FORMS AND FEATURES OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE ÌLÀJẸ DIALECT OF YORÙBÁ

BY

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ABSTRACT

Personal pronouns specify grammatical features of the persons involved in discourse. Previous studies in Ìlàjẹ, a southeastern Yorùbá dialect, have identified these features as basically morphosyntactic in nature despite their various morphophonemic realisations in syntax. However, the geometry of the morphophonemic features as represented in the native speakers' intuition has not been formalised. This study was, therefore, designed to examine Ìlàjẹ personal pronouns, with a view to describing their forms, features and syntactic distributions encoded in the lexicon to provide a feature-based generative analysis.

Heidi Harley's Feature Geometry and John McCarthy's Nonconcatenative Approach complemented with Phase Theory of Noam Chomsky's Minimalist Program were adopted as framework. The ethnographic design was used. Five communities (Ìgbọ́kọ̀dá, Ugbò, Ayétòrò, Ùlóghó and Ìkórígho-Ètìkàn) were purposively selected to represent different geographical locations spanning the entire Ìlàjẹ Local Government Area of Ondo State. Guided by Ibadan Syntactic Paradigm, key informant interviews were conducted with 10 native speakers between 37 and 97 years, two each from the communities. Interviews were complemented with audio recordings of Ìlàjẹ folksongs. Data were subjected to syntactic interlinear glossing and nonlinear morphological analyses.

Fifty-one personal pronoun forms were identified in Ìlàjẹ: 31 dependent and 20 independent. The dependent pronouns have the following forms: six affirmative and six negative subjects, six high-toned and six mid-toned objects, six possessives, a resumptive and a logophor. The independent pronouns have these forms: six affirmative and six negative subjects, six objects and a resumptive. In each pronoun, four major features were identified which were further specified into eight distinctive sub-features with each having a binary + (positive) or – (negative) value as follows: person [+/-participant, +/-speaker], number [+/-count, +/-singular], case [+/-nominative, +/-accusative] and saliency [+/-definiteness, +/-logophoric]. The first, second and third person pronouns bear [+participant, +speaker], [+participant, -speaker] and [-participant, -speaker] features respectively, while singular and plural pronouns bear [+count, +singular] and [+count, -singular]. The nominative, accusative and possessive pronouns are characterised with [+nominative, -accusative], [-nominative, +accusative] and [-nominative, -accusative], respectively. Discourse-sensitive emphasis of definiteness and logophoricity in the pronoun were specified as follows: [+definiteness, +logophoric] for the logophoric pronoun, *òghun*; as [+definiteness, -logophoric] for nonlogophoric independent pronouns (*èmi* 'I', *ùwọ* 'you'); and as [-definiteness, -logophoric] for the dependent pronouns (*mo* 'I', *wo* 'you'). The third person singular resumptives, *rẹ̀* and *òghun* are specified as [-definiteness] and [+definiteness] respectively since these resumptives agree with any antecedent regardless of its number or person features. Ìlàjẹ exhibits two syntactic distributions of the pronouns. One, independent pronouns are restricted to the Determiner Phrase (DP) and the Complementizer Phrase (CP) domains. Two, the dependent pronouns occur within the light verb phrase (*v*P) domain. Personal pronouns in Ìlàjẹ have three spell-out phases: the DP phase (for *v*P-internal independent pronouns); the *v*P phase (for all dependent pronouns); and the CP phase (for the independent pronouns moved beyond the Tense Phrase).

Ìlàjẹ dependent and independent personal pronouns are more appropriately analysed using detailed specifications of their features. These features determine the syntactic distribution of each form of the pronoun.
Keywords: Personal pronoun, Morphosyntax, Ìlàjẹ-Yorùbá, Yorùbá syntax
Word count: 494

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Akintoye SamsonJAPHET with matriculation number: 83449 in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ìbàdàn, Ìbàdàn, Nigeria under my supervision.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to
my creator, the Almighty God;
my wife, Margaret Olúwatóyìn Japhet;
my daughter, Blessing Ọrẹolúwa Japhet;
and
my son, Joshua Pípéloreolúwa Japhet.

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for use in the Local Government Area Office. He was very kind to me and came to my help when I desperately needed it.

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am yet to see a woman that intercedes for others in prayerbetter than she does. I do pray that God will reward her abundantly.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Acc	-	accusative
+Acc	-	accusative case specification for object pronouns
-Acc	-	non-accusative case specification for non-object pronouns
Addr	-	addressee (discourse participant)
APPOS	-	appositive
C	-	Complementizer
C-I	-	conceptual intentional system
conj.	-	Conjunction (see also & and &P).
+Count	-	number specification for countable nouns
CP	-	Complementizer phrase
D	-	Determiner
d	-	functional head in the DP shell
Def	-	Definiteness feature
DP	-	Determiner Phrase
*d*P	-	projection of determiner into DP shell
Emph	-	Emphasis
EPP	-	Extended Projection Principle
FUT	-	future
GEN	-	genitive (see also POSS)
H	-	high tone
+H	-	high tone polarity feature
-H	-	non-high tone polarity feature
+HIGH	-	tonal specification for high-toned object pronouns
-HIGH	-	tonal specification for mid-toned object pronouns
HP	-	a term in PIC representing the head of a phase
HTS	-	high-toned syllable
intr.	-	intransitive (as of verb)
L	-	low tone
+L	-	low tone polarity feature
-L	-	non-low tone polarity feature
LA	-	lexical array
LEX	-	lexicon

LF	-	logical form
LTS	-	floating low tone syllable
Log	-	logophor
+Log	-	logophoric feature specification for pronoun
-Log	-	nonlogophoric feature specification for pronoun
+LTS	-	tonal specification for possessive pronouns preceded by a floating low tone
-LTS	-	tonal specification for possessive pronouns not preceded by the floating low tone
M	-	mid tone
MP	-	Minimalist Program
N	-	numeration in an array
N	-	noun
NEG	-	Negator, negation feature
+Neg	-	negative polarity feature specification for pronoun
-Neg	-	positive polarity feature specification for pronoun
NegP	-	Negation Phrase
NEUT	-	neuter
NOM	-	nominative
+Nom	-	nominative case specification for subject pronouns
-Nom	-	non-nominative case specification
NP	-	Noun Phrase
Obj	-	object
OHT	-	Object high tone
P	-	preposition
Part.	-	participant (in discourse)
+Part	-	participant feature specification for pronoun
-Part	-	non-participant feature specification for pronoun
per	-	person feature
Person		grammatical person: first, second or third.
PIC	-	phase impenetrability condition
PF	-	phonetic form

pl	-	plural feature
PP	-	prepositional phrase
Pronoun	-	personal pronouns (referring to both independent and dependent forms)
RE	-	referring expression
Sal	-	saliency feature
Sbj	-	subject
+Sbj	-	place specification for subject pronouns
-Sbj	-	place specification for object pronouns
SM	-	sensorimotor system
sg	-	singular feature
+sg	-	feature specification for singular pronoun
-sg	-	feature specification for non-singular pronoun
Spk	-	speaker (discourse participant)
+Spk	-	feature specification for speaker
-Spk	-	feature specification for non-speaker
SHT	-	subject high tone
T	-	tense
t	-	trace of a moved item
Top	-	topic functor
TopP	-	topic phrase
TP	-	tense phrase
tr.	-	transitive (as of verb)
UG	-	Universal Grammar
V	-	verb
v	-	light verb (in VP shell)
VP	-	verb phrase
*v*P	-	light verb projection
YP	-	a term in PIC representing the spell-out domain of a phase
1pl	-	first person plural feature value
1sg	-	first person singular feature value
2pl	-	second person plural feature value

2sg	-	second person singular feature value
3pl	-	third person plural feature value
3rd	-	third person singular feature value
α	-	symbol denoting an unknown or unvalued feature
ø	-	null or non-overt element
…	-	used for elision within diagram
[ ]	-	used in enclosing morphosyntactic features (in syntactic analysis)
>	-	derivation symbol
Θ	-	theta domain (of the Grohmann's three prolific domains)
Ω	-	omega domain (of the Grohmann's three prolific domains)
Φ	-	phi domain (of the Grohmann's three prolific domains)
&	-	Conjunction, head of Conjunction Phrase
&P	-	Conjunction Phrase

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Personal pronouns usually constitute a close-group category.Empirically, pronoun studies are tending towards sociolinguistic and interdisciplinary studies. Considerations are now including the use of pronouns in politics, publications ethics, journalism, psychology, corpus and computational studies.

In Yoruba, pronoun studies are still in their infancy. Yoruba pronouns have not been extensively studied beyond the structural linguistics subfields of phonology, morphology and syntax. Even at this stage, their analysis is not withoutsome problems. Therefore more studies are needed before serious interdisciplinary studies of these pronouns can fully commence. In Standard Yoruba, previous studies on personal pronouns generally classify them intoshort and long forms, which have also been described as dependent and independent forms respectively (Yusuf, 1998). The short pronouns are also called pronominal clitics in Akinlabi (1985); the long formsare known as pronominals in Bamgbose (1990). Based on Akinlabi's (1985) position, only the long pronouns are the true pronouns; their short counterparts are mere clitics. From Bamgbose's (1990) view, the short pronouns are the true pronouns, while their long counterparts are rather classified as grammatical nouns also known as *pronominals*. It is also important to note that Yoruba pronouns have also been called polymorphic nouns (Awobuluyi, 1978). Therefore,the category identity of the pronoun can be interpreted differently: ranging from verbal category (asin Akinlabi's (1985)pronominal clitics), through grammatical category (as in the general concept of pronouns) to lexical category (as inBamgbose's (1990) grammatical nouns).

In order to really understand the pronoun category better several studies have been undertaken in some Yoruba dialects either to fully describe the pronouns or to describe their relevance to the subject matter in those studies(Ajongolo, 2005; Japhet, 2012;

Akintoye, 2014; Adewole, 1996; Adesuyan, 2005; 2008; 2018; Taiwo, 2004; 2007; Taiwo and Japhet, 2019; Ikotun, 2003; Japhet, 2012; 2013a; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; 2020). These dialect-based studies provide internal diachronic evidenceto the usual standard Yoruba synchronic studies on the pronouns (Awobuluyi, 1992).

The current study is a contribution from Ìlàjẹ dialect to the on-going dialect-based studies on Yoruba pronouns. The study was designed to answer some questions. These include identifying the formalmorphosyntactic difference between the independent and dependent subclasses of the pronoun; investigating the pronominal properties of the logophoric and the resumptives pronouns; and finally, providing a comprehensive list of the pronoun forms in Ìlàjẹ along with the lexical entries of their features.

In methodology, the theoretical framework combines McCarthy's nonconcatenative morphological approach (which deals with morphophonemic aspects) and the Chomsky's Phase Theory (which deals with the morphosyntactic aspects). and Feature Geometry (which captures the hierarchy in the pronoun features) in the data collected from Ìlàjẹ native speakers within the Ìlàjẹ Local Government Area.

This study providesempirical supports to the universal proposals by adapting them to Yoruba pronouns. These include Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis, Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) decomposition of pronouns, Frigerio's (2017) saliency andFelser's (2004) convergent stranding (of resumptive pronouns).

This study provides important updates on the study of Yoruba pronouns. It contributes to some of the general claims[1] on Yoruba pronouns especially those made in Standard Yoruba such as Akinlabi's (1985) pronominal clitics, and Bamgbose's (1990) grammatical nouns pronominals. The study also addressed some dialect-specific problems in Ìlàjẹ. It corrects some of the limitations in Japhet's (2012)[2] analysis of Ìlàjẹ pronoun. The areas covered in this respect include determining the features of the logophoric pronoun, the inclusion of resumptives in Ìlàjẹ pronouns and providing an elaborate feature-based composition of Ìlàjẹ pronouns.

[1] This trend started with Awobuluyi's (1978) classification of Yoruba pronouns as polymorphic nouns. This is not given much attention in this study because this view has been subsumed in Awobuluyi's subsequent works (Awobuluyi, 2013).

[2] Japhet (2012) was undertaken in the same framework:McCarthy's nonconcatenative morphological approach (to handle the morphophonemic aspects) and the Chomsky's Minimalist Program (to handle the morphosyntactic aspects).

1.2 Statement ofthe problem

Yoruba pronouns have been studied from different linguistic perspectives:ranging from phonological to morphosyntactic (Akinlabi, 1985; Bamgbose, 1990; Awobuluyi, 2013; 2017; Akanbi, 2018). As thisdiversity in approach offers solutions to some problemson pronouns analysis, but it also creates some other problemswhich require further studies.Yoruba pronouns have therefore received various scholarly attentions right from when they were called polymorphic nouns (Awobuluyi, 1978) to the point of covert form analysis (Awobuluyi 2013; 2017; Akanbi, 2018). The challenges posed by previous studies include discovery of more forms of the pronoun, the need to identify more features in the description of the forms, the proper way to formally describe the features by linking each pronoun form to its appropriate underlying features.

In addition to the gaps stated abovecoming fromthe study of the pronoun forms in standard Yoruba, therealso exist some gaps in the study of Ìlàjẹ pronouns (Japhet, 2012; Adesuyan, 2018).Japhet (2012) providesa detailed analysis of Ìlàjẹ pronouns,using a non-linear multi-level theoretical framework.This provides a vivid description of the distribution of the pronouns by proposing an emphasis feature, [+Emphasis] a morphosyntactic feature which distinguishes the independent pronoun forms from their dependent counterparts. As promising as the proposal seems to be,it fails to properly account for the discourse-related aspects of the pronouns. The morphosyntactic features of the logophoric pronoun (third person singular), *òghun* and those of resumptive pronouns are not captured in that proposal.

While Japhet (2012) claims that the logophorhas the emphasis feature,[+Emphasis];it is confusing to have the same emphasis feature associated with the non-logophoric independent pronouns.Whereas the syntactic distributionof the independent pronouns contrasts with that of the logophor, yet, the logophor being disyllabic, patterns with the independent pronoun in form. Thelogophoric pronounbehaves like the dependent pronouns because both can only occur in non-focusing positions. In this syntactic distribution, the logophor demonstrates affinity with the dependent pronouns in morphosyntactic features. Then it looks contradictory to associate the logophor with a morphosyntactic emphasis which is not associated withother dependent pronouns.A similar morphological syncretism applies to the resumptive forms:*rẹ̀* (possessive form)

and *òghun*, (emphatic form). Each of these resumptives always appears in third person singular pronoun form regardless of whether its antecedent is plural in number or of first or second inperson feature. These are areas that have not been properly addressed in Ìlàjẹ.

The present study, therefore, investigates Ìlàjẹ pronouns beyond the limitations in previous works by using the framework that can reconceptualise the emphasis feature ([+Emphasis]) in order to capture the inadequacies observed in Japhet's (2012) analysis of Ìlàjẹ pronouns. The present studyseeks to formulategeneralisationswhich depict the native speakers' intuition on the pronoun in the Ìlàjẹ dialect of Yoruba.

1.3 Research questions

The study was designed to answer the following questions.

i. What is the major feature differentiating the independent pronouns from their dependent counterparts in Ìlàjẹ?
ii. What distinguishes the logophor, *òghun*, from other third person singular forms of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ?
iii. What are the features underlying the resumptive forms of the pronoun?
iv. What is the feature specification of each Ìlàjẹ pronoun (as encoded in the native speakers' lexicon)?

1.4 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to determine the morphosyntactic features of personal pronouns and how these features contribute to their syntactic derivations. Based on the research questions stated above, the specific objectives are to:

i. identify the major morphosyntactic difference between the dependent and the independent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ
ii. distinguish the third person singular logophoric pronoun, *òghun* from its non-logophoric counterparts in Ìlàjẹ;
iii. identify features that determine the derivation of resumptive pronouns in Ìlàjẹ;
iv. produce the lexical entries of Ìlàjẹ pronouns that can represent the native speakers' intuition guiding the computation system in the dialect.

1.5 Justification for the study

The present study is undertaken to fill some gaps. First, Japhet (2012) makes several claims that require a full exploration of the major conceptual framework to validate. Second, it is important to justify the theoretical validity of other major claims made on Yoruba pronouns, as they affect Ìlàjẹ, in order to establish a language-internal empirical justification from dialectal point-of-view. This include theview as to whether the short pronouns should be best called clitics or not. Third, the form of the third person singular pronoun requires more in-depth studies to distinguish it from the logophoric form. Fourth, there is the need to show the morphosyntactic features of the resumptive pronouns which before now have not been described in the dialect. Finally, the entire pronoun system needs to be described in order to show how the morphosyntactic feature interrelates among the various forms of the pronoun.

1.6 Significance of the study

The study provides data for more linguistic investigations on the pronoun in Yoruba grammar. This study is relevant in Yoruba pedagogical grammar. Its application in Standard Yoruba canprovide teachers with the parameter which classifies the pronouns into long (independent) and short (dependent) forms. This takes the classification ofYoruba pronouns beyond the well-known parameters of case, gender and number. The study makes it clear that the choice between the long and short forms of the pronoun depends on saliency, just as the choice between singular and plural forms depend on number. Therefore, saliency must be taught just as number is taught on Yoruba pronouns.

The study can also be applied in Yoruba journalism. Pronouns are very important to journalists especially the current development in genderreference. Although Yoruba pronouns are gender neutral, they have some important attributes that aid personal reference. Apart from the speaker-addressee features, the study provides helpful guides on the relevance of a special pronoun often used in reporting but had not being wellstudied as part of the pronoun paradigm. That is the third person singular logophoric pronoun. This pronounis not only employed for itsambiguity-reducing function; but it is the only choice of pronoun that can be used in reporting the speech of a speaker in an indirect reported

speech. Despite the high use of the logophoric pronoun in Yoruba news items, it is yet to be recognised as an important member of Yoruba pronoun system.

1.7 Scope of the study

The scope of analysis focuses mainly on the use of personal pronouns in both simple affirmative and negative clauses,as well as the possessive forms showing the first, second and third person markings. The subjunctive forms are not considered as separate forms in this study since the subjunctive marker does not fuse with the pronouns unlike the negator marker and the subject high-toned element. The account provided in this study does not cover other forms of pronoun (i.e. *èyí* 'this one', *ìyẹ̀n* 'that one') that cannot be considered to be personal pronouns because they lack the person feature.

1.8 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter one provides the general introduction to the study. Chapter two provides reviews of relevant literatures by situating the study into the available research gaps left by previous works. The chapter two provides insights into the adopted theoretical framework citing relevant works on the adopted theories and describing their application to the current study.Chapter three discusses the methodology employed in the study. Chapters four provides the discussion of the results, while chapter five provides the summary and concludes the thesis.

1.9 The Ìlàjẹ people

Ìlàjẹ is a South-eastern Yoruba (SEY) dialect. (Ajongolo, 2005). The Ìlàjẹ as a homogenous linguistic community reside in Ìlàjẹ Local Government Area of Ondo State, which used to be part of the defunct Ìlàjẹ Ẹsẹ-Odo Local Government Area until October 1, 1996. Ìlàjẹ Local Government is the largest local government in Ondo State with a population figure of 290,615 at the 2006 census within an area of 1,318 km². The local Government Area is on latitude 5.30^{o}' – 6^{o}15'N and Apart from the Atlantic Ocean on the southern boundary, Ilajeland shares land boundaries with the Ijebu (in Ogun State), the Ìkálẹ (in Okitipupa Local Government), the Itsekiri (in Delta State), and the Apọi and Arogbo Ijaw (in the Ese-Odo local Government Area). See figure 1.1.

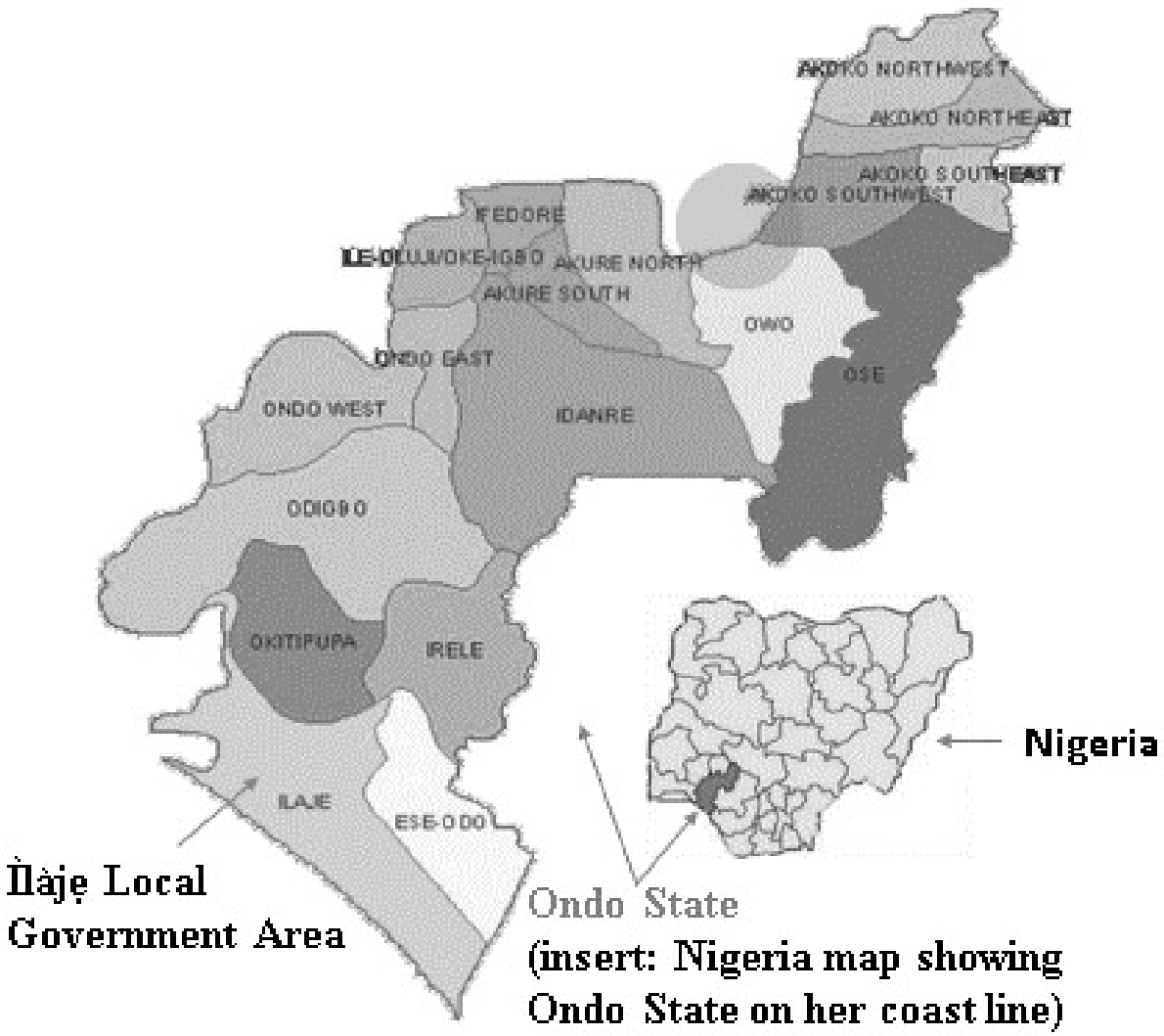


Figure.1.1 Ondo State map showing Ìlàjẹ Local Government and its position on the vast coastline of the state.
(Source: Salau, R.O. and Owoeye, 2016: 145)

Historically, the Ìlàjẹ were said to be the sympathizers of Prince Òrómákẹn who left Ile Ife, their original ancestral home in the 10th century. Based on the present traditional political institutions, the region is grouped into eight kingdoms, namely: *Màhinland* under His Royal Majesty Àmàpetu of Màhín, *Ugbòland* under His Royal Majesty Olúgbò of Ùgbò Kingdom, *Àhérìland* under the Maporure and *Etìkànland* under the Oníkàn of Ètìkàn, *Òdòńláland* under the Alágho of Odòńlá, *Obeńlaland* under the Olúbo of Òbèńlá, *Òbè Ògbàròland* under the Òdoka of Òbè Ògbàrò, *Ìgbộ́kọ̀dá* under the Olú of Ìgbộ́kọ̀dá and *Igbó-egunrín* under the Òdede of Igbó-egunrín.

Within the local Government, the people live in small settlements away from the kingdoms. Some of these settlements[3] are uniquely named in way that can suggest their origin. In this way, may Ìlàjẹ towns look similar due to the similarity in their derivation, especially those that are derived by forming compounds with the following ecological terms: *àgọ́-* 'tent', *òdún-* 'neighbourhood of' *ẹ́kẹ́* 'fresh water-based' (townsvillages.com, 2021).

Many a town in ilaje derived their names from *Àgọ́-compounds*. They form compounds with *àgọ́* 'tent' to indicate that the town initially evolved from someone compound such as can be seen in *Àgọ́ Àlùfa* 'Priest's town' and *Àgọ́ Natì* 'Nath's town'. In the same way, the list includes: *Àgọ́ Ikuebolati, Àgọ́ Olómídẹ́gún. In Etikan end, there are Àgọ́ Egun, Àgọ́ Festus, Àgọ́ Gbobaniyi, Àgọ́ Ijebu, Àgọ́ Ikumapayi, Àgọ́ Ìwàbí, Àgọ́ Lubi, Àgọ́ Oluji* and *Àgọ́ Aiyetitun*.

Another important town-naming formative in ilaje is *Òdún*. Towns with *Òdún* formative include *Òdún Ògúngbẹ̀jẹ́, Òdún oriretán, Òdún Òyìnbó, Òdún Yonren. In Mahin kingdom, there are Òdún Ọlọ́jà, Òdún Olúma* and *Òdún Òróyo*.

Towns are also named after their freshwater habitat. These include: *Ẹ́kẹ́ Atíyé, Ẹ́kẹ́ Baalẹ, Ẹ́kẹ́ didi, Ẹ́kẹ́ ilutitun, Ẹ́kẹ́ Itiola, Ẹ́kẹ́ Moki, Ẹ́kẹ́ lílá* and *Ẹ́kẹ́ Ofolajetan*. In *Ètìkàn* area of Ìlàjẹ, some settlements have their names formed with *Ubà* meaning settlement. These include *Ubà Agba, Ubà Akobi, Ubà Etikan,* and *Ubà Yellow*.

Apart from the environmental terms in naming settlements, Ìlàjẹ also have a number of them sharing compound formatives. In this way many towns evolved when members of a family moved to another location but have the new placed named as their

[3]A map of these settlements is available in appendix 2.

own extension of their former home. A good example of this are the various towns named *Òbè: Òbè Adún, Òbè Akingboye, Òbè Apata, Òbè Arenewo, Òbè Dàpọ̀, Òbè Enikansèlú, Òbè ifenla, Òbè Iji, Òbè Jẹ̀dó, Òbè Magbe, Òbè lílá, Òbè Ọ̀gbàrò, Òbè Olomore, Òbè Òrìsàbínọ́nẹ, Òbè Rebimino, Òbè Rewoye* and *Òbè Sedàra,*

Names of some towns evolved from religious pilgrimage-setting. The people moved together due to some religious ideals that they thought required some special Zionism. The names of such towns are usually derived in compounds with *Zion*: (pronounced: Sáyọ̀nì). Such is the case with *Zion Gbabijo, Zion Igbokoda, Zion Mahintedo, Zion Ogogoro* and *Zion Pẹ̀pẹ̀*. Ìlàjẹ local government therefore have a large number of small towns spreading from the state's western border with Ogun State to the eastern border with Delta State. Some are settlements are in the hinterland having fresh water and small pieces of land to plant plantains, grow palms and bananas. However, some of the towns are in the brackish or salty water areas of the coast where streets and houses are made on wooden stilts. This way of life is normal in that part of the world because the ground is below the sea level. So the land is usually flooded through the year except in the peak of the dry season.

The earliest known mention of Ìlàjẹ in linguistic works was based on its classification as a regional dialect (Omamor, 1976; Akinkugbe, 1978). In relation to the current study, the dialect was first mentioned in on Yoruba pronouns in Awóbùlúyì (1992) where it provides support to the argument on the derivation of the second person singular pronoun, *o* from *iwọ* + *ó*, (being the underlying structure as evident in the Ìlàjẹ form *wo* from which *o,* the current form in Standard Yoruba is derived).

1.10 Summary

This chapter presents the general introduction to the study, stating the problem, the research questions generated from the problem, as well as the objectives that will be met in answering the questions. The chapter states the justification for undertaking the research; it also gives the chapter outline of the thesis. It introduces the people of Ìlàjẹ, their dialect and the cultural aspects of their speech community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the literature on Yoruba pronouns citing different works that are of relevance to the current study. The chapter also discusses the relevant aspects of the adopted theory. It started with McCarthy's Nonconcatenative Morphology in the morphophonemic structure of the pronouns. It also describes the adopted Feature Geometry of Harley in providing morphosyntactic analysis of the pronouns. Finally, the chapter provides some basic information on Chomsky's Phase Theory and its implications on determining the syntactic forms of nominals at the spell-out stage of derivation.

2.1 Personal pronouns beyond language studies

Studieson the proper use of pronouns are becoming necessary across disciplines. Areas of interest include which particular kind of pronoun is appropriate for publications in a certain discipline and how authors should refer to themselves in their works. Studies also indicateareas where pronouns ignite research interests within variousdisciplines. (Myers, 1989; Campbell and Pennebaker, 2003; Okumura, 2009; Sela, Wheeler and Sarial-Abi, 2012; Wang, and Karimi, 2019; Kuo, 1999; Twenge, Campbell and Gentile, 2012; Dixon, 2017; Harianja, Yudar, Deliani, Nursafira, and Hamuddin, 2019; Chen, 2020).

2.1.1 Pronouns in journalism

Personal pronouns are very important in Journalism. The need to refer to people with their cultural and socially expected pronouns is always required in journalism in order to avoid social problems while reporting. (Armstrong, 2004; Bever, 2016; Chou and Yeh, 2018; Cruz, Leonhardt and Pezzuti, 2017; Gustafsson Sendén, Sikström and Lindholm, 2015; Li, 2019; Spayd, 2017; Wheeler and Sarial-Abi, 2012; Williams-

Baucom, Atkins, Sevier, Eldridge, and Christensen, 2010; Zimmermann, Wolf, Bock, Peham and Benecke, 2013).

2.1.2 Pronouns in Computational Linguistics

In Computational Linguistics, pronouns are also being studied especially while exploring the anaphoric relations that hold among the objects of discourse. A lot depends on pronouns where textual comprehension of nominals is expected from either human or robotic readers of a text. (Sidner, 1981; Garrod. 1993: Hitzeman and Poesio, 1998; Castagnola, 2002; de Carvalho Maia, Vernice, Gelormini-Lezama, and Almor, 2017).

2.1.3 Pronouns in Psychology and gender studies

Pronoun use is also becoming a major concern in Psychology due to stigmatization, gender stereotypes, the of challenge of a desired social inclusive practice, inflexibility in writing styles, conflicts in in interpersonal cognition, perceptions of closeness and handling of social biases. (Fitzsimons, 2004; Campbell and Pennebaker, 2003; Fitzsimons and Kay, 2004; Gustafsson Sendén, Lindholm and Sikstrom, 2014a; 2014b; de Carvalho Maia,Vernice, Gelormini-Lezama and Almor, 2017)

Another dynamic branch of the psychological approach to pronouns studies comes from the evolving trends from social gender contexts as evident in the LGBT communities. The challenge of social gender bias directly enforces the use of linguistic gender-neutral pronouns in the affected languages. In English several forms are now emerging, such as Ze forms: *ze/zir/zirs*; xe forms: *Xe/xem/xirs*and co forms: *co, cos, coself*.. (Capuzza, 2016; Chak, 2015). This development in not restricted to English.In Sweden, the gender-neutral, hen, has been added to the Swedish Academy Glossary (Gustafsson Sendén, Bäck and Lindqvist, 2015; Tavits and Pérez,2019)

2.2 Studies on Yoruba pronouns

In Yoruba, pronouns have not been extensively studied beyondstructural linguistics (Awobuluyi , 1978; 2001a; 2001; 2004; 2008; 2013; 2017; Bamgbose, 1980; 1986; 1990; Akinlabi, 1985; Ajongolo, 2005; Japhet, 2012; Akintoye, 2014; Adewole, 1996; Adesuyan, 2005; 2008; 2018; Taiwo, 2004; 2007; Taiwo and Japhet, 2019; Adesola, 2005; Japhet, 2012; 2013a; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; 2020). Despite the success of Ikotun's (2003)socio-cultural analysis of Ìjèṣà pronouns wheremisunderstanding, jealousy, favour,

stupidity and mistaken identities can characterise pronoun functions, the need for more structural analyses in different dialects is still required before attention can totally shift towards such socio-cultural and behavioural analysis. Therefore, most studies on Yoruba pronouns remain largely morphophonemic and morphosyntactic in nature especially due to the need to pending issues on the forms of Yoruba pronouns.

2.2.1 General views on the forms of Yoruba pronoun

Various views exist on the actual forms of personal pronoun in Yoruba. The pronouns are divided into long and short pronouns, otherwise known as independent and dependent pronouns respectively (Awóbùlúyì, 1992; 2001a; 2001b; Yusuf, 1998). The long (independent) pronouns are disyllabic in structure, while their short (dependent) counterparts are usually monosyllabic. In another classification, only the short pronouns are considered as true pronouns. Their long counterparts are classified into a different lexical category called pronominals (Bamgbose, 1990)[4].

2.2.2 Views on the short or dependent pronouns

Akinlabi's (1985) view of Yoruba pronoun takes the independent pronouns to be the basic pronouns. The dependent pronouns are clitics called pronominal clitics. Manfredi (1995) also share this view. Another important view shows that subject position of a negative clause takes covert thirdperson singular dependent pronoun. This proposal on covert subject has also been extended to affirmative clauses with third person singular dependent pronouns (Awóbùlúyì, 2008; 2013). The covert third person singular subject proposal has contributed to a new analysis of the subject high toned-syllable now being lexically realised as a high toned-vowel ó preverb instead of being a pronoun being analysed as the third person singular short pronoun in Yoruba (Awóbùlúyì, 1992, 2008; 2013).

2.2.3 Tonal analyses of pronouns

Akinlabi (1985) proposes a phonology-based tone underspecification analysis where the mid tone is considered to be an underspecified high tone. It has not been the case in Ìlàjẹ. Akinlabi's (1985) phonology-based tone underspecification analysisJaphet (2012) provides for Ìlàjẹ an alternative proposal, proving that the dependent pronoun has

[4] This is a Yoruba publication. To read this in English, see Bamgbose (1965) *A short Yoruba grammar.* Ìbàdàn: Heinemann Educational Books (not cited in the references for being dated).

an underlying high tone which is expected to be part of the syntactic objects (SO) selected for the derivation, wherenumeration determines the syntax. Japhet (2012), therefore, accounts for this tonal phenomenon as the overt realisation of the high tone syllable (HTS) in the object position (Akinlabi (1985) considers basic).

In another study, Japhet (2009) had suggested the need to apply the structural analysis of the high tone syllable (HTS) to object position in order to account for the tone change of the short object pronouns. This implies that the high tone syllable can occur both as preverbal and postverbal elements along with the pronoun. In preverbal position, the high tone syllable occurs with the subject as subject high tone (SHT) where it overtly merges with either long pronouns or nouns in subject position. In post-verbal position, it occurs as object high tone (OHT) which may affect the tone of the verb or the tone of the dependent pronouns in object position.

2.2.4 Logophoric analysis of Yoruba pronouns

A general binding analysis of *òun*, the third person singular independent pronoun, is usually considered to be the [+pronominal, -anaphoric] (Yusuf, 1998); however, Lawal (2006) also identifies *òun*as a long-distance anaphor. A long distance anaphor is not bound in its local domain as expected in principle A of the Binding Theory (Cole and Sung, 1994; Progovac, 1992; 1993; Huang and Liu, 2001). In this way, this *òun* is not pronominal, but a long-distance reflexive (LDR). This analysis contrasts with the traditional analysis where such is referred to as a pronoun simply with logophoric function. In this case, logophoric *òun*is an anaphor which carries [-pronominal, +anaphoric] feature instead of the expected [+pronominal, -anaphoric] analysis.

Logophoricity is one of the least discussed areas in Yoruba pronouns. Only very few analyses on Yoruba pronouns ever say anything on it (Adesola, 2005; Japhet, 2012; 2018). Adesola (2006), building on Chomsky's (1981) *avoid pronominal principle*, claims that personal pronouns in Yoruba clauses depends on Null Operators functioning as wh-questions and focus constructions. (Adesola, 2006). Adesola (2005) thus rejects logophoric function of the pronoun by claiming that logophoricity in African languages occurs because the pronoun is inherently dependent on an A-bar null operator. He claims logophoricity is licensed because Yoruba permits the movement of this null operator

which can function as an antecedent of the 'logophoric' pronoun without resulting in weak crossover effects.

2.2.5 Pending issues on Ìlàjẹ pronouns

Japhet (2012) identifies three major types of Ìlàjẹ pronoun, namely: the independent type, the merged type and the covert type. The analysis of the merged forms in Ìlàjẹ affirms the view on the *pronominal clitics* (Akinlabi, 1985; Akinlabi and Liberman, 2000; Manfredi, 1995). Japhet's (2012) analysis of covert pronoun in Ìlàjẹ also confirms the earlier Awóbùlúyì's (1992) non-overt *un* form of the pronoun in Standard Yoruba. The major limitation in Japhet (2012: 104) lies on the problem of the logophor. The study claims that a certain [+E] emphasis feature triggers logophoricity in Ìlàjẹ. The assumption then is that the logophor is not underlyingly different from the monosyllabic third person singular pronoun but that it has to maintain a disyllabic structure due to the presence of the [+E] feature.

The main problem with this proposal is the occurrence of the same [+E] feature in the independent pronouns that are not logophoric. The study does not specify when the [+E] feature carries logophoric function (through which it derives the logophor) and when the feature is not logophoric as in the derivation of the non-logophoric independent pronouns. This shows that the [+E] emphasis feature hasnot been properly formalised to analyse the uniqueness of the logophoric pronoun.

2.3 Preliminaries to the theoretical framework

The study was designed to access the various levels where Yoruba pronouns have been discussed[5]. At phonological level, the role of tone is necessary in determining the form of a pronoun (Akinlabi, 1985). At the morphological level of analysis, there exist a host of ideas ranging from Awobuluyi's (1992, 2013) pronoun derivation patterns to Ajongolo's (2005) non-derivative lexicalist approach. At the syntactic level, the study has to address the following: first, the view that the long pronouns are grammatical nouns

[5]There are some theoretical submissions which directly provide the major theoretical motivation in the preparation of this thesis. These are classified as follows: first, the application tone underspecification in the pronominal system (Akinlabi, 1985); second, the proposal for the long distance anaphora binding in Yoruba pronouns (Lawal, 2006); third, a-bar syntactic approach to the analysis of logophoric pronouns (Adesola, 2005); and forth, determining the major feature that distinguishes the long pronouns from their shorter counterparts (Japhet, 2012).

(Bamgbose, 1990); second, the concord analysis of pronoun (Bamgbose, 1980); the use of the pronouns in reported speech construction and logophoricity (Bamgbose, 1986; Lawal, 2006; Adesola, 2005).

These diverse approaches to the study make the use of a single theory inadequate.

The study adopted three theories: Nonconcatenative Morphology(McCarthy, 1981; McCarthy and Prince, 1998), Feature Geometry Framework(Harley 1994; Harley and Ritter, 2002a, b)and the Phase Theory of Chomsky's (2000) proposal, originally circulated in Chomsky (1998). The Nonconcatenative Morphology approach provides analysis of the tones, melody and morphemic tiers as they affect the forms and functions of pronouns. The Feature Geometry framework, based on the morphosyntactic features, analyses the internal diversities of the various pronouns even when their phonemic forms do not reveal such. The goal of this is to provide distinct lexical entries for the pronouns. Phase Theory is adopted to provide basic analysis of the narrow syntax and that of the spell-out, showing how the identified features contribute to the syntactic operations involving these pronouns.

This combination of theories provides a holistic account which ensures proper interpretation at the syntactic and phonological levels and thereby satisfying the phonological as well as the syntactic interface of the morphology of pronouns.

This approach has two major benefits. First, it ensures the study provides relevant information on the peculiar distributions of the pronouns in the clause system (syntactic output domain) as well as their phonological output (as evident in the various forms, such as: the long, short, affirmative and negative forms). Second, it ensures that the analysis at each domain (phonology or syntax) employs an approach suitable to the specific domain being described.

This section provides the necessary backgrounds to the theoretical frameworks adopted in the study. The first part discusses the relevant aspects of the Nonconcatenative Morphology with emphasis on the tone tier, melody tier and morphemic tier. The second part describes the Feature Geometry of pronouns, focusing on the morphosyntactic features in Ìlàjẹ. The third section provides a basic analysis of the narrow syntax from the enumeration stage to the spell-out stage.

2.4 The Nonconcatenative Morphology

The Prosodic Morphology Framework, a nonlinear approach, accounts for the prosody underlying the morphology of different forms of the pronoun (including the tonal[6] aspect of the pronoun). The analysis describes the phonological output in the structure of the pronoun, showing how various phonological processes contribute to the final morphological form of each pronoun. The nonlinear morphology conventions employed in the analysis include *tone-bearing units* (henceforth TBUs, usually the vowel segments bearing the tones), *tone tier* (the level dedicated to tonal analysis), *melody tier* (the level dedicated to the analysis of sound segments: consonants and vowels), *morphemic tier* (the level dedicated to the atomic analysis of the morpheme), and *delinking* and *relinking* of association lines that link the tiers (these are nonlinear application of processes like elision, deletion, assimilation and tone transfer).

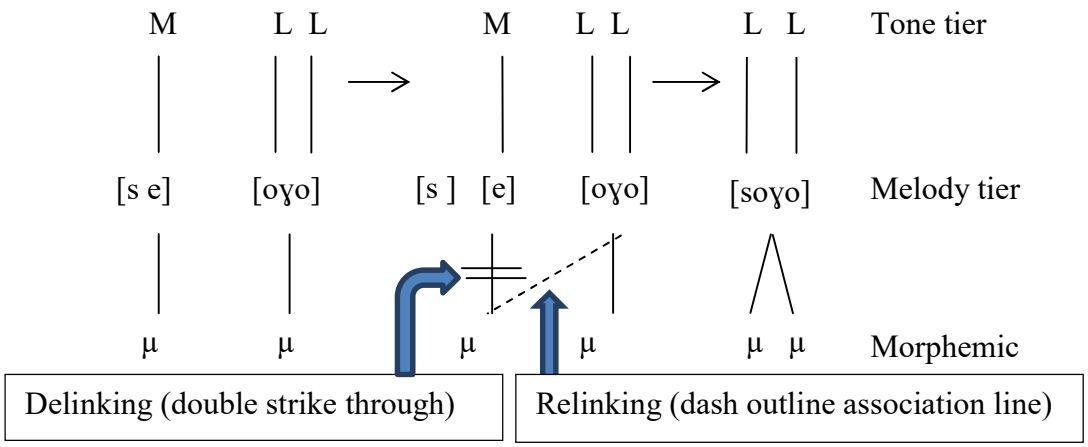
When a process, such as deletion, applies in Prosodic Morphology Framework, it may apply exclusively to any of the tiers involved in the derivation, because the operation is nonlinear. Conventionally, the association line linking the deleted item on a particular tier to the other item on the other tier has to be broken[7] by placing a double strike through across it (the association line). This process is called *delinking*. For the delinked not to be left stranded.It may begin another association in order to establish a new link with another tier. A new association line has to be established between the two newly linked items. The latter process is called *relinking*. In a situation where deletion applies simultaneously to two items on different tiers, which are linked by the same association line, the two items will be delinked together without placing the double strike between them. Both delinking and relinking processes are illustrated in the nonlinear description of 1(a) in 1(b).

1 (a)	[s e]	[òɣò]	>	[soɣo]
	‘do’	‘business’		‘to trade’

[6]Yoruba is a tone language with reported functions on the pronouns (Taiwo, 2004; 2007).

[7] In a situation where deletion applies simultaneously to items on different tiers, which are linked by the same association line, the association line between the deleted items is left unbroken since both items elide. However, the entire ‘multi-tier’ deleted items are enclosed using an enclosure made of dash outline.

(b)



Source: Researcher

This theory has been used in pronoun analysis in Ìlàjẹ (Japhet, 2012). Its adoption then was to provide a parallel analysis with Akinlabi's (1985) autosegmental analysis of the pronoun tones. Akinlabi (1985) has extended his theoretical underspecification to the pronoun showing that the high-toned pronouns are based-generated while the mid-toned ones are assigned default tones being basically toneless. Japhet (2012) provides a morphophonemic view that shows that the high-toned pronouns get the high tone from their syntactic hosts. This give some credits to the use of nonconcatenative morphology approach.

However, this extension of this theory to analyse the feature distinguishing long pronouns from their short counterparts is not that successful. The theory identifies an emphatic feature called [+Emph] to which the pronoun is linked at the morphosyntactic tier. The major shortcoming comes from the inability to constrain this [+Emph] feature further to the point of distinguishing the long pronouns without logophoric use from the one with logophoric use.

2.5 The Feature Geometry

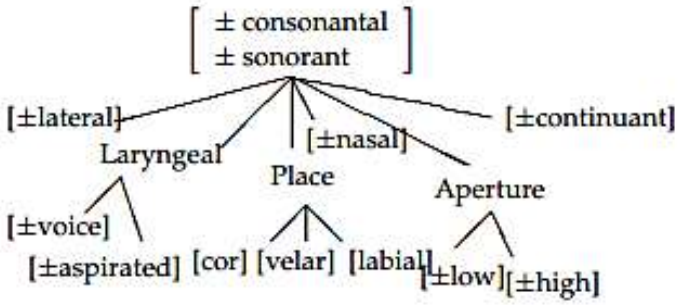
Feature Geometry is the third theory employed to remove the inadequacies noted in the two theories earlier adopted in the study. Feature Geometry is feature-based, therefore, it has been used in pronoun analysis (Harley and Ritter, 2002ab). It has some important advantages over Minimalist Program. First, it shows that features can be ranked. This means these features can be ordered while being applied. This fills the gap left by the

notion that features exist unordered in the lexicon. Feature Geometry has a way of listing features in hierarchy such that derivations are logically described.

Second, this theory views pronouns as discourse interlocutors by specifying their participant features: speaker and addressee. It does not give room to the assumptions that a first person pronoun must also be the speaker in a discourse. This generalisation has been faulted by Harley and Ritter (2002ab); Bhat (2004) and Nikitina (2012b). These empirical studies on pronouns have revealed that there is no one to one matching between the person features and the participants features in the use of pronouns in discourse. This person-participant mismatch has been noted in logophoric pronouns across languages (Bhat, 2004; Nikitina, 2012b). Feature Geometry distinguishes participant features from person features. Therefore, its adoption in the study made it easier to account for the logophoric pronoun than any of the other theories used in the study. However, this does not imply that Feature Geometry could have been adequate to handle every analysis in the entire study. The phonological processes (deletion, assimilation and tone transfer) and the syntactic aspects (movements and their spell outs) would not have been properly captured using Feature Geometry alone.

Feature Geometry proposal was first made by Clements (1985) presenting phonological features with the aim to represent the hierarchy between them as informed by cross-linguistic universals (McCarthy, 1988; Clements and Hume 1995). Contrary to the unordered feature assumption in the feature matrices of Generative Phonology, Feature Geometry seeks to establish the fact that the so-called unordered bundles of distinctive features can be structurally organized if they are grouped together under shared feature nodes. As an offshoot of Autosegmental Phonology, Feature Geometric approach places distinctive features in a structured hierarchy, having the features formally encoded in groups of features under nodes in trees thus that the existence of a node presupposes the presence of a parent node. Hence, the idea that features are ordered constitutes the major contribution of Feature Geometry to Theoretical Linguistics as shown in (2) below.

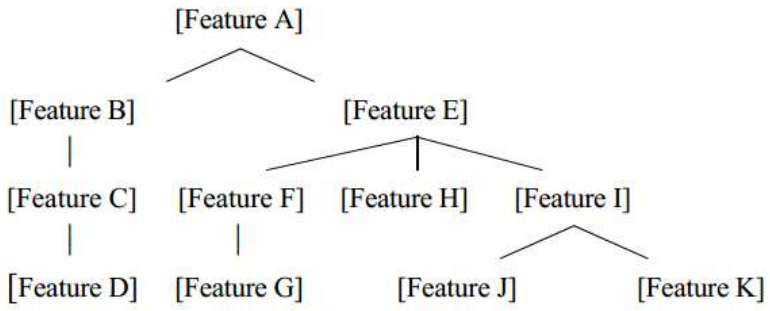
2. A feature geometry of distinctive features (Oostendorp, 2005: 3)



Features are also important in the morphology. Their relevance has also established universal linguistic analysis in the morphology studies as cited by Noyer (1992).

Contrary to the view expressed in (2) which follows Clements' (1985) seminal work on Feature Geometry, Harley (1994) presents only monovalent values [+feature] instead of the bivalent [±feature] as can be seen in (3) below.

3. A typical monovalent feature geometry tree (Ritter and Harley, 1998:7)

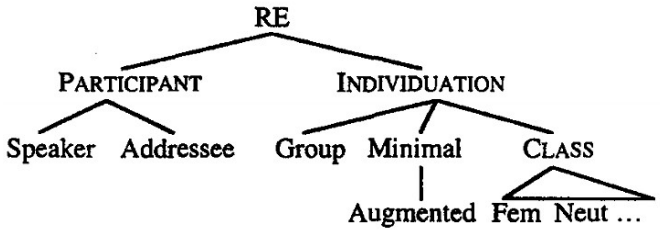


2.5.1 Morphosyntactic Features Geometry

Feature Geometry was first applied in phonology (Sagey 1986; Rice & Avery 1991, Avery 1996). However, it has also been extended to morphosyntactic analyses which include tense (Cowper 1999, Cowper and Hall 1999), case (Béjar and Hall 1999) and pronouns (Harley and Ritter 2002). The phi features have also received some attention in this framework (Harley, 1994, 2002a,b; Béjar and Hall 1999; Cowper, 2003, 2005; and McGinnis, 2004). Harley and Ritter (2002a)provide a feature geometry of phi-features showing that the agreement and the pronominal elements can be represented through geometry of their morphological features (Harley and Ritter, 1988:3). Hence, in the organisation of morphosyntactic geometry feature tree, the root node of the pronoun or the agreement item is represented with the*Referring Expression* (henceforth rendered, *RE*).

The RE dominates the organizing nodes which include: participant and individuation sub-nodes. The organising nodes,in turn, dominate other nodes (Speaker, Group and Class).A typical RE tree of the pronoun is shown in (4) below:

4. Morphosyntactic Feature Geometry tree (Hanson, 2000**:** 6)



Conventionally, the root node is written in upper case; the organising nodes are written in small capital letters while other nodes may include lower case letters. This format helps to display graphical distinction among the items on the geometry features tree. The tree in (4) shows the general structure of the morphosyntactic feature geometry: the person features called participant comprising only first and second persons represented as author/speaker (1st person) and addressee (2nd person) respectively.

2.5.2 The Phi-feature and case analysis

Feature Geometry Framework analyses the morpheme-internal hierarchy of the morphosyntactic features that generate the syntactic distribution of each pronoun. Feature Geometry has some benefits. First, it provides a far more detailed lexicon-based analysis than the one obtainable from the leading syntax-driven linguistic theories such as Distributed Morphology[8] or Minimalist Program[9] where little attention is given to the internal structure of the items in the lexicon.

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[8] There is no Lexicon in DM in the sense familiar from generative grammar of the 1970s and 1980s. In other words, DM unequivocally rejects the Lexicalist Hypothesis. The jobs assigned to the Lexicon component in earlier theories are distributed through various other components in DM. For linguists committed to the Lexicalist Hypothesis, this aspect of DM may be the most difficult to understand or to accept, but it is nevertheless a central tenet of the theory.
Because there is no Lexicon in DM, the term lexical item has no significance in the theory, nor can anything be said to 'happen in the Lexicon', nor can anything be said to be 'lexical' or 'lexicalized.' Because of the great many tasks which the Lexicon was supposed to perform, the terms 'lexical' and 'lexicalized' are in fact ambiguous (Aronoff 1994). See Noyer's frequently asked questions about distributed morphology. Retrieved Dec. 10,2015, from www.ling.upenn.edu> ~rnoyer

[9] Inclusiveness Condition
The interface levels consist of nothing more than arrangements of lexical features. (Chomsky 1995: 225)
This condition, which holds in Chomsky's (1995), prevents syntax from directly accessing the internal structure of the pronoun. Syntax simply interprets the morphosyntactic features with the assumption that a

Second, Feature Geometry provides a more-detailed description of the morphosyntactic features representing than those provided through morphosyntactic labels such case, person and number. Feature Geometry provides a discourse-based analysis of the person feature stating features like [speaker/ author] and [hearer/addressee] which are often overlooked in other feature-based morphosyntactic frameworks.

Third, Feature Geometry also accounts for the morpheme-internal hierarchy of these morphosyntactic features, contrary to the basic assumption that features are unordered in the feature matrices (a notion that generally holds in Generative Phonology and Generative Syntax)[10]. Just as Feature Geometry has been able to put the so-called 'unordered' bundles of distinctive features in systematic hierarchy (Clements, 1985; Sagey, 1986; McCarthy, 1988; Clements and Hume, 1995; Avery, 1996 and Oostendorp, 2005) in Generative Phonology.

Feature Geometryalso provides similar analyses for the morphosyntactic features in morphology and syntax (Cowper, 1999, 2003; 2005; Cowper and Hall, 1999; Bejar and Hall, 1999; Harley, 1994; Harley and Ritter, 2002a,b; Noyer, 1992 and McGinnis, 2004)[11]. Feature Geometry, therefore, provides simplified but systematic analytical details of morphosyntactic features in the same way it does in the analysis of distinctive features in phonology as indicated by Noyer (1992).

> Each language must possess a set of morphosyntactic features such as person, number and class features of various kinds, including sex-based gender and grammatical gender-class (including such properties as physical shape, deixis, animacy, whether real or classificatory, and even phonological shape …. Just as the phonology of a language picks out certain of the set of universal phonological features to be active in defining its lexical alphabet of segments, so too must a language pick out a set of morphosyntactic features (Noyer, 1992: 14)

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item is considered fully inflected from the lexicon. The inflection process being morphological is not the primary concern of the syntactic component. Yet, the same syntax which seems to have little to do with morphology due to its strong lexicalist hypothesis cannot do without the morphosyntactic features stored in this less-studied lexicon.

[10] This is the principle in Chomsky and Halle's (1968)*The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row. Later Chomskian models of generative grammar also uphold the un-ordered features principle.

[11]Its application has gone beyond the initial phonological investigation by accounting for morphosyntactic features related to tense analysis (Cowper, 1999; Cowper and Hall, 1999); case analysis (Bejar and Hall, 1999) and the phi features analysis (Harley, 1994; Harley and Ritter, 2002a, b; Béjar and Hall, 1999; Cowper, 2003; 2005; and McGinnis, 2004).

While this study adheres to the main tenet of the Feature Geometry in terms of hierarchy of features, it however employs the use of bivalent [±feature] approach. The change from the Harley's (1994) strict monovalent approach to a more liberal bivalent [±feature] approach makes some modifications necessary. First, the adoption of the bivalent [±feature] approach enforces the participant status of the third person feature of the pronoun. Harley's (1994) model, does not consider the third person as a participant in discourse[12], and therefore requires that it should not have the person feature analysis (Kayne, 2000; Harley and Ritter, 2002a; Anagnostopoulou, 2005; Harbour, 2006; Adger and Harbour, 2006).

However, there is an alternative view which gives attention to the third person analysis(Noyer, 1992). Nevin (2007) shows the need to specify person feature for the third person pronoun in terms of [-Participant, -Author]. On the basis of this feature composition, the third person is expected to be characterised with a non-participant person feature rather than being considered entirely void of person feature. The current application of Feature Geometry follows Nevin's (2007:274) view. This is the view adopted in the current study.

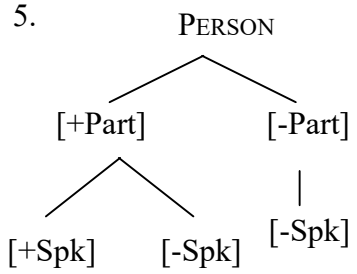
Another proof of the weakness of Harley and Ritter's person underspecification claim on third person pronouns was revealed in Bianchi's (2006) where the third pronouns are to be distinguished from other DPs in the distribution of Italian *chi* 'who' and *quale* 'which' in partitive wh-phrases with the preposition *di* 'of'. This substantiates that the non-participant feature of the third person pronoun does not directly imply that the person feature is absent in the same pronoun. From this premise, it becomes necessary in this study to separate the person feature from the participant feature. While all the traditional

[12] This follows Benveniste (1971) , Bloomfield (1938) and Forchheimer (1953).
Benvéniste (1971:217) writes: "It is not enough to distinguish them (the personal pronouns) from the other pronouns by a denomination that separates them. It must be seen that the ordinary definition of the personal pronouns as containing the three terms, I, you and he, simply destroys the notion of "person." "Person" belongs only to I/you and is lacking in he. (The expression enclosed in parentheses, (the personal pronouns), is added to this excerpt for emphasis." See Benveniste, E. 1971. The nature of pronouns. *Problems in general linguistics*. 217-222. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami.
Bloomfield (1938) says: "1st & 2nd persons are personal, 3rd person is definite" Bloomfield (1938: 225). See Bloomfield, L. 1933. Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
Forchheimer (1953) notes: "Whoever does not act a role in the conversation either as speaker or as addressed remains in the great pool of the impersonal, referred to as 'third person.'" Forchheimer (1953:5). See Forchheimer, P. 1953. The category of person in language. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

personal pronouns are considered having the person feature, the third person differs on the grounds that it lacks participant feature, rather lacking the person feature.

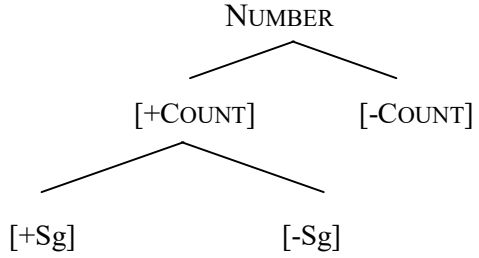
The study, therefore, analyses the person feature with[-participant] specification for the third person pronoun buthaving [+participant] specification for the first and second person pronouns. Therefore, the participant feature [±Participant][13] node now dominates the participant sub-node, [+part], as well as the non-participant sub-node, [-part], which makes it possible for a non-participant person to be accounted for in the pronoun paradigm. All the persons are accounted for through the [±participant] feature. The new approachplaces the Participant node under the Person node instead of having the Person node replaced with the Participant in Harley's model. The geometric tree in (5) shows the adopted version of person analysis in the study.

5.



Another modification applies in the analysis of the number feature which Harley (1994) places under *group node* and *minimal node*. Using the bivalent value system, the number node is valued as [±Count] (Bejar, 2003: 29). The valuation of number is usually [+Count] but can be [-Count] while representing underspecified number value.

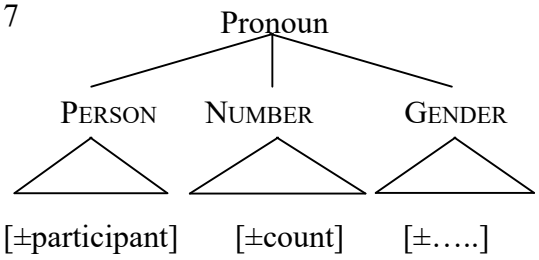
6.



[13]On the bivalent [±Participant] feature specification of the third person pronoun, Ingram (1978) uses [±speaker] and [±hearer] analysis. See this from Ingram, D. 1978. Typology of universals of personal pronouns. *Universals of human language. Vol. 3.* J. H. Greenberg. Ed. Stanford University Press: Stanford. 214- 247.

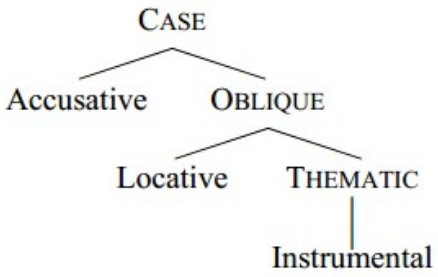
In this way, the individuation node is done away with since third person has been accounted for under participant node. Hence the pronoun root node can directly dominate person, number and gender (class) nodes. This current approach implies that the removal of these traditional terms (person, number and gender) from the analysis may not be as compelling as has been proposed in Harley's model of Feature Geometry analysis, especially while focusing on a single language. The use of the traditional terms: person, number and gender in Feature Geometry brings the current analysis closer to the basic morphosyntactic analysis in syntax as shown in (7) below.

7



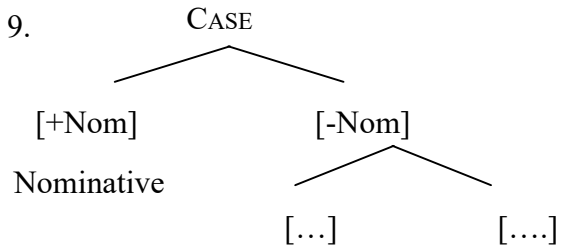
In the current study, case analysis also bears [±feature] assumption. This differs from the typical Harley and Ritter's monovalent approach to case, where a case without dependent nodes is considered redundant in the geometric tree representation. This is why the nominative case (which has no dependent node) is omitted in Harley's tree in (8).

8. A typical monovalent case feature geometry (Bejar and Hall, 1999: 6)



According to Arsenault (2007), the unmarked nominative case feature can be specified. From this premise, the nominative case can be taken as the default case from which other cases (i.e. accusative and possessive) can be determined as non-nominative labelled [-Nom], as shown in (9).

9.



In Ìlàjẹ, the third person pronoun is brought under participant node as [-participant] person. Gender and class are related terms often used interchangeably. However, the*class/gender* node is redundant and therefore not included in the detailed analysis because it is not morphologically marked in the pronouns as in (10).

10. mo mà-á
1sg know-3sg
'I know him/her/it.'

On number analysis, the *minimal* and *group* nodes of Harley and Ritter's model are replaced with *number* node.Therefore, the feature geometry treein the study simply has the number node which directly dominates the count node. The count node is valued as [±count] specifying singular and plural features, singular is considered as the default number marking in nouns.Plural is generally marked through independent morphological pattern with the use of quantifiers, numeral modifiers or the third plural pronoun *àghan* as in (11).

11 (a) ọma yéye
child many
'many children'

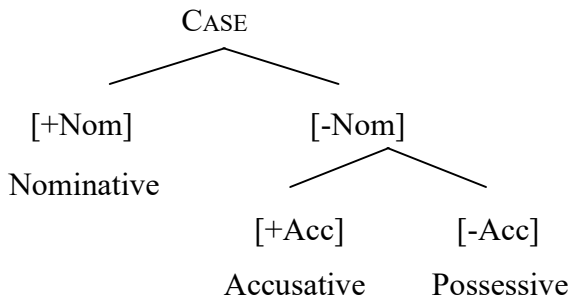
(b) ulé méèjì
house two
'two houses'

(c) àghan ulé
3pl house
'houses'

Using the three cases in Ìlàjẹ, the case tree can be analysed as in (12) taking the nominative as the default. Theanalysis interprets the accusative and genitive as non-

nominative before going further to distinguish the accusative case from the genitive with the feature [± Accusative]. Hence, [± Nominative, ± Accusative] feature complex is employed thus: the nominative is [+Nom, -Acc]; the accusative is [-Nom, +Acc]; the possessive is [-Nom, -Acc].

12. A bivalent analysis of the case feature



2.6 The Minimalist Program

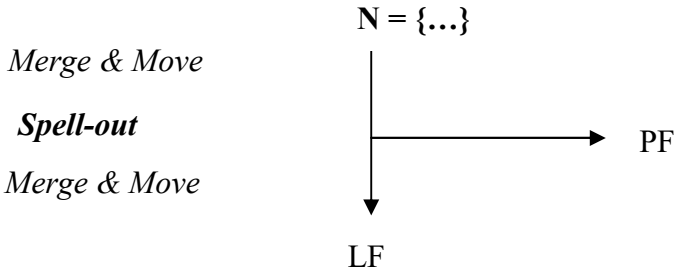
This is the major theory of analysis in the study. It was chosen to provide the morphsyntactic features of the pronouns being analysed. This theory has been used in similar analysis (Ajongolo, 2005; Taiwo 2004; 2007; Japhet, 2012). It was adopted in Japhet (2012) in specifying the phi-features of Ìlàjẹ pronouns. However, it important to state why the theory has to be combined with other theories in this study. Japhet (2012) reveals some limitations of this theory in analysing Ìlàjẹ pronouns. First, this theory assumes that both long and short pronouns are represented uniquely in the lexicon (Ajongolo, 2005; Japhet 2012). However, it does not specify the feature(s) distinguishing the long pronouns from their short counterparts.

Second, the theory also demonstrates some limitations in capturing the logophoric function of the third person singular pronoun. Despite the fact that this phenomenon has been noted the Yoruba reported speech (Bamgboṣe, 1986: 83). The theory does not capture the reported speaker features of pronoun. It is therefore difficult to use it in analysing logophoricity. Due to this theoretical limitation, Adesola (2005) cannot but argue against logophoricity in Yoruba despite the empirical evidence (Manfredi, 1995; Bhat, 2004). With these setbacks being cater for by other theories, Minimalist program simply takes care of the rest aspects of morphosyntactic analysis of the pronouns.

As can be deduced from Strong Minimalist Thesis[14] in the Minimalist Framework, the language faculty is an optimal solution to the conditions imposed on it by the two language-external systems: *conceptual-intentional* (C-I) system and *sensorimotor* (SM) system (also known as *articulatory-perceptual* system). To fulfil the interface conditions, every representation must be legible to the external systems. This happens if it possesses features that can be interpreted by these language-external systems (Citko, 2014:27).In sum, the two external systems along with the computation component form the three major components of the language faculty. These components are listed thus: the narrow syntax, the phonological component Φ and the semantic component Σ.

Following the bare output conditions (rejection of levels of representation that lack conceptual necessity), D-structure and S-structure are eliminated leaving PF and LF as the sole representation levels after the spell-out. Hence, the Lexicon (LEX) directly feeds the syntactic derivation, through operations *Merge* and *Move* in the narrow syntax until the interface point is reached where the sound subunit of the derivation is removed from the thought subunit in the *Spell-out*.

13. Chomsky's T-model of the grammar (adapted from Chomsky's (1995: 219))



2.6.1 The numeration and derivation in the narrow syntax

Each derivation starts with the formation of a lexical array (LA),a set of unordered lexical and functional items selected from the lexicon (LEX) which has the <Phon, Sem>pairs that are to be interpreted at the SM and C-I interfaces respectively. The items

[14] Strong Minimalist Thesis
The substantive thesis is that language design may really be optimal insome respects, approaching a "perfect solution" to minimal designspecifications.(Chomsky, 2000: 93; Citko, 2014:26)

within an array are expected to be unordered. A Lexical Array becomes a Numeration when information is provided on the number of times each item contained therein is selected from the lexicon. The numeration, being a set of selections from the lexicon for lexical tokens, thus requires that every lexical token therein should be assigned an index distinct from every other. A typical convention, in the presentation of lexical array is given in (15).The numeration is usually represented in subscript indices.

14. (a) *They read it*.

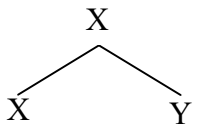
(b) LA= {they, read, it, *v*, T, C, D}

(c) N= {they$_1$, read$_1$, it$_1$, v_1, T$_1$, C$_1$, D$_2$}

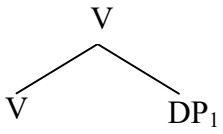
The narrow syntax comprises the tree-building operations (such as Agree and Merge)which observe the inclusiveness condition. Chomsky's Inclusiveness condition states that any structure formed by the computation system must be formed by the elements present in the items selected (Chomsky 1995:228). In other words, no new element(not even the indices) can be added to the computation later. Therefore, *No-Tampering Condition* should hold that Merge of X and Y leaves the two SOs unchanged ensuring the *edge principle* that Merge cannot break up X or Y or add any new feature to them.

The principles given above are the underlying factors behind merge operations. In tree building, merge operation occurs bottom-up merging two units at a time but projecting the properties of one of them as the dominant branch of the merged pair. In (15a) below, X and Y are merged, but the properties of X become dominant. So the tree formed is dominated by X. In (15b), there is a merger of a verb with its DP complement (identified within the phrase marker as DP$_1$), the verb becomes the dominant branch of this pair.

15(a).

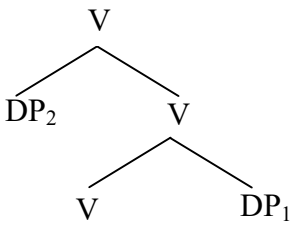


(b)



Where the verb takes an external argument[15], DP_2, the argument will be added to the derivation. However, the existing structure will still project the verb as the dominant constituent as shown in (16). This is what has been called projection of X in X-bar analysis. In the minimalist framework, this is known as *external merge*.

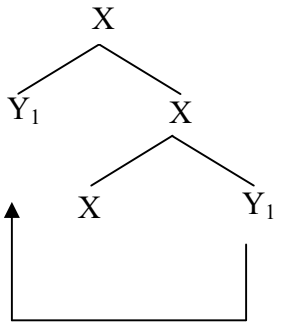
16.



The Minimalist term for movement is *remerge* or *internal merge* (Citko, 2014; Grohmann, 2010). As illustrated in (17), remerge or internal merge simply means that a certain unit Y contained in a tree X can merge with the root node X. Internal merge does not expand or draw upon the numeration; the indices on tokens within the moved Y are identical to those of the copy.

[15]Being the second DP selected by the verb, it is represented here as DP_2in order to distinguish it from the first DP.

17.

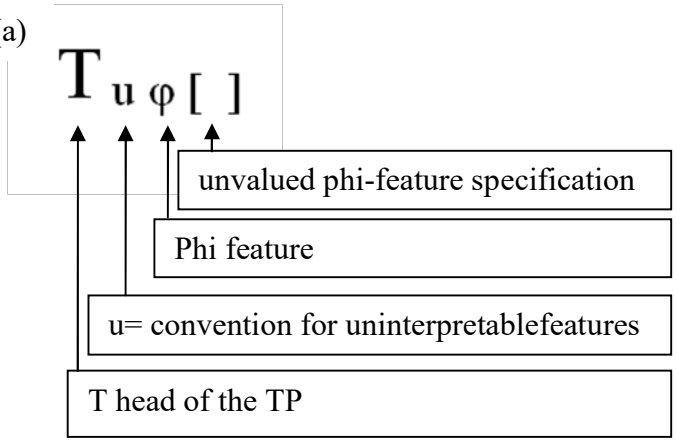


Internal merge only occurs when it is triggered through Agree relation. If Y undergoes internal merge with head X, the basic assumption is that the operation can only be triggered only if the EPP property is found on the agreement feature of X. It holds that if Y agrees with X, the EPP property on the feature in X requires that the next operation to take place must be the internal merge of Y to X.

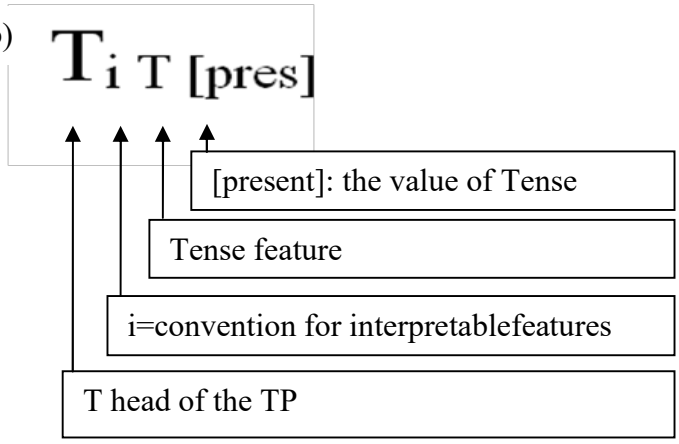
2.6.2 Operation Agree

In c-command relationship, operation *Agree*holds between a *probe* (a higher functional head on the phrase marker) and its *goal* (a lower linguistic item). In order to value features, the probe must be active by having an uninterpretable feature [*u*F] that should be valued and deleted before reaching the interfaces. Likewise, the goal must possess a matching interpretable feature [*i*F] for the particular unvalued feature in the probe. The current study adopts Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) and Citko's (2014) notations on this operation as shown in (18). In the following illustration, 18(a) shows how an uninterpretable feature of the T head can be represented, while 18(b) shows how the interpretable tense feature, *present*, can be represented.

18(a)



(b)



Source: Researcher.

Now that the convention for feature representation has been made clear, a walk through the derivation process can be undertaken combining agree with merge operations. This will be done giving account on the derivation of (19).

19. ajá pa èkútelé
dog kill rat
'The dog killeda rat'

The numeration of the data in (19) is provided in (20) below.

20. {{C_1, T_1}, {ajá$_1$, v_1, pa$_1$, D_2, èkútelé$_1$}}

The numeration has two subarrays. The upper subarray (Subarray2) has two items listed as follows: *C*, selected once; and *T*, selected once. The lower subarray (Subarray1) has five

items listed as follows: *ajá* 'dog', selected once; *V*, selected once; *pa* 'kill', selected once; *D*,selected twice (once as a functional head for *ajá* 'dog'; once as a functional head for *èkútelé* 'rat'); *èkútelé* 'rat', selected once.

The C head has interpretable declarative force feature as shown in (21) below. The tense head has an interpretable tense feature, but it has an uninterpretable phi-feature. It also has an uninterpretable EPP feature, which enforces the movement of the subject to [Spec, CP]. The feature notation is given in 21(a) below. For the determiner, it has an uninterpretable case feature. This notation is given here in 21(b). The subject has an interpretable phi-feature as stated in 21(c) below. The light verb has uninterpretable phi-features. However, it has the case feature interpretable. Its notation is given thus in 11(d). Finally, the object has an interpretable phi-feature as annotated in 21(f).

21(a) $C_{iForce[Decl]}$

(b) $T_{iT[pres].\ U\varphi[\ ],\ EPP}$

(c) $D_{uC[\ ]}$

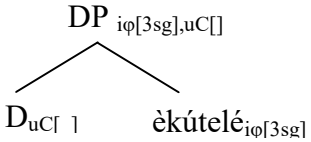
(d) $ajá_{i\varphi[3sg]}$

(e) $v_{u\varphi[\ ]}$

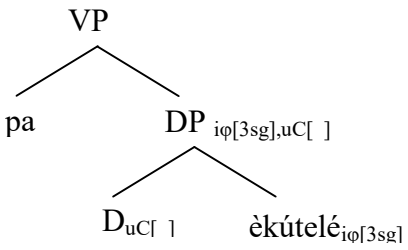
(f). $èkútelé_{i\varphi[3sg]}$

The step-by-step derivations on tree diagrams are given in (22). In 22(a),*èkútelé*'rat' merges with D to derive the first DP in the derivation. The DP displays the features of the D and the noun. Then, in 22(b), *pa* 'kill' merges with *èkútelé*'rat'to derive the VP: *pa èkútelé*'kill rat'. In 22(c), *pa èkútelé*merges with *v* to derive a *v*P. The DP, *èkútelé*, with its interpretable phi-features, establishes structural agreement with *v* having uninterpretable phi-features. In 22(d), *pa*, undergoes internal merge being moved to merge with *v* as displayed below. Just like the DP in 22(d), *ajá* 'dog' also merges with the D to form the DP in 22(e). In 22(f), *ajá*is merged with the vP,*pa èkútelé'*kill rat'.

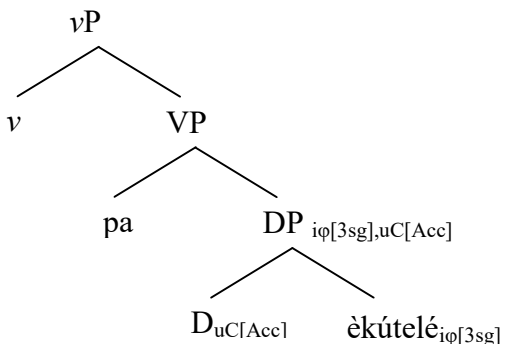
22(a).



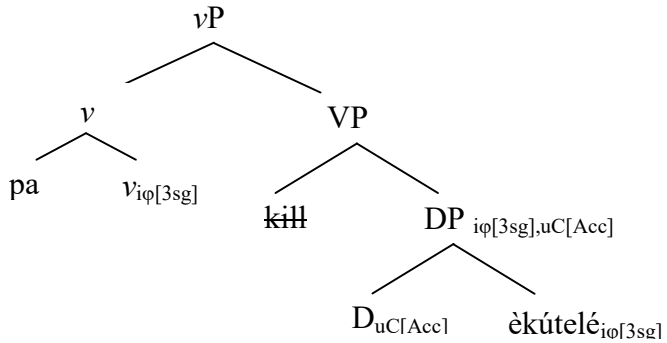
(b)


VP
pa
DP iφ[3sg],uC[ ]
D uC[ ]
èkútelé iφ[3sg]

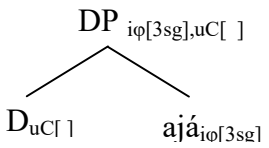
(c)


vP
v
VP
pa
DP iφ[3sg],uC[Acc]
D uC[Acc]
èkútelé iφ[3sg]

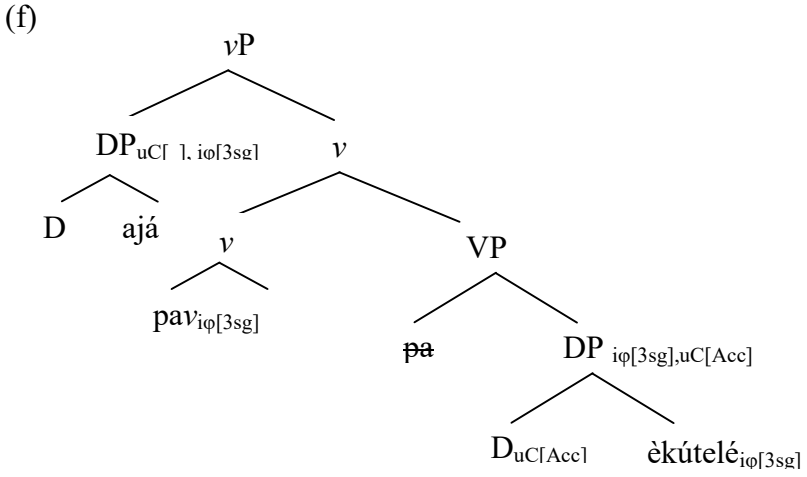
(d)


vP
v
VP
pa
v iφ[3sg]
kill
DP iφ[3sg],uC[Acc]
D uC[Acc]
èkútelé iφ[3sg]

(e)

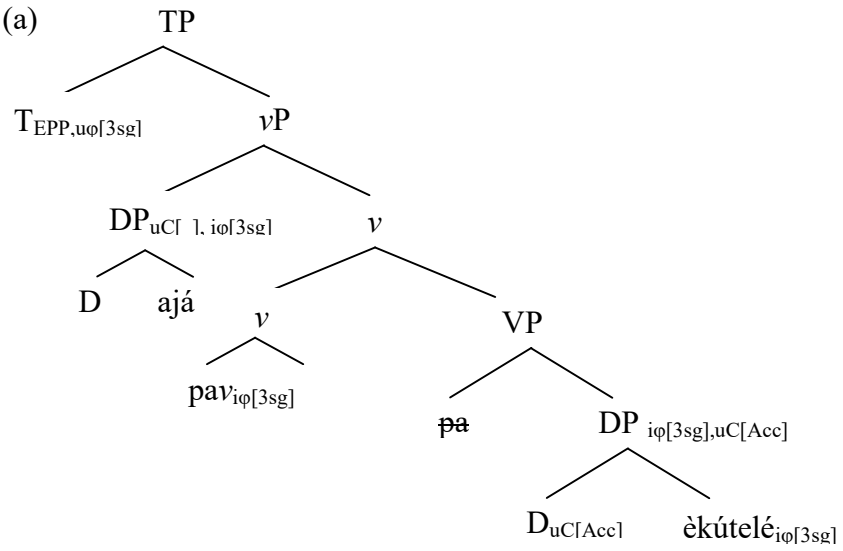

DP iφ[3sg],uC[ ]
D uC[ ]
ajá iφ[3sg]

(f)

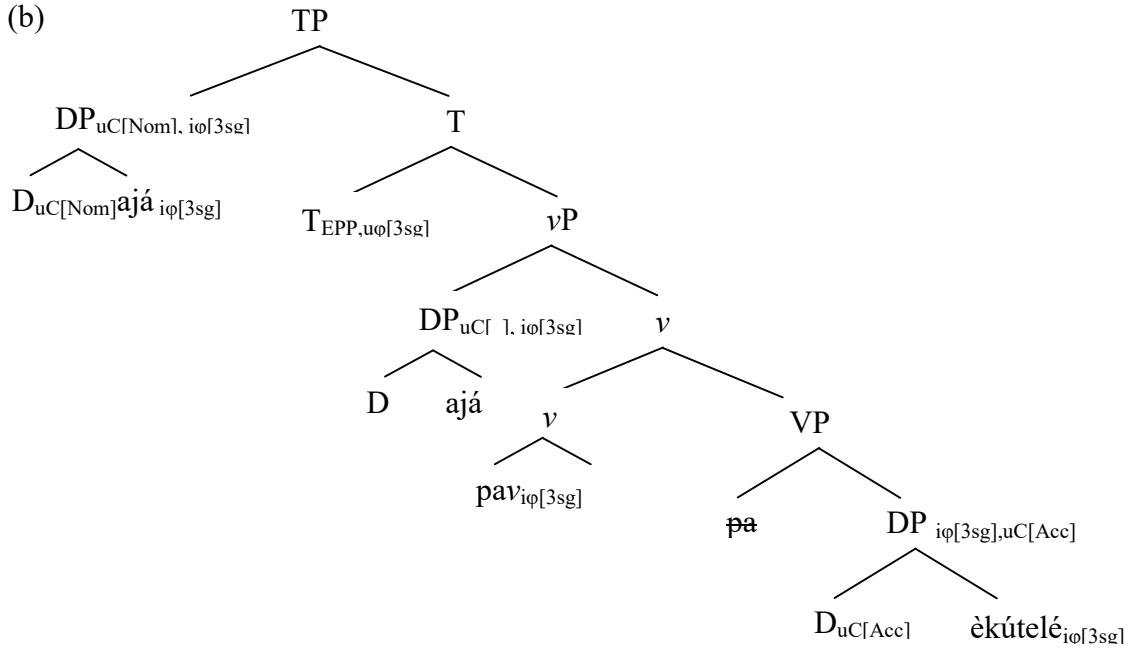


Going beyond the *v*P in 23(a), the derivation reaches the TP. Here, T is merged with *v*P. At this stage, agreement operation occurs between T and [DP ajá]. While T has an interpretable EPP feature and uninterpretable phi-features, the DP has an uninterpretable EPP feature and interpretable phi-features. Through internal merge in (23b), *ajá* is moved to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature of T. As this derivation reaches the final stage in (23c), CP is merged with TP. Then the VP is transferred to SM and C-I.

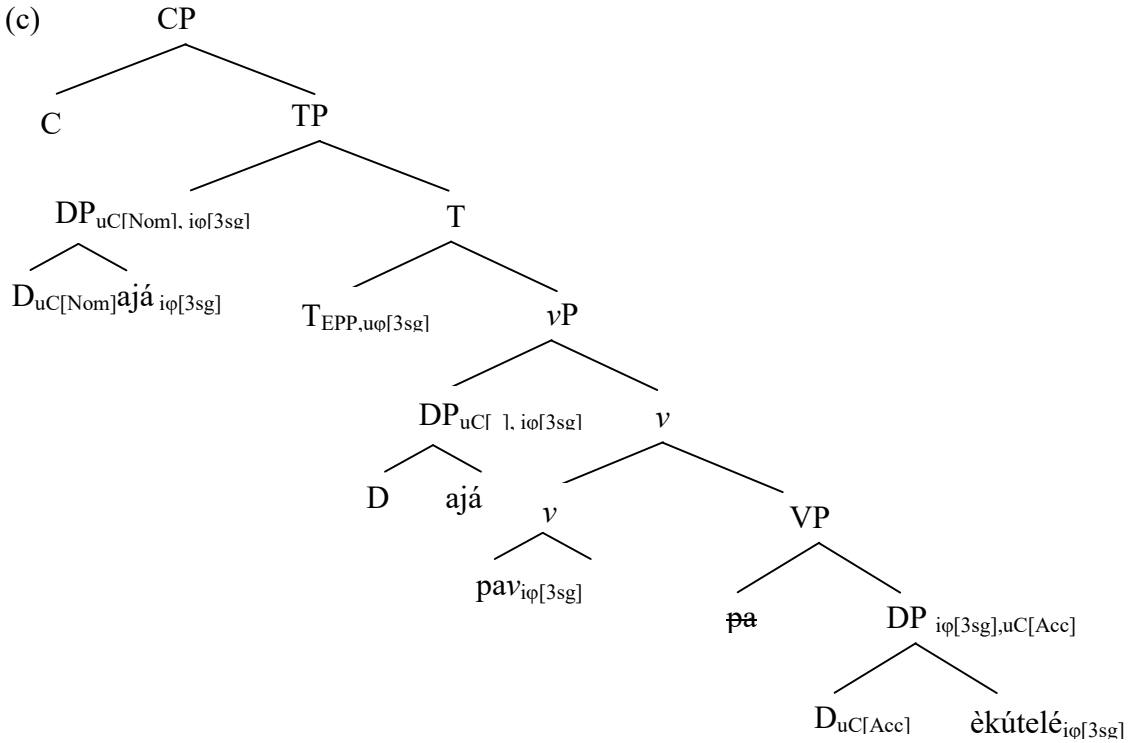
23 (a)



(b)


TP
DP uC[Nom], iφ[3sg]
T
D uC[Nom] ajá iφ[3sg]
T EPP,uφ[3sg]
vP
DP uC[ ], iφ[3sg]
v
D ajá
v
VP
pa v iφ[3sg]
pa
DP iφ[3sg],uC[Acc]
D uC[Acc]
èkútelé iφ[3sg]

(c)


CP
C
TP
DP uC[Nom], iφ[3sg]
T
D uC[Nom] ajá iφ[3sg]
T EPP,uφ[3sg]
vP
DP uC[ ], iφ[3sg]
v
D ajá
v
VP
pa v iφ[3sg]
pa
DP iφ[3sg],uC[Acc]
D uC[Acc]
èkútelé iφ[3sg]

2.7 The spell-out conditions in derivation by phase

In the current Chomskian syntax, Phase Theory is a new conceptual framework which takes syntactic *derivations* comprise to syntactic structures being built in *chunks* that are released to the *interface* phase by phase. A derivation has to continue *cyclically* until the *numeration* is exhausted. Under classical Phase Theory, a phase can be a CP, a *v*P or a DP. As chunks of the derivation (phases) are sent off to the*spell-out* cyclically, the uninterpretable *features* are marked for deletion, which means that they can be erased during the spell-out process.

While the concept of interface is not new in the Minimalist framework, the application of phase theory modifies how syntactic operations affect the interfaces (Chomsky 1999, 2001). Thesystems that interfere with narrow syntax have more than one interface point. spell-out can apply at each of these points called phases, which have been empirically identified as *v*Ps, CPs and DPs.

Although it is still being debated in the literature that spell-out can be multiple, it is basically conceived to be single (Uriagereka, 1999; Grohmann, 2003, 2006, 2007; Marušic, 2005; Citko, 2014)[16]. Immediately spell-out occurs, the items transferred to the interface will no longer be accessible to the narrow syntax. Through a powerful locality constraint called *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC), a phase can regulate the points of transfer to the two interfaces. There are different formulations of PIC. They depend on what can be accessed beyond a phase and at which stage will the access be possible in the entire derivation. The original version of PIC is reproduced in (24) below.

(24) *Phase Impenetrability Condition*

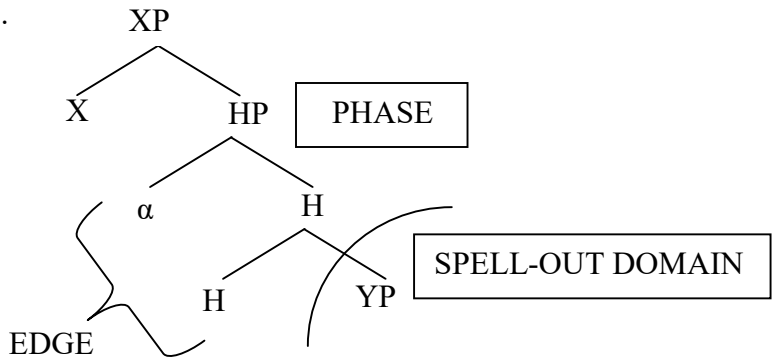
In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky 2000: 108)

[16]Grohmann's, 2003 phase-hood analysis is based on this kind of spell-out from which the various spell-outs are called transfers and a post syntactic spell-out called Copy Spell is permitted taking a cue from Distributed Morphology (Embick & Noyer, 2001) while the complex PF-branch model retains the minimalist syntax perspective. Grohmann claims that his framework has some edges over the traditional derivation by phase. These include syntactic analysis of reflexives and reciprocals (Grohmann 2003:112-133), double object constructions (Grohmann, 2003:136-138), ECM-structures (Grohmann, 2003:132-133) and that of clitic left dislocation (Grohmann 2003:157-174). The most crucial justification of this approach is the possibility of inserting phonological materials after syntax to accommodate derivations involving resumptive and stranded forms.

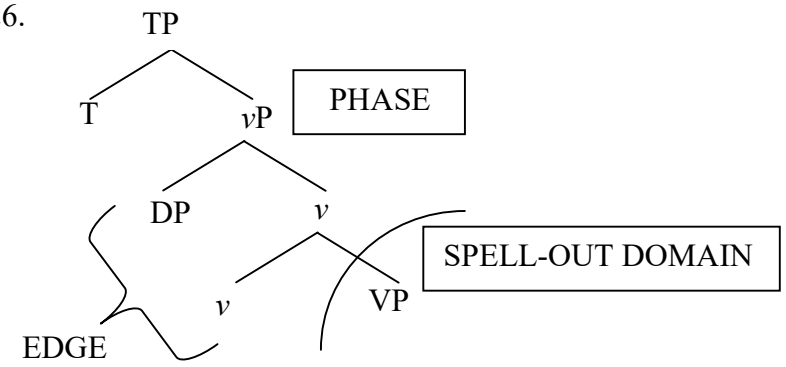
Based on the above stipulation, the complement of H is spelled out as soon as HP is complete. Any feature that is not valued when the projection of H reaches HP will remain unvalued throughout the derivation. This implies that the complement of H will no longer be accessible. In the typical configuration of this PIC given in (25), H is the phase head; YP is the spell-out domain; the specifier of HP is the edge which serves as the escaping hatch. Conventionally, the spelled-out domains are marked off with arcs on the tree phrase markers.

25.



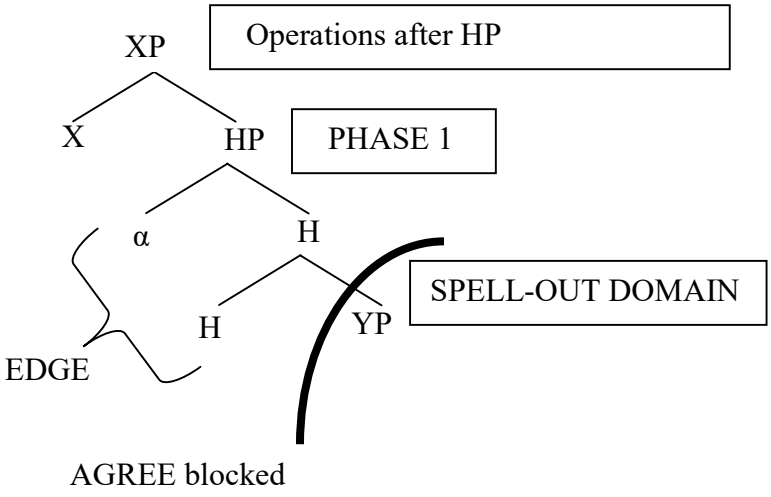
Just as has been done in (25), *v*P is analysed in (26) as a phase. It should be noted that T is not considered as a phase head in classical Phase Theory. Hence, only the vP is considered a phase in (26).

26.



The PIC in (24) above is reformulated in Chomsky (2001:13-14)[17]. The initial conception and its revision as adapted from Citko (2014:60) are known as PIC1 and PIC2[18] as shown in (27) and (28) respectively.

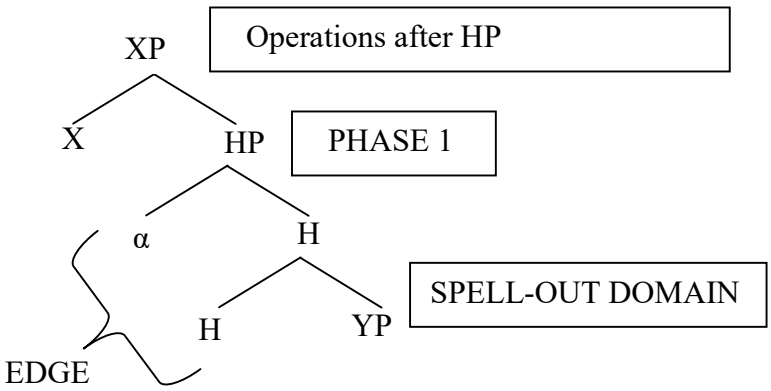
27.



[17] The two versions are cited here as given together in Citko (2014:60) strong PIC/PIC1 and weak PIC/PIC2 respectively.I adopt this her conventions here being more recent and empirical than the original source.

[18] Strong Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC 1)
The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.
Weak Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC 2)
The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

28.



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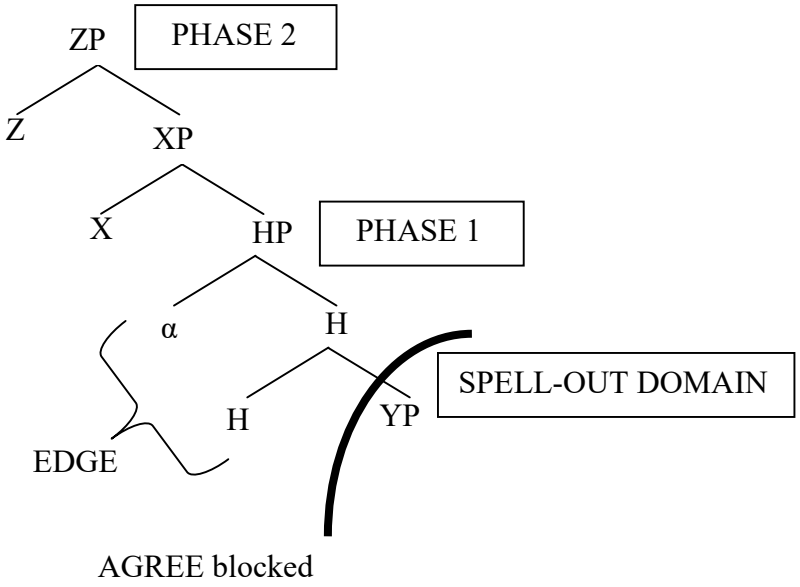
The revision became necessary in order to prevent the complement of H[19] from being spelled out until another phase is to be added to HP. The assumption in PIC 1 is that the spell-out must occur immediately HP completes, so that YP becomes inaccessible to any operation beyond HP. Even in a situation where X (representing any head) merges with HP, YP will still be inaccessible to X, as long as the merger operations occur after HP as in (27). For PIC 2, a delay is expected in the spell-out of YP so that YP remains accessible to operations outside HP until Z, another phase head finally merges with H as in (28). In (28) above, YP will still be accessible to X because X has merged with HP before the next phase head Z eventually merges with H. However, as seen in (29) below, YP becomes inaccessible immediately Z merges with H. Atthis point,YP must be spelled out.

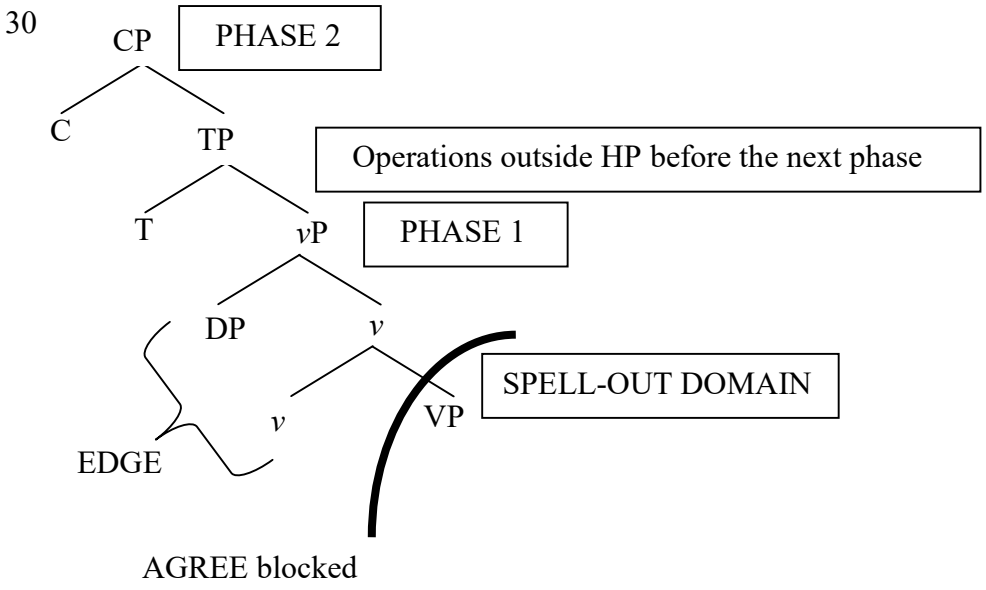
[19]H, HP, YP, ZP and X are used here based on their structural roles in the diagram above and those that come up later in (5) – (7).

29.

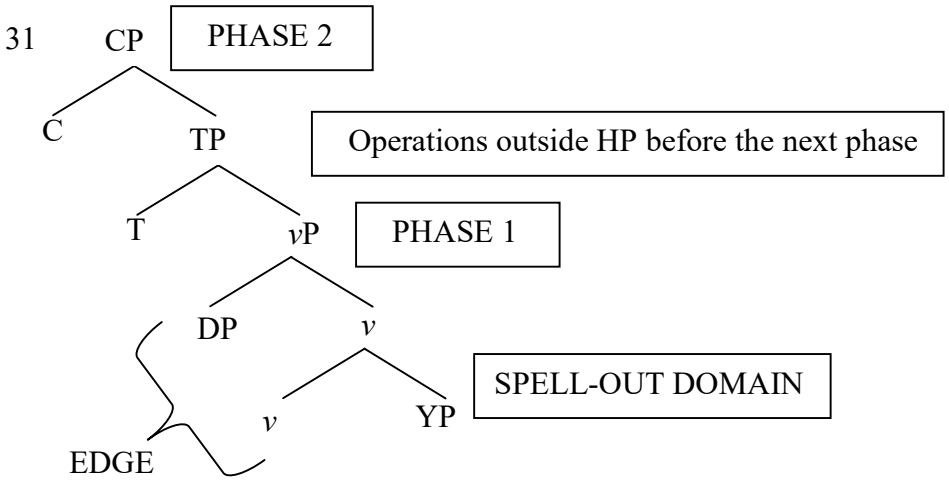


Similarly, where the HP and ZP are substantiated as vP and CP, application of PIC1 will make VP inaccessible to T as in (30). However, where PIC 2 applies in (31), the VP will still be accessible to T.

30



31



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2.7.1 Spell-out domain in the subarray approach

From Richards (2011)[20], subarray is a division of an array split into smaller units in order to show phase boundaries. Richards (2011) argues that the placement of T in different subarrays will determine which of the two versions of Phase impenetrable condition (PIC) is applicable in a derivation (Citko 2014:63). Richards' (2011) subarray analysis of phase focuses on the spell-Out unit alone and avoid the need to have two versions of the PIC. In fact, the subarray approach summarises both PIC versions, just by placing X in different arrays. The syntactic objects constituting these arrays are represented in (32) in terms of XYZ, where P is a phrasal label (i.e. YP = Y phrase) and N represents numeration producing each array. For PIC1, X is placed in the same sub array with Z; in PIC2, X is in the same subarray with H as shown in (32).

32(a) N= {{Z, X}, {H, YP}} (PIC1)

(b) N = {{Z}, {X, H, YP}} (PIC2)

[20]Richards (2011) argues that the placement of T in different subarrays will determine which of the two versions of Phase impenetrable condition (PIC) is applicable in a derivation (Citko 2014:63). In fact, the subarray approach summarises both PIC versions, just by placing T in different arrays as shown here:

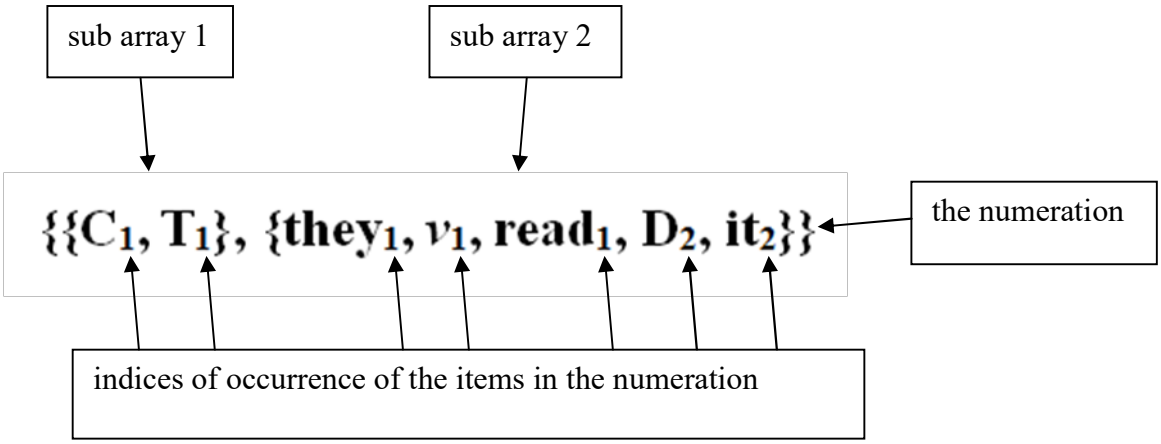
a. N= {{C, T},{*v*, V} } (PIC1)

b. N = {{C},{T,*v*},{V} } (PIC2)

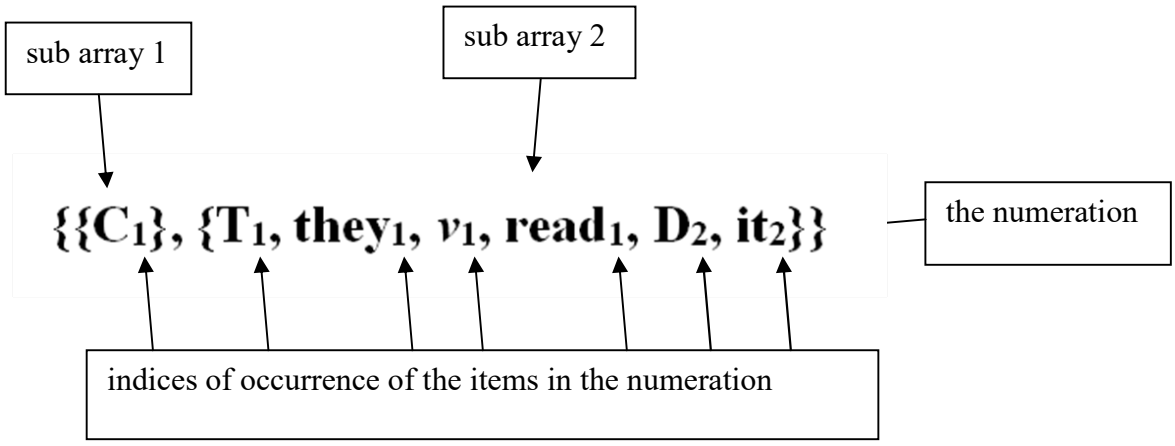
Richards' (2011) specific analysis based on subarray is able to focus on the Spell-Out unit alone and avoid complexity associated with the two versions of the PIC.

Applying the subarray approach to the numeration in 3(b) above, the two versions of the PIC can be explained as represented in (33) - (34).

33



34



In (33) above, C and T belong to the same subarray. Therefore, the spell-out domain (the complement of *v*) cannot be accessible to T, neither will it undergo agree operation with T. This corresponds to PIC1. In (34), T belongs to the same subarray with *v*; so, the complement of *v* is still accessible to T. It can, therefore, undergo agree relation with T. This corresponds to PIC2.

2.7.2 Resumption and stranding of movements at Spell-out

Resumption is a necessary PF recovery of a moved item that ensures at least a minimal PF representation of the logical copy of the moved item in order to save a derivation from crashing. Resumption can result from stranding (also beingcalledd distributed deletion or scattered deletion), simply because it implies that the entire item actually moves but only has part of itself pronounced in [Spec, CP] and the other part stranded somewhere lower in the derivation tree. Resumption has been a difficult phenomenon to handle in Minimalist syntax especially in the determination of the spell-out condition of the resumptive item. It has even been traced to a kind of multiple spell-outs known as copy spell-out[21] (Grohmann 2000; 2003; 2006; Grohmann & Haegeman, 2003; Grohmann & Panagiotidis, 2005b).

As expected in Nune (2004), multiple spell-outs of copies of the same item should be problematic for linearization since they may not converge. In order to handle convergence in the syntax of resumptives, Grohmann (2003) proposes the Copy spell-out. This proposal operates a minimalist-patterned CP > TP > vP > VP cartography but uses instead three prolific domains; namely, theta domain (written as Θ-Domain), phi domain (written as Φ-Domain) and omega domain (written as Ω-Domain) collectively referred to as *clausal tripartition* (Grohmann 2003: 74). Based on the derivation associated with each of them, Θ-domain deals with the creation of thematic relations, Φ-domain ensures the licensing of agreement properties and Ω-domain takes care of discourse information. In

[21] The copy spell proposal is an adaptation of Chomsky's phase theory making additions that look like Distributed Morphology. Transfer occurs at each of the three Prolific Domains before the Spell-out will apply. The Transfer that applies to each of the domains before the final Spell-out where the entire PF will be rendered to the SM actually resembles the multiple Spell-outs in classic phase theory. The architecture of the model follows, in particular, the T-model of minimalism except for the (complex) view of the PF-branch. Grohmann motivates a kind of Complex PF taking a cue from Distributed Morphology replacement of traditional morphology with Complex PF branch where the operations in the PF level are ordered with respect to each other. Grohmann's complex PF-branch model retains the minimalist syntactician's perspective. In Grohmann's (2003) proposal, the syntax feeds the interface components cyclically through chunks of Prolific Domains adding that some PF-like effects can be attained prior to PF proper. Within this model, each Prolific Domain spells out to the P-component, and the P-component is gradually built up until the final piece is reached which figwill then be sent to what can be called PF "proper" in classical derivation by phase version. In this way, the Prolific Domains regulate the chunks in the derivation which account for the prosodic manipulation articulated together to form the final PF-structure of the linguistic expression.
Since the PF-matrix usually determines the phonetic shape of a syntactic output, the main justification for copy spell-out approach has been the possibility of inserting phonological materials after syntax which has been applied in the syntactic analysis of reflexives and reciprocals (Grohmann 2003:112-133), double object constructions (Grohmann, 2003:136-138), ECM-structures (Grohmann, 2003:132-133) and that of clitic left dislocation (Grohmann 2003:157-174).

practical terms, the prolific domains Θ, Φ and Ω correspond to the following phrasal domains *v*P, TP, and CP respectively. However, copy spell-out approach dwells so much on morphological repairs being an offshoot of Distributed Morphology to the point of loading syntax with processes[22] (pronominalisation and reflexivisation) that should have been concluded in morphology before syntactic operations are initiated.

The amazing aspect of the languages that permit stranding is the fact that even the medial copies Spell-out of long-distance wh dependencies can still converge (Schippers, 2012). Following Felser (2004), convergence problem of *wh-copying* can be solved by appealing to the possible decomposition of wh-pronouns into two parts: quantificational (definite) and the indefinite parts, with the claim that both parts can be pronounced as a discontinuous item. While the quantificational part comes up in the matrix of [Spec, CP], the indefinite comes up at the embedded [Spec, CP]. So the identical pronunciation of the wh-copies can be permitted in a language as typically shown in (35) below.

[22] For reflexivisation, it proposes a drastic effect on the output of syntactic derivations in order to license different PF realizations of the same syntactic object (duplicity) as claimed to have applied in reflexivisation.

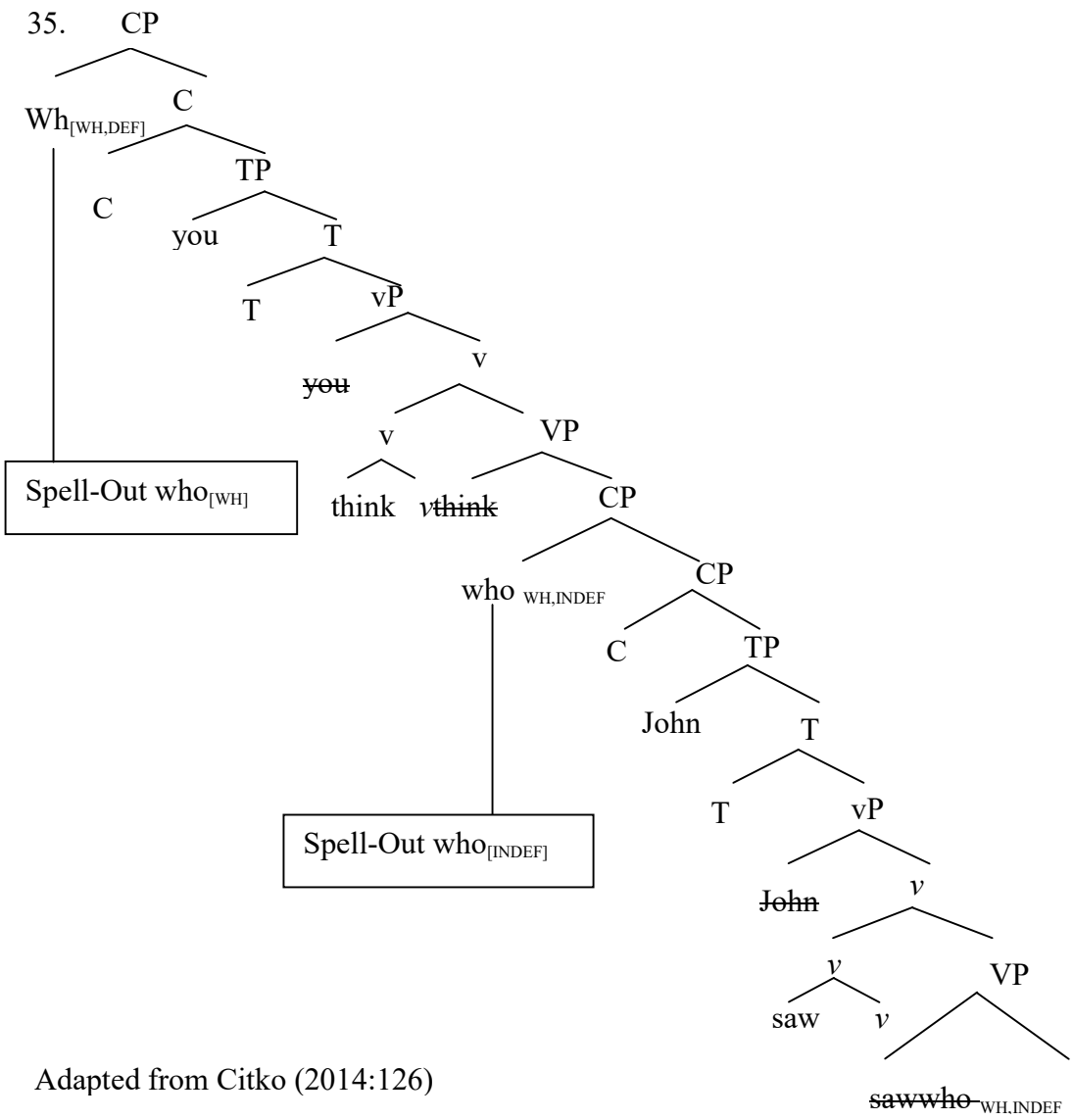
(a) *John$_x$ loves John$_x$

(b) #John$_x$ loves John$_x$

(c) John$_x$ loves (John$_x$>himself)

The major challenge with copy spell-out hypothesis comes from its affiliation with Distributed Morphology (a theory that does not operate independent lexicon). The strong lexicalist hypothesis of the Minimalist Program does not expect anything to be formed beyond the narrow syntax, hence, it is assumed that *himself* was selected in the numeration the same way *John* was selected. However, the lexical entry of *himself* provides a morphosyntactic link that replicates the sematic content of *John* in the derivation. The native speakers equipped with this notion can always select do not have to select *John* twice only to be faced with the challenge of spelling out the lower copy as a reflexive.

35.



Adapted from Citko (2014:126)

Felser (2004), therefore, raises three important issues that have to be addressed. The first of them is the triggering question. It is important to know what triggers the movement through all the intermediate positions. The second issue is the convergence question. It probes into why the embedded CP having copies with unvalued features can still converge after all. The final one is the linearization question. This examines why multiple copies have to be pronounced.

It was raised in Biloa (1990) that some occurrences of wh- traces are covertly resumptive pronouns which may alternate with overt resumptive pronouns when certain language-specific conditions are meant.

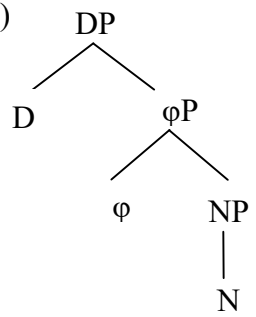
2.8 Déchaine and Wiltschko's proform hypothesis and the pronoun forms

In addition to the account on cross-category similarities between DPs and other functional phrases, Abney (1987) provides evidence of feature valuation by the determiner when he writes: 'the determiner is the site of person, number, and gender features (so-called "phi" features)' (Abney, 1987:226). Abney comments further[23] as follows:

> "In brief, determiners and **pronouns**[24] which I take to be of category Determiner) are the elements which mark these features to the highest degree, uniformly across languages. This suggests that the Determiner is the grammatical locus of these (**phi**) features". Abney (1987:226).

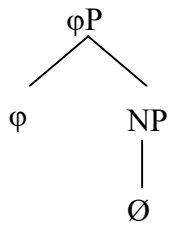
Going by Abney (1987) hypothesis, a pronoun should be able to value phi features just like any determiner. However, this becomes more complex than basically expected in a pronoun analysis considering Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) proform structure proposal. In the cited proform proposal, the internal structure of the pronouns can come in any of these three forms: the pro-DPs, the pro-PhiPs and the pro-NP. See these various forms structurally presented respectively in (36) a-c.

36(a)



[23]The footnote of the remarks cited from (Abney, 1987:226).
[24]The emphasis in bold typeface for *pronoun* with the inclusion of parenthetical *phi*in bold typeface is mine.

(b)

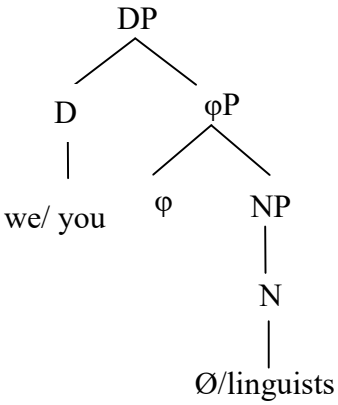


(c)

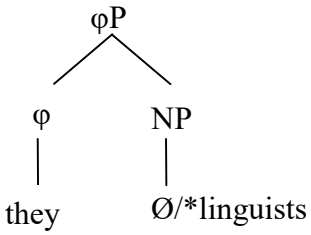
Implementations ofDéchaine and Wiltschko's (2002)proforms in languages may differ from one language to the other depending on their morphosyntactic requirements. English does not have the third person plural pronoun in her pro-D form as represented in 37(a).It always takes the pro-phi form as in 37(b). However, the pro-DP structure inYoruba comprises the three persons (first, second and third) as shown in (38).The third kind of proform in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) is Pro-N; it occurs in a language that uses nouns as pronouns. e.g. Japannese (Noguchi, 1997).

37ENGLISH

(a) pro-DP:
"We/ you linguists"

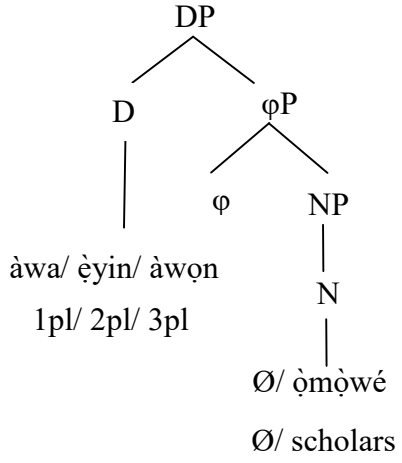


(b) English pro-phi:
"they"



38 YORUBA

pro-DP:
àwa/ ẹ̀yin/ àwọn ọ̀mọ̀wé
1pl/ 2pl/ 3pl scholar
"we scholars / you scholars / scholars"



2.9 Movement through the DP

Szabolcsi (1983) and Tellier (1988), among others, show that the specifier of DP is an A-bar position, providing an escape hatch for movement, and Bernstein (2001) has also argued for a DP-internal focus position. Hiraiwa's (2005) CP/DP symmetry also proves

that CP and DP are symmetric structures projections from the same supercategorial structure[25] and that the difference in the syntactic objects is determined by the phase head (Hiraiwa, 2005:23). The category determination of the superstructure deriving the CP and DP shows that CP and DP are just surface variants of a common syntactic structure. Category determination requires that a phase head should not be category-neutral. Such head should therefore determine the category status[26] of its complement. It is also expected that the head should contribute to how to probe for Case and agreement in the derivation. The category differences depend on any of the following. First, if [+N] feature is inserted from the lexicon, the derivation becomes D because the headfunctions as a nominaliser. Second, if [-N] feature is inserted, the derivation will be in C domain because the phase head functions as a verbalizer.

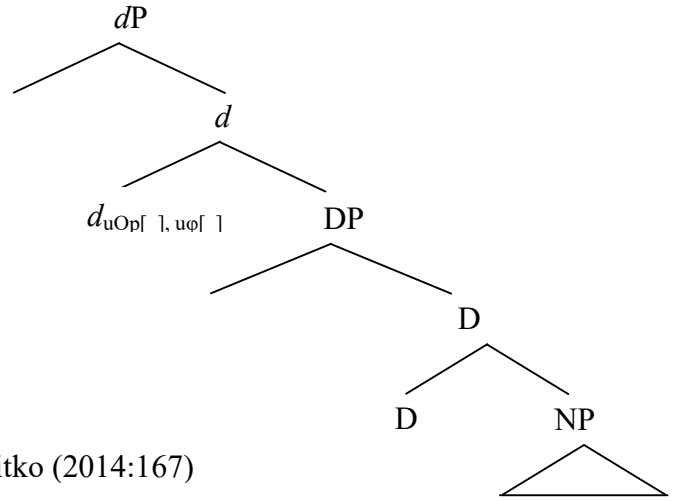
As noted by Davies and Dubinsky (2003), extraction from a DP may require more than an empty specifier position as an escape hatch; it may include such conditions as the semantic requirement of the verb that selects the DP, its argument structure and the possibility of incorporating the DP. Citko (2014:125) shows the need for more clarification on what actually prevents extraction from a phase with a filled specifier position because filled specifier is not the only condition. In English, a CP with unfilled specifier will still prevent extraction if the C head is occupied by an interrogative complementizer.

Gavruseva's (2000) work on languages that allow possessor extraction verifies the need of a DP-related escape hatch position by creating a DP shell. Gavruseva's DP shell is comparable to the*v*P shell[27]. Here, a light *d* head dominates DP. The *d* as a phase head has operator features and case or agreement features. In dominating the lower DP, the uninterpretable φ-features of *d* can be inherited by D through feature inheritance (Citko, 2014:55, 61, 62). Through the dP structure in (39) Citko (2014) demonstrates how that a movement out of the DP can only be licit if it goes through the edge leaving the DP

[25]Supercategorial Theory from the same author.
[26]Hiraiwa,as a result of this, writes:The categorial status of the complement of each phase head *c* is determined by the phase head *c* via categorial feature insertion at Transfer (Hiraiwa 2005:24).
[27] See Larson's *vp shell* at Larson, R. K. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 335-392.

through the specifier[28]. The need to create an escape patch for movement in the Gavruseva's DP shell is evident here as moved nominals leaving the DP have to go through [spec, DP] and [spec, dP].

39.



Citko (2014:167)

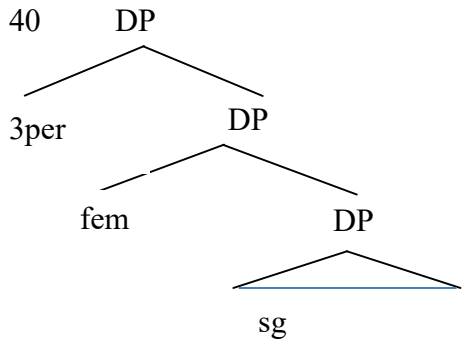
2.10 DP-internal Resumptive pronoun proposal

Two things are very important in this section. First, it is important to how the morphosyntactic components of the DP can be split before any one of them becomes stranded and generatesa resumptive. Second, it is also important to understand the spell-out condition of the resumptive to justify why it was licensed in syntax of the language. This has to be discussed sequentially as stated above.

Biloa (1990) has proposed that phonetic gaps caused by a moved item can be pronominalized, by being filled with resumptives. Whensuch gaps are not overtly filled with resumptive pronouns, they may still be conceived covertly filled thus constituting evidence that these gaps are pronominals. However, in most cases the resumptive pronouns usually occur where movements are partially made. In this case, the resumptive pronoun does not simply pronominalize the copy of the moved item, but forces a PF matrix on the stranded part of a partially copied moved item.

[28]In Ìlàjẹ, the modifier of the pronoun can be raised through the same path. See how this is substantiated with the possessive stranding in chapter five of this thesis.

This dimension to resumption can be substantiated with Heim and Kratzer's (1998) proposal that phi-features adjoin syntactically to pronominals in a way that a feature can be isolated for analysis even when it does not have independent phonetic representation such as shown in the analysis of *she* (2sg) in (40).



Adapted from (Heim and Kratzer, 1998:244).

Since it is possible to isolatetheindividual featuresthat make a bundle like the case of phi feature cited in (40),it also follows that a systematic application of morphosyntactic rules which may apply selectively to different features in the bundle of features can be attained. In this case, movement can target some features leaving other feature in the bundle stranded. The application of Heim and Kratzer's(1998) proposal to syntactic stranding of features implies that a stranded feature as well may be subject to rules at the interface other than the rules that applies to the moved features. Total movement of features will produce the usual DP movement having covert copies at the extraction points. However, partial movement of features will result in the PF representation of the stranded features as resumptive pronouns.

On the second important aspect in this section, it is important to note that the major benefits of the *d*P analysis is the application of the phasehood statusto determiner phrases.The conception of phasehood provides a tripartite spell-out derivation parallel to Grohmann's approach having syntactic equivalents of the DP, the *v*P and the CP. In this way, the DP can thus function as a domain for feature valuation since D is the locus of uninterpretable genitive case feature. The D can function as a probe for genitive case just as verbs serve as probes in the valuation of accusative case. Movements out of DP through the edge of DPs (Szabolcsi, 1983; Gavruseva, 2000) and the determination of Spell-Out of

some nominals (Lobeck 1995:42) are part of the proofs of phasehood established in the DP (Citsko, 2014).

As proposed in Felser (2004), resumption is the spelling out of the stranded aspect of the DP after syntactic movement. Going by the DP phasehood, these resumptive pronouns are DP elements that should be spelled out in the DP.Felser (2004)also specifies the major morphosyntactic difference between moved copy and its resumptive as definiteness feature. This agrees with view in Déchaine and Wiltschko(2002) and von Heusinger(2013) where thedefinitenessfeature is associated withdeterminer. The moved item goes with the definiteness feature leaving the stranded copy without definiteness. Establishing the DP phase implies that the resumptives are spelled-out before extracting the moved item out of the DP. Hence, the resumptive can satisfy the phase impenetrability condition of the spell-out within the phase.

2.11 Conceptual Framework

To adequately analyse the pronouns at these levels of analysis, the three theories adopted in the study were combined in two operational sub-models:morphophonemic model (fig. 2.1) and the morphosyntactic model (fig. 2.2). These models combine to derive the forms and features analytical model(in fig. 2.3). The morphophonemic sub-model was designed to discuss the morphophonemic content of the pronouns by combining McCarthy's nonconcatenative approach and Harley's Feature Geometry approach. The morphosyntactic model provides analytical details on themorphosyntacticaspectsof the study combining principles from Harley's Feature Geometry approach with those from Chomsky's Minimalist Program in order to determine which features go with a certain form of pronoun. The ultimate theoretical design therefore involved interdependence of these three models with the Morphology and syntactic approaches intersecting with Feature Geometry.

For the first model, McCarthy's Nonconcatenative Morphology model was combined with Heidi Harley's Feature Geometry model to form a hybrid model that was used in the analysis of the morphophonemics attributes of the pronouns. This model was applied to the raw data to describe how the phonemic features interact with relevant morphosyntactic features of the pronoun. The model is outlined in figure 2.1. Figure 2.1

shows how the nonlinear morphological aspects of a pronoun are structured in Feature Geometry to determine the form that should be selected for the expected morphophonemic function of the pronoun.

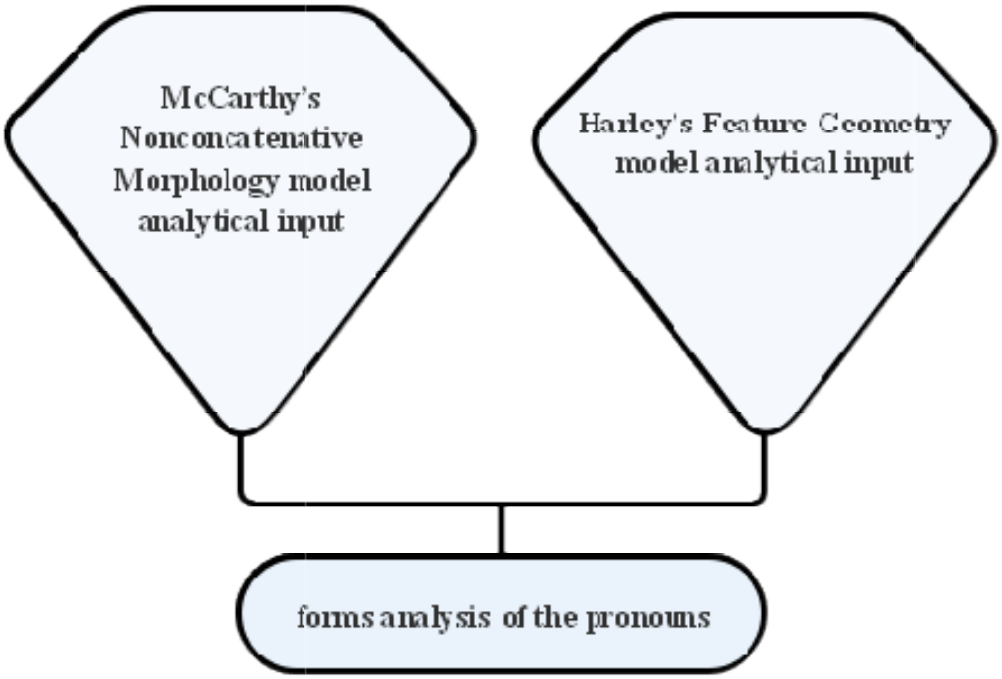


Figure 2.1 AConcept Map of the adopted Pronoun forms analysis model. (Source: See footnote).[29]

[29] The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use here.

For the second model, Chomsky's Phase Theory model was combined with Heidi Harley's Feature Geometry model to develop another hybrid model in the analysis of the morphosyntactic attributes of the pronouns. They described how syntactic operations are encoded in the morphosyntactic features of the pronouns. The model is outlined in figure 2.2. This figure shows how the application of features hierarchy principle of the Feature Geometry compensates the Phase theory un-ordered features problem in preparing a properly-ordered feature-based model analysis for Ìlàjẹ pronouns.

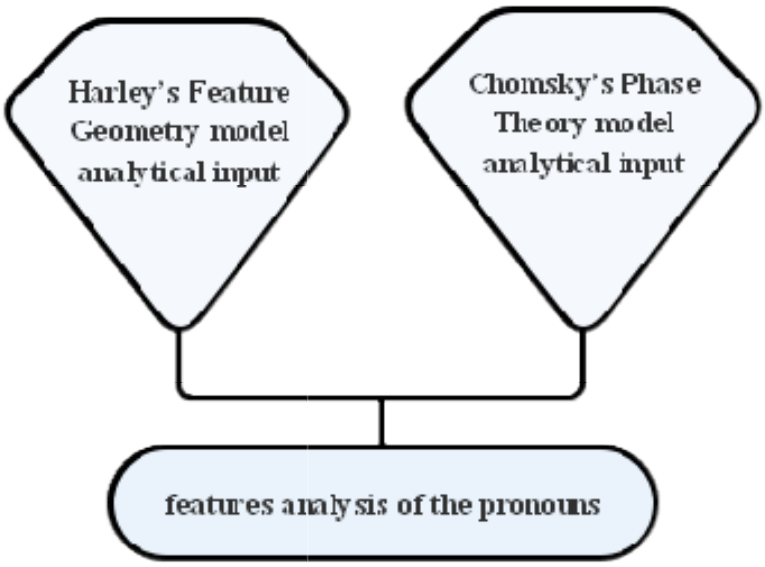


Figure 2.2 AConcept Map of the adopted Pronoun features analysis model. (Source: See footnote)[30].

[30] The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use here.

Feature Geometry is central to the entire analysis in the study, being the major interpretation for both morphophonemic and morphosyntactic processes that apply to the pronouns. The two models converged into a bigger model: the forms and features morphosyntactic model in figure 2.3. This comprises three analytical components. The first component is the McCarthy's Nonconcatenative theoretical model which handles nonlinear phonological analyses such as deletion, assimilation as tone transfer to determine the forms of the pronouns as lexical items in the dialect. The syntactic aspect of the analysis employed Chomsky's Phase Theory. This analyses the forms of the pronouns in syntax as the spell-out forms in the PF. The third component provides feature-based analysis of the forms. Harley's Feature Geometry is adapted to interpret both morphophonemic and morphosyntactic features of the pronoun forms. This component incorporated into the basic Harley's approach the combination of features that are phonological and those that are syntactic in the determination of each pronoun form.

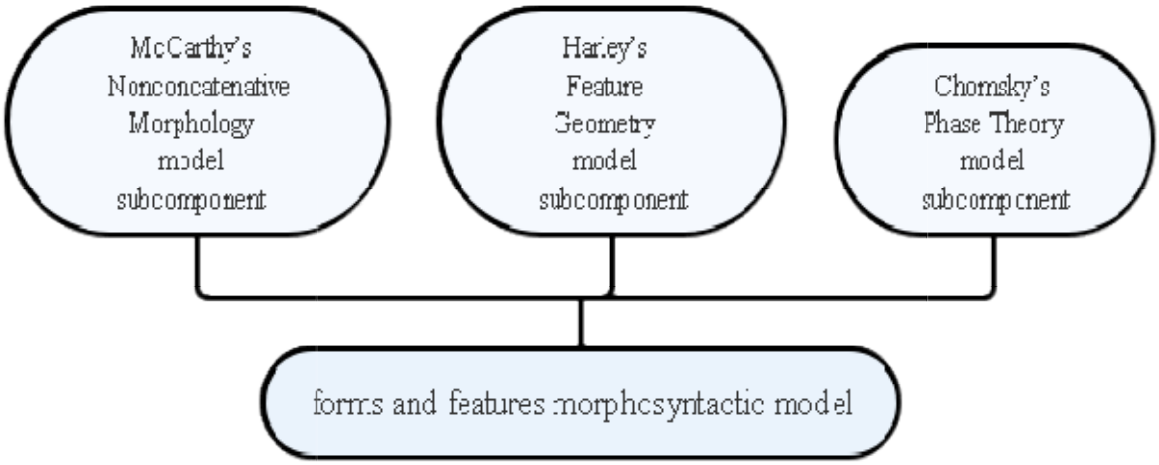


Figure 2.3 A Concept Map of the morphosyntactic model.
(Source: See footnote)[31].

[31] The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use here.

Figure 2.3summarises the combination of the three theoretical models used in the framework. The Feature Geometry model is central being applicable in ordering features in the morphology and syntax of the pronouns.

On the phonological and morphological levels, the Nonconcatenative morphology theory addresses the various morphophonemic rules the pronouns are subject to in order to derive their final morphemic structures. Phase theory was applied on the phrasal distribution of the pronouns at syntactic level. Feature Geometry provides support for the two theories by expanding their feature spans and introducing hierarchical analysis such features. In practical terms, feature Geometry was paired with each of the other theories at a time as has been represented in figure 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

2.12 Summary

The chapter provided a review of the literature on related works to the current research as well as well as opening up the theoretical backgrounds to the framework adopted in the study. It provided the non-linear approach morphophonemic of tone. The application of hierarchy of feature as applied in Feature Geometry is discussed. Phase Theory and the subarrays options in the spell-out analysis of resumptive pronouns are also discussed. The chapter ended with the conceptual framework of the study.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides accountsof the methodology employed in the study. This covers the data collection techniques and methods of analysis.It begins with the design of the study. The latter part of the chapter described the modelling of the theories into a theoretical framework.

3.2 Study location and population

The study area covered the entire Ìlàjẹ Local Government Area of Ondo State. Main data came from audio recordings of speeches and songs. Purposivesampling technique selecting two competent adult native speakers from five communities:Ìgbọ́kọ̀dá, Ugbò, Ayétòrò, Ùlóghó and Ìkórígho-Ètìkàn. These communities were purposively selected to represent different geographical locations spanning the entire Ìlàjẹ Local Government Area of Ondo State.Samples were restricted to married adult who have evidence of active use of the dialect from birth and were still sustainingwhile married.

3.3 Study design

The study adopted an ethnographic approach where data were collected in cultural context using audio recordings were supplemented with data from key informant interview. The data were processed further using a morphophonemic theory (prosodic morphology) to identify phonological processes, morphosyntactic theories (Feature Geometry and Phase Theory) to identify morphosyntactic features and the syntactic distribution of the pronouns. In order to isolate the required morphosyntactic features in the pronouns, the study included regional diversity by purposively selecting competent informants from different locations of the study area.

3.4 Sampling procedure

The ten competent native speakers selected for key informant interview were all married, and had been actively using the dialect from birth till the time of the research. Their names, genders, ages and affiliated locations are provided as follows:

1. From Ùlóghó, there were two respondents: Samuel Ògúnsemóre, a male, not literate, self-employed family elder, aged 79 and a literate, retired police officer, aged 55 named Bolorunduro Ògúnsemóre,.
2. From Ayetoro, two respondents were used: a male and a female. Mr Gẹ̀rẹ́ Máhà, was literate retired oceanographer, aged 76, while Madam Adéwumi Zachariah, female, literate fish trader, aged 70.
3. From Ìgbọ́kọ̀dá, Mr Raphael Ẹ̀hìnmowò, educationist entrepreneur, literate, aged 51 and Mr Sanusi Ẹwàjànẹ, male, literate pastor, aged 44 were interviewed.
4. FromÌkórígho and Okun Ètìkàn two respondents Mr Thompson Reverend, not literate fisherman, aged 44 and Mr Aderibigbe Zacharias, male, not literate fisherman, aged 39 were interviewed.
5. From Ugbò, the respondents were Mrs Adebimpe Balogun, married, literate trader, aged 42 and Mr Wale Ajayi, literate teacher, aged 40.

At the time of the fieldwork, 3 of the ten informants interviewed were not younger than 70 years in age. This constituted 30% of the data. Two respondents were in their fifties. The rest were between 39 and 44 years old. The spread in age from 30 to 75 is to ensure the data is representative of the entire adult age group. The samples also included illiterate subjects who are not literate in any language to represent the illiterate part of the population. The age of the respondents and their faithfulness to the active use of the dialect after marriage are parts of the credits of this sample.Active usersarenative speakers who would only use Standard Yoruba when it is unavoidable. They actively use of the dialect most of the time.

3.5 Instrumentation

The study employed theÌbàdàn Syntactic Paradigm (sample attached as an appendix to this study) as adata collection instrument.Questions were framed as patterned

in the instrument to elucidate data. The study applied section of the instrument meant for pronoun data elucidation where persons, numbers, and cases of the pronouns are required.

I *saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

You *(sg) saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

He/she/it *saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

We *saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

You *(pl) saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

They *saw/killed/ate/bought the cat*

The man saw/called/loved ***me***

The man saw/called/loved ***us***

The man saw/called/loved ***you*** *(sg & pl)*

The man saw/called/loved ***him/her/it***

The man saw/called/loved ***them***

It's ***me****> èmi rin*

It's ***him****> òghun rin*

It's you (sg. & pl.) …

These were formulated in Ìlàjẹ using Ìlàjẹ words and syntax. The respondentsaffirmed the data in Ìlàjẹ. Where clarity is needed among possible options, respondents made the ideal choice known as being used in the community. For instance, while collecting data on negative pronouns. The possibility of the first person singular pronoun was tested thus:

Researcher: Èhí hàn nibẹ̀: (*which is the right/ most appropriate thing to say?)*

méè lọ (*'I didn't go'*Option 1)

èmíì lọ (*'I didn't go'*Option 2)

Respondent: méè lọ.

This is method was used to ensure that the data was not influenced by the Standard Yoruba. The researcher being a native speaker wanted to be sure of accuracy in pronoun choice. The two utterances above: *'méè lọ'* and *'èmíì lọ'* will not look very different with someone using Standard Yoruba, but Ìlàjẹ speakers will only use the first option. The second option makes use of Standard Yoruba syntax but merely using Ìlàjẹ words.

3.6 Methodof data collection

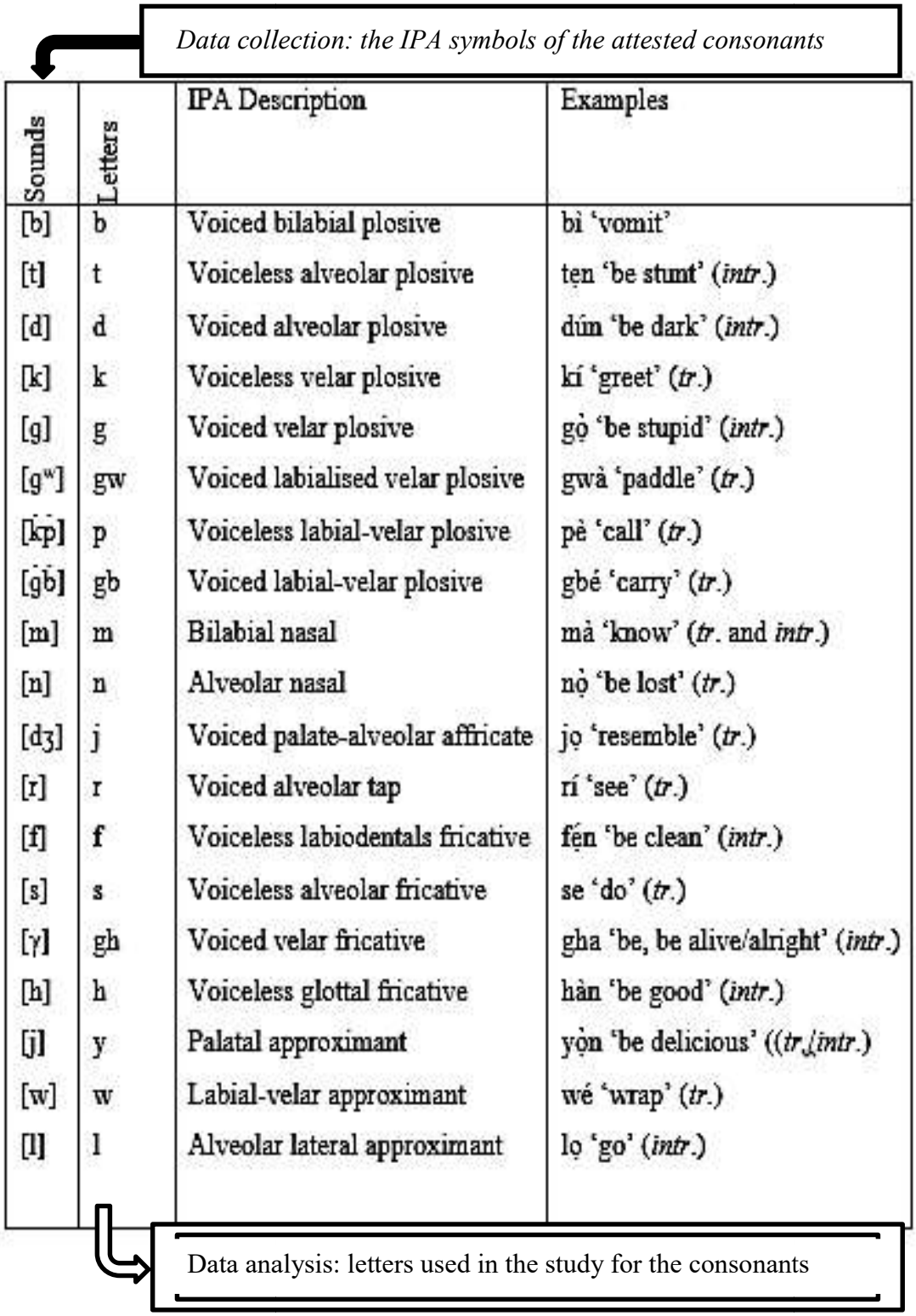
The data comprised audio clips from recordings of folk songs as well as from Ìlàjẹ sentences with pronounscollected from the native speakers throughkey informant interviews. The interviews were done using Ìlàjẹ (the researcher being a native speaker as well) to ensure participants did not use Standard Yoruba in their expressions.

3.7 Methods of data analysis

Data were transcribed with Yoruba orthography. They were transcribed and glossed in English. Morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glosses were also provided. The dependent pronouns were isolated for nonlinear morphophonemic analysis using John McCarthy's Nonconcatenative Approach to reveal their true forms before their merger with verbs. Both dependent and independent pronouns were also analysed using Heidi Harley's Feature Geometry which specifies their morphosyntactic features.The syntactic distribution of the pronoun is subjected to applicable operations of the Phase Theory of Noam Chomsky's Minimalist Program.

Data were presented in Ìlàjẹ but written in Yoruba orthography including tone diacritics. Ìlàjẹ sounds that are not found in Standard Yoruba were represented using additional letters[32]. All the letters used in data presentation are given below showing the consonants and the vowels respectively in figures (3.1) and (3.2). Figure 3.1 shows the consonants by linking the IPA used in data collection with the writing convention used in the study. Figure 3.2 also shows the vowels in their IPA forms and their final conventional alphabet forms as used in the study.

[32] This was guided by Williamson (1984). See Williamson, K. 1984. Practical orthography in Nigeria. Ìbàdàn: Heinemann



Sounds	Letters	IPA Description	Examples
[b]	b	Voiced bilabial plosive	bì 'vomit'
[t]	t	Voiceless alveolar plosive	tẹn 'be stunt' (*intr.*)
[d]	d	Voiced alveolar plosive	dún 'be dark' (*intr.*)
[k]	k	Voiceless velar plosive	kí 'greet' (*tr.*)
[g]	g	Voiced velar plosive	gọ̀ 'be stupid' (*intr.*)
[g^{w}]	gw	Voiced labialised velar plosive	gwà 'paddle' (*tr.*)
[k͡p]	p	Voiceless labial-velar plosive	pè 'call' (*tr.*)
[g͡b]	gb	Voiced labial-velar plosive	gbé 'carry' (*tr.*)
[m]	m	Bilabial nasal	mà 'know' (*tr.* and *intr.*)
[n]	n	Alveolar nasal	nọ̀ 'be lost' (*tr.*)
[dʒ]	j	Voiced palate-alveolar affricate	jọ 'resemble' (*tr.*)
[r]	r	Voiced alveolar tap	rí 'see' (*tr.*)
[f]	f	Voiceless labiodentals fricative	fẹ́n 'be clean' (*intr.*)
[s]	s	Voiceless alveolar fricative	se 'do' (*tr.*)
[ɣ]	gh	Voiced velar fricative	gha 'be, be alive/alright' (*intr.*)
[h]	h	Voiceless glottal fricative	hàn 'be good' (*intr.*)
[j]	y	Palatal approximant	yọ̀n 'be delicious' ((*tr.*,*intr.*)
[w]	w	Labial-velar approximant	wé 'wrap' (*tr.*)
[l]	l	Alveolar lateral approximant	lọ 'go' (*intr.*)

Figure 3.1 A list of Ìlàjẹ consonants.

(Source: Japhet, 2012: 7)

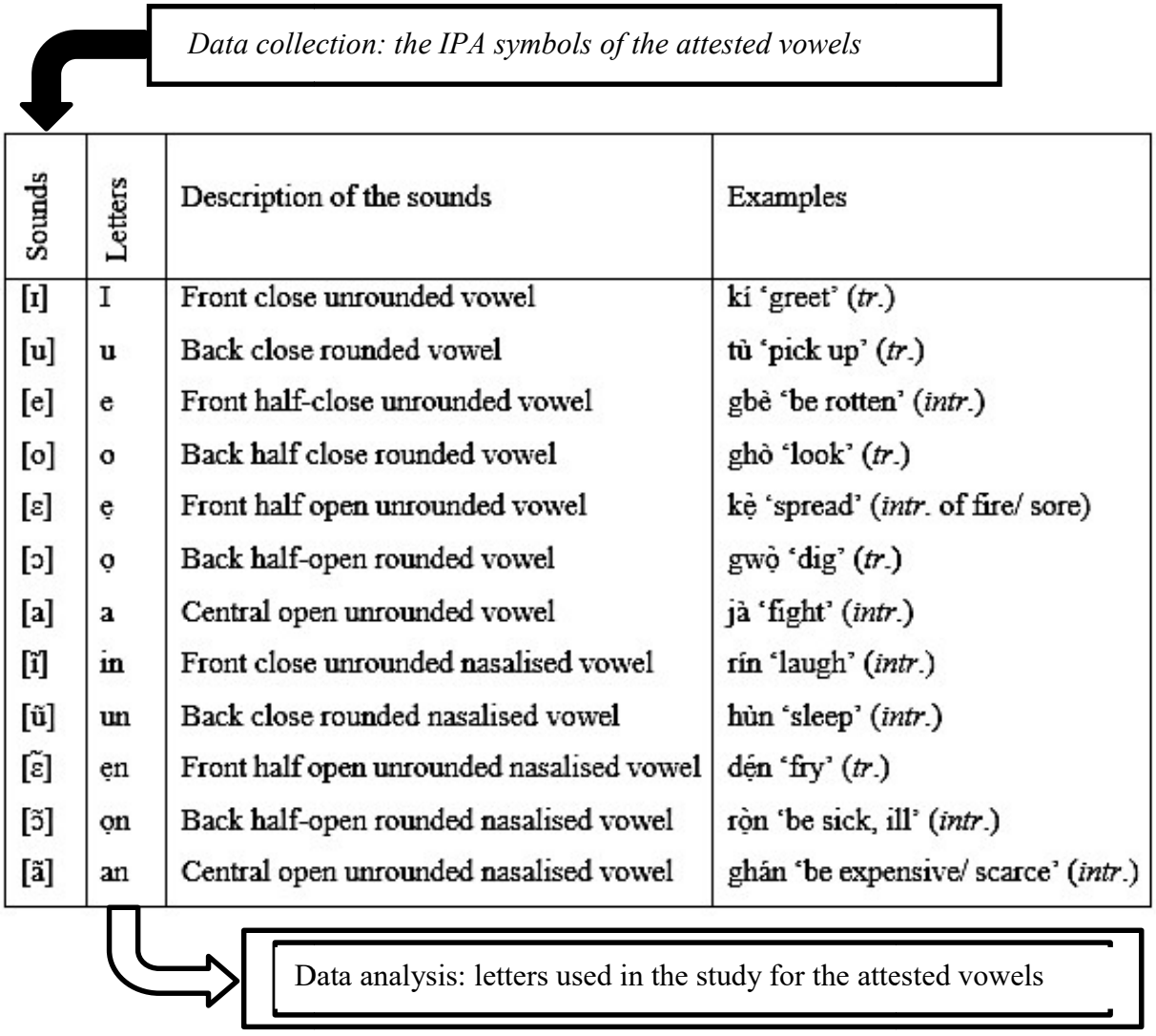


Figure 3.2 A list of Ìlàjẹ vowels.

(Source: Japhet, 2012: 7).

3.8 Summary

This chapter provided the methodology adopted in the study sampling. This comprises the sampling technique, instrument deployment, data presentation and the conceptual framework.

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter brings together the data the theory and the prevailing literature in pronoun. Based on the four research questions,this chapter discusses each result and the analyses that generate it. The chapter concludes by discussing the findings in the study. The chapter is divided into sixmajor parts, namely:one, the overview (section 4.1); two, the two major sets of pronouns (section 4.2); three, placement of logophoricity of the third person singular pronoun forms (analysed in section 4.3); four, the resumptive pronouns (dealt with in section 4.4); five, lexical entries (given in section 4.5); six, brief discussion on the findings (compiled in section 4.6).

4.1. An overview of Ìlàjẹpronouns

The study identifies two sets of pronouns for Ìlàjẹ. These are called dependent and independent forms otherwise known as long and short pronouns respectively. This classification agrees with what obtains in Standard Yoruba (Awobuluyi, 1992; 2008; 2013). It also affirms what has been done on Ìlàjẹ pronouns especially on the strict syntactic distribution between the dependent forms of the pronoun and their independent counterparts (Japhet, 2012).

4.1.1 The forms of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ

There are two major sets in the pronoun system: the dependent (short) forms and the independent (long) forms shown if figures 4.1 and 4.2 respectively. The independent forms are disyllabic in structure. Their forms are not assimilated to the preverbs. They do not undergo verb-object tone change. They have fewer forms than their dependent counterparts.[33]

[33] Ìlàjẹ has a single PF form for second person and third person plural pronouns while their meanings remain distinct.

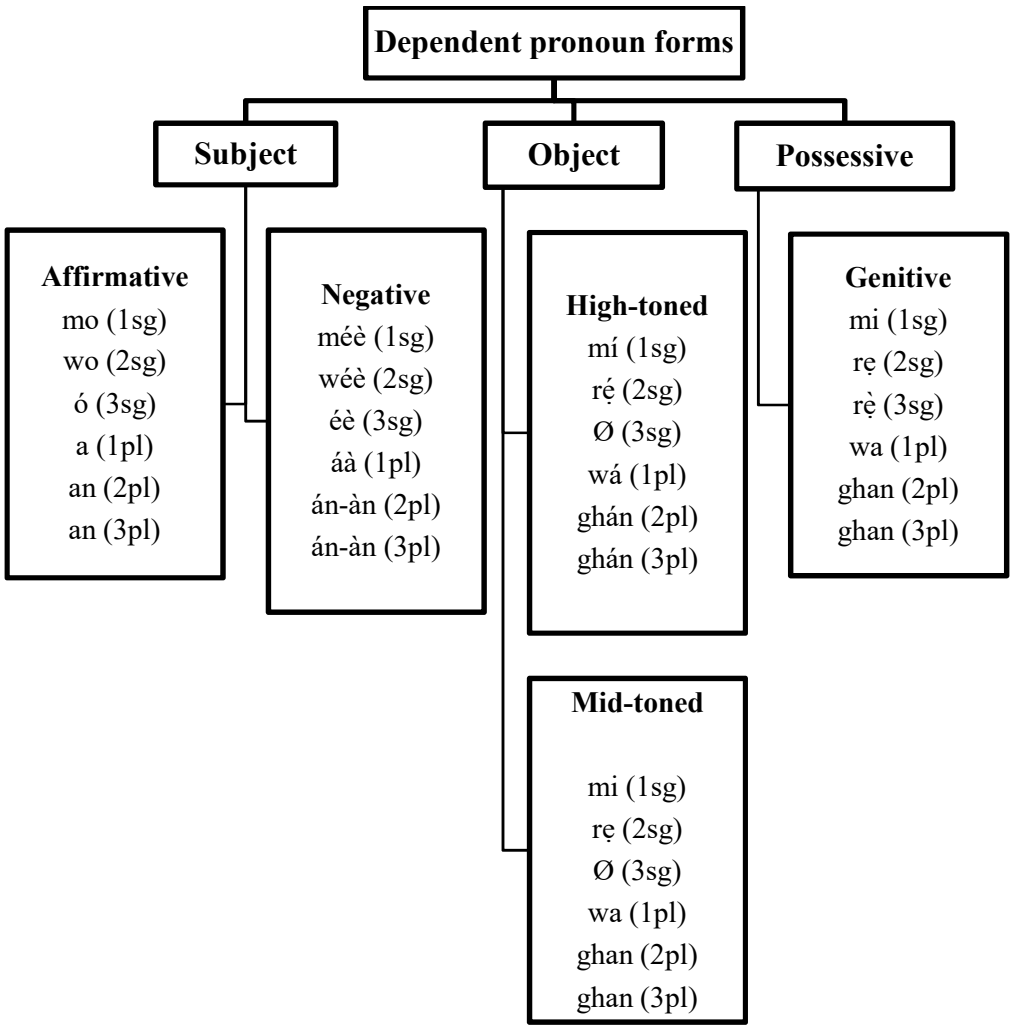


Figure 4.1 Ìlàjẹ Dependent (Short) Pronouns.

(Source: Japhet, 2012: 56).

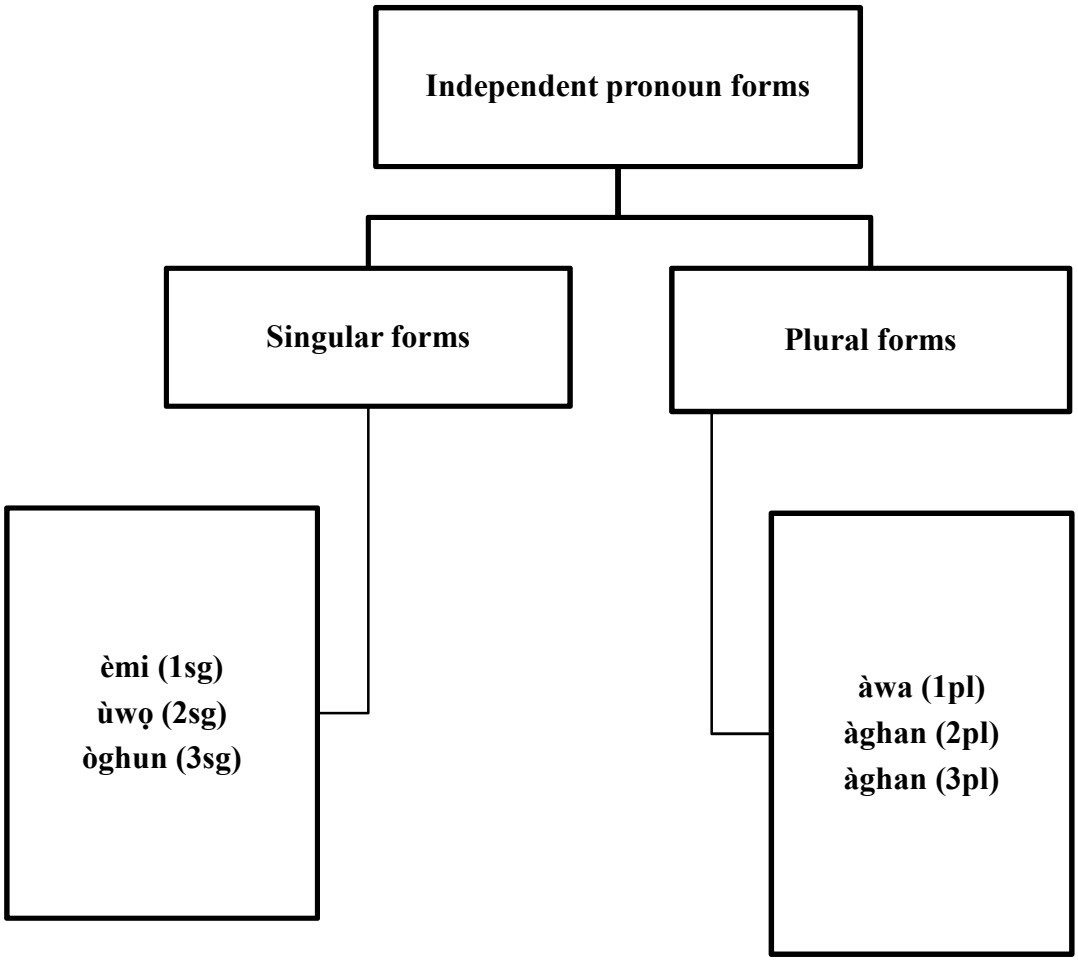


Figure 4.2 Ìlàjẹ Independent (long) Pronouns.
(Japhet, 2012: 32).

The morphosyntactic features as well as the morphophonemic structure adaptable to their syntactic environment determine the forms of the dependent pronouns. Their subject forms depend on the preverbal elements occurring between them and their verbs. For the short objects, there is need for tone polarity between the pronoun and its verb. A similar morphophonemic adjacency also manifests between the possessive forms and the heads of the DP where they are formed.This distinction in forms is already noted by Ajongolo (2005) where the short pronouns have many forms where negation, tense and aspect are involved in their distributions.

4.1.2 The syntactic distributionof Ìlàjẹ pronouns

The dependent pronouns are provided in context in the data in (1) – (6) representing the affirmative subjects, the negative subjects, the high-toned objects of low-toned verbs,the high-toned objects of mid-toned verbs, the mid-toned objects and the possessive forms respectively.

1(a) Mo gbà
1sg agreed
'I agreed'

(b) Wo gbà
2sg agreed
'you agreed'

(c) O gbà
3sg agreed
'he agreed'

(d) A gbà
1pl agreed
'We agreed'

(e) An-án gbà
2/3pl agreed
'They agreed/ you (plu) agreed'

2(a) Méè gbà

1sg-neg agreed

'I did not agree'

(b) Wéè gbà

2sg-neg agreed

'You did not agree'

(c) Éè gbà

3sg-neg agreed

'He did not agree'

(d) Áà gbà

1pl-neg agreed

'We did not agree'

(e) Án-àn gbà

2/3pl-neg agreed

'They did not agree/ you (plu) did not agree'

3 (a) Adé ghò mí

Ade look-at me

'Ade looked at me'

(b) Adé ghò wá

Ade look-at us

'Ade looked at us'

(c) Adé ghò rẹ́

Ade look-at you

'Ade looked at you'

(d) Adé ghò-ó

Ade look-at it

'Ade looked at it'

(e) Adé ghò ghán

Ade look-at them

'Ade looked at them'

4 (a) Èyí yẹ mí

this fit me

'This fits me'

(b) Èyí yẹ wá

this fit us

'This fits us'

(c) Èyí yẹ ré

this fit you

'This fits you'

(d) Èyí yẹ́

this fit-it

'This fits it'

(e) Èyí yẹ ghán

this fit them

'This fits them'

5(a) Olú rí mi

Olu see me

'Olu saw me'

(b) Olú rí wa

Olu see us

'Olu saw us'

(c) Olú rí rẹ

Olu see you

'Olu saw you'

(d) Olú ri

Olu see-them

'Olu saw them'

(e) Olú rí ghan

Olu see them

'Olu saw them'

6 (a) uná-à mi

fire-LTS 1sg

'my fire'

(b) unáà rẹ

fire-LTS 2sg

'your fire'

(c) unárẹ̀

fire 3sg

'his/her fire'

(c) unáwa

fire 1pl

'our fire'

(d) unághan

fire 3pl/2pl

'our fire/ your (plural) fire'

When these dependent pronouns are used in (7) and (8) in positions where independent pronouns occur, the expressions become ungrammatical (as seen in 7(b) and 8(b)).

In Ìlàjẹ syntax, the distribution of the independent pronoun differs from that of its dependent counterpart in two major ways. First, the independent pronoun is the citation form which can undergo focusing or be enumerated in a list as shown in (7) and (8).In 7(b), the expression is ill-formed because *wo*, a dependent pronoun is placed in focused position meant for independent pronouns. Similarly, 8(b) is also ill-formed because the dependent pronouns: *mo, wo, ghan* are being enumerated, a process reserved for independent pronouns.

7(a) ùwọ Ìgè-é mà rin

you he-SHT know foc

'You were the one Ige knew'

(b) *wo Ìgè-é mà rin

you he-SHT[34] know foc

Intended meaning: 'You were the one Ige knew'

8 (a) èmi, ùwọ, òghun, àghan …!

[34]A *subject high tone syllable* (SHT) (Yusuf, 1998:74; Japhet, 2009:284; 2016b).

1sg 2sg 3sg 3pl

'I, you, he, they …' (counting people)

(b) *mo, wo, ghan …!

1sg 2sg 3pl

Apartfrom the conditions cited above (being in the focused position and being enumerated), an independent pronoun is expected to occurwithin a complex DP while being used in a basic clause (simple sentence). In this way, it forms part of a DP where conjunction links the said pronoun with another item (pronoun or noun) in the DP, or where the pronoun takes a modifier (a noun or an independent pronoun) in the DP. Based on this condition, 9(a) - (b) and10(a) – (c) are grammatical because the independent pronouns occur in complex DPs while the asterisked expressions in 9(c) - (d) and 10 (d) – (e) are ill-formed because the independent pronouns do not form any complex DPin those basic clauses (Japhet, 2016b).

9(a) ùwọ òghun-ún fọ̀

you conj 3sg-SHT speak

'He and you spoke'(literally rendered as: "You and he speak")

(b) ùwọ èyí gbọ́ fọ̀

you who hear speak

'You, who heard it, spoke up'

(c) *ùwọ-ọ́ fọ̀

2sg-SHT speak

Intended meaning: 'You spoke'

(d) *òghun-ún fọ̀

3sg-SHT speak

Intended meaning: 'He spoke.'

10(a) Òkè-é kí èmi ùwọ

Oke-SHT greet 1sg conj. 2sg

'Okegreetedme and you'

(b) Òkè-é kí èmi Òjọ́
Oke-SHT greet 1sg conj. Ojo
'OkegreetedOjo and me.' (literally: 'Okegreetedme and Ojo.')

(c) Òkè-é kí èmi èyí ríṇ
Oke-SHT greet 1sg which laugh
'Oke greeted me, who laughed.'

(d) *Òkè-é kí èmi
Oke-SHT greet 1sg
Intended meaning: 'Oke greeted me'

(e) *Òkè-é kí ùwọ
Ige-SHT greet 2sg
Intended meaning: 'Oke greeted you'

The syntactic distribution in Ìlàjẹ pronouns is more rigid than the one in Standard Yoruba as earlier noted in Japhet (2012).

4.2 Morphophonemic differences between dependent and independent pronouns

This section will focus on the internal structure of Ìlàjẹ pronouns.This discussion will begin with the dependent pronouns.This set of pronouns account for several syntactic positions. They have many forms. The section also discusses the independent pronouns usually used as parts of noun phrases in subject and object positions. Syntactically, they behave like nouns but they are never used as possessors too.

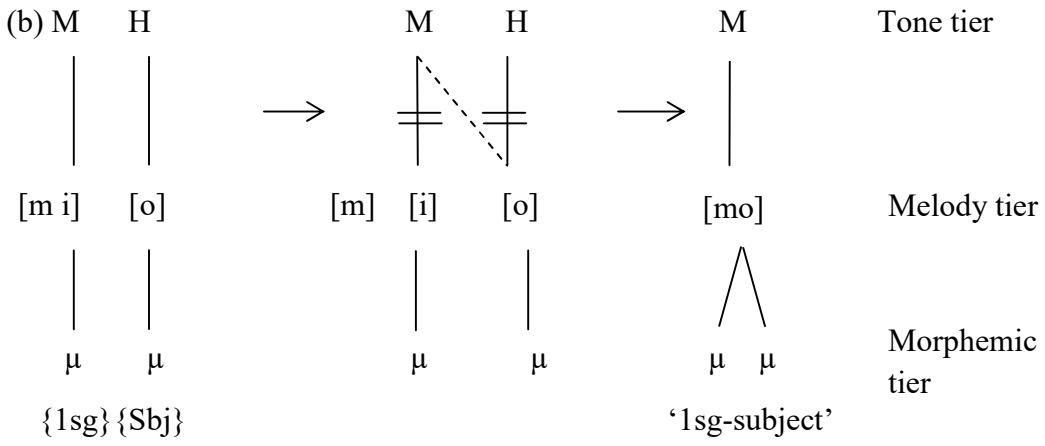
However, a dependent pronoun can function as a subject, an object and a possessor where it structurally merged[35] with its environment through complete or partial assimilation of form as well as tonal dependence. Therefore,the dependent pronoun forms demonstrate some tonal behaviours that required a Nonconcatenative approach to unravel. Affirmative pronouns are usually mid-toned, apart from the third person plural pronoun, *àn-án*which has a rising contour. The negative pronouns go with high-fall contour. The dependent objects pronoun also displays important function of tone. Each depends on the

[35]Awobuluyi (1992) calls this coalescence by merger. Japhet (2012) proposes simple phonological processes such as assimilations and tone transfer.

verbal tone. They can be categorised into: the mid-toned objects and high-toned objects. These tonal features have been affiliated with other morphemes that were phonemically assimilated to the pronoun due to their syntactic adjacency with the affected pronouns.

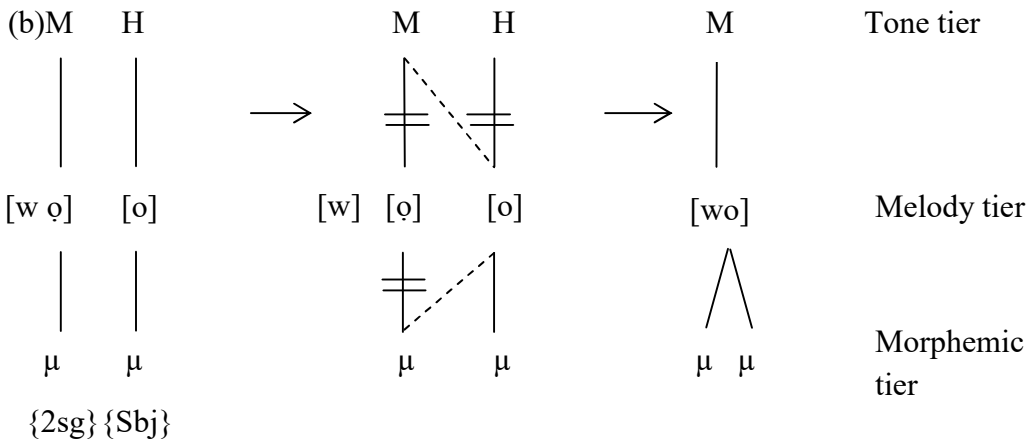
Although the dependent pronouns are usually monosyllabic, they havemore complex morphophonemic structure than their independent counterparts. This fact is revealed in their nonlinear analysis. In (11), the derivation in 11(b) is the nonlinear structural analysis of the morphophonemic form of the first person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*mo*'in 11 (a). The analysis shows how '*mi*', the basic form of the pronoun, combines with the high-toned preverb, *ó,* to derive the mid-toned output, '*mo*'.

11(a) mo 'I'



Likewise, 12(b)provides a similar nonlinear structural analysis of the morphophonemic formation ofthe second person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*wo*'. It shows how '*wọ*', the basic form of the pronoun, combines with the high-toned preverb, *ó,* to derive the mid-toned output, '*wo*'.

12 (a) wo 'you'



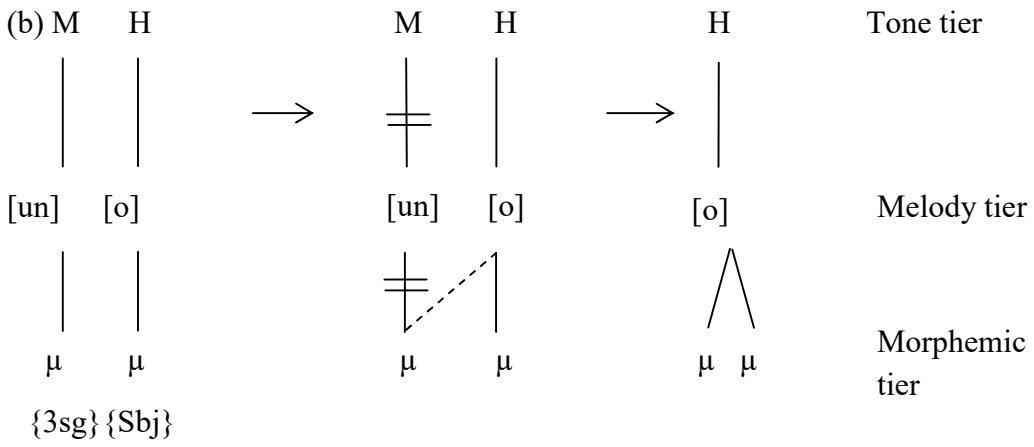
In 13(b),the third person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*ó*' is analysed. It shows how '*un*'[36], the basic form of the pronoun, combines with the high-toned preverb, *ó,* to derive the high-toned output, '*ó*' because the sound segment, '*un'* becomes deleted on the melody tier.

13(a) ó 'he, she, it'

[36]Awobuluyi (1992) has argued this pronoun he considers covert in Standard Yoruba is actually has its basic form preserved in some Yoruba dialects. His view agrees with a recent research in Ogbeifun (2020) where Usẹn dialect rendered the pronoun as *ún*. The data in Usẹn below show this pronoun where Standaerd Yoruba would have used vowel length of the preceding verb.

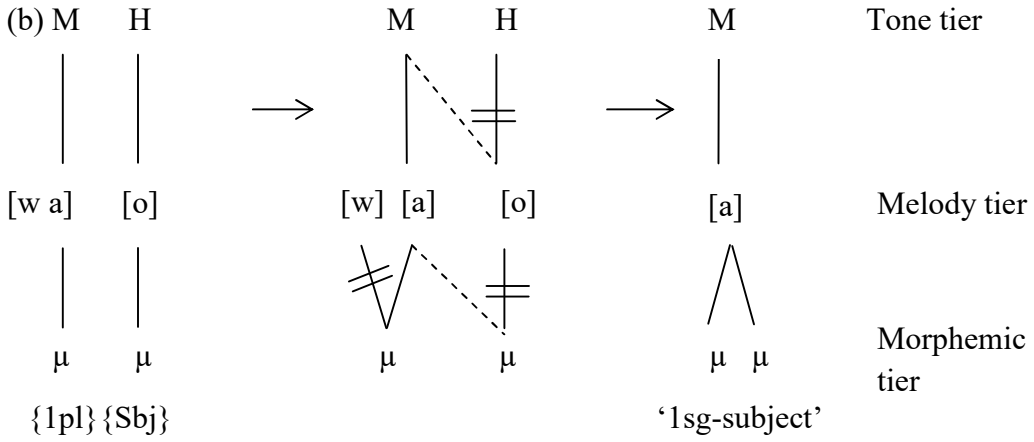
Usen (Ogbeifun, 2020: 2, 9).

1)	Adé	éè	he	úsú	éè	jẹ	ún	
	Ade	NEG	cook	yam	NEG	eat	3SG	
	'Ade did not cook yam and did not eat it'							
2)	Akọ́nẹ	ó	díya	lù	àkékò	díya	pa	un
	teacher	HTS	quick	beat	student	quick	kill	3SG
	'The teacher quickly beat the student, and quickly killed him'							



14(b) is another nonlinear structural analysis showing the morphophonemic form of the first person dependent plural affirmative subject pronoun '*wa*'. This analysis stilloutlines how '*wa*', the basic form of the pronoun, combines with the high-toned preverb, *ó,* to derive the mid-toned output, '*a*', after the consonantal part of the pronoun has been relinked from the melody tier.

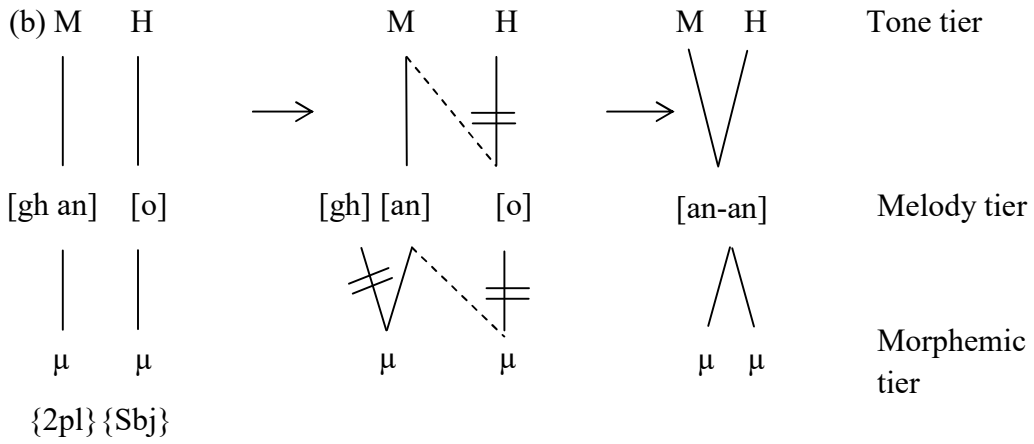
14(a) a 'we'



In 15(b),the nonlinear structural analysis of the morphophonemic form of the second person dependent plural affirmative subject pronoun '*an-án*' was given. It shows how '*ghan*', the basic form of the pronoun, combines with the high-toned preverb, *ó,* to derive the mid-toned output, '*an-án*'. This disyllabic form emerges because the tone on

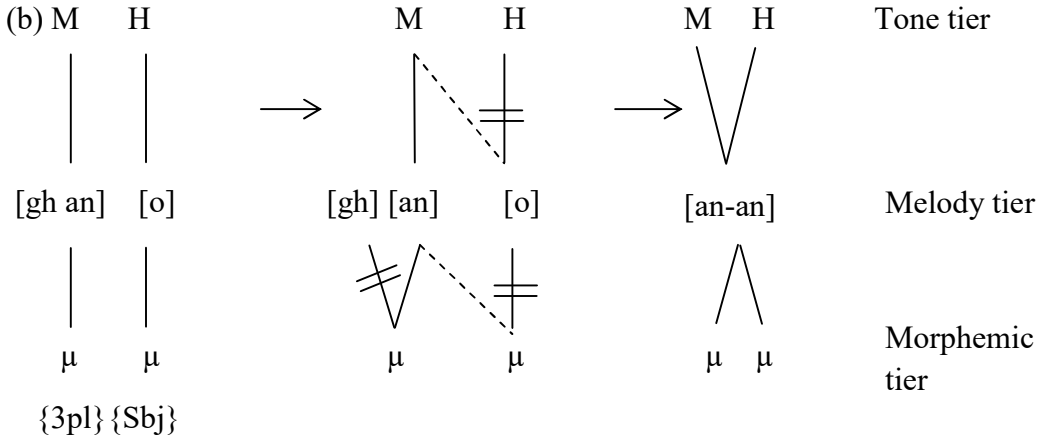
the high-toned preverb is preserved in the tone tier while the preverb sound segment on the melody tier is delinked.

15(a) an-án ‘you’(plural)



The analysis in 16(b) is structurally very similar to the one given in 15(b). However, it is meant for the third person dependent plural affirmative subject pronoun ‘*an-án*’. This pronoun has the same form with the second person counterpart except in its morphosyntactic value on the morphemic tier.

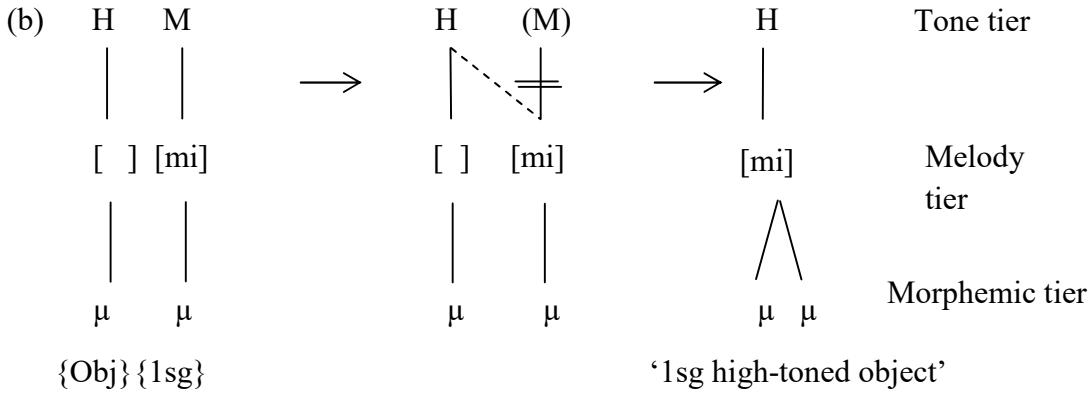
16(a) an-án ‘they’



The high tone on the object is also analysed as grammatical information from the verb where this object has to encode the tone of its verb in tonal polarity. The analysis in

17(b) describes the nonlinear structural analysis of the morphophonemic form of the high-toned object[37] (selected by a low-toned verb). The analysis shows how '*mi*', the basic form of the pronoun, combines with a floating grammatical tone to derive the high-toned output, '*mí*'.The floating grammatical tone ensures the pronoun maintains tone polarity with the verb that selects it (the pronoun).Since the dependent pronouns are never rendered low-toned, tone polarity switches between high and mid. Therefore, where the verb ends in high tone, the pronoun remains mid, keeping its basic tone.

17(a) mí 'me'



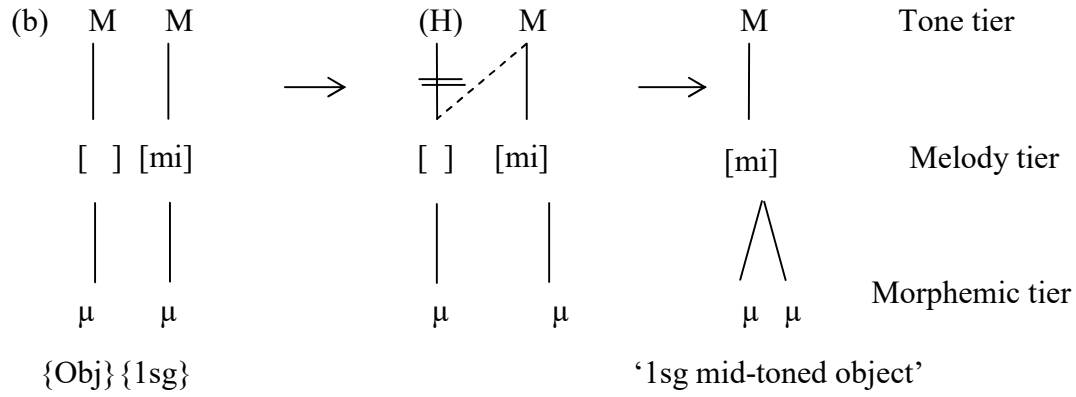
However, where the verb ends in either mid or low tone, the pronoun loses its tone to the grammatical high tone since it cannot maintain uniform tone with the verb. The analysis in 18(b) is the nonlinear structure of the morphophonemic form of the mid-toned object[38] (selected by a high-toned verb).

18(a) mi 'me'

---

[37] As in Adé ghò mí
Ade look-at me
'Ade looked at me'
bòbá yẹ mