument that comes after the relative marker “ìyí”) is a noun rather than a pronoun. It is shown that it is the object of the verb that is pre-positioned for relativization in 39iii above. It is shown that the position of subject argument is not available for a resumptive pronoun to occupy. It can also be seen from the syntactic tree in 34iii that the semantic identity of the relativized argument (“Aya” that is pre-positioned from its subcategorized position) and the subject argument of the lower clause (“Ìbítáyò” as the subject argument of the kernel sentence) are different. That is why the two arguments are marked with unidentical co-indexation marks).

40.

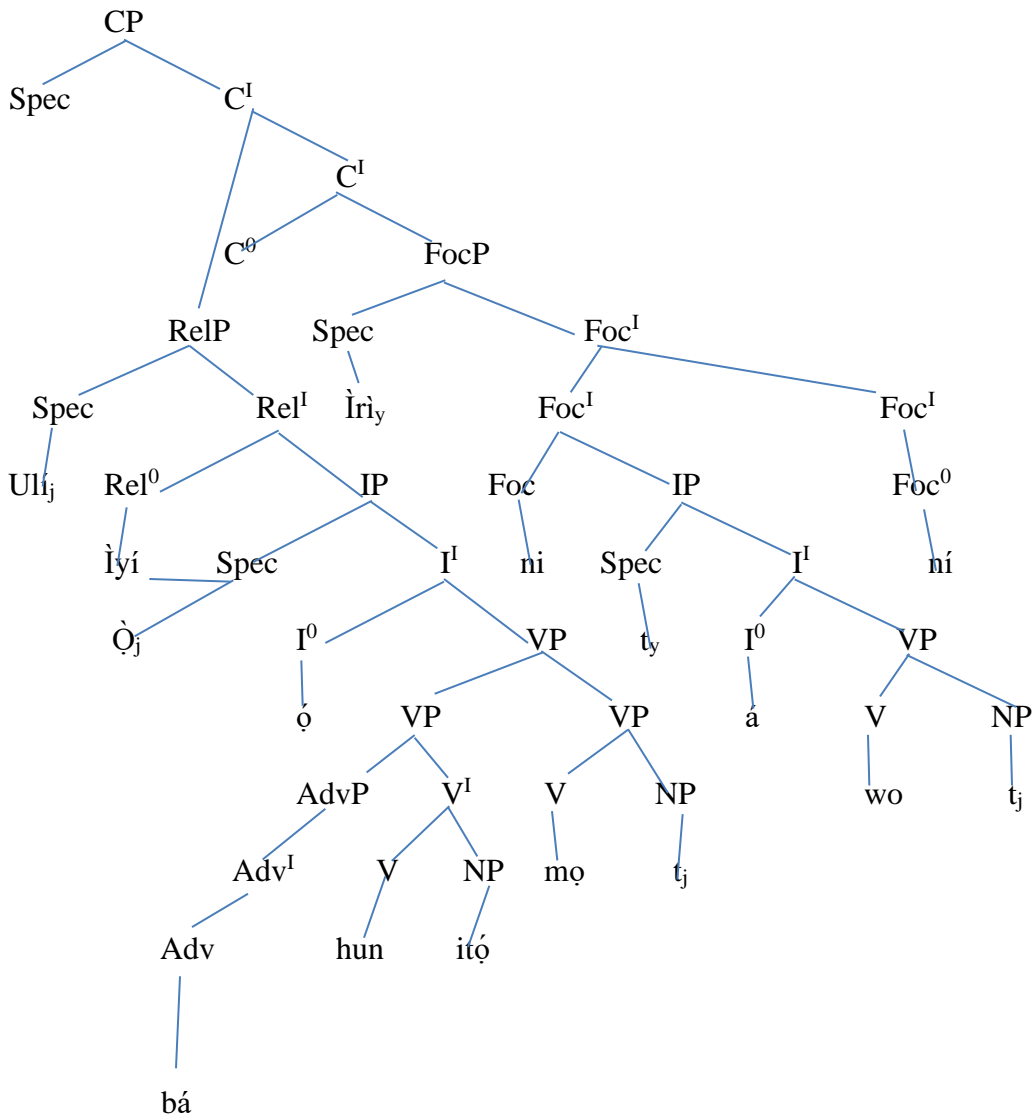
i. Ulí ìyí ò ó bá hun itó mọ, ìrì ní á wo ní

House REL 3PL-SUBJ HTS that use saliva mould dew that FUT demolish FOC

“The house that is made of saliva will be demolished by dew”

ii. [IP [Spec Ulí [RelP ìyí [IP ò ó [VP bá hun itó mọ, [FocP ìrì ní [IP á [VP wo ní]]]]]]]]

iii.



The data examples 39-40 shows the structural constituents of the relative clause construction in Yorùbá. It is also noted that the Relative marker {ìyí} is obligatory at every instance of the Relative construction in Şúpàrè. It can be noted the relative clause contains an internal clause headed by an Inflectional Phrase. The argument in the Specifier position of the RelP (Relative Phrase) in 39iii and 40iii have been shown to be associated with two separate syntactic positions. These arguments in their respective examples have been moved from the subcategorised object position of a VP (39iii) and from the external argument position (35iii) to the specifier position of the Relative Phrase in a higher clause. The relationship between the two syntactic positions for each of the arguments are shown by the co-indexation marks in their respective tree diagrams. The complexity of the data 40 is based on the fact that two different nominal elements have been differently moved for different purposes in the syntactic construction. While ìrì (dew) was moved for focusing, ulí (house) was moved for relativization. The moved elements have therefore been co-indexed with their different extraction sites to show identical semantic component of the two associated structural positions. One other observation in the data 40 above is the fact that it is possible to have a focused constituent in a sentence where another constituent is being relativized in the Şúpàrè grammar. It is assumed that a CP must have projected all the clauses in 35 that reflect the generative nature of the human language (Chomsky, 1981; Bresnan, 2001). The presence of the focus marker “ní” in 40 is necessitated by the fact that the relative construction was generated from a focus construction.

4.4 The Resumptive Pronoun and Argument Positions

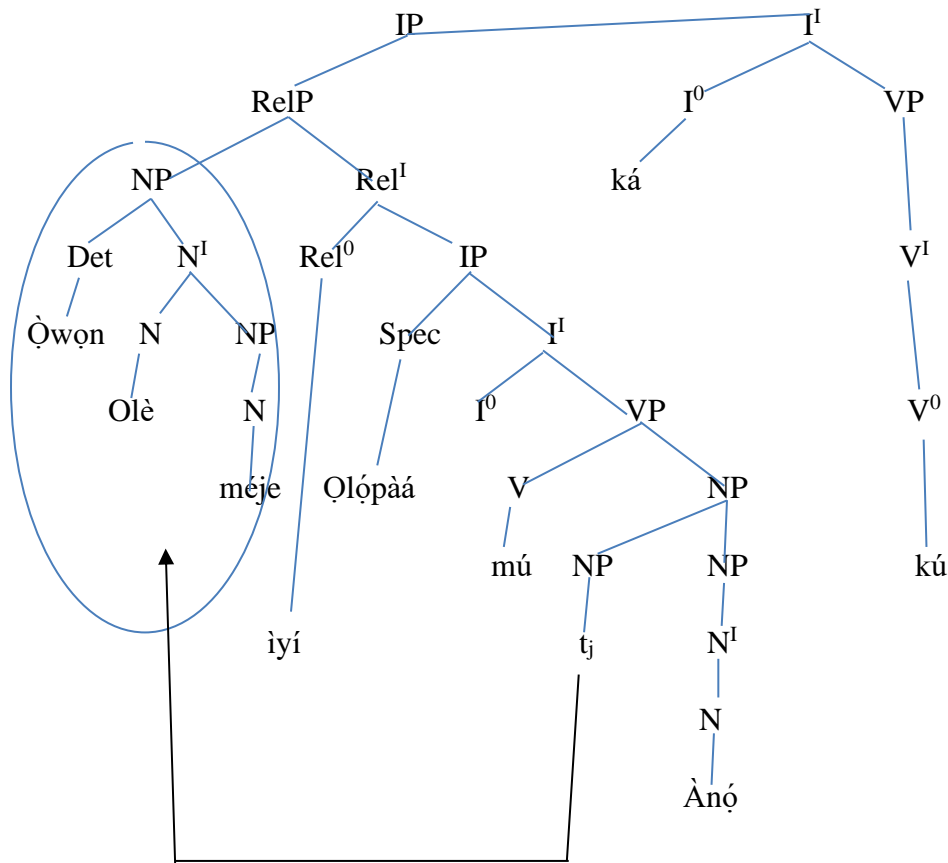
The Subject Argument position of the Internal clause cannot be left vacant in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction. When the Subject Argument is moved up in the syntactic tree to be

relativized, the extraction site is occupied by a resumptive pronoun that has the same semantic components with the moved argument. According to Yuka and Adefabi (2016), every pronoun subject argument must have an agreement marker in the preverbal position and as the head of the Inflection Phrase. This agreement marker immediately follows the Pronoun Subject Argument in the clause. A resumptive pronoun occurring in the subject argument position of the internal clause must be identical (in semantic composition) as the extracted argument from the same structural position. Hence, the need for co-indexation of the two syntactic positions. The data 34 below shows that a nominal phrase containing a noun and its modifiers are jointly moved to a higher position for relativization. This shows that relativization (alongside its movement condition) concerns a nominal phrase rather than a noun because both the nouns and their modifiers are moved for relativization in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction.

41.

- i. Òwọ̀n olè méje ìyí ọ̀lọ̀pàá mú ànọ́ ká kú
 PL thief seven REL police take yesterday ASP.PERF die
 “The seven thieves that were arrested by police yesterday have died”
- ii. [IP [Spec Òwọ̀n olè méje [RelP ìyí ọ̀lọ̀pàá mú ànọ́ [VP ká kú]]]]

iii.



The tree diagram in 41iii above shows that the relativized argument has been moved from the Internal argument position of the Internal Clause to the specifier position of the Relative Phrase. The extraction site of the relativized argument is occupied by a trace in the tree diagram and therefore co-indexed with the relativized argument at the landing site. The example also shows that the relativized argument is the Subject argument of the canonical clause. Hence, it is the subject argument position that is relativized in the example 36 above. The circle in the tree diagram shows the moved NP while the arrow shows the direction of the movement of the argument from the extraction site to the landing site. The tree diagram has therefore shown that

the relativized argument is associated with two argument positions. The co-referentiality shows that the two argument positions have the same semantic component.

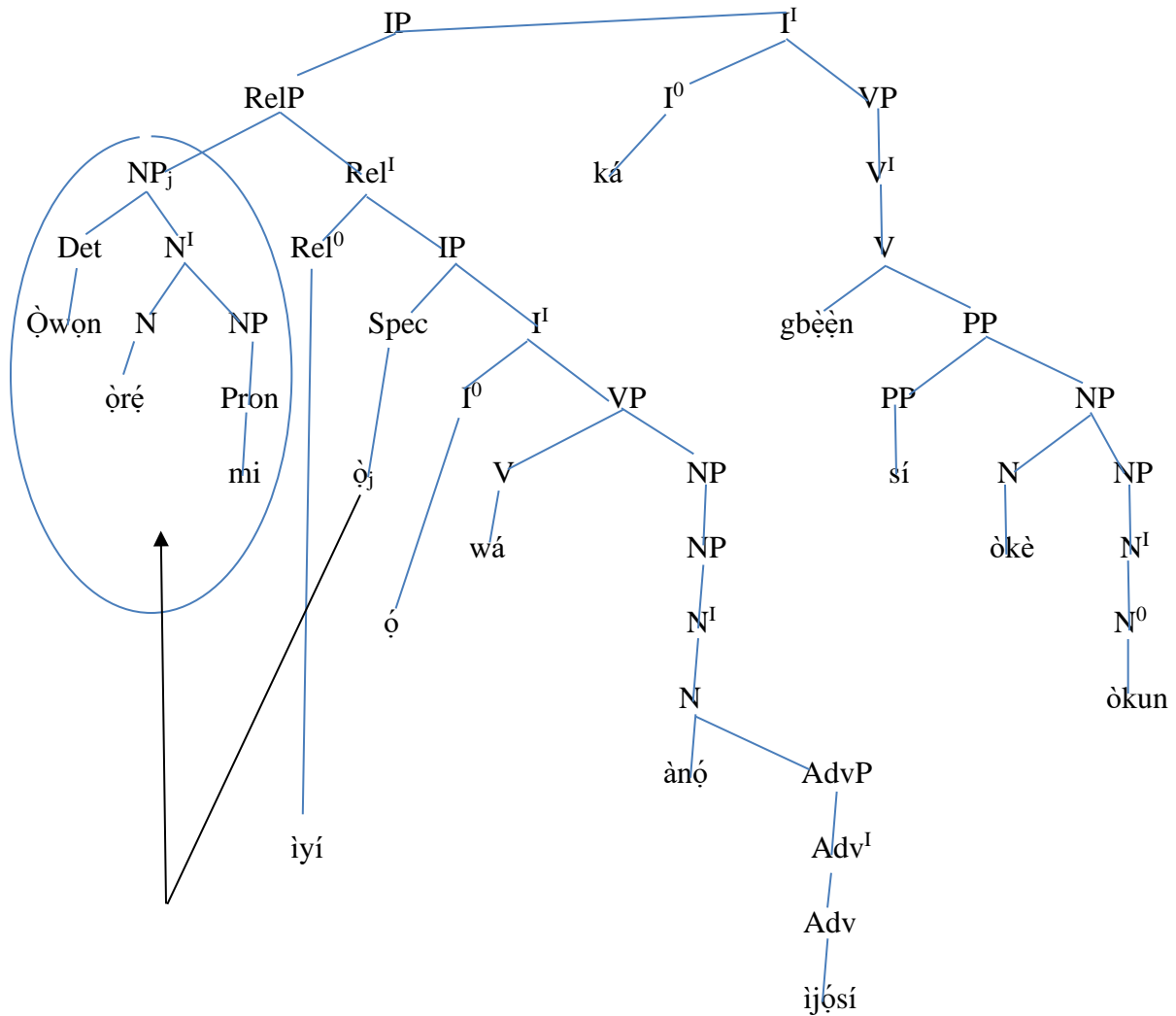
42.

i. Ọ̀wọ̀n ọ̀ré mi ìyí ọ̀ ọ̀ wá ibé ìjọ̀sí ká gbẹ̀n sí ọ̀kẹ̀ ọ̀kun
 PL friend 1-SG REL 3-PL AGR come here last-time ASP.PERF go-pst PREP up river

“My friends that were here last time have now travelled abroad”

ii. [IP [Spec Ọ̀wọ̀n ọ̀ré mi [RelP ìyí [IP ọ̀ ọ̀ [VP wá ibé ìjọ̀sí [VP ká gbẹ̀n sí ọ̀kẹ̀ ọ̀kun]]]]]

iii.



While Data 41 shows that the internal argument position of the Relative Clause is occupied by a noun, data 42 shows that the internal argument position of the Relative Clause is occupied by a resumptive pronoun that has the same phi-features with the argument at the specifier position of the Relative Clause. The co-indexation marks show that the argument at the specifier position of the Relative Phrase has the same semantic capacity with the pronoun at the specifier position of the Inflection Phrase. Hence, the co-indexation mark on “ò” shows that it resumes the position (as a place filler) where the argument has been extracted. The table below shows the phi-features of the two arguments that are co-indexed at the two argument positions. The arrow in the tree diagram indicates the movement of the Argument {Òwọ̀n òrẹ̀ mí} from its subcategorised position at the Specifier Position of the Inflection Phrase [Spec IP] to the Specifier Position of the Relative Phrase (a secondary position for a moved argument).

