A MORPHOLOGY OF THE ÌKÁLẸ̀ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ

BY

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Jesus Christ my mediator and advocate; and
to the cherished memories of my parents
Chief M.A. Shada
Chief Mrs C.A. Shada.

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My earnest expectation of a day like this to acknowledge persons who have been of immense support is hereby fulfilled.

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O.O. Shada
May, 2017

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SEY	South East Yorùbá
V	Vowel
V	Nasal vowel
N	Noun
SY	Standard Yorùbá
HTS	High Tone Syllable
Prog	Progressive action
Neg	Negative marker
Sg	Singular
PL	Plural
´	High tone
`	Low tone
-	Mid tone
Nom	Nominative case
Obj	Objective case
Acc	Accusative case
Per/P	Person
1st	First (person)
2nd	Second (person)
3rd	Third (person)
Emph	Emphatic marker
Foc	Focus
Rel	Relative clause marker
Perf	Perfective marker
Fut	Future tense marker
GB	Government and Binding Theory
UBH	Unitary Base Hypothesis
WBH	Word Based Hypothesis
WLH	Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis
SLH	Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis
X^{o}	Word level category
X^{1}	Phrasal category

VP	Verb Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
Pre	Prefix
CV	Segmental Tier
H	High tone
L	Low tone
M	Mid tone
C	Consonant
IA	Item and Arrangement Model
IP	Item and Process Model
WP	Word and Paradigm Model
WFR	Word Formation Rule
A/Adv	Adverb
LIP	Lexical Integrity Principle
PF	Phonetic Component
NN	Noun-Noun collocation
V_1	First Vowel
V_2	Second Vowel
Pre_1	Group one Prefix
Pre_2	Group two Prefix
Nom Pre	Nominal Prefix
Adj	Adjective
Vn/VV	Serial verb
ATR	Advance Tongue Root
UOH	Unitary Output Hypothesis
MUBH	Modified Unitary Output Hypothesis
PP	Prepositional Phrase
NPC	No Phrase Constraint
RED	Reduplicant
BR	Base- Reduplicant
Ci	Consonantal Reduplication
Hab	Habitual Tense
T_1	First tone
T_2	Second tone
TAM	Tense Aspect and Mood

ABSTRACT

Morphology is central to the understanding of word meaning and structure in language . Extant literature on the Ì kálẹ̀ dialect of Yorùbá has treated morphology as an adjunct to phonology and syntax without a comprehensive morphological description of its word formation processes, which are crucial to the structures of the dialect. The study, therefore, investigated morphological processes such as inflection, affixation and reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀ with a view to providing an explicit description of the dialect.

The study adopted Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH), which interphases syntax and morphology, and McCarthy's Autosegmental Morphology in the analysis of reduplication and tone . Twenty seven native speakers were purposively sampled, three each from nine towns : Òkìtìpupa, Ìlútitun, Òde-ìrèlè, Igbótako, Iju-Odò, Erékìtì, Òde-Erínjẹ̀, Àyèká and Ìkọ̀yà where this monolithic dialect is spoken . Data were acquired with the Ibadan 400 word list, syntactic paradigm and structured interview. This was complemented with 37 Ìkálẹ̀ indigenous Bírípo folksongs. Data, which consisted of Ìkálẹ̀ words and phrases were subjected to interlinear-glossing and descriptive analysis.

Ìkálẹ̀ has four inflectional morphemes: pronouns, emphatic markers, perfective markers and future tense markers. Pronouns inflect for negation, tense, aspect, number and person. Negative forms are: *mé/ẹ́, wé/ẹ́nẹ̀n, é/ẹ́nẹ̀n;* future tense forms are: *ma/a wa/ànán* and *á/ànán* while the aspectual forms are: *me/ẹ, we/ẹnẹ́n* and *é/ẹnẹ́n* for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, respectively. The emphatic marker has two forms: *mẹ̀ẹ́,* used in continuous aspectual constructions and *mà,* used in other environments. Affixation employs prefixes and interfixes. Prefixes are grouped into classes I and I1. Class I prefixes are attached to verbs/verb phrases: *à + hè* ➔ *àhè* 'banquet'; processual nominals : *ò + gbígbàn* ➔ *ògbìgbàn* 'siever'. *olí-,* the Class II prefix, which attaches to nouns, has *lí-* as its allomorph: *olí/lí+ oghó* ➔ *ológhó/lóghó* 'a rich man'. Two types of *ù-* prefixes are identified: *ù₁-* + verb/verb phrase to derive abstract or concrete nouns: *ù- + wàn* ➔ *ùwàn* 'measurement' and *ù₂-+* monosyllabic verbs to derive manner nouns: *ù + rèn* ➔ *ùrèn* 'manner of walking'. Prefixes *àì-* and *olí-* are analysed as monomorphemic. There are partial and full reduplications.. Partial reduplication are either Ci or CV: *go* 'to be tall ', *gígo* 'tallness', *kéré* 'to be small', *kékeré* 'small', *kékeréèke* 'extremely small'. Full reduplication includes: *lá /lála* 'to be big', *ọma* 'child(ren)', *ọmama* 'grandchild(ren). Reduplication is also used to denote plurality: *lílálílá* 'big ones'; agentive: *gbóghó* 'to carry money' ➔ *gbóghógbóghó* 'money carrier'; activity: *wanlẹ̀* 'to measure land' ➔ *wíwanlẹ̀* 'land measuring'; emphasis:*ibé* 'here' ➔ *ibebé* 'here emphatic '. Ìkálẹ̀ dialect is overwhelmingly agglutinating in nature and the affixation and reduplication of tones and segments are often mutually exclusive.

Ìkálẹ̀ is an agglutinating dialect of Yorùbá as attested to in inflection , affixation and reduplication. The process of deriving nouns from processual nominals through prefixation provides evidence for the lexicalisation of such nominals in Yoruba.

Keywords: Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yorùbá, Agglutinating language, Inflection, Affixation, Reduplication

Word count: 466

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1   Ìkálẹ̀ dialect and people

Ìkálẹ̀ is a dialect of Yorùbá, spoken in the eastern fringe of the South Eastern Yorùbá (SEY) dialect areas (Adetugbọ 1967, Shada 1988, Awobuluyi 1998). Ìkálẹ̀ dialect is the native language of the Ìkál ẹ̀ people whose population, according to the National Population Commission (2006) is three hundred and seventy eight thousand, two hundred and seventy four (378,274). They occupy Òkìtìpupa and   Ìrèlè Local Government areas of Ondo State and part of Ogun State. The Ìkálẹ̀ people are bounded by Edo to the East, Ìlàjẹ and Àpọ̀ì to the South, Ondo to the North and Ìjẹbú to the West. There are nine major Ìkál   ẹ̀ towns. They are : Òkìtìpupa, Òde-Ìrèlè, Ìlútitun, Iju-odò, Ìkọ̀yà, Igbótako, Òde-Erínjẹ, Àyèká and Erékìtì.

1.2   Some characteristic features of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect

The following, among others, are notable features of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

i) Retention of proto Yorùbá consonants [gʷ] and [γ] in words like those in example (1).

1.	a.	[ɛgʷà]	beauty
	b.	[ɔγó]	money

ii) Nasalisation of vowels [o] and [e]. The mid high unrounded oral vowel [e] and the mid high rounded oral vowel [o] are basic vowels in Ìkálẹ̀. They are found in basic words like; **gbé** 'to carry' and **gbó** 'to bark'. They do not have their nasal counterpart in basic words. They however acquire secondary nasality in connected speech as seen in the following examples.

2.	a.	rɔ́ ewé	→	rẽ́wé	chew leaf
	b.	nɛ̀ɛ̃́ ó mã̀ɛ́	→	nɔ̀ɔ̃́ mã̀ ɛ́	who knows you

iii) Consonants [l] and [n] are separate phonemes in Ìkálẹ̀. They are adjudged so by their behaviour as seen in the following examples

3.	a.	nɛ̃́	usu	→	nṹsu	have yam
	b.	nɛ̃́	oɟú	→	nṍɟú	have eyes
	c.	olí	ɔmã	→	olɔ́mã	owner of child
	d.	olí	ũrũ	→	olúrũ	owner of something

In these examples, while the consonant [n] nasalises all the following oral vowels, consonant [l] in its own case denasalises all the following nasal vowels in connected speech, as indicated in the schema in 4.

4.   a.   V $\rightarrow$ $\tilde{V}$ / +N –
        b. $\tilde{V}$ $\rightarrow$ V /– N –

iv) There are vowel **u** initial words in Ìkálẹ̀. Such words include:

5.   [ulí]   house   [ùdɛ̃́]   oil (palm kernel)
        [usu]   yam   [uwò]   hole
        [ukù]   stomach   [ùwà]   character

v) All the five basic nasal vowels in Ìkálẹ̀ are phonemes [ã] [ɛ̃] [ĩ] [ũ] [õ]

6.   [rã́] to send   [rṍ] to chew [rṹ] to be rough
        [rɛ̃́] to laugh   [rĩ] to grate

vi) **Fọ̀** and **ji** are verbs of saying in Ìkál è as opposed to **sọ** and **ní** in Standard Yorùbá (SY)

7a.   Mo fọ̀ fi ọrọ̀n é dọ̀n mí
        I say that neck prog ache me
        'I said that my neck is acheing'.

b.   Olú ó (Ol'ó) ji màmá é e mọ ẹmọ
        Olú HTS   say mother prog neg drink wine
        'Olú said mother doesn't drink wine'

vii) Low tone and mid tone are not neutralized on monosyllabic verbs with subcategorised noun or noun phrase complement:

8a.   Wo   rà ìwé
        You (sg) buy book
        'You (sg) bought (a) book(s)'

b.   Ànán   gʷẹ̀ Òjó
        you (pl)/they bathe Òjó
        'You (pl)/They bathed Òjó'

c.   A rà ghán
        we buy them
        'We bought them'.

d.   Wo   gwẹ̀ wá
        you (sg) bathe us
        'You (sg) bathed us'.

viii) Tone lowering is a common feature of connected speech. A sequence of low, high, low tones become low, mid, low.

    9a.   ùlú 'town' òyìnbó 'white man' → ùloòyìnbó 'white man's land'

    b.   ògá 'boss' àgbà 'elder'   → ògaàgbà 'big boss'

    c.   ògún 'the god of iron' é è gbè mí 'did not favour me' → ògén è gbèmí → ògenègbèmí 'ògún (the god of iron) did not favour me'

    d.   ukú 'death' é è jí ùwà jọ 'prevented the reward of good character'→ ukéèjuùwajọ 'death prevented the reward of (good) character'

ix) **Olí** is the morpheme for ownership/association while **nẹ́** is the verb for possession

    10a.   ológhó (olí oghó)   'owner/possessor of money'
    b.   nóghó (nẹ́ oghó)   'have/own money'

x) There are five distinct pronoun forms in Ìkálẹ̀ as exemplified below

11.   (a) Nominative (Nom)   (b) Objective (Obj)

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per.	mo	a	mi	wa
2nd per.	wo	ànán	ẹ	ghan
3rd per.	-	ànán	tone	ghan

Only one pronoun form is used for the second and third person plural while the exponent of third person singular object pronoun is tone.

xi) Content question words do not use the focus marker **ín/rín** or any other marker in Ìkálẹ̀ other than the question word. There are three content question words: **Nẹ̀ẹ́** 'who', **èlú/kèlú** 'how much/many', **kí** 'what' + **ùgbo, ubo, ùse** 'time, place, and manner'.

    12a.   Nẹ̀ẹ́ wo   rí?
          who you (sg) see
          'Who did you see?'

    b.   Kèlú   asọ yí?
       how many clothe this
       'How many are these clothes?'

    c.   Èlú   wo rà á?
      how much you buy it
      'How much did you buy it?'

d. Kí wo fọ?
   what you say
   'What did you say?'

e. Kí ùgbo wo bọ̀?
   what time you arrive
   'When did you arrive?'

f. Kí ubo wo ti ba?
   What place you meet+him/her/it
   'Where did you meet him/her/it?'

g. Kí ùse wo ti ba?
   What manner you meet+him/her/it
   'How (what state) did you meet him/her/it?'

xii) The equational verbs *re, jẹ́, ni, se,* and ***gha*** are used in equational sentences. They
all have the interpretation of ***x equals to y***.

13a. Ìyẹ̀n jẹ́ inẹ́.
   that equal one
   'That equals one'.

b. Ó jẹ́ fi wo ti gbe wá.
   HTS mean that you perf carry+3psg come
   'It means that you have brought it'.

c. Òun re yẹ̀n
   she/he/it be that
   'That is him/her/it'.

d. Nẹ̀ẹ́ re `iyí?
   Who be this
   'Who is this?.

e. Ìyẹ̀n ni fi wé è mà
   that be that you+neg know
   'That means (that) you don't know'.

f. Usẹ́ kẹrẹn ni fi jí ẹ(jẹ́ ẹ) gọ̀npẹ̀(gùn ọ̀pẹ̀)
   work fourth be that let 2psg climb palm tree
   'The fourth assignment is that you should climb a palm tree.'

g. Ọma è Olú ó gha ín
   child him Olú HTS be foc
   'Olu was his child'

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h. Ó se fi wé è gbọ́
   it be that you 2psg neg hear
   'It means that you did not hear'

i. Ó se ùwọ ín
 It be you(emph) foc
 'Just that it is you'

xiii) Focus sentences make use of the focus markers *ín/rín.* Constituent focus makes use of *ín* while sentence focus uses *rín.* The markers are located in sentence final position.

14a. Mo rí Kẹ́mi.
      I   see Kẹ́mi
      'I saw Kẹ́mi'

b. Kẹ́mi mo rí ín.
    Kẹ́mi I   see foc
    'It was Kẹ́mi (that) I saw'.

c. Mo rí Kẹ́mi ì   rín
    I   see Kẹ́mi emph foc
    'It was the fact that I saw Kẹ́mi.'

xiv)   The relative clause marker is *yí.* It follows the head of the clause directly. In some cases it is unmarked and it can also be deleted in some clauses.

15.   a. Ọnẹ   yí   ó   fọ̀...   → Ọnó fọ̀...
          Person rel. HTS say
          'The one who says . . .'

b. Ọma yí mo pè ... →   Ọma mo pè ...
    child rel. I call
    'The child (that)I call . . .'

xv)   The syllabic nasal is not attested in the dialect. Words having syllabic nasal in Standard Yoruba (SY) are pronounced in Ìkálẹ̀ without it.

16	SY	Ìkálẹ̀	Gloss
A	gbòǹgbò	egbògbò	'root'
B	oǹrorò	Ọrorò	'sadist'
C	kànǹga	kà̀ga	'well'

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xvi) The high tone syllable (HTS) is used. It occurs immediately after the subject noun phrase (NP).

    17a. Omi   ó (om'ó) kọ́n
        Water HTS   full
        'The river is full.'

    b. Ọkọ̀   ó (ọkọ̀ọ́) ti lọ.
      vehicle HTS   perf go
     'The vehicle has gone.'
    c. Bà   mi ó (m'ó) tí a ka wa
      father my HTS   perf fut come
     'My father would have started coming.'

1.3   Previous works on Ìkálẹ̀

To the best of our knowledge, no work has previously been carried out on the morphology of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. Linguistic research works done on Ìkálẹ̀ include the following:

i. Iṣọla's (1969) work on the descriptive phonology of Ìkálẹ̀ is a brief note on the identification of Ìkálẹ̀ sounds.

ii. Adetugbọ's (1967) Ph.D Thesis on the major dialect areas of the Yoruba language of Western Nigeria in which he makes a brief mention of Ìkálẹ̀ as one of the dialects in the South Eastern part of Yorùbá dialect areas.

iii. Shada's (1988) M.A. dissertation on aspects of Ìkálẹ̀ Noun phrase – a work carried out within Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar, as well as Shada's (1991) work on Focus Constructions in Ìkálẹ̀, carried out within the Government-Binding (GB) framework.

This present work is therefore a pioneering one on the morphology of Ìkálẹ̀.

1.4   Purpose of this Study

This study first aims at describing the morphology of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The central roles of affixation, reduplication and inflection in word formation will be emphasised. Our focus on these three word formation processes stem from the fact that they are highly productive in Ìkálẹ̀ and they al   so adequately capture the morphology of the dialect. Other morphological processes like clipping, conversion, compounding and blending, are not as productive as these three processes. Therefore we will look at affixes, reduplicants and inflectional morphemes in Ìkálẹ̀.

The morphology of Ìkálẹ̀ will be described as an autonomous field of grammatical study where phonological, morphological and grammatical rules contribute to word formation. It thus implies that Ìkálẹ̀ morphology is not just a component of the grammatical analysis of the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect but a module of grammar, having its own systems, comparable to the phonological and syntactic modules.

A prominent issue addressed in current researches in word structure border on certain hypothesis like the Unitary Base Hypothesis (UBH) and Word Based Hypothesis (WBH) among others. This work aims to explore the workability of these hypotheses on the data in Ìkálẹ̀, with a view to establishing its universality or otherwise.

The lexicalist approach to morphological analysis with particular reference to Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's Phrasal Morphology will be adopted for this study. This theoretical framework will be complemented by Goldsmith's Autosegmental Morphology. Therefore this work will contribute to linguistic theory, through the evidence provided from Ìkálẹ̀ as a dialect of Yorùbá. It will show in particular that in addition to words, phrases also have input to the morphological analysis of Ìkálẹ̀ and that tones serve as exponent of morphology.

1.5. Significance of the study

In an attempt to establish some morphological facts about Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, our study will be compared with other Yoruboid languages, especially standard Yorùbá when and where it is necessary. This work is also intended as a contribution to the teaching and learning of Yorùbá dialects at one instance and a contribution to finding resolution to the challenges faced in various attempts at forging a comprehensive description of Yorùbá morphology. It will also contribute to other fields of linguistics research, especially the contribution of dialects to enriching the standard form of Yorùbá, as well as to the field of lexicography and lexicology both in data and analysis.

1.6. Theoretical framework and methodology

1.6.1. Theoretical framework

The theoretical model adopted for this work is the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH) as contained in Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's (1988) Phrasal Morphology. The weak lexicalists claim that there is a symbiotic relationship between morphology and syntax, even though they belong to two different modules. According to them, some words have syntactic input in their derivation while others do not. Pulleyblank and

Akinlabi posited that apart from the standard case where morphology (i.e. word level categories (x^o) feed the syntax, there are also other cases (especially in some African languages) where syntax (x^1 e.g. phrase) serve as input to x^o category. The relationship is expressed in the following diagram

```
┌─────────────────┐
│   Morphology    │
└─────────────────┘
         ↕
┌─────────────────┐
│     Syntax      │
└─────────────────┘
```
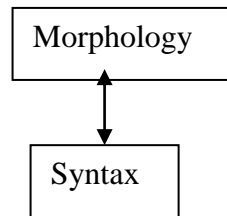
<div align="center">Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988: 142)</div>

Ìkálẹ̀ is one of such languages where, in addition to X^o, X^I categories also feed morphology. There are copious examples of this. Some of them include

18a. [N a [VPgbóghórẹ̀n]] 'He who carries money about.'
      pre carry-money-walk

b. [N [VPkọ́lí][VPkọ́lí]] 'house builder'
    build house build house

In these examples, the inputs to morphology, that is, ***gbóghó(gbé oghó) rẹ̀n*** 'carry money about' in 18a and ***kọ́lí(kọ́ ulí)*** 'build house' in 18b, are verb phrases of the type VNP.

The weak lexicalist theory will, however, not be able to describe all aspects of the Ìkálẹ̀ data at our disposal. For instance, it cannot handle all that reduplication entails. Therefore, it will be complemented by Autosegmental morphology, a theory propounded to handle non-agglutinating phenomena like infixing, reduplication and featural morphemes like tone. Autosegmental morphology was an offshoot of Autosegmental phonology. The claims of autosegmental phonologists are that segmental sounds (consonants and vowels) were not the only phonological elements that were relevant to phonological analysis. There were other elements like tones, stress and other autosegments which occupy other tiers apart from the segmental tier and whose behaviour were not in anyway different from that of segmental elements with regard to phonological operations.

According to Goldsmith (1976) and his adherents, elements of the various tiers are mutually exclusive. They operate independent of one another, yet they are not isolated in that they are linked to one another and are also capable of interacting with one

another (though in a non-automatic manner). Goldsmith puts forth four proposals which distinguish autosegmental phonology from standard generative phonology. They include the following:

 i)   phonetic representation is multilinear or multi tiered.

 ii)   tiers are linked.

 iii)   feature specifications have an internal hierarchical structure.

 iv)   some tiers may be morphemes.

Goldsmith's last proposal, that some tiers may constitute morphemes gave birth to autosegmental morphology. Egbokhare (1989) quoting McCarthy (1983) reported that there are copious cases where individual tiers constitute independent morphemes in languages across the world. An example is Chaha, a Semitic language where labialization with the feature [+round] and palatilisation [+high, -back] are morphological tiers.

In Ìkálè, for instance, the 3rd person singular object pronoun is marked by a floating tone (i.e. an unassociated tone) this tone spreads to the preceding verb after the tone on the verb has been de-associated. The following examples reveal this.

19. a. rí   'to see'

 b. ri   'see it'

 c. se   'to do'

 d. sé   'do it'

The process deriving the verb + pronoun form in the examples in (19) is as schematised below.

20

	ri	?		ri	
Segmental tier	CV	+ V	$\longrightarrow$	CV	
Tonal tier	H	M		H	M = ri 'see it'

21

```
              se          ?              se
              ‖           |              ‖
Segmental tier  CV          V              CV
              |           |      ⟶        ╪
              |           |                ⟍
Tonal tier     M           H              M      H  = sé 'do it'
```
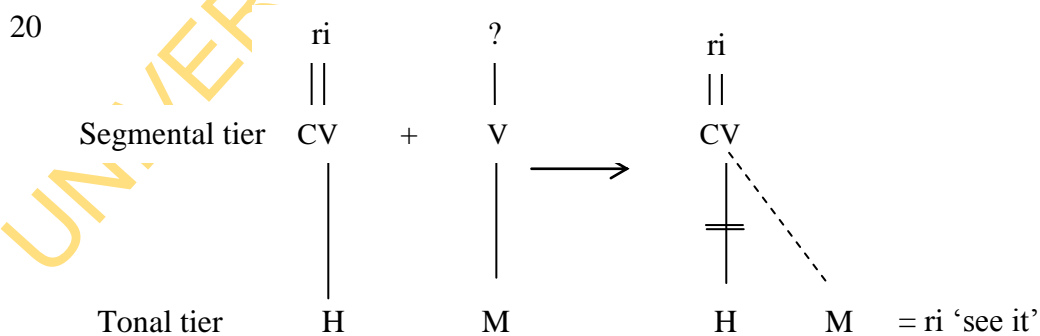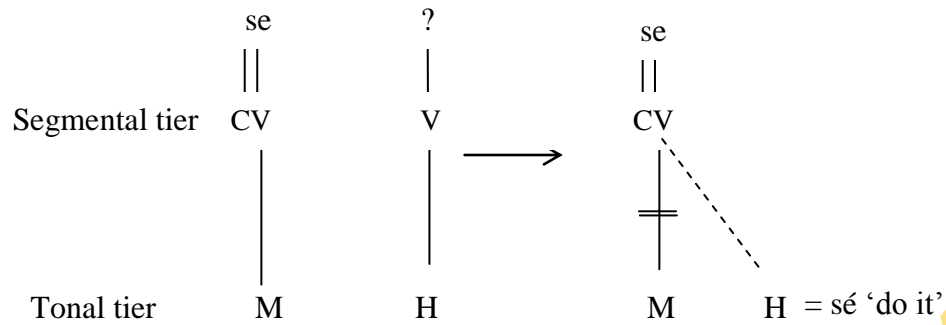
Apart from this, scholars like McCarthy (1981), Marantz (1982), Broselow and McCarthy (1983), among others, have extended the idea of autosegmental morphology to the analysis of reduplication, where reduplication is treated as a templatic phenomenon (Marantz 1982:445-446). According to Marantz, a morpheme template tier, which he refers to as CV- skeletal tier, is attached to the base of a reduplicative morpheme and a reduplication rule subsequently copies the segmental melody of the base to the CV-skeleton in form of an affix. Such copying, however, is subject to certain linking conditions which ensure correct association.

In the analysis of reduplication in Ìkálè̩, for instance, certain segments and tones are mutually exclusive of one another in terms of copying. In some cases, segments are copied without their tones, to an already pre-associated tonal tier. It is only autosegmental morphology that can successfully handle such cases. An example is *dedeèdè* 'completely all/all without exception' which is formed from *dede* 'all'. In this example, '*ede*' is copied from *dede,* the base, to a CV tier which has already been pre-associated with low tones in the tonal tier. In this case, only the segments are copied exclusive of the tones. This is shown in the example in 22 and its diagram in 23

22. dede 'all' → dede+ede → dedeèdè 'completely all/all without exception'

23

```
                                         L  L
                                         |  |
                                         |  |
   d e d e              d e d e   e d e
   | | | |              | | | |   | | |
   | | | |              | | | |   | | |
   CV CV – CV  →        CV CV – VCV
   |   |                |   |     ╪ ╪
   |   |                |   |
   M   M                M  M   M M
```

10
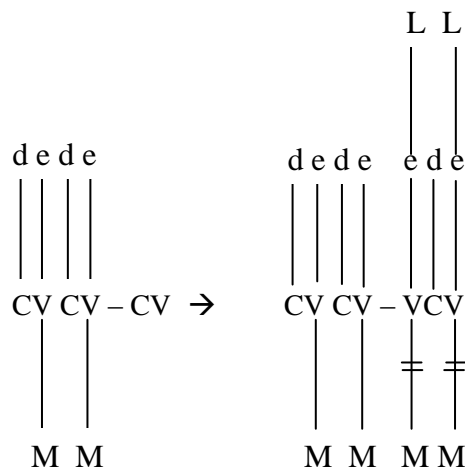
Chapter four of this work contains a description of the affixal treatment of reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

1.6.2. Methodology

Data for the study were acquired using the Ibadan four hundred word list , syntactic paradigm and structured interview . Twenty seven native speakers of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, from whom the data were acquired, were purposively sampled, three each fom nine major towns where the dialect is spoken : Òkìtìpupa, Ìlútitun, Òde-Ìrèlè, Igbótako, Iju-Odò, Erékìtì, Òde-Erínjẹ, Àyèká and Ìkọ̀yà . Fifteen of the samples were male while twelve were female. Twenty two of them were bilinguals while five spoke only the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. Their ages range between twenty nine and eighty two years. Data acquired from the samples through oral interview were complemented with thirty seven Ìkálẹ̀ indigenous folk songs. The data , which consisted of Ìkálẹ̀ words, phrases and sentences, were subjected to interlinear-glossing and descriptive analysis.

1.7. Summary

This introductory chapter mentioned the Ìkálẹ̀ people and their dialect, the characteristic features of the dialect, some of which include the retention of proto Yorùbá consonant /g^w/and /γ/, nasalisation of vowels /o/ and /e/, the four marked pronouns in the dialect, the existence of vowel /u/ initial words, the fact that low and mid tones are not neutralised on monosyllabic verbs with subcategorised noun phrase complement, among others. We also examined previous studies in the dialect as well as the purpose and significance of the study. Finally, the chapter contained the theoretical frameworks employed in the work. These are Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's version of the weak lexicalist hypothesis and Goldsmith's Autosegmental Morphology. It also contained the methodology adopted for the study. In chapter two, we shall review related literature on existing works in morphological analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0. Preamble

A wide range of theoretical models have been tested on morphological data in several languages of the world, yielding varied results. As early as 1786, for instance, William Jones had used morphological evidence to show that the Germanic languages, Sanskrit, Latin and Persian, among others, have a common ancestor. By this, Jones shows the importance of morphological studies to linguistic analysis of languages (Katamba and Stonham 2006:3).

Linguists generally agree that morphology is about words, their structure and formation (Archangeli and Pulleyblank, 2014:1- 4; Booij, 2015: 1-2). Words, according to O'Grady and Guzman (2000:112), Aronoff and Fudeman (2005) have intricate internal structure which can be assigned provided there is a systematic correlation between form and meaning as indicated in the pairs of words in 1a and b.

	1(a)			1(b)	
(i)	òmàwé	'knowledgable one'		màwé	'to know book'
(ii)	òdaràn	'criminal'		dáràn	'to commit crime'
(iii)	òkọrin	'singer'		kọrin	'to sing'
(iv)	òtanràn	'arbitrar'		tánràn	'to settle matter'

The words in (a) consist of a verbal base which is a combination of the verb and its nominal object as well as the prefix *ọ̀-.* These yield a corresponding systematic meaning of *'one who Xs'*, where the *x* stands for a NP. One is able to come to this conclusion because of the pairs of words in 1(a) and (b) and the corresponding meaning difference which the presence of *ọ̀-* in (a) and the absence of it in (b) has on the words in question. The words in 1a can safely be referred to as complex words, with *ọ̀-* having the meaning 'agent of', hence the need to assign to them an internal structure of the following nature in 1c.

1c.   [ọ̀- VNP]_N.

2.1   Pre-Generative approaches to morphology

Approaches to the study of morphology can be broadly grouped into two; the pre-generative approaches and the generative models.

The pre-generative approaches consist of traditional linguistics approach in which words were treated as the basic unit of grammar and the structuralists whose theories were basically agglutinating. The structuralists held that words may have intricate internal structure, whether on the surface or deep within. These are exemplified in the Item and Arrangement model (IA) and Item and Process Model (IP). There are three main schools within the structuralist model; the first is Item and Arrangement. This is a school which stresses the idea of word analysis. To them, it is essential to decompose words into its parts. The Item and Process model in its own case sees word formation as an application of certain processes.

The third school is the Word and Paradigm (WP) model of morphological analysis whose theory stresses the notion of the morpho-syntactic word. The theory, among other things is meant to take care of inflectional morphology. According to the proponents of this theory, each inflected word has at least one morphosyntactic description whether, for instance it is dative or past tense and the grammar makes available paradigms which specify the formatives that correspond to the categories in question. The primary focus of WP as expounded by C.F. Hockets in the 1950s, is the opposition between words as wholes within a paradigm. Their primary focus was not on the internal structure of words.

Generally, the structuralists apply descriptive method in their analysis of words. The following essential beliefs codify the structuralist morphological analysis.

i)   Words may have intricate internal structures.

ii) Morphology is a level of linguistic analysis whose concern is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words.

iii) Each of the levels of linguistic analysis – Phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics –is hierarchical and should be treated as separate, non- interfering levels.

One major problem with the structuralist view of morphology is that contrary to their separationist view, it has been proved that morphological study cannot be self-contained in that rigid separation of linguistic levels are more of theory than practice. As much as there are strictly morphological issues, there are much more that involve morphology and other modules of grammar. There are morphosyntactic, morphophonological issues. Inflection, for instance, is a good example.

Inspite of the fact that several aspects of the structuralist view of morphology was rejected by later theories of morphology (especially their idea of separation of levels), yet it is to their credit that so much was devoted by them to the linguistic analysis of

words. An example is Nida's 1949 work on the theory and practice of Morphology. Again, their recognition of the fact that words may have intricate internal structure has greatly influenced morphological analysis after them.

2.2   Generative approaches to morphology

Little or no place was given to morphology in the early years of generative grammar. This is as a result of the belief of generative grammarians that phonology and syntax are capable of handling morphological operations. This made them to spread morphological operations over phonology and syntax. It was easy, for instance, for Chomsky in his 1957 *Syntactic structures* to bye pass the morphological components by virtue of the unlimited powers conferred on syntactic rules such that it could influence the forms of words and morphemes. Added to this is their decision not to allow the structuralist theory to influence their analysis.

However, later, Chomsky (1965), in his *Tranformational generative theory*, modified the re-write rules of 1957 and changed it to lexical rules and thereafter pushed issues about word structure to the lexicon. Inspite of this seeming relaxation on the place of morphology in grammatical analysis, some constraints on word structure are still spread over phonology, morphology and syntax. Some of the constraints are in form of subcategorisation. For instance sub-categorisation guarantees that a verb like *hit* has an NP complement. This verb will therefore have a frame of this nature.

2. hit: [– NP]

It was discovered that there were so many exceptions to the normal workings of transformational rules. For instance, transformation could not handle agreement or concord matters, especially cases of irregular inflection like (plural or past tense) as expressed in the following examples.

3. goose/geese
4. give/gave

Not only this, transformational rules could not derive some nominals from underlying sentence forms. These and other problems facing the workings of transformation gave birth to lexicalism which began with the regular differences observed in the behaviour of gerundive nominals and derived nominals.

Chomsky (1970) argued that there is regular correspondence (productivity) between gerundive nominals and their base sentences while such is not predictable for derived nominals. Chomsky's popular examples are sentences with the verb *eager* and *easy,* seen in the well formedness of 5b and the illformedness of 5aiii.

5a. i. John is easy to please

    ii. John's being easy to please

    iii. *John's easiness to please

b. i. John is eager to please
    ii. John's being eager to please
    iii. John's eagerness to please

It was on the basis of regular syntactic, semantic and morphological idiosyncratic nature of derived nominalization that Chomsky advocated their morphological treatment through his theory of the lexicon in which lexical redundancy rules would capture their formation. The implication of this for morphological analysis is the recognition of a new theory which deals with word structure. The first person to take up the challenges of generative morphology was Halle.

2.2.1. Halle (1973)

His reaction to Chomsky's lexicalist hypothesis was one of the earliest and it has an influential impact on later lexicalists (Spencer (1996); Katamba and Stonham (2006)). Halle specifically took up the following challenges which border on

i) Word inventory

ii) Order of morphemes in a word

iii) Idiosyncratic features of words

He sees the lexicon as the domain of morphology. According to him, the lexicon makes use of the following in its operations.

   i) a list of morphemes.

   ii) a set of word formation rules (WRFs).

   iii) a filter.

   iv) a dictionary of existing words.

   v) a loop.

Halle conceives the morpheme as the base of word formation rules. He explains that there are two types of WRFs

i) The rule that strings up morphemes in a linear order in a word.

ii) The rule that takes words from the dictionary and add morphemes (affixes) to them with the aid of a loop which serves to link WFRs with the Dictionary and the phonological component (Spencer, 1996: 78).

Halle's model is as represented below

```
┌──────────┐     ┌──────────┐     ┌────────┐     ┌──────────┐
│ List of  │ ──→ │ Word     │ ──→ │ Filter │ ──→ │Dictionary│
│ Morphemes│     │ Formation│     │        │     │ of words │
│          │     │ Rules    │     └────────┘     │          │
└──────────┘     └──────────┘                    └──────────┘
                       ↑                               │
                       │                               ↓
┌──────────┐     ┌──────────┐     ┌──────────┐
│  Output  │ ←── │Phonology │ ←── │  Synyax  │
│          │     │          │     │          │
└──────────┘     └──────────┘     └──────────┘
```
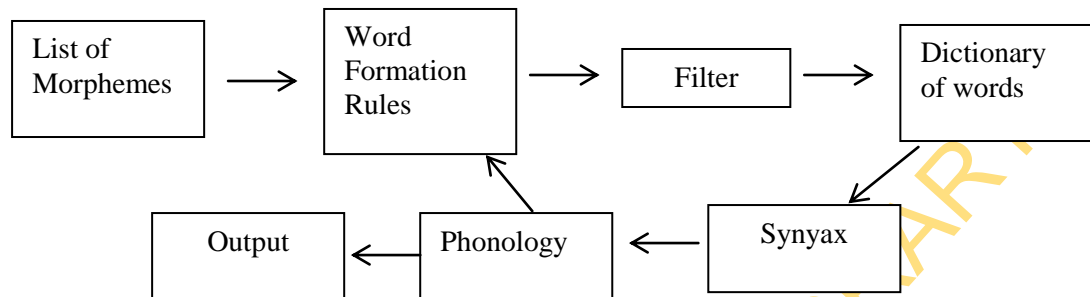
(Reproduced from Scalise 1984: 24)

A number of observations have been raised with regards to Halle's model. Salient among them are the following:

i) his WFRs are quite unrestricted and they overgenerate.

ii) exigencies of morphological issues across languages suggest that the base of morphological analysis may not after all be the morpheme but rather word. Therefore, regarding the word as base will help to do away with Halle's dictionary and thereby reduce (i) redundancy and (ii) the number of apparatus needed in word formation.

By and large, Halle's model has the advantage that his idea of WFRs was a significant innovation in that it used more linguistic information and operations in morphological analysis than has been done before him.

2.2.2. Word Based Morphology (WBM)

WBM was a reaction to Halle's claims on Word formation, especially his claim that the morpheme is the base of word formation rules. According to the proponents of WBM exemplified by Aronoff (1976), the word and not the morpheme is the base of morphological analysis. According to Aronoff, all regular word formation processes are word based. A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word. Both the existing word and the new word are members of major lexical categories. (Spencer 1996: 85; Scalise & Guevara, 2005:11)

2.2.3. Justification for WBM

The following are the reasons adduced for proposing the model

i) Productive process of derivational morphology operates over words and only words. Other processes of Acronym, Clipping, Blends among others are not productive.

ii) Certain phonological rules are sensitive to the internal constituency of words.

iii) WFRs are lexical rules operating in the lexical component of the grammar. They are also different from other rules of the grammar in that among others, they are not listed.

The following is a summary of Aronoff's claims with regard to Word Formation Rules (WFRs) (cf. Scalise 1984: 40; Spencer 1996: 83).

a) The bases of WFR's are words.

b) The words must be existing words.

c) WFRs can take as a base only a single word, no more (e.g. phrases) no less (e.g. bound morphemes).

d) The input and output of WFR must be members of major lexical categories i.e. Noun, Verb, and Adjective.

e) WFRs operate over single type of syntactically or semantically defined base (i.e. the Unitary Base Hypothesis - UBH). It also uniquely applies: one operation at a time.

f) Only derivational rules (i.e. rules which operate to form new words) are lexical. Inflection belongs to the syntax.

However, Aronoff's unit in (e) covers words which form natural class. [+N] for instance, is a class which covers both Nouns and Adjectives.

One conclusion which Aronoff draws from (e) is that if an affix is attached to more than one single class of words, then such affix may be regarded as homophones. This is of particular interest to this work, especially when one considers the behaviour of some nominalising prefixes like *à-* in the following Ìkálẹ̀ complex words.

> 22a.   à- + hè 'to cook' àgbàdo 'maize' → àhè àgbàdo 'banquet of maize'
>
> b.   à- + rírẹ̀ 'being ill'   →   àrírẹ̀ 'illness'

One sticking difference between the two inputs is that the base to which the prefix à- attaches in (i) is a verb while that of (ii) is an adjective. There are also a number of phonological and syntactic differences in their behaviour as it will be shown later in this work.

One advantage of Aronoff's model is that it helps to minimize overgeneration which the 'morpheme as base' hypothesis runs into. His model takes actual words as

input to word formation rules. However, like most lexical morphologists, it has been insinuated that Aronoffs model is too restrictive, separating derivation from inflection. Not only this, his transformational treatment of reduplication has also been criticized.

Generally, from Chomsky (1970), Halle (1973), to Aronoff (1976) and other lexicalists after them, their claim is that principles that regulate the internal structure of words are quite different from those that govern sentence structure. The conscensus among them is that complex words are essentially accounted for in the lexical component of the grammar (i.e. the lexicon) and that syntax is blind (reasonably) to the internal structure of words. The extent to which it is blind to a word's internal structure is nonetheless a bone of contention among them. The lexicalists also generally held that Word Formation Rules (WFRs) are structure building and non-transformational in nature, and that morphology is not a sub-part of syntax. None of them denied the fact that morphology has varying relationships with other parts of grammar (phonology, syntax and semantics). The type and extent of such relationships gave rise to the three main conceptions of the lexicalist movement namely; the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH), the Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH) and the Split Morphology (SMH).

2.2.4. The Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH)

The adherents of this version of lexicalism are Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1975), Halle (1973), Selkirk (1982), Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) among others. Strong lexicalism started with Chomsky (1970) who proposed that semantically irregular derivation should not be accounted for by the syntax. The SLH took an extreme side to this proposal by excluding all morphological phenomena from the syntax. For instance, in addition to the processes of word formation, they also excluded the rules of inflection from the syntax.

The main tenet of SLH is that syntactic transformation cannot analyse word internal morphology at all and this explains why derived nominals are not transformationally related to their base. Morphology, to them, is a thoroughly lexical phenomenon that obeys different principles from that of syntax. They held that both derivation and inflection belong to the lexicon. This position is driven by their assumption that syntactic rules cannot modify, move or delete parts of a word – an obvious radical form of the Lexical Integrity Principle (LIP) formulated by Lapointe (1980: 8) in Scalise and Guevara (2005: 23) and referred to as the Generalised Lexicalist Hypothesis which states that

No syntactic rule can refer to elements of morphological structure.

Other forms of the LIP are Selkirk's Word Structure Autonomy Condition (Selkirk 1982: 70), Di Sciullo and William's (1987) Atomicity thesis and Borer's (1998: 152 – 153) reference to it in his Ordering Principle. Halle, for instance believes that, arising from the commonalities in the behaviour of both derivation and inflection, they can be regarded as reflexes of the same process.

Inspite of this, however, it is still necessary for the SLH to explain the fact that in reality, certain aspects of word structure (e.g. inflection) are accessible to syntactic rules and how they intend to handle such. An example is number agreement on verbs in English as seen in the following words 'dance' and 'dances' in

23a.   Margaret dances

   b.   The girls dance

(Katamba & Stouham, 2006: 233)

The morphological difference between 'dance' and 'dances' in the examples in 23, is syntactically motivated. It is occasioned by the requirement of syntax which makes it imperative for a verb to agree with its subject on number distinction.

2.2.5.   The Weak Lexicalist Hypothesis (WLH)

This version of the lexicalist hypothesis held that though regular derivational processes take place in the lexicon, yet conditions on inflection have to be stated at a different level of representation other than the lexicon (either in the syntactic component or later at the Phonetic Component (PF). They, in effect regard inflectional morphology (Anderson, 1982) or some of it (Booij, 1996) as very much relevant to syntax, in fact not ordinarily so but it depends so much on it. Thus while derivational morphology is a function of the lexicon, inflectional morphology is accomplished by syntax. Scalise and Guevara, (2005) refer to Anderson's (1982) claims that the rules of inflectional morphology apply after syntax to adjust the words provided by the lexicon as the morpho-syntactic requirements of the syntax.

Some of the proponents of WLH include Anderson (1992), Lieber (1995), Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988), Plag (2004). Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988), especially posited that apart from the standard case where the morphology feeds the syntax, there are also cases where the syntax do derive word level (x^o) category.

Specifically, there are cases of morphological derivation where syntactic phrases that are subject to requirements governing phrases, serve as input to word formation. They thereby suggested a symbiotic relationship between syntax and morphology as expressed diagrammatically below.

```
┌─────────────────┐
│   Morphology    │
└─────────────────┘
         ↕
┌─────────────────┐
│     Syntax      │
└─────────────────┘
```
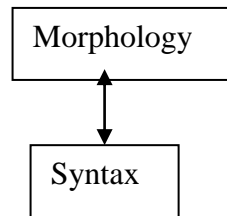
Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988: 142)

They advocated a modular model of grammar where individual components (syntax, morphology, phonology) govern or take care of appropriate aspects of derivation. The modular treatment of morphological phenomena seems to be well motivated because one of the issues at stake in the lexicon-syntax-divide is essentially that between a compound and a phrase, for instance whether a Noun Noun (NN) collocation is a Noun (N) or Noun Phrase (NP).

2.2.6. Split Morphology Hypothesis (SMH)

The split morphologists held that morphological process split across different components and that there is a wide difference between derivation and inflection. They are of the view that derivation belong to the morphological component while inflectional morphology belong to the syntax. It is a version of weak lexicalism. Some of their adherents are Anderson (1992), Stump (2001), Beard (1995) and Aronoff (1994). They differ from the other weak lexicalists however, in the sense that they subscribe to the paradigmatic notion of word relationships. In short, the paradigm notion plays a significant role in the morphological analysis of the SMH. Anderson calls it the Extended Word and Paradigm theory. His explanation being that derivation is lexical but inflection is part of the phonological component, only fed by the syntax. The proponents of SMH however, could not properly justify the clear cut difference between inflection and derivation in their analysis. While it is to their credit that SMH practitioners recognise a difference between derivation and inflection, yet such difference is not a sharp one since they share many characteristics and sometimes there is an overlap.

2.3.   Word and criteria for wordhood

There has not been any unified and concise definition of word because it is a concept which can be viewed from different perspectives especially in relationship to other categories of linguistic expression. However, users of a language know what constitutes a word in their language. Matthews (1997: 404) for instance defined it in traditional terms as the smallest of the units that make up a sentence, and marked as such in writing.

Crystal (1985: 333) also gave an intuitive definition of word as

> a unit of expression which has universal intuitive recognition by native speakers, in both spoken and written language.

Bloomfield's (1933: 178) definition of a word as 'a minimal free form' does not solve the problem either because even though there are words like 24 (a) and (b) which do not have more than one free form, others have more than one free form as seen in the Ìkálẹ̀ word in 24(c).

24.   a. gbá 'to sweep'

b. ilẹ̀ 'floor'

c. ùgbálẹ̀ (ù-+ gbá ilẹ̀)
   broom   instrument sweep floor 'that which is used to sweep the floor'

One of the reasons for lack of concensus among linguists on the definition of a word is that it can be described in relation to the various linguistic constructs; phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, giving rise to the following types of words; phonological, morphological and syntactic words (Spencer 1996: 41; Aronoff and Fudeman 2005: 20-36).

2.3.1. Phonological word

It is a word distinguished as a unit of phonology. In English, it is the domain of stress assignment or intonation. Every phonological word in English has a main stress. It is a string of sounds which behaves as a unit for certain kinds of phonological process. In English for instance, there are words that don't stand alone but rather depend on other words for stress and therefore need to be incorporated in them (Aronoff and Fudeman 2005:35). Examples are clitics like *the.* There are others that cling to other words, making them to appear as a single word but in reality they perform two distinct

grammatical functions. An example of this type of phonological word in Ìkálè̩ is the verb + 3psg object pronoun in the following examples

25a.   mú (V) 'to pick'+ 3psg obj.pr →   mu   'pick it'

b.   rí (V) 'to see' +3psg obj.pr →   ri   'see it'

c.   ho̩n (V) 'to roast'+3psg obj.p →   hó̩n   'roast it'

In these examples, the pronoun forms, which are essentially tone are incorporated into the verbs. In 25(a) for instance, the word for *pick* is the high tone verb *mú*. The third person singular object pronoun, which is essentially a floating mid tone is automatically incorporated into it to form a phonological word since a floating tone cannot stand without a tone bearing segment. It thus displaces the original high tone of the verb *mú* 'to pick', to derive *mu* 'pick it'.

2.3.2. Syntactic word

In this conception of word, it is regarded as the smallest unit of syntax, but which is internally unanalysable by syntax. Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) in Spencer (1996:425) refer to it as 'syntactic atom'. Its analysis is only amenable to morphology as seen in the examples in 26.

26ai. Olúlí 'owner of house'   ii. agbóghórè̩n 'a very rich man'

For instance, *ulí* 'house', which is a component of *olúlí* (*olí* + *ulí)* in 26a cannot be referred to by an anaphor neither can it be focused in any construction involving *olúlí,* as seen in the illformedness of (26b).

26bi.   *Ulí   yìí mo rí olí   è̩
           House that I   see owner it

ii.   *Ulí mo rí olí è̩ ín
           house I see owner it foc.

Syntactic words are generally opaque to word external operations. Thus they are anaphoric island: none of their sub-parts can be referred to by an anaphor. They exhibit lexical integrity.

2.3.3. Morphological word

Words as conceived from morphological view point are words construed out of morphemes through various morphological processes. Depending on the number of morphemes in a word, one can have monomorphemic word or polymorphemic word. For instance in Ìkál è̩, 27(a) is a monomorphemic word, while 27(b) & (c) are polymorphemic.

> 27 a. mọ- 'to drink' (V)
>
>   b. e̩mọ - 'drink' (N)
>
>   c. olé̩mọ - 'person associated with drink' (N)

2.3.4 Grammatical word

This is also called morphosyntactic word (Aronoff and Fudeman, 2005:36). It is a conception of word as a representation of a lexeme that is associated with certain morpho-syntactic properties (i.e. properties that are partly morphological, partly syntactic). Katamba and Stonham (2006: 19) exemplify this with the word *cut* in 28.

> 28a Usually I *cut* the bread on the table
>
>   b) Yesterday I *cut* the bread.

According too them, the same word form *cut* belong to the same verbal lexeme *CUT* but it represent two different grammatical words – the present tense of the word in (28a) and its past tense in (28b) It is also essential to note that the same word when used as a noun will automatically belong to another lexeme as seen in the example below.

> 29. Jane has a *cut* on her finger

The notion of the morphosyntactic word is essential to the discussion on the relationship between morphology and syntax.

2.4. Criteria for wordhood

Inspite of the difficulty encountered in trying to give a concise definition of a word, yet there are some criteria that can be used to identify a word. They are of two types: syntactic and phonological. Some of the syntactic criteria that are available in the literature include, fixed order of elements, non-separability, lexical integrity and positional mobility (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2005: 37ff).

2.4.1. Fixed order of elements

This criterion is also known as internal stability. The test states that the elements in a morphologically complex word is fixed and cannot be changed without it resulting in ungrammaticality. Thus we can have (30a) where the order of elements is respected but (30b) and (c) where the order of morphemes has been changed are meaningless and thus unacceptable.

> 30a. èrírún 'crumbs'
>
> b. *ríèrún
>
> c. *rúnríè

This is unlike sentences where the order of words can be changed without it resulting in ungrammaticality (although there is a limit to which such re-arrangement can be done). Thus, we can have (31a) & (b) but not (31c).

> 31a) Olú   ó (ol'ó) mà ulí
> Olú HTS know   house
> 'Olu knows the house'
>
> b) Ulí   Olú   ó (ol'ó) mà
> House Olu HTS know
> 'House, Olú knows'
>
> c) *mà Olú ulí
> know Olú house 'know Olú house'

2.4.2. Non-separability

This test requires that no element is allowed to break up a word. Bauer (2003: 63) calls it uninterruptibility. He explains that it is a condition in which an extraneus material cannot be introduced into the middle of a word form. The implication of this test is that, a word cannot be broken up by the insertion of segments or phrases. If such element is introduced, it will result in ungrammaticality as seen in the following Ìkálè̩ words.

> 32ai. e̩run 'mouth'
>   ii. *e̩ryìíun
>
>   bi. ata 'pepper'
>   ii. * agbígbe̩ta
>   iii. ata gbígbe̩
>   pepper dry 'dry pepper'

This criterion is useful in knowing if a compound is a word or not. One can also use it to differentiate between a phrase and a word. For instance we can use this diagnostic test to differentiate between collocation and actual words in Ìkálè̩. See the following for instance.

33a. kò̩wé 'write (book/letter) ko̩ odidi ìwé 'write a whole book'
   b. gbálè̩ 'sweep (floor)   gbá dede ilè̩ 'sweep the whole floor'
   c. gbóghó 'carry money'   gbé ùwànba oghó 'carry small amount of money'
   d. pe̩ja 'catch fish'   pa o̩ma e̩ja   'catch fingerling'

These examples (as will be revealed by other diagnostics too) show that collocations like *kò̩wé, gbóghó*, *gbálè̩* and *pe̩ja* are phrases and not words in Ìkálè̩.

2.4.3. Integrity

This criterion requires that syntactic processes cannot apply to constituents, pieces or part of a word. This is also known as lexical integrity. Two of the processes are extraction and referential opacity.

Extraction requires that constituents of a word cannot be extracted by clefting, topicalisation or relativisation. For instance *oghó* cannot be extracted from *ológhó* for clefting, topicalisation and relativisation but the whole word *ológhó* can be extracted as shown in the ill-formedness of the following utterances in 34b and the well-formedness of those in 34(c).

34a   Mo rí ológhó
       I   see money-owner
       'I saw a rich man.'

bi.   *Oghó mo rí olí   ín
        money I   see owner foc

ii.   *Oghó mo rí olí
        money I   see owner

iii.   *Oghó   yí mo rí olí
        money this I   see owner

ci.   Ológhó   mo rí ín
        money-owner I see foc.
        'It was a rich person I saw'

ii.   Ológhó, mo ri
        money-owner I see
        'A rich person, I saw him'

iii.   Ológhó yí mo rí **. . .**
        money-owner comp I see
        'A rich person which I saw . . .'

Referential opacity stipulates that it is impossible to see inside a word or refer to its parts. In other words, a word is an anaphoric island whose parts cannot be referred to, using an anaphor. Examples are ***oghó orí*** 'tax' and ***etí òkun*** 'river bank'.

35a   *Mo gbà oghó orí sùngbán mé è mà   iye   oghó è
          I collect money head but   I neg know amount money it
b)   *Mo tó etí òkun, mo dèn gwè etí è já
          I get ear sea   I   swim ear it through

However, the following forms in 36 where both ***oghó orí*** and ***etí òkun*** are referred to by an anaphor are wellformed.

36a. Mo gbà   oghó orí sùngbán mé è   mà   iye   è
     I collect money head but   I neg know amount it
     'I collected the tax but didn't know its value'.

  b. Mo tó etí òkun, mo gwè é já
     I get ear sea   I swim it through
     'I got to the river (bank) and swam through it'.

2.4.4. Positional mobility

This diagnostic test guarantees the movement of a word form within a sentence with relative ease for the purpose of topicalisation, focusing or relativisation. It also forbids the movement of parts of a word for such purposes. This is seen in the well formedness of the (a) form of the Ìkálè dialect utterances in 37 and 38 and the illformedness of the (b) and (c) forms.

37a   Ùjoba   ó gbà   oghó orí
        Government HTS collect money head
        'Government collected tax'

b   *Orí ùjoba   ó gbà oghó   è ín
         head government HTS   money it foc.

c   *Orí yí ùjoba   ó   gbà   oghó è
         head comp government HTS collect money it

38a   Mo rà ùgbálè
        I   buy broom
        'I bought a bunch of broom'.

b   *Ilè mo rà ùgbá ín
         ground I buy cleaning foc

26

c   *Ilèyí mo rà ùgbá
         ground comp I   buy cleaning

In the examples above, both ***oghó ori*** tax' and ***ùgbálè*** 'broom' are our focus. The elements in ***oghó orí*** and ***ùgbálè*** cannot be separated for the purpose of focusing and relativisation but they can move as a word form for topicalization, focusing and relativisation as seen in 39.

39ai. Oghó orí ùjọba   ó   gbà   ín
      Money head government HTS collect foc.
      'It is tax that the government collected'.

ii.   Oghó orí   yí ùjọba   ó gbà…
        money head comp government HTS collect
        'the tax that the government collected…'

iii.   Oghó orí, ùjọba   ó   gbà   á.
        money head government HTS collect it
        'Tax, the government collected it'.

bi   Ùgbálè mo rà ín
        broom   I buy foc
        'Ít was a broom that I bought'.

ii.   Ùgbálè yí mo rà…
        broom comp I   buy
        'the broom that I bought…'

iii.   Ùgbálè, mo rà á.
        broom   I buy it
        'Broom, I bought it'.

This confirms that ***oghó orí*** 'tax'and ***ùgbálè*** 'broom' are words in Ìkálè, and not phrases.

However, even though ***ùgbálè*** 'broom' is a word in Ìkál è, ***gbálè*** 'to sweep the ground' is not a word. Our diagnostic criterion clearly shows in the following examples involving ***gbálè*** that it is not a single word but two separate words which was merged by a phonological process of deletion and contraction.

40a.   Olú ó   gbálè
        Olu HTS sweep ground
        'Olu swept the ground.'

b. Ilẹ̀   Olú ó   gbá ín
ground Olu HTS sweep foc
'It was the ground that Olu swept.'

c. Ilẹ̀   yí Olú ó gbá**...**
ground comp Olu HTS sweep
'the ground that Olu swept **...'**

d. *gbálẹ̀   Olú ín
  sweep ground Olu foc

e *gbálẹ̀   yí Olú **...**
  sweep ground rel   Olu

f Olú ó gbá díẹ nínọ́ ilẹ̀
Olu HTS sweep part in ground
'Olú swept part of the ground'.

    That ***gbálẹ̀*** is more than one word is shown by the separation of ***gbá*** from ***ilẹ́*** without a corresponding ill-formedness or change in meaning in (40a) to (c) as well as its ill-formedness when it was treated as a unit for focusing and relativisation in 40(d) and (e). Again that it can be separated by ***díẹ̀ nínọ́*** 'part of' without a change in the meaning of ***gbálẹ̀*** in (f) shows that it consists of two words, not one – ***gbá*** (verb, to sweep) and ***ilẹ̀*** (noun, ground/floor).

2.4.5. Phonological criteria

   One of the criteria for wordhood is tone or intonation. One can ask whether such word constitutes a prosodic unit in terms of tone, intonation or stress. In English, for instance, every phonological word has a stress (especially a main stress). Most words in English are phonological words. However, words without stress, even though they can stand alone, are not phonological words. Such words are regarded as clitics. Determiners like ***a, an, the,*** are examples of clitics. They lean on neighbouring words for stress. For instance, in

41.   The hot dogs ran for the lake.

Only the four lexical of the seven words in that sentence are phonological words (with stress).

      In Ìkálẹ̀, one cannot use stress to identify a phonological word but rather tone   .
Words in Ìkálẹ̀ carry tones and are distinguished from one another by means of tone   .

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Ìkálẹ̀ dialect just like standard Yoruba makes use of three basic tones; high [´], [`] and mid [-]; words in the dialect are usually a combination of these.

For instance, the two words below are distinguished by the tones which they carry.

> 42a.   urọ́ 'lie'
>   b.   urọ̀ 'mate'

Words in Ìkálẹ̀ may be monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Most of them have lexical tones, except some pronouns which depend on adjacent words for tone placement . The object pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀ for instance are enclitics. They depend on the tone of preceding verb for placement as can be observed in the following examples.

> 43a.   gbé mi 'carry me'
>   b.   kà mí 'count me'
>   c.   jọ mí 'resembles me'
>   d.   gbá ẹ 'hit you (sg)'
>   e.   yìn ẹ́ 'praises you (sg)
>   f.   yẹ ẹ́ 'fits you (sg)'

One other way to identify a prosodic word is by vowel harmony . Prosodic words in Ìkálẹ̀ obey the harmony pattern of the dialect. In Ìkálẹ̀, certain vowels are grouped for the purpose of harmony, especially, in bisyllabic words of the pattern V-CV. However, such harmony, which is advance tongue root, is a partial one in that the groups are not totally exclusive of one another. The pattern is as below:

Group I		**Group II**		**Group III**	
e	o	ẹ	ọ	i	u
				a	

The vowels in groups I and II are mutually exclusive while those in group III are neutral.

It must be stated that vowel harmony can only be used to identify simple words in Ìkálẹ̀. In a complex word, only the first V_1-CV syllables take part in harmony. This is explicated in the examples below.

> 44a.   òbìbẹ̀ 'a bat like animal'
>   b.   erínjẹ 'the name of a town'
>   c.   èfífọ́ 'pieces (broken pieces)'
>   d.   ejíjẹ 'food'
>   e.   òlìlò̀ 'grinder'
>   f.   òwúọ̀ (òwúrò̀) 'morning'
>   g.   èfọ́rí 'headache'

2.5.   Some issues in Yoruba Morphology

Two of such issues which are contentious with regards to the status of some morphemic forms in standard Yoruba will be discussed here. They border on the morphemic status of *àì* and *oní*; whether they are single morphemes or two. Arguments about their status gave rise to two schools; the unitary school and the split school. The following is a review of the various arguments put forth to justify the two claims.

2.5.1.   The status of {àì}

The arguments put forth by the unitary school and the split school to justify their analyses of *àì* as well as our coments are contained in the following.

2.5.1.1. The Unitary School

The unitary school analyse *àì-* as a single indivisible morpheme. They are regarded as the 'old school'. Scholars like Bamgboṣe, 1966, 1990, Owolabi, 1995, Ogunkeye, 2002, Taiwo, 2004, 2006, 2007 are of the view that **{àì}** is a negative prefix in Yoruba which nominalises a verb or verb phrase at any instance to derive a deverbal nominal as seen in the following examples.

45a.	àì- + lọ 'to go'	→àìlọ	'not going'
b.	àì- + jẹ ' to eat'	→àìjẹ	'not eating'
c.	àì- + tètè 'quick'dé 'arrive'	→àìtètè dé 'not arriving early'

They gave reasons why *àì* should be regarded as one morpheme instead of two. According to Taiwo, *àì-* derives nominals without restrictions whereas *à-* is highly restricted in the type of nominals it derives. This explains why the forms in 46 and 47 are possible but those in 48 are not.

46a	àìjẹ	'neg eat'	b	àìlọ	'neg go'
c	àìgbọ́n	'neg wise'	d	àìsàn	'neg well'
e	àìbọ̀	'neg arrive'			

47a	àlọ	'going'	b	àbọ̀	'arrival'

48a.	*àjẹ	'eating'	b.	*ìjẹ	'neg eating'
c.	*àgbọ́n	'nom-be-well'	d.	*ìgbọ́n	'neg-wise'
e.	*àsàn	'nom-be-well'	f.	*ìsàn	'neg-well'

Taiwo, (2007:561- 562) explains that the ill-formedness of the examples in 48 clearly shows that the *à* of *àì-* is not the same as the prefix *à-* in (47). He says further that, if *àì-* were to be divisible, those forms in 48 would have been well formed just as those in 47.

On the implication of the unitary analysis of *àì* on forms like those in 49 below where it seems that *àì-* is being separated by intervening morphemes, the explanation of the unitary school is that those examples do not involve the separation of *àì-*.

49a.   àlọ̀ìdé   'going without returning'
   b.   àsùnnùnjí   'sleeping without waking up'
   c.   àṣeèṣetán   'doing without completing'

They claim that the forms in 49 are derived from an underlying form like those in 50 where *àì-* stands on its own independent of *à-;* a form which is actually their logical form. The vowel *à* of *àì-* is thereafter deleted (Bamgboṣe 1966:104[1], Owolabi 1995:111, Ogunkeye 2002:92). Ogunkeye's examples show the underlying form as seen in 50a and the surface form in 50b respectively, where deletion and assimilation rules have applied .

50a.   à - fẹ́ + àì – rí
       à - ṣe – àì - ṣetán

50b.   àfẹ́ẹ̀rí 'wanting without seeing'
       aṣeèṣetán 'doing without finishing'

Owolabi (1995:111) sees the forms in 50 as an instance of the co-occurrence of prefix *à-* and *àì-*. According to him

> They obligatorily simultaneously nominalise complex roots comprising two verbs/verb phrases. The prefix *à-* attaches to the first verb/verb phrases while *àì-* also attaches to the second verb/verb phrase. The two prefixes jointly produce morphologically complex nouns after the deletion of the vowel *à* of the prefix *àì-*.

Owolabi gives an illustration of the derivation as follows:

51.   lọ:dé   →   àlọàìdé   →   àlọ̀ìdé
      go; return   going not returning   going without returning

According to him, assimilation further takes place to derive *àlọọ̀dé*.

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[1] Bamgboṣe's (1990: 106) explanation actually is that à jẹẹ̀jẹtán 'eating and not finishing' is a combination of àjẹ + àìjẹtán.
Owolabi's (1995) explanation of the phenomenon is an echo of Bamgboṣe (1990). His explanation is however more detailed than that of Bamgboṣe (1966).

2.5.1.2. The Split School

This is the second school of thought. It stresses the divisibility of *àì.* Scholars who belong to this school are Awobuluyi (2005, 2008), Awoyale (1975), Oyebade and Ilori (2005), Adesuyan (2008) and Ajiboye (2013).

The nature of arguments put forth by this school is hinged on reasons why *àì* should not be analysed as a unitary morpheme and secondly, why it should be analysed as two separate morphemes, namely *à- ì-.* Even though all the adherents of this school of thought believe in the divisibility of *àì,* yet they also have their points of divergence, especially with regards the status of *ì-* of *àì.* It borders on whether it is a prefix or a preverb. There is no agreement also on its source whether it is an import from dialects or that it is a preverb in Standard Yoruba.

The initial sets of arguments put forth by the split school are those given by Awobuluyi (2005). He opines that if one compares items like those in 52a, b and c, one must accept the divisibility of (52b) into *à + lọ* given the fact that *lọ* can be segmented from *àlọ*.

    52a. lọ 'to go'   b.   àlọ 'going'   c.   àìlọ 'not going'

By the same analysis, one should also agree that (52c), *àìlọ* is divisible into *à + ì- lọ*. Therefore, according to Awobuluyi and all the other proponents of this overview, evidence of pairs such as those in 52 where we have the pairs of *à, àì* point to the fact that *àì* is not a single morpheme but rather two morphemes consisting of *{à}* and *{ì}*. Awobuluyi further explains that the prefix *à-* in *àlọ* above, has the same meaning of 'doing' also in *àìlọ*. He argues that if *à-* can stand independent of *ì* in *àlọ,* then *àì* is not a single morpheme but rather two.

His second argument, which is also extensively stressed in Oyebade and Ilọri (2005) as well as Ajiboye (2013) is the behaviour of *àì* in certain complex words. First is that *àì* is divisible in some complex words, including the following, where a morpheme is actually standing between *à* and *ì*.

    53a.   aṣeìṣetán→   àṣeèṣetán 'not completely done'
    b.   àkúkú ìbí → àkúkúùbí

Awobuluyi further noted that *ìbí* 'one's birth' in (53b) couldn't have been a noun since nouns don't follow adverbs in Yoruba. He concludes therefore that the *ì* which is found in *ìbí* is a negative adverb which originated from some Èkìtì dialects where there are forms like those in 54 and 55.

54a. àrìsùn 'not sleeping'
  b. àbírìkọ́ 'untrained'

55a. Ayọ́ rì á.   'Ayọ did not come'.
  b. Kà ṣe é ki Ibùnmi rì á? 'Why did Bunmi not come?

Ajiboye however disagrees with Awobuluyi's claim that ì̩ is a preverbal element.

He (Ajiboye) rather sees it as a (negative) prefix (Ajiboye 2013: 648fn5[2]) which is formed from the negative form *rì.* Adesuyan (2008) in his own case believes that *ì* is the shortened form of the negative verb *kì*, and that it is derived by deleting the consonant *k* of *kì*.

Awobuluyi's third argument is based on recurrence (similar to his first argument). He observes that two forms of *à* are interchangeable before *ì*. One of them has the meaning of 'doing' while the second has the meaning of 'thing' or 'person' as exemplified in

56a. Ó jìyà ní àìṣẹ̀   'He was punished though without sin'
  b. Má fìyà jẹ (orí) àìṣẹ̀   'Don't punish an innocent person'

He concludes that for the two forms of *à* to occur before *ì-,* with two distinct interpretations, is an indication that *àì* should be analysed as two morphemes.

There are other arguments put forth by Oyebade and Ilọri (2005) against the *àì-* unitary analysis and to justify the *à-, ì-* split analysis. They are summarised as follow:

i) What appears as *àì* nominalisation is actually an {**a**} nominalisation of the NegP (negative phrase) of the form in 57.

  57.   à – [NegP [Neg ì [VP]]]

                          (Oyebade and Ilori 2005: 4, 16)

ii) à- prefix attaches to serial V/VP type only and not to simplex

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[2] According to Ajiboye, there are at least three types of *ì* in Yoruba
      (a)   ì- nominaliser in ìlù 'drum', ìtọ̀ 'urine'
      (b)   ì- negative prefix which combines with à - verbal element in à- nominalization process as seen in à- ì-lù.
      (c)   ì- the preverbal element which functions as a question word : kò tí ì lọ ? 'Has she not gone?'
We want to quickly comment on c that the question word there is not *ì*. It is rather the stressing of the vowel lọ and probably the addition of a question marker (?). The *ì* that is found in that sentence is a negative functor. It is used in negative sentences which may be a declarative sentence of the form kò tíì lọ . 'He has not gone'.

iii) The reason why the neg. element *ì* does not appear independent of *à* is to minimise ambiguity because Yoruba has a low toned high vowel prefix *ì* which has a non-negative meaning.

iv) That low tone verbs don't raise their tone to mid before the derivation of the putative *à-rọ̀-àìdá* 'raining incessantly' shows that the word is actually not *àìdá* (Nom) but rather a negative phrase *ìdá* in which case tone raising will not be required because it is not a nominal.

v) Subcategorisation facts show that the semantic correlation of the input is always at variance with that of the output. According to them, what *tẹ́* 'spread', for instance selects must be something spreadable not the 'imaginary *àìká* 'not packed'. This is an indication that the input to *atẹ́ẹ̀ká* is not *atẹ́-àìká* but *àtẹ́ìká*, and since *ì-ká* is not a nominal but a negative phrase, there is no need to make reference to nominalisation.

2.5.1.3. Comments on the status of {àì-}

Firstly, it is pertinent to note that the *ì-* which is found in negative nominals is not a prefix in Yorùbá as claimed by Ajiboye (2013). If it were so , it would have been possible to have it nominalising the verbs and verb phrases of the language in isolation just like the other Yorùbá prefixes. Again it would have been possible for it to derive a new word (in this case noun in Yorùbá) like other prefixes . Awobuluyi's 2008 and Oyebade and Ilori's 2005 reference to it as a negative preverbal element which is imported intoYorùbá from Èkìtì dialect is a better option because in that case one does not expect it to function and behave like a prefix.

However calling it a negative preverbal element is also problematic in that in Èkìtì sentences where the element *rì* is used and from where it is claimed to have been imported into standard Yorùbá, it is not actually a negative preverb in that it does not have the interpretation of negation. *rì* is used as an intensifier in Èkìtì sentences and not as a negator. It is used both in negative and non-negative sentences as seen in the following sentences from Ìkọ̀lé form of Èkìtì dialect.

58a   Òjó rì ti lọ.   'Òjó has now eventually gone'
b.   Òjóò (rì) tì lọ   'Òjó has not yet gone'

59a   Ibùnmí rì ti á   'Bunmi has now come'
 b.   Ibùnmi (ì) rì tì á 'Bunmi has not yet come

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In the b sentences above (which are negative sentences, the carrier of negation is the low tone which is on the lengthened vowel of the subject noun and as indicated on the functor *tì.* That *rì* functions in the non-negative sentence in 58a and 59a shows that it has nothing whatsoever to do with negation. Therefore the *ì* which is found in *àì* couldn't have been the shortened form of *rì* which is found in Èkìtì sentences.

Having established that the *'rì'* which is found in the above sentences is not a negative morpheme, we want to state categorically that this *'rì'* is different from the *'rì'* which is found in the examples in 54 and that the *'rì'* which is in 54 is not segmentable from *'à'* without a corresponding illformedness. Therefore *'àrì'* in 54 has the same mono morphemic status as *'àì'* in Standard Yorùbá.

Secondly, the *à* of *àì,* is not the same *à-* prefix which serves to nominalise verbs and verb phrases. If it were so, it would have been possible to segment *à* in *àì* and use it in isolation of *ì* in construction where they are found. However, for majority of the constructions, this is not possible, hence the illformedness of the following.

      60a   *àgé (àìgé) b   *àjẹ (àìjẹ)

In fact, what one expects instead of the illformed examples in 60 above, going by the usual prefixes which *gé* 'to cut' and *jẹ* 'to eat' do select in Yorùbá, are nouns like those in 61.

      61a   ègé 'segment/slice'
          b.   ìjẹ 'eating'

If the so called negative (preverb or prefix) *ì* is added to *gé* and *jẹ*, it would yield the illformed forms in 62 instead of the known and accepted *àìgé* and *àìjẹ*. Or what derivation rule in Yorùbá will convert the forms in 62 to *àìgé* and *àìjẹ?* Such rule will at best be a fortuitous one.

       62a   *èìgé

        b   *ììjẹ

One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that even in cases where an *à-* prefix is attached to a few of the verbs in question, it is not the same with the *à* of *àì.* The two of them are only homophones. Consequently, since *à* is not segmentable from *ì,* it should be regarded as a single morpheme.

Thirdly, that *àì* performs the dual role of both a nominaliser and a negator is not a strange phenomenon and it does not imply that those two functions are shared among the duo of *àì;* other prefixes also behave in a similar fashion. An example is *a-* in 63.

| 63a | a-+ kọrin | to sing | akọrin | 'choir' |
| b. | a-+ pẹja | to fish | apẹja | fisherman |

In these examples, *a-* prefix performs dual roles as an agentive affix as well as a nominaliser yet it is just one element not two.

Oyebade and Ilori's explanation on the fact of the limitation of the *à/àì* correspondence being a result of *à* attaching only to serial VPs is not tenable. Firstly, there are simplex VPs to which *à-* attaches without anticipating any serialisation.

64a   àsè 'feast'   b   àjọ 'contribution'

Therefore, *à-* can attach to both simplex and serial verbal constructions. The limitation in their correspondence is traceable to the fact that *à-* prefix is different from the *à* which is found in *àì*. Both *à* and *ì* of *àì* jointly give the meaning of negation.

Allusion to tone: Ajiboye claims that prefix vowels in Yorùbá are of two tones; low and mid, if we have *àì* with low tone, we should be able to have *ai* with mid tone too. Though it is true that prefix vowels in Yorùbá come with low and mid tones, this may not be possible with the negative prefix *àì* because it has been suggested that the inherent tone for negation is low. Therefore, having it as low and not mid is only consistent with known facts about Yorùbá negation items.That it does not have a mid tone counterpart is a consequence of negation being inherently low (Its mid tone counterpart will not have a negative reading). Therefore, one should naturally not expect a mid tone counterpart of *àì*. This is exactly the case.

Oyebade and Ilori's claim that low tone raising does not apply to the first low tone verb in structures like *àbùùbùtán*, simply because what follows *bù* is not the nominal *àìbùtán* but the VP *ìbùtán* is also not tenable. One question which one might ask is how the nominals are formed and from what base. If, for instance, it is claimed as stated in Owolabi (1995) that the forms are formed by affixing the *à- -àì* prefixes to the verb and verb phrase skeletons, then the issue of low tone raising does not apply at all, because the verbs are in their citation forms. It is not only this, the issue of subcategorisation will not be applicable too. Talking about rule ordering, the question to

ask in this case is which rule applies first, reduplication or affixation? To provide the verb/verb phrase skeleton to which the affixes are added in the reduplicated cases, it is only logical that reduplication takes place first before affixation since they are the forms to which the affixes are added. They are examples of morphological parsing and not that of syntactic parsing. Therefore for *àbùùtàn*, the skeleton is.

<div style="text-align:center">65.   bù - bùtán</div>

However, unlike what is contained in Owolabi (1995), the process of affixing *à* and *àì* to the skeleton in 65 is gradual without prejudice to low tone raising. The minimalist theory gives room for a bit by bit derivation of *àbùùbùtán* from the base '*bùtán*' as follow:

66.   bùtán →bù bùtán →bù àìbùtán→   àbùàìbùtán
                reduplication   àì- prefix   à- prefix

Awobuluyi mentions recurrence as an evidence for treating *àì* as separate morphemes. While admitting that recurrence is a veritable means of isolating a morpheme, yet his example cries foul of it. The two meanings which are associated with *àìṣẹ̀* in the examples in 56 are not derivable from differences in their morphology. It may be a function of semantic interpretation of syntactic structure and this is outside of morphological analysis. Morphologically, there is no difference between *àìṣẹ̀* in 56a and 56b.

On Adesuyan's (2008) explanation that *ì* is a shortened form of the negative verb *kì,* we hasten to say that this explanation does not reflect the distribution of the item in question. The negative item *kì* from where *ì* is said to have been derived, is the inflectional form of the negative item which is used only in sentences indicating habitual/continuous action as opposed to past/present which makes use of *kò* (not). If *ì* is derived from *kì*, one will expect the resultant word to which it is added to have the meaning of a continous action. However, there is nothing about *àìlọ* 'not going' and *àìga* 'not tall' for instance, which suggests that the action of the verb is continous; rather, they have the interpretation of *ko x* (where x stands for a verb). Therefore *kì* is not the source of the *ì* which is found in *àì.*

Awobuluyi's allusion to recurrence is important in that it is a veritable yardstick for conferring morphemehood on an item. According to Fromkin (2009:39), one can determine a morpheme bondary if a morpheme alternates with another in a particular position. See for instance, the following:

<div align="center">

67a. ẹ̀sìn 'religion'

b. ìsìn 'worship'

</div>

In the examples in 67, both **ì-** in 67b and **ẹ̀-** in 67a are morphemes because they can alternate with one another to effect a change in the meaning of resultant words. However, no known prefix has been shown to alternate with the so called prefix **à-** before **ì**. One conclusion which can be drawn from this is that **àì** may not afterall be two morphemes but one indivisible form.

Finally, one would like to make reference to native speakers interpretation of the examples with **àì** and complex predicates as indicated in 49 and 50 above, and to state that the logical interpretation which speakers of the Yoruba language give to the forms in 49 (repeated here as 68) is 69 not 70 and this is not contestable.

68a   àlọ̀ìdé 'going without returning'
b   àsùnùnjí 'sleeping without waking'
c   àséèsétán 'not completely closed'

69a   àlọ àìdé   b àsùn àìjí   c àsé àìsétán

70a   àlọ̀ìdé   b àsùnìjí   c àséìsétán

In this section, we discussed the status of **àì-** in Standard Yorùbá. We shall examine **{àì}** in Ìkálẹ̀ in the light of our discussions and conclusion above in the following section.

2.5.2. The status of *àì-* in Ìkálẹ̀

In section **2.5.1** above, we discussed the status of **àì-** and concluded that it is a monophemic prefix in Standard Yoùbá. In this section, we shall extend our discussion on **àì-** to Ìkálẹ̀ dialect to ascertain its status in the dialect.

  àì- in Ìkálẹ̀ is asingle prefix morpheme which carries the meaning [neg] and not a combination of **à-** and **ì-** for the following reasons:

i)   Even though there are verbs and verb phrases in Ìkálẹ̀ which take   **à-** prefix, to which **ì-** can be said to attach /adjoin, such as **àlọ / àìlọ, àhè / àìhè,** hence they have the pairs **à- àì,** yet there are very many verbs / verb phrases which do not take **à-** prefix but which take **àì**- as prefix. These include:

71.   hùn 'to sleep'   ihùn 'sleeping'   *àhùn àìhùn 'not sleeping'
        jẹ 'to eat'   ùjẹ manner of eating/eating' *àjẹ àìjẹ 'not eating'
        gbán 'to be wise'   ọgbán 'wisdom'   *àgbán àìgbán 'not wise'
        pẹja 'to catch fish   apẹja 'fisherman'   *àpẹja àìpẹja 'not fishing'
        gbàgbọ́ 'to believe'   ìgbàgbọ́ 'believe/faith' *agbàgbọ̀ àìgbàgbọ́

<div align="center">

38

</div>

		'not believing'
rántí 'to remember	ìrántí 'remembrance'	*àrántí àìrántí
		'not remembering
dákú 'to faint'	ìdákú 'faiting	*àdákú àìdákú 'not fainted'
rìwé 'to buy book'	arìwé 'book buyer	*àríwé àìrìwé
		'not buying book'
hẹ́n 'to chisel'	ẹhẹ́n 'chip'	*àhẹ́n àìhẹ́n 'not chiseled'
jó 'to dance'	ijó 'dance'	*àjó àìjó 'not dancing'

The implication of this is that the **à-** of **àì-** should not be equated with the **à-** prefix. Doing so will be superfluous since there are many verbs and verb phrases (as seen above) to which **àì-** is prefixed in Ìkálẹ̀ but which do not have the **à-** prefix equivalent.

ii)   There are also some verbs/verb phrases in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect which take the prefix **à-** but which do not have the **àì-** equivalent. The following examples illustrate this

72.   àsesetúnse 'unending celebration'   *àìsesetúnse
àkọ́ntúnkọ́n 'full to the brim'   *àìkọ́ntúnkọ́n
àghòtúnghò 'looking repeatedly'   *àìghòtúnghò
àfọ̀sẹ 'saying to come to pass'   *àìfọ̀sẹ
àbíkú 'born to die'   *àìbíkú
àbíhọ 'named at birth'   *àìbíhọ
àbùsọrọ̀ 'dished to make wealth'   *àìbùsọrọ̀

If **àì-** is a combination of **à-** and **ì-,** it would have been possible to have **àì-** version of the prefix **à-** in those examples.

iii) Closely related to this is the fact that **ì-** does not feature in Ìkálẹ̀ as a negative morpheme whether as part of a morpheme group or alone as a morpheme, neither is there any sentence in Ìkálẹ̀ in which   **ì-** or a full form relating to it appears   . The following are the negative markers which are attested to in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect ;

73.   **é è**   Bọ́lá é è wá   'Bọ́lá did not come'

é e   Bọ́lá é e wá   'Bọ́lá does not come'

máà   máà wá   'Don't come'

While **é è** and **é e** are used in declarative and interrogative clauses in this dialect, **máà** is used in imperative clauses. The implication of this is that in the example words above*,* **à-** cannot be segmented and isolated from **ì-**

There are some examples of complex words in Ìkálẹ̀   , however, where superficially it seems that **à-** and **ì-** are split. Such words are exemplified by the following:

74.   àfẹ̀ìrí   'beclouding/invincible'
àbíìkọ́   'untrained'
àkọ́ìgbà   'untrainable'

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àríìró̩	'unexplainable'
àléìbá	'unconquerable'
àje̩ìyó	'eating and not satisfied'
àkúkúùbí[3]	'not birthed'
àje̩ìje̩tán	'eating and not finishing'
àje̩ìghè̩yìn	'eating and not looking back / eating all'
àjáìbalè̩	'break / cut fresh'
àkúùkútán	'not dead completely / half dead'

These words in (74) above contain complex predicates. The verbs and verb phrases can be isolated thus

75. i)   fé̩, rí 'search, find'
   ii)   bí, kó̩ 'born, teach/train'
   iii)   kó̩, gbà 'teach, accept'
   iv)   rí, ró̩ 'see, interpret'
   v)   lé bá 'pursue, overtake/meet'
   vi)   je̩, yó 'eat, full'
   vii) kúkú, bí '---, born'
   viii) je̩, je̩, tán 'eat, eat, finish'
   ix) je̩, ghè̩yìn 'eat, look back'
   x)   já, balè̩ 'cut, fall'
   xi) kú, kú, tán 'die, die, finish'

The verbs and verb phrases in the examples above indicate different actions. In many of the cases, the second verbs are a result of the action indicated by the first verb (resultative verbs) while in others they indicate consecutive actions, one taking place before the other. The action indicated by the first verb takes place before that of the second verb. Since they are representing two different propositions, it is possible for one proposition action to take place while the other one does not or has not taken place. One way to indicate that it is the second action which did not take place in the above examples is to attach the prefix *àì-* to the second verb to negate the proposition depicted by the second verb while the nominal prefix *à-* also attaches to the beginning of the first verb simultaneously to nominalise the whole phrase deriving the following

76.   *àfé̩àìrí, àbíàìkó̩, àkó̩ àìgbà, àríàìró̩, àlé àìbá, àje̩ àìyó, àkú àìkútán*
      àje̩àìghè̩yìn, àje̩àìje̩tán

Some of these constructions are used in their raw forms above. Some examples are '*àje̩ àìghè̩yìn', 'àjáàìbalè̩*'. However, many of them are used in their reduced forms, where

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[3] Both 'àkúkúùbí' and 'àkúùkútán' are spoken forms in which assimila tion has taken place to turn 'ì' into 'u'. Before assimilation, the words are pronounced as 'àkúkúìbí' and 'àkúìkútán' .

40

the vowel *à-* of *àì-* undergoes elision and in addition, assimilation in few cases, thus, deriving

77.   *àfẹ́ìrí, àbíìkọ́, àkọ́ìgbà, àrûrọ́, àléìbá, àjẹìyó, àkúìkútán* → *àkúùkútán*

It should be observed too that some of these words can appear in another form where the whole proposition is negated by àì without using the *à-, àì-* form. For example, one can have forms like *àìlébá, àìjẹyó, àìpakú* as seen in 78. However, these structures are left with the problem of form and interpretation with regards to the scope of negation.

78.   àìlébá, àléìbá 'unconquerable'
àìjẹyó, àjẹìyó 'eating not full'
àìpakú, àpaìkú 'smitten not dead'

Finally, one criterion that is useful in determining morpheme boundary is alternation (Fromkin 2009: 39). According to Fromkin, if a morpheme can alternate with another one in a particular position, then the morpheme which is alternated is a morpheme indeed. See for example 79.

79.   *à-hè 'to cook'* → *àhè 'banquet'*
è-hè 'to cook → èhè 'cooked'
ù-hè 'to cook' → ùhè 'manner of cooking'

From these examples, one can conclude that *à-, è-, ù-* are morphemes. However, no other morpheme has been found to alternate with *à-* before *àì-* in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect but other morphemes do alternate with *àì-* as seen in the following examples in 80.

80.   (a)   àì-rí 'to see'   →   àìrí 'not seen'
(b)   ù-rí   →   ùrí 'appearance'
(c)   ẹ̀-rí   →   ẹ̀rí 'evidence'

This is evidence that *è-, ù-* and *àì-* are morphemes in Ìkálẹ̀ . One conclusion which can again be drawn from this is that *àì-* is a single morpheme in Ìkálẹ̀.

2.5.3. The status of {oní/oni}

Just as it is with *àì*, there are two schools of thought on the morphemic status of {oní/oni} in standard Yorùbá; the unitary school and the split school. Their contention revolves round whether *o-* is a separate morpheme, distinct from *ní* or that they both constitute a morpheme in the following words.

81. a. onímọ̀tò 'car owner'
    b. alágbára (oní agbára) 'powerful one'
    c. ọlọ́gbọ́n (oní ọgbọ́n) 'wise one'
    d. eléwo (oní èwo) 'who'
    e. aláǹgbá 'lizard'

2.5.3.1. The Unitary School

The proponents of the unitary school are Bamgbose (1986; 1990), Owolabi (1995), Ogunkeye (2002), Taiwo (2006). They regarded **oní** as a nominal prefix. Their thesis is that **oní** is a morpheme which cannot be further divided. Owolabi (1995) stresses the reason why **oní** should not be split into two morphemes. He contends that there are some morphologically complex non agentival nouns in which **oní** is part. His examples include the following.

82. a. onítibí 'this person',   onítọ̀hún 'that person'
    b. oníkáluku 'each person',   onírú 'type'
    c. ọlọ̀gbẹ̀ẹ́ni = (oní + ọ̀gbẹ́ni) 'respectful term' meaning Mr),
        eléwo (oní + èwo) 'which one' eléyìí (oní + èyí) 'this one',
        oníyẹn 'that one' onídòwú 'personal name' (in an emphatic form)
        'oní olónìí (òní + oní + òní) 'this very day',
        ọ̀lẹọlọ́lẹ = (ọ̀lẹ + oní + ọ̀lẹ) 'a lazy person indeed.'

Owólabí (1995: 109[4]) explains the examples in (82) and concludes as follow

> The morphologically complex nouns in (a) have (semi) idiomatic meanings. Those in (b) are the emphatic forms of **káluku, irú, ọ̀gbẹ́ni, èwo, èyí, ìyẹn, Ìdòwú, òní**, and **ọ̀lẹ** respectively. Since the morphologically complex nouns in (a) and (b) do not have the agentival meaning of someone who x-es something', it is not only improper but also counter intuitive to break **oní-** into a derivational morpheme **o** and a verb morpheme **ní** 'own', possess, have in such morphologically complex nouns.

Therefore, it is based on the reason that some of the words involving **oní** do not have agentive reading that Owolabi treats **oní** as a single unit to allow for a uniform analysis. He proposes the following structural representation of **oní** prefixation as follow.

83.

Pre^2 $X_{N/NP}$
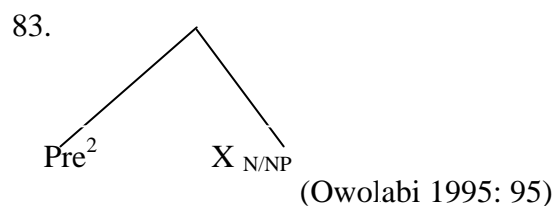
(Owolabi 1995: 95)

Ogunkeye (2002) and Taiwo (2006) maintain the position of Owolabi (1995) and Bamgbose (1990). Ogunkeye (2002: 87) for instance rejects the *o +VP* analysis on the premise that it does not seem to involve agentivity.

2.5.3.2. The Split School

The split school is exemplified by Awobuluyi (1992, 2008), Pulleyblank (1987), and Pulleyblank & Akinlabi (1988), Ajiboye (2013), Taiwo (2009, 2011). They are all of the opinion that *oní* consists of two morphemes; the agentive morpheme *o* and the verb *ní* 'to own, possess, have'. According to Awobuluyi (2008: 9), the only known evidence for the divisibility of *oní* is the fact that the prefixes *o-, a-* and *ò-* are interchange before the verb *ní* as seen in the following examples.

84 a.   oníkúlápò 'the one who has death in her pockect'
   b.   aníkúlápò 'the one who has death in her pockect'
   c.   òníkúlápò 'the one who has death in her pockect'

Awobuluyi explains that the three prefixes have the same meaning of 'person'. The fact that they are interchangeable is an indication that they are morphemes.

Ajiboye's (2013:652-653) mention of the *oní* morpheme is an attempt to garner support for the split analysis of *àí.* He explains that the proposal that *oní* is monomorphemic is an erroneous one, which contrasts with his view of *oní* in the same work. He supports Awobuluyi's analysis of *oní* as a combination of *o,* agentive prefix, and the verb *ní* 'to have'.

Pulleyblank (1987) and Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988) also view *oní* as consisting of two morphemes; agentive *o* and the verb *ní.* Pulleyblank (1987) stresses the similarity between *o* of *oní* and the agentive prefix *a-* which is attached to a VP headed by *ní* with the following structure.

85.
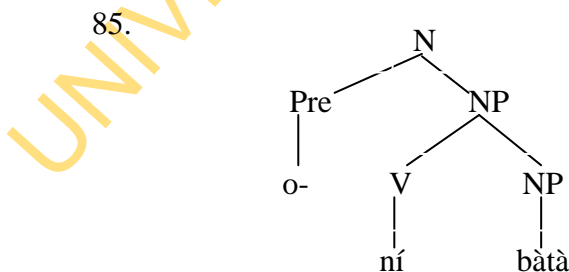
Taiwo (2009) believes that the idea of a class II prefix where *oní-* functions as a single morpheme should be discarded. He advocates a split analysis of *oní* where *oní* is a noun consisting of the prefix *o* and the verb *ní* as against the **P**re *VP* analysis. In his analysis,

derived nominals involving *oní* is treated as noun-noun construction where *oní* is the first noun consisting of the prefix *o* and the verb *ní.* He claims that *o-* belongs to the group of verbal prefixes which combine with *ní* to indicate ownership. In this analysis, *onígbèsè* 'money lender' will have the following structure in (86).

86.
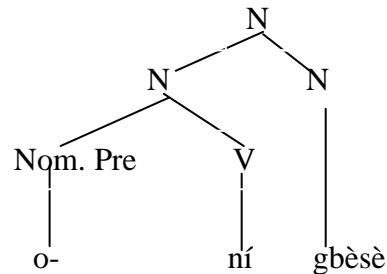
(Taiwo 2009:39)

This analysis, he says, is meant to cover all cases of *oní + N* which can be traced to ownership.

His second analysis in Taiwo (2011), is the one in which *oní* is treated as a single underived non-agentive nominal in a noun-noun construction. The derived nouns in this category are those which do not have the meaning of ownership in their interpretation but rather that of emphasis and sometimes that of *person of* as seen in the following examples (Taiwo 2011:63)

87 a. eléwo 'which one'
    b.   alákàn 'crab'
    c. ọlọ́dẹ 'hunter'
    d.   oníyà   'man of suffering/ a degenerate'
    e. ẹléwọn 'prisoner'

In this conception of *oní, oníyà* 'a degenerate', will have the following structure in 88.

88.
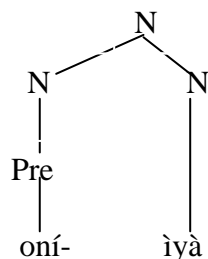
(Taiwo 2011:59-65) provides structural justification for his analysis of *oní.* He explains that contrast between *o-* and *àì-* before *ní* 'to have' in the following words in (89), with an accompanied change in meaning of the words therein is a justification for the *o- ní*

analysis of forms like those in (89), while the inability of *o* and *àì* to contrast in (90) support the unitary analysis of forms like those in (90).

89 a (i) oníṣu 'yam owner'

   (ii) àìníṣu neg. have yam 'not having yam'

   b (i) ọlọ́gbọ́n 'the wise one'
      (ii) àìlọ́gbọ́n 'lack of wisdom'

90 a (i) eléwo 'which one'
      (ii) *àìléwo

   b (i) alákàn[4] 'crab'
      (ii) *àìlákàn

2.5.3.3. Comments on the status of {oní-}

The divergent views on *oní* in Standard Yorùbá, which are exemplified by the two schools of thought, emanated from the range of meanings which are deriveable from *oní*. For instance, (89ai) repeated as (91) can have more than one interpretation as indicated in (92).

91.   oníṣu

92 a.   seller of yam
   b.   possessor/owner of yam
   c.   carrier of yam

At other instances, *oní* can also indicate something or person that is due or known for something as seen in *oníyà* above. It thus seem generally that *oní* is essentially an associative morpheme in which the specific type of association is determined by constructions in which *oní* features as well as its pragmatic use. For instance, a yam carrier who is helping the owner to carry it cannot be regarded as the owner of the yam but just a carrier. Since *ní* does not always have the interpretation of 'to have', and since the only interpretation it has in forms like those in (90) is emphasis, one is tempted to support a dual analysis of *oní* as suggested by Taiwo (2011) for Standard Yorubá. This position, however, cannot apply to the Ìkálẹ̀ counterpart of *oní* which is *olí.* This becomes imperative given the behaviour of *olí* in Ìkálẹ̀.

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[4]The meaning of *alákàn* is ambiguous, it can be interpreted as 'crab' as we have in (90bi), or 'the owner of crab'. The first interpretation is what we use in our analysis here.

In Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, *olí* consistently behaves like a monomorphemic item which is different from a combination of the agentive morpheme *o* and *nẹ́* 'to possess or have' as seen in (93).

93a (i).   Olóminúlí (olí omi ní ulí) 'owner of water in the house'
   (ii)   *onóminúlí (o nẹ́ omi ní ulí)

   b (i)   anóminúlí (a nẹ́ omi ní ulí) 'the one who has water in the house'
   (ii)   *alóminúlí (a lí omi ní ulí)

Whereas *o* cannot attach to the verb *nẹ́* to form 'agent of *nẹ́*' as seen in (93aii), yet *à* can attach to it as evidence in (93bi). Again *àì* can interchange with *a* before *nẹ́,* not with *o* before *lí* as evidence in the examples in 94.

94a.   anóminúlí   b.   àìnóminúlí   c.   *àìlóminúlí

If the proposal to split *oní* in Standard Yorùbá is advocated based on observed *interchangeability* of prefixes before *ní,* and such is not possible with *olí* in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, there is no justifiable reason to regard   *olí* as bi-morphemic in the dialect. A detail discussion on the status and behaviour of *olí* in Ìkálẹ̀ is contained in section 2.5.4. of this chapter of this work.

oni

It is now left to mention the morpheme *oni,* a more restricted morpheme in distribution and function in Standard Yorùbá, than *oní*. Their examples include the following:

95 (a)   oni + òṣì   →   olòṣì

   (b)   oni + ìyà   →   olùyà

   (c)   oni ẹ̀gàn   →   ẹlẹ̀gàn

   (d)   oni ẹgẹ́   →   ẹlẹgẹ́

   (e)   oni ọ̀tẹ̀   →   ọlọ̀tẹ̀

The prefix **'oni'** as witnessed in the above examples in 95 does not seem to exist in Ìkálẹ̀. Standard Yorùbá words involving **'oni'** are either realised as '**ọnẹ́**' (person) or '**olí/lí'**. In other cases, they are used without any of the two prefixes as indicated in the following examples in 96.

96 (a)   lí + òṣì   →   lóòsì

   (b)   lí + ẹ̀gàn   →   lẹ́ẹ̀gàn

   (c)   lí + ọ̀tẹ̀   →   lóọ̀tẹ̀

(d) ọnẹ + ùyà   →   onùyà

(e) ọnẹ + ẹ̀gàn   →   ọnẹ̀gàn

The examples in 96 a to c involve the use of the prefix **'lí'** the counterpart of **'olí'**. Even though the prefix **'lí'** is used more often, **olí** can also be used in its stead. The examples in 96d and e involve the use of '**ọnẹ'** which has the meaning of 'person associated with…' Thus '**onùyà'** is person associated with or known for suffering.

However, example 95e, **'ẹlẹ̀gẹ́'** in Standard Yorùbá is sometimes used in Ìkálẹ̀ without the prefix **'olí/lí/ọnẹ'**. They can appear as **ẹgẹ́** 'delicate' or **unrun** + **ẹgẹ́** 'something delicate'. It appears that **'ẹgẹ́'** and '**ẹlẹ̀gẹ́'** in Standard Yorùbá have virtually the same meaning. The only difference between them is that **'ẹlẹ̀gẹ́'** has an additional interpretation of emphasis; **oní** being the morpheme which contributes the emphatic meaning to the word **ẹlẹ̀gẹ́**.

2. 5. 4. The morphemic status of olí- in Ìkálẹ̀

Since Ìkálẹ̀ is a dialect of Yoruba , our aim in this section is to find out whether **olí-** in Ìkálẹ̀ is monomorphemic or bi-morphemic.

The associative morpheme **olí-** does not seem to be divisible into two distinct morphemes as it is being argued for **oní-** in standard Yoruba. The following are the reasons for our position.

i) There is no verb of possession ***lí** to which the so called agentive morpheme **o-** attaches in Ìkálẹ̀. Thus the following verb phrases are non-existent.

97a.   *lí - bàtà   'have/own shoes'
       *lí - ulí   'have/ own house'
       *lí - epo   'have/ own oil'
       *lí - ẹhẹ̀   'have / own leg'

Therefore, to attach **o-** to these forms to form a noun amounts to using none existing base to form words in the dialect. This is contrary to the formulation of the Word Based Hypothesis (Aronoff, 1976: 21) which stipulates that the base of WFR's must be existing words. According to Scalise (1984: 40), a possible but non existent word cannot be the base of a WFR.

ii. It is possible to regard **olí-** as consisting of two morphemes; the agentive morpheme **o-** and the verb ***lí**. In this conception of **olí, lí** will be treated as a bound allomorph of **nẹ́,** which select only **o-** as its prefix. Examples of derived nominals in which **olí-**

features will have the structure of Pre: [V NP] just like that of nominals with the verb *nę́* such that both *ológhó* 'rich man or wealthy person' and *anóghó* 'the one who has money' will have the same word formation rule. This analysis of *olí-* looks desirable in the sense that it allows for a uniform treatment of both *olí-* in Ìkálę̀ and *oní-* in Standard Yorùbá. It also helps to avoid the suspicion surrounding the isolated treatment of *olí-* as an only member of Class II prefix. Thirdly, it explains the semantic interpretation of 'agent of possession' which is derivable from examples like *ológhó*. This type of analysis, however, leaves many issues to be addressed. Some of them include the following:

a) The analysis apparently violates the word based hypothesis (WBH) which prohibits the use of non-existing words as base to word formation rule

b) The semantic interpretation derivable from *olí-* transcends that of possession which is contained in *nę́* 'to have/possess'. The meaning of examples like *olúùyà* 'a degenerate/sufferer', *aláìnę́* 'pauper' do not contain the idea of possession since *ùyà* 'suffering' and *àìnę́* 'lack' do not constitute possession. Again, examples like *olúlí* 'landlord/house occupant' is also ambiguous between the meaning of ownership and occupancy of a house. Therefore, treating *lí* as a bound allomorph of *nę́* amounts to undermining the observed differences in their semantics.

c) Phonologically, *lí* does not behave like an allomorph of *nę́* because it is not restricted to a particular phonologically defined enviroment exclusive to *nę́.*

iii) The verb of possession in Ìkálę̀ is   *nę́* (to have, possess or own). It can take N/NP objects as seen in the following examples.

> 97 b. nę́ epo 'have oil'
> nę́ ẹhę̀ 'have leg'
> nę́ asọ 'have cloth
> nę́ ọgbà 'have garden

It should be noted that the so-called agentive prefix *o-* cannot be attached to the forms in (97b), hence the illformedness of 98.

> 98.   *o- + nę́ epo   → *onépo
> *o- + nę́ ẹhę̀   → *onę́hę̀
> *o- + nę́ asọ   → *onàsọ
> *o- + nę́ ọgbà → *onọ́gbà

Infact it does not seem that such agentive morpheme exist in Ìkálẹ̀   . The known agentive morphemes in Ìkálẹ̀ are **a-, ò-** but not **o-.** Therefore one can have the following derived words in (99a) and (99b) but not (99c). However, other prefixes like **ì-** can be attached to **nẹ́** to form a noun of possession as seen in (100).

99. a. agbóghó 'money carrier'
    b. ògbóghó 'money carrier'
   *c. ogbóghó

100. ì- + nẹ́   →   inẹ́   'possession'

There are also a few agentive prefixes, **a-, ò-,** which can combine with verb phrases of the form in (101) to form nominals like those in (102a), but there is no agentive prefix **o-** that is so used, hence the illformednes of the example in (102b).

101. nẹ́ + X

102ai. a- + nẹ́   omi   ní ulí → anóminúlí 'the one who has water in the house'
      pre have water in house

   (ii) ò- + nẹ́   omí   ní ulí → ònóminúlí 'he one who has water in the house'
      pre have water in house

102b. *o- + nẹ́ omi ní ulí → *onominúlí

iv) Phonologically, the behaviour of **olí-** under deletion is different from that of **nẹ́**, while **nẹ́** spreads nasality to the following oral vowel, **olí-** in its own case denasalises the following nasal vowel. In connected speech, vowels are often elided; the second vowel (V_2) of **olí-** and the only vowel of **nẹ́** are elided. When this happens **n** spreads nasality to the following oral vowel, while **l** denasalises any following nasal vowel. This is the case in the examples in (103) and (104)

103a nẹ́+ ulí   →   núlí/nũli/ 'have house'
    b   nẹ́+ oghó   →   nóghó /nõɣó/ 'have money'
    c   nẹ́+ epo   →   népo /nẽkpo/   'have oil'
    d   nẹ́ + unrun   →   núnrun / nũrũ̃/ 'have something'

104a olí + ulí   →   olúlí   'owner/landlord/occupant of house'
    b   olí+ oghó   →   ológhó   'owner of money/rich man'
    c   olí+ epo   →   olépo   'owner/carrier of oil'
    d   olí + unrun   →   olúrun   'owner of something'

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Observe that when the vowel of **nɛ́** is elided, the high tone it bears is not deleted with it but transferred to the adjacent vowel to displace its tone.The consonant **n** spreads nasality to all the following oral vowels as seen in (103a-d). There are only five basic nasal vowels in Ìkálɛ̀, they are orthograpically written as **an, in, ɛn, ɔn un** in addition to seven oral vowels: **a, e, ɛ, i, o, ɔ** and **u.** The oral vowels **o** and **e**, nonetheless, acquire nasality from **n** along with the other oral vowels as seen in 103(b) and (c).

The data in 104, present a similar process where the oral consonant is made to precede the initial syllable of the noun following **olí-,** after the vowel **i** of **olí** is elided. The V$_1$ syllables of the following nouns are mostly oral vowels, with the exception of (104d) whose initial vowel is a nasal vowel. There is also a morpheme structure rule which forbids the oral consonant **l** to be followed by a nasal vowel. Again to forestall illformedness, consonant **l** denasalizes the following nasal vowel **un** of **unrun** in 104d to derive **olúrun** instead of *__olúnrun.__

v)   Another phonological behaviour which bothers on deletion, which distinguishes **olí-** from **nɛ́** in Ìkálɛ̀ is that it is possible to elide the initial vowel   **o** of **olí-** in nominals which are formed with **olí-** without a corresponding illformedness or a change in meaning. Thus we can have

    105.   ológhó →   lóghó 'possessor of money'
            olásɔ →   lásɔ   'possessor/owner of clothe'
            olépo →   lépo   'possessor/owner of oil'
            olɛ́hɛ̀ →   lɛ́hɛ̀   possessor/owner of leg'
    However, such is not possible with the nominals formed with the agentive prefixes **a-** and **ò-** as indicated in (106) below.

    106.   anóminúlí   →   *nóminúlí
            ònóminúlí   `→   *nóminúlí

        Once the elision was done in (106), the meaning changed to that of a verb phrase. This is an indication that whereas, **olí-** attaches to NP, **a-**and **ò-** attach to VP. What this suggests to us is that **a-** and **ò**- in the examples in (106) **anóminúlí/ ònóminúlí** are not performing the same function as **o** in **ológhó** in (105)**.**

vi)   Morphologically, whereas other vowel prefixes can alternate with **a-** of **anóminúlí,** as seen in (107) below, such is not possible with **o-** of **olí**- as indicated in (108).

    107.   anóminúlí- **a-** 'person who has water at home'
            ònóminúlí - **ò-** 'person who has water at home'
            ìnóminúlí - **ì-** 'the act of having water at home
            àìnóminúlí - **àì-** 'not having water in the house'

108.   ológhó - *olí-* 'owner of money/wealthy person'
        *alóghó - *a-*
        *àìlóghó - *àì-*
        *ìlóghó - *ì-*

The following nominals are also possible
109.   anóghó 'owner of money'
        àìnóghó 'not having money'
        ìnóghó 'the act of having money'

What these seem to suggest is that *olí-* is indivisible in Ìkálè̩ dialect.

2.6.   Summary

In this chapter, we reviewed related literature on some generative approaches to morphological operations like the word based hypothesis, strong lexicalist hypothesis, weak lexicalist hypothesis and split morphological hypothesis. The notion of the word, types of words as well as criteria for wordhood were examined. Some of the criteria include non-separability, intergrity, positional mobility, tone and vowel harmony which we referred to as phonological criterion. We also examined some issues in Yorùbá morphology which include the morphemic statuses of *àì* and *oní*. Our analysis favours a monomorphemic treatment of *àì-* and a dual treatment of *oní* in Standard Yorùbá. We extended our discussion on the statuses of *àì-* and *oní-* in standard Yorùbá to those of *àì-* and *olí-* in Ì kálè̩ and concluded, based on internal evidences, that *àì-* and *olí-* are monomorphemic affixes in Ìkálè̩.

CHAPTER THREE
AFFIXATION IN ÌKÁLẸ̀

3.0.   Preamble

Languages employ different strategies to express conceptual relations. One of such is affixation. It is a major process through which words are built to express certain relationships between one concept and another in a language. The relationship may be between a verb and a related noun . Ìkálẹ̀ is not an exemption to this . An example is the relationship between these two words in Ìkálẹ̀.

1.   (a)   mọ   'to drink'
      (b)   ẹmọ   'a drink / wine'

Affixation as a morphological process involves adding an affix (a bound morpheme) to a root or stem in order to create a new word . Affixes in Ìkálẹ̀ generally perform modifying functions. They modify the base information.

3.1.   Typology of affixes

Affixes in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect can be broadly divided into two classes depending on the nature of their specification with regards to the base. Thus we have.

i)   Phonologically specified affix

ii) Phonologically under specified affix.

Affix

Phonologically specified   Phonologically under specified
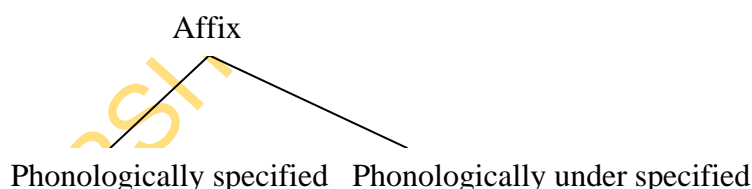
3.1. 1. Phonologically specified affixes

Phonologically specified affixes in Ìkál   ẹ̀ are those affixes which have phonological specification. They are bound morphemes which have phonologically specified independent forms but which cannot stand on their own. Their existence and meaning is dependent on the base or stem to which they are attached. The following are some of their examples

3	Affix	Base/stem	Derived word
a	à-	kọ́ bí 'to be born first'	àkọ́bí 'first born'
b.	è-	hè 'to boil/cook'	èhè 'cooked/boiled'
c	Ẹ̀	gbẹ 'to be dry'	ẹ̀gbẹ 'dried'
d	ò-	rírùn 'smelling'	òrírùn 'odour'
e	e-	jíjẹ 'eatable'	ejíjẹ 'food'

The affixes a -, è-, ẹ̀-, ò-, and e- in these examples have their own phonological shapes but depend on their base or stem for existence and meaning. They are the traditional affixes. Their stem/base can be words or phrases. We shall, in section 3.2 below, examine in detail, phonologically specified affixes in Ìkálẹ̀.

3.1.2. Phonologically under specified affixes

Phonologically under specified affixes in Ìkál ẹ̀ on the other hand are those affixes which have no phonological existence prior to the base. They are reduplicative affixes. They receive their phonological specification by borrowing segmental materials from the base. That they are underspecified imply that they have a phonologically defective dictionary entry. One main reason for their underspefication is to enable one to write an economical grammar of the language. Reduplicants in Ìkál ẹ̀ are the examples of phonologically underspecified affixes as seen in the following examples.

4.		Affix	Base/Stem	Derived word
	(a)	r (í)	rọ́n 'to chew'	rírọ́n 'chewed'
	(b)	k (í)	ká 'to bend'	kíká 'bent'
	(c)	òwú	òwúọ̀ 'morning'	òwòòwúọ̀ 'every morning'

The copied affixes in these examples range from segments, to syllables. Reduplicants generally are either part or the whole of the segments in the base.

3.1.3. Structural position of affixes

Apart from phonological specification /identity, affixes in Ìkál ẹ̀ can also be classified based on their structural position in relation to their base/stem. Three types of affixes are thus identified: prefix, suffix and interfix / conjoining affix

Affix

Prefix   Suffix   Conjoining affix/interfix
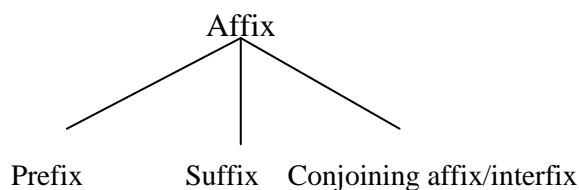
Prefix: These are attached to the left of the stem as indicated in the following examples.

	Prefix	Stem	Outcome
5a.	ọ̀-	pọ̀ 'be plenty'	ọ̀pọ̀ 'plenty'
b.	ù-	lù 'to drum'	ùlù 'drum'
c.	ẹ-	dá 'cause'	ẹdá 'causative agent'

Suffix: These are attached to the right of the stem as indicated in the following.

6	Stem	Suffix	Outcome
a.	bọ́ọ́rọ́ 'easy'	bọ́	bọ́ọ́rọ́bọ́ 'easily'
b.	gìdìgbà 'big, massive'	gbà	gìdìgbàgbà 'very massive'
c.	ténẹ́nrẹ́n 'slim'	tẹ́n	ténẹ́nrẹ́ntẹ́n 'extremely slim'
d.	gwananran 'shattered'	gwan	gwananrangwan completely shattered'

Interfix or conjoining affix: They are affixes which are used to conjoin reduplicated words. The words are first reduplicated, after which the affix is added in between them as exemplified below.

7	Base	Reduplication	Interfix./ Conjoining Affix	Outcome	Derived word
a	ọma child	ọma + ọma child child	-kí-	ọma+ kí+ ọma child child	ọmakọ́ma any/stuborn child
b	Oghó Money	oghó + oghó money money	-bí-	oghó+bí + oghó money money	oghóbóghó expensive/real money
c.	Àná Yesterday	àná + àná yesterday yesterday	-má-	àná + má+ àná yesterday yesterday	Ànámáàná 'several days back/ago

We shall discuss both suffix and interfix or conjoining affix in detail in chapter four of this work under reduplication.

3.1.4. Affixes according to function

Another classification of affixes in Ìkálè̩ is that by function . Most affixes in Ìkálè̩, like those in standard Yorùbá serve derivational functions. They serve to create new words. However in their functions as derivatives, they effect changes in the base, that is, the stem (a complex base) or root (a simple underived base) to which they (affixes) are attached, in various ways. One can therefore have the following affix types, based on the type of changes which they effect on their stem.

i) Featural affix

ii) Functional affix

iii) Transposition affix

```
                    Affix

        Featural    Functional    Transposition
```
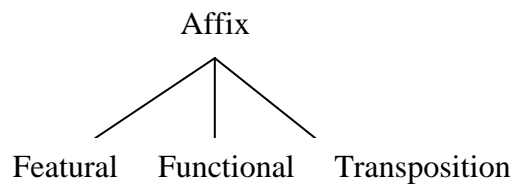
Featural affix: It is which operates on the values of inherent features of its base rather than change the category. They are category maintaining affixes like olí , and all forms of reduplication that do not change category as exemplified below.

	Affix	Base	Output
8a.	olí-	ulí 'house' (N)	olúlí 'landlord'(N)
b.	-ke	kékeré 'small' (A)	kékeréèke 'extremely small'(A)
c.	-tà	tààrà straight (A)	tààràtà 'straight ahead' (A)

In these examples, the affixes do not change the category of their base, they only changed the features or added features to those of the base.

Functional affix is both category changing and meaning changing. The affixes in this class change both the category and the meaning of their base. They perform different semantic functions like agentive, resultative among others. These are some of their examples.

	Affix	Base	Output
9a.	ò-	kú 'to die' V	òkú 'dead body' N
b.	a-	pẹja 'to catch/kill fish'VP	apẹja 'fisherman' (N)
c.	ẹ̀-	hẹ́n 'to crack/chizzle'(VP)	èhẹ́n 'a crack/chip/broken piece' (N)
d.	ò-	dalẹ̀ 'to betray' VP	òdàlẹ̀ 'betrayer'(N)

In the example in 9c, for instance**, ẹ̀-** is a functional affix which changes the category and meaning of *hẹ́n* 'to chizzle', a verb, to a resultative noun *èhẹ́n* 'a chip'.

Transposition affix: In Ìkálẹ̀, this affix merely changes the category of the base. This is done for grammatical reasons. Even though the category of the base changes, it is not accompanied by a change in reference from that of the base. The deverbal nouns in Ìkálẹ̀ are in this category.Their outputs are usually abstract nouns.

	Affix	Base		Output
10a.	ì	bẹ̀rẹ̀ 'to begin' (V)		ìbẹ̀rẹ̀ 'beginning'(N)
b.	sí	se 'to do'	(V)	síse 'doing' (Adj)
c.	à-	lọ 'to go'	(V)	àlọ 'going' (N)

d. ù-   rèn 'to walk' (V)   ùrèn 'walk' (N)

The typologies of affixes discussed so far can be summarised in the table below.

Table 1   Affix

Phonological Specification   Structure   Function

Specified   Underspecified   featural functional transposition

                            prefix   suffix   interfix
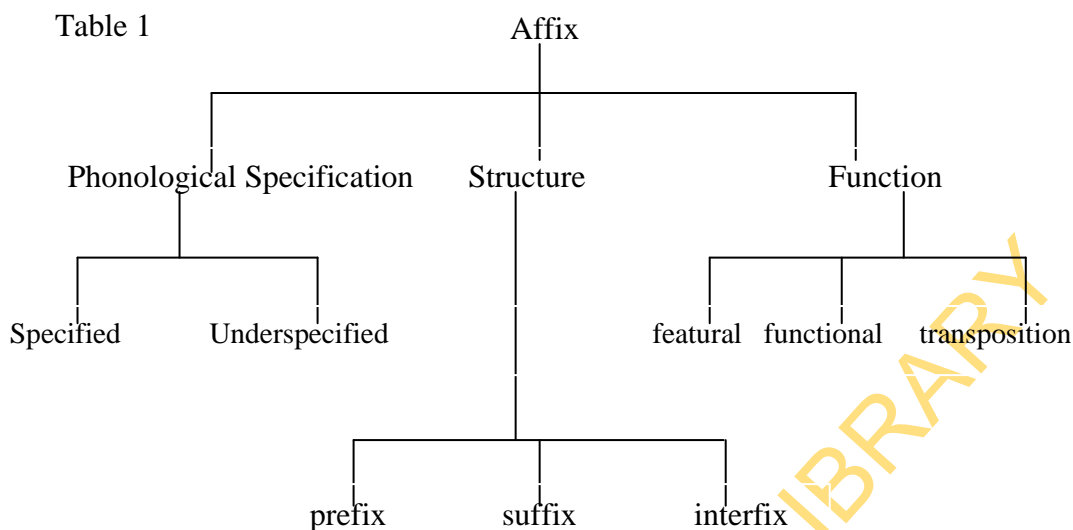
The rest of this chapter will discuss the phonologically specified affixes.

3.2. Phonologically specified affix

In section 3.1.1 above, we identified phonologically specified affixes in Ìkálè as those affixes which have phonological specification distinct from the base to which they are attached. They are of two types in Ìkálè; prefixes and interfixes or conjoining affixes.

3.2.1. Prefixes

Phonologically specified prefixes are predominant in Ìkál è. For instance, all vowels in the dialect can serve as prefixes. Prefixes in Ìkálè attach to word level categories (x^o) as well as phrases (X^1) of mainly verbs, nouns and adjectives to form new words. Some of their examples are listed below

11a		Prefix	Root		OUTPUT
-	i	ẹ-	rùn	'to carry'	ẹrùn 'load'
	ii	ò-	mùgwẹ̀ 'to be able to swim'		òmùgwẹ̀ 'swimmer'
	iii	ù-	pẹ́n ' to share/apportion'		ùpẹ́n' share/portion'
	iv	àì-	susẹ́ 'to work'		àìsusẹ́ 'not working'
	v	olí-	ilá 'okro'		olílá 'okro seller/owner'
	vi	è-	dídún 'black'		èdídún 'charcoal'
	vii	ẹ̀-	já 'to tear'		ẹ̀já 'pieces/ torn part'
	viii	è-	jíjá 'tearing'		èjíjá 'pieces'
	ix	ò-	rẹnrẹn 'being soggy'		òrẹnrẹn 'soggy weather'

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Prefix *ẹ-* in 11a above, attaches to the verb *rùn* 'to carry'- a word level category, diagramed as11bi; *ò-* attaches to the verb phrase *mùgwẹ̀* (mà ùgwẹ̀).The structural relationship between them is diagramed in 11bii ; *olí-* attaches to the noun *ulí* as illustrated in 11biii while *è-* combines with the adjective *dídún* to form a noun *èdídún* (11biv) and *ọ̀-* to the adverb *rẹnrẹn* as diagramed in 11bv.

11b.　(i)

```
          N
         / \
      Pre   V
       |    |
       ẹ̀   rún
```

(ii)

```
              N
            /   \
         Pre     VP
          |     /  \
         ò-    V    NP
               |    / \
              mà  Pre  V
                   |   |
                   ù-  gwẹ̀
```

(iii)

```
          N
        /   \
      Pre    N
       |     |
      olí-  ulí
```

(iv)

```
          N
        /   \
      Pre    adj
       |      |
       è-    dídún
```

(v)

```
                    N
                  /   \
                Pre    adv
                 |      |
                ọ̀-    rẹnrẹn
```
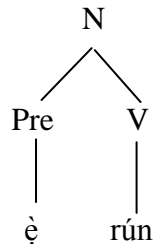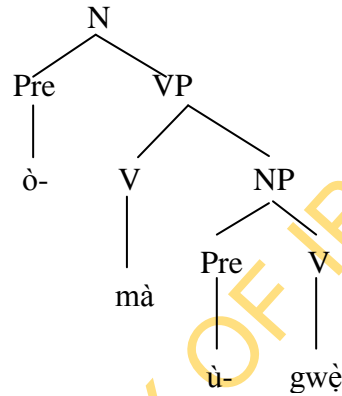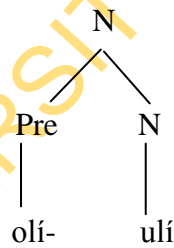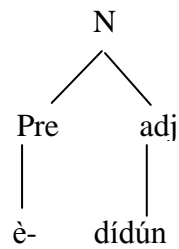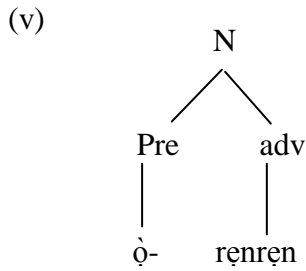
3.2.2. Classification of prefixes

Following Owolabi's (1995) classification of Yorùbá prefixes, I would like to classify Ìkálẹ̀ prefixes into two groups.

Group I[5]: à-, è-, ẹ̀-, ì-, ò-, ọ̀-, ù-
a-, e-, ẹ-, i-, o-, ọ-, u-
àì-.

Group II: olí

One major difference between group I and group II prefixes is that while group I prefixes attach to verbs, verb phrases, processual nominals, adverbs and adjectives, group II prefix attaches to noun and noun phrases.

3. 2. 2. 1. Group I prefixes

The prefixes in this group attach to verbs and verb phrases on the one hand, and processual nominal, adverbs and adjectives on the other. The output words in all the examples are nouns.

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[5] Ìkálẹ̀ dialect does not seem to have the syllabic nasal, or at least they use it minimally (This also has not been confirmed). The Ìkálẹ̀ words at our disposal where the standard Yorùbá form has syllabic nasal, are used without the syllabic nasal. Some examples are in 12 and 13.

12.	(a)	egbògbò		'ṅgbòngbo' 'root'
	(b)	me lọ		'mo ń lọ' 'I am going'
	(c)	ìjàjá		'ìjàṅjá' 'rough pieces'
	(d)	ìpépéjú		'ìpéṅpéjú' 'eye brow'

Affix morphemes like **ọ̀ṅ** are not attested to in dialect. Derived words in SY with **ọ̀ṅ** as prefix are realized as ò- as prefix. Thus instead of **ọ̀ṅrorò**, Ìkálẹ̀ has **òrorò**. Other examples include the following:

13.	(a)	òkìkà	→	òṅkà	'counter'
	(b)	òbí	→	òṅbí	'parent'
	(c)	òrìrò	→	òṅrò	'thinker'
	(d)	òtìtà	→	òṅtà	'seller'
	(e)	òrirò	→	òróṅro	'bile'

3.2.2.2. Prefix + Verb/Verb Phrase

All the prefixes in group I attach to verb (simple or complex) and verb phrases as seen in the following examples

Prefix à-

Prefix **à-** can be attached to verbs (V) or verb phrases (VP) as seen in 14and 15.

14a	à- + lọ 'to go'	→	àlọ	'act of going'
b	bọ̀ 'to come'	→	àbọ̀	'act of coming'
c	họn 'to roast'	→	àhọn	'roasted'
d	hè 'to cook'	→	àhè	'feast'
e	tẹ́ 'to be tasteless'	→	àtẹ́	'tasteless'
f	tẹ 'to display/spread something'	→	àtẹ	items displayed for sales
g	sẹ 'to sanction something'	→	àsẹ	'decree'

15a	tọ́ndá ' to recreate'	→	àtọ́ndá	'recreated
b	gbékọ́ ' to hang'	→	àgbékọ́	'hanger'
c	bíjọ 'to resemble'	→	àbíjọ	'semblance'
d	kọ́bí 'to be born first'	→	àkọ́bí	'first born'
e	lèmá ' to fasten to'	→	àlèmá	'attachment/addedum'
f	gémághọ 'to cut with skin'	→	àgémághọ	'that which is cut with the skin'
g	tọ̀gbẹ 'to urinate and be dry'	→	àtọ̀gbẹ	'diabetics'

Some of the verbs to which **à** attach are simple verbs, as seen in the examples in 14 while most of them are complex verbs of the serial verbal construction type in 15. The nouns they derive are either abstract or concrete. The meanings of the nouns formed with the complex verbs are composite of the verbs that are staked together. For example **àgékùn** 'stump' means that which remains of a cut.

16(a) à-gé-kùn
à-cut-remain 'stump'

The prefix **à-** may have the interpretation of process or result depending on constructions in which they serve as affix. The outcome of **à** prefixation is therefore either processual or resultative noun. It is pertinent to note that for '**a-** $V^{n'}$' combinations, the verbs are said to be serial verbs and not VP because they are used in such collocation in their citation form.   This is evident in the fact that some of the verbs that are used, strictly subcategorise for nominal object in their subcategorisation frame. Yet the nouns which they subcategorise for, do not feature in such nominalisation. For instance **gbé** 'to lift or carry' has the following subcategorisation frame.

16(b) gbé : [- NP]

One can have examples like those in 17 while those in 18 are illformed.

17a   A   gbé ẹ̀rùn
        we carry load
        'We carried load'.

b.   Mo gbé ìban kọ́
        I   carry gun hang
        'I hung the gun'

18.a.   *Agbé
         we carry

b.   *Mo gbé kọ́
        I carry hang

Therefore, **gbé kọ́** does not have the status of a VP but VV. That **à-** is attached to a VV base can be shown in the following diagram.

19.
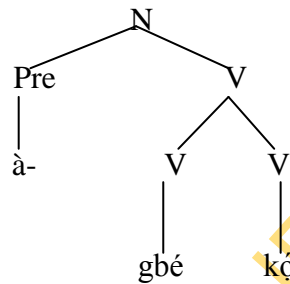
Again, that the two verbs are jointly nominalised by 'à-' is evident in the inability of 'à-' to nominalise one part of the base in isolation of the other in the examples in 15. Thus, while 20 is possible, 21 is not.

20.   Àgbékọ́ 'hanger'

21.a. *Àgbé   b. *Àkọ́

Prefix è-

This prefix attaches to verbs in Ìkálẹ̀. It derives nouns which may either be concrete or abstract. They are resultative nouns and they denote entities. The nouns which are formed from it can be interpreted as 'outcome of the action of the verb' as seen in the following examples.

22a.	è-	+	gé 'to slice'	→	ègé	'cut'
b.	è-	+	tu 'to spit'	→	ètu	'spit'
c	è-	+	gbé 'to be lost	→	ègbé	'destruction'
d	è-	+	hè 'to boil'	→	èhè	'boiled'
e.	è-	+	bù 'to cut'	→	èbù	'cut' (usually with hand)
f.	è-	+	fó 'to float'	→	èfó	'floated'
g	è-	+	gwó 'to break'	→	ègwó	'broken'
h	è-	+	jó 'to burn'	→	èjó	'burnt'

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i	è- +	rò .to think'	→	èrò	'thought'
j	è- +	tò 'to arrange'	→	ètò	'arrangement'
k	è- +	gbo 'to squize'	→	ègbo	'squized'
l.	è- +	wú'to swell'	→	èwú	'fermented'
m	è- +	lé 'to heap'	→	èlé	'heap'
n	è- +	bó 'to peel'	→	èbó	'peeled'
p	è- +	ho 'to yield fruit'	→	èho	'fruit'
q.	è- +	kù 'to remain'	→	èkù	'stump'
r	è- +	tú 'to burst/release'	→ètú		'release/pulse'

The verbs to which this prefix can be attached are few

Prefix ẹ̀-

ẹ̀- attaches mostly to monosyllabic verbs in Ìkálẹ̀. There are however a few examples of ẹ̀- + verb phrase. Examples of such verb phrases are *jọ ulí* to resemble house' and *fọ́rí* 'to ache head'.

23a	ẹ̀-jọulí 'to resemble house'	→	ẹ̀jùlí	'type'
b	ẹ̀-fọ́orí 'to ache head	→	ẹ̀fọ́rí	headache

The verbs to which ẹ̀-, unlike è-, attaches are many. However, like the prefix è-, the resultant nouns are either outcome of the action of the verb or nouns showing object through which the action of the verb is done. They are mostly result nominals while a few of them are instrumental nominals.

24.	ẹ̀- +	tàn 'to deceive	→	ẹ̀tàn 'deceit'
	ẹ̀- +	bà 'to ferment'	→	ẹ̀bà 'fermented'
	ẹ̀- +	bọ̀ 'to boil/perboil'	→	ẹ̀bô 'cooked'
	ẹ̀- +	tẹ́ 'to be disgraced	→	ẹ̀tẹ́ 'disgrace
	ẹ̀- +	bè 'to plead'	→	ẹ̀bẹ̀ 'plea'
	ẹ̀- +	dá 'to create'	→	ẹ̀dá 'creation'
	ẹ̀- +	kọ́ 'to learn'	→	ẹ̀kọ́ 'learning'
	ẹ̀- +	kò 'to forsake'	→	ẹ̀kọ̀ 'forsaken'
	ẹ̀- +	tọ́ 'to be right'	→	ẹ̀tọ́ 'right'
	ẹ̀- +	rín 'to laugh'	→	ẹ̀rín 'laughter'
	ẹ̀- +	jẹ́ 'to pledge'	→	ẹ̀jẹ́ 'pledge'
	ẹ̀- +	pa to kill/destroy		ẹ̀pa antidote

The difference between prefix è- and ẹ̀- is largely that of harmony. Prefix *e*- as V$_i$ selects group I set (+ATR) as V$_2$ while prefix *ẹ*- selects group II set (-ATR). The two prefixes are therefore phonetic manifestations of the same prefix. Again, while è- co-occur with vowel *u* in group III harmony, ẹ̀- only occurs with vowel *i* in a few words.

Prefix ì-

This prefix is attached to verbs and verb phrases to form nouns which may be concrete or abstract. The words that they attach to are not many. Some of them are in (25) below.

25.   ì-+fẹ́   'to love'   →   ìfẹ́   'love'
       ì + tò   'to urinate'   →   ìtò   'urine'
       ì + yè   'to live'   ìyè   'life
       ì + mà   'to know'   →   ìmà 'knowledge'
       ì + rò orí   'to lay head'   →   ìròrí 'pillow'
       ì + tẹ́lẹ̀dí 'to wrap butock'   →   ìtẹ́lẹ̀dí 'napkin/pampers'
       ì + yàrọn 'to comb'   →   ìyàrọn 'comb'

Prefix ò-

This can be added to verbs and verb phrases to form both state and agentive nouns. Most of the nouns are concrete, referring to the person or thing performing an action depicted by the verb/verb phrase i.e. human and non-human agents or patience of an action, or to person or thing which is in a certain state.

26.   ò- + bí 'to give bith to'   →   òbí 'parent'
        ò- + jùyà 'to suffer'   →   òjùyà 'sufferer'
        ó- + kú 'to die'   →   òkú 'dead body'
        ó- + bu 'to putride'   →   òbu 'putride'
        ò- + kunyán 'to pound (yam)'   →   òkunyán 'mortar'
        ò- + mùrò ' to know how to think'   →   òmùrò 'thinker'
        ò- + sónọ́ 'to be taciturn'   →   òsónọ́ 'taciturn'

Prefix ọ̀-

This is attached to verbs or verb phrases to form either a concrete or abstract noun. A few of them are result nouns, while majority are agentive nouns.

27.   ọ̀- + dẹ̀ 'to be stupid'   →   ọ̀dẹ̀   'imbecile'
        ọ̀- + màwé 'to be brilliant'   →   ọ̀màwé 'brilliant/ Dr
        ọ̀- + pọ̀ 'to be plenty'   →   ọ̀pọ̀   'plenty'
        ọ̀- + ghán 'to be expensive'   →   ọ̀ghán 'costly'
        ọ̀- + tanràn 'to broker peace'   →   ọ̀tanràn 'peace broker'
        ọ̀- + hánjú 'to be selfish'   →   ọ̀hánjú 'selfish person'

Many of the VNP to which *ọ̀-* attaches are lexicalized phrases.

Prefix ù-

There are two *ù-* prefixes; ***ù-₁, ù-₂***

ù-₁ prefix attaches to verbs and verb phrases to form either abstract or concrete nouns which indicate state, event or instrument.

28.   ù- + jẹ 'to eat'   →   ùjẹ 'eating'
        ù- + bẹ̀rẹ̀ 'to begin'   →   ùbẹ̀rẹ̀ ' the beginning'

ù- + hò̩ 'to put down'	→	ùhò̩	'stall /shop'
ù- + se 'to do'	→	ùse	'act/doing'
ù + boròn 'to cover neck'	→	ùboròn	'scalf'
ù + gbàdí 'to tie waist'	→	ùgbàdí	'waistlet'
ù- + pánjú 'to suffer'	→	ùpanjú	'suffering'
ù- + gbójú 'to be brave'	→	ùgbójú	bravery'
ù- + ró̩jú 'to endure'	→	ùró̩jú	'endurance'

In these examples, *ùboròn* 'scalf' and *ùgbàdí* waistlet' are instrumental nouns, *ùró̩jú* 'endurance' and ` *ùpánjú* 'suffering' are state nouns while *ùpàdé* 'meeting' is an event noun.

A few of the verbs in the examples in 28 above can also take *ì-* as prefix without any change in the semantic conotation of the derived word. In other words we can have the forms in 29.

29.	ùrè̩n /irè̩n	walk
	ùlé / ìlé	pilling
	ùté̩lè̩dí / ìté̩lè̩dí	nappy
	ùjo̩/ ìjo̩	congregation
	ùfé̩ / ìfé̩	love

u-₂ prefix: This prefix is different from ù -₁ in so many ways. It is a manner nominaliser which forms manner nominals from verbs. It derives only abstract nouns. In all its uses, it has the singular meaning of 'manner' with the interpretation of 'the manner in which' something happens/takes place/is done. It can be replaced by *ùse* 'manner' – a pro manner nominal or *o̩nà* 'way' in which something happens. Examples are:

30a.	ù- + mà 'to know'	→	ùmá 'manner of knowing'
	ù- + pa 'to kill'	→	ùpa 'manner of killing'
	ù- + pán 'to flatter'	→	ùpán 'manner of flattering'
	ù- + gbá 'to hit'	→	ùgbá manner of hitting'

It selects monosyllabic verbs for nominalisation.

Where the verb is a complex one, for example; VV; VNP; and V V NP etc *jé̩tán, paje̩, jé̩pa, kó̩lí, gbó̩ghó,* and *gbé lé ùwàn* etc. it either selects/picks the first verb, leaving the others or where this is impossible, it makes use of the proto form *ùse* or *o̩nà*. This can be seen when the manner nominal serves as the head of a relative clause involving the example verbs and verb phrases above.

30b.	ùje̩ (yí) mo jé̩ tán	'The manner in which I finished eating it'
	ùpa (yí) mo pá je̩	'The manner in which I killed and ate it'
	ùko̩ (yí) mo kó̩lí	'The manner in which I build house'

ùgbe (yí) wo gbóghó 'The manner in which you carried money'
ùfẹ (yí) wo fẹ́ràn ẹ̀ 'The manner in which you like him/her/it'

The distribution of ù-₂ derived manner nominals

The **ù-₂** derived manner nominals have a wide range of syntactic distribution, including the following:

1. They are used in manner interrogation   . In Ìkál ẹ̀ dialect, the interrogative phrase deriving manner is '**kí ùse?**' 'What manner/how'.

31	kí ùjẹ	…	'what manner of eating'
	kí ùmọ	…	'what manner of drinking'
	kí upa	…	'what manner of killing'
	kí ùmà	…	'what manner of knowledge'
	kí ùrí	…	'what manner/way of seeing'.

2. The manner nominal also serve as the head of a relative clause whose interpretation is always 'manner in which something happens' as exemplified in (30b) above.

3. As nominals, the manner nominals can take noun modifiers like **ùyà** 'bad'though the range of modifiers which they take is very restricted. e.g.

32	ùjẹ	ùyà	'bad manner of eating'
	ùpa	ùyà	'bad manner of killing'
	ùmọ	ùyà	'bad manner of drinking'
	ùmà	ùyà	'bad manner of knowing'
	ùrí	ùyà	'bad manner of seeing'

4. They can be reduplicated with the conjoining affix **-kí-** to form a noun with the interpretation 'bad doing' e.g.

33.	ùpakúpa	'bad killing'
	ùjẹkújẹ	'bad eating'
	ùmọkúmọ	'bad drinking'
	ùmàkumà, etc.	'bad knowing / knowledge'

5. They can serve as object of state verbs like **kórira, fẹ́ràn, gàn**, etc.

34	Mo kórira ùrí ẹ̀	'I hate its looks'
	Ó gàn ùse ẹ̀	'He detests his doings'
	Mo fẹ́ràn ùkọ́ ẹ̀	'I like the way it is built'

6. They are highly productive in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. Virtually all verbs in the dialect can serve as input to this type of nominalisation.

35(a)	ù- + jẹ 'to eat'	→	ùjẹ 'manner of eating'
	ù- + hẹ́ 'to sieve'	→	ùhẹ́ 'manner of sieving'
	ù- + mọ 'to drink'	→	ùmọ 'manner of drinking.
	ù- + hẹ́n 'to chisel'	→	ùhẹ́n 'manner of chisel'

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ù- + hùn 'to sleep'	→	ùhùn 'manner of sleeping'	
ù- + gbán 'to scoop'	→	ùgbán 'manner of scooping'	
ù- + fẹ́ 'to love/marry	→	ùfẹ́ 'manner of marriage'	
ù- + kàn 'to nail'	→	ùkàn 'manner of nailing'	
ù- +rọ 'to pour/fill	→	ùrọ 'manner of pouring or filling'	
ù- + ga 'to be tall'	→	ùga 'manner of tallness'	

The manner nominals are similar to gerunds.

One major difference in the structure of ù -1, and ù -2 nominals is that while ù -1 takes verb phrases as input, u-2 does not. It rather takes only bare verbs as input. The difference in their semantics also separates them. Thus, ù-1 has the Word Formation Rule (WFR) in 35bi with the structure in 35bii. ù-2 on the other hand, has the WFR in 35ci and the structure in 35cii.

35b(i) Pre (ù-1) + V(NP) → N

35b(ii)
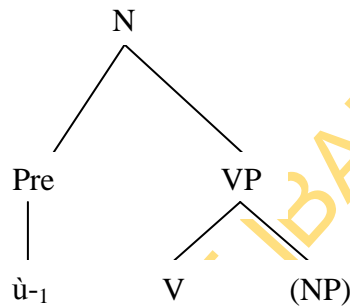
35c(i) Pre (ù-2) + V → N

35c(ii)
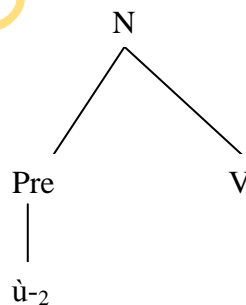
This structural difference also has a correlate in their semantics as explained earlier in this chapter. There are other derived nominals too that may have the interpretation of 'manner' in some of their readings. An example is nominals derived through partial reduplication of the type C_1C_2. *Gígo,* 'tallness', *lílọ,* 'going', etc. This will be discussed under reduplication in chapter four (4) of this work.

Prefix a- It is attached to verbs/verb phrases to form (mainly) concrete nouns which serve as instrument or agent of the action of the verb and sometimes as result of the action of the verb.

36.	a- + hẹ́ 'to sieve'	→ ahẹ́ 'sieve'
	a- + rígbó (rí ogbó) 'to see old age'	→ arígbó 'old person'
	a- + dé'to cover'	→ adé 'crown'
	a- + gbóghó rẹ̀n 'carry money along'	→ agbóghórẹ̀n 'a wealthy person
	a- + bẹ orí (bẹ́ orí) 'to behead'	→ abẹ́rí 'beheader'
	a- + yanran (yan ẹran) 'to roast meat'	→ ayanran 'grill/meat roaster'

The prefix ***a-*** is a very productive means of forming agentive nouns from verbs and verb phrases.

Prefix e- It combines with verbs to form abstract nouns. The nouns which are formed with e- are limited.

37.	e- + gbé 'to lift/carry	→	egbé 'lift'
	e- +wu 'to afflict'	→	ewu 'danger'
	e- + gbè 'to be far'	→	egbè 'far place/journey'

Prefix ẹ- It forms noun from verbs.

38.	ẹ- + mọ 'to drink'	→	ẹmọ 'drink'
	ẹ- + bí 'to give birth'	→	ẹbí 'family'
	ẹ- + gba[6] 'to hit it'	→	ẹgba 'cane'
	ẹ- + rùn 'to carry	→	ẹrùn 'load'
	ẹ- + bọ 'to worship/sacrifice'	→	ẹbọ 'worship/sacrifice'
	ẹ- + dá 'to cause'	→	ẹdá 'causative agent'
	ẹ- + dà 'to be stupid'	→	ẹdà 'stupid'
	ẹ- + tì 'to be null/unachievable'	→	ẹtì 'unachievable'

Prefix i- This prefix combines with verbs to form nouns which may be abstract or concrete. They are usually outcome of the action or activity of the verb from which they are formed

39.	i- + kú 'to die'	→	ikú 'death'
	i- + ta 'to be pepperish'	→	ita 'pepper'
	i- + jó 'to dance'	→	ijó 'dance'
	i- + bán[7] 'to deceive her/him/it'	→	ibán 'deceit'
	i- + fẹ̀ 'to expand'	→	ifẹ̀ 'expansion'

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[6]***gba*** 'to hit it' is a combination of the verb ***gbá*** 'to hit' and the 3rd person singular object pronoun which is the mid tone. The mid tone object pronoun displaces the high tone of the verb to derive ***gba,*** with mid tone. This is one of the features of the pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀. A detailed disccussion of the pronoun is in chapter 5.

[7]***bán*** 'to deceive her/him/it' is a combination of the verb ***ban*** 'to deceive' and the 3rd person singular object pronoun which is solely the high tone. The high tone object pronoun displaces the mid tone of the verb and made the verb to become ***bán*** as is the case with ***gba*** in footnote 5 above***.***

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Prefix o- It is employed to form abstract nouns from verbs in the dialect.

    40.   o- + di 'not able to talk'   →   odi 'dumb'
                o- + gbó 'to be old/wear out   →   ogbó 'old age'
                o- + bí 'to give birth'   →   obí 'female'
                o- + yún[8]'to be pregnant'   →   oyún 'pregancy'
                o- + só 'to be taciturn'   →   osó 'wizard/sorcerer'

Prefix ọ- It combines with verbs to form nouns which could also be abstract or concrete.

    41.   ọ- + dẹ 'to hunt'   →   ọdẹ 'hunt'
                ọ- + dà 'to be stupid'   →   ọdà 'imbecile/stupid person'
                ọ- + fọ̀ 'to speak/talk'   →   ọfọ̀ 'talk/speech'
                ọ- + gbán 'to be wise'   →   ọgbán 'wisdom'
                ọ- + yọ̀ 'to rejoice'   →   ọyọ̀ 'rejoice'
                ọ- + lẹ̀ 'to attach to'   →   ọlẹ̀ 'foetus'
                ọ- + là 'to be rich/wealthy   →   ọlà 'rich'
                ọ- +lá 'to be big'   →   ọlá 'royal'

Prefix u- This prefix also combines with verbs to form nouns which are either abstract or concrete.

    42.   u- + jó 'to dance'   →   ujó   'dance'
                u- + pan to gush out   →   upan   'blood'
                u- + rú to florish/germinate   →   urú   'type/seed'

3. 2. 2. 3.   Class I Prefix + Processual Nominals

The prefixes involved in this process are ***à-, è-, ò-, o-*** and ***e-.*** They attach to processual nominals which are derived from verb roots through partial reduplication. The resultant forms are either agentive or result nouns. They refer to concrete or abstract nouns which are the result or outcome of the activity contained in the base. Some of them are also agentive, they denote agents of the activity depicted by the process nominal, state nominal and event nominal. Some of their examples are:

    43.   è- + dídún 'black'   →   èdídún 'charcoal'
                à- + kíké 'hewing /choping'   →   'àkíké 'axe'
                ò- + gbígbàn 'sieving'   →   'ògbìgbàn 'sieve'

This process of word formation is productive in Ìkálẹ̀ as demonstrated below.

    44   **à**   +   **Processual Nominal**
                à- + yíyè 'living'   → *àyíyè   →   àyìyè 'living'
                à- + jíjèn 'deep/depth'   → *àjíjèn   →   àjìjèn 'far into the night'
                à- + yíyọ̀n 'sweet'   → àyíyọ̀n 'sweetness'
                à- + títàn 'spreading'→ *àtítàn   →   àtìtàn 'dunghill'
                à- + kíké 'cutting'   → àkíké 'axe'
                à- + rírẹ̀ 'tired   → àrírẹ̀ 'tiredness'
                à- + bíbò 'covering'   → *àbíbò → àbìbò 'cover/protection/shield'

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[8]The verb ***yún*** 'to be pregnant' is a variant of ***yọ́n.*** The vowel *o* cannot cooccur with vowel *ọ́n* because of coocuurence restrtictions, hence the selection of verb ***yún*** which is attached to the prefix ***o-*** in (40) above.

à- + lílà 'lining/demarcating'→ *àlílà → àlìlà 'demarcation/boundary'

The words derived are mostly abstract nouns. However, a few of them are concrete.

45   **è- +   Processual Nominal**
è- +   mímí 'breathing'   →èmímí 'breath'
è- +   híhẹ́n 'chiseling'   → èhíhẹ́n 'chip'
è- +   híhè 'boiled/cooked   → èhíhè 'boiled'
è- +   ghíghọ́n'forbidding'   → *èghíghọ́→ èghìghô 'taboo/forbidden'
è- +   títàn 'spreading'   → *ètítàn → ètìtàn → 'dunghill'
è- +   rírún 'crumbing'   → èrírún 'crumb'
è- +   pípá 'crusting'   → èpípá 'crust'
è- +   kíkàn ńailing'   → *èkíkàn → èkìkàn 'stake/peg'
è- +   dídún 'black'   → èdídún 'charcoal'
è- +   sísẹ́ 'stumping'   → èsísẹ́ 'stump'
è- +   gbígbi 'sighing   → ègbígbi 'sigh' → ègbigbi
è- +   kíkù   → èkíkù 'durst
è- +   bíbẹ́ 'bursting'   → èbíbẹ́ 'burst'
è- +   títú   → ètítú 'pus'
è- +   bíbó 'peeling   → èbíbó 'peel'
è- +   kíká 'coiling'   → èkíká 'coil'

46.   **ò +   processual nominal**
ò- +   kíkà 'counting'   →*òkíkà → òkìkà 'counter'
ò- +   rírò 'thinking'   →*òrírò → òrìrò 'thinker'
ò- +   dídí 'corking'   → òdídí 'cork'
ò- +   rírà 'buying'   → *òrírà → òrìrà 'buyer'
ò- +   rírùn 'smelling'   → òrírùn 'odour/smell'
ò- +   lílọ̀ 'grinding'   → *òlílọ̀ → òlìlô 'grinder'
ò- +   gbígbàn 'sieving'   → *ògbígbàn → ògbìgbàn 'siever'
ò- +   títọ́ 'being right'   → òtítọ́ 'the truth'
ò- +   títù 'cold'   → òtítù 'cold'
ò- +   títẹ̀ 'stamping'   → *òtítẹ̀ → òtìtẹ̀ 'stamp/typewriter'
ò- +   fífà 'causing something'   →*òfífà → òfìfà 'cuasative agent'
ò- +   rírin 'grating'   → *òrírin → òririn 'grater'
ò- +   títà 'selling'   → *òtítà → òtìtà 'seller'
ò- +   yíyà 'combing'   → *òyíyà → òyìyà 'comb'
ò +   lílù 'beating'   → *òlílù → òlìlù 'hammer'

47.   **e- + processual nominal**
e- +   jíjẹ 'eating'   → ejíjẹ 'food'
e- +   rírú 'glowing'   → erírú 'ash'
e- +   ghíghọ̀ 'forbidding'   → eghìghọ̀ → eghìghọ̀ 'taboo'

48.   **o- + processual nominal**
o- +jíju'decaying' (ju – to be patride) → *ojíju→ *ojúju →ojuju 'sore'

The following observations are made with regard to the pre + processual nominal formatives:

a. Prefixes *à-, o-* and *e-* are less productive than *è-* and *ò-*.

b. Some of the resultant nouns denote the following:

    i)   Agent of action – *òtìtà* 'seller', *òrìrò* 'thinker', *òrìrà* 'buyer'

    ii)   Instrument used to perform the action denoted by the process noun – *àkíké* 'axe', *òyìyà* 'comb'

    iii)   Result of the process denoted by the process nominal – *ètítú* 'pus', *èbíbó* 'peel', *èhíhẹ́n* 'chip'.

c. To derive the forms which are the output of 'prefix + derived nominals', two morphological processes must take place in a strictly ordered manner; reduplication and prefixation.

    (i)   Reduplication: First is partial reduplication of the base verb. The base of the processual nominal is a verb. The processual nominal is derived by partial reduplication of the verb. The first consonant of the verb is reduplicated and then an epenthetic vowel *'i'* is affixed to the resultant form, (Archangeli and Pulleyblank 2009:342). This is what Alderete, et al (1999) refer to as phonological fixed segmentism. Downing (2009:3) attributes the presence of epenthesis in morphology to a repair strategy used to stem a violation. The vowel *'i'* is a default vowel which is necessarily fixed to stem an illformed output arising from a morpheme structure rule of Yorùbá which demands a coda for a   consonant. Generally, fixed segmentism is a phenomenon whereby a reduplicative morpheme contains segments which are invariant and not part of the copied material.

    (ii)   Prefixation: The second step is the prefixation of vowel prefixes to the processual nominals which had earlier been derived through partial reduplication in (i) above. To derive *'èmímí'* breath' for instance, partial reduplication will first take place to derive *mímí* 'breathing' from the verb *mí* 'to breath', after which the prefixing vowel *è* will be affixed to the outcome of partial reduplication, that is, *'mímí'* breathing as illustrated in (49a) below and diagramed in 49b.

49a. mí 'to breath' → 'mímí 'breathing' (partial reduplication) → è- + mímí (prefix) → èmímí

                                         'breath'

49b
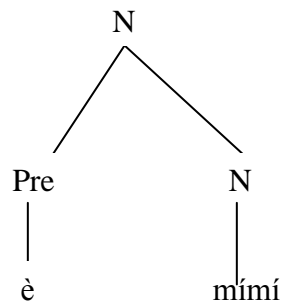
d. All the derived nominals to which these prefixes attach are lexical items, attested to in the speech of the users of the dialect. They have independent forms and carry the semantic notion of process.

e. The derived forms from prefixation are used in the dialect without any phonological adjustment to their segments. Some of them, however, optionally attract the phonological process of deletion. In this case, the first consonant sound of the resultant word is optionally deleted. For example:

49c. èhíhẹ́n → èíhẹ́n 'chip'
       ejíjẹ   → eíjẹ   'food'
       òtítọ́ → òítọ́ 'truth'
       àlìlà   → àìlà   'border'

It is to be noted, however, that such deletion is outrightly blocked in some of the derived words. For instance,

50. ègbígbè→ *èígbè 'putrified'
      èbíbò → *èíbò 'boiled/perboiled'
      ègígé → *èígé 'cut'
      òdídí → *òídí 'cover'

The reason for such blocking is not immediately known. However, one common denominator in all the examples in (50) is that the consonants involved are vioced plosives, therefore, the observed blocking may not be unconnected with the consonant being voiced and being plosive. It seems to confirm the views of scholars in Yorùbá about the pattern of deletion in that plosives are not usually deleted. In Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, it seems that voiced plosives hardly undergo deletion as it is evident in (50).

It is also noted that the derived forms do not attract vowel assimilation. Thus, we can have the forms in (51a) and optionally (51b), but not (51c).

51.	a		b		c
	èhíhẹ́n	→	èíhẹ́n		*èéhẹ́n
	èdídún	→	èídún		*èédún
	àkíké	→	àíké		*àáké[9]
	òtítọ́	→	òítọ́		*òótọ́

f. Again, some of the derived nouns attract compulsory tonal assimilation. This involved some of the forms which are derived from low tone verbs and mid tone verbs, but not those with high tone verbs.

i) Where the prefix is low tone or mid tone and the verb is low tone, the high tone on the vowel of the first CV syllable of the derived nominal assimilates to low tone in some of the derivations

52. à + lílà 'demarcating'→   *àlílà →   àlìlà 'demarcation'
    ò + yíyà 'combing' →   *òyíya →   òyìyà 'comb'
    ò + lílọ̀ 'grinding' →   *olílọ̀ →   òlìlọ̀ 'grinder'
    à + bíbò 'covering' →   *àbíbò →   àbìbò 'shield/protection'
    e + ghíghọ̀ 'forbidding'→   *eghíghọ̀→   eghìghọ̀ 'taboo'

ii) Where the prefix is low tone and the verb stem is mid, the mid tone on the verb spreads to the high tone of the reduplicated consonant. Even though this process applies automatically in some cases, in most other similar cases it is blocked, which makes it difficult to make a general statement or rule with regards to such spreading as in (53).

53. ò- + gbígbi 'humidly hot' →   *ògbígbi →   ògbigbi 'humid heat'

g. Some of the derived nominals are used as emphatic forms for nominals which are derived through Pre- + verb affixation as exemplified by the examples in (54).

54a   è- + gé 'to slice/cut'   →   ègé 'sliced'
   b.   è – gígé 'cutting/slicing'   →   ègígè 'sliced'

Again, the phenomenon in Ìkálẹ̀ where some prefixes especially **à-, è-, ò-,** and **e-** can attach to verbs/verb phrases as well as derived nominals and ideophones calls to question the universality of the Unitary Base Hypothesis which we shall now turn our attention to.

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[9] This is unlike what is prevailent in standard Yorùbá where the reduplicated forms to which prefixes like **à-,è-** and **ò-** attach are not lexical items, some of them not having independent forms and the prefixes merely functioning to lexicalize them. Thus in standard Yoruba, whereas **àáké** exists as a form / word*,* **àkíké** and **kíké** do not exist. (See Owolabi (1995) for details). In Ìkálẹ̀, both **kíké** and **àkíké** exist as words

3. 3.   The unitary base hypothesis and prefixation in Ìkálẹ̀

Some proposals have been put forward in order to constrain Word Formation Rules (WFR). One of them is the Unitary Base Hypothesis (UBH) put forward by Aronoff (1976) and discussed in Scalise (1984), Scalise and Guevara (2005). The UBH is a kind of restriction on affix and base combination. According to Aronoff (1976: 48), we will assume that

> The syntacticosemantic specification of the base, though they may be more or less complex, is always unique. A WFR (Word Formation Rule) will never operate on either this or that.

The hypothesis is based on a general assumption in word formation that certain affixes only attach to bases of certain syntactic category.

The implication of this hypothesis is that we are never expected to find in a language, a morpheme that attaches to bases of two different categories. In effect, one word formation process only takes words belonging to one grammatical category. For instance, a noun and a verb or an adjective and a noun cannot have one single affix combining with them. However, scholars like Scalise (1984), Plag (1999), Scalise and Guevara (2005:16) have pointed to languages like English and Italian, as counter examples to this hypothesis. Acccording to Aronoff (1976:48), the only way to refute UBH is by showing that a word formation rule operates on two distinct classes of bases. Analysis of the Ìkálẹ̀ data above cast doubt on the validity of the UBH.

Certain prefixes in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect are found to attach to either this or that . Specifically, the prefixes à-, è-, ò-, e- attach to verbs/verb phrases as well as to nominals and adverbs, as seen in the following examples.

55a	Prefix	V/VP	Derived Noun
i.	à-	hè 'to cook'	àhè 'feast'
ii	à-	tògbẹ ' excessive urine'	àtògbẹ 'diabetes'
iii	è-	hè 'to cook/boil'	èhè 'cooked/boiled'
iv.	è-	bó 'to peel'	èbó 'peel'
v	è-	gé 'to slice.cut'	ègé 'sliced'
vi	è-	jó 'to burn'	èjó 'burnt
vii	ò-	bí 'to give birth to'	òbí 'parent'
viii	ò-	kunyán 'to pound yam'	òkunyán 'mortal'
ix	e-	gbé 'to lift'	egbé 'teleportation'
x	e-	wu 'to come to harm'	ewu 'harm/danger'

55b	Prefix	Process Nominal	Derived Noun
i.	à-	rírè̩ 'being tired'	àrírè̩ 'tiredness/fatigue/illness'
ii	à-	kíké 'hewing'	àkíké 'axe'
iii	è-	híhè̩ 'cooking/boiling'	èhíhè̩ 'cooked/boiled'
iv.	è-	bíbó 'peeling'	èbíbó 'peel'
v	è-	gígé 'slicing/cutting'	ègígé 'sliced'
vi	è-	jíjó 'burning'	èjíjó 'burnt
vii	ò-	títù 'cold'	òtítù 'cold'
viii	ò-	dídí 'covering'	òdídí 'cover'
ix	e-	Rírú	erírú 'ash'
x	e-	jíjẹ 'eating'	ejíjẹ 'food'

In these examples in 55 above, the same prefixes combine with verb/verb phrase stems on one hand and nominal stems on the other, to form nouns. The examples in (55a iii-vi) and (55b iii – vi) reveal that the prefix *e̩-* combine with verb as well as derived nominals to form words of the same meaning. In fact, as shown in the examples in (56) below, there are also prefixes which can combine with both verb phrases and adverbs.

56a	Prefix	Adverb	Derived Noun
I	ò-	geere 'smoothly'	ò̩geere 'smooth
Íi	ò̩-	re̩nre̩n 'being soggy'	ò̩re̩nre̩n 'soggy weather'

56b	Prefix	Verb phrase	Derived Noun
I	ò-	sóṇ́ 'being taciturn'	òsóṇ́ 'a taciturn'
ii	ò̩-	màràn 'to be knowledgeable	ò̩màràn 'a knowledgeable person

The examples in 56a make it the third word class to which such prefixes attach.

In an attempt to escape from the problems encountered by Aronoff's UBH, Scalise (1984: 139) proposes the Modified Unitary Base Hypothesis (MUBH) in which she appeals to the natural class by extending the idea of class to that of 'a natural class'. The essence of this is to widen the number of word types which the hypothesis will accommodate. There are two major class category features: $\pm$N, $\pm$V which make adjectives and nouns or adjectives and verbs but not nouns and verbs to belong to a natural class. Scalise and Guevara, (2015:16) assume that the MUBH condition is adequate, but they could not attest to its universality. The Ìkálè̩ examples again show that the items in question do not belong to a natural class.

Aronoff's last defense of this hypothesis is an appeal to homonymy. According to him, where the affixes in reference have the same shape and the lexical category of the

bases to which they are attached do not form a natural class, entirely different processes must be assumed (See Scalise 1984: 137, Spencer 1996:84, 95). By implication, the two instances of *à*- prefixation in 57 will be regarded as two different rules of *à*- affixation rather than one since their bases (V(erb) and N(oun)) do not form a natural class.

57a.   à + Verb (phrase)   (àhè)
   b   à + Noun   (àkíké)

.

Any conclusion based on the above examples of *àhè* and *àkíké* in Ìkálè̩ dialect, on the basis of their affixes being homophonous, will be a hastened one since there are copious examples of such derivations resulting in similar semantic and syntactic output as seen in the pairs of *è̩jó* 'burnt' and *è̩jíjó* 'burnt' in (55a, bvi) above. In this connection, it is necessary to examine the Unitary Output Hypothesis (UOH) which according to Scalise is also essential to determining the validity of the UBH. Scalise (1984: 137) postulates that a particular phonological form should not be considered a single affix if it produces outputs with different category labels or different semantics. The two points made by Aronoff in this postulation are the following:

i)   The resultant category of the output of an affix rule must be the same for the affix rule to be regarded as a single affix rule.

ii)   The semantics of the output words must not be different (that is must be the same) in order for an affix rule to be regarded as the same.

With regards to the first point in the UOH, the Ìkálè̩ data suggest that the vowel prefixes in the derivations in question are not different instances of a homophonous morpheme but rather a single vowel prefix because the output of the derivations are derived nouns in all cases. Therefore, it is the case of an affix combining with different word classes to form a single output category. Apart from similarity in the output category, it is also observed for Ìkálè̩ dialect that the semantics of the output for many of the derivations are also synonymous. Consider the following examples for instance.

		Pre + V	Pre + N	
58	i)	èhè	èhíhè	'boiled'
	ii)	ègbè	ègbígbè	'putrified'
	iii)	ègé	ègígé	'cut'
	iv)	èwú	èwíwú	'swollen'
	v)	è̩já	è̩jíjá	'broken/chop'
	vi)	e̩hé̩n	e̩híhé̩n[10]	'chip off'

---

[10] Examples v-xi, where the vowel of the verb differs from that of the noun, is traceable to the effect of vowel harmony – the vowel prefix agrees in harmony with the following CV syllable in all the example words.

vii)	ẹhẹ́	èhíhẹ́	'sieve'
viii)	èsẹ́	èsísẹ́	'cut'
ix)	ẹbẹ́	èbíbẹ́	'part'
x)	èrún	èrírún	'dust'
xi)	ẹká	èkíká	'bent'

The resultant words in these examples are result nouns. Secondly, they have synonymous meaning. The only difference between them is that while the nouns which are derived through 'Pre + N' has an additional meaning of emphasis, those derived through 'Pre + V' don't have such emphatic meaning. For instance, both *èrún* and *èrírún* have the semantic meaning 'crumb'. However, for *èrírún* there is an additional meaning of emphasis which *èrún* does not have. Therefore in this case, one can infer that the prefix *è-* and *ẹ̀-* in the above examples are not homophones but the same instance of the vowel prefix.

3.3.1   Revision of the Unitary Based Hypothesis

One conclusion that can be reached for Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, arising from the above examples is that the UBH is too strong and it should be relaxed to accommodate the exigencies of the Ìkálẹ̀ word formation witnessed in (56) and (58) above. The revision should incorporate outputs with similar syntactic and/or semantic labels. We therefore, revise the UBH as follows:

> The syntacticosemantic specification of the base may
> be complex. A WFR (Word Formation Rule) may
> operate on either this or that provided its output is
> syntactically or semantically unique.

This rule will accommodate the following schema as instances of the same word formation rule provided they either derive a similar syntactic and/or semantic output.

59a.   Pre. + X → Y
where X may be a V, N or Adv and Y equals N(oun)

This relationship can be shown on a tree diagram

59b.

(i)
N
Pre   V
è   jó
èjó 'burnt'

(ii)
N
Pre   N
è   jíjó
èjíjó 'burnt'

(iii)
N
Pre   Adv
ọ̀-   rẹnrẹn
ọ̀rẹnrẹn
'foggy weather'

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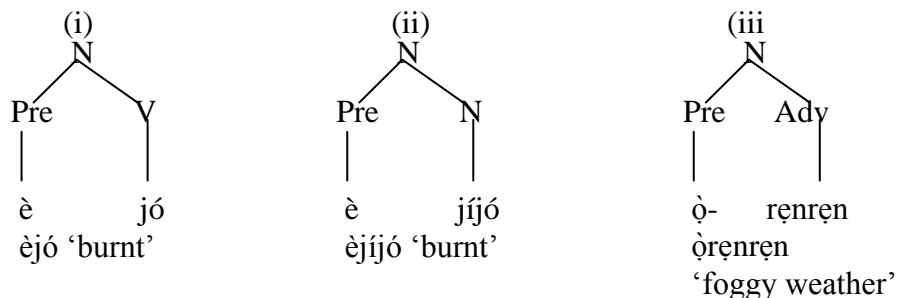
The inputs to these examples are different words (verb, noun and adverb), but the resultant words are, however, the same category label, Noun. This also affirms the treatment of the vowel prefixes as group 1 prefixes inspite of the fact that they attach to different bases.

3. 4.   Prefix àì-

The prefix ***àì-*** is a negative morpheme in Ìkálè̩ which attaches to verbs / verb phrases to form nouns. It is a productive means of noun formation in that virtually all verbs and verb phrases in Ìkálè̩ can take the prefix ***àì-*** as seen in the following examples.

60(a) àì- + gbán   'to be wise'   →   àìgbán 'not being wise'

   (b) àì- + ka bó̩nẹ se 'to be associating with people →àìkàbó̩nẹse

                                                    'not associating with people'

3.4.1   Types of bases to which àì- is attached

61(ai)   àì- + V
         àì- + jẹ   'to eat'   →   àìjẹ 'not eaten'
         àì- + mà 'to know'   →   àìmà 'not known'
         àì- + hùn 'to sleep'   →   àìhùn 'sleeplessness'
         àì- + rí   'to see'   →   àìrí 'unseen'
         àì- + ró̩n 'to chew'   →   àìró̩n 'unchewed'

   ii)   àì- + VNP
         àì- + kàwé 'to read/study   → àìkàwé 'not educated/lack of education
         àì- + kó̩lí 'to build house' → àìkó̩lí 'not building house'
         àì- + tajà 'to trade'   → àìtajà 'not trading'
         àì- + ko̩rin 'to sing'   → àìko̩rin 'not singing'

         àì- + V V
         àì- + kótán 'to gather, finish →   àìkótán 'not exhaustively gathered
         àì- + lè̩má 'to attach to'   →   àílè̩má   'not attached to'
         àì- + gbàgbó̩ 'to believe'   →   àìgbàgbó̩ 'not believing/unbelieving'

         àì- + jẹ, tán 'to eat, finish'   →   àìjẹtán 'not completely eaten'
         àì- + pa, tà'to kill, sell'   →   àìpatà 'not slaughter

   iii)   àì- + VP, PP
         àì- + nóminúlí 'to have water, in house'→ àínóminúlí
                                          'not having water in the house'
         àì- + gbéná, lérí, 'to carry fire, on head'→ àìgbénálérí
   'not carrying fire on the head'

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v)   àì- + VP, V

àì- + panmi, tà 'fetch water, sell   → àìpanmità

'not fetch water for sale'

àì- + jédìyẹ, gbé 'steal fowl, carry'   → àìjédìyẹgbé 'not stealing fowl'

vi)   àì- + Adv, V(NP)

àì- + màámà, se 'to deliberately do'   → àìmàámàse

'not deliberately done'

àì- + màámà, jalè 'to deliberately steal'   → àìmàámàjalè

'not deliberately steal'

vii   àì- + VN ní N

àì- + gbé ọnẹ ní oghó   → àìgbénẹnóghó   'not stealing one's money'

àì- + kó ọnẹ ní ẹrú   → àìkónẹnẹrú   'not carrying one into slavery'

viii   àì- + ka VP

àì- + ka yú   →   àìkayú   'not going habitually'

àì- + ka bá ọma fọ̀   →   àìkabọ́mafọ̀   'not scolding a child'

Of particular theoretic implication are the data in 61avii & viii. The input verb phrase to which *àì-* is attached in 61avii involves the use of dyadic verbs, which take two internal arguments which require a semantically empty case assigner *ní* to assign case to its second arguement. The presence of this case assigner in a sentence is configurational and syntactic; it is a surface structure phenomenon. The presence of *ní* in 'vii' shows that some input to word formation are actually phrases. Again, case assignment in some of the examples came up as a result of surface structure mutation in the order of elements of the verbal object as seen in 61vii, *gbé ọnẹ ní oghó*. The logical object of *gbé* in 61avii for instance is *oghó ọnẹ* 'one's money, not *ọnẹ* 'person/one'. This confirms that syntactic atoms (e.g phrases) are input to word formation. A similar explanation is also extended to 61aviii, where *ka* is required in an imperative clause in the syntax to indicate habitual action as seen in the imperative sentence in 61b

61b   Ànan   ka   ba ọma   fọ̀.   'You(pl)   be   scolding   (your)   children'. That the verb phrase *ka bá ọma fọ̀* in 61aviii serves as input to nominalisation is also an indication of syntactic input to word formation. The output noun *àìkabọ́mafọ̀* can be represented on the tree diagram in 61c.

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61c.
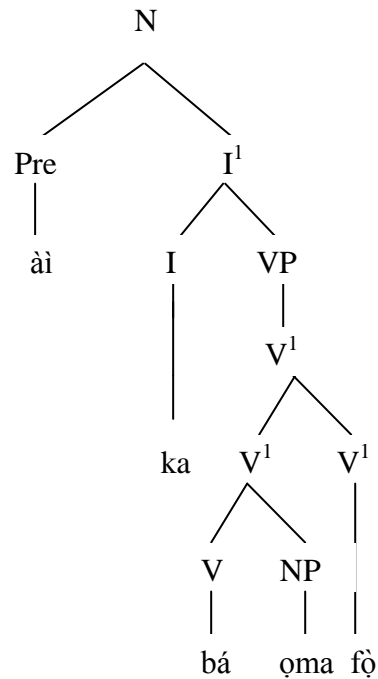
The function of the negative prefix is to negate proposition depicted by the verb or verb phrase. For instance, nominals like *àìmà* 'not knowing', has the following interpretation.

61d   neg + mà

Where the verb elements in the base are more than one, and they are compositional, the scope of negation may be limited to only a part of the verb complex. See the following for example.

62a.   (i)   àìtètètólí   'not reaching home on time'
        (ii)   àìjẹtán   'not eaten completely'
        (iii)   àìlobọ̀   'not going to come'
        (iv)   àìhùnparadà   'sleeping and not moving/turning the body'

In these examples, the scope of negation does not cover all the verbs. In example (i), the two propositions are *tètè* 'quick', and *tó ulí* 'reach home'. It is obvious in the word that the second action of reaching home took place while the action was not quickly done. Therefore the scope of negation covers only *tètè.* It can be reframed as

62b. Ó tó ulí ní àìtètè   '(s)he reached home not quickly'

Again, in (62aii), the action of eating *jẹ* took place, but the action of completeness *tán* did not. It can also be reframed as (63a) and paraphrased as (63b)

63a.   Ó jẹ́ ní àì (jẹ) tán 'He/She/It ate it but did not finish it.'

        or

63b.   Ó jẹ́, é è tán   'He/She/I ate it but it did not finish.

3. 5.   Group II prefix

The only member of the group II prefix in Ìkálẹ̀ is *olí-* which is a nominal prefix. It attaches to nouns or noun phrases to form nouns in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The nominals in this group are formed by the rule in (64a) below.

64a.   Pre$_{2\,+}$ [N/NP]   →   N.

The rule above can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

64b.
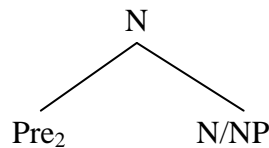
The following examples exemplify this type of nominalisation.

65a.   i)   olí bàtà 'shoe'   → olíbàtà 'shoe owner/seller'
       ii)   olí ulí 'house   → olúlí 'house owner/occupant'
       iii)   olí epo 'oil'   → olépo owner/seller of oil'
       iv)   olí ẹhẹ̀ 'leg'   → oléhẹ̀ 'owner of leg'
       v)   olí oghó 'money'   → ológhó 'rich money/owner of money'
       vi)   olí ọgbà 'garden'   → olọ́gbà 'owner/keeper of a garden'
       vii)   olí unrun 'thing'   → olúrun 'owner of something'
       viii) olí orígho búúkú 'head bad' → olóríghobúúkú 'owner of bad luck'

olíbàtà in (65ai), for instance, has the following structural diagram

65b
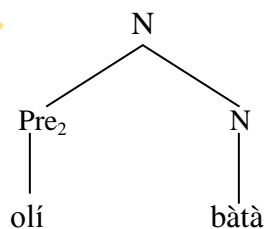
Syntactically, *olí-* is a class maintaining prefix in that it does not change the syntactic class of its base. However, it is a featural affix by virtue of the fact that it operates to change values of the inherent features of its base. For instance, even though both *epo* 'oil' and *olépo* 'owner of oil' are nouns, yet there is a difference in their features, occasioned by the prefixation of *olí-* as seen in the diagram below.

65c.

```
              N
             / \
         olí    N
               epo        →       olépo
              -human             + human
              + concrete         + concrete
              - count            + count
              - animate          + animate
```
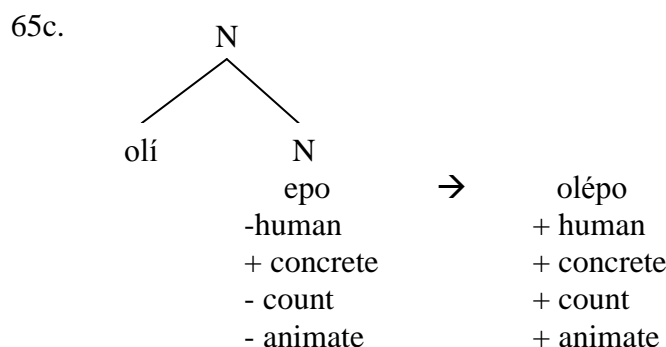
In this example, the input noun, *epo* 'oil' is a non-human inanimate mass noun. However, the output noun, *olépo* 'owner of oil' is a human noun, and consequently, [+count] and [+animate]. Thus, even though *epo* and *olépo* are nouns, yet they carry different features. *olí-* is an associative nominal prefix, it carries the notion that X is associated with Y.

3. 6.   The Word Based Hypothesis (WBH) and Ìkálẹ̀ word formation

The WBH which originated from Aronoff (1976) is in consistency with the lexicalist hypothesis. The formulation, quoted by Scalise (1984: 10) and Scalise and Guevara, (2015: 11) is as follow.

> All regular word-formation processes are word based.
> A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a
> single already existing word. Both the new word and
> the existing one are members of major lexical
> categories.

Spencer (1996: 83) segmented Aronoff's claim into four assumptions.

i) The bases of WFRs are words
ii) These words must be existing words
iii) WFRs can take as a base only a single word, no more (e.g. phrases) no less (e.g. bound forms).
iv) The input and output of WFRs are member of major categories

Botha (1981:18) refers to constraint (iii) as the 'No Phrase Constraint' (NPC). However in an apparent response to violations of the NPC, Allen (1978) proposes that only lexicalized phrases can serve as base of a WFR, noting however that other cases of phrasal base in English is very restricted.

Others like Carstairs-McCarthy (2002), Liber (1992:11-14), Pullum and Huddleston (2002:57), Giegerich (2004, 2005, 2006), Olsen (2000) list cases of apparent

contraventions of the lexical integrity principle (LIP) which is germane to the working of WBH.

Booij (1977:32), in his own reaction warns against making the WBH a universal principle as there might be languages that could constitute an exception. Of particular importance to this work on Ìkálè morphology is the NPC. One reaction to Booij's observation is Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's (1988), Phrasal Morphology where it is claimed for Yorùbá that 'apart from X^o (zero level categories), phrases also serve as base/input to morphological process'. This makes Yorùbá as well as Ìkálè dialect an exception to the NPC. This is confirmed by the Ìkálè data in 66 below. In the examples in (66), there are words formed from transitive predicates, in which the predicates have argument structures consisting (among others) of a verbal head and its NP (Noun phrase) complement.

66ai   pa ẹja 'catch fish'
   ii   gbé oghó 'carry money'
   iii   kọ́ ulí 'build house'
   iv   jẹ́ usẹ́ 'run errand/deliver message'
   v   kàn èsẹ́ 'lurk fist'
   vi   jí oghó 'steal money'

The verbs in these examples are **pa,** 'to kill/slaughter/catch, **gbé,** 'to carry', **kọ́,** 'to build, **jẹ́,** to deliver', **kàn,** 'to lurk' and **jí** 'to steal'. They subcategorise for nominal objects in the subcategorisation frame. For example, the verb **jí** subcategorises for nominal objects such as **oghó** as seen in (66avi). The phrases involving these verbs are however not lexicalised phrases for the following reasons

   i.   They have transparent meaning. The meaning which each word in the above examples has in isolation is not different from its meaning in collocaction. For instance, the meaning of **jí** is to steal while that of **oghó** is money. This meaning is what reflects in the phrase **jí oghó** 'to steal money', as seen in the diagram in 66b.

   ii.   The phrases in (66a) above are compositional. Both the verb and the nominal object jointly contribute to the meaning of the phrases.

   iii.   The constituents of the verb phrases can be transposed through relativization and clefting. For instance, both **jí** and **oghó** (66avi) can undergo relativisation and clefting as indicated in the examples in (66c) below.

66(b)

```
                    VP
                   /  \
                  V    NP
                  |    |
                  jí   N
                 steal |
                     oghó
                    money
```
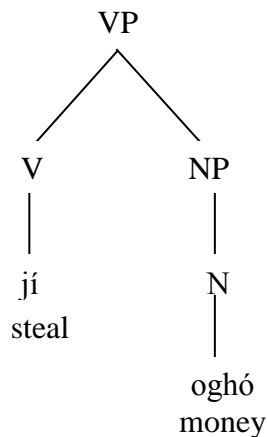
66ci Kẹ́mi ó jí oghó
      Kẹ́mi HTS steal money
      'Kẹ́mi stole money'

   ii. Oghó yìí Kẹ́mi ó jí
     money rel. mkr Kẹ́mi HTS steal
     'The money which Kẹ́mi stole....'

   iii. jíjí yìí Kẹ́mi o jí oghó
      stealing rel. Kẹ́mi HTS steal money
      'The fact of Kẹ́mi stealing money...'

  iv. Oghó Kẹ́mi ó jí ín
     money Kẹ́mi HTS steal foc.
     'it is money which Kẹ́mi stole'.

   v. jíjí Kẹ́mi ó jí oghó ín
     stealing Kẹ́mi HTS steal money foc.
     'it is a fact that Kẹ́mi stole money'.

These are indications that they are not lexicalised phrases.

However, the morphological processes of affixation and reduplication too affect the whole phrase and not just part of it, as seen in the wellformedness of (67a and b) and the illformedness of (67c) where only the verb is selected for affixation and reduplication.

67ai. a- + pa + ẹja   →   apẹja 'fisherman
     pre catch fish

  ii. a- + gbé oghó   →   agbóghó 'carrier of money'
     pre   carry money

  iii a- + kọ́ ulí   →   akọ́lí '(house) builder'
     pre build house

iv. ò- + jẹ́ usẹ́   →   òjúsẹ́ 'messenger'
     pre   deliver message

v. a- /ò- + kàn ẹ̀sẹ́   →   akànsẹ́/òkànsẹ́ 'lurk fist/boxer'
     pre   lurk fist

vi. a-/ò- + jí oghó   →   ajóghó/òjóghó 'money stealer'
     pre   steal money

67bi pa ẹja + pa ẹja   →   pẹjapẹja 'fisherman'
     catch fish, catch fish

ii   gbé oghó + gbé oghó →   gbóghógbóghó 'carrier of money'
     carry money carry money

iii   kọ́ ulí + kọ́ ulí   →   kọ́líkọ́lí 'house builder'
     build house build house

iv   kàn ẹ̀sẹ́ + kàn ẹ̀sẹ́   →   kànsẹ́kànsẹ́ 'boxer'
     lurk fist   lurk fist

v   jí oghó + jí oghó →   jóghójóghó 'stealer of money'
     steal money steal money

67ci   a- + pa   → *apa
     pre catch

  ii. a- + gbé   → *agbé
     pre   carry

  iii. a- + kọ́   → *akọ́
     pre   build

  iv. ò- + jẹ́   →*òjẹ́
     pre   deliver

  v. a-/ò- + kàn   → *akàn/*òkàn
     pre   lurk

. vi. a-/ò- + jí   →*ají/*òjí
     pre   steal   'òjóghó

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The structure of the nominal formed from the verb phrase *jí oghó'* in 67a above can be represented in the following tree diagram in 67d.

67d.

```
                      N
                     / \
                    /   \
                  Pre    VP
                   |    /  \
                   ò   V    NP
                 agent |     |
                       jí   oghó
                      steal money
```
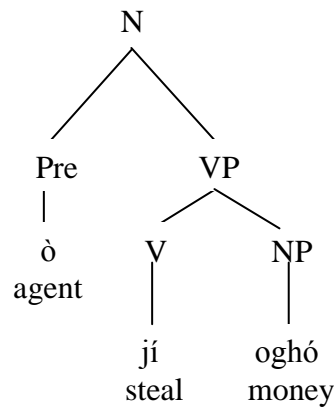
As observed in the data in (67c), bare verbs do not serve as input to agentive reduplication in Ìkálè̩.

Two analyses have been proposed by scholars for analysing this type of morphological form involving phrasal categories, namely the compounding analysis and the phrasal analysis. These are not within the scope of this thesis.

3. 7.   Summary

In this chapter, we examined affixation in Ìkálè̩ and grouped the various affixes based on their function, structure and phonological specification. We identified the following affixes based on function: featural affixes, fuctional afixes and transpostion affixes. Featural affixes change the features of the base but are usually category maintaining affixes; functional affixes are category changing afixes while tranposition affixes, though category changing, do not cause substantial change in meaning. Based on structure, we identified prefixes, interfixes and suffixes. The third classification, which is based on phonological specification, are phonologically specified affixes and phonologically underspecified affixes. The phonologically specified affixes were grouped into two classes: prefixes and interfixes. We discussed the analysis of the phonologically specified prefixes in Ìkálè̩ in this chapter while the discussion on interfixes and phonologically underspecified affixes was deferred to chapter four under reduplication.

We identified the following prefixes in the dialect, manner prefixes and processual nominal pefixes. Manner prefixes combine with bare verbs to derive manner nominals. Processual nominal prefixes combine with processual nominals to form nouns.

Nouns derived from processual nominals do not require a postulation of abstract level of lexicalisation. In our analysis of processual nominals and nominals derived from verbs, we identified cases of a single word formation rule operating on more than one type of base contrary to the Unitary Base Hypothesis (UBH). We, therefore, modified the UBH to accommodate such cases thus:

> *the syntactico-semantic specification of the base may be complex.*
> *A WFR (Word Formation Rule) may operate on either this or*
> *that provided its output is syntactically or semantically*
> *unique.*   .

CHAPTER FOUR

REDUPLICATION IN ÌKÁLẸ̀

4.0. Preamble

Reduplication is a morphological process of forming words which involves a repetition of linguistic forms. It is a limitless resource for creativity and a linguistic meaning making strategy (Tannen 1987). Therefore, it is a process employed productively to create new forms (Uzawa 2012:185). Reduplication is common to most languages of the world, though its pervasiveness varies from one language to another. The examples in (1) below are instances of reduplication is the the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

1a. ojú + ojúmá → ojúojúmá → ojoojúmá 'everyday/daily'
 b. ẹ̀rẹn + ẹ̀rẹn → ẹ̀rẹnẹ̀rẹn → ẹ̀rèẹ̀rẹn 'all four'
 c pọ̀pọ̀ + pọ̀ → pọ̀pọ̀pọ̀ → pọ̀pọ̀ọ̀pọ̀́ extremely thick
 d lá + la → lála 'to be big (emph)'
 e kíá+ kíá → kíákíá 'quickly'
 f àgbà+àgbà → àgbààgbà 'elders'

In this chapter, we shall examine definitions and features of reduplication, mapping principles, structure and inputs to reduplication, typology and functions of reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

4.1.1. Definition and Features of Reduplication

Several definitions of reduplication have been given by scholars which serve as working guides for the analysis of reduplicative words. Moravsik (1978:323) defines reduplication as:

> A pattern where the double or multiple occurrence of a sound string, syllable, morpheme, or word within a larger syntagmatic unit is in systematic contrast with its single occurrence, with the iterated elements filling functionally non-distinct positions.

Crystal (1985) also defines reduplication as 'a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix reflects certain phonological characteristic of the root'. Matthews (1997:311) says reduplication is 'a morphological process by which all or part of a form is repeated'. O'Grady and Guzman (2000:121) conceive reduplication as 'a morphological process which duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast'. Again, according to O'Grady and Archibalt

(2000:131), reduplication may not be a common phenomenon in all languages. Marantz (1982:437) in his own definition sees reduplication as

> a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analysed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation (infixation) of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form.

One common denominator in these definitions is that reduplication involves repetition of materials belonging to the base. However, unlike Matthews' (1997) assertion, it is not all forms of repetition that can be regarded as reduplication. This is because the repetition which is found in reduplication is grammatically defined as indicated by O'Grady and Guzman. For example, words like those in (2) below are not to be regarded as cases of reduplication, but those in (3) and (4) are.

2a   pooh pooh
  b.   goody goody
              (Katamba and Stonham 2006:180)

3ai   pik   'touch it'
  ii.   pi pik 'touch it lightly, repeatedly.

  bi   bar   'two'
  ii.   barbar   'all two'
              (Katamba and Stonham 2006:181)

3ci   gé   'to cut'
  ii.   gígé 'cutting'

 3di.   paná   'to quench fire'
  ii.   panápaná 'firefighter'

In the examples in (2), no derivational or inflectional function can be attributed to the repetition; it is only a child's way of using language. But in the examples in (3), reduplication performs derivational functions which affixes usually perform. For instance, the verb phrase *paná* 'quench fire' in (3di) is fully reduplicated to form the agentive nominal *panápaná* 'firefighter in (3dii)*.* Two functions are performed by the reduplicant *paná* in (3dii) above; first is the grammatical function of turning a verb phrase to a nominal. The second is the semantic function of creating agent of the action of quenching fire depicted by the base in (3di). It is to be noted that the affix *ò-* in Ìkálẹ̀

dialect equally performs similar grammatical and semantic functions as seen in the examples in (4).

4a.   paná 'quench fire'
  b.   òpiná 'firefighter'

The definitions above help to highlight features of reduplication. Some of these features are:

i.   It involves repetition of forms

ii.   The repeated forms may be all or part of the base (full and partial reduplication)

iii.   The repetion involves copying

iv.   The copied material may be to the left (prefix), to the right (suffix), or infixed to the base.

v.   The copied material serves certain grammatical or semantic functions which may be derivational or inflectional and comparable to other morphemes.

vi.   The base from which materials are copied may be a lexical category or a phrase.

vii.   Copying may be done once or twice.

viii.   The functions of the copied materials are mostly affixal.

4. 1. 2.   Mapping principles in reduplication

Scholars like McCarthy (1981), Marantz (1982), Broselow and McCarthy (1983, 2000:58) among others treat reduplication as affixation. Broselow and McCarthy (1983:25) call it a special case of ordinary affixational morphology where the affixes are phonologically underspecified, receiving their full phonetic expression by copying adjacent segments. According to Broselow and McCarthy, what is affixed is a CV skeleton or a prosodic template which has no phonological representation. This is contrary to a normal dictionary entry of a morpheme, which is expected to include a specification of its semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological properties. The underspecification nature of a reduplicative affix stem from the fact that it has no phonologically defined lexical entry of its own as it is in other types of affixes. The phonological specification of the affix is however achieved by copying a portion of the segmental representation of the base, and in some cases the whole segments in the base (Steriade 1988:88).

The reasons for postulating underspecification is to allow for economy of rules. Thus, instead of having a long list of rules for each token of a reduplicative allomorph there will simply be general rules that copy out bases or portions of bases to the affixed

CV template. Katamba and Stonham (2006), quoting Broselow and McCarthy (1983:22) said this can be done through a mapping principle.

McCarthy's mapping principles, which are in consonance with the principle of underspecification, include the following:

i)   Introduce an underspecified affix (prefix, suffix or infix)

ii)   Create an underspecified copy of the phonemic melody of the root/stem/base

iii)   Associate the copied phonemic melody on to the CV template one to one (as the case may be)

iv)   Erase all superfluous phonemic material or any CV slots on the skeletal tier that remains unassociated.

For example, using McCarthy's mapping principle above, the derivation of the Yorùbá reduplicated word *ìrììròlẹ́* 'every evening' will be of the following nature.

5a.
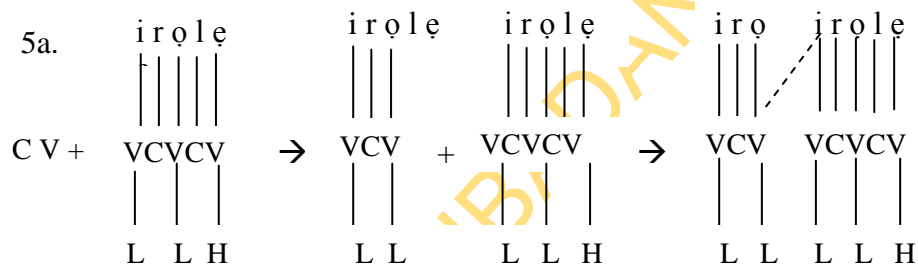
According to Marantz (1984), such linking of CV tiers as seen in the above example is melody driven such that the melody phoneme identifies an appropriate slot where it may be fixed. This explains why as soon as it is fixed, other unassociated elements are erased. One example from Ìkálẹ̀ dialect is *èjẹ̀èjùlí* 'each group/bloc'

5b.
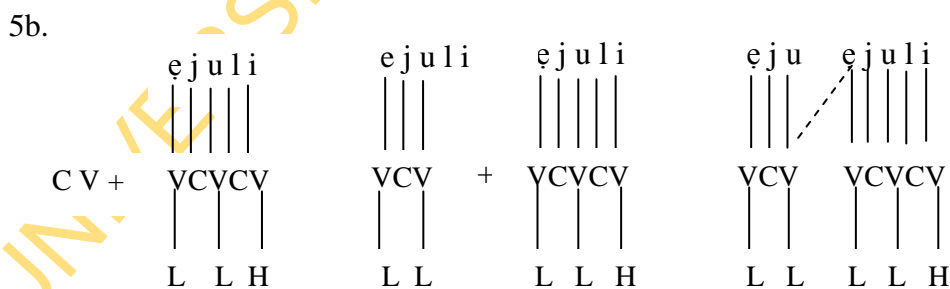
In this Ìkálẹ̀ example, the unassociated CV *lí* as seen above is erased, then the first V of the stem *èjùlí* spreads to the last V of the affix.

Linking of CV tiers obey some conditions. According to Marantz (1982: 446-447) some conditions are essential to the linking of phoneme melody to CV skeletal tiers. The four linking conditions of Marantz as paraphrased by Spencer (1996:152) are the following:

Condition A: Melody consonants link to C slots and melody vowels link to V slots.

Condition B: Linking is strictly one to one; no multiple links are allowed.

Condition C: CV slots may be pre-linked to specific phonemes.

          Pre linking takes precedence over autosegmental linking from the root melody.

Condition D: (i). Directionality of linking; either the leftmost melody phoneme links with the leftmost appropriate CV slot and linking proceeds from left to right; or the rightmost melody phoneme links with the rightmost appropriate CV slot and linking proceed right to left. In the unmarked case, linking proceeds right towards the root; i.e left to right for prefixes, right to left for suffixes.

        (ii) Linking is melody driven in the sense that the association algorithm starts with a melody phoneme and then tries to find an appropriate CV slot, not the other way round.

These linking conditions are meant to ensure welformedness of derived words. They aimed, for instance, to provide a guide that will ensure that the principles of association are respected as seen in the derivation of *ùsùùséjú* 'every minute' in 6a&b. They are also to ensure, among other things, that the output of word formation processes are welformed words which do not violate restrictions on the combination of phonological elements.

      Using Ìkálè̩ words as example , the function of these conditions in reduplication processes can be illustrated with the examples in 6 thus:

6a. ùséjú + ùséjú → ùsé̩ ùséjú → ùsùùséjú every minute
     minute minute

6b   i   ii   iii
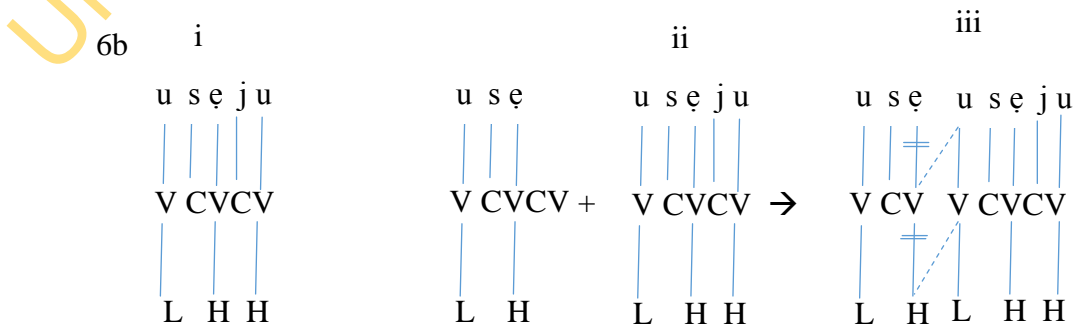
Condition A is meant to disallow association of melody elements to wrong slots as illustrated with *ùsẹ́jú* in 6ci

6ci.
$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{u} & \text{s} & \text{ẹ} & \text{j} & \text{u} \\ | & | & | & | & | \\ \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} \end{array}$$
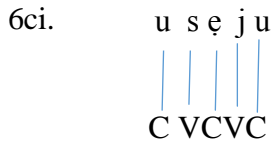
Condition B disallows a single melody element from linking to two distinct slots as demonstrated with the example in 6cii.

6cii.
$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{u} & \text{s} & \text{ẹ} & \text{j} & \text{u} \\ & & | & | & | \\ \text{C} & & \text{V C} & & \text{V C V} \end{array}$$
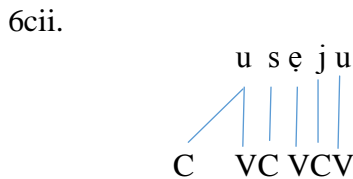
Condition C aims at accommodating cases of fixed segmentism like the invariant *i* which is witnessed in Ci reduplication. It stresses the need for a pre-linked or pre-specified material to take precedence over segments belonging to the base, to overwrite such melody element from the reduplicant and to license its dissociation in order to enable a re-linking with the invariant segment as demonstrated in 6d.

6d.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{gwo} & & \text{gwo} & & \text{gwo} & \text{gwo} \\ & & & & & \\ \text{C V} & + & \text{C V} & \rightarrow & \text{C V} & \text{C V} \\ & & & & & \\ \text{H} & & \text{H} & & \text{i} & \\ & & & & \text{H} & \text{H} \end{array}$$
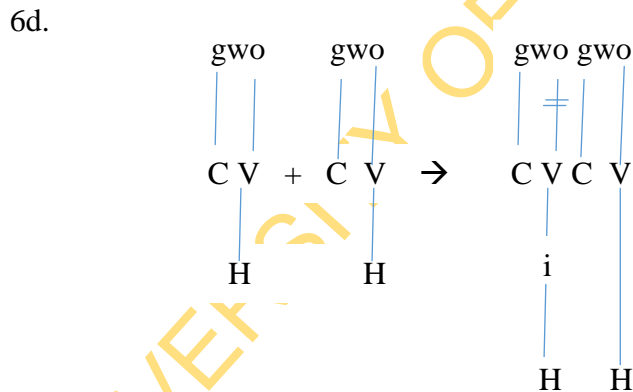
The sign across the association line linking the vowel of the reduplicant in 6d is a sign of delinking. It shows that the melody element linked to the association line is being dissociated.

Condition Di disallows association lines from crossing while Dii indicates that the template CV is not the one that directs linking, it is the melody that does it. The melody can start with any segment; vowel, as seen in 6b or consonant as in 6d.

The copying apparatus of this theory copies prosodic elements to perform functions comparable to that of an affix, not as syntactic atoms but as elements of the base as seen

in 6e, *rẹ́lírẹ́lí* where the reduplicant *rẹ́lí,* performs the function of a morphological agent of house plastering.

6e

CV + CVCV → CVCVCVCV

(with r ẹ l i and rẹ l i rẹ l i tiers; H H tones and H tone)
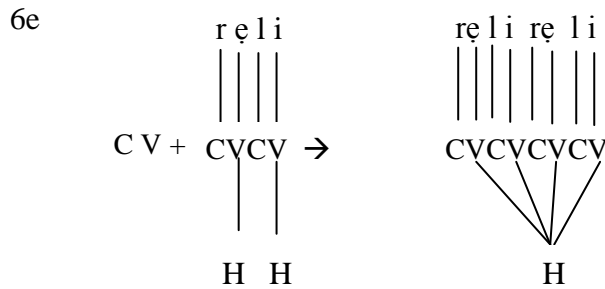
4.1. 3. Structure of reduplication

Generally, looking at Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, one can say that it is rich in reduplicative processes exhibiting a wide range of varieties. For instance, reduplication can take place to the left of the base as a prefix as indicated in (7a&b) below. It can take place to the right as a suffix as seen in (7c). It can also involve the use of some invariant materials which are not part of the base, as seen in (7a & d). Again, the material which is reduplicated can be a whole a phrase (7e), a word (7f &g), a morpheme, syllable, or sequence of syllables as seen (7b, h&g). In other cases, a consonantal material which does not form any particular prosodic constituent can be reduplicated as seen in (7a).

Reduplication in Ìkalẹ̀ can either change the category of the base as in (7a &e), or maintain it as seen in the other examples in (7).

7a.   họn   (V)   'to burn '   → híhọn (N)   'burnt'
  b.   òwúọ̀ (N)   'morning'   →   òwòòwúọ̀(N) 'every morning'
  c.   fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́ (Adv) 'light/scanty   → fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ (Adv) 'very light/extremely small'
  d.   usẹ́   (N)   'work'   → usẹ́kúsẹ́(N) 'any/bad work'
  e   gbẹ́run (VP) (gbó ẹrun) 'argue' → gbẹ́rungbẹ́run (N) 'critic'
  f.   àgbà   (N)   'elder'   → àgbààgbà (N)'group of elders'
  g   lílá   (A)   'big'   → lílálílá (A) 'all big'
  h.   kéré   (V)   'small'   → kékeré (A) 'very small'

It is clear from the examples above that the copied or reduplicated part of the base is not different from affixes in function in the sense that it performs similar derivational and inflectional functions that affixes perform. For instance, just like affixes, they can derive agentive nominals from verb phrases. See 8a, tabulated in 8b for example.

8a.   i)   pẹja   'kill /catch fish (verb)
    ii)   apẹja   'fisherman'
    iii)   pẹjapẹja   'fisherman'

8b.

Base (VP)	Affixation	Reduplication
Pẹja 'catch fish'	a-+ pẹja → apẹja (N) 'fisherman'	Pẹja + pẹja → pẹjapẹja (N) 'fisherman'

4. 1. 4. Theories of reduplication

There are two theories of reduplication; morphological doubling and phonological duplication, yielding two approaches to reduplication analysis.

Morphological doubling, according to Inkelas and Zoll (2005), Inkelas (2008), involves an approach in which morphological construction can call for two instances of the same morphological constituent at the level of meaning. Its targets are usually whole word, stem, root, or affix and its inputs must be morphosemantically identical. In other words, the input to reduplication must be a prosodic constituent such as syllable, morpheme, or a word. It may even be a phrase as seen in the following Ìkálẹ̀ examples.

	Input		**Output**	**Reduplicated**	**Type of constituent**
9a.	fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́	→	fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́	(fẹ́)	syllable
	light		very light		
b.	ogún èjì	→	ogoogójì	(ogún)	morpheme
	twentybytwo		twentytwentybytwo		
c.	ọgbán	→	ọgbọọgbán	(ọgbán)	word
	wisdom		real wisdom		
d.	nághó	→	nághónághó	(nághó)	phrase
	spend money		spender of money		

Apart from the constituents listed above, reduplication can also involve items in the base that do not constitute a prosody, they may be strings of consonants and vowels which are neither a syllable, morpheme nor a word as seen in 10.

10a	pán 'to ripe'	→	pípán 'riped'
b	gé 'to cut'	→	gígé 'cutting'

In the examples above, the consonants *'p'* and *'g'* are reiterated in (10) yet they do not constitute prosodic elements both in Ìkálẹ̀ and standard Yorùbá too.

The conclusion to be drawn from the examples in (10) is that reduplication is not all about constituent copying, therefore it is beyond a linear or a transformational treatment.

The second approach to reduplication is the phonological duplication approach. This is the kind of approach adopted by McCarthy (1981), Marantz (1982), Broselow and McCarthy (1983), McCarthy and Prince (1993, 1994, 1995) among others. The crux of their argument is that what is reduplicated is a phonemic material which need not be a prosodic constituent and that reduplication is a non-linear phenomenon which does not require a concatenative treatment. They contend that, even though reduplication is affixation, what is affixed is a CV skeleton which obtains its phonemic content by copying phonological material from the base. This informs Marantz's (1982) definition of reduplication, as (repeated below for emphasis).

> a process of relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analysed as being constructed from the base via affixation of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form. (Marantz: 1982:437)

This work will adopt the phonological duplication approach in describing Ìkálè̩ reduplication because of its merits in that it would enable us to describe all the ranges of reduplication types in Ìkálè̩, including consonantal duplication which does not involve constituent copying.

There are two parts to a reduplicated word; the base and the reduplicant. According to Katamba and Stonham (2006: 354) the reduplicant is that part of a word which is the result of copying from the base and it is usually represented in the literature as RED. It is the part of the reduplication word which is treated as an affix and which must be concatenated with the base (we will return to this later). The base is any sequence of morphemes which serve as structure from which the RED is copied and attached. For example:

11.   è̩jìlá   →   è̩jì   è̩jìlá   →   è̩jèè̩jìlá
            Reduplicant (Base)

In this example *è̩jì* is the Red(uplicant) while *è̩jìlá* is the base from which *è̩jì* is copied and to which it is attached as an affix. As we will see later, the notion of BR (i.e. Base–Reduplicant) will help in no small measure in addressing the nature of correspondence between the input and the output of the reduplication process.

4. 1. 5.   Types of input to reduplication

Different word classes or phrases can serve as base to a reduplication process. They include the following:

1. **Noun:** Nouns, both derived and non-derived, can serve as base to reduplication. Such noun can be any of the following:

   a. Bare noun. As shown in the examples in 12.

   12a. ọgba 'equal' → ọgbọọgba ← ọgba + ọgba 'equally'
      b. òrun 'night' → òròòrun ← òrun òrun 'every night'
      c. ojúmá 'daylight' → ojoojúmá ← ojúojúmá 'everyday'
      d. ọgóta 'sixty' → ọgọọgóta ← ọgòọgóta 'counts of sixty'

   b. **Noun with conjoining affix**: The nouns in this category are derived by fully reduplicating the noun base and interfixing a CV morpheme between the two forms of the noun as seen in the example in (13).

   13a ùjọ 'semblance' → ùjọkújọ 'bad semblance'
      b. ìyí 'this one' → ìyíkíìyí 'any of these'
      c. ọ̀ghọ́n 'there' → ọ̀ghọ́nnọ́ọ̀ghọ́n 'very far away'

   The output of reduplicated noun in Ìkálẹ̀ is also a noun (but often times with modifications or addition of information, as will be discussed later).

2. **Verb/Verb Phrase:** Both partial and full reduplication can be done to verbs and verb phrases, yielding outputs which can be agentive, process or state nominals, as well as adjectives and verbs in some cases

   14a jẹ 'to eat' → jíjẹ 'eating'
      b. gbóná 'to be hot' → gbígbóná 'being hot'
      c. tọ̀ọ́lí ' to bed wet' → títọ̀ọ́lí 'bed wetting'
      d. kéré 'to be small' → kékeré 'very small'
      e. lá 'to be big' → lílá 'big'[11]

   15a gánbẹ́rẹ́ 'to give injection' → gánbẹ́rẹ́gánbẹ́rẹ́ 'nurse'
      b. tọ̀ọ́lí 'to bed wet' → tọ̀ọ́lítọ̀ọ́lí 'bed wetter'
      c. kọ́ma 'to teach child' → kọ́makọ́ma 'teacher'
      d. wanlẹ̀ 'to measure land → wanlẹ̀wanlẹ̀ 'surveyor'

3. **Adverb:** Adverbs can be partially reduplicated as in (16a) or fully reduplicated. As we have in (16b-d).

   16a. pẹẹrẹ 'to be forward' → pẹẹrẹpẹ 'extremely forward'
      b. fío 'tall' → fíofío 'very tall'
      c. pẹ̀tẹ̀ 'soft' → pẹ̀tẹ̀pẹ̀tẹ̀ 'very soft'
      d. dìẹ̀ 'sluggish' → dìẹ̀dìẹ̀ 'very sluggish / sluggishly'

---

[11] In Ìkálẹ̀, both *lá* and *lílá́* can be used as verb as seen in the following examples
   Ìwé nẹ̀ ó lá 'the book is big'
   Ìwé nẹ̀ ó lílá 'the book is big'
There are other verbs whose reduplicated form can be used as verb. Such include *yé* 'plenty', *dún*, 'to be black' *fún* 'to be white', and *ro* 'to be hard'. The reduplicated forms of these verbs are *yéye, dídún, fífún* and *rorò*'

4. Adjective:

17a.	lílá	'big'	→	lílálílá 'all big'
b.	lílá	'big'	→	líláàlà 'very big'
c.	gwẹ́nẹ́nrẹ́n	'tiny'	→	gwẹ́nẹ́nrẹ́ngwẹ́n 'extremely tiny'
d.	díẹ̀	'little	→	díẹ̀díẹ̀ 'little by little'
e.	kékeré	'small'	→	kékerékékeré 'all small'
f.	kékeré	'small'	→	kékeréèke 'very small'

5 Conjunction: Only full reduplication is attested with conjuction in the dialect.

18a.	sùngbán 'but'	→	sùngbánsùngbán	'excuse'
b.	kàbí 'or'	→	kàbíkàbí	'excuse'
c.	pẹ̀lú 'with'	→	pẹ̀lúpẹ̀lú	'in addition'

6. Phrases:

(i) Verb phrases: Both partial and full reduplication can be done to verb phrases. The output of reduplication in the two cases are nominals.

19a.	wanlẹ̀ 'measure land'	→	wíwanlẹ̀	'measure of land'
	wanlẹ̀ 'measure land'	→	wanlẹ̀wanlẹ̀	'surveyor'
b.	kọ́lí 'build house'	→	kíkọ́lí	'bricklayer/builder'
	kọ́lí 'build house'	→	kọ́líkọ́lí	'building of house'
	jẹ̀dí 'eat anus'	→	jẹ̀díjẹ̀dí	'pile'

(ii) Prepositional phrase:

20a.	ní àná (náàná) yesterday	→	náànánáàná	'just yesterday'
b.	ní ẹ̀ní (néèní) 'today'	→	néènínéèní	'it must today'
c.	ní òòjọ́ (nóòjọ́) 'daily'	→	nóòjọ́nóòjọ́	'everyday'
d.	ní ọwọ́ 'nọ́wọ́' 'presently'	→	nọ́wọ́nọ́wọ̀	'presently continues'

4. 2. Typology of Ìkálẹ̀ reduplication

Many yardsticks can be used to classify Ìkálẹ̀ reduplication constructions. The classes are arrived at considering the various relationships which the reduplicant has with the base. Such relationshps include what is copied, where it is copied and the effect of the copied material on the base as well as the various adjustments done to the items /segments involved in the reduplication process. These yardsticks yield various sub-classes of reduplication discussed in this section. The subclasifications border essentially on the structure and function of reduplication.

4. 2. 1. Structure

Considering the structure of the reduplicant in relation to the base, one can sub-classify reduplication types on the basis of what is copied from the base, whether it is all or part

of it. This yields two broad types of reduplication, partial reduplication and full reduplication.

Partial reduplication is any instance of reduplication where only a part of the base is copied. Some examples are; *pípẹja* 'catching fish'*, fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́* 'lightly', *ìbììbọ̀dójúmá* 'every daybreak'. One can also look at the type of segment or syllable which is copied. This will yield the following subclasses, consonantal and syllable reduplication. We shall return to these sub-classes later in this section.

Full reduplication is any instance of reduplication where the whole base is copied as seen in the following examples; *lílálílá* 'all big' *òròòrun* 'every midnight', *àgbààgbà* 'elders' *ọmakọ́ma* 'a bad child' /any child. It is also possible to further subclassify full reduplication into these types: full reduplication with conjoining, full reduplication with tonal change and full reduplication without tonal change.

Again considering structure one can also look at the position /direction of the reduplicant in relation to the base, whether it is to the left, right or the middle of the base, yielding a prefix, an infix and a suffix. We have discussed affixation in Chapter Three of this work. But we can briefly examine these types as follows:

Prefixal reduplication is when the reduplicant is copied to the left of the base, as seen in examples below.

21a.   se 'to do'   →   síse 'doing'
        rẹlí 'to plaster house' →   rírẹlí 'house plastering,
        òwúọ̀ 'morning'   →   òwòòwúọ̀ 'every morning'.

Infixal reduplication occurs when the reduplicant is positioned inside the base. This is not a common type in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The two examples which we have seen so far are in (21b) below.

21bi   kéré 'to be small' →   kékeré 'small'
    ii   búrú 'to be bad/wicked → búburú 'bad/wicked'

In the above example, *kékeré* 'small' is derived from *kéré* 'to be small' by infixing the reduplicant *ke* into the base *kéré*.

A suffix is achieved by copying materials to the right of the base. Examples are in (21c) below.

21c   fẹ́ẹ́rẹ̀ 'slight/light'   →fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ 'slightly/lightly'

       dede 'all'   → dedeèdè 'completely all'.

The suffix *fẹ́* in *fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́* (21c) is copied as suffix from the first syllable of the input word *fẹ́ẹ́rẹ̀.*

The typology we mentioned above can be summarised in the table below.

```
                                   Reduplication
                                        |
                 +----------------------+----------------------+
               Partial                                       Full
                 |                                             |
        +--------+--------+                      +-------------+-------------+
       C₁              Syllable              Conjoined               Non-conjoined
        |                 |                   iýkîyí
  lílá 'big'       +------+------+            'anyone'
  ríŕẹ́lí 'house   prefix infix suffix          +-------------------+-------------------+
  plastering'       |           |       with tonal change              without tonal change
              Òwùòwúọ̀      fẹ́ẹ́ŕẹ́fẹ́          |                               |
              'every       'slightly'    kederekèdèrè          +--------------+--------------+
              morning'                   'absolutely clear'   initial                    initial
                     |                                        consonant                  vowel
                  kékeré 'small'                                 |                          |
                                                              lílálílá                  ọ̀kọ̀ọ̀kàn
                                                              'all big'                 'one by one'
```
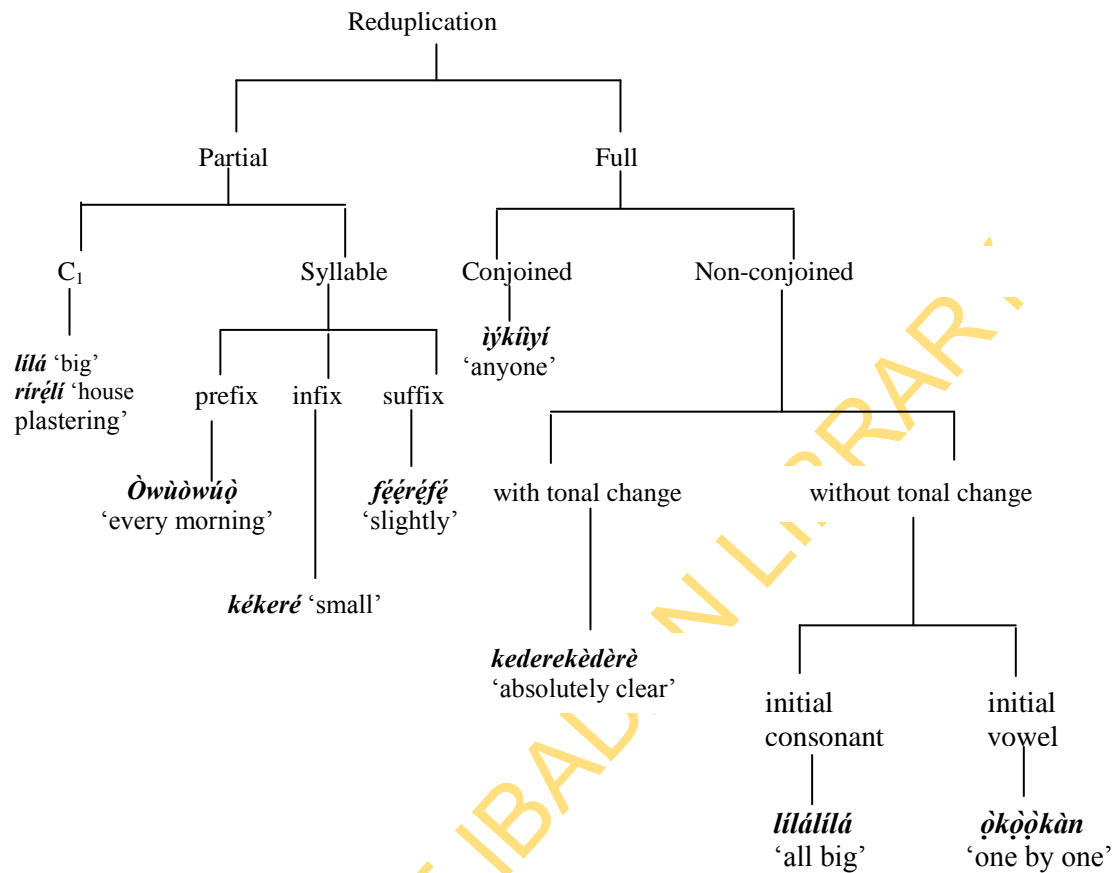
4. 2. 2. Outcome

Another classification of reduplication is based on the effect of the process of reduplication on the category of the base whether there is a change or not in the category. This yields two types of reduplication;

   (a) Category changing reduplication

   (b) Category maintaining reduplication

      Category changing reduplication is one in which the syntactic category of the outcome of reduplication differs from that of the base. Examples are,

22a	**Base /category**	**Outcome /category**
	se 'to do' (V)	síse 'doing' (N)
	rẹ́lí 'to plaster house' (VP)	rẹ́líŕẹ́lí 'house plaster' (N)
	kéŕé 'to be small' (V)	kékeré 'small' (A)

      Category maintaining reduplication, on the other hand, does not change the category of the base in that both the base and reduplicated element belong to the same category. However, even though the reduplicant does not change the category of the

base, it often changes the features of the base by adding some features like agent iteration, number and other meaning features. Some of their examples are;

22b   **base /category**   **outcome /category**
       yé 'to be plenty' (V)   yéye 'to be plenty' (V)
       lílá 'big' (A)   lílálílá 'all big' (A)
       àgbà 'elder' (N)   àgbààgbà 'elders' (N)
       fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́ 'light' (Adv)   fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ 'very light/light'(Adv)

The following diagram summarises the various typologies mentioned above.
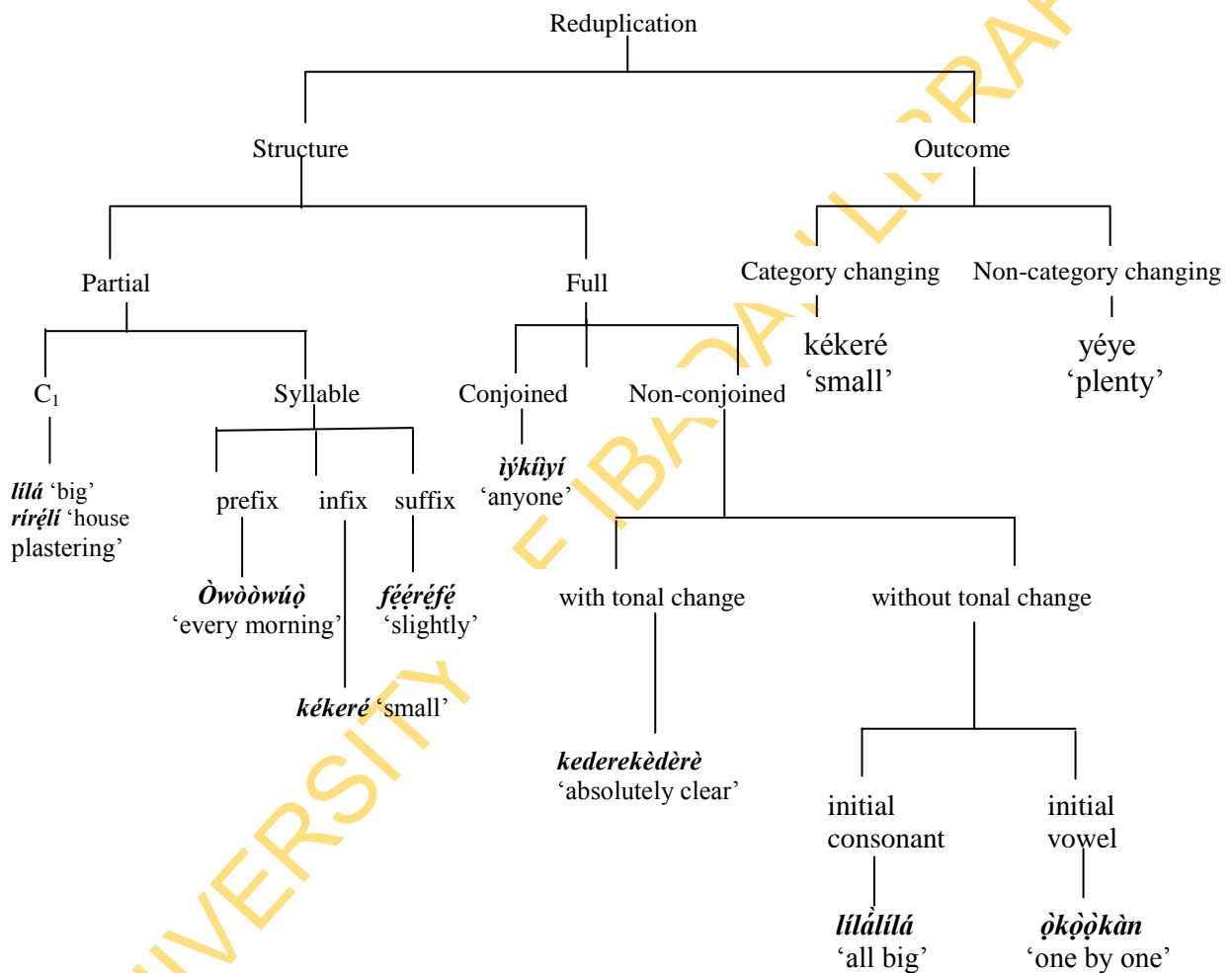
We shall now discuss the various reduplication types outline above.

4.3.   Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is a type of reduplication where only part of the base is reduplicated. The two types are; C$_1$ reduplication (consonantal reduplication) and syllable reduplication.

4. 3.1. Consonantal reduplication

In this type of partial reduplication, only the first consonant of the base is copied or linked to the CV template at the left of the base. It is called C_1 reduplication because in addition to copying the first consonant of the base, the CV template to which the copied consonant is affixed already has a pre linked high toned vowel *í* which automatically delinks the vowel melody of the copied consonant. Condition C of Marantz's linking conditions discussed earlier in this chapter gives room for this. The following are examples of C_1 reduplication.

23a	jẹ	'to eat'	→	jíjẹ 'eating'
b	kà	'to read'	→	kíkà 'reading'
c	kọ́n	'to be full'	→	kíkọ́n 'being full'
d	wanlẹ̀	'to measure land'	→	wíwanlẹ̀ 'measuring land'
e	tọ̀ọ́lí	'to bed wet'	→	títọ̀ọ́lí 'bed wetting'
f	gbẹ́run	'to criticize'	→	gbígbẹ́run 'criticizing'

What is crucial to this type of reduplication is the copying of first consonant of the base, irrespective of the number of syllables or consonants contained in the base as seen in examples (23d-f) where the base has two consonants each. The process of formation of C_1 reduplication can be shown diagrammatically as follows with examples (23a& d) represented in (24a) and (24b).
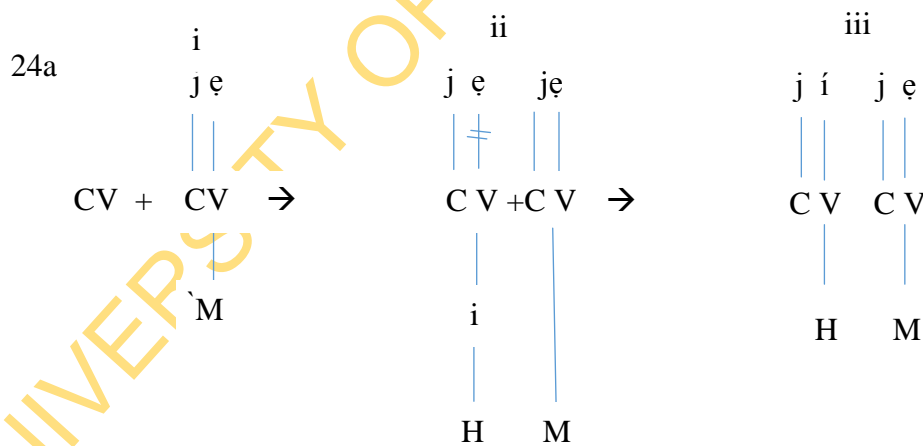
The first step in the derivation of ***jíjẹ*** from ***jẹ*** is to have the reduplicative template and the input stem as in (i). Step (ii) is to copy the relevant base reflecting its real shape. In the case of C_1 reduplication, the reduplicant CV template is already pre associated with the fixed high tone vowel *í* in its template as seen in (ii). The fixed vowel automatically delinks the vowel *ẹ* of the copied CV only to occupy its position. The output is what we have in (iii) ***jíjẹ*** 'eating'.

The process of forming the second example i.e. (23d) *wíwanlẹ̀* is similar to that of *jíjẹ*. The only difference is that for *wíwanlẹ̀,* the base contains more than one syllable which is copied but not all linked. The remaining unlinked or unassociated syllable is erased by the erasure principle which we explained earlier in this chapter. The process is as sketched below.

24b
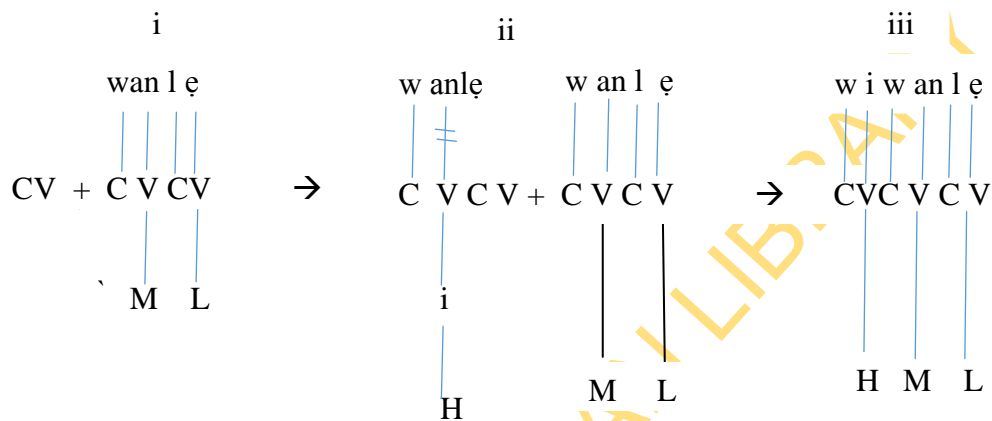
Generally, only verbs and verb phrases serve as input to C_1 reduplication and the output are mainly nouns and sometimes adjectives depending on the type of verb which forms the input. Adjectivisable verbs in this dialect usually form adjectives through C_1 reduplication. Some of the examples of adjectivesable verbs are;

25a.	lá 'to be big' verb	→	lílá	'big' Adjective
b.	dún 'to be black'	→	dídún	'black'
c.	kéré 'to be small'	→	kíkéré	'smallness'
d.	hànra 'to be fat'	→	híhànra	'being fat'

Their uses as verb and adjective are seen in (i) and (ii) of the data in (26).

26ai. Ẹjá nẹ̀ ó lá 'The fish is big'
  ii. Ẹja lílá ó wùn mí 'I like a big fish'

bi. Aṣọ ẹ ó ti dún jù 'Your cloth is too dark'
ii. Mé è fẹ́ aṣọ dídún 'I don't want a dark cloth'

ci. Ọwọ́ ẹ̀ ó kéré 'His hands are small'
 ii. Ọwọ́ kíkéré ó bà á jẹ́ 'The smallness of hand marred it'

di. Iye ìbejì ó hànra 'the mother of twins is fat'
 ii. Ọnẹ híhànra mo rí ín 'It is a fat person I saw'

The nominal output of C_1 reduplication may have more than one interpretation. Usually the interpretation is between process and result nominal. Depending on context the output may refer to either of the two interpretations. For instance; *ẹja díd ẹ́n* 'frying fish/fried fish' is ambiguous between process nominal i.e. the process of frying fish and result nominal, i.e. the result of the process of frying fish. As process nominal, it has the interpretation of *dídẹ́n ẹja* 'frying of fish; as result nominal, it has the interpretation of *ẹja dídẹ́n* 'fried fish'.

C$_1$ reduplication is a highly productive means of word formation . Virtually all verbs in Ìkálẹ̀ serve as its input.

In summary, the following are the characteristics of C_1 reduplication as discussed in this section:

> ➢ It is always leftwards e.g.
> ➢ It copies the first consonant of the base
> ➢ It makes use of an already pre-associated Ví melody
> ➢ Its base is always a verb or verb phrase
> ➢ Virtually all verbs/verb phrases can serve as input
> ➢ The semantic interpretation of some of the output with regard to process or result is context determined.

4. 3. 2. Syllable reduplication

Syllable reduplication is different from C_1 reduplication because the latter is a non-prosodic reduplication which does not constitute a syllable unlike the former. Syllable reduplication is one which involves copying one or more syllable components of the base. One mark of syllable reduplication is that not all syllable components of the base are used as reduplicants. The syllable of the base which serves as the reduplicant may be copied to the left of the base as prefix or to its right as suffix. The examples in (27) below are instances where the syllables are copied as prefixes.

27a   òwúọ̀ + ọ̀wúọ̀ →òwú + òwúọ̀ → òwòòwúọ̀'every morning'
b   ùséjú + ùséjú →ùsẹ́ + ùséjú → ùsùùséjú'every minute'
       ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá + ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá→ẹ̀rẹ̀n + ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá →   ẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá 'all fourteen'

In the examples in (27) above, the melody of the first two syllables of the base are copied and associated to the CV template as reduplicant. They are copied as prefix. It is observed here too that the copied syllables may not constitute a meaningful

grammatical unit or a morpheme in the base as it is with example (27b) *ùsùùsẹ́jú* where the first two syllables of the base *ùsẹ́* do not constitute a meaningful segment of the base. However, even though the copied materials do not constitute a morpheme on their own, yet they have a grammatical function which they perform in the reduplicated word. Their meaning in essence is usually derivable from their function.

In the formation of *òwòòwúọ̀* 'every morning' from the base *òwúọ̀* 'morning' for instance, after copying the melody segments of the base to the waiting CV skeleton to the left of the base, only the first two syllables of the base is aligned to the CV skeleton. After this, the remaining unaligned syllable is erased, and both the first vowel of the base and its low tone spread to the last vowel of the reduplicant as shown below.

28.
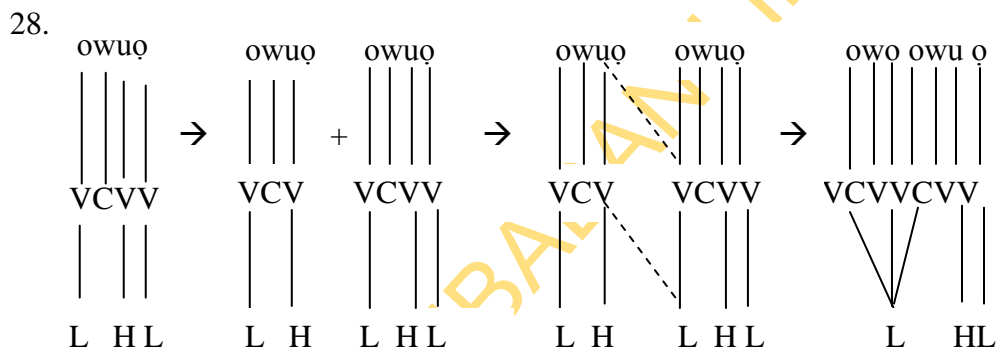
In the examples in (29) below, the syllables are copied as suffixes.

29a fééré + fééré   →fééré + fẹ́   →   fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ 'lightly/slightly'
  b wóórọ́ + wóórọ́   → wóórọ́ + wọ́→   wọ́ọ́rọ́wọ́ 'gently indeed'
  c. gbọọrọ + gbọọrọ →gbọọrọ + rọ   →   gbọọrọrọ 'very long'
  d. fàlà + fàlà   → fàlà + là   →   fàlàlà 'unlimited'

It appears that in these examples, only one syllable from the base is aligned to the base. The copied syllable is a CV syllable. This is different from the syllable prefix reduplication where more than one syllable is reduplicated. The reduplicants in the examples above are copied from either the first syllable of the base or the last syllable.

There are two types of the suffixal reduplication; those which involve only reduplication without compensatory lengthening and those with compensatory lengthening. The examples in (29) above are instances of the former, while those in (30) below are that of the latter.

30a.gágá + gágá   → gágá + gá → gágáágá 'extremely tight'
  b.pópọ́ + pópọ́   → pópọ́ + pọ́ → pópọ́ọ́pọ́ 'thick and sticky'

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c. lílá + lílá   → lílá + là→líláálà 'extremely big'
d. dede + dede   → dede + dè   → dedeèdè 'completely all'
e. kékeré + kékeré → kékeré + ke → kékeréèke 'extremely small'

Apart from compesatory lenghtening of the vowel of the base, in the examples in (30a&b), the tone on the suffixes are the same with the last syllable of the base unlike what we have in (30c&d) where the tone on the suffixes are different from the ones on the last syllable of the base.It appears that in 30c & d, the CV template has an already pre-associated low tone which spreads to the lengthened vowel of the base. No tonal change is noticed on the suffix *ke* in (30e) because it bears the same tone as the copied segment in the base. However, unlike others, the copied segment is the second of the three syllables of *kékeré.*

The tones on the lengthened vowels usually align with those of their suffixes with the exception (30e) where the tone on the lengthened vowel neither aligns with that of its suffix nor the last vowel of the base. The function of the lengthened vowels and the suffixes may not be unconnected with the signal of extremity. This speculation is informed by the observation that all the examples of reduplication which present compensatory lengthening also show extremety

As for (30e) *kékeréèke* 'extremely small', there is no straight forward answer as to why its behaviour differs from the others with regards to the position in the base from which it is copied and the tone on the reduplicant. However, it should be noted that the base *kékeré* 'small' itself is derived from the verb *kéré* 'to be small' by infixing[12] the first CV of the verb *kéré* to a slot whose tone has already been pre linked with a mid tone to derive an adjective. It is the same reduplicated infixed morpheme that is further suffixed to iterate the intensity of the quality of smallness.

31.   kéré   →   ké**ke**ré →   ké**ke**réè**ke**.

We speculate that the lengthened vowel and the suffix *ke* in (31) indicate the superlative form of intensity.

Lastly, the reduplicated forms which are derived by syllable reduplication are generally category preserving as indicated in the examples below.

32a   owúọ̀ (N)   →ò̩wòòwúọ̀ (N) 'every morning'
b   ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá (N)   →ẹ̀rẹ̀ẹ̀rẹ̀nlá (N) 'all fourteen'
  c   pọ̀pọ̀ (Adv) →pọ̀pọ̀ọ̀pọ̀ (Adv) 'thick and sticky'

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[12] It would appear that this and *búburú* are the only instances of infixing that has been observed in this dialect. It may be an indication of the importance of the iterated syllable in the words involved.

d.   dede (A)   →dedeèdè (A) 'completely all'
e   wọ́ọ́rọ́ (Adv)   →   wọ́ọ́rọ́wọ́ Adv) 'gently indeed'

However, even though they are category preserving, they add some elements of meaning to that of the base. For example, both *òwúọ̀* and *òwòòwúọ̀* are nouns, yet the meaning of habitual action and intensity are contained in the latter but not in the former.

4. 4.   Full reduplication

Full reduplication occurs when the whole of the base is reiterated. It has two major classifications: Full reduplication with conjoining affix and full reduplication without conjoining affix.

4. 4. 1. Full reduplication with conjoining affix or interfix

This type reduplication involves both full reduplication and the conjoining of an affix. The affix is attached to fully reduplicated words in Ìkálẹ̀ just as it is done in standard Yorùbá.[13] As pointed out by Awobuluyi (2008: 39) for standard Yorùbá it is not an inffix since it does not work to split a word into two but rather works to conjoin two reduplicated words. Reduplicated words with conjoining affix are formed from nouns which may be derived or underived. Some examples of such nouns are *ùjẹ* 'eating', *ọnẹ* 'person' and *ọma* 'child'. The derivation of the nominals in this class takes a strictly ordered form involving both reduplication and interfixation. First, there must be reduplication of the base noun to yield two full forms of the base. Second is the interfixation of the conjoining affix and third, deletion and tonal processes where applicable.

The process of forming this reduplication type is demonstrated with *ọdọ́mọ́dọ́n* 'year after year'as follows: the first step is the reduplication of the base noun *ọdọ́n* 'year'. This will yield two copies of *ọdọ́n* i.e. *ọdọ́n ọdọ́n.* The second step is the interfixation of the affix *má* which has the meaning of 'added to', this will now yield *ọdọ́n + má + ọdọ́n.* Thirdly, there is the phonological process of vowel elision, tonal transfer and tonal displacement. The vowel *á* of the conjoining interfix *má* is elided, but its tone is left floating. The floating high tone is then transfered to the first vowel of *ọdọ́n* to displace its mid tone to derive *ọdọ́nmọ́dọ́n* as illustrated below.

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[13] It should be noted however that not all the conjoining affixes that are available in standard Yorù bá are found in Ìkálẹ̀. There is no one to one correspondence too between the forms available in standard Yorù bá and Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

33. ọdọ́n → ọdọ́n ọdọ́n → ọdọ́n + má + ọdọ́n → ọdọ́n + m ´ + ọdọ́n → ọdọ́nmọ́dọ́n
'year after year'

This type of reduplication is category preserving

The following are the conjoining affixes that are found in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect:

kí-₁, -kí-₂, -bí-, -má-, -mà-, -jọ-, -ní-, dé-, -lí-, -rí-, -lé-

These conjoining interfixes have crucial morphological functions which they perform in the reduplicated words formed through them.

- **kí-**: There are two -kí- conjoining affixes in Ìkálẹ̀; -kí-₁ and -kí-₂.

- **kí-₁**: This affix conjoins reduplicated derived manner nouns which are formed from verbs using the prefix **ù-**. In Chapter Three section 3.2.2.2., we referred to a prefix **ù-** in Ìkálẹ̀ which is used mainly /exclusively to form manner nouns from verbs . -kí-₁, further derives nominals with the meaning 'bad manner of 'X-ing' from those nominals. The words which are formed from **kí-** nominalisation have the structure **'X ing –kí X ing',** where '**X ing**' stands for the derived nominal 'u-i + verb'. The derived reduplicated word is not ambiguous at all in its meaning of bad manner of doing things. Examples include

34a	usekúse	'bad doing'
b	ùjẹkújẹ	'bad eating'
c	ùmọkúmọ	'bad drinking'
d	ùrẹ̀nkurẹ̀n	'bad walking'
e	ùgwàkugwà	'bad driving'
f	ùgwókúùgwó	'bad breaking'
g	ùfẹ́kúùfẹ́	'bad seeking / loving'
h	ùhùnkuhùn	'bad sleep'
i	ùgbàkugbà	'bad acceptance / condoning / taking

The resultant nominals above can be interrogated using '**kí ùse - - ?**' what manner.

kí-₁ as seen from these examples has solely the meaning of 'bad'. For intance an appropriate questioning of the nominal in (34a) will be **kí ùse ghon ti sé?** 'how/in what manner did he do it'.

kí-₂: Unlike **-kí-₁,** nominals with **-kí-₂** are formed from either derived or non derived nouns.

| 35 | a | ìyíkíìyí | 'anyone' |
| | b | ubokúbo | 'anywhere' |

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c	ayakáya	'any wife / bad wife'
d	ọmakọ́ma	'any child / bad child'
e	ijọ́kíjọ́	'any day'
f	unrunkúnrun	'any thing'
g	ulíkúlí	'any house / bad house'
h	ọfọ̀kọ́fọ̀	'any word/bad word'

As it can be seen from these examples, (35a, b, e and f) are not ambiguous in their meaning at all. They have only the interpretation of 'any one of'.

The meaning of the resultant reduplicated word may however be ambiguous in some cases, as we have in (35c, d, g & h) between the interpretations of 'any one of' or 'bad thing'

Examples differentiating **-kí-₁** and **-kí-₂** can further be illustrated with the following words.

36a	ùfọ̀kufọ̀	'bad talking'
b	ọfọ̀kọ́fọ̀	'any word / bad word'

Whereas (36a) refers only to 'bad manner of talking' (36b) is ambiguous between the following readings

37a	any of the word (spoken)
b	bad word (spoken)

- **bí-** is used to conjoin nouns like **iye, ọnẹ, oghó, àrà.** Their exemples are as follows.
-

38a	ọnẹbọ́nẹ	'esteemed people'
b	oghóbóghó	'quality money / expensive'
c	iyebíye	'high value/good quality'
d	àràbaàrà	'colourful'

The derived nominals carry the semantic meaning of 'high quality'. Example 38a **ọnẹbọ́nẹ**, for instance, means person of high quality/character.

- **má-**: This affix is used to conjoin nominals and their outcome generally indicate 'increment or increase in number of times of occurrence' as seen in the following examples.

39 a	ọjọ́mọ́jọ́	'day after day'
b	osùnmósùn	'month after month'
c	ọdọ́nmọ́dọ́n	'year after year'
d	ayọ̀máyọ̀	'joy after / added to joy'
e	agbáramágbára	'power after / added to power'
e	ọmamọ́ma	'child after child / added child'

The example in 39e, i.e ***agbáramágbára*** for instance, means increase in power or strength.

- ***mà-***: This conjoining affix, when used to conjoin to nominals give the meaning 'time past' as seen in the following.

  40a   ọdọ́nmọdọ́n 'many years back / long ago
      b   ojọ́mọjọ́   'long ago / several months back'
      c   ànámàná   'long ago'

- ***jọ-:*** It is used with the meaning 'like' or 'be like' in the sense of 'sameness' in likeness, equality or quality as indicated in the following examples.

  41a   ọ̀réjọ̀ré (ọ̀ré-jọ-ọ̀ré)   'friends with similar qualities'
      b   ẹgbéjẹgbé (ẹgbéjọẹgbé) 'group with like minds'
      c   irọ̀jirọ̀   'age groups'
      d   ìwájọ̀wà   'semblance of character'
      e   oríjorí (orí jọ orí)   'heads on equality basis'

- ***ní-:*** This conjoining affix is a linker of emphasis. It indicates the exactness of something when it is used with calendar nouns.

  42a   ànánáàná (àná-ní-àná) 'yesterday (emphatic)'
      b   ènínéèní   (èní-ní-èní) 'today' (emphatic)
      c   ọ̀lanọ́ọ̀la (ọ̀la ní ọ̀la) 'tomorrow' (emphatic)
      d   ọ̀tọ́nlanọ́ọ̀tọ́nla 'next tomorrow (emphatic)
      e   ìrèníníréèní 'four day's time (emphatic)
      f   ìjẹ̀taníjẹ̀ta 'day before yesterday/three days ago (emphatic)

However, when used with other nouns especially deitic words of place, it indicates 'far distance' in addition to the meaning of emphasis

43   (a)   iyànníyàn (ìyàn 'place)   'very far place'
       (b)   ọ̀ghọ́n nọ́ọ̀ghọ́n (ọghọ́n there')   'yonder'
       (c)   èyìnnẹ̀èyìn   'far backwards'
       (d)   òkènoòkè   'far up there'
       (e)   ọ̀kánkánnọ́ọ̀kánkán   'far ahead'

- ***lé-:*** This conjoining affix is different from –***ní-*** above. It has the meaning 'addition' or 'more'. It is found in the following examples

  44   (a)   àgbàlagbà (àgbà lé àgbà)   'elder plus'
         (b)   ọ̀gbólóọ̀gbó (ọ̀gbó lé ọ̀gbó) 'smart / crafty one plus'
         (c)   egbèlégbè (egbèlégbè)[14]   'a whole you
         (d)   ẹgbèlẹ́gbẹ̀   'more than equal' i.e. surpasses

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[14]***Egbè*** is an Ìkálẹ̀ word for 'type'. It has a similar meaning with ***urú / irú*** 'type' or '***urúfẹ́/irúfẹ́*** or ***urúgbé.*** However, while ***'egbè'*** selects only human referent, ***'urú'*** and its other forms select entities in general. Again, the ***egbè*** being referred to here is different from another ***egbè***'journey'. They are only homophones. As it can be seen from the examples in 44(c) and 45(b) they select different interfix/conjoining affix.

- **rí-:** This conjoing affix has the meaning of a continuous thing, one connecting to the other to give/ yield a continum. Their examples are limited

  45. (a) ayérayé (ayé rí ayé)   'world see world' eternity
      (b) egbèregbè (egbè rí egbè)   'journey see journey' long journey
      (c) èmírẹ̀ẹmí (èmí rí èmí)   'spirit see spirit'
      (d) ojúrójú (ojú rí ojú)   'eye see eye' 'seeing physically'

- **dé-:** This conjoining morpheme means 'passing from one to the other' (i.e. continuity). It is the morphological counterpart of **tó** (reach). Ìkálẹ̀ syntax makes use of **tó** to indicate 'reach' in the sentence structure and not **dé**. Therefore, this **dé** that is used in word formation is the version of **tó** which is used in syntax. As indicated in (46) and (47).

  46. (a) ọmadọ́ma   'descendant'
      (b) ìrandíran   'generation'
      (c) ọwọ́dọ́wọ́   'hand to hand'
     *(d) ọmatọ́ma   'descendant'
     *(e) ìrantóran   'generation'
     *(f) ọwọ́tọ́wọ́   'hand to hand'

  47a (i) E lọ náti ìran tó ìran   'It is going from generation to generation'
     (ii) Àti ọma tó ọma è, é è tún jẹ ùyà'His descendants will no longer suffer'
     (iii) Èn ẹ́n gbà á náti ọwọ̀ tó ọwọ̀ 'They are receiving it from hand to hand'

  b.*(i) É lọ náti ìran dé ìran'It is going from generation to generation'
    *(ii) Àti ọma dé ọma è é è tún jẹ ùyà'His generation will no longer suffer'
    *(iii) Ènẹ́n gbà á náti ọwọ̀ dé ọwọ̀.'They are receiving it from hand to hand'

As it is seen in the examples above, whereas the use of **-dé-** in 46(a) yield an acceptable complex words, it is not so with **tó** in 46b where the resultant words are illformed and unacceptable. A similar thing is observed in the examples in (47). When **tó** is used in the sentences in (47a), the resultant sentences are acceptable but when **dé** is used in (47b), it results in illformed sentences. This again points to the fact that morphology has its own word formation segments and strategies different from syntax. It further serves as justification for a separate morphological module.

- **lí-:** This conjoining affix is the allomorph of **olí-** which is used as a conjoining affix. Whereas both **olí-** and **lí-** are used as prefixes in Ìkálẹ̀, only **–lí-** is used as a conjoining affix, **olí -**is not used in this position. **–li-** has the meaning of 'some one else's' or 'belonging to some one else'. The nouns which can be formed through this means are many. Some of their examples include those in (48).

48.	(a)	ọmalọ́ma	'someone elses child'
	(b)	usẹ́lúsẹ́	'someone elses work'
	(c)	oghólóghó	'some elses money'
	(d)	asọláso	'someone else's cloth'
	(e)	orílórí	'somebody else'
	(f)	ọfọ̀lọ́fọ̀	'someone elses matter'
	(g)	ọgbánlọ́gbán	'another person's wisdom'
	(h)	arígbólárígbó	'someone else's oldman

Ọmalọ́ma for instance, means a child belonging to someone else.

4. 4. 2. Full Reduplication without conjoining affix

Full reduplication without conjoining affix is a type of reduplication in which the whole base is reiterated without intefixing any morpheme. Some of their examples are the following:

49a. lílá 'big' + lílá 'big' (A) → lílálílá 'all big' (A)
  b. híhè + híhé 'cooked' (N) → híhèhíhè 'all cooked' (N)
  c. panmi+panmi 'fetch water' (VP) → panmipanmi 'one who fetches water' (N)
  d. ibé + ibé 'here' (N) → ibebé 'here (emphasized)' (N)
  e. ọjọ́ + ọjọ́ 'day'(N) → ọjoọjọ́ 'everyday' (N)
  f. lá + lá 'to be big' (V) → lála 'to be big' (V)
  g. kedere + kedere 'clearly' (Adv) → kederekèdèrè 'very clearly' (Adv)

In the examples in (49), the following bases are fully reduplicated: *lílá, híhè, panmi, ibé, ọjọ́, lá* and *kedere.* This type of reduplication is both category preserving and category changing. For example, while (49c) is category changing in that *panmi* 'to fetch water', a verb phrase, when fully reduplicated, becomes *panmipanmi,* a noun, the other examples are category preserving. Both the input and the output belong to the same category.

The reduplicated words in (49), which are typical of full reduplication without conjoining affix, are used to show one of the following: agent of action as in (49c), reiteration or emphasis as seen in (49d, e, f,&g), as well as plurality in (49a &b).

The differences between the base and the output in (49a, c&d) can be shown in their uses in the following sentences.

50ai Mo kọ́ ulí lílá 'I built (a) big house(s)'
  ii Mo kọ́ ulí lílálílá 'I built big houses'

  bi Kẹ́mi ó panmi ní àná 'Kemi fetched water yesterday'.
  ii Aṣọ panmipanmi é e gbẹ 'The dress of one who fetches water never dries'.
  ci Mo gha ní ibé 'I am here'
  ii Mo gha ní ibebé 'I am here (emphasized)'

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Again, a careful look at the data in (49) above reveals two differences in the structure of reduplicated words with reference to tone. Some of them involve reduplication without tonal change as we have in (49a-e), while those in (49f&g) involve full reduplication with tonal chamge. With this, one can further subdivide full reduplicated words without conjoining affix into two sub-classes: full reduplication without tonal change and full reduplication with tonal change.

4. 4. 3. Full reduplication without tonal change

Full reduplication without tonal change is identified on the basis of phonological structure. It involves copying all the forms in the base without a corresponding change in the tone of the reduplicant. Their examples are as follows.

51a   kíá + kíá 'quick'   →   kiakia 'quickly'
b.   ọdọ́n + ọdọ́n 'year'   →   ọdọọdọ́n 'yearly'

There are two types of inputs to this type of reduplication; bases with initial consonant and those with initial vowel. While those with initial consonant achieve a high level of faithfulness with regards to change (being an exact copy of their base as seen in 52a), the ones with vowel initial are amendable to either assimilation or deletion as the case may be.   In 52b, both *èhẹ̀ẹ̀hẹ́n* and *àgbààgbà* involve assimilation while *ibebé* involves deletion.

52a.   kàbàtà + kàbàtà   →   kàbàtàkàbàtà 'massive (pl)'
fàlà + fàlà   →   fàlàfàlà 'freely indeed (pl)'
gígo + gígo   →   gígogígo 'tall (pl)'
panmi + panmi   →   panmipanmi 'one who fetches water'

b.   èhẹ́n + èhẹ́n 'chip'   →   èhẹ̀ẹ̀hẹ́n   'chips'
àgbà + àgbà 'elder'   →   àgbààgbà 'elders'
ibé + ibé 'here'   →   ìbebé 'here(emphasised)'

Semantically, some of the reduplicants in (52a) have the interpretation of 'multiple'. *kàbàtàkàbàtà* for instance, has the meaning of multiple occurrence of 'massive x', where x stand for the NP head of the reduplicated word. For example, *ẹja kàbàtàkàbàtà* has the interpretation of 'many massive fish'. However, others like *panmipanmi,* have agentive interpretation and not that of multiple occurrence. Hence, the meaning of *panmipanmi* is 'one who fetches water'

The type of reduplication in 52a achieves a very high level of base reduplicant faithfulness as the data show that the reduplicants are exact copies of their base.

The examples in (52b) are typical of full reduplication without tonal change, with initial vowel. Both the input and output of words involving this reduplication type are nouns. In some of their examples, the processes of vowel assimilation and vowel elision are attested. In examples involving vowel assimilation, the first vowel of the base and its tone spread to the last vowel of the reduplicant as seen in 53a.

53ai èjì + èjì   →   èjèèjí 'all two'
   ii èrẹn + èrẹn   →   èrèèrẹn ' all four'
   iii osùn + osùn   →   osoosùn 'every month'

In the examples involving vowel elision, after elision of the first vowel of the base, its tone spreads to the last vowel of the reduplicant as seen in 53b.

53b. ibé + ibé   →   ibé i̵bé   →   ibebé
    òghón + òghón   →   òghón e̵ghón →òghònghón
    ibẹ̀ + ibẹ̀   →   ibẹ̀ i̵bẹ̀   →   ibẹbẹ̀

4. 4. 4.   Full reduplication with tonal change

Full reduplication with tonal change is an example of full reduplicated materials which involve tonal change. (Adeniyi 2006:101) explains that tones on reduplicated materials in Edo language help to differentiate meaning . This is also true for Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The tonal change in Ìkálẹ̀ is observed in the reduplicant. The observed tone on the base, prior to reduplication is not the one on the reduplicant. Their examples include the following.

54(a)   yéye   (V)   to be very many'   ←yé 'many'
   (b)   lála   (V)   'to be very big'   ←lá 'big'
   (c)   wówo   (V)   'to be very heavy'   ←wó 'heavy'
   (d)   bàtàbata   (Adv) 'very masive'   ← bàtà 'massive'
   (e)   tààràtáárá (Adv) 'straight without bend' ←tààrà 'straight'
   (f)   kederekèdèrè (Adv) 'very clearly'   ←kedere 'clearly'

This type of reduplication is category maintaining. The examples in (54a-c) are verbs. Both the base and the output are verbs. The only difference between the input verb and the output is the meaning of emphasis which the reduplicated form has. Note also that the derived verbs in (54a-c) can undergo C_1 partial reduplication like other verbs in this dialect to form derived nominals as indicated below.

   55.   (a)   yíyéye
          (b)   lílála
          (c)   wíwówo

However, we have not been able to come across, yet, the unreduplicated version of (54c). The reason for this is not immediately known. It may be as a result of loss or its limited use in the dialect. The examples in (54d-f) are adverbs (both the base and output). Again, the observed change in their tone is a result of the pattern of formation in the dialect where tones are prelinked to CV skeleton prior to reduplication. One evidence for this is that in some of the example words, full reduplication without tonal change is also attested in the sense that there same bases from which full reduplication takes place without tonal change and those which involve tonal change. In each of these cases, there is a corresponding difference in their semantics as seen in the following examples involving *kedere*.

    56a. kederekedere 'all clear'
      b kederekèdèrè 'very clearly'

The first example above, involving full reduplication with tonal change, indicates plural instances while the second one with tonal change shows intensity of clearness. These examples point to the crucial role which tone plays in reduplication as partial exponent of meaning. It further justifies Goldsmith's (1976) thesis of the need for a separate representation of tonal tiers. For items like *yéye, wówo, lála,* the tone on the reduplicants must be mid for it to signal emphasis. It is to be noted that all the three tonemes in the dialect can be pre-associated on vowel melodies to indicate one meaning or the other.

4. 5. Patterns of co-occurrence of reduplication types in Ìkálẹ̀

    Reduplication can take place more than once in a word. An example is *híhèhíhè* 'boiled/cooked' (pl) where both partial and full reduplication are attested. First is the partial reduplication of the verb *hè* 'to boil/cook' deriving *híhè* 'boiled/cooked'. Second is the full reduplication of the derived *híhè* to form *híhèhíhè* 'boiled/cooked'(pl) as indicated in (57)

    57. hè 'to boil/cook' → híhè 'boiled/cooked' → híhèhíhè 'boiled/cooked'(pl)

The patterns which are attested in Ìkálẹ̀ reduplicative words are the following

1. Partial reduplication: This can be C_1 or non C_1 reduplication. For example:

    58.   a. go   → gígo 'tallness'
         b. òwúọ̀ → òwòòwúọ̀ 'every morning'
         c. fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ → Fẹ́ẹ́rẹ́fẹ́ 'lightly'

(58a &b) are instances of C_1 reduplication while that of (58c) is that of non C_1 reduplication.

2. Full reduplication: This can be with or without interfixation and tonal change as seen in the following:

    59a.   yé   →   yéye 'plenty'
      b.   panmi   →   panmipanmi 'fetcher of water'
      c.   ọdọ́n   →   ọdọọdọ́n 'every year/yearly'
      d.   halẹ̀   →   halẹ̀halẹ̀ 'a bluff
      e.   ọma   →   ọmalọ́ma 'someone else's child'

In (59a), the full reduplication is accompanied with tonal change, other examples do not involve tonal change. (59a-d) do not involve interfixation, but (59e) has the interfix *lí.*

3. Partial plus full reduplication:

In this combination, partial reduplication takes place first, before full reduplication. The order of reduplication must be strictly followed to avoid ill-formedness.

	I		**II**		**III**
60a	pán 'to be ripe'	→	pípán 'ripe'	→	pípánpípán 'ripe ones'
b	lá 'to be big'	→	lílá 'big'	→	lílálílá 'big ones'
c.	kere 'to be small'	→	kékeré 'small'	→	kékerékékeré 'small ones'

As reflected in the examples in (60), partial reduplication occurs in stage II of the derivation in this pattern, while stage III involves full reduplication.

4. Partial plus partial reduplication: In this type of reduplication, the first partial reduplication can be either C_1 or non C_1, while the second is usually non C_1. In other words, this pattern can be of the type non C_1 plus non C_1, and C_1 plus non C_1 only. These are explicated in the examples below.

			I		**II**
61a.	kéré 'to be small'	→	kékeré 'small'	→	kékeréèke 'extremely small'
b.	lá 'to be big'	→	lílá 'big'	→	líláàlà 'extremely big'

(61a) has the combination of non C_1 and non C_1 and in (61b), what we have is a combination of C_1 and non C_1.

5. Full plus partial reduplication: In this pattern of reduplication, full reduplication takes place first, followed by C_1 partial reduplication.

62a	yé 'to be plenty'	→	yéye 'to be plenty'	→	yíyéye 'being plenty'
b	lá 'to be big'	→	lála 'to be big'	→	lílála ' being big'

It is interesting to note that these five patterns can be derived/demonstrated with a single base (though such examples are limited). An example is the verb **lá** 'to be big' as seen in the following:

62ci Partial reduplication: lílạ́   'to be big (verb)/big(adjective)

  ii   Full reduplication: lála   'to be big'

  iii Partial + full: lílálílá   'big ones'

  iv   Partial + partial: líláàlà   'extremely big'

  v   Full + partial: lílála   'being big'

This also shows that reduplication is productive in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

4.6.   The grammatical functions of reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀

Reduplication serves both syntactic and semantic functions in Ìkálẹ̀. Reduplication has grammatical functions which are either derivational or inflectional. This is so because the motivation behind reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀ is iconicity. It is a means of forming new words from existing ones by reiterating part or the whole of a base form. Through this process, new grammatical words are formed from existing ones. Verbs and verb phrases, for instance, form nouns and in some cases adjectives through both partial and full reduplication. This derivational function of reduplication helps to create more lexical items for Ìkálẹ̀, thereby increasing the dictionary content of the dialect. This can be instantiated with 63 as well as those examples in 62c.

63.   **Input**   **Output**
      pa (verb)   pípa (noun) – abstract event
      gbẹ́rùn (verb phrase)   gbígbẹ́rùn (Noun – abstract event)
      kéré   (verb)   kékeré (adjective)
      búrú (verb)   búburú (adjective)

Apart from the morphological function of forming new words for Ìkálẹ̀, reduplication also function to provide synonyms for Ìkálẹ̀ words. One of the examples of such synonym is the agentive constructions created by reduplication. Most of the agentive nominals formed from verb phrases through full reduplication serve as synonym to the ones formed through vowel affixation as indicated below.

64. **Input**   **Output**
                                     by vowel prefix/Reduplication
    pẹja 'to catch fish   apẹja/pẹjapẹja 'fisherman'
    rẹ́lí 'to plaster house'   arẹ́lí /rẹ́lírẹ́lí 'house plaster'
    mùgwẹ̀ 'to be skillful in   òmúgwẹ̀ /múgwẹ̀múgwẹ̀ 'swimmer'
          swimming'
    pako 'to kill weed'   apako/pakopako 'weed killer'

gánbẹ́rẹ́ 'to give injection'   ògánbẹ́rẹ́/agánbẹ́rẹ́/gánbẹ́rẹ́gánbẹ́rẹ́ 'nurse/doctor'
wanlẹ̀ 'to measure land'   awanlẹ̀/owanlẹ̀/wanlẹ̀wanlẹ̀ 'surveyor'

4. 7.   Semantic functions of reduplication

There are certain semantic functions which reduplication performs in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. Such functions deal with the kind of meanings which are produced by reduplication. Some of these functions are iconic while others are non-iconic. Key (1965) predicted that some of the most common functions of reduplication in languages of the world are the following three;

i)   Emphasis

ii)   Plurality

iii)   Augmentative

Moravsik (1978) added 'dimunition' to Key's list. Key's prediction is true for Ìkálẹ̀ dialect in the sense that all the reduplicative functions listed by him are attested in the dialect. In Ìkálẹ̀ , for instance, items are reduplicated among other things, for the purpose of emphasis or reiteration. When this is done, it is to show the importance of such item in the speech act and in codifying meaning. However, Key's augmentative functional class is a sub-type of intensity. Therefore, one expected him to have a major class called 'intensity' which both augmentative and dimunitive would typify since they are forms of intensification; the former in increasing order, and the latter in decreasing order. Coincidentally, Moravsik (1978, 1992:324) add dimunition to Key's list.

Scholars of Yorùbá language who discuss the functions of reduplication do not have common subclasses. Thus, while Taiwo (2011:221) identifies the following: (i) Emphasis, ii) Plurality, iii) Agentive, and iv) Activity, Ogunkẹyẹ (2002:69-70) on the other hand, identifies plurality, exery X, distributive, indefinite, continued or repeated occurrence of event, intensity, attenuation and derivation.

In Ìkálẹ̀, we identify the following semantic functions of reduplication: emphasis, plurality, agentive, activity, entirety, intensity, distributive, frequentative, derivative and inflectional.

4. 7. 1. Emphasis

One of the functions of reduplication is to show emphasis. In this type of reduplication, the base form is reiterated to emphasise its communicative importance. Verbs, adjectives and adverbs undergo reduplication in Ìkálẹ̀ to show emphas is as indicated in the following examples.

65.   **input/class**
       output (derived emphasised word)/class)
       lá 'to be big' (V)   lála/lílá 'to be big' (V)
       yé 'to be plenty (V)   yéye 'to be plenty'(V)
       lílá 'big' (Adj)   lílálílá 'very big' (Adj)
       gwẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n 'tiny things'   gwẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n gwẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n 'very tiny things'
       pètè 'soft'   pètè pètè 'soft' (emphasised)
       dìè 'sluggish'   dìèdìè 'sluggish' (emphasised)

The examples above reveal that reduplicated words which denote emphasis are category maintaining.

4.7. 2. Plurality

Ìkálẹ̀ dialect employs reduplication to show that items are more than one   . Some examples are:

66.   **input**   **output/plurality**
       Kékeré 'small'   kékeré kékeré 'small ones'
       Pípán 'riped'   pípánpípán 'riped ones'
       Tẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n 'slim'   tẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n tẹ́n-ẹ́nrẹ́n 'slim ones'

Reduplicated words used to show plurality, as found in the examples above, are instances of full reduplication. They are also category maintaining. Both the input word *kékeré* and its output *kékerékékeré* in 66 above for instance, are adjectives.

4. 7. 3. Agentive

The agentive reduplicative function is used to indicate the doer of an action. They are formed by fully reduplicating verb phrases of the type V NP. Examples are given below.

67.   **Input**   **Output/agentive**
       Tọ̀ọ́lí 'to bed wet' (VP)   Tọ̀ọ́lítọ̀ọ́lí 'bed wetter' (N)
       Gbálẹ̀ 'to sweep' (VP)   Gbálẹ̀gbálẹ̀ 'sweeper'   (N)
       Kọ́lí 'to build house' (VP)   kọ́líkọ́lí 'house builder' (N)

The output words denote agents of the action depicted by the input verb phrases. They are category changing. *Gbálẹ̀gbálẹ́*(sweeper), the output of *gbálẹ̀* in 67 is the agent of the input verb phrase.

4. 7. 4. Activity

Reduplicated words can be used to signify activity in Ìkálɛ̀. These words are derived from verbs or verb phrases through partial reduplication, and they are category changing. Some examples are given below.

68.	jẹ 'to eat'	→	jíjẹ 'eating'
	họn 'to roast'	→	híhọn 'roasted'
	paghó 'to make money'	→	pípaghó 'money making'

4. 7. 5. Entirety

Uzawa (2012:191) describes this function as one which implies the inclusion of all the referents that the root word indicates without an exception. In essence, it implies the inclusion all that are in the membership of a certain group, that is *all X.* Examples are

69	dede 'all'	→	dedeèdè 'all without exception'
	méèjì 'two'	→	méèjèèjì 'all the two'
	méètạ 'three'	→	méètẹ̀ẹ̀ta 'all three'
	pátá 'complete'	→	pátápátá 'completely'

Reduplicated words that perform this function are mostly numerals or any other reduplicated word which indicate summation or totality of something.

4. 7. 6. Intensity

The reduplicated words that perform this function show the implication of an extreme state of things. It may be extreme bigness, smallness, closeness or inclusion as indicated in the following examples:

70	lílá 'big'	→	líláàlà 'extremely big'
	kékeré 'small'	→	kékeréèke 'extremely small'
	pápá 'tight'	→	pápáápá 'extremely tight'
	pọ̀pọ̀ 'tick'	→	pọ̀pọ̀ọ̀pọ̀ 'extremely thick'

The first example in 70, *líláàlà* shows extreme bigness; the second, *kékeréèke* indicates extreme smallness while *pápáápá*, the third one denotes extreme closeness. Intensity can be shown in two ways, dimunitive and augmentative.

4. 7. 6. 1. Dimunitive

Dimunitive is a reduplicated form which indicates an extreme smallness or endearment when compared to the base form. Examples are given below.

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71	féérę 'light'	→	féérę́fę́ 'extremely light'
	pápá 'tight'	→	pápáápá 'extremely tight'
	tę́n-ę́nrę́n 'slim'	→	tę́n-ę́nrę́ntę́n 'extremely slim'
	kékeré 'small'	→	kékeréèke 'extremely small'

In these examples for instance, *tę́nę́rę́ntę́n* has the meaning or interpretation of an extreme state of being slim. They are category maintaining, both the input and output are either adverbs or adjectives.

4. 7. 6. 2. Augmentative

This reduplicative indicates an increase in size, force or intensity when compared to the base form. Examples are:

72.	pòpò 'very thick'	→	pòpòòpò 'extremely thick'
	fìrìgbàn 'huge'	→	fìrìgbàn firigban 'extremely huge'
	lílá 'big'	→	líláàlà 'etremely big'
	bàtà 'massive'	→	bàtàbata 'extremely massive'

Most of the members of this group are idiophones.

4. 7. 7. Frequentative

Reduplicants that perform this function exhibits a semantic interpretation of *every.* The examples may involve every group of persons, things or numbers. Examples are

73.	òhę̀ 'week'	→	òhòòhę̀ 'every week'
	èlé 'heap'	→	èlèèlé 'every heap'
	ìgbà 'time'	→	ìgbììgbà 'every time'
	ùsę́jú 'minute	→	ùsùùsę́jú 'every minute'

As can be seen from the examples above, both the input and output are nouns and they are category maintaining.

4. 7. 8. Distributive

The difference between distributive and frequentative functions of reduplication is that while frequentative has the interpretation of *every,* distributive talks about *each,* which makes it individuative in meaning. Their examples are mainly numerals such as the following.

74.	méèjì 'two'	→	méèjì méèjì 'two each'
	mę́ę̀jọ 'eight'	→	mę́ę̀jọmę́ę̀jọ 'eight each'
	mę́ę̀gwá 'ten'	→	mę́ę̀gwámę́ę̀gwá 'ten each'
	òkàn 'one'	→	òkòòkàn 'one each'

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4. 7. 9. Derivation

Reduplication can be used to create new lexemes. The lexemes can be formed through partial or full reduplication. Some examples are:

75. go 'to be tall' → gígo 'tallness or being tall'
panmi 'to fetch water' → panmipanmi 'fetcher of water'
kéré 'to be small' → kékeré 'small'

The examples above are category changing, not only are new lexemes derived, new word classes also emerge. Both *go* 'to be tall' and *panmi* 'to fetch water' are verb and verb phrase inputs respectively. When reduplicated, they become nouns. The former a deverbal noun and the latter an agentive noun.

4. 7. 10. Inflection

Reduplication also performs inflectional function. It helps to create the grammatical forms of the same lexemes. An example is plural formation, especially in adjectives as seen in the following.

76. lílá 'big' → lílálílá 'big ones'
kékeré 'small' → kékerékékeré 'small ones'

Both the base and the output are members of the same word class.

4. 8. Summary

In this chapter, we discussed reduplication, a process of forming words through the copying of phonological materials from the base. We identified the various types of bases which serve as inputs to reduplication in Ìkálè̩ and the types of reduplication in the dialect using different parameters. The tpyes of reduplication discussed in this chapter are full and partial reduplication; prefixal, suffixal and infixing reduplication; noting however, that the occurrence of infixing reduplication is minimal. Other types of reduplication we discussed are Ci and non-Ci reduplication, reduplication with conjoing affix and without conjoinig affix, as well as with tonal change and without tonal change. Finally, we examined both the grammatical and semantic functions of reduplication. Some of the semantic functions we mentioned are derivation, inflectional, emphasis, plurality, agentive, activity, among others. In the next chapter, we shall discuss inflection and the various word classes involved in inflection in the Ìkálè̩ dialect of the Yorùbá language.

CHAPTER FIVE

INFLECTIONS IN ÌKÁLẸ̀

5.0   Introduction

Aronoff and Fudeman (2005:151, 238) define inflection as 'altering the shape of a word so it will fit in a particular position in a sentence'. 'It is the formation of grammatical forms of a single lexeme'. From the foregoing, one can infer that inflection is syntactically motivated. It is the realization of morphosyntactic features through morphlogical means. In inflection, it is the syntax that provides the morphology with morpho-syntactic features in that a change in form is conditioned by syntactic factors . One example of inflection in Ìkálẹ̀ is the perfective marker *ti* which has three different forms as follows: *ti, tì* and *tí* as seen in the following sentences.

> 1a. Olú   ó   *ti* hún
>   Olú HTS perf. Sleep 'Olú has slept'.
>
> b. Olú é   è   *tì*   hùn
>   Olú HTS neg perf. Sleep 'Olú has not slept'.
>
> c. Olú é   *tí*   hùn
>   Olú   prog. perf. Sleep 'Olú has begun to sleep'.

The three forms of the perfective marker as seen above are syntactically conditioned. The form in (1a) i,e. *ti* (with mid tone) is used in declarative affirmative sentences to indicate that the activity depicted by the verb has taken place. The form in (1b) i.e. *tì,* is used in a negative declarative sentence to indicate that the activity depicted by the verb has not taken place. In (1c), the perfective marker is *tí.* It is used with the progressive aspectual marker to indicate that the activity depicted by the verb has commenced and is progressing. In the above examples, the exponents of inflection are the tones (mid, low and high), which are found on the perfective marker.

One mark of inflection in any language exhibiting it is that it does not change the syntactic category of the word to which it is attached (Fromkin et.al 2007: 98-99). Not only this, each inflected word carries a morphosyntactic property. See for instance the Ìkálẹ̀ examples in (2) and (3).

> 2.   Me   wa
>   1st sg + prog   come   'I am coming'.

3. Mé è tì lọ
    Ist sg neg. perf. go 'I am yet to go/I have not gone'.

In the examples in (2), the pronoun **Me** 1st person singular subject pronoun, in addition to its pronoun properties, also carries the property of a continuous aspect. In the examples in (3), the perfective marker **tì** and the subject pronoun **Mé** each carries the morphosyntactic property of negation.

Stump (2001:6) indicates that in very many cases, the morphosyntactic properties of an inflected word are associated with specific aspects of the word's morphology. For instance, it is the presence of the low tone on **tì** in (3) above, as against mid or high tone, that indicates its negative polarity. Once the tone changes, the negative meaning automatically changes.

In various languages of the world, there are different ways of expressing inflection. Some of such include affixation as seen in example (4) below.

4. she likes reading.

In this example, the suffix *–s* in **likes** signals the properties of subject agreement, tense and mood. Generally, the use of affixes as exponent of inflection is common in English. Other ways of expressing inflection include apophony and reduplication. Apophony is the alternation of sounds within a word that indicates grammatical information. It is also called stem mutation or ablaut. Stem mutation is an alteration of a particular sound of a word (especially the initial consonant) which is triggered by the word's morphological or syntactic context and not by its phonological context. Ablaut is the substitution of one root vowel for another, thus indicating a corresponding modification of use or meaning. Examples of apophony in Ìkálè̩ include *ti, tì* and *tí* in (1), *me* and *mé* in (2) and (3) above; *mo* and *me* and *mà* and *mè̩* in the sentences in 5 below.

5a. Mo mà lọ
     1st sg emph. go 'I went (emphatic)'

b   Me   mè̩ é̩ lọ
     1st sg+prog emph+ prog. go 'I went (emphatic).'

The emphatic marker **mà** in (5a) changes to **mè̩** in (5b) to indicate both emphasis and progressive action.

The perfective marker *ti*, *tì* and *tí* in the examples in 1 above, though an example of apophony since it also involves stem mutation, is a special type of apophony. Thus, instead of the usual mutation of the vowel of the stem, it is the tone - a supra segmental sound that experiences the change. This again point to the important function of tones as exponent of morphological description in Ìkálè̩ dialect.

Examples of reduplication, as discussed in chapter four, are given in (6).

6a.   lílá 'big'   lílálílá 'big ones'
  b   kékeré 'small'   kékerékékeré 'small ones

In the examples in (6), plurality is expressed through full reduplication.

Reduplicattion, as shown in 6 above, and affixation in the English example in (4) are concatenating means of expressing inflection. Apophony, on the other hand, is a non-concatenating means of showing inflection as we have in examples (1), (2), (3) and (5).

Even though Ìkálè̩ is not an essentially inflectional speech form , there are cases of inflection in the dialect which demand its treatment, hence, the reason for this chapter. Inflection in the dialect revolves round functional categories like tense, aspect and negation as well as deictics such as pronouns and demostratives.The following are the functional categories that have inflectional properties in the dialect.

Fuctional categories that have inflectional properties

A functional category is a category whose members are function words. A function   word is a word which has no descriptive content and which serves an essentially grammatical function (Radford: 2009:459). Awoyale (1995:115) listed the following functional categories in Yorùbá: negator, complementiser, tense, aspect, determiner, the emphatic marker, the imperative marker, the focus marker, conjunction/disjunction and the genitive marker. In the literature, the pronoun is also listed among funtional categories. All these functional categories, also referred to as functors, are attested in the Ìkálè̩ dialect. Among them, however, these are the ones that have infectional properties: the emphatic marker, the future tense marker, the perfective aspect marker and the pronoun. We shall give full attention to the pronoun in our discussion of deictics in section 5.3 below.

The emphatic marker

There are two forms of the emphatic marker in the dialect. They are ***mà*** and ***mẹ̀***. These two forms are morpho-syntactically distributed. The form ***mà*** functions in sentences indicating non-progressive action while ***mẹ̀*** functions in sentences with progressive/habitual action as indicated in the following examples.

> 7ai.   Mo mà   wá
>   I   emph come   'I came (emphasised)'
>
> aii. Olu é   è   mà   wá
>   Olu HTS neg emph come   'Olú did not come (emphasised)'
>
> bi   Me   mẹ̀ ẹ́ wa
>   I+prog emph come 'I am coming (emphatic)'
>
> bii   Olú é   e   mẹ̀ ẹ́   wá
>   Olú HTS neg hab. emph come   'Olú does not come'.

The examples in (7a), where the emphatic marker, ***mà,*** is used, are sentences indicating non-progressive/habitual action, while those in (7b), where the emphatic marker ***mẹ̀,*** is used, indicate progressive/habitual action.

The perfective aspect marker

The perfective aspect marker has three forms which are syntactically distributed. They are ***ti, tí*** and ***tì.*** The form ***ti*** is the marker used in past tense consructions. The form ***tí*** is used in progressive/habitual constructions while the form ***tì*** is used in negative constructions as seen in the following examples.

> 8a olú ó   ti lọ
>   Olú HTS perf. go 'Olu has gone.
>
> b.   olú é   tí lọ
>   olú HTS+prog perf go 'Olú has started going'.
>
> c.   olú é   è   tì lọ
>   olú HTS neg perf go 'Olu has not gone'

The example in (8a), which has ***ti,*** indicates that the action of going has completely taken place. In (8b), ***tí*** indicates that the action of the verb has commenced and still in progress. The perfective marker in (8c), ***tì,*** shows that the action of the verb has not taken place. The three forms of the perfective marker are strictly morpho-syntactic in that using one in the syntactic position of the other results in ill-formedness or unacceptability.

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The future tense marker

The future tense marker has two forms: *a* and *ní. A* is used in affirmative sentences while *ní* is used in negative sentences as in examples (9a) and (9b) respectively.

> 9a. Bùnmi á a wá
> Bunmi HTS fut come 'Bunmi will come'.
>
> b. Bùnmi é è ní wá
> Bunmi HTS neg fut come 'Bunmi will not come'.

We shall, in this chapter, give a vivid account of various deictic elements in the dialect.
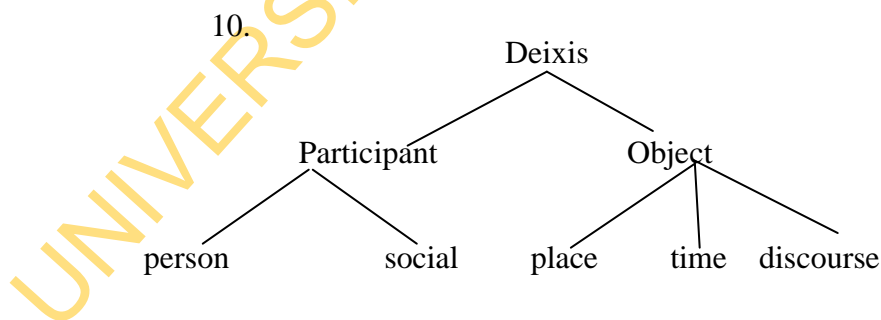
5. 1. Typology of deictic elements

Deictic elements in Ìkálè̀ have certain peculiarities in their structure and formation. Their core function is ́ *pointing* hence, they lack intrinsic content. They are context sensitive and are therefore context defined. Their formation and behaviour in that they function as portmanteaux morph further justifies the morphology- syntax interface in morphological analysis. This section provides a principled description of deictic elements in Ìkálè̀, exploring their morphological make up. It brings to bear the principle of compositionality in the interpretation of deictic elements by highlighting the role of features in their composition. Our discussion of them in this section is to first describe them and then bring out the elements of inflection in them. However, in the process of doing so, other things which border on their morpho-phonology are also examined. Thus, tense, aspect and negation are discussed as they relate to personal pronouns.

The various definitions of deixis make reference to its core function of 'showing'. Huddleston and Pullum (2006:101) for instance define it as 'a word or phrase that points to the time, place or situation in which a speaker is speaking'. This role of pointing, according to Lyons (2009:170) and Meyer (2009), is a distinguishing factor between reference and deixis. Deixis refers to expressions such as; *this, that, here, there, ìyí, ìyè̀n, ibé, ibè̀* whose meaning can be traced directly to features of the act of utterance such as time, place and person. Lyons (1977: 637) also defines deixis as the location and identification of persons, objects, events, process and activities talked about or referred to, in relation to the spartio-temporal context and sustained by the act of utterance and participation in it, typical of a single speaker and atleast one addressee.

There are two approaches to the classification of deictic elements; pragmatic and semantic. Approaching the classification of deixis semantically, Lyons (1977), Filmore (1997) and Blake (2008), recognise three major classes of deictic expressions; personal deixis, spartial deixis and temporal deixis which are also referred to as person, place and time deixis. Two other types of deictic expression often mentioned in the literature are social and discourse deixis. They can, however, be subsumed under the three major ones mentioned earlier. For instance, social deixis is a type of person deixis used in certain social contexts while discourse deixis are not necessarily human or person.

Again, approaching the classification of deictic expressions from pragmatics, one can divide them into two functional classes: participant and object deixis. The two types of classification mentioned above will be used in this work as it will enable us to have a detailed classification of Ìkálẹ̀ deixis.

Understanding reference for virtually all types of deixis is hung on the centre of co-ordination, also known as deictic centre (Buhler 2011:67). The deictic centre is defined in the literature as the speaker's location in speech situation in relation to other locations. Approaching the analysis of each deictic typology from the centre of coordination, one can subsume each element of the deictic group into two classes depending on their closeness to the deictic centre (Laczkó 2012:296-297). The two classes are; proximal and non proximal. Proximal deixis are the deictic types which are close to the deictic centre while the non proximal ones are far from the deictic centre. Non proximal deixis may be distal or medial. The following is a diagramatic representation of the subclasses.

10.

```
                          Deixis
                         /      \
                Participant      Object
                 /      \       /   |    \
           person     social  place time discourse
```

Participant deixis in Ìkálẹ̀ are personal pronouns and impersonal pronouns. They point to proximal and non proximal human agents which participate (take part) in the speech act. Person deixis deals with the participant roles of a referent as speaker, hearer or other. Social deixis dwells on social relationship between interlocutors as expressed in the use of honorific and the impersonal use of pronouns. Object deixis are place, time and discourse. Place deixis is about locations and space in relation to a speech act. Time

deixis is about 'when', in relation to an utterance. Discourse deixis is a reference expression in a discussion, an example is demonstratives. These deictic types interact in very interesting ways in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, thus forming a deictic group. We shall now discuss these deictic elements beginning with object deixis.

5. 2.   Object deixis

Object deixis have certain common morphophonological features in their composition which make an attempt at their uniform description possible. They all point to objects without prejudice to human or person. They also restrictively select their modifiers within the deictic group. As indicated above, they are of three types; discourse, place and time. Discourse deixis is exemplified by demonstrative pronouns while place and time deixis are exemplified by place and time nominals.

5.2.1.   Demonstrative pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are *ìyí* (this), *ìyẹ̀n* (that), *ìghànyí* (these), *ìghànyẹ̀n* (those). They have both emphatic, non emphatic, singular and plural forms as tabulated in (11) and diagramed in (12).

11		Non Emphatic	Emphatic
Singular: Proximal	(a) ìyí 'this'		ìyiìyí 'this very one'
Non Proximal	(b) ìyẹ̀n 'that'		-
Plural: Proximal	(c) ìghànyí 'these'		ìghànyiìyí 'these very ones
Non Proximal	(d) ìghànyẹ̀n 'those'		-

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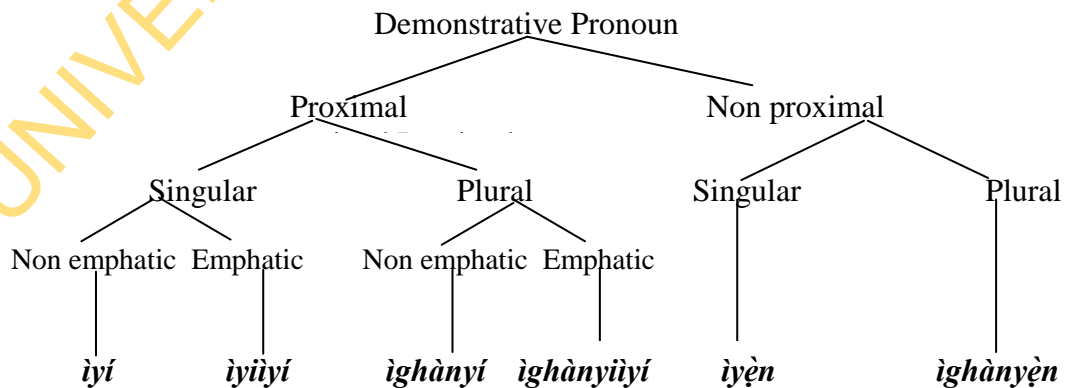
From (11) above, one can make the following observations:

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i) There is a recurrence of the front vowel [i] as V_i(owel), in all the examples

ii) The non-emphatic demonstrative pronouns in (11c and d) are the plural forms of those in (11a and b). The only element that is present in (c) and (d) but absent in (a) and (b) is *ìghan*, a plural pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀, which gives them their plural interpretation.

iii) Semantically, the words in (11a and c) point to objects which are close to the deictic centre (proximal) while (b) and (d) point to objects which are far from the deictic centre (non-proximal).

iv) Only the proximal pronouns have emphatic forms, the non proximal ones do not. The reason for this is not immediately known. It may just be a gap in the data. It may also be a result of the fact that making reference to non proximal demonstrative pronouns dont need emphasis, because they are far from the deictic centre which makes pointing to them for emphasis illogical.

v) The plural forms are derived from the singular forms through compounding. The plural pronoun *ìghan* is compounded to the singular demonstrative pronoun to form the plural words. Therefore, *ìghànyí* is formed by compounding *ìghan* and *ìyí* while *ìgbànyẹ̀n* is formed by compounding *ìghan* and *ìyẹ̀n*. The processes of vowel elision, tonal transfer and tonal displacement are involved in their formation. First the V_1 (first vowel) of the singular forms (*ìyí* and *ìyẹ̀n*) is elided, leaving its tone floating. Secondly, the floating low tone is transferred to the V_2 (second vowel) of *ìghan* to displace the mid tone on the V_2. These processes are exemplified in (13 and 14) below.

  13. ighan ìyí → ighan ˋyí → ìghànyí

      they /them this   these

  14. ìghan + ìyẹ̀n → ìghan ˋyẹ̀n → ìghànyẹ̀n

      them/they that   those

vi) The pronoun, *ìghan,* is the morpho-syntactic form of the 2nd/3rd person emphatic pronoun used in object deixis. The other form is *àghan,* which is used in participart deixis.

vii) The emphatic forms of the proximal pronouns are derived by reduplication. The non emphatic form 'ìyí' (this) is fully reduplicated to derive 'ìyiìyí' . The derivation

involves a process of tone lowering. The high tone on the v(owel)₂ of the reduplicant is lowered to mid as seen in the following example.

15. ìyí → ìyí ìyí → iyiìyí

this this this this very one (this this)

The reduplication in the example in (15) above is class maintaining . What the reduplicant added to the reduplicated word 'ìyiìyí' is emphasis .

5. 2. 2. Place pronoun

Place pronouns are place proforms which are used to make reference to place and location in relation to the deictic centre also known as centre of co-ordination. They have both emphatic and non emphatic, proximal and non proximal forms. This is similar to what is obtainable with the demonstratives. However, unlike the demonstratives, the non proximal forms have two terms (medial and distal) as against only one found with the demonstratives. The place deixis is as tabulated in (16) and diagrammed in (17).

16.	Non Emphatic	Emphatic
Singular: Proximal	(a) ibé 'here'	ibebé
Non Proximal: Medial	(b) ibè̩ 'there'	ibe̩bè̩
Distal	(c) ò̩ghó̩n 'yonder'	ò̩ghó̩nnó̩ò̩ghó̩n
Plural: Proximal	(d) ibéèghànyí	ibebéèghànyí
Non Proximal Medial	(e) ibè̩ghànyè̩n	ibe̩bè̩ghànyè̩n
Distal	(f) ò̩gho̩nò̩nghànyè̩n	ò̩ghó̩nnó̩ò̩gho̩nghànyè̩n

17.

```
                                    Place Pronoun
                                          |
                    ┌─────────────────────┴─────────────────────┐
                 Proximal                              Non Proximal
                    |                                          |
            ┌───────┴───────┐                    ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
        Singular         Plural               Medial                      Distal
            |               |                    |                          |
        ┌───┴───┐       ┌───┴───┐           ┌────┴────┐           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
   Non emph  Emph.  Non emph  Emph.     Singular   Plural      Singular            Plural
        |       |      |        |           |         |            |                  |
       ibé   ibebé ibéèghànyí ibebéèghànyí  |         |            |                  |
```

Medial section:

```
                          Singular                    Plural
                       ┌─────┴─────┐           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                  Non emph.      Emph.     Non emph.            Emph.
                       |           |           |                  |
                      Ibè       ìbẹbè    ibèghànyèn        ibẹbèghànyèn
```

Distal section:

```
                      Singular                              Plural
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         Non emph.               Emph.        Non emph                 Emph
              |                    |              |                       |
           òghón          òghónnóòghón   òghọnònghànyèn      òghónnóòghónghànyèn
```

The place pronouns share some similarities with the demonstratives in their formation and structure as follows

i) Just like the demonstratives, the V_i of the place pronoun is vowel *i*. However, whereas the V_i of the demonstratives carries low tone, that of place pronoun is mid tone. The only exception to this is the V_i (*ọ*) of the distal non proximal pronoun and its tone.

ii) The plural forms are formed by compounding the plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun to the singular place pronoun as indicated in (16d) to (f) repeated here as (18).

18   (a) ibéèghànyí   'these places'
     (b) ibẹ̀ghànyẹ̀n   'those places'
     (c) ọ̀ghọnọ̀nghànyẹ̀n 'those places/yonder'

The phonological processes of assimilation, deletion as well as tone lowering take place to derive the forms in (18) as represented below.

19   (a) ibé + ìghànyí   →   ibéèghànyí (vowel assimilation)
          here   these   these places

     (b) ibẹ̀ + ìghànyẹ̀n   →   ibẹ̀ghànyẹ̀n (vowel elision)
           there   those   those places

     (c) ọ̀ghọ́n + ìghànyẹ̀n →   ọ̀ghọ́nọ̀nghànyẹ̀n →ọ̀ghọnọ̀nghànyẹ̀n
          (vowel assimilation)   (tone lowering)
          yonder   those   those places/yonder

In (19a), the V_2 of *ibé* 'here', that is *é,* assimilates the V_1 of *ìghànyí* that is *i,* to derive *ibéèghànyí* 'these places'. In (19b), the V_1 of *ìghànyẹ̀n* 'those' is elided to derive *ibẹ̀ghànyẹ̀n* 'those places'. In (19c), the V_2 of *ọ̀ghọ́n* 'yonder' assimilates the V_1 of *ìghànyẹ̀n* 'those to form *ọ̀ghọ́nọ̀nghànyẹ̀n,* after this, the high tone of the V_2 of *ọ̀ghọ́n* 'yonder' is lowered to mid to derive *ọ̀ghọnọ̀nghànyẹ̀n* 'those places/yonder'.

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iii) There is evidence of selectional restriction in the choice of elements to be compounded. The selection is along the Proximal and Non proximal divide. Proximal deitic elements select one another to the exclusion of non proximal. This is also the case with non proximal. This is why the following co-occurrence pattern in 20 is acceptable while those in 21 are unacceptable.

20. (a) ibé   ìyí, ìghànyí

     (b) ibebé   ìyí, ìghànyí

     (c) ibè̩   ìyè̩n, ìghànyè̩n

     (d) ibe̩bè̩   ìyè̩n, ìghànyè̩n

21. *(a) ibé   ìyè̩n, ìghànyè̩n

     *(b) ibebé   ìyè̩n, ìghànyè̩n

     *(c) ibè̩   ìyí, ìghànyí

     *(d) ibe̩bè̩   ìyí, ìghànyí

It is clear from the examples in (20) that in addition to deriving the emphatic forms from the non emphatic ones, through reduplication, as seen in (20b) and (d), they can also be formed by compounding the non emphatic forms in (20a) and (c) respectively. Further emphasis can be achieved by compounding the demonstratives with the place pronouns as seen in (20b) and (d).

Forming the emphatic form from the non emphatic through reduplication also requires the phonological process of deletion, tonal transfer and tonal displacement as seen in (22) and (23) below.

22. ibé   →   ibé ibé →   ibé ⁻bé   →   ibebé

23. ibè̩   →   ibè̩ ibè̩ →   ibè̩⁻bè̩   →   ibe̩bè̩

iv) The phonological make up of both *ibé* and *ibè̩* suggest that they are minimal pairs, the only difference between them is the presence of the high mid vowel *e* in *ibé* and the low mid vowel *e̩* in *ibè̩.* This is similar to the phonological dichotomy between the demonstratives *ìyí* and *ìyè̩n* in which the only phonological difference between them is the presence of the high vowel *i* in *ìyí* and the low mid nasal vowel *e̩n* in *ìyè̩n.* The non proximal distal deictic element *o̩ghó̩n* whose segmental composition seem to be different from the others, also makes use of the low mid vowel *o̩n* as V_2.

v) Again while the demonstratives use the approximant consonant *y*, the place deixis make use of the bilabial plosive *b*.

vi) Both the plural word *ìghan* and the distal place deictic element use the velar fricative *gh* [ɣ]. Of particular note is the fact that the high vowel *i* as V_1 is common to the plural word, the place and demonstrative pronouns. It is also noteworthy that the person deixis makes use of the middle vowel *a* as V_1 as against vowel *i* which is found in the object deixis. One conclusion which one can draw from this is that the vowel *i* initial plays a distinguishing role between object and participant deixis.

The following is a summary of the distribution of the sound combination of both the demonstrative and place deixes.

24. Sound combination of demonstrative and place deixes

		V_1	T_1		C			V_2					T_2		
Sg		I	-	\	y	b	gh	Close i	e	Open ẹ	ẹn	an	/	\	-
Demonstrative Deixis	+Pro	+		+	+			+					+		
	-Pro	+		+	+					+				+	
Place Deixis	+Pro	+	+			+			+				+		
	-Pro	+	+			+				+				+	
Pl			+		+		+					+			+

The plural forms of the deictics above are formed by compounding the plural pronoun to the singular forms. The emphatic forms are derived by duplicating the singular forms (where applicable). In the case of place deixis, both the singular forms and the duplicated forms can be compounded to the demonstratives to derive the emphatic forms, yielding the following;

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25.	Non Emphatic		Emphatic	
Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	
ìyí 'this'	ìghànyí 'these'	ìyiìyí 'this (emph)'	ìghànyiìyí 'these (emph)'	
ìyèn 'that'	ìghànyèn 'that'	-	-	
ibé 'here'	ibéèghànyí 'these places'	ibebé/ibéèyí/ibebéèyí 'here (emph)'	ibebéèghànyí 'these places (emph)'	
ibẹ̀ 'there'	ìbẹ̀ghànyèn 'those places'	ibẹbẹ̀/ibẹ̀yèn/ibẹbẹ̀ yèn 'there (emph)'	ibẹbẹ̀ghànyèn 'those places (emph)'	
ọ̀ghọ́n 'yonder'	ọ̀ghọnọ̀nghànyèn 'those places/yonder'	ọ̀ghọ́nnọ́ọ̀ghọ́n 'yonder (emph)'	ọ̀ghọ́nnọ́ọ̀ghonghànyèn 'yonder (emph)'	

5. 2. 3. Time deixis

Time deixis is also referred to as temporal deixis. Reukema (1993:79) defines it as reference to time relative to a temporal reference point which is usually the moment of utterance. Cohen and Schwer (2011:10) refer to the temporal deictic centre as the time of speech. Time deixis point to temporal cycles of day, night, months, season, years, day segments and week segments. The markers of temporality are usually encoded with a range of features and structures which reflect a combination of linguistic and non linguistic factors, bordering on perceptual, social and cultural inclinations. Among the Yorùbá, for instance, different terminologies are used for the days of the week. Some of them are cultural while some are based on mathematical linguistic calendar as indicated below:

26.
Day	Cultural name	Linguistic
Sunday	Ọjọ́ Àìkú	Ọjọ́ ọ̀sẹ̀
Monday	Ọjọ́ Ajé	Ọjọ́ kejì ọ̀sẹ̀
Tuesday	Ọjọ́ Ìṣẹ́gun	Ọjọ́ kẹta ọ̀sẹ̀
Wednesday	Ọjọ́ Ìrú	Ọjọ́ kẹrin ọ̀sẹ̀
Thursday	Ọjọ́ Ìbọ	Ọjọ́ karùn-ún ọ̀sẹ̀
Friday	Ọjọ́ Ẹtì	Ọjọ́ kẹfà ọ̀sẹ̀
Saturday	Ọjọ́ Àbámẹ́ta	Ọjọ́ keje ọ̀sẹ̀

The cultural names are largely based on the cultural belief that in traditional religion, the gods have days dedicated to certain forms of worship. The Linguistic forms of days reflect the position of a particular day in relation to the first day of the week, and it is

unidirectional. The use of the ordinal numerals (ìkejì 'second' , ìkẹta 'third' among others), is a pointer to this.

Temporal reference in Ìkálẹ̀ is opaque and compositional, their meaning are mostly discernable from their segments. Some of them are also relational not necessarily to the deictic centre, but to other preceding elements in the group. Some of the terms used are multidimensional while some are unidimential. Cohen and Schwer's (2011) three divisions of time–reckoning terms will be used for our description of Ìkálẹ̀ temporal deixis. They are

(a) Fundamental calendar units, consisting of day, year, week, month.

(b) Day segments (for instance, morning, afternoon)

(c) Week segments (for instance, Monday, Tuesday)

5. 2. 3. 1.   Fundamental calendar units

Fundamental calendar units are a type of time deixis which refer to calendar units such as day, week, month and year.

Day: This refers to the type and number of days in relation to the anchor which is usually the present reference. This is usually counted to the left (backwards) to indicate past and to the right (forward) to indicate future day in relation to the time of speech. They are referred to using lexical terms as well as morphologically derived words.

27	Day	Before	Mid/Anchor	After
	1st		èní 'today'	
	2nd	àná 'yesterday'		ọ̀la 'tomorrow'
	3rd	ijẹ̀ta 'three days ago'		ọ̀tọ́nla 'day after tomorrow'
	4th	ijẹẹ́rẹn 'four days ago'		ìrèní (ìrẹn-èní) 'four days to today'
	5th	ijẹ̀ẹ̀rọ́n 'five days ago'		ìrọ́nní(irọ́n-èní)/irọ́n five days to today
	6th	ìjẹẹ̀fà 'six days ago'		ijọ́ kẹẹ̀fà 'sixth day'

Apart from the notion of 'previous day' which makes use of the lexical word **àná** (yesterday) which appears to be underived, all the names given to other past days are derived by prefixing the nominalising prefix **ì-** to the verb phrase **jẹ́** 'equals to' and its

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numeral noun object. The derivation of *ìjẹ̀ẹ̀ta*[15] (three days ago) for instance, is as follow;

28   ì + jẹ́ ẹ̀ta   →   ì + jẹẹ̀ta   →   ìjẹẹ̀ta

The formation of *ìjẹ̀ẹ̀ta* involves a process of tone lowering: The high tone on the verb *jẹ́* is lowered to mid.

The reference word for days after is not uniform. The words denoting second day after (i.e tomorrow) is lexical (ọ̀la) while the third day after is a compound consisting of ọ̀tọ̀n (right) and ọ̀la (tomorrow). In this compound, the first term (ọ̀tọ̀n 'right') is a cultural term[16] referring to direction ahead/after. Therefore, *'ọ̀tọ́n ọ̀la'* is 'day after tomorrow'. It is formed by compounding the two words *ọ̀tọ́n* 'right' *ọ̀la* 'tomorrow' and thereafter deleting the first vowel of *ọ̀la* thus:

29.   Ọ̀tọ́n + ọ̀la   ọ̀tọ́nla 'day after /next tomorrow
        right   tomorrow

The fourth and fifth day after, are also formed in a way different from the second and third day. The words for fourth and fifth day are formed with reference to the word denoting the first day *'ẹ̀ní',* which coincidentally is the deictic anchor, by compounding the deictic numeral for four and five respectively to *'eni'* to derive fourth and fifth day as seen in (30) and (31).

30.   ìrèní   (ìrẹn + ẹ̀ní) 'four days from today'
31.   ìrọ́nní (ìrọ́n + ẹ̀ní) 'five days from today'

The process of formation involves deletion. It is however discovered that there is no uniformity in what is deleted; it is the V_2 of the first word in (30) and the V_1 of the second word in (31). The reason for this may not be unconnected with homonymy avoidance. If deletion were to be uniform, the output of (30) and (31) would have been the same word *'ìrèní'*. Sometimes *'ìrọ́nní'* is clipped as *'ìrọ́n'*.

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[15] The process of tone lowering which is attested to in Ìkálẹ̀ is not automatic for other dialects of Yorùbá as well as the standard form. Ìlàjẹ, a neighbouring dialect to Ìkálẹ̀, for instance does not exhibit tone lowering found in the above example. Thus, instead of *ìjẹ̀ẹ̀ta,* Ìlàjẹ dialect has *ìjẹ́ẹ̀ta.*

[16] Among the Ìkálẹ̀ people, the concept of right and left is cultural and symbolic. In the case of this item, it refers to a direction ahead not that preceding the deictic centre.

The third segment of the counting starts with the sixth day upwards. This is done by compounding the deictic word for day *(ìjọ́)* with the ordinal numeral *ìkẹ̀ẹ̀fà* 'sixth', *ìkeèje* 'seventh'. Thus for instance, sixth day after is *ìjọ́ kẹẹ̀fà*, a combination of *ìjọ́* + *ìkẹ̀ẹ̀fà.*

32.   ijọ́ + ìkẹẹ̀fà →   ijọ́kẹẹ̀fà   'sixth day'

Another naming option for 'days after' is more descriptive. It is done in relation to the anchor day *'èní'*. The name for day *'ìjọ́'* is compounded to the numeral *méèjì, mẹ́ẹ̀ta* and so on, to give a configuration of 'day + numeral + anchor'. What this option will give is the following:

33.   ijọ́ mẹ́ẹ̀fà èní
          day six   today 'six days time'

          ijọ́ méèje èní
          day seven today 'seven days time'

          ijọ́ mẹ́ẹ̀jọ èní
          day eight today 'eight days time'

Year: This refers to previous, present and following year. The terms used are not uniform, some are words while others are descriptive noun phrase whose meaning are compositional as indicated in (34) below.

34.   **Previous**   **Present**   **After**
1st   ìdọnọ̀nní 'this year'
2nd   èsí 'last year'   àmọ́dọ́n 'next year'
3rd   ìdọnọ̀nta 'three years back'   ọdọ́n mẹ́ta èní 'three year time'
4th   ìdọnọ̀nrẹn 'four years back'   ọdọ́n mẹ̀ẹ̀rẹn èní 'four years time'
5th   ìdọnọ̀nrọ́n 'five years back'   ọdọ́n mẹ̀ẹ̀rọ́n èní 'five years time'
6th   ìdọnọ̀nfà 'six years back'   ọdọ́n mẹ́ẹ̀fà èní 'six years time'

There is a lexical word for previous/last year (*èsí*). Apart from this, others are derived. The calendar for preceding years other than *èsí* is formed by compounding *ìdọ́n* with numerals like *ẹ̀ta, ẹ̀rẹn, ẹ̀rọ́n, ẹ̀fà*. The years after *ìdọnọ̀nní (ìdọ́n èní)* other than following/next year*,* is derived by counting the number of years from *èní* and adding it to *èní* basically. For next year however, it is formed by compounding *àmá* with *ọdọ́n*. The

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meaning of **àmá** is not clear to us, but it may not be far from a combination of the prefix **à-** plus the verb **má** 'to add to'.

Week: This refers to number in relation to week. The week term can refer to past or future. The counting may be to the left or right. It is descriptive in the sense of compounding number with the word for week.

35**.**	**Before**	**After**
ọ̀hẹ̀ yó kọjá 'last week'	ọ̀hẹ̀ yé wa 'next week'
ọ̀hẹ̀ kejì 'last two weeks'	ọ̀hẹ̀ meèjì èní 'next two weeks'
ọ̀hẹ̀ kẹẹ̀ta 'last three weeks'	ọ̀hẹ̀ mẹẹ̀ta èní 'next three weeks'
ọ̀hẹ̀ kẹẹ̀rẹn 'last four weeks'	ọ̀hẹ̀ mẹẹ̀rẹn èní 'next four weeks'

Month: A similar terminology for week is also used for month. Thus, we have such notions as

36. a) osùn[17] yó kọjá 'last month'
     b) osùn keèjì 'last two months'
     c) osùn meèjì 'two month ahead'

5.2.3.2. Day segments

These are terms which point to the segments or parts of a day. The following are notable ones in Ìkálẹ̀.

37a)   òwúò / ojúmá 'morning'
  b)   ùdájí / àfẹ̀májúmá / ùbọ̀júmá 'dawn' /àfẹ̀májú/àfẹ̀júmá 'day break'
  c)   ọ̀hán 'afternoon'
  d)   ùrọ̀lẹ́ / ìrọ̀lẹ́ 'evening'
  e)   alẹ́ 'night'
  f)   òrun 'midnight'

Most of the words in (37) are derived through prefixation or compounding.

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[17]**osùn** used here is the Ìkálẹ̀ word for month. It is homophonous with **osùn-** a creamlike substance used by women to beautify the body**.**

5. 2. 3. 3. Week segment

This refers to days of the week. There are two options with regards to the terms used. The first is the lexical items which are culturally determined, while the second is descriptive terms which are mathematically determined from the first term in the week segments group.

38. **Cultural**   **Descriptive**

Àìkú	Ọ̀hẹ̀	Sunday
Ajé	ijọ́ kínnẹ́ ọ̀hẹ̀ '1st day of the week'	Monday
Ìsẹ́gun	ijọ́ kejì ọ̀hẹ̀ 2nd day of the week'	Tuesday
Ọjọ́rú	ijọ́ kẹta ọ̀hẹ̀ 3rd day of the week'	Wednesday
Ọjọ́bọ	ijọ́ kẹẹ̀rẹn ọ̀hẹ̀ 4th day of the week'	Thursday
Ẹtì	ijọ́ kaàrun ọ̀hẹ̀ 5th day of the week'	Friday
Àbámẹ́ta	ijọ́kẹẹ̀faọhẹ̀/ọ̀hẹ́kọ̀nla(ọ̀hẹ̀ókùnọ̀la) 6th day of the week'Saturday	Saturday

All the culcural terms for week segments, with the exception of *ajé* 'Monday', are derived words. They are derived by prefixation or by compounding as follows:

39a   àì + kú   →   àìkú 'not dead / Sunday'
        neg to die

  b.   ì- + sẹ́ +   ogun   →   ìsẹ́gun 'victory / Tuesday'
           pre   to win battle

  c.   ojọ́ + ì- + rú   →   Ọjọ́rú 'day of sacrifice / Wednesday'
         day pre to sacrifice

  d.   ojọ́ + ì- + bọ   → Ọjọ́bọ'day of worship/dayof the gods/thursday
          day pre to worship

  e.   ẹ- + tì   →   Ẹtì   unaccomplishable/impossible / Friday'
         pre impossible

  f. àbá   + mẹ́ta   →   Àbámẹ́ta 'three proposals / Saturday'
     proposal three

5. 3. Participant deixis

Participant deixis point to roles played by individuals in the frame of reference. Such roles may be personal or social. Participant deixis subsume traditional categories of person and social deixis (Diessel 2012). Person deictics function to indicate the semantic roles of speaker and hearer in the event that is expressed by an utterance. Their use is

similar to that of anaphors in that they denote activated or familiar referent. Some of the differences between them, however, are that anaphors require antecedents that must be their referent, anaphors may not necessarily be pronouns, they may be nouns standing in reference to other nouns. Participant deixes, on the other hand, do not require such antecedents, their features serve as their referent. Such features, according to Diessel, are semantic and they reflect the communicative function of the participant deictic element being referenced. Some of the features include:

    i)   Communicative role (person).

    ii)   Number

    iii)   Gender

    iv)   Social rank/relationship

Languages generally have expressions which refer to person such as nouns or bound morphemes but not all such expressions are deictic. Ìkálẹ̀ dialect makes use of pronouns to express deixis. Two types of pronouns are used in the participant mode; personal pronouns and impersonal pronouns. The personal pronouns perform personal roles while the impersonal pronouns perform social roles. The discussion of pronouns in this work is not hung on their anaphoric roles but on their deictic roles. Their morphological status is also stressed.

5. 3. 1. Personal pronoun

In Ìkálẹ̀, as in some other languages, personal pronoun express two bits of information; the deictic as well as referential information. Pronoun as a deictic element identifies the features of its referent but its anaphoric function however is a structural one. The structural function of pronoun is not peculiar to it, other nouns and noun phrases also play anaphoric roles.

The three deictic roles of personal pronoun are coded in their communicative functions consisting of first (1st), second (2nd) and third (3rd) persons. The referential roles are singular and plural. According to Egbokhare (1989), the principle of compositionality is at play both in the realization of the pronoun as words and in their semantic interpretation. The various features, that is, individu-ation, reference and case combine in unique ways to yield one form of the pronoun and the other, thus implying that every pronoun is a bundle of features. This is true for Ìkálẹ̀ pronouns.

5. 3. 1. 1. Classification of personal pronoun

Personal pronouns can be classified into two classes; emphatic and non emphatic. They are exemplified below.

40	Non emphatic		Emphatic	
	Mo	'I'	Èmi	'I'
	Wo	'you'	Ùwọ	'you'
	Ó	'he/she/it'	Òun	'he/she/it
	A	'we'	Àwa	'we'
	Ànán	'they/you (pl.)'	Àghan	'they/you (pl)'

The characteristics, composition and distribution of these two classes of pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ serve as justification for their differences.

Their characteristics

a. Similarities between emphatic and non emphatic pronoun

i) They both perform the role of pointing, which makes them deictic elements as exemplified by (41) and (42).

41	a)	Wo yú	'you (singular) went'
	b)	Ùwọ ó yú ín	'It was you who went'

42	a)	Mo jẹ ejíjẹ	'I ate food'
	b)	Èmi ó jẹ ejíjẹ ín	'It was I who ate food'

Both **wo** and **ùwọ** in (41) point to the addressee (that is second (2nd) person while **mo** and **èmi** in (42) point to the speaker (first (1st) person).

ii) They are a closed set of items. They have five forms representing six entities 2nd and 3rd person plural make use of the same term).

iii) Generally, they encode person, number, case and emphatic features. However, while the non emphatic forms encode case, the emphatic forms encode emphatic feature. They have three person and two number features as indicated below.

43	Singular(sg)	Plural(pl)
1st person	Èmi	Àwa
2nd person	Ùwọ	Àghan[18]
3rd person	Òghun/òun	Àghan

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[18] The differences in the deixis of the second and 3rd person plural is best resolved pragmatically.

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iv) They are functional counterpart of the noun which can be used as head,[19] modifier and argument as seen in the following examples.

44. Olú ó (Oló) rí wa (argument, head)
     Olú HTS   see we 'Olú saw us'

45. Ẹrun wá padé   (modifier)
     mouth we close 'We couldn't talk'

46a) Mo yú   b) Èmi láarẹ̀ ó yú
      I go'I went'   I   too HTS go 'I too went'

   c) *Èmí yú'I (emph) went'

The pronoun *wa* is an argument as well as head of the object NP in 45, it is also the modifier of *ẹrun* in the subject NP *ẹrun wa* in 46.

Differences

i) **Modification:** Emphatic pronouns can be modified while non emphatic pronouns cannot, as indicated in the examples in (47) and (48). Modification fact is a major distinction between them. This attribute of the non emphatic pronouns, in not being amenable to modification, makes them to be loners[20]. They are prosodically defective (like an affix) and therefore lean on adjacent words for their spell-out. They are clitics. Akinlabi & Lieberman (2000:38) define clitics in Yorùbá as all and only the closed class of elements that have a phrasally defined distribution and that contain one vowel or less. According to them, some of the properties of clitics include inability to occur by themselves and engaging in special phonological interaction with their hosts, resulting in tonal OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) effects on object pronouns and their host verbs. The above definition of clitics in Yorùbá is deficient for clitics in Ìkálẹ̀ because there are clitics like *ànán* and *ènẹ́n* which are more than one syllable . Ìkálẹ̀ pronouns like

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[19] As functional head and argument, the distribution of the emphatic pronoun is limited in this dialect. For instance, it cannot function as argument of a simple sentence without a qualifier. This explains why (46a) is acceptable while (46c) is not.

[20] As a matter of fact, one reason why the non-emphatic pronouns may not take modification is that they are already complex, combining features beyond the nominal phrase, therefore it may be impossible for them to be modified, by an NP modifier. This may have affected their capacity for co-ordination. One other thing with the non-emphatic pronoun is that it is difficult to determine which of their forms is basic, because they don't actually have an independent form of their own in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect . They depend on neighbouring preverbs and form phonological words with them. They don't seem to have the internal structure of an NP. This is unlike the emphatic pronouns whose form is constant.

Yorùbá pronouns don't have independent forms and they also lean on adjacent words, forming a phonological word with them.

ii) The emphatic pronouns can enter into co-ordination with one another and with nouns but non emphatic pronouns cannot enter into such with one another nor with nouns or emphatic pronouns as seen in (49). The differences in their behaviour with regards to modification and co-ordination may be a consequence of their spell-out.

47a) Emi láarè ó lè gbe   I too can carry it'
b) *Mo láarè ó lè gbe   'I (NE) too can carry it'

48a) Àwa obìnrẹn é tí jẹun   'We women have started eating'
b) *A obìnrẹn é tí jẹun   'We women have started eating'

49a) Èmi àti òghun /òun ó lọ 'I and him went'
b) Àghan àti Bùnmi ó wá   'They/you and Bùnmi came'

50a) *Mo àti wo ó wá   'I and you came'
b) *Délé àti a ó wá   'Dele and us came'

iii) Non-emphatic pronouns have case forms but emphatic pronouns dont. Thus whereas the non-emphatic pronouns have nominative, objective (accusative) and genitival forms, the emphatic pronouns in their own case have the same form in all their distribution (we will return to this later). Some of their examples include the following:

51a) Mo   rí   ẹ
        I nom.sg see you(sg) 'I saw you'

b) Wo   rí mi
        you(nom.sg) see I(obj. sg)   'You saw me'

52a) Jí in   rí ghan
        let I (nom.sg)see them (2nd /3rd pl)'Let me see them/you(pl)

b) Asọ ẹ̀   ó ya
        cloth he (3rd sg gen)HTS tear 'Your dress is torn'

5. 3. 1. 2.   The composition of emphatic and non emphatic pronoun

The principle of compositionality is at play in the semantic interpretation of pronouns. According to Parrot (2006:176), pronouns are composed of semantically interpretable person and number features. Generally Ìkálẹ̀ pronouns encode the following features:

i)   Person
ii)   Number
iii)   Case
iv)   Emphasis

Of these four features, only two (person and number) are common to both the emphatic and non emphatic pronouns. The emphatic feature is marked only on the emphatic pronouns while the case feature is associated only with the non emphatic pronouns.

Person

The person feature refers to the communicative role of pronoun. Ìkálẹ̀ dialect has three terms in the person paradigm as follow:

   i)   First person (1st): This is the speaker

   ii) Second person (2nd): This is the addressee or hearer

   iii) Third person (3rd): This is neither the speaker nor addressee but others.

According to Noyer (1992), whoever does not play a role in a conversation either as speaker or hearer (addressee) remains in the great pool of the impersonal. Noyer opined that languages generally treat 3rd person differently from 1st and 2nd person. This is also true for Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

There are many reasons to believe that the 3rd person is different from the 1st and 2nd person deixis. First, whereas the 1st and 2nd persons play active roles in the speech act, the 3rd person has no role perse (passive). This is why the 3rd person is simply referred to as 'others'. Secondly, whereas the 1st and 2nd persons are strictly human, 3rd person refers to both human and non-human entity in the speech act. Strictly speaking, one major difference between object deixis and participant deixis is that the object pronouns like *ìyí*, *ìyẹ̀n*, point to objects in general, which could be human entity in some cases and non-human in others. But the participant pronoun, even though it refers largely exclusively to human entities, still accommodates non-human entities in the 3rd person. Some languages like English which make use of gender terms distinguishes between human and non-human in the singular paradigm but still encounters the problem of specificity in the plural paradigm where the only term available is *they* which is a neutral

term with regards to human and non human dichotomy. In the following example in 55, the object pronoun which is already enclitic to the verb *ri*, does not exclude non human entity .

53. Mo ti   lọ
     I perf go   'I have gone'

54. Ànán   há
     They + HTS run 'They ran away'
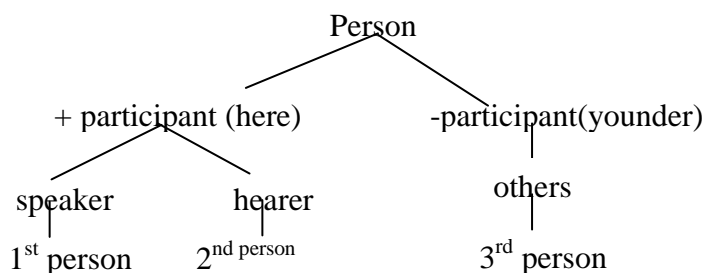
55. Mo ri
     I see + pr 'I saw him/her/it.

Again, there are noun phrases where object deictic elements serve either as modifiers pointing to human nominal heads as in (56) or where they serve as sole answer to focus (interrogative) questions; as seen in (60b).

56. Baba [21]ìyèn
     Father   that 'that father'

57. Ọma ìyí
     child this 'this child'

58. Ọnẹ   ti ibé
     person of here 'the person here'

59. Ọnẹ   ìyí
     person this 'this person'

60a Nèé we fọ?
     who you talk   'Who are you referring to?'

   b. Ìyí
       this 'this (one)'

What these explanations seem to suggest is that the classification of the person feature into participant/non participant is basically based on the role of the referent and not on their being human or not. Again, the demonstratives perform the role of pointing and since both human and non-human entities can be pointed at, demonstratives can be used without prejudice to human and non-human. The person roles is summarised below:

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[21] Awobuluyi 2008:93 had assumed that a major difference between demonstrative pronoun and personal pronoun in Standard Yorùbá is that demonstrative pronoun points to things or objects other than human while personal pronoun points to human beings. He concluded based on this assertion that it is insulting to refer to human beings using the object pronoun *èyí* and *ìyẹn*. The insult which may be associated with the use of *èyí*, ìyẹn does not stem from the fact that the words are derogatory for addressing human beings. What makes them insulting is the way the words are stressed/emphasised while using it. This is not peculiar to *èyí, ìyẹn* alone. Other pronouns like *ìwọ, àwọn* can also be used in a derogatory manner.

61.

```
                              Person
                   ┌────────────┴────────────┐
          + participant (here)         -participant(younder)
           ┌────────┴────────┐                │
        speaker           hearer            others
       1ˢᵗ person       2ⁿᵈ person         3ʳᵈ person
```
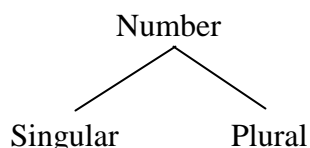
Number

       There are two terms in the number paradigm singular and plural. Singular refers to only one participant in a discourse while plural refers to more than one participant. Number as a pronoun feature works with person. The hearer, for instance can be one (singular) or more than one (plural).

    62

```
              Number
            ┌────┴────┐
        Singular    Plural
```

  Case

       This refers to a marking on the pronoun that indicates its grammatical function. There are four pronoun case features in Ìkálẹ̀. They are as follow;

Nominative: This is the case of the subject of a nominative (nom) cum accusative (acc) case system. The difference between *Mo* and *mi* in the following examples (62a &b) is case.

     62a   Mo   mà ẹ́

            I(nom) know you 'I know you'.

       b   Wo rí mi
            You(sg) see me (acc) 'You saw me'

Mo is in the nominative case while *mi* is in the accusative or objective.

Accusative: This is the case that marks the object of a transitive verb as seen in 62b above. It is also called objective case.

       Pronouns in the nominative case absolve the high tone syllable (HTS) in its structure. In most cases, the vowel *o* of the HTS is absolved without its tone while in others, it is the high tone of the HTS that is absolved as seen in the following examples.

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63a.   Mo mà
     I   know 'I know/knew'

b.   Wo mà
     you (sg) know 'You knew.know'

c.   Ànán   mà
     you (pl)/they   know 'You (pl)/They know/knew'

In the examples in (63a&b), the pronouns *mo* and *wo* absolve the vowel *o* of the HTS, while in (63c), the pronoun *Ànán* absolves only the high tone of the HTS.

     In the objective or accusative case, it is the governing verb that dictates the tone on the pronoun, thus showing the pronoun as having a tonal defect. The examples below exemplify this.

64a.   Wo   mà   wá
     You (sg) know us 'You (sg) know/knew us'

b.   Wo   rí wa
     you (sg) see us 'You saw us'

c.   Wo   mà ghán
     You (sg) know them 'You (sg) know/knew them'

d.   Wo   rí ghan
     you (sg) see them 'You saw them'

e   Wo   mà mí
     You (sg) know me 'You (sg) know/knew me'

f.   Wo   jọ mí
     You (sg) resemble me 'You (sg) resemble/resembled me'

g   Wo   rí mi
     you (sg) see me 'You saw me'

     In the examples in (64), if the tone of the verb is low or mid, the object pronouns carries a high tone (64a, c, e and f), while the object pronoun carries a mid tone if the verb has a high tone (64b, d and g).

     The pronouns, apart from exhibiting prosodic deffects, also show morpho-syntactic variations, especially the two forms of the object pronouns: *wá/wa, ghán/ghan,* and *mí/mi* as seen in (64).

Genitive: It is the case of a possessive pronoun. For instance in example 65 below, *ẹ̀* is a genitive pronoun. It modifies *ulí,* head of the NP *ulí ẹ̀.*

65. Ulí è̩
    house his/her/it 'His/her its house'

Subjunctive: This is the case of the subject of a subjunctive clause as seen in the following example.

66. Jí in gbó̩
    let I hear 'Let me hear'

These features combine to give the various forms of the pronoun. One of the differences between nouns and pronouns in Ìkálè̩ is in case features. Whereas Ìkálè̩ pronoun has case features, nouns dont inflect for case whether nominative or objective.

Emphasis

This feature is indicated on the emphatic pronoun but absent in the non emphatic pronouns. It gives the interpretation of emphasis on the emphatic pronouns. It is a low tone vowel prefix which is found in the emphatic pronoun. They have different forms but one single meaning of emphasis. The vowel forms are *è, ù, ò,* and *à.* While the singular pronouns make use of *è, ù* and *ò,* the plural form uses *à* as seen in (67) below.

67. È̩mi   'I'
    Ùwo̩   'You'(sg)
    Ò̩ghun/Òun 'He/she/it'
   Àwa   'we'
    Àghan   'you (pl)/they'

A look at the VCV structure of emphatic pronouns shows that the combination of V_1V_2 in all the structure is driven by vowel harmony. The kind of harmony that seem to be operational in them is advanced tongue root (ATR) where front vowels co-occur with front and back vowels co-occur with back as seen below.

68. | V_1 | V_2 |
 |-------|-------|
    | e | i |
    | u | o̩ |
    | o | un |
    | a | a, an |

Therefore the V_1 vowels are all instances of the same emphatic morpheme.

Generally, both the participant features (as exemplified by person) and the individuation features (as exemplified by number) of pronouns are merged as discreet

sets of features which can be targeted for syntactic operations. They are merged and they end up on the maximal projection of the pronoun as one feature bundle. The feature bundle for **Mo** '1st person' singular pronoun in the nominative case will have a rough sketch below.

69.

Mo   = Mo

1st per   Sg   Nom
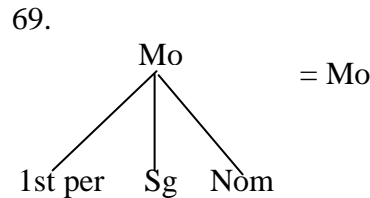
Èmi which is the emphatic form will have the following structure.

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Èmi

1st per   sg   emphatic
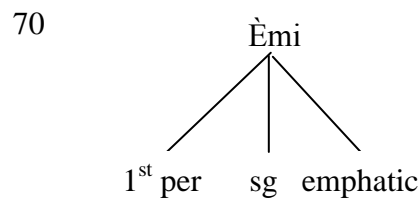
The second and third person plural

It has been said earlier that the 2nd and 3rd person plural of both the emphatic and non emphatic pronouns have the same form. This is not because there is no separate reference to either 2nd or 3rd person, it is a case of syncretism or polarity. Thus, **àghan, ghán** and **ànan** in the following examples can be interpreted as both second and third persons plural.

71a   Àghan yí mo mà
2nd/3rd pers pl. that Iknow   'You/those whom I know'

b   Ànán mà
they/you know'They/you know/knew'

c   A mà ghán
we know you/them   'We know/knew you/ them'

This is a type of overlapping. One possible explanation for the overlapping is the absence of an overt person feature on either 2nd or 3rd person pronoun, resulting in the observed polarity. The suspected culprit of the observed overlapping is the 3rd person. The suspicion is based on the behaviour of the 3rd person in all its distribution in the singular paradigm. For instance, it is the only pronoun form in the nominative case that

lacks a consonant. Secondly, whereas both the 1st and 2nd person singular pronoun in the nominative case are on mid tone, it is the only one with a high tone as seen in the example below.

> 72a   Mo   1st per
> b   Wo   2nd per
> c.   Ó   3rd per

Scholars, like Awobuluyi (2001, 2006, 2008) treat the 3rd person singular subject pronoun in Standard Yorùbá as unmarked. Awobuluyi (2006, 2008) argues that *Ò* which has hitherto, been regarded as the 3rd person singular subject pronoun, is a preverb. In this work, we have every reason to agree with Awobuluyi that *ó* is not the 3rd person singular subject pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ , but we disagree that it is a preverb both in Ìkálẹ̀ and Standard Yorùbá. *Ó* is the subject high tone syllable which functions as positional concord marker for the subject noun phrase.

Thirdly, in the objective case, the only pronoun form in the singular paradigm that relies solely on suprasegmental sound/morpheme as an exponence of person and number is the 3rd person, as seen in the following examples.

> 73a   Wo   rí   mi
> You (sg) see me'You saw me'
>
> b   Mo rí ẹ
> I   see you(sg) 'I saw you'
>
> c   A   ri
> We see + 3rdper. sg   'We saw him/her/it.

In (73c) for instance, the only overt indication that reference is made to the 3rd person singular object is the observed change on the tone of the verb *rí* from high(73a&b) to mid *ri* (73c).

It should be noted that the 2nd person singular pronoun does not present the observed behaviours found in the 3rd person, as seen in the examples in 73a and b above in which the 2nd person singular functions as subject and object respectively.

Conclusively, the fact that the 3rd person plural[22] overlaps in form with 2nd person plural is not strange considering its observed behaviour in the singular paradigm. One

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[22] The type of polarity found in English, where the 2nd person singular and plural makes use of *you* is a little bit different from the Ìkál ẹ̀ case because for English, the plural form can be differentiated from the

other way to view the 3rd person plural noun with regards to the form it takes is to assume that it has no form at all.

5.3.1.3. Distribution

Personal pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀ have certain distributional properties. First, is the type of sentences in which they can function, the array of items with which they function and their morphological declension in the positions which they occupy.

Firstly, it is necessary to state from the outset that the emphatic pronouns are limited in their distribution than the non-emphatic pronouns. They cannot, for instance function as the subject of a declarative non emphatic sentence. This is why 74a is not possible, whereas 74b is possible.

> 74a *Èmi ó hùn
>   I(emp) HTS sleep
>
> b   Mo hùn
>   I   sleep 'I slept'

However, they can combine with the non emphatic forms in the subject position as seen in the following examples.

> 75. i)   Emi mo yú   'me, I went'
>   ii)   Ùwọ wo yú   'you, you went'
>   iii) Òun ó yú   'he went'
>   iv)   Àwa a yú   'we, we went'
>   v)   Àghan ànán yú   'You (pl)/They, you (pl)/they went'

Even though utterances in which they function as object of a verb are acceptable in Ìkálẹ̀, they are seldom used. The non emphatic forms are more acceptable and used in the object position.

> 76. a)   Wo mà emi 'You (sg) know/knew me (Emph)'
>   b)   Wo mà mí   'You (sg) know/knew me (Non-Emph)'
>   c)   Ànán jù àwa 'You (pl)/They are older than us (Emph)'
>   d)   Ànán jù wá 'You (pl)/They are older than us (Non-Emph)'

---

singular pragmatically and syntactically by the array of qualifiers which they take. Thus, while the plural *you* takes qualifiers like *all, two, many*, among others, the singular *you* does not.

Other areas where the emphatic pronouns can function are

- a) The head of a relative clause
- b) The head of a focus construction
- c) The subject of the interrogative verb ***han*** and ***kẹ***

The following utterances exemplify their distribution.

77.   a) Àghan yó (yí o) wá   ó   ti lọ
   They which HTS come HTS be go 'Those who came have gone'

   b) Ùwọ me pè ín
   You I +cont. call foc.   'It is you I am calling'

c)   Òghun (Òun) ùn han?
   He   HTS where   'Where is he?'

Àghan is the head of the relative clause ***Àghan yó wá*** in 77a while ***ùwọ*** and ***òghun*** are

head of the focus construction and the interrogative verb in 77b and c respectfully.

5.3.1.4. The distribution of non emphatic pronouns

The non-emphatic pronouns are found in subject, object and genitival positions. They present different forms in these positions depending on the sentence type and their interaction with neighbouring words.

5. 3.1.4.1.   Subject pronoun

The subject pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ has five different forms. The five forms which interact with TAM in very interesting ways are morphosyntactically distributed as seen in the table below.

Table I: Subject pronoun forms

Pronoun	Forms				
	A	B	C	D	E
1st Pers sg	Mo	Ma	Me	Mé	Mé
2nd Pers sg	Wo	Wa	We	Wé	Wé
3rd Pers sg	Ó	Á	Ẹ̀	É	É
1st Pers pl	A	A	Ẹ̀	Ẹ́	Ẹ́
2nd /3rd Pers pl	Ànán	Ànán	Ẹ̀nẹ́n	Ẹ́nẹ̀n	Ẹ́nẹn

The pronoun forms in each of the column have the following distribution;

A: Subject pronouns in non-future affirmative constructions

B: Subject pronouns before future tense in affirmative constructions

C: Subject pronouns in affirmative continuous/habitual constructions

D: Subject pronouns in negative declarative constructions

E: Subject pronouns in negative declarative continuous/habitual constructions

5. 3. 2. 1. Subject pronoun in declarative affirmative constructions

The pronoun forms in A to C are used in declarative affirmative sentences. Their distribution is as follows:

The pronoun forms in A are used before verbs in declarative sentences with or without overt aspectual markers as seen in the following utterances.

78.   Mo mà   'I know'
       Wo mà   'You (sing) know'
       A mà   'We know'
       Ànán mà   'They / You (pl) know'

79.   Mo kúkú mà   'I surely know'
       Wo kúkú ti mà 'You (sing) surely know'
       A ti mà   'We have known'
       Ànán tiè mà   'They even know'

Subject pronoun in sentences indicating future tense

The pronoun forms in B are used in sentences indicating future tense. The future tense marker in Ìkálè̩ is *a*. The pronoun forms in b cannot be used in sentences which do not indicate future tense, which is an indication that they are the pronoun forms indicating future action. The following examples reveal the forms of the pronoun in use.

80.   ai.   Ma a mà   'I will know'
       ii.   Wa a mà   'You (sg) will know'
       iii.   Á a mà   'He will knows'
       iv.   A a mà   'We will know'
       v   Ànán a mà   'They / You (pl) will know'

       bi.   Ma kúkú a mà   'I will surely know'
       ii.   Wa kúkú a mà   'You will surely know'
       iii.   Á kúkú a mà   'He will surely know'
       iv.   A kúkú a mà   'We will surely know'
       v.   [23]Ànán kúkú a mà   'They / You (pl) will surely know'
       ci.   Ma a kúkú mà   'I will surely know'
       ii.   Wa a kúkú mà   'You will surely know'
       iii.   Á a kúkú mà   'He will surely know'
       iv.   A a kúkú mà   'We will surely know'
       v.   Ànán a kúkú mà   'They / You will surely know'

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[23] It is observed that in rapid speech, the future tense marker acquires nasality from the preceding pronoun. Thus giving a form like *Ànan an mà.*

The examples in 80a, b and c clearly show that the pronoun forms B in table 1 above are the inflected forms of the Ìkálè̩ pronouns which are used to indicate future tense. They are selected from the lexicon with the complement feature of future tense, among other features. As it can also be seen in the data, the feature is not just a structural one because in the examples in 80b above when the pronoun form is separated from the future tense marker by the preverb kúkú , such separation did not alter the form of the pronoun.[24]

The inflection is vacuous on the two pronouns in *ii* and *iv* of 80c. The reason for this may not be unconnected with the fact that they are also of the same vowel quality with the future tense marker.

Subject pronoun in sentences indicating habitual/progressive action

The subject pronoun forms used in sentences indicating habitual/progressive or continuous action are the ones in column C. They are exemplified by the following sentences.

81.	i)	Me gwè̩	'I am bathing / I do bath'
	ii)	We gwè̩	'You are bathing / You do bath'
	iii)	É gwè̩	'He is bathing / He bathes'
	iv)	E̩ gwè̩	'We are bathing / We do bath'
	v)	È̩né̩n gwè̩	'They/You are bathing / They/you do bathe'

Firstly, the sentences above are definitely ambiguous between the reading of an action which is habitual or progressive. Secondly, from the data, one can see that there is no separate form for the progressive or habitual action indicated in the sentences above. The progressive/habitual action inflects on the pronoun in all the examples above. The implication of this is that in addition to the pronoun being a bundle of features, it also inflects for progressive/habitual action. This behaviour of the pronoun qualifies it for analysis as a portmanteaux morpheme. It is to be noted that the forms in 81 above do not have any other form in which the progressive/habitual action morpheme is separable

---

[24] Inspite of this however, it is also possible to have the (a) form of the pronoun which is not inflected for future tense being used with the future tense marker.

    a. Mo kúkú a mà
   b. Wo kúkú a mà
    c. A kúkú a mà
    d. Ànán kúkú a mà

A careful look at the examples above shows that the inflection is only automatic when adjacency requirement is fulfilled but becomes optional when there is an intervening element between the pronoun and the future tense marker.

from the pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect that will guide us in determining what the combination of pronoun and the progressive/habitual action word looks like. However, in sentences whose subject is a contentive, the marker of progressive/habitual action stands as a separate morpheme as seen in 82 below.

82   Baba é jẹun
           prog eat   'Baba is eating'

By implication, this shows that Ìkálẹ̀ has a marker for progressive/habitual action. That this marker inflects on the subject pronoun shows that the pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ either has a feature which marks it for dependency or that it is defective in a feature which makes its being dependent automatic. The pronoun 'me' in 81(i) for instance can be segmentised into the following features;

83.
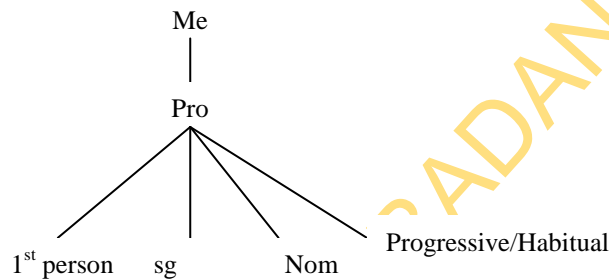
5.3.2.2 Subject pronoun in negative sentences

Ìkálẹ̀ has negative sentences. Negation can be morphologically realized through affixation as seen in (84a) and through the negative markers **máà, è** and **e** as indicated in (84b to d) below. However, negation can also be inflected on other functors as it would be described later in this section.

84.   a)   àìlọ   'not go'
        b)   Máà lọ   'do not go'
        c)   Olú é è lọ   'Olú did not go'
        d)   Olú é e lọ   'Olú does not go'

In 84(a) the negator is the prefix **àì** while in 84(b) it is the preverb **máà**. Examples (c) and (d) contain the negative marker **è** and **e** respectively.

The following are examples of sentences where the negators function with pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀ as seen in the (d) and (e) column of table 1 above. The forms in d are seen in 85 below.

85.   a)   Mé è wá   'I did not come'
        b)   Wé è wá   'You did not come'

c)	É è wá	'He did not come'
d)	Ẹ́ ẹ̀ wá	'We did not come'
e)	Ẹ́nẹ̀n wá	'They/You(pl) did not come'

In these examples, one may assume that there is a past tense reading in the pronoun plus negative form as seen above. In which case, 85a, for instance will have the interpretation below.

> 86 Mé   è   wá
> 1ˢᵗ sg neg pst come 'I did not come'

However, such assumption may be misleading when one considers the following sentence where the form in 85a above combine with the future tense marker **ní** which also selects the negative marker **è** to indicate a future action.

> 87   Mé è ní wá
>   1ˢᵗ sg neg fut neg come 'I will not come'

This example also makes use of **Mé** as it is in 85a, yet, the interpretation is not a past aspect. There fore, one can conclude that the forms in 85 do not have a past tense reading.

Another functor which interacts with the negative morpheme is the perfective aspectual marker **ti** as seen in the following examples.

88a)	Mé è tì lọ	'I have not gone'
b)	Me tí lọ	'I have started going'
c)	Mo ti lọ	'I have gone'
d)	Ma a ti lọ	'I would have gone'

As it can be seen in the data above, the perfective aspectual marker **ti** has three inflectional forms as follow:

- **tì,** with a low tone, is the inflected form of the perfective marker used with the negative pronoun **Mé** in example (88a). It indicates that the action has not taken place.

- **tí,** with a high tone, is found in example (88b). It selects the habitual/progressive aspective marker, which is also inflected on the subject pronoun.

- **ti,** with a mid tone, is found in (88c). It indicates a completed action. The same **ti** is also found in (88d) with the pronoun **ma** which inflects for the future tense in conjunction with **a** the future tense marker.

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The data shows the role of tone in determining which pronoun form the perfective aspect marker selects. If it is a negative sentence/construction, the perfective aspect marker selects a low tone. For progressive/habitual construction, the perfective aspect marker selects a high tone, and for the past tense and the future tense, it selects a mid tone. The use of the three forms of the perfective marker in these environments is highly restricted. This is because one form cannot be interchanged with another without a resultant illformedness as shown in the examples in 89 below.

89   a   *Mé è tí lọ
       b.   *Me ti lọ
       c.   *Mo tí lọ
       d.   *Ma a tì lọ

These sentences are illformed because the wrong perfective markers are used with them. The above examples also show that tone is an exponent of inflection in Ìkálẹ̀.

The pronoun forms in (e) column are used in negative sentences but they combine with the habitual aspect marker e to show that the action which is negated does not habitually take place. The examples are indicated below.

90a.   Mé e lọ   'I do not go'
b.   Wé e lọ   'You do not go'
c.   É e   lọ   'He does not go'
d.   Ẹ́ ẹ   lọ   'We do not go'
e.   Ẹ́nẹn lọ   'They/you (pl) do not go'

The pronoun forms in these examples are the ones which have been inflected for negation. The presence of the habitual tense marker *e* in 90, shows that the action in reference does not take place.

The use of tone in the negative forms of the pronoun is worth noting. To highlight this, witness the examples below.

91a.   Mé è lọ 'I did not go'
b.   Wé e lọ 'You do not usually go'

The examples in 91a&b reveal that the high tone is common to the subject pronouns but the tones on the vowel following the pronoun are different; one is low, the other is mid. The reason for the uniformity of the high tone which is on the subject pronoun forms in negative constructions is that the inherent tone on the pronoun forms used in negative constructions in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect is high. It is this high tone that combines with the low tone on the negative item *é* in 91a and the mid tone on *e* in 91b to signal negation. The example in 91a shows that the action of going did not take place while 91b shows

that it does not habitually take place. Notice that the same tonal pattern is found on the 3rd person plural in 89e&90e where there are no separate negative and habitual markers. Generally in this dialect, the 3rd person plural do not have separate markers for negation and habitual action. It is their tone and vowel quality that inflect to show habitual action and negation; high, low and high, mid for negation, low, high for affirmative habitual/progressive as seen in 92. The only difference between the affirmative and the negative is found in the differences in their tone..

92 (a) Ḗnèn lọ They/you did not go.

  (b) Ḗnẹn lọ They/you do not go

. (c) Ènén lọ 'They are going'

5.3.2.3 Subject pronoun in subjunctive sentence

The subjunctive sentences in Ìkálẹ̀ are the non-jussive imperative sentences which are used to express indirect command. They are employed to express a wish as seen in the following examples.

93 Jí Gbénro tètè se tán
  let Gbenro quick do finish 'Let Gbénro quickly finish.'

94 Jí ànan lọ
  let you(pl)/they go'Let them/you(pl) go'

According to Matthews (1997:360), subjunctive is used to express something other than a statement of what is certain. They do not select the HTS *ó* in their structures in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The pronoun forms used in the subjunctive mood are the ones listed in 95 below.

95.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	in/mi	a
2nd person	ẹ	ànan
3rd person	mid tone vowel	àn an

They are as used in the following sentences in 96.

96. (a) Jí in (mi) wa
   let I come 'Let/may me come'

  (b) Jí ẹ (jẹ́ ẹ) wá
   let you(sg) come 'May you (sg) come'

(c)   Ji   wá
       Let+ 3rd sg   come   'Let him come'

(d)   Jí   a wá
       let we come 'Let us come'

(e)   Jí ànan wá
       let they/you (pl) come 'let them/you (pl) come'

From the foregoing one can see that the subjunctive makes use of a unique set of pronoun forms which are different from the other pronouns. For instance, they are neither nominative nor objective in form.

The interaction of the subjunctive pronoun forms with aspect markers also shows their uniqueness. Thus, instead of the known negative markers *è* and *e*, they make use of *máà*.

97a.   Jí   a máà wá
        let we not come   'Let us not come'

In the affirmative, the sunjunctive pronoun makes use of the modal *ka* as seen in the following sentence.

97b.   Jí ànan   ka wa
        let they/you prog come   'Let him be coming'

These markers *máà* and *ka* are used in imperative sentences in Ìkálè̩, *máa* in negative constructions, *ka* in affirmative constructions. It confirms the subjunctive mood as an imperative mood. Imperative sentences in Ìkálè̩ make use of these markers which are actually morpho-syntactic forms of the same modal as seen in the following imperative sentences

98.   Ànan   ka wa

       You(pl) be come   You(plural) be coming

       Ànan   máà   wá

       You(pl) do not come   You(plural) don't come

5. 3. 3. Object pronoun

Tense, aspect and mood do not affect the form of the object pronouns in Ìkálè̩. The verb however influences the form of the object pronoun. Apart from tone being an inflectional marker of object pronoun, there is evidence that it is also an exponent of the pronoun as it will be discussed below. The following table shows the range of object pronouns which are used in Ìkálè̩.

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Table I

I: Object pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀

	Column A	Column B
1st sg	mi	mí
1st pl	wa	wá
2nd sg	ẹ	ẹ́
2nd/3rd pl	ghan	ghán
3rd sg	mid tone	high tone

Object pronouns in Ìkálẹ̀ come in two forms; the forms with high tone and the ones with mid tone. The set with mid tone are the ones labeled as column A above while the set with high tone are labeled as column B.

5. 3. 3. 1. Object pronoun with mid tone

The object pronouns with mid tone are the ones used with high tone verbs. In other words, in Ìkálẹ̀, high tone verbs select pronouns with mid tone as their object. This can be seen in the following examples;

99a.   Olú ó rí mi
        Olu HTS see me 'Olu saw me'

b.   Olú ó rí ẹ
        Olu HTS see you 'Olu saw you'

c.   Olú ó ri
        Olu HTS see+(s)he/it 'Olu saw him.her.it'

d.   Olú ó rí wa
        Olu HTS see us 'Olu saw us'

e.   Olú ó rí ghan
        Olu HTS see you (pl)/them 'Olu saw you (pl)/them'

The verb *rí* in the examples above, selects mid tone pronouns. It is observed however that the 3rd person singular object pronoun in 99c is different from the others in that the slot for the object pronoun is empty yet one knows that reference is made to the 3rd person singular. We know this because the sentence has the interpretation that the one who *Olú* saw is a third person. It is further observed that unlike in the other examples where the tone of the verb *rí* is a high tone, that of the verb of the 3rd person singular is

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mid tone **ri**. Therefore, what seems to give the interpretation of object of the verb is the mid tone. One conclusion that can be made is that the 3rd person singular pronoun inflects as mid tone on the verb. The mid tone which is the exponent of the 3rd person singular pronoun is a valid marker of pronoun as other pronoun forms. The only difference is that whereas the others have separate segments of their own which bear the mid tone, yet the 3rd person singular pronoun has no segment, hence it has to hibernate on the verb for manifestation.

5.3.3.2 Object pronoun with high tone

These are object pronouns that mid tone verbs and low tone verbs select. They are also exemplified as follow.

> 100a. Ó jọ mí   'He resemble me'
> b.   Ó jọ ẹ́   'He resemble you'
> c.   Ó jọ́   'He resemble him'
> d.   Ó jọ wá   He resemble us
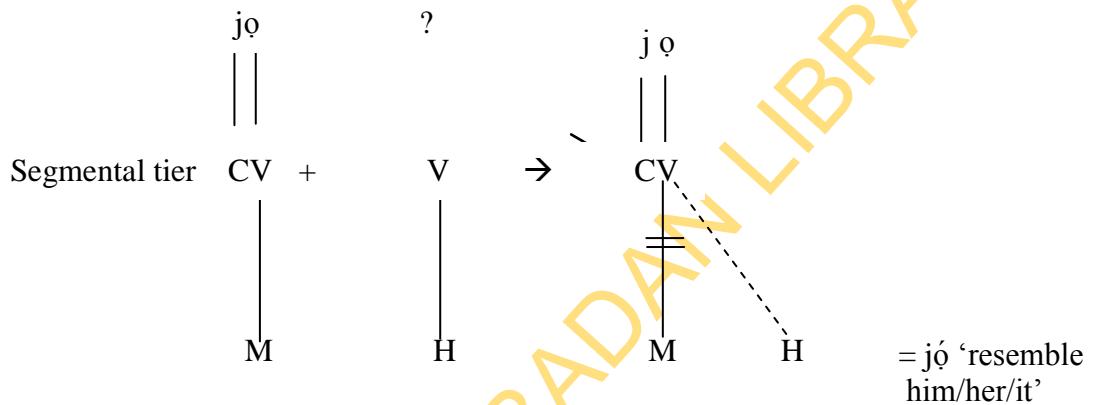> e.   Ó jọ ghán   'He resemble them/you'

Here again, the object pronouns carry high tone. In the environment of mid tone verbs, only pronouns with high tone can survive. However, the 3rd person singular pronoun is at variance with the others because it has no segmental form. The only indicator of an object pronoun in example 100c is the high tone on the verb **jọ**. Therefore the high tone on the verb is an exponent of the 3rd person object pronoun.

Actually, the only exponent of 3rd person singular object pronoun in this dialect is a floating tone. Just like the other object pronouns which have segments, the tone on its preceding verb determines what that tone will be, whether high or mid. This tone has to merge automatically with the preceding verb because it has no tone bearing segment and tones are not allowed to float in this dialect. To avoid illformedness, the floating tone has to adjoin to the preceding tone bearing element, which in this case is the vowel of the preceding verb. This observed behaviour of the 3rd person object pronoun in Ìkálẹ̀ where only tone serves sole exponent of the 3rd person singular object pronoun justifies Goldsmith's assertion that some tiers like the tonal tier, may be morphemes. Tone in Ìkálẹ̀ serves a s an exponent of morphology. The examples in 99c and 100c can be sketched as follow.

101

```
                ri              ?                        r i
                | |                                      | |
Segmental tier  CV    +         V       →        C V
                |               |                |  \
                |               |                ╪   \
                |               |                |    \
Tonal tier      H               M                H     M
                                                 = ri 'see him/her/it'
```

102

```
                jọ              ?                        j ọ
                | |                                      | |
Segmental tier  CV    +         V       →        `  CV
                |               |                    |  \
                |               |                    ╪   \
                |               |                    |    \
                M               H                    M     H
                                                 = jọ́ 'resemble
                                                    him/her/it'
```
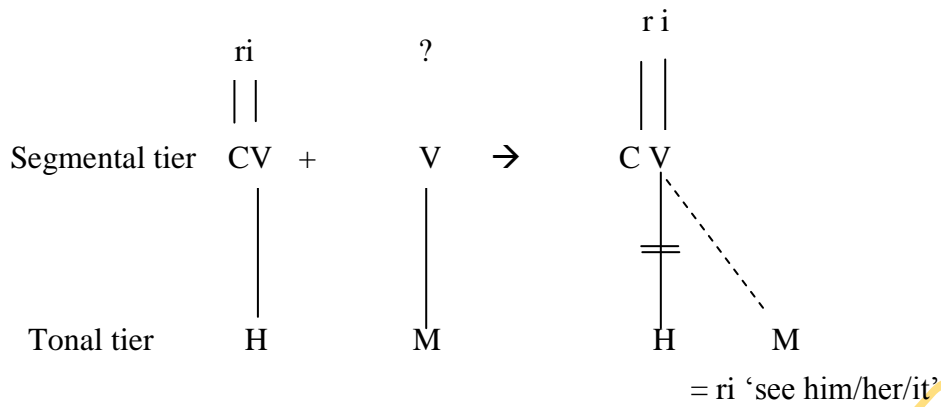
Therefore, apart from segments, suprasemgental elements also serve as morpheme in Ìkálẹ̀.

Apart from high and mid tone verbs, low tone verbs also select high tone pronouns as follow.

103a.	Ó gbà mí	'He rescued me'
b.	Ó gbà ẹ́	'He rescued you'
c.	Ó gbà á	'He rescued him'
d.	Ó gbà wá	'He rescued us'
e.	Ó gbà ghán	'He rescued them/you'

It is observed that instead of the tonal change which is recorded for the high and mid tone verbs in 99 and 100 respectively, the object pronoun of low tone verbs carry high tone. For the 3rd person singular object pronoun, the high tone manifest as the lengthened form of the vowel of the verb. The lengthened form of the verb as witnessed in 103c is the 3rd person singular object. The form of the 3rd person singular object pronoun in 103c is not optional in that they dont have an alternative form.

The summary of the behaviour of the 3rd person singular object pronoun with regards to tone is as indicated below.

Table III: 3rd person singular object pronoun forms

Verb form	3rd person singular object pronoun	Outcome
High tone verb: e.g. **gbé, rí**	selects mid tone	Mid tone verb: e.g. gbe, ri
Mid tone verb: e.g. **mọ, jọ**	selects high tone	High tone verb:e.g. mọ́, jọ́
Low tone verb: e.g. **kà, gbà**	lengthens on high tone	Low tone verb: e.g. gbà á, kà á

The reason for having the form of the 3rd person singular object pronoun of low tone verbs as a lengthening of the vowel of the verb with high tone is not immediately known. However, it may not be unconnected with homonymy avoidance. If the 3rd person object pronoun is merged with the verb as it is done for high and mid tone verbs respectively, it would have resulted in unintended meaning and interpretation. See for instance, 104.

104a. Mo kọ v́ → Mo kọ́ 'I wrote it'.
      I write it

   b. Mo kọ̀ v́ → *Mo kọ́
      I reject it

Therefore the strategy which Ìkálẹ̀ dialect seems to employ to avoid the homonymy which would have resulted and its resultant ambiguity is to cause a tonal change on the verb in one, and lengthen the vowel of the verb on high tone in the other.

Finally, the indispensable roles of tone in the object pronoun paradigm, both as an exponent of the 3rd person singular object and as an inflectional property of the object pronouns generally is worth mentioning. The selection of high or low tone as the object pronoun depends so much on the tone on its subcategorised verb. Where the pronoun has no tone bearing segment, such floating tone is transferred to the preceding verb.This places Ìkálẹ̀ as a dialect which uses suprasegmental sound as a morphological exponent and as a speech form which exhibits some inflectional properties. Table IV below contains a summary of the tonal forms of the object pronoun.

Table IV: Tonal forms of the object pronouns

S/N	Tone on the verb	Tone on the object pronoun	Examples
1	Low tone e.g. **ghò** 'to look'	High tone e.g. **mí, ẹ́, high tone, wá, ghán**	Wo ghò mí 'You (sg) looked at me' Mo ghò ẹ́ 'I looked at you' Mo ghò ó 'I looked at him/her/it' Wo ghò wá 'You (sg) looked at us' Wo ghò ghán 'You (sg) looked at them'

2	Mid tone .e.g. *jọ* 'to resemble'	High tone e.g. *mí, ẹ́, high tone, wá, ghán*	Wo jọ mí 'You (sg) resemble me' Mo jọ ẹ́ 'I resemble you' Mo jọ́ 'I resemble him/her/it' Wo jọ wá 'You (sg) resemble us' Wo jọ ghán 'You (sg) resemble them'
3	High tone e.g.*kẹ́* 'to adore'	Mid tone: e.g. *mi, ẹ, mid tone, wa, ghan,*	Wo kẹ́ mi 'You (sg) adore me' Mo kẹ́ ẹ 'I adore you' Mo kẹ 'I adore him/her/it' Wo kẹ́ wa 'You (sg) adore us' Wo kẹ́ ghan 'You (sg) adore them'

5.4.   Summary

In this chapter, we discussed inflection, a process which involves altering the shape of a word so that it will fit in a particular position in a sentence. We identified the various elements which have inflectional properties. The elements which have inflectional properties discussed in this chapter include; emphatic marker, perfective aspect marker, future tense marker and deictic elements. We also identified concatenating and non concatenating inflectional processes. Deictic elements were discussed as they relate to word formation. The two major types of deixis which were identified include object deixis and participant deixis. Object deictic elements identified include discourse, place and time deixes. We discussed pronoun as a type of participant deictic element, noting that they are of two types; emphatic and non emphatic pronouns. The similarities and differences between them as well as their composition and distribution was discussed. The emphatic pronouns was said to maintain the same form in all their distribution while the non emphatic pronouns have different forms in subject and object positions.

The subject pronouns have five forms in their interaction with tense, aspect and mood. The object pronouns have two forms which are morphosyntactically distributed. Their forms are determined by the tone on the preceding verb. Tone was analysed as both partial and sole exponents of inflection in the object paradigm. Thus, while the subject pronouns exhibit segmental ablaut, the object pronouns exhibit suprasegmental ablaut. This informed the application of autosegmental morphology in the analysis of the personal pronoun.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the preceding five chapters of this work, we presented research findings on the morphology of the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yorùbá , particularly the concatenating processes of affixation and reduplication. We described inflection, with reference to elements which attract inflection like tense, aspect, mood and deixis. Deictic words and their morphological structure were given particular focus. The roles of tone both as sole and co-exponents of morphological analysis in some of the words examined were highlighted. Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's Phrasal Morphology was employed to capture cases of phrasal input to morphological derivation while Autosegmental Morphology was used to analyse reduplication and tonal input in the analysis of pronoun. The concluding remarks briefly outline the findings and implications of the study and suggest areas for further research.

6.1 Implications of the study

The following are the major issues dwelt upon in this work. It is established in this work that Ìkálẹ̀ dialect has a type of nominalization which we referred to as 'manner nominalisation'. It is formed by prefixing *ù-* to bare verbs as given in Chapter Three, example 37 and repeated below as 1.

   1a   ù- + gwó 'to break'   ùgwó 'manner of breaking'
    b   ù- + mọ 'to drink'   ùmọ 'manner of drinking'

The process is a productive one with the output words having the meaning 'manner of verb-ing'. We differentiated words derived through *ù-* manner nominalisation (ù-2) from other *ù-* nominalisations, which we referred to as *ù-*1, by their structure, meaning, distribution and productivity. Some of the distinguishing characteristics of *ù-* manner nominals which we discussed in Chapter Three include; selection of mono syllabic verbs as base, having the semantic interpretation of 'manner of verb-ing', their use in manner interrogation and relativisation as well as their ability to serve as object of state verbs like *fẹ́ràn* 'like', and *gàn* 'despise'. *ù-*1 on the other hand attaches to verb phrases and their output can be either abstract or concrete noun as shown in Chapter Three, example 40, repeated here as 2

   2 ù- + borọ̀n 'to cover neck'   ùborọ̀n 'scalf'

The differences in the structure of the two *ù-* nominals as given in Chapter Three, example 35bii & cii, is repeated below as 3 and 4

3.
```
              N
            /   \
         Pre     VP
          |      /  \
         ù-₁    V   (NP)
```

4.
```
            N
          /   \
       Pre     V
        |
       ù-₂
```
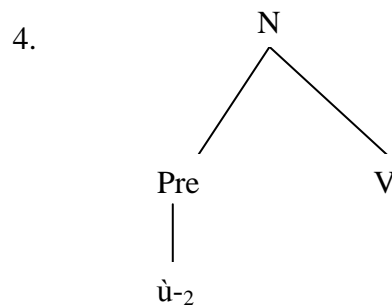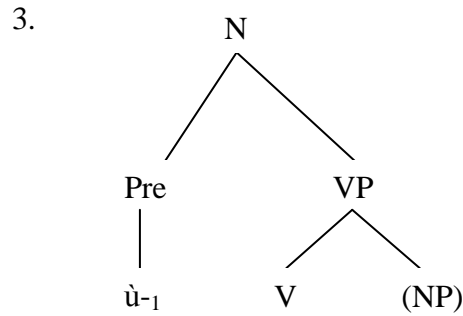
Result and instrumental nominals are derived from gerundive nominals through prefixation. It is as exemplified with ***èmímí*** in example 49a and b of Chapter Three, repeated here as 5 & 6 .

5.   è- + mímí 'breathing' →   èmímí 'breath' →   èímí 'breath'

6.
```
             N
           /   \
        Pre     N
         |      |
         è     mímí
```
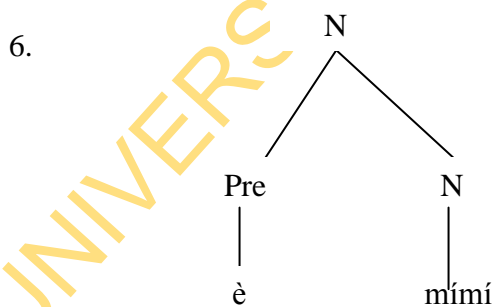
The process of deriving them is productive in Ìkálẹ̀. Both the gerunds to which the prefixes are attached in 5 and the outcome of prefixation i.e ***mímí***, ***èmímí*** and ***èímí*** are forms attested to in the lexicon of the dialect. They are words in their own right and not abstract formatives used to lexicalise the spoken form. This is suggestive of the need for a diachronic analysis of certain aspects of Standard Yorùbá word formation. Doing so will help to avoid the use of abstract formatives to lexicalise certain words, including the

type under reference. Postulating abstract formatives is against the Lexicalist practice of ensuring that input to word formation rule must be real/attested words of a language.

Both *àì-* and *olí-* are analysed as monomorphemic prefixes in Ìkálè. Their behaviour in that they are not segmentable and that no other prefix can alternate with their initial vowels clearly shows that they are monomorphemic. This is as shown in example 80a, b and 108 of Chapter Two, repeated below as 7a and b.

7ai. àìrí

ii. ùrí

bi ológhó

ii *alóghó

The study also establishes that Ìkálè constitutes an exception to the 'No Phrase Constraint (NPC)' and the 'Unitary Base Hypothesis (UBH)'. Cases of phrasal input to morphological rules and cases of dual types of base input to a single morphological process which we confirmed, support this claim.

Apparent violations of the NPC as discussed in section 3.6 of Chapter Three and exemplified with the diagram in 67d, repeated here as 8, reveal that phrases also serve as input to WFR, informed our adopting Pulleyblank and Akinlabi's 1988 Phrasal Morphology.

8.
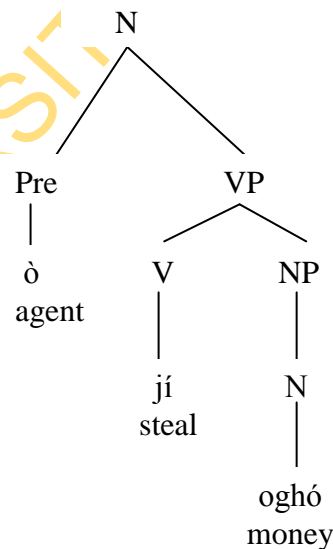
The uniqueness of the base of a WFR as stipulated in the UBH was challenged with counter examples of different word classes which were found to serve as input to the same affixation rule as witnessed in Chapter Three, examples 55 and 56, repeated as 9

9a.

	Prefix	V/VP	Derived Noun
i.	à-	hè 'to cook'	àhè 'feast'
ii	à-	tògbẹ ' excessive urine'	àtògbẹ 'diabetes'
iii	è-	hè 'to cook/boil'	èhè 'cooked/boiled'
iv.	è-	bó 'to peel'	èbó 'peel'
v	è-	gé 'to slice.cut'	ègé 'sliced'
vi	è-	jó 'to burn'	èjó 'burnt
vii	ò-	bí 'to give birth to'	òbí 'parent'
viii	ò-	kunyán 'to pound yam'	òkunyán 'mortal'
ix	e-	gbé 'to lift'	egbé 'teleportation'
x	e-	wu 'to come to harm'	ewu 'harm/danger'

.

	Prefix	Process Nominal	Derived Noun
i.	à-	rírè 'being tired'	àrírè 'tiredness/fatigue/illness'
ii	à-	kíké 'hewing'	àkíké 'axe'
iii	è-	híhè 'cooking/boiling'	èhíhè 'cooked/boiled'
iv.	è-	bíbó 'peeling'	èbíbó 'peel'
v	è-	gígé 'slicing/cutting'	ègígé 'sliced'
vi	è-	jíjó 'burning'	èjíjó 'burnt
vii	ò-	títù 'cold'	òtítù 'cold'
viii	ò-	dídí 'covering'	òdídí 'cover'
ix	e-	Rírú	erírú 'ash'
x	e-	jíjẹ 'eating'	ejíjẹ 'food'

9b.

A	Prefix	Adverb	Derived Noun
i	ò-	geere 'smoothly'	ògeere 'smooth
Ii	ọ̀-	rẹnrẹn 'being soggy'	ọ̀rẹnrẹn 'soggy weather'

B	Prefix	Verb phrase	Derived Noun
i	ò-	sónọ́ 'being taciturn'	òsónọ́ 'a taciturn'
ii	ọ̀-	màràn 'to be knowledgeable	ọ̀màràn 'a knowledgeable person

As a result of this challenge, we reformulated the UBH to accommodate the exigencies of Ìkạ̀lẹ̀ word formation as follows

> The syntacticosemantic specification of the base may be complex. A WFR (word formation rule) may operate on either this or that provided its output is syntactically or semantically unique.

This work claims that reduplicants in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect are essentially affixes. The reduplicants in the samples involving reduplication, drawn from native speakers of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, which were analysed, performed functions comparable to those of known affixes in English, Standard Yorùbá as well as Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, as seen in the examples repeated here.

10a kọ́n 'to be full' → kíkọ́n 'being full'

 b gbóghó 'to carry money' → gbóghógbóghó 'carrier of money/stealer of

money'

 c dede 'all' → dedeèdè 'all without exception'

Fixed segmentism, a phenomenon in which invariant segments appear in the reduplicant, is not only applicable to segments alone, it is also found in the suprasegments, particularly tone, as witnessed in 11

11a kíkà 'reading'

 bàtàbata 'very massive'

This study also reveals that in addition to phonological segmentism, morphological segmentism is also attested in Ìkálẹ̀, where tones are pre-associated on reduplicants to give words formed through them a different meaning from other reduplicants which have no pre-associated tone. This is exemplified with example 56 in Chapter Four and repeated below.

12a Kederekedere 'all clear'

 b Kederekèdèrè 'very clear'

Our findings indicate that inflection is attested in Ìkálẹ̀ morphology. Some words have inflected forms and their carriers include tense, aspect, mood and the pronoun. The perfective marker for instance, has three morpho-syntactic forms *ti*, *tí*, and *tì* which are used in declarative affirmative sentences, sentences with progressive aspectual marker and negative declarative sentences respectively, as seen in example 8 of Chapter Five, repeated below as 13

13a Olú ó ti lọ

 Olú HTS perf. go   Olu has gone.

 b Olú é tí lọ

 Olú HTS+prog perf. go   'Olú has started going'

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c   Olú é è tì lọ

   Olú HTS+ neg perf go   'Olú has not gone'

Ìkálẹ̀ has five pronoun forms instead of the six forms which is found in Standard Yorùbá. Only one pronoun form is used for the second and third person plural. Resolving the differences in their reference is best done pragmatically. Again, it is established that dependent pronouns have various case forms both in subject and object positions. Independent pronouns however, have only one form in all its distribution. The following tables, repeated from Chapter Five, clearly show the pronoun forms.

Table V: Dependent Pronoun Forms in Subject Position

Pronoun	Form				
	A	B	C	D	E
1st sg	mo	ma	me	mé	mé
2nd sg	wo	wa	we	wé	wé
3rd sg	ó	á	é	é	é
1st pl	a	a	ẹ	ẹ́	ẹ́
2nd pl	ànán	ànán	ẹ̀nẹ́n	ẹ́nẹ̀n	ẹ̀nẹn

The forms in A are used in simple declarative sentences without aspectual markers.

   The forms in B are used in sentences indicating future tense. The pronoun forms in this column inflect for future tense. The forms in C are used in sentences indicating progressive and habitual aspect. The pronoun forms in this column inflect for progressive and habitual aspect. Those forms in D and E are used in negative sentences. The pronoun forms in these two columns inflect for negation. Those in D have the reading that the action denoted by the verb did not take place while those in E indicate that they do not habitually take place.

Table VI: Independent Pronouns

Pronoun	Form
1st sg	èmi
2nd sg	ùwọ
3rd sg	òghun / òun
1st pl	àwa
2nd /3rd pl	Àghan

Table VII: Pronoun Forms in Non Jussive Imperative Sentences

Pronoun	Form
1st sg	mi / in
2nd sg	ẹ
3rd sg	v̄?
1st pl	a
2nd /3rd pl	ànan

The set of pronouns used in the subjunctive mood have their unique forms, they are neither subjective nor objective.

Table VIII: Object Pronouns

Pronoun	Form	
	A	B
1st sg	mi	mí
2nd sg	ẹ	ẹ́
3rd sg	v̄?	v́?
1st pl	wa	wá
2nd /3rd pl	ghan	ghán

The object pronouns in column A of this table are used as objects of high tone verbs while the forms in B are used as objects of low and mid tone verbs.

It is claimed that the pronouns in the subject position inflect for Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM). It is also claimed that the object Pronouns inflect for tone. Thus, tone is a partial exponent of meaning for all the object pronouns except the 3rd person singular (as seen in table viii). The only exponent of the 3rd person singular object pronoun is an autosegment in form of a tone. This makes tone also a sole exponent of morphology. However, because the tone representing the 3rd person singular pronoun has no tone bearing unit, it is incorporated into the structure of its subcategorised verb as seen in example 99c of Chapter Five with the verb phrase *ri* 'to see him/her/it'.

This study revealed that tone plays crutial roles both as sole and partial exponents of meaning in the pronoun system and in reduplication. This places Ì kálẹ̀ as one of the

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speech forms in which suprasegmental sounds serve morphological functions. It also confirms Goldsmith's assertion that some phonological tiers do serve as morphemes.

It is claimed in this work that dependent pronouns are clitics while independent pronouns are not. The behaviour of dependent pronouns in that they cannot be co-ordinated or modified and that they always lean on adjacent items for their spell-out, informed this claim.

Finally, we claim that one of the reasons why dependent pronouns are not amenable to the structure of modification in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect is a consequence of the complexity in their morphological make up. They inflect for tense, aspect and mood. Combining the features of tense, aspect and mood make them to see beyond the nominal phrase where only nominals are modified. Independent pronouns are amenable to the structure of modification and co-ordination because they don't inflect for tense, aspect and mood. They do not have the type of complexity which dependent pronouns have in their structure.

14a.	Mo	wá	'I came'
b.	Me	wa	'I am coming'
c.	Ma a	wá	'I will come'
d.	Mé è	wá	'I did not come'

6.2   Suggestions for further studies

This work is non-exhaustive. There are other areas of the morphology of Ìkálẹ̀ dialect like Clipping, Blending, Acronym, Conversion and Compounding that require further research. A study of compounds, for instance, will help to differentiate between fully reduplicated forms which serve as compounds (for example 'ọmaọma' (child's child /grand child) and those which are used as affixes (for example 'àgbààgbà' – elders).

Further research into the pronoun forms of other dialects is also necessary as this will help to forge a unified treatment of pronouns in Yorùbá, with the intention of bringing out the various parameters that are at work in individual dialects of Yorùbá.

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