Table 7: Arguments and their Phi-features

òwọ̀n òrẹ̀ mí	ò
Plural	Plural
Third Person	Third Person

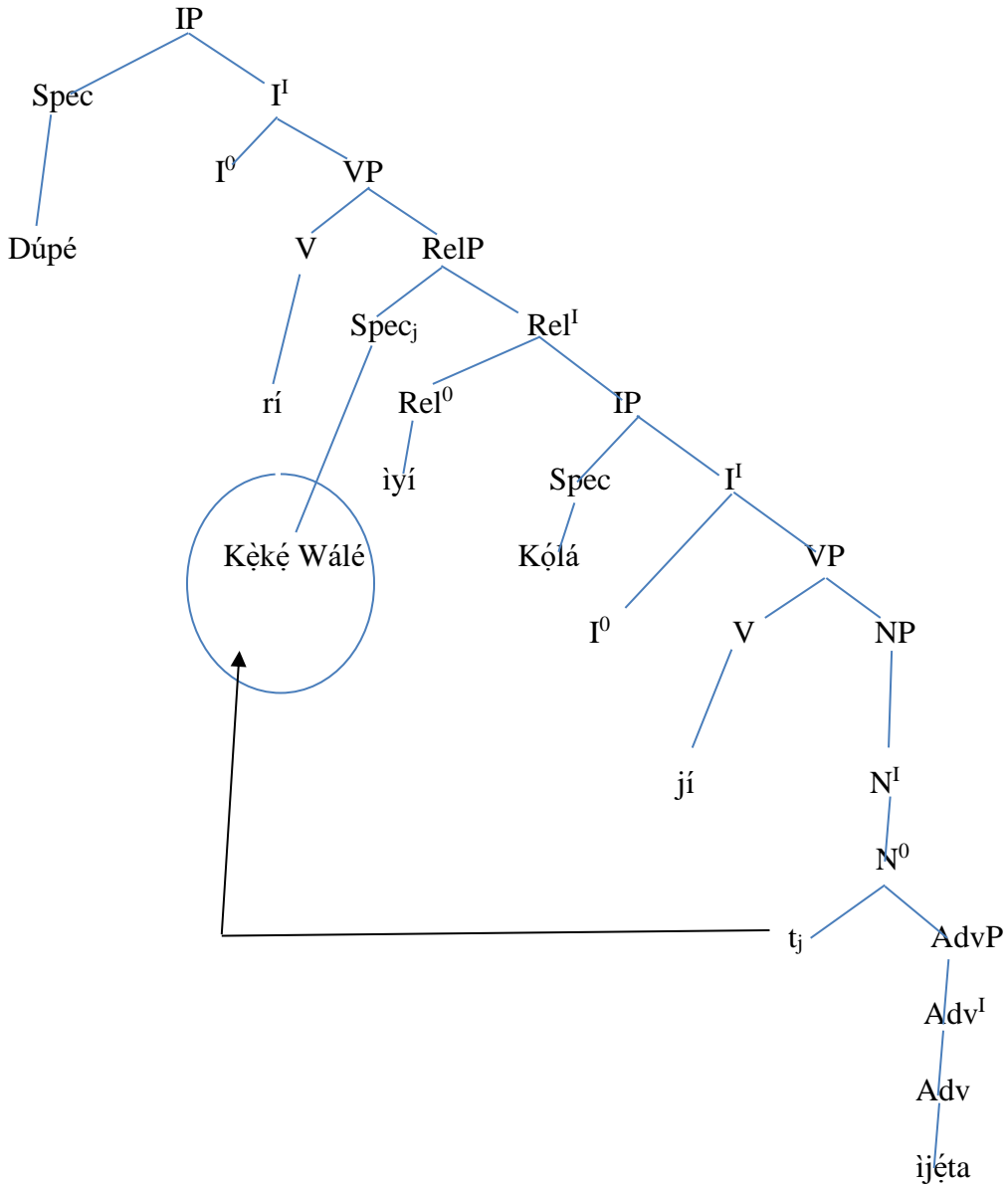
The table 3 above shows that the two nominal elements co-indexed in the two argument positions in 42iii above have the same phi-features. The shared identical features make it possible for the resumptive pronoun {ò} to replace the moved Subject Argument {Òwọ̀n òrẹ̀ mí} at its extraction site.

43.

- i. Dúpé rí kèkè Wálé iyí Kólá jí ijéta
 Dupe see bicycle Wale REL Kola still three-days ago
 “Dupe saw Wale’s Bicycle that Kola stole three days ago”

ii. [IP [Spec Dúpé [VP rí [RelP [Spec kèkè Wálé iyí [IP Kólá [VP jí ijéta]]]]]]]

iii.



Unlike the data 41-42 where it is the Subject of the canonical sentence that has been relativized in each case, data 43 reveals that it is the Object of the canonical sentence that is relativized. Hence, the Verb (V) subcategorised for a Relative Phrase (RelP) rather than an NP. The tree diagram in 43iii shows that it is the Subcategorised object of the internal clause (lower IP) that is moved to the Specifier Position of the Relative Phrase. Hence, the co-indexation marks between the two argument positions. Unlike in data 42 where the extraction site for the argument at the Specifier position of the Relative Phrase (Spec RelP) is filled with a resumptive pronoun, the extraction site for the moved argument in 43 is only occupied by a trace (an empty category indicating a movement out of the syntactic position).

The Observation from the sets of data above is that, a movement out of the Subject argument position must be replaced by resumptive pronoun that has the same phi-features with the moved element. While the grammar of Şúpàrè permits a trace (t) to appear as a ghost copy of a moved argument in the object position, the grammar compels the Subject argument position to be compulsorily filled with an overt argument at all times. When a movement of an argument is occasioned at the Subject position, the extracted argument must substitute itself with another overt argument. On the other hand, this condition does not hold for a moved argument at the object position. What is only required at the object position when an argument is moved is only the ghost copy of the moved argument.

Our data above have shown that Trace and the Resumptive pronouns occur in complementary distribution in the sense that they are mutually exclusive of each other. The basis of their complementarity is the type of the argument position they are associated with. While a trace is conditioned to the object argument position, the Resumptive pronoun is restricted to the subject argument position. However, the similarity between the resumptive pronoun and the trace

in the Şúpàrè grammar is that, the antecedents of both of them take the specifier position of the Relative Phrase as their final destination. The sets of data in 40, 41, 42 & 43 above have therefore shown the variations in the configuration of the arguments in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction. The different types of nominal relationship in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction are based on the elements at the extraction site of an argument. The two relationships that can be accounted for in the relative construction are:

- i. Resumptive-Argument Relationship: This is the semantic or interpretive relationship that exist between a nominal element at the specifier position of the Relative Phrase and the resumptive pronoun at its extraction site. The two syntactic positions must therefore have the same interpretive capacity.
- ii. Trace-Argument Relationship: This is the relationship between a nominal element at the specifier position of the Relative Phrase and a trace at the extraction site in the object position. While a resumptive pronoun has a morphological content and phonologically realised, a trace (as a ghost copy) does not have a morphological content and thus cannot be phonologically realised.

Data 44 below will also show the behaviour of a moved nominal element from the object of the preposition. Unlike the previous examples that examined the behaviour of an argument at the object of the verb position, the following example examines the relationship between a moved element from the object of a preposition and the landing site at the specifier position of the Relative Phrase.

44.

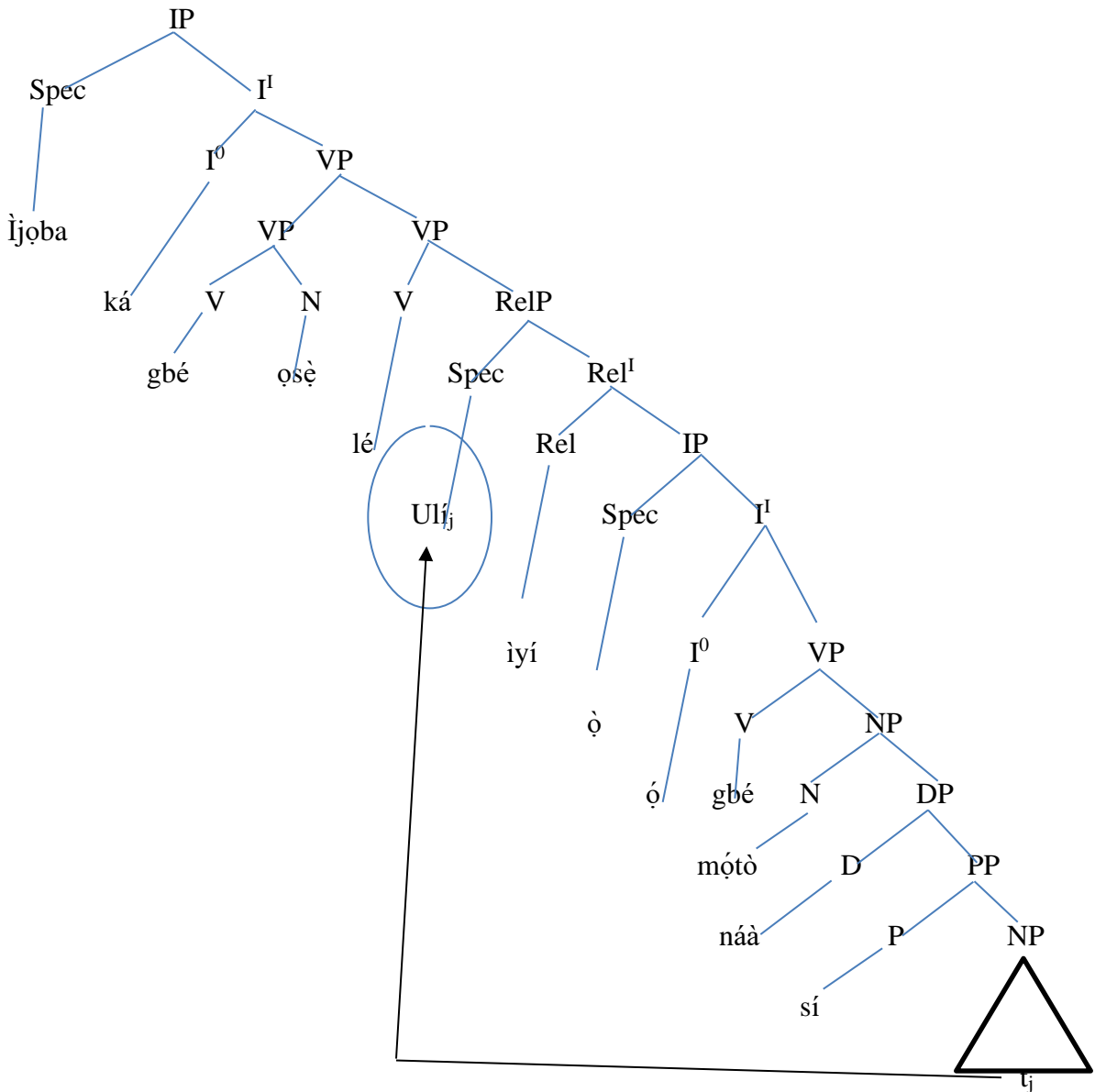
i. Ìjọba ká gbòsè lé ulí iyí ò ó gbé mótò náà sí

Government ASP.PERF put leg over house REL 3-PL AGR carry car DET PREP

“The Government seized the house where the car was parked”

ii. [IP [Spec Ìjọba ká [VP gbòsè lé [NP ulí [RelIP iyí [IP ò ó [VP gbé [NP mótò náà [PP sí t]]]]]]]]]

iii.



The data 44 above shows a relativized nominal whose canonical position originated from the object of the preposition. Unlike the examples 40-41 above where the nominals either originate from the external argument or the internal argument of the verb, data 44 shows that the object of the preposition is not excluded from the established relationship of relativized nominals in the Şúpàrè Relative Construction. While the verb of the basic clause (upper IP) subcategorises for a Relative Phrase rather than a Noun/Pronoun argument, the object of the Preposition Phrase (PP) of the lower IP is moved to the specifier position of the RelP (Relative Phrase) for prominence. It is therefore noted that the movement is to the leftwards direction in Şúpàrè. It can be shown that the object of the Preposition behaves like the object of the verb in that, it accommodates trace rather a resumptive pronoun. The trace at the extraction site is also co-indexed with the moved element at the landing site in the specifier position of the Relative Phrase. It can further be seen that the pronoun at the Subject Argument position of the lower IP is not co-indexed with any other nominal because it is not co-referential with any other argument. This actually proves that the resumptive pronouns are the natural pronouns in Şúpàrè and they can function in full capacity as subjects of their respective sentences. When a pronoun functions as the Subject of a sentence without any antecedent, it is left without any co-indexation mark since it is not associated with more than one syntactic position.

It can be observed that when the object of a preposition is moved to a higher clause for relativization, the preposition is not moved along with it. Since what is expected to be relativized is a nominal element rather than a preposition phrase, the whole PP cannot be taken up the syntactic tree. The result of the movement of the object of the preposition is Preposition Stranding (Ans, 1987). The grammar of Şúpàrè does not allow Preposition Pied Piping (Ross (1967; 1986)

and hence the stranded preposition cannot be attracted by the extracted nominal. Prepositions are known to survive in the sentence final position in Şúpàrè like this without any option of stranding.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has accounted for the Relative Marker in Şúpàrè as “iyí”. **This chapter has noted** [reframe] that the Relative Marker cannot be deleted at any time in the configuration of a Relative Clause in Şúpàrè just like the standard Yorùbá. Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where the subject argument position of the internal clause is always empty for the third person pronoun (Awobuluyi, 2008), we have noted that, the subject argument position of the internal IP of the Relative Clause must always be filled at all time in the Şúpàrè dialect. Therefore, when the subject argument is moved from that position, a resumptive pronoun that has the same phi-features with the moved argument resumes the position as a semantic and syntactic duplicate of the moved argument. Hence, the two positions must be properly co-indexed. This chapter has accounted for two different types of relationships that exist between the different syntactic positions in the Şúpàrè Relative Structure. We pointed out that the two relationship that also occur in mutually exclusive environment are Trace-Argument Relationship and Resumptive-Argument Relationship. Trace-Argument Relationship explains the co-referential relationship between the specifier position of the Relative Phrase and an object position (object of verbs or object of prepositions) in the syntactic tree. When the nominal is extracted from the object position, the Trace (as a ghost copy of the moved element) stands in for the extracted nominal. On the other hand, Resumptive-Argument Relationship explains semantic and syntactic equivalence between the Spec RelP and a Subject Argument position. While the nominal element is extracted to the higher clause for prominence and relativization, a Resumptive pronoun with the same phi-features as the moved argument must stand in for the extracted nominal at the Subj-Arg position.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEGATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ŞÚPÁRÈ

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we examined the structure of a Relative Clause Construction in Şúpárè. Our explanation accounted for both the Relative Marker as well as the behaviour of all the constituents of the Relative Construction and the types of relationship that exist between the argument positions in Relative Construction. We noted that while a movement out of a Subj-Arg position does not accommodate a trace at the extraction site because the Subj-Arg position must be filled at every instance, a movement of the object of the verb or object of a preposition does not require a resumptive pronoun but an empty category that cannot be morphologically or phonologically realised in the position. Thus, a trace (which is an empty category) is expected to stand in for the extracted element at the object position while a morphologically and phonologically realised pronoun stands in for the moved element at the Subj-Arg position. [you don't need to do review of the previous chapter in the new. Simply go on to introduce the new topic and how it is conceptualized, and how your analysis will go]

In this chapter, our target is to examine the negative constructions in Şúpárè as well as all the morphemes that contribute to the overall realisation of a negative construction in Şúpárè.

5.2. The Negative Marker in Şúpárè

While Negation is known to be a Universal feature of the human language, the strategies employ by each language to implement this negation varies from one language to another (Chomsky, 1981; 1996; Lindstad, 2007). While some languages mark negation as a separate transformation, others simply attach it to another function category (Oye, 2006). While the standard Yorùbá and many of its neighbouring languages are known to be associated with

segmental markings for negation (Adebayo, 2016), the Šúpàrè grammar favours the use of a supra-segmental marking (a low tone) to derive negation rather than a morphological marking.

45.

Standard Yorùbá

- i. Olú wá ní àná
Olu come PREP yesterday
“Olu came yesterday”
- ii. Olú kò wá ní àná
Olu NEG come PREP yesterday
“Olu did not come yesterday”
- iii. Dúpé fẹ̀ràn rẹ̀
Dupe like 3-SG
“Dupe loves you”
- iv. Dúpé kò fẹ̀ràn rẹ̀
Dupe NEG like 3-SG
“Dupe doesn’t love you”

A comparison of 45i & ii as well as 45iii & iv will show that the only difference between the declarative sentences and their negative counterparts is “kò”. The presence of *kò* in 45ii & iv leads to a corresponding change in the meaning of the respective sentence from positive to negative construction. Since the only noticeable difference between the positive and negative sentences is the presence of the morphologically realised element (*kò*), it is logical to attribute the meaning change from positive to negative constructions to the same morpheme that was not in the positive sentence.

Unlike in the standard Yorùbá where the negative marker has a static and recognizable morphological shape, the negative construction in the Şúpàrè dialect is realized via a low tone syllable rather than a morphologically realized morpheme. Because the low tone does not have a static morphological shape, it is prone to any adjacent morphologically realized vowel to its left.

46.

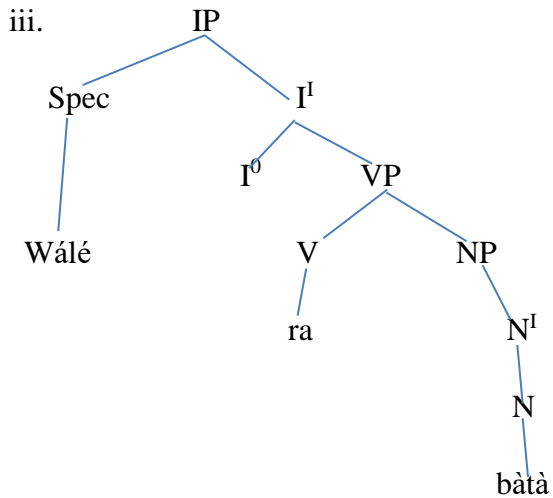
Şúpàrè

i. Wálé ra bàtà

Wale buy shoes

“Wale bought a pair of shoes”

ii. [IP [Spec Wálé [VP ra [NP bàtà]]]]



47.

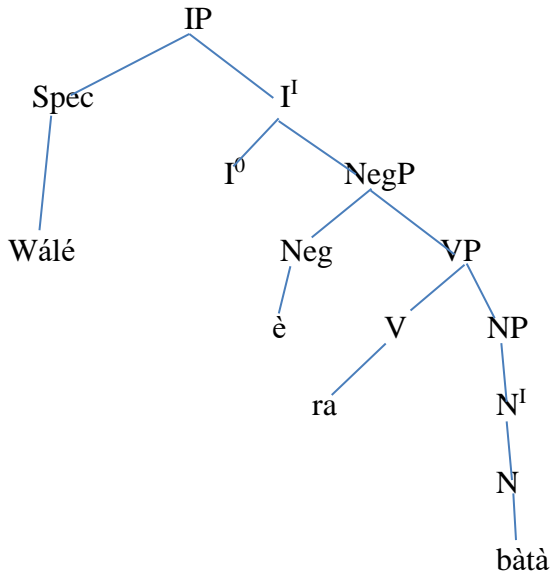
i. Wálé è ra bàtà

Wale NEG buy shoes

“Wale didn’t buy a pair of shoes”

ii. [IP [Spec Wálé [NegP è [VP ra [NP bàtà]]]]]

iii.



A comparative study of the positive and negative constructions in 46 and 47 above will show that the negative marker in Şúpàrè has the same morphological shape with the last vocalic element of the subject argument. This happens because the negative marker is only a tonal property that does not have a morphological shape at the underlying level. This negative marker therefore survives by copying any vowel to its left. It can be observed that the morphological shape of the Negative Marker è (46i) is traceable to the last vocalic element in the Subj-Arg position since there is no intervening morpheme between the Subj-Arg and the Negative Marker. The data below will show the variation in the morphological shape of the Negative Marker as a result of the variation in the shape of the last vocalic elements of the Subj-Arg in each of the cases.

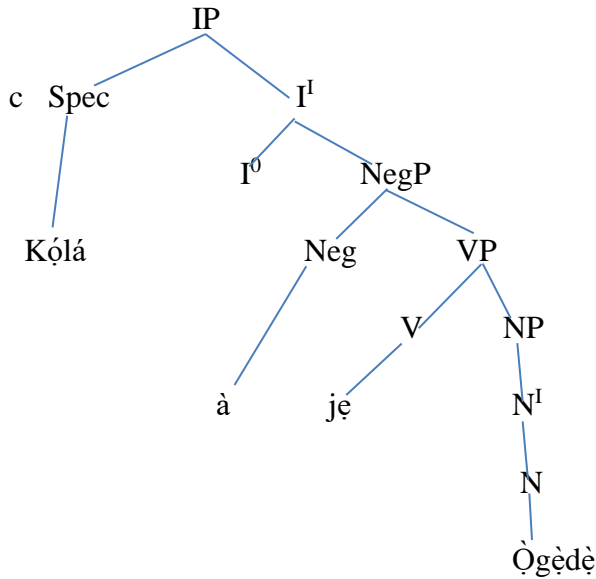
48.

i. Kólá à jẹ ògèdè

Kola NEG eat banana

“Kola didn’t eat banana”

b. [IP [Spec Kólá [NegP à [VP jẹ [NP ògèdè]]]]]



It can be observed in data 48 above that the morphological shape of the negative marker {à} is identical with the morphological shape of the last vocalic element of the subject argument {Kólá} that occurs before it in the sentence. The flexibility of the negative marker to adapt to the shape of the available vowel is based on the fact that the negative marker has no inherent morphological shape.

48.

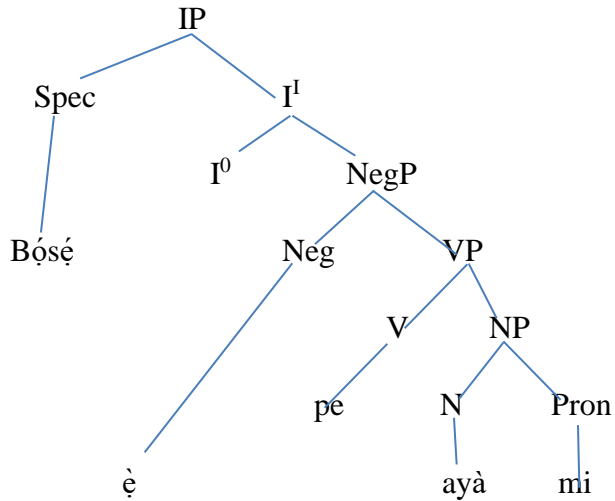
i. Bósé è pe ayà mi

Bose NEG call wife 1-SG-OBJ

“Bose didn’t call my wife”

ii. [IP [Spec Bósé [NegP è [VP pe [NP ayà mi]]]]]

iii.



The variable of the morphological shapes of the negative marker can also be seen in our data 49 above. Data 49i-iii shows that the morphological shape of the negative marker {è} derivable from the last vowel of the subject argument {Bòsè} that occurs immediately before it. Just like our previous examples, the negative marker contains only a vowel syllable (no onset and coda). The data reveals that the variability of the morphological shapes of the negative marker is sensitive to the last vowel of the subject argument that immediately occurs before it in the syntactic construction.

50.

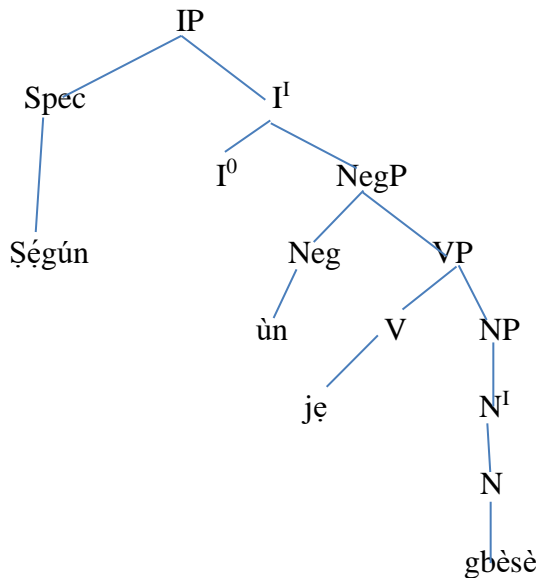
i. Ségún ùn jẹ gbèsè

Segun NEG eat debt

“Segun is not indebted”

ii. [IP [Spec Ségún [NegP ùn [VP jẹ [NP gbèsè]]]]]

iii.



A look at the examples in data 48, 49 & 50 above will show the unstable nature of the morphological shapes of the Negative Marker. In 48, the Negative Marker is à. On the other hand, the Negative Marker in 49 is è while the shape of the Negative Marker in 50 is ùn. It can be observed that while all other morphological shapes of the negative marker reflect only vowels. It can be observed that the last vocalic element of the Subject Argument in 50 is a nasal vowel. Therefore, the negative marker copies the nasality feature alongside the vowel since it is part of the vowel. Of course, it is established in the Yorùbá literature that no word in the language ends with a consonant (Bamgbose, 1990). The nasal consonant “n” in Şégún (50) is not a coda but simply a representation of the nasality feature of the vowel (u). These different shapes of the Negative Markers in the different examples are conditioned by the difference in the last vocalic elements of the Subj-Argument in each case.

51.

- i. Dàdá à pè mi
Dada NEG call 1-SG
“Dada didn’t call me”
- ii. Walé è pè mi
Wale NEG call 1-SG
“Wale didn’t call me”
- iii. Ìmólé è pè mi
Imole NEG call 1-SG
“Imole didn’t call me”
- iv. Títí ì pè mi
Titi NEG call 1-SG
“Titi didn’t call me”
- v. Òjó ò pè mi
Ojo NEG call 1-SG
“Ojo didn’t call me”
- vi. Ọládayọ ọ pè mi
Oladayo NEG call 1-SG
“Oladayo didn’t call me”
- vii. Adétutú ù pè mi
Adetutu NEG call 1-SG

“Adetutu didn’t call me”

Data 51 above reflects the variation of the negative markers across all the seven oral vowels of the language (Bamgbose, 1990). It can be observed that the shape of the negative marker is à in 51i, è in 51ii, è̃ in 51iii, ì in 51iv, ò in 51v, ò̃ in 51vi and ù in 51vii. It is clear from data 51 above (and the other previous examples) that, the variation in the morphological shapes of the negative markers is based on the different vocalic shapes available for the negative marker copy. The fact that the negative marker varies through: à~ è ~ è̃ ~ ì ~ ò ~ ò̃ ~ ù in 51i-vii respectively, is a signal that the negative marker in Šúpáre does not have an inherent morphological shape, hence its adaptability to every vowel available to its left in the Subject Argument position.

Despite the variation in the morphological shapes of the negative marker, however, the constant part of the Negative Marker across the different shapes and contexts is the low tone on the Negative Marker. Since all the Subj-Arguments cannot all end in a high tone, there must be a syntactic operation that compels all the last vocalic elements to a high tone. The set of data below compare the morphological shapes of the Subj-Arguments in both positive and negative constructions with the hope of accounting for the canonical shapes of the Subj-Arguments, the functional/contextual tones as well as the motivation for a uniform tone for the Negative Marker despite the different morphological shapes of the negative marker across different syntactic constructions.

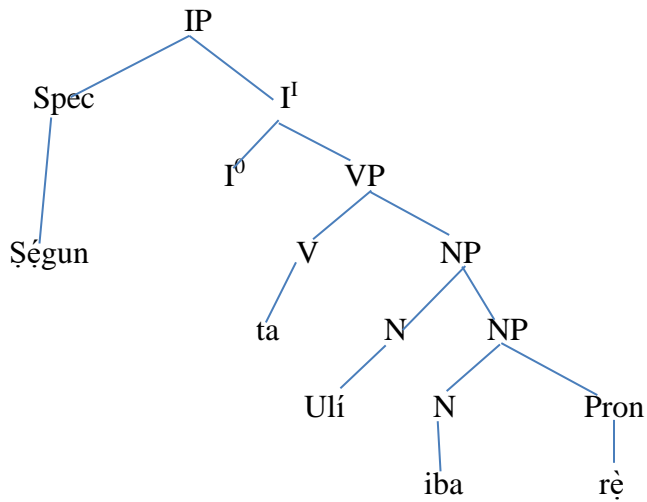
52.

i. Šégun ta Ulí iba rẹ̀

Segun sell house father 3-SG-POSS

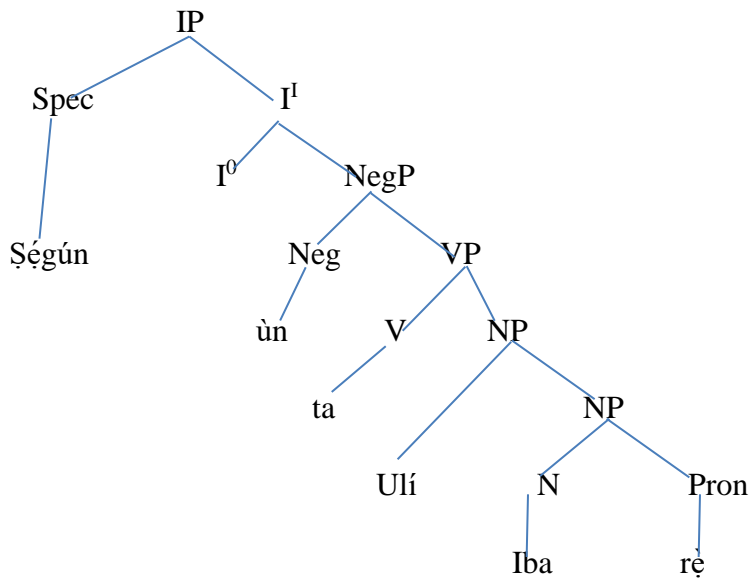
“Segun sold his father’s house”

ii.



iii. Şégún ùn ta Ulí iba rè
Segun NEG sell house father 3-SG-POSS
“Segun did not sell his father’s house”

iv.



It can be observed in 52i-ii that the inherent tone of the subject argument is high-mid sequence (Ṣégun) while the following verb (ta) also possesses a mid-tone (mid-tones are conventionally left unmarked in the Yorùbá writing system). On the other hand, a look at 52iii-iv will reveal a change in the tone sequence of the subject argument to high-high tones because of the presence of the low tone negative marker.

A close examination of the positive construction in 52i-ii in contradistinction to the negative counterpart in 52iii-iv will show that the inherent tone of the last vocalic element of the Subj-Argument is a mid-tone (a conventionally unmarked tone in Yorùbá). The presence of the negative marker in 52iii-iv triggers a tone polarisation process. The motivation for the tone polarisation is the Negative Marker. The direction of the tone polarisation is targeted at turning the last tone of the Subj-Argument to a high tone from whatever the inherent tone might be. This operation makes the last tone of the Subj-Argument to always be in direct opposition to the tone of the Negative Marker (high and low tones for the last vocalic element of the Subj-Argument and the Negative Marker respectively).

The variation on the morphological shape of the negative marker points to the fact that, the negative marker contains only a supra-segmental element without an inherent morphological shape. Just as the High Tone Syllable in the standard Yorùbá (Awobuluyi, 2008), because this Low Tone Syllable must ride on a phonetically realised element, it makes the shape to be very flexible and adaptable to all available vocalic environments to its left. Of course, Yorùbá words and syllables do not end with a coda (Awobuluyi, 1978; Bamgbose, 1990), so only a vowel shape can be available for the negative marker to copy from the subject argument. The absence of a permanent inherent morphological shape for the negative marker makes it to depend on the morphological shapes of the last tone carrying element of the Subj-Argument of the sentence.

The dependence of the negative marker on the morphological shape of the last tone carrying element of the Subj-Argument results in the variation of the realised morphologically shapes of the negative marker across different sentences since it must always conform to the environment at all times. The data below further establishes the motivation for the variation in the morphological shapes of the negative marker.

53.

i. Adé kọ iwé méta ní ijó kàn

Ade write book three PREP day one

“Ade wrote three books in the same day”

i. Adé è kọ iwé méta ní ijó kàn

Ade NEG write book three PREP day one

“Ade did not write three books in the same day”

Data 53 above shows that the morphological shape of the negative marker (è) is identical with the morphological shape of the last vowel of the subject argument (Adé) that precedes it in the sentence. It is also noted that the direction of the assimilation is regressive (to the subject argument at the back) rather than progressive (to the verb at the front). The morphological shape of the negative marker therefore depends on the subject argument and not the verb.

54.

i. Oḍe méjọ pa erin kàn

Hunter eight kill elephant one

“Eight hunters killed an elephant”

ii. Oḍe méjọ ọ pa erin kàn

Hunter eight NEG kill elephant one

“Eight hunters did not kill an elephant”

Data 54 shows that in the case of a complex NP where the subject argument has a modifier, the assimilative operation still goes in the normal direction for the realisation of the morphological shape of the negative marker. It is the closest part of the complex NP that lends its shape to the negative marker in the negative construction. The morphological shape of the negative marker {ò} in 54ii is realised from méjò (the modifier of the phrase) rather than Ọḍẹ (the head of the phrase).

55.

- i. Ọ̀jò rọ ànọ
 Rain fall yesterday
 “Rain fell yesterday”
- ii. Ọ̀jọ ò rọ ànọ
 Rain NEG fall yesterday
 “Rain did not fall yesterday”

Data 53-55 above shows how the three level tones in the Yorùbá language motivates the tone polarisation process in the realisation of the negative construction in simple clauses in Šúpáre. The inherent tone of the last vocalic element in Adé (in 53) is a high tone. Therefore, there is no further operation needed to convert an already high tone to a high tone. On the other hand, the inherent tone of the last vocalic element in of the subject argument “Ọḍẹ méjò” in 54 is a mid-tone. Hence, the need to convert it to a high tone as the direct opposite of the low tone negative marker. The inherent tone of the last vocalic element of the subject argument “Ọ̀jò” in 55 is a low tone. The inherent low-tone therefore undergoes the polarisation process of converting the low tone to a high tone to be in direct opposition to the low tone of the negative marker.

Therefore, the rule description of the Tone Polarisation Process is “Convert the inherent tone of the last vocalic element in the NP to a high tone if it is not a high tone”.

Table 8

Rule Description Table

	Inherent Tone	In put	Rule Description: Convert tones at morpheme boundaries to H-L sequence	Tone Polarisation	Output
	low tone	òjò - ò	Applicable	òjò - ò	òjò - ò
	mid-tone	ọẹ méjọ - ò	Applicable	ọẹ méjọ - ò	ọẹ méjọ - ò
	high tone	adé - è	Not Applicable	----- -----	adé - è

Table 4 shows that the tone polarisation rule does not apply in Table 4c because the input data is already polarised. The rule does not apply on the input data for 4c because it does not satisfy the rule description.

In the same vein, data 53-55 have also shown how the variation in the morphological shapes of the Subj-Argument conditions the variation in the morphological shape of the negative marker. It is therefore clear that the shape of the negative marker depends on the shape of the last vowel of the Subj-Argument in the same sentence. Data 53i shows that the inherent tone of the Subj-

Argument is a high tone. Since a high tone is the expected opposite of a low tone, the polarisation process left the last tone of the Subj-Argument unchanged in 53ii. 54i shows that the inherent tone of the last vowel of the Subj-Argument is a mid-tone. Since a mid-tone is not the assumed opposite tone of the negative marker, the grammar compels the polarisation process to convert it to a high tone in 54ii (as against the inherent tone in 54i). On the other hand, data 55i shows that the inherent tone of the last tone bearing unit of the Subj-Argument is a low tone. Since the low tone is the exact form of the negative marker and the grammar does not permit the last tone of the Subj-Argument and the negative marker to have a similar tone, it becomes imperative in 53ii for the last vocalic element of the Subj-Argument to be realised in high tone as a condition dictated by the negative marker in the sentence.

5.3 Negation in Aspectual Constructions

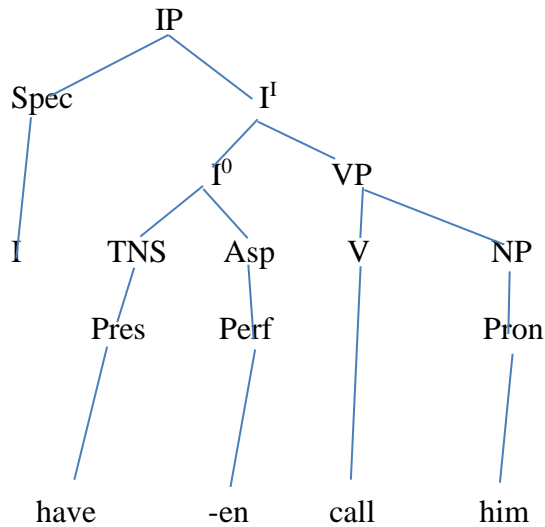
Aspect in human language has been variously described as the internal properties of verbs that expresses the temporal flow of the action and shows the perspective from which the writer looks at the action of the verb (Comrie, 1976). Aspects alongside tenses in human language have been said to be the properties of the verbs cross linguistically (Jaggar, 2006). While some languages morphologically mark for aspects, some other languages do not have overt markers for this temporal flow of the verb (Chomsky, 1981). Because of the inflectional nature of aspects and tense in many languages, they have been calculated to be the property of the Inflection Phrase (Lamidi, 2010).

56.

English

i. I have called him

ii.



While the sentence above may be simple to analyse in terms of the morphological shape as well as the structural positions for the tense and aspect markers in the case of English because it is an Inflectional language, the case is not so straightforward in Yorùbá that does not mark tense morphologically (Bamgbose, 1990). While Yorùbá morphologically marks for aspect, it is the context of an utterance that semantically points out the tense of the construction (Bamgbose, 1990; Lamidi, 2010).

57.

Standard Yorùbá

- i. Kóredé ñ lọ sí ojà
Korede ASP-PROG go PREP market
“Korede is/was going to the market”
- ii. Mo mò pé ó máa şelè
1-SG know that 3-SG will happen
“I know/knew it will happen”
- iii. Túndé wà ní ibè
Tunde exist at there
“Tunde is/was there”

The data above shows that it is only the context of the expressions that can established the tense of the respective sentences. According to Bamgbose (1990), Yorùbá speakers do not have problem about the present/past tense distinction since they can always distinguish them based on the prevailing circumstances. This is the exact situation in Şúpàrè and the other dialects of the Yorùbá language.

There has been some research on the Yorùbá Aspects unfortunately however, all the previous works have accounted for only three forms of Aspect in Yorùbá (Progressive, Perfective and habitual Aspects). Some of the previous scholars on the Yorùbá Aspects include: Awobuluyi

(1967), Oyelaran (1982), Bamgbose (1990), Adewole (1991), Fabunmi (2001), Lamidi (2010), Adeoye (2019) etc. This present research will show that there are five productive and distinctive forms of Aspects attested in Şúpàrè.

While the Negative Marker of a basic clause in Şúpàrè is achieved through a Low Tone Syllable (LTS). The negation of an Aspectual Construction takes a different form from that of the basic clause. While the morphological shape of the negative marker in a simple clause is dependent on the shape of the last tone bearing unit of the Subj-Argument of the sentence (that is standing contiguously with the supra-segmental negative marker), many forms of the Şúpàrè Aspectual constructions have their own dynamic ways of deriving native constructions. The forms of Aspect present in Şúpàrè are: Perfective Aspect {ká}, Inchoative Aspect {ké}, Progressive aspect {í}, Habitual Aspect {í} and Iterative Aspect {dè}.

5.3.1. Perfective Aspect

This is the form of Aspect that shows that an action is already completed as at the time in reference. This aspect is marked with ká in Şúpàrè. The data below will show the morphological shape of the perfective aspectual marker as well as the structure of the aspectual marker in the sentence.

58.

i. Olú ká jẹun

Olu ASP-PERF eat

“Olu has eaten”

ii. Olú şì jẹun

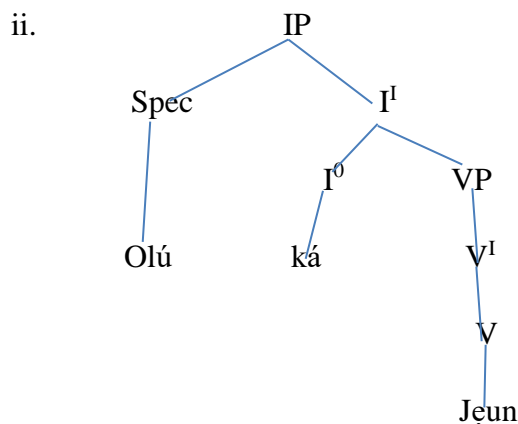
Olu NEG eat

“Olu has not eaten”

across positive and negative constructions, while the two aspectual markers are found in complementary distribution. A comparison of the positive constructions in 58i and 59i with their respective negative counterparts in 58ii and 59ii will show that the perfective aspectual marker (ká) is completely absent in the negated forms of the aspectual constructions. The negative aspectual constructions (58ii & 59ii) also reveal that *ɕi* subsumes both the negation and aspectual morphemes in the sense that, the negative constructions do not need the perfective aspectual marker (ká) to bring out a perfective reading in the constructions because *ɕi* has both the semantic components of negativity and aspect. We can then refer to *ká* as the Positive Aspectual Marker (PAO) while we name *ɕi* as the Negative Aspectual Marker (NAO). The tree diagrams below will show the structural position of the positive/negative aspectual markers relative to the other constituents of the constructions.

60.

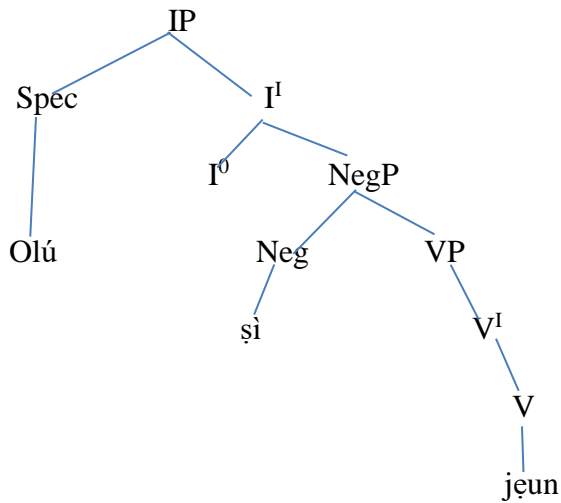
- i. Olú ká jɛun
 Olu PAO eat
 “Olu has eaten”



61.

- i. Olú òì jẹun
Olu NAO eat
“Olu has not eaten”

ii.



A comparison of the syntactic trees in 60 and 61 will clearly show that while the positive aspectual marker {ká} is the head of the IP (Inflection Phrase), the negative aspectual marker {òì} is the head of the NegP (Negation Phrase). Even though the negative aspectual marker contains both the semantic component of an aspect as well as the semantic property of negation, the bundle is dominated by the negative property. In the same vein, the aspectual component dominates the positive aspectual marker. By dominance, we mean the property of a constituent that is more active than the other properties that are perhaps passive in the constituent. The data below showing a similar analysis will further reveal the features of the positive/negative aspectual markers as well as their relationship.

62.

- i. Dáre ká wá
Dare PAO come
“Dare has come”
- ii. Dáre òì wá
Dare NAO come
“Dare has not come”
- iii. Túndé àti Dàda ká jẹun
Tunde CONJ Dada PAO eat
“Tunde and Dada have eaten”
- iv. Túndé àti Dàda òì jẹun
Tunde CONJ Dada NAO eat
“Tunde and Dada have not eaten”

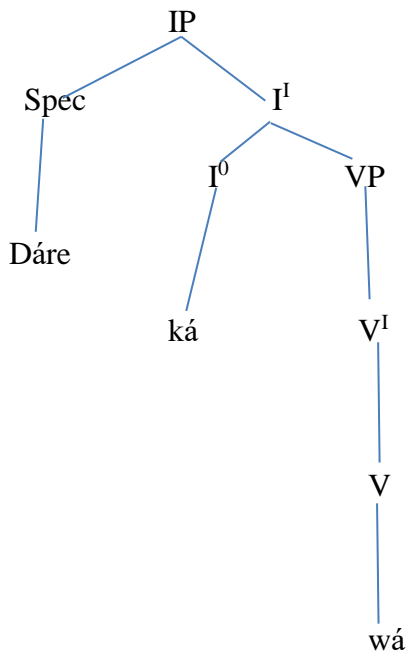
Data 62i-iv above shows the conversion process of a positive aspectual construction to a negative aspectual construction. 62i-ii shows the swapping of ká for òì to negate a positive aspectual structure. On the other hand, 62iii-iv shows the substitution of the functional elements ká and òì to derive the negative counterpart of a perfective aspectual construction in Šúpàrè. The data shows the simple operation of just a direct substitution of ká and òì (with no other modification to the positive/negative structures) to swap between positive and negative aspectual constructions. It means that the addition of the semantic interpretive capacity of both perfective aspect and negation to the negative sentence (solely with the presence of òì) must point to the fact that òì contains both the semantic component of a negative marker as well as the semantic

component of a perfective aspectual marker. Invariably, the grammar has adopted this sole strategy of single substitution to avoid redundancy (that may occur in the case of *ká* and *ɕì* in the same structure). The similarity in terms of semantic features between the two morphemes then rules out the possibility of using the two markers in the same structure even when they are found in two different structural positions. The syntactic trees below show the structural distribution of the two markers in the Şúpàrè positive and negative aspectual constructions.

63.

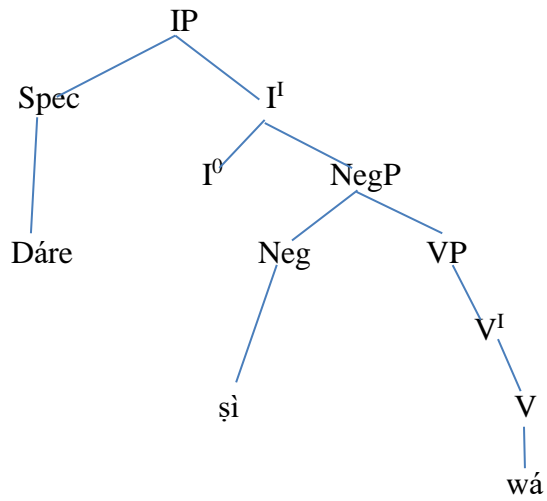
- i. Dáre ká wá
 Dare PAO come
 “Dare has come”

ii.



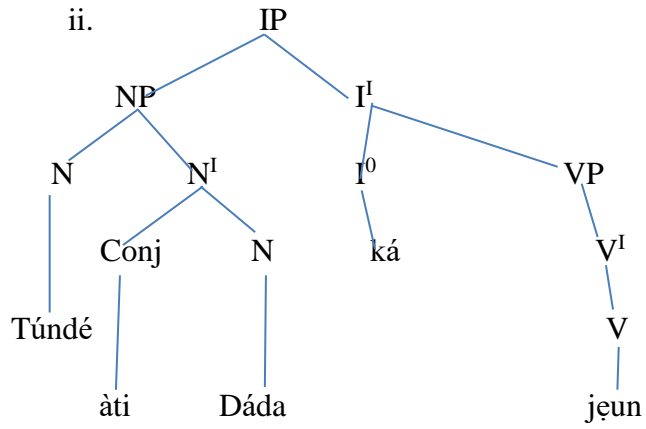
- iii. Dáre ò wá
 Dare NAO come
 “Dare has not come”

iv.



64.

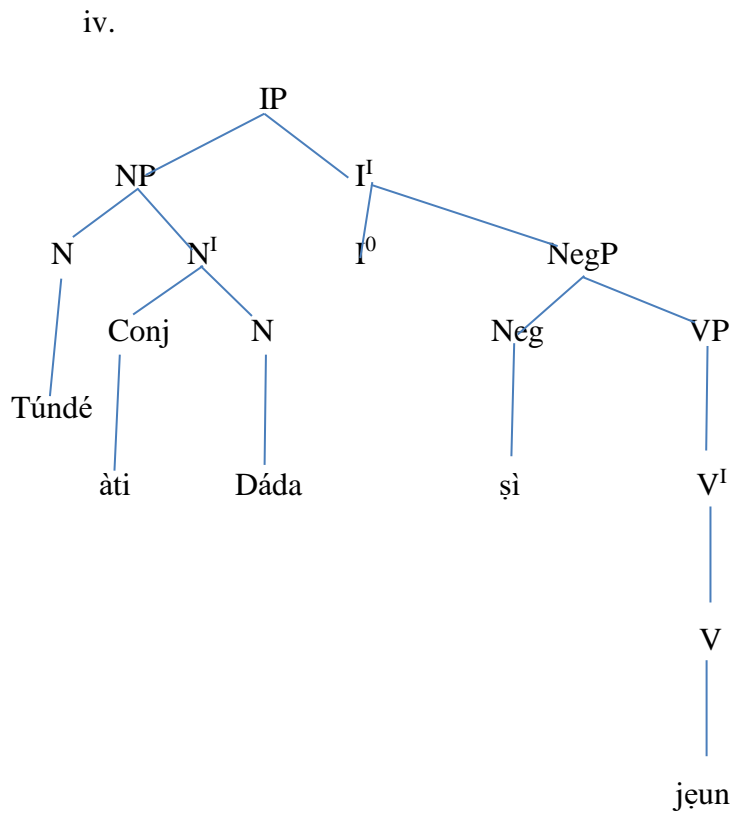
- i. Túndé àti Dàda ká jẹun
 Tunde CONJ Dada PAO eat
 “Tunde and Dada have eaten”



iii. Tundé àti Dáda sì jẹun

Tunde CONJ Dada NAO eat

“Tunde and Dada has not eaten”



Data 63-64 above shows the structural distribution of the positive and negative aspectual markers in the Şúpàrè grammar. While 63i-ii and 64i-ii show the structure of the positive perfective aspectual construction in Şúpàrè, the structures in 63iii-iv and 64iii-iv reveals a similar syntactic configuration of the negative aspectual construction in Şúpàrè. 64ii and 64ii indicate that the positive aspectual marker {ká} is the head (and of course the governor) of the IP. On the other hand, 63iv and 64iv show that the negative perfective aspectual marker is the head of the NegP and as such does not occur under the Inflection Phrase. With the syntactic trees in 63iv and 64iv, we can convincingly say that, even though the positions of ká and şì look similar at a superficial level, the tree diagrams show that they are found under different maximal projections and function in different capacities in their respective constructions. While ká functions as the head of the Inflection Phrase marking the perfective aspect of the construction, şì functions as the head of the Negative Phrase marking negation for the construction.

5.3.2 Inchoative Aspect

An Inchoative Aspect is the form of the Aspect that is showing the inception of an action. An Inchoative aspect is therefore concerned with the starting of an action rather than the flow or the completion of the action. The Inchoative Aspect is marked with ké in Şúpàrè. The structural position of this form of aspect is similar to the perfective aspectual marker discussed under section 5.3.1 above. The data below will show the morphological shape of the Inchoative Aspectual marker as well as the syntactic position of the aspectual marker relative to the other constituents of the sentence.

65.

- | | | | | |
|----|------|----------|------|-------|
| i. | Dúpé | ké | se | èwà |
| | Dupe | ASP.INCH | cook | beans |

“Dupe has started cooking beans”

ii. Dúpé ̀̀ì se ̀̀wà

Dupe NAO cook beans

“Dupe has not cooked beans”

Data 65 above shows that while *ké* marks the inception of the action in 65i, *̀̀ì* marks the denial of the action in 65ii. The example data 65i shows the inception of the action of the sentence. On the other hand, 65ii shows the denial of the verb. The comparison of 65i and 65ii shows that, the difference between the positive and negative constructions is the substitution of *ké* for *̀̀ì* in the two sentences.

66.

i. Òjò ké rọ̀

rain INCH.ASP fall

“The rain has started falling”

ii. Òjò ̀̀ì rọ̀

rain NAO fall

“The rain has not started falling”

Data 66 above shows the use of the inchoative aspectual marker (*ké*) and the substitution of same with *̀̀ì* to form the negative counterpart of the inchoative aspectual construction. The comparison of the 66i & ii will show that the only difference between the positive and negative aspectual constructions is *ké/̀̀ì*. While 66i is a positive aspectual construction, 66ii shows the negative aspectual counterpart.

67.

i. E ké ra așo
3SG-Subj INCH.ASP buy cloth
“S/he has started buying clothes”

ii. É șì ra așo
3SG-Subj INCH.ASP buy cloth
“S/he has not started buying clothes”

It can be noted that the difference between the positive aspectual expressions (65i, 66i & 67i) and the negative aspectual expressions (65ii, 66ii & 67iii) is the substitution of the Inchoative Aspectual marker {ké} (an aspect showing the inception of an action) and the șì (the negative aspectual marker noted earlier under the perfective aspect). While our previous sets of data under the negative construction in the Șúpàre basic clause (section 5.2) revealed that a basic clause can be negated through a supra-segmental morpheme, our illustration under perfective aspect (section 5.3.2 above) as well as the data set 65, 66 & 67 above show that there exist a pair of two allomorphs for the aspectual makers in Șúpàrè. The Allomorphs are divided along positive and negative constructions. 65i, 66i & 67i show that ké is the inchoative aspectual marker in the declarative sentence. On the other hand, șì becomes both the inchoative aspectual marker as well as the negative marker in 65ii, 66ii & 67ii. The interpretive capacity of a negative aspectual construction rest with only one morpheme (functioning as a negator as well as an aspectual marker). In the same vein, 65i, 66i & 67i show that ké is the inchoative aspectual marker that is showing the inception of the action of: cooking beans, falling of rain and buying of clothes (in 65i, 66i & 67i respectively). The negative counterparts of the 65i, 66i & 67i show that, the

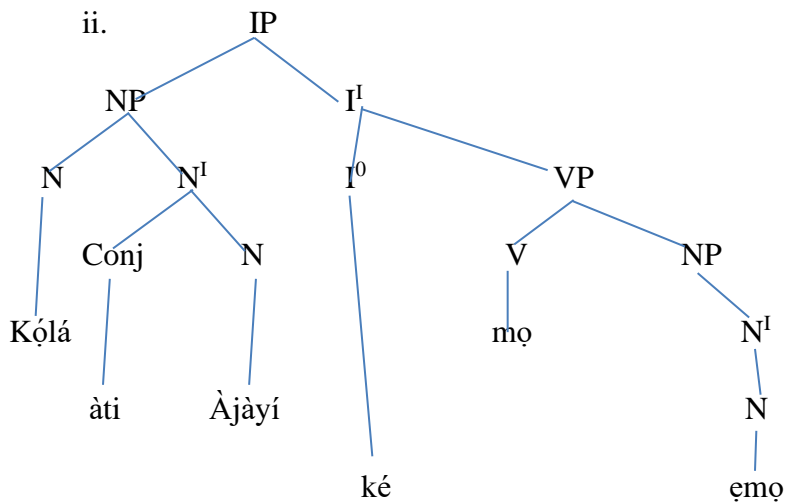
negation of an inchoative aspect does not require the presence of *ké* (the inchoative marker) since *ɕì* subsumes both aspectual marker and negative marker (negation plus aspect as in 65ii, 66ii & 67ii). It therefore means that *ɕì* is a fusion of negation and aspect. The data 65, 66 & 67 also show that the inchoative aspectual marker present in the positive construction is not needed to convert the same structure to a negative aspectual construction. This is probably the case because *ɕì* seems to be a portmanteau morpheme containing both negation and aspect. The data below as well as the syntactic trees shows the structural distribution of the inchoative aspectual marker and the other constituents of the sentence.

68.

i. Kólá àti Àjàyí ké mọ ẹmọ

Kola CONJ Ajayi INCH.ASP drink palm-wine

“Kola and Ajayi have started drinking palm-wine”



The syntactic tree in 68ii shows that *ké* is the aspectual marker and it occupies the head of inflection node in the syntactic tree. The tree diagram shows that the aspectual marker is neither part of the NP nor the VP. Data 68 below shows the negative counterpart of the sentence.

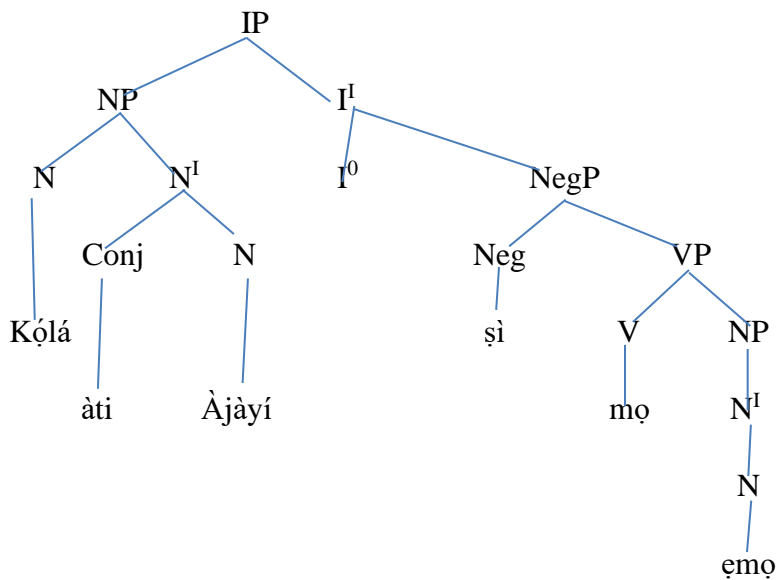
69.

i. Kólá àti Àjàyí sì mọ ẹmọ

Kola CONJ Ajayi NAO drink palm-wine

“Kola and Ajayi have started drinking palm-wine”

ii.

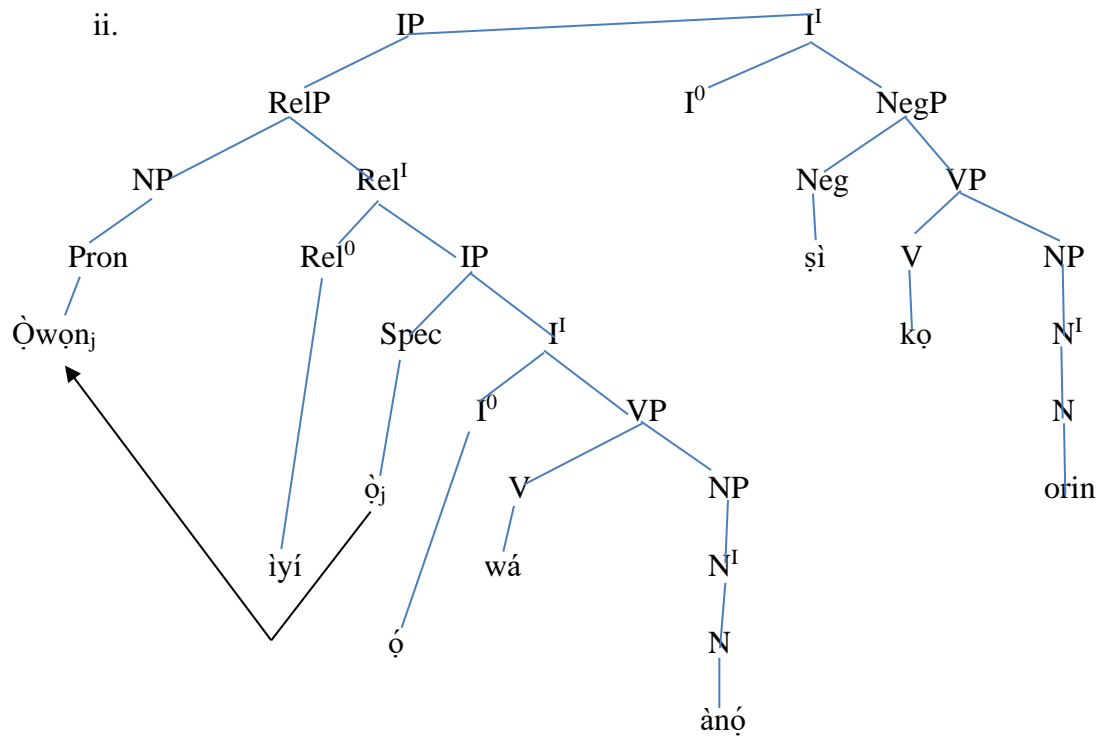


While data 68i-ii shows the positive aspectual construction, data 69i-ii shows the negative counterpart of the Inchoative aspectual construction. The syntactic trees in 68ii and 69ii show the structural positions of the Inchoative Aspectual Marker and the Negative Marker (in 68ii and 69ii respectively). While the Inchoative Marker occupies the I^0 position (acting as the head of the Inflection Phrase in 68i-ii), the negative marker occupies the Neg^0 position (acting as the head of the Negation Phrase in 69i-ii). Even though the semantic value of the example 69 brings out both negative and aspectual readings, the aspectual marker is completely absent in the negative construction. This gives the interpretation that *sì* (the negative marker) also contains the feature

Data 70 shows a relative construction that contain an inchoative aspectual marker. While the subject argument of the sentence is relativized, the aspectual marker is found in the canonical sentence. In the canonical sentence, the aspectual marker occupies the position of the head of the Inflection node (this can be seen in the tree diagram in 70ii).

71.

- i. Òwọ̀n iyí ọ́ ọ́ wá ànà ̀̀ kọ orin
 3-PL REL 3-PL SAM come yesterday INCH.ASP sing song
 “Those that came yesterday have not started singing”



“Sola is calling us”

ii. Şólá à pè wa

Sola NEG. call 1PL-Obj

“Sola is not calling us”

Just like the negation of a basic clause, 72 above shows that the negative marker is a low tone syllable that contains only a supra-segmental bundle. 72i shows that the progressive marker is í (a monosyllabic V-shaped). It can also be observed that the progressive aspectual marker (í) is absent in the negative sentence (72ii).

73.

i. Ìgè í fọ aşọ

Ige ASP-PROG wash cloth

“Ige is washing clothes”

ii. Ìgé è fọ aşọ

Ige NEG. wash cloth

“Ige is not washing clothes”

Data 72-73 above shows that the negation of a progressive aspectual construction is realized with a low tone syllable supra-segmental negative marker (just like a basic clause above). The progressive marker in 72i and 73i is í but this morpheme completely disappears in 70ii and 72ii as against its presence in their positive counterparts respectively. While the inherent tone of the last tone bearing element of the Subj-Argument in 72i is a high tone that does not require any modification to accommodate the tone polarization requirement of the supra-segmental negative marker in Şúpàrè, the inherent tone of the last vocalic element of the Subj-Argument in 73i is a

low tone. Hence, the need for a change of the tone to accommodate the tone polarization requirement of the low tone syllable negative marker. On the other hand, 72ii and 73ii shows the variation of the morphological shape of the negative marker to conform with the morphological shapes of their respective environment (the morphological shape of the last vowel of the Subj-Argument). It is also noted from 72 and 73 that the progressive marker {i} completely disappears in the respective negative constructions. The following data further reveals the structural distribution of the progressive marker as well as the relationship with the other constituents of the sentence.

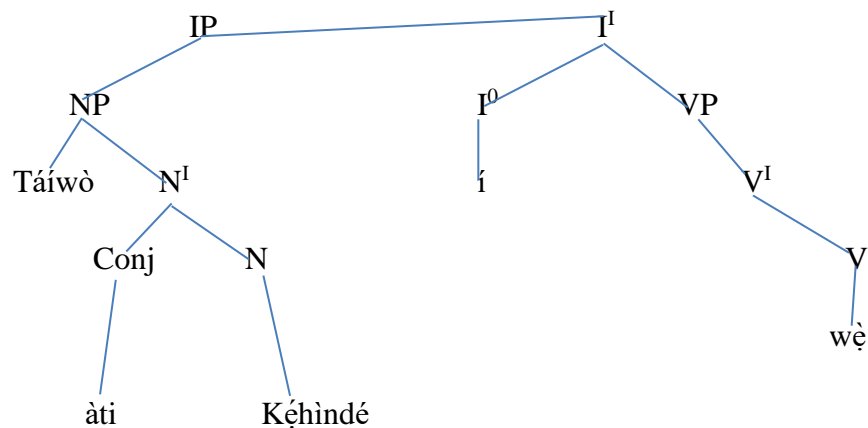
74.

i. Táíwò àti Kẹ̀hìndé í wẹ̀

Taiwo CONJ Kehinde ASP-PROG bathe

“Taiwo and Kehinde are bathing”

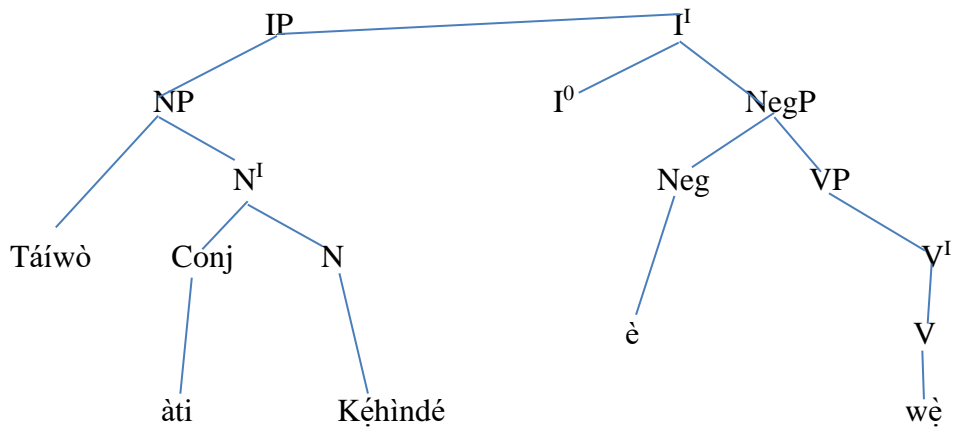
ii.



75.

- i. Táíwò àti Kẹ̀hìndé è wẹ̀
 Taiwo CONJ Kehinde NEG bathe
 “Taiwo and Kehinde are not bathing”

ii.



A look at the data sets 74-75 will show that the progressive marker and the negative marker are mutually exclusive. In 74i-ii, the progressive marker {i} immediately follows the Subj-Argument and then acts as the head of the IP. On the other hand, data 74i-ii shows that the negation of the aspectual construction does not need the aspectual marker. Even though data 75 has an aspectual reading (as indicated by the English gloss), the progressive marker is not present in the syntactic sequence. If the progressive marker is absent in 75, yet its semantic component is present in the overall interpretation of the sentence, it then means that the negative marker actually subsumes the aspectual reading in an aspectual construction. It can also be observed from data 74-75 that unlike the other aspectual markers that use *ɕi* to negate an aspectual construction, the progressive aspect uses the low tone syllable (a morpheme with only tonal feature and without

a morphological shape) to achieve its negation. This is similar to the strategy employed to negate a basic clause in Sùpàré (see chapter 4 above). The syntactic trees in 74ii and 75ii above show that while the progressive aspectual marker occupies the head of the IP position, the negative marker (the low tone syllable) is the head of the negative phrase. It therefore means that even though the progressive aspectual marker and the negative marker are in complementary distribution, they are located under different maximal projections. The data below will also show the interaction of the negative marker and the progressive aspectual marker when the Subject Argument is a pronoun.

76.

i. ò í ra bàtà

3PL-Subj. ASP-PROG buy shoe

“They are buying pairs of shoes”

ii. ó ò ra bàtà

3PL-Subj. ASP- PROG buy shoe

“They are buying pairs of shoes”

77.

i. È í pa eja

2-PL-Subj ASP-PROG kill fish

“You are fishing”

ii. É è pa eja

2-PL-Subj NEG kill fish

“You are not fishing”

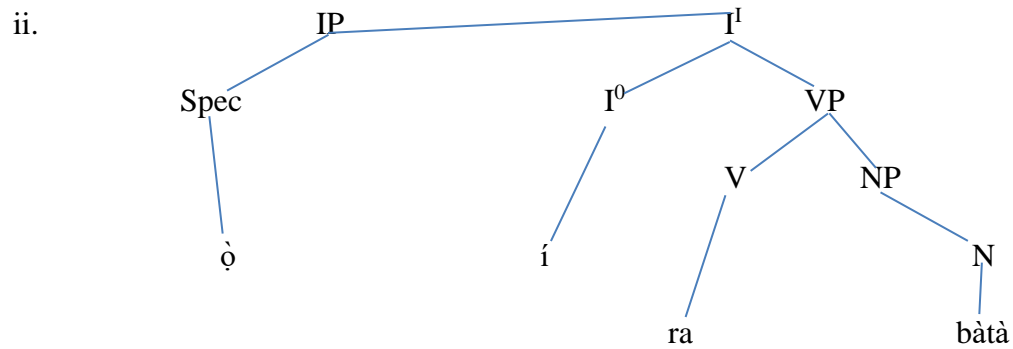
Data 76-77 above will reveal that the monosyllabic pronouns at the Subj-Argument positions of the sentence (ò & è in 76i & 77i respectively) adjust their inherent tones to accommodate tone polarisation as a condition imposed by the negative marker to negate a progressive aspectual construction (ó ò & é è in 76ii & 77ii respectively). Data 76i & 77i shows that the progressive aspectual marker and the Subject pronouns are discreetly separated (in terms of their different morphological shapes) with no assimilated relationship. It is clear that the morphological shapes of the aspectual marker and the Subject pronouns are different. On the other hand, 76ii & 77ii show that the negative marker and the Subject pronouns have the same morphological shapes. It is also observed that the morphological shapes of the negative markers in 76ii & 77ii are different. The difference in the morphological shapes of the negative markers in 76ii & 77ii is based on the fact that, the negative marker does not have its own morphological shape but depends on the shape of the Subj-Argument to realise a shape. As established before now, the negative marker contains only a high tone (a supra-segmental element). Data 76-77 above also shows that the progressive marker and the negative marker are mutually exclusive. The data below will show the syntactic representation of the 76 examples to show the different constituents of the sentence as well as their relationship.

78.

i. ò í ra bàtà

3PL-Subj. ASP-PROG. buy shoe

“They are buying pairs of shoes”

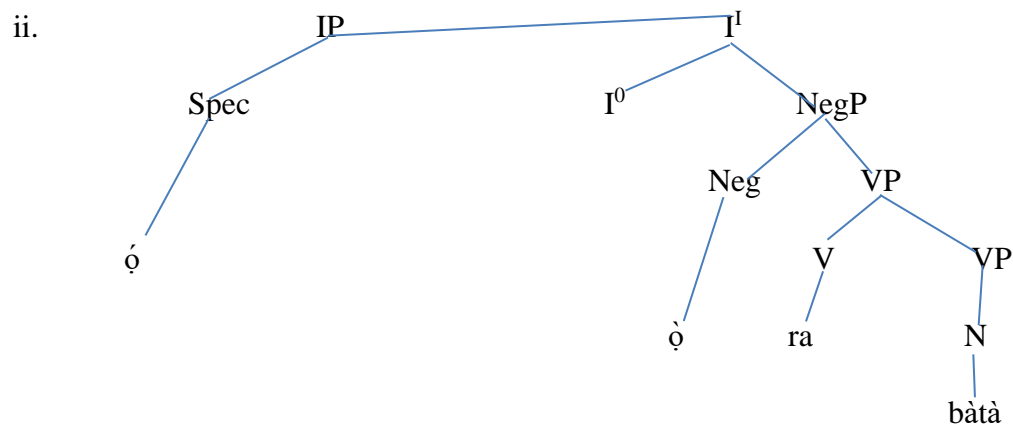


79.

i. ó ò ra bàtà

3PL-Subj ASP-PROG buy shoe

“They are buying pairs of shoes”



A look at the syntactic trees in 78ii & 79ii shows that though the pronoun and the negative marker have the same morphological shape, they belong to different phrases and function in different capacities in the overall interpretation of the sentence. The syntactic trees also show that while the aspectual marker is the head of the IP, the negative marker is the head of the NegP. While the progressive marker {í} maintains its morphological shape across all the sentences in data 78-79 above, the shape of the negative marker varies with the shape of the Subj-Argument that occur before it in each case. This therefore means that, while the progressive marker {í} has a permanent shape that has no variability according to the shape of the Subj-Argument, the negative marker depends on the Subj-Argument to realise a temporary morphological shape. We can therefore say that the negation of a progressive aspectual construction obligatorily excludes the aspectual marker from the construction because the negative marker contains an element of an aspectual marker that will give aspectual reading to the negative construction.

5.3.4. Iterative Aspect

An Iterative Aspect is the form of the Aspect that shows repeated action. This form of the aspect shows that the action that we are talking about has previously taken place and it is being repeated at the moment. This form of the Aspect in Şúpàré has a stable morphological shape and it is not dependent on any other morphemes in the syntactic construction. The word used to indicate an iterative action is [dè]. The data below shows the morphological shape of the Iterative Aspectual Marker in Şúpàré.

80.

i. Bólá dè ra kẹ̀kẹ̀

Bola ASP-ITE buy bicycle

“Bola bought a bicycle again”

ii. Ìgè dè pe Olámídé

Ige ASP-ITE call Olamide

“Ige called Olamide again”

iii. Şégun dè lu ọmọ ghèn

Segun ASP-ITE beat child DET

“Segun beat the child again”

A look at the data 80i-iii above will show that the Iterative Marker is *dè*. It is also noted that the morphological shape of the Iterative Marker is invariant in the examples above. The invariability of the shape of the Iterative Marker is a pointer to the fact that the shape of the Iterative Marker is not dependent on the environment. While the Subj-Argument in 80i (*Bólá*) ends in a high tone, the Subj-Argument in 80ii (*Ìgè*) ends in a low tone. On the other hand, the Subj-Arg in 80iii (*Şégun*) ends in a mid-tone (a tone that is conventionally left unmarked in Yorùbá). It can be observed that despite the variability of the Subj-Argument in terms of the tones, the morphological shape as well as the tone of the Iterative Marker is not affected. This points to the fact that the morphological shape of the Iterative Marker is not subject to assimilation. The data below shows the negative counterparts of the data 80 above.

81.

i. Bólá à dè ra kẹ̀kẹ̀

Bola NEG ASP-ITE buy bicycle

“Bola did not buy a bicycle again”

ii. Ìgé è dè pe Olámídé

Ige NEG ASP-ITE call Olamide

“Ige is not calling Olamide again”

iii. Şégún ùn dè lu ọmọ ghèn

Segun NEG ASP-ITE beat child DET

“Segun is not beating the child again”

Data 81 above shows the alteration of the last tone of the Subj-Argument to accommodate the negative marker as well as the tone polarity that accompanies the negative marker in the Şúpàrè grammar. A look at the Subj-Argument of 81i-iii above will show that all of them actually ends in a high tone (as against their canonical tones in 80). The low tone syllable as a negative marker in Şúpàrè compels all Subj-Arguments to end in a high tone since the negation is coming with a low tone. The low tone negative marker does not permit any accompanying Subj-Argument to end in a low tone or mid tone contiguously with the negative marker.

5.3.5 Stacking of Aspectual Markers

More than one aspectual marker can co-occur in the same sentence. When they occur in such manner, they are arranged in a particular order such that not all aspectual markers can be used together and/or put in any position relative to the other markers. Take for instance, two aspectual markers that have semantically contrasting meaning like Perfective Aspectual Marker {ká} and Progressive Aspectual Marker {í} cannot co-occur because an act that is described as completed cannot be described as being in progress in the same sentence. The data below shows the stacking of the Iterative Aspectual Marker and the others in Şúpàrè.

82.

i. Ajá náà ká dè pa ọ̀nì kàn
Dog DET ASP-PERF ASP-ITE kill person DET
“The dog has killed another person”

ii. Ọlá dè í lu aya iba ẹ̀
Ola ASP-ITE ASP-PROG beat wife father 3-SG-OBJ
“Ola is/was beating his father’s wife again”

iii. Ọmọ Bọ́lá ké dè í sun
Child Bola ASP-INCH ASP-ITE ASP-PROG cry
“Bola’s child has started crying again”

Data 82i-iii above shows that the stacking of the aspectual markers in Ẹ̀párẹ̀ can accommodate up to three different Aspectual Markers in a particular order. Data 82i shows that the progressive aspect {í} is excluded from the stacking because of the presence of the perfective aspect. The motivation for this exclusion is about the logic of action. An action that is said to be completed cannot be said to be in progress at the same time. While it is difficult for the perfective aspect {ká} to accommodate the progressive aspect {í} because of the logic of doing action in 82i, it can be seen that the Iterative aspect {dè} can accommodate the progressive aspect (í) since the first aspect in the sequence (Iterative Aspect) is not concerned about the internal flow of the action but on the repeated action. It can be seen that both the Inchoative Aspect (showing the inception of an action) and the Iterative Aspect (showing the repetition of the action) can be co-habited in the same sentence. It can be noted that the perfective aspect {ká} and the Inchoative Aspect {ké} always come before any other aspectual marker in a sequence. It is also noteworthy that these two aspectual markers (that show the two extreme ends of an action) cannot be stacked

together in a single sentence because any action that is said to be completed cannot also be said to have started in the same sentence. The basic issue that determines the association of these aspects is scope. An aspect which occurs first in a sequence automatically scopes over all other aspects after it. And thus, aspects under the scope of another aspect cannot contain a semantic component that negates the higher aspect. Please examine the illustration below

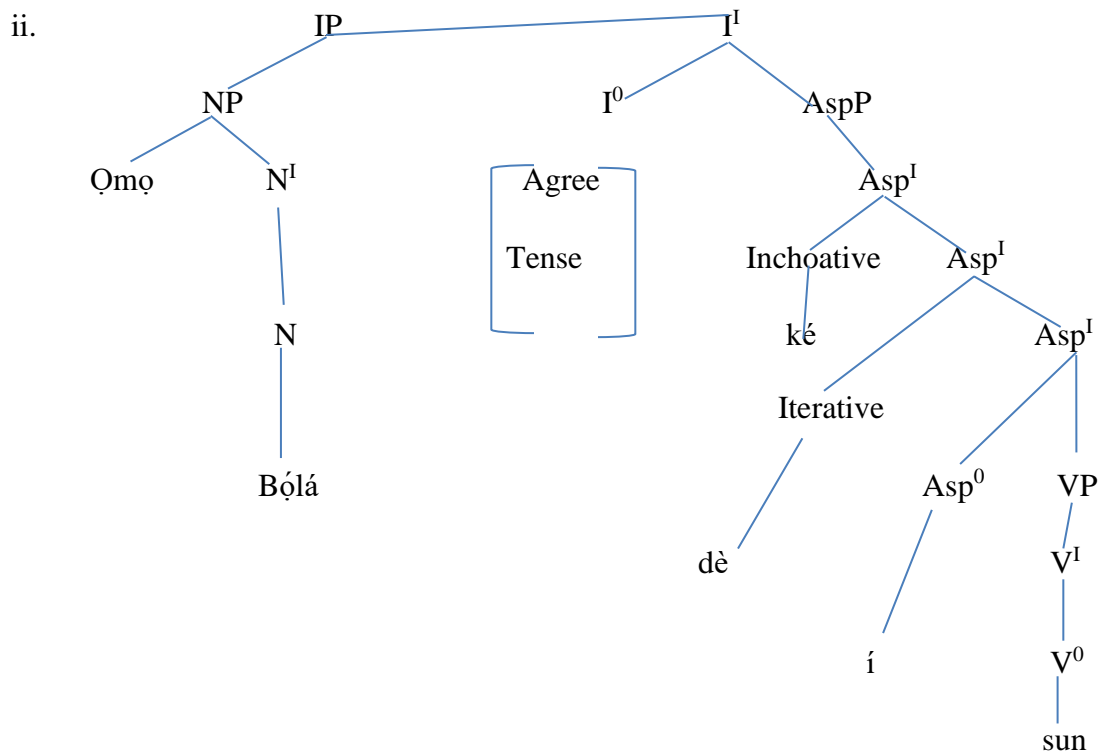
Table 9: Sequential Arrangement of Aspects

1	2	3	4	5
Perfective > *Inchoative > Iterative > *Progressive > Habitual				

The schema above shows the order of the occurrence of the aspectual markers in natural languages. The asterisk (*) shows that the aspect violates the semantic dictates of the higher aspect and thus cannot occur under a higher aspect that has a contradictory aspectual component. The implication of this is that as against the earlier notion that an aspect is the head of an Inflection Phrase, an Aspect can actually project a Phrase in human language. This is in line with the proposal of Travis (1991) and Fakuda (2008). In line with the assumption of the Aspectual Projection, data 81iii above can be seen below.

83.

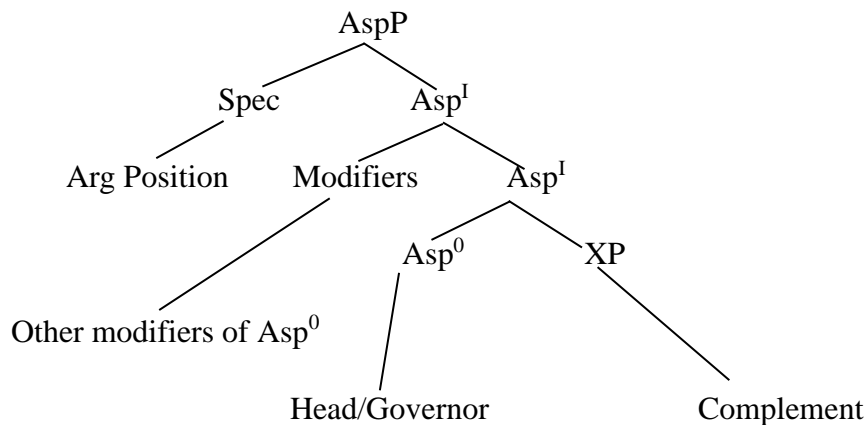
- i. Ọmọ Bólá ké dè í sun
 Child Bola ASP-INCH ASP-ITE ASP-PROG cry
 “Bola’s child has started crying again”



The data 83 above shows the projection of the Aspectual Phrase. The Aspectual Phrase sub-categorizes for the VP. It is further assumed that the last Aspectual Marker in the series is the X^0 category that projects and govern the phrase (Jakendoff, 1977; Chomsky, 1981; Kayne, 1994). The number of the aspectual markers in the phrase can be accommodated by the Intermediate Level of the Phrase (Asp^1). The preference for the Aspectual Phrase to account for the aspectual marker is based on the stacking of multiple aspectual markers which will be difficult to account for under the IP. Since each of the Aspectual Markers can occur is an X^0 category (Fakuda, 2008), the last of the sequence of Aspectual Markers must have been the host of other constituents of the Phrase. Therefore, while the last aspectual marker (the next to the VP) is the head of the Phrase, all other constituents are admitted as satellites of the phrase (the duplication of the Asp^1 Intermediate Level projection will account for all as modifiers). Based on the fore

explanation, the following schema shows the syntactic configuration of the Aspectual Phrase for an easier account of the aspectual markers as an important constituent of the sentence.

84.



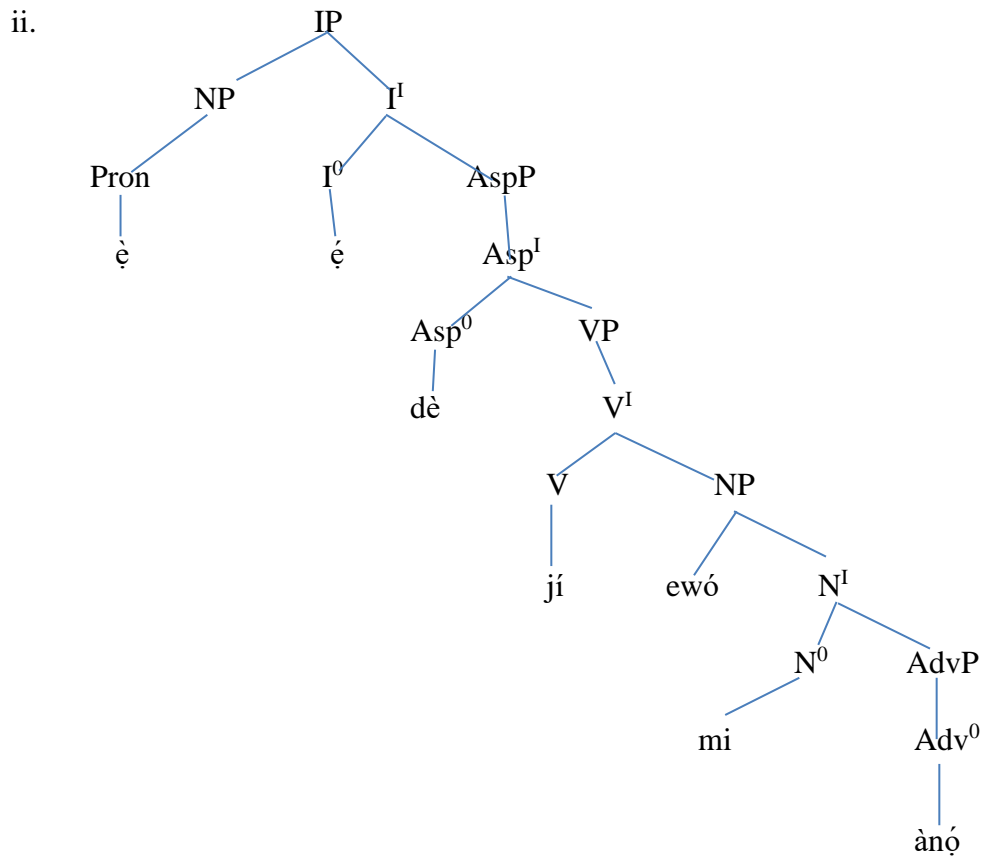
The syntactic schema in 79 shows the following interpretations:

- a. Specifier: This is an argument position (reserved only for nominal elements)
- b. Modifier: This is an Intermediate projection that accommodates modifiers of the head (this can be duplicated to accommodate as many as possible modifiers of the head)
- c. Asp⁰: This is the X⁰ category that governs the Phrase
- d. XP: This is any Phrase that comes after the Asp⁰ category. It is assumed to be a Phrasal category

The fact that the Aspectual Phrase contains different constituents like Specifier, Modifier, Head and Complement further proves that the Inflection Phrase (IP) cannot successfully house this Aspectual Phrase since the content is beyond Tense and Agreement materials (Chomsky, 1981). Based on our argument, our revised tree diagram for an Aspectual construction is presented below:

85.

- i. È é dè jí ewó mi àná
 2PL-Subj 2PL-Subj ASP-ITE steal money 1SG-Obj yesterday
 “You stole my money again yesterday”



Data 85 above shows that, the fact that the Pronominal Subj-Argument contains a Subject Agreement Marker (Yuka & Adefabi, 2015) confirms that the IP cannot adequately account for the Aspectual markers in human language. Looking at the example 85 above will convince us that subsuming the Aspect under the IP will lead to a competition between the real agreement marker (é in the data above) and the aspectual marker (dè in the same data above). It can be

noted that while the Noun Subject Arguments do not necessarily need the presence of an agreement marker, it is imperative for all Pronoun Subject Arguments to carry an agreement marker otherwise the sentence will not be grammatical (Yuka & Adefabi, 2015). It is also noted that the VP is the complement of the Aspectual Phrase in the data above.

5.3.6. Habitual Aspect

This form of aspect shows the action that has become a habit. The morphological shape of the habitual marker looks similar to the progressive marker but can be differentiated based on the meaning of the utterances. While progressive aspect shows the internal flow of the action, habitual aspect shows a consistently practiced action (Dahl, 1985). The morphological shape of the Habitual Marker is {í}. The following examples show the morphological shape of the Habitual Marker in Şúpàrè.

86.

i. Olú í kọ orin

Olu ASP-HAB sing song

“Olu sings”

ii. Àdió í gba àdúrà òròórò

Adio ASP-HAB Pray prayer morning-morning

“Adio prays every morning”

iii. Dúpé àti Şewà í şe òwò

Dupe CONJ Sewa ASP-HAB do business

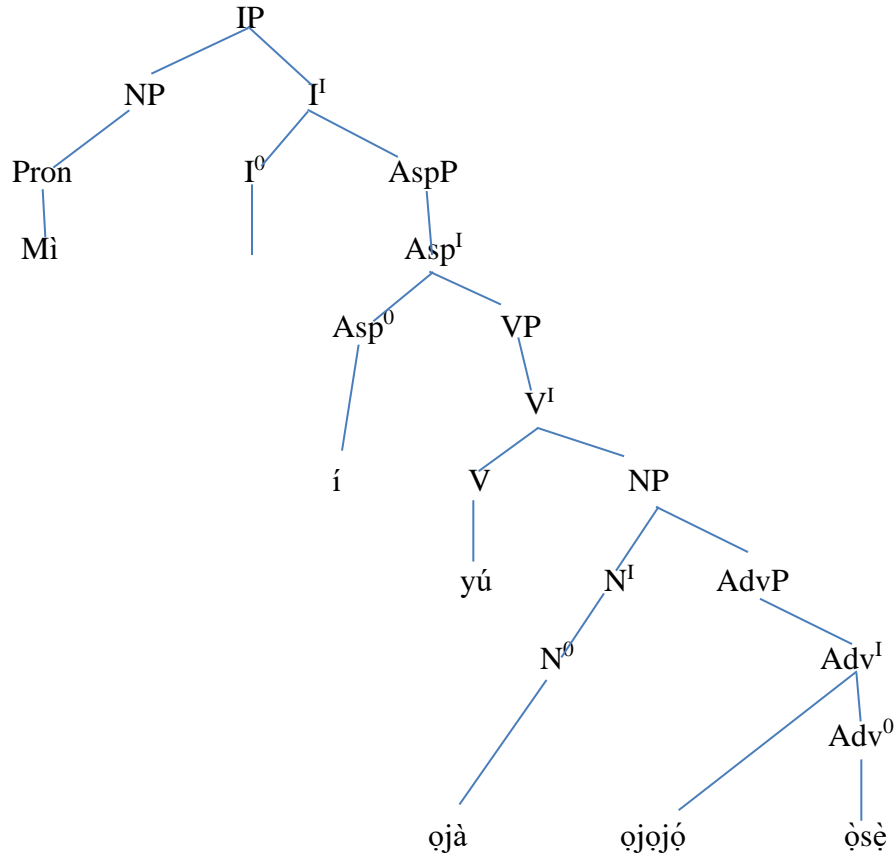
“Dupe and Sewa are into business”

Data 86i-iii above shows that the habitual marker is realized as {í} in all the examples above. It is also obvious that the morphological shape of the habitual marker is not subject to the morphological shape of the Subj-Argument. Thus, the morphological shape of the aspectual marker does not vary at all. The stability of the morphological shape of the habitual marker points to the fact that the aspectual marker does not have any environmentally conditioned allomorphs. The example below will show the syntactic position of the habitual marker as well as its relationship with the other constituents of the sentence.

87.

- i. Mì í yú ọjà ọjọjọ ọsẹ
- 1SG-Subj ASP-HAB go market day-by-day Sunday
- “I go to the market every Sunday”

ii.



Following our recent proposal about the Aspectual Phrase, the syntactic tree above reflects our updated syntactic analytic tree. It can be observed that the habitual marker occupies the head position of the Aspectual Phrase (rather than occupying the head of the IP). By implication, the VP therefore becomes the complement of the Aspectual Phrase. Our data 81 below will show the behaviour of the habitual marker in a complex construction.

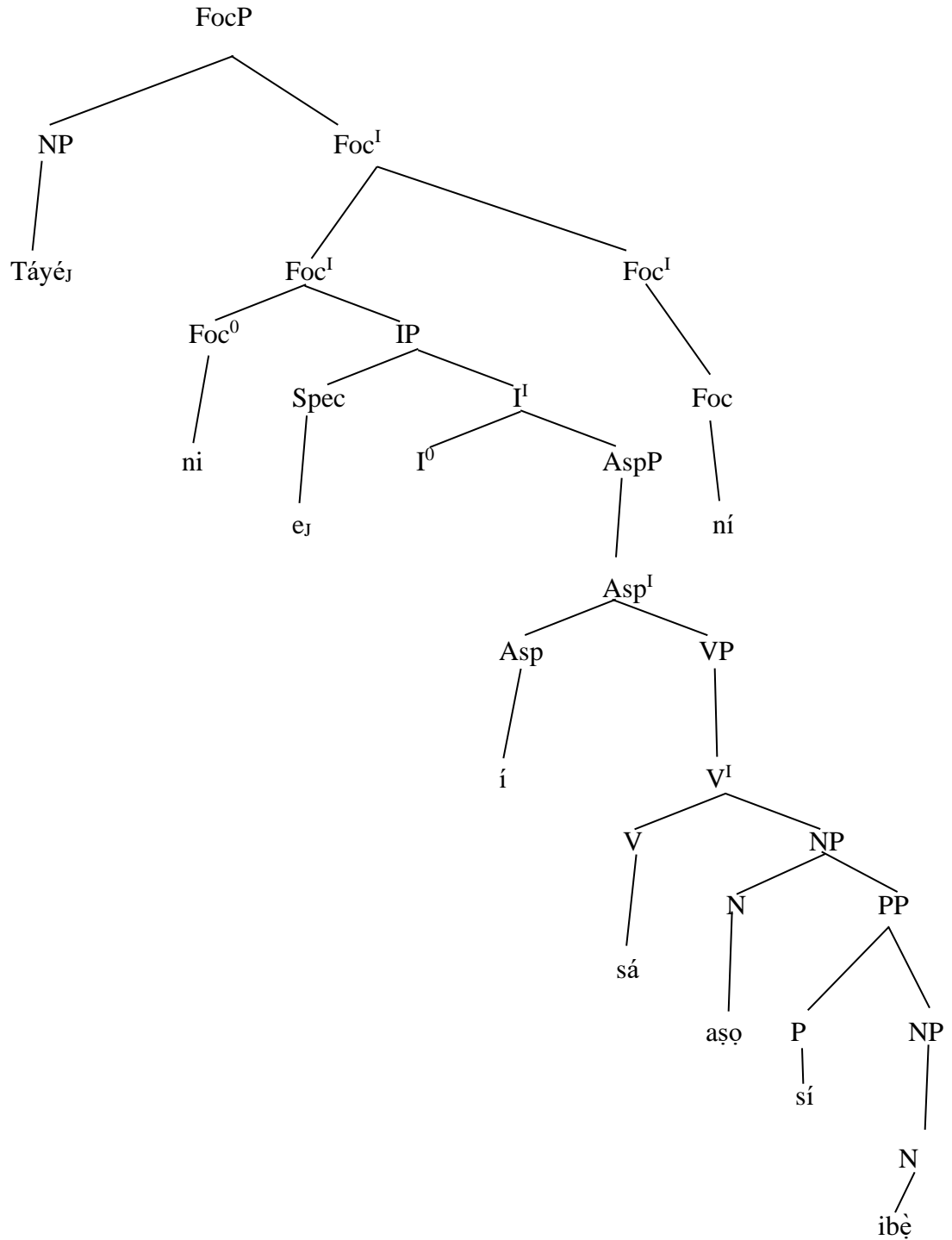
88.

i. Táyé ni e í sá aṣọ sí ibẹ ní

Taye FOC 3SG-Subj ASP-HAB spread cloth PREP there FOC

“It is Taye that spreads cloth there”

ii.



It can be seen in data 88 above that the complexity of the syntactic structure does not affect the position of the aspectual marker. It therefore means that the Şúpàrè grammar does not permit

the aspectual marker to be syntactically lost at any point in time. The Subj-Argument {Táyé} that has been moved to the specifier position of the Focus Phrase for focusing was replaced by a pronoun {e} that has the same phi-features as the moved argument. Thus, the two positions associated with the argument (the extraction site and the landing site) are co-indexed to show identical semantic components. It can also be noted that the aspectual marker in the sentence occupy the head of the Aspectual Phrase (AspP) rather than the head of the IP. This is in conformity with our recent proposal for an aspectual phrase.

5.4. Summary

This chapter has examined the structure of the negative sentence in Şúpàrè. We have accounted for the low tone syllable (a syllable with only a supra-segmental feature and without a morphological shape) as the negative marker for a basic clause in Şúpàrè. We have also accounted for şì as a morpheme that contains both aspectual and negative readings. We observed that it is used to negate an aspectual sentence even in the absence of the positive aspectual marker. In this chapter, we have therefore described şì as the negative aspectual marker in Şúpàrè.

Because of the possibility of having multiple aspectual markers that go beyond the scope of the IP coupled with the fact that the aspectual marker and the agreement marker can co-occur in the Şúpàrè grammar, we have justifiably proposed the projection of the Aspectual Phrase (AspP) to conveniently account for the aspectual markers in human language. With our proposal, it will therefore be easy to draw a line between the agreement properties (credible items to be in the IP) and the aspectual properties (syntactic elements that are beyond the scope of the IP).

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter should include findings from the representative dialects reviewed in chapter two, stating their dialectal features, then those of Supare and they differ from standard Yoruba which gives supare the status of a dialect of Yoruba. Then your recommendations. Note that your abstract should be re-written.

Our previous chapters have each concentrated on different aspects of the transformational sentences in Şúpàrè. This research has therefore taken us through the foundation as well as the motivation for the research (Chapter One), **the stage of** the previous studies in the Yorùbá language (Chapter Two), the behaviour of the wh-markers in Şúpàrè (Chapter Three), the configuration of the Relative Construction in Şúpàrè (Chapter Four) and the formation of the negative construction in Şúpàrè (Chapter Five). In this chapter, we therefore summarise the findings and recommendations of the research.

6.2 Findings

In this present study, the research has accounted for the following findings:

There is always a movement of the wh-markers from the sentence final position (a subcategorized position) to the sentence initial position in the Interrogative Phrase (IntP).

Based on what happened at the extraction site of the wh elements in a wh-interrogative construction, Şúpàrè grammar categorised the wh-markers into two categories of:

- a. Resumptive wh-markers: This category allows the extraction site of the moved element to be occupied by a resumptive pronoun that has the same phi-features as the moved

element. The extracted constituents (now in its landing site) therefore control the resumptive pronoun (a replacement for the moved element at the extraction site).

- b. Trace wh-marker: This category allows only a ghost copy of the moved element (trace) to be retained at the extraction site of the element. The trace at the extraction site is therefore controlled by the extracted constituent in its landing site.

Şúpàrè uses ìyí as the only relative maker in all relative constructions. The subject argument of the sentence always follows the relative marker in a relative construction. Thus, the internal IP in a relative clause must have a resumptive pronoun at the Spec IP position when the occupant of that position has been moved to a higher clause for relativization. The resumptive pronoun must therefore have the same phi-features as the moved argument. Hence, the two syntactic positions must have semantic equivalence and must therefore be co-indexed.

This study also found out that, the resumptive pronoun must be accompanied by an agreement marker (a monosyllabic vowel that must always accompany a pronoun subject). Thus, the pronoun subject agreement marker must always occur contiguously with a subject pronoun at every instance of its occurrence.

This research found out that Şúpàrè use a low tone (without an inherent segmental morpheme) as its negative marker in a simple clause. The shape of the negative marker depends on the morphological shape of the last vocalic element of the Subj-Arg that structurally comes before it.

The study also found out that there is a tone polarization between the low tone negative marker and the last vocalic element of the subject argument that occurs contiguously before the low tone negative marker. The direction of the tone polarization is High-Low sequence. In other words, the tone of the negative marker permanently remains as a low tone while the tone of the

last vowel of the subject argument must be converted to a high from its canonical tones (either mid or low tones). However, the negative marker always bears the morphological shape of the last tone bearing unit of the same Subj-Argument (which it polarizes its tone against itself).

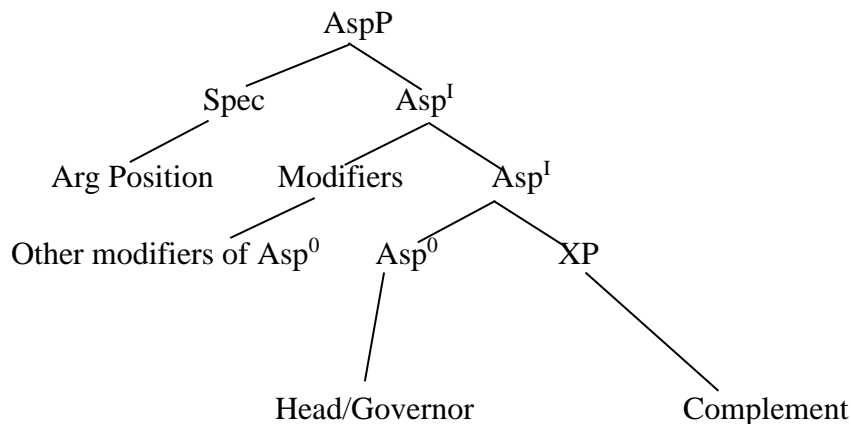
While the negation of a basic clause is achieved through tone morpheme alongside its tone polarization method, the negation of complex structures is achieved through *ɕì* (a morpheme that is in complementary distribution with the aspectual markers in *Şúpàrè*).

This research found out that *Şúpàrè* permits the stacking of two or more aspectual markers in a single Aspectual Phrase such that the first in the sequence of the aspects heads the phrase.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the possibility of the Aspectual Phrase housing more than one aspect research accounted for the configuration of the Aspectual Phrase in form of the schema below:

89.



The justification as well as the motivation for this proposal is built on the following reasons among others:

- i. More than one aspectual marker can be found in a construction;

- ii. Since an Agreement cannot duplicate in a sentence, an Aspectual marker is really not functioning as an agreement marker. And thus, it can duplicate in a single sentence;
- iii. The head of the IP (as a lexical category) can really not be aspectual marker if the sentence contains an agreement marker;
- iv. More than one aspectual marker can really not competitively head the IP especially when the sentence still contains an agreement marker;
- v. The presence of an agreement marker and an Aspectual marker leads to a competition between the two functional elements for a single slot;
- vi. And if following the X-bar conversion, the IP has not justification to project both an Agreement and an Aspect at the same time.

With the recommendation of an Aspectual Phrase to accommodate the multiple aspectual markers in a sentence, sentences with more than one aspectual marker can now be accounted for below in line with the recommendation.

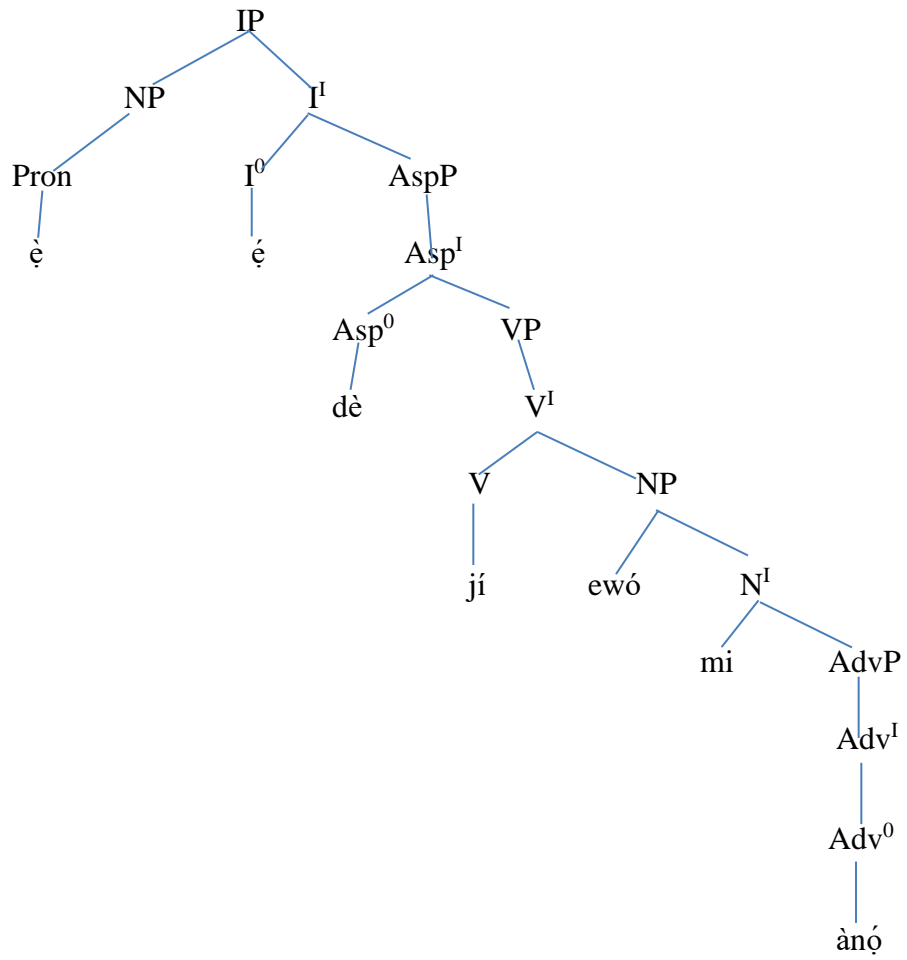
90.

i. È é dè jí ewó mi àná

2PL-Subj SAM ASP-ITE steal money 1SG-Obj yesterday

“You stole my money again yesterday”

ii.



References

- Aboh, E. & Pfau, R. (2011). What's a wh-word Got to Do with it? The cartography of syntactic Structures. B. Paola. Ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Adebayo, T. (2016). Yorùbá Sentential Negative Markers. Seminar in Syntax and Semantics, NYU
- Adefabi, F.O. (2013). *Relativization in Šúpàréè*. An Unpublished BA Dissertation. Adekunle Ajasin University Akungba, Nigeria.
- Adefabi, F.O. (2018). *Split-focus Construction in Šúpàréè*. An MA Thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics Studies, University of Benin, Nigeria.
- Adefabi, F.O. (2019). *A Case for Nominalised Focus*. Clarep Journal of English and Linguistics (C-JEL). Ed. Alexandra Esimaje and Josef Schmied. Pp 185-200
- Adefabi, F.O. (2022). The Phonemics Analysis of Supare. An Unpublished term paper. In *Advanced Topics in Phonology*. University of Benin.
- Adejubee, S. (2020). *The Basic Clause of Yorùbá – Iyagba Dialect of Kogi State, Nigeria*. PhD Dissertation: Department of Linguistics and African Studies. University of Ibadan.
- Adeniyi, H. (2010). *English Morphology*. Nigeria: National Open University of Nigeria
- Adeoye, J. (2019). *Tense, Aspect ang Negation (TAN) in Igasi*. *Linguistik online* 100, 7/19 African Linguistics Society
- Adewole, L.O. (1991). Aspect and Phase Systems in Yorùbá. In *Calgary Working Papers in Linguistics*. Lamb, D., Middleton, B., & Rowsell, L. V. (Eds.). University of Calgary Printing Services. Canada

- Ajeigbe, O. (1977). *A Syntactic and Semantic study of Nominalization in Yorùbá*. A Ph.D Dissertation Submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London.
- Ajongolo, T. (1997). *NP Movement in Yorùbá*. MA Dissertation, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Akanbi, T. (2016). *On the Wh-question Particle [Wo] in Yorùbá*. European Scientific Journal. vol.12, No.17 ISSN: 1857 – 7881
- Akintoye, O. (2017). *Relative and Conditional Clause Construction in Iyagba Dialect*. National Research University Higher School of Economics. Journal of Language & Education Volume 3, Issue 2.
- Ans, K. (1987). *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*. Dordrecht. Foris
- Aoun, J., Choueiri, L. & Hornstein, N. (2001). Resumption, Movement, and Derivational Economy. *Linguistic inquiry* 32 (3), 371-403
- Arokoyo, B. & Lagunju, O. (2019). *A Lexicostatistics Comparison of Standard Yorùbá, Akure and Ikare Akoko Dialects*. *Journal of Universal Language* 20-2 (1-21)
- Arokoyo, B. (2012). *A Comparative Phonology of the Olùkùmi, Igala, Owe and Yorùbá Languages*. Towards Proto-Niger Congo: Comparison and Reconstruction Paris 18-21 September 2012.
- Awobuluyi, O. (1967). *Studies in the Syntax of the Standard Yorùbá Verb*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.
- Awobuluyi, O. (1975). *Relativization and nominalized sentences in Yorùbá*. Paper present at the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

- Awobuluyi, O. (1978). *Essentials of Yorùbá grammar*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press.
- Awobuluyi, O. (1998). *Àwọn Èka-Èdè Yorùbá*. Pastoral Institute, Bodija, Ibadan.
- Awobuluyi, O. (2008). *Èkó Ìṣèdà -Òrò Yorùbá*. Montem Paperbacks. Akure.
- Awobuluyi, O. (2013). *Èkó Gírámà Èdè Yorùbá*. Atman Limited. Osogbo.
- Bamgbose, A. (1967). *A short Yorùbá grammar*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Heinmann Educational Books Ltd.
- Bamgbose, A. (1975a). 'Relative Clause and Nominal Sentences in Yoruba', in Proceedings of the Annual Conference on African Linguistics: Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics, pp. 202-209, Columbus, Ohio.
- Bamgbose, A. (1975b). *Relativization and nominalization? Case of structure versus meaning in Yorùbá*. Paper presented at the Linguistics and African Languages Department Seminar, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Bamgbose, A. (1986). *A Short Yorùbá Grammar*. Ibadan. Heinemann Educational Books Limited.
- Bamgbose, A. (1990). *Fonólójì àti Gírámà Yorùbá*. Ibadan, Nigeria: University Press PLC.
- Bernard, C. (2001). *Complex Sentences in African Languages: A tentative typology of syntactic integration and its exponents*. ACAL32, Mar 2001, Berkeley, États-Unis.
- Bianchi, V. (2000). *The raising analysis of relative clause: A reply to Borsly*. Linguistic Inquiry, 31, 123- 140.
- Bloch, B. & Trager, G. L. (1942). *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America/Waverly Press.
- Borsly, R. D. (1997). *Relative clauses and the theory of phrase structure*. Linguistic Inquiry, 28(4), 629-647.

- Bresnan, J. (2001). *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cheshire, J. & Edwards, V. (1998). *Lessons from a survey of British dialect grammar*. Links & Letters, Vol 5.
- Chomsky, N. & Halle, M. (1968). *The Sound Pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Chomsky, N. & Howard, L. (1993). *The Theory of Principles and Parameters*. In Joachim Jacobs, Armin von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld, and Theo Vennemann, eds., *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, Volume 1, pp. 506–569. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Y4: P 291 S93.
- Chomsky, N. & Miller, G. A. (1958). *Finite state languages*. *Inform and Control* 1, 91-112.
- Chomsky, N. (1955). *Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory*. New York: Plenum
- Chomsky, N. (1956). *Three models for the description of language*. *IRE Trans. on Inform. Theory* IT-2, No. 3, 113-124.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1970). *Remarks on Nominalization*. In R. Jacobs and P. Rosenbaum (eds.) *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham: Ginn. pp 184-221.
- Chomsky, N. (1973). *Conditions on transformations*. In A Festschrift for Morris Halle, ed. Stephen Anderson and Paul Kiparsky, 232–286. New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1977). *On Wh-Movement*. In Peter W. Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Akmajian, eds., *Formal Syntax*. New York: Academic Press. 71–132.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Chomsky, N. (1982). *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding* Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1986a). *Barriers*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1986b). *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). *A minimalist program for linguistic theory*. In *The view from Building 20*:
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). *Chomsky on Miseducation*. Oxford
- Claire, K. (2000). *Language and Culture*. Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge. Cambridge University.
- Comrie, B. (1979). *Degrees of ergativity: some Chukchee, in Ergativity*. Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations. F. Plank (ed.). London, Academic.
- Connell, B. & Ladd, R. (1990). Aspects of pitch realization in Yoruba Phonology. *Phonology* 7. 1-29.
- Courtenay, K. (1968). *A native Phonology of Ya*. An Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Crozier, D. & Blench R. (1992). *An Index of Nigerian Languages*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.
- Crystal, D. (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.). Blackwell.
- Dahl, O. (1979). *Typology of sentence negation*. *Linguistics* 17: 79-106.
- Dahl, O. (1985). *Tense and Aspect System*. Blackwell Ltd. Oxford, UK.
- Denison, D. (1998). *Syntax*. In: Suzanne Romaine (ed). 92-329
- Egbokhare, F. (1990). *Phonology of Emai*. PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan.

- Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fabunmi, F. (2013). *Negation in Sixteen Yorùbá Dialects*. Open Journal of Modern Linguistics. Vol.3, No.1, 1-8
- Fabunmi, F.A. (2001) Notes on Tense and Aspect in the Ijesa Dialect of Yorùbá. *Studies in African Linguistics*. Volume 30, Number 1.
- Fakuda, S. (2008). *Aspectual Verbs and Aspect Phrase Hypothesis*. San Diego Linguistic Papers 3(2008) 11-31
- Finigan, E. (2004). *Language: Its structure and Use*. Thomson Wadsworth.
- Fudge E.C. (1970). *Phonology*. In Lyons J. (Ed.) *New Horizons in Linguistics*. New York: Penguin. Pp76-95.
- Haegeman, L. (1991). *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Maiden, Massachusetts, USA
- Harmer, J. (2001). *The Practice of English Language Teaching*. 3rd Ed. New York. Pearson Education Limited.
- Horn, L. (2010). *Multiple Negation in English and other languages*. In Horn, L. R. (ed). *The expression of Negation*. Berlin / New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 111- 148.
- Hyman, L. M. (2001). *Fieldwork as a State of Mind*. In P. Newman & M. Ratliff (Eds.), *Linguistic Fieldwork* (pp. 15–33). Cambridge University Press.
- Ilori, J. (2010). *Nominal Constructions in Igala and Yorùbá*. PhD. Thesis. Department. of Linguistics, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba, Nigeria.
- Jackendoff, R. (1977). *X-bar Syntax: A Theory of Phrase Structure*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Jacobson, S. (1995). *A Practical Grammar of the central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo Language*. Fairbanks. Alaska Native Language Center.
- Jaggar, P. (2006). *The Hausa Perfective Tense-Aspect Used in WH-/Focus Constructions and Historical Narratives: A Unified Account*. In *West African Linguistics: Paper in honour of Russell G. Schuh*. ed. by Paul Newman and Larry M. Hyman. Columbus: Ohio State University. Pp 100-133
- Jakobson, R. & Morris H. (1956). *Fundamentals of Language*. Gravenhage: Mouton
- Kawu, A. (1990). *Some Instances of Sentential Complementation in Nupe*. M.A. Thesis. University of Ibadan.
- Kayne, R. (1994). *The antisymmetry of syntax*. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Kenstowicz, M. (1994). *Phonology in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Klima, E. (1964). *Negation in English*. In: *Fodor, J. A & J. J. Katz (eds). The structure of Language: Readings in the Philosophy of Language*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 246-323
- Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lamidi, M. (2008). *Aspects of Chomskyan Grammar*. Ibadan. University Press PLC.
- Lindstad, A. (2007). *Analyses of negation: Structure and interpretation*. Faculty of Humanities. University of Oslo.
- Maxwell, D. (1979). *A Crosslinguistic Correlation between Word Order and Casemarking*. Indiana University

- McCawley, J. (1973). On the role of notation in generative phonology. In: *The Formal Analysis of Natural Language*, ed. by Maurice Gross et al., 51–62. The Hague: The Hague
- Morris H. (1956). *Fundamentals of Language*. 's- Gravenhage: Mouton
- Ndimele, O. (1992). *Cause-internal movement as a response to case summon*. University of Port Harcourt.
- Ndimele, O. (2003). *On the wh-parameter and grammar induction: Insights from African Languages*. In O. Ndimele. (Ed), *Four decades in the study of languages and linguistics. In Nigeria: A festschrift for Kay Williamson* (pp. 839-858). Aba: NINLAN
- Newman, P. & Ratliff, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nkemnji, M. (1995). *Heavy pied-piping in Nweh*. PhD. Thesis. Dept. of Linguistics. University of California.
- Ojo, O. (2012). *Appraisal of Rural roads in Akoko South West local Government: A case study of Šúpàrè-Akoko*. An Unpublished Long Essay submitted to the department of Urban and Regional Planning. Faculty of Environmental Studies. Rufus Giwa Polytechnic. Owo. Ondo State, Nigeria.
- Olanrewaju, E. (2007). *Relativisation in Ifẹ̀*. M.A. Dissertation, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Olanrewaju, E. (2022). *Typology of Constituent Interrogatives in Central Yorùbá Dialects: A Minimalist Description*. *Journal of Universal languages*. Senjong University Language Research Institutes. J. Univers. Lang. 2022; 23(2):77-108
- Olaogun, S. (2018). *Yes/no and WH-Questions in Njo-Koo: A Unified Analysis*. *Corela* 16-1. Journal Open Edition.
- Olawuwo, T. (2021). *Contrastive Study of Question Markers in Standard Yorùbá and Ọ̀hòrí Dialect*. *African Scholar Publications & Research International*. VOL. 23 NO. 8.

- Olumuyiwa, T. (2010). *Negation in Ekiti: A Critique*. California Linguistic Notes. Volume XXXV No. 2
- Oluwole, A. (2017). *Relative and Conditional Clause Constructions in Ìyàgbà Dialect*. Journal of Language & Education Volume 3, Issue 2, Pp 14-18
- Oshodi, B. (2011). *A Reference Grammar of Arigidi*. Akure. Montem Paperbacks.
- Oshodi, B. (2016). *Question Formation and Focus Construction in Owo: A Yorùbá Dialect*. The Learned Press. Macrolinguistics Vol. 4, No. 4. Pp 126-142
- Ouhalla, J. (1988). THE SYNTAX OF HEAD MOVEMENT: A STUDY OF BERBER. A Ph.D Dissertation. University College. London.
- Owolabi, K. (1995). More on Yorùbá Prefixing Morphology. Language in Nigeria: Essay in honour of Ayo Bamgbose, ed. by Owolabi, Kola 92-112. Ibadan: Group Publishers.
- Oyebade, F. (1988). *Issues in the Phonology of Kakanda Language: An Autosegmental Perspective*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ilorin.
- Oyebade, F. (1998). *A Course in Phonology*. Shebiotimo Publication. Ijebu-Ode.
- Oyelaran, O. (1982), The category AUX in the Yorùbá Phrase Structure. Paper Presented at the 15th West African Languages Congress, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria, April 4-11, 1982
- Palmer, G. (1996). *Toward a theory of Cultural Linguistics*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press
- Partee, B. (2005). A Brief History of Syntax-Semantics Interface in West Formal Linguistics. University of Massachusetts, Amherst

- Payne, T. E. (1997). *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge University Press.
- Petyt, K.M. (1980). *The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology*. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd.
- Pollard, C. & Ivan, A. (1994) *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. CSLI Publications. Stanford, Calif.
- Radford, A (1988). *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radford, A. (2004). *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the structure of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In *Elements of Grammar. Handbook in Generative Syntax*, L. Haegeman (ed.), 281-337, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Ross, J. R. (1986). *Infinite Syntax*. Ablex Publishing Corporation, Norwood, New Jersey.
- Ross, J.R. (1967). *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc.
- Sells, P. (1985). *Lectures on Contemporary Syntactic Theories*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Sharifian, F. (2011). *Cultural conceptualisations and language: Theoretical framework and applications*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sharifian, F. (2015). *Cultural Linguistics*. In Farzad Sharifian (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and culture*, 473–492. New York: Routledge

- Siemund, P. (2002). *Reflexive and Intensive self-forms across varieties of English*. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (ZAA)* 50
- Sommerstein, A. H. (1977). *Modern Phonology*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Stockwell, R.P. (1977). *Foundations of Syntactic Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J, Prentice Hall.
- Swan, M (1996). *Practical English Usage* (second Edition): Oxford University Press.
- Taiwo, O. (2006). *Negative markers in Ao and Standard Yoruba*. *Journal of West African Languages* 33(1). 53-70.
- Travis, L. M. (1991). *Derived object, inner aspect, and structure of VP*. A Paper presented as NELS 22
- Uwalaka, M. (2003). *Tense and V-Movement in Igbo*. 4th World Congress of African Linguistics, Rutgers.
- Williamson, K. (1989). *Niger-Congo Overview*. *The Niger Congo Languages*, John Bendor-Samuel (ed.). University Press of America Inc. America.
- Yuka, C. (2006). *Parametric Variation and Lamnso' WH-Constructions*. *The Journal of West African Languages (JOWAL)*. Vol XXXIII No. pp 126-135.
- Yuka, C. and Adefabi, F. (2015). HTS in Standard Yorùbá and the resumptive pronoun in Šúpàré. *Journal of Linguistics Studies*, Vol 1, no. 1, 87-113.
- Yuka, C. and Adefabi, F. (2016). The LTS and Polarity in Šúpàré Negated Clauses. In Oye Taiwo and Lenzemo Constantine Yuka (Ed.). *New Findings in African Languages and Literature*. West African Linguistic Society. 38-46.
- Yusuf, O. (1992). *Syntactic Analysis: A Student's Guide*. Ilorin: Unilorin Press.
- Yusuf, O. (1998). *Fundamentals of Syntax and the Study of Nigerian Languages*. Shebiotimo Publications. Ijebu-Ode. Nigeria.

Yusuf, O. (2007). *Basic Linguistics for Nigerian Languages Teachers*. M & J Grand Orbit Communications Ltd. Port Harcourt.

Zanuttini, R. (1997). *Negation and Clausal Structure: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zhou, Z.H. & You, R.J. (2006). *Dialects and Chinese Culture: the second edition[M]*. Shanghai People's Publishing House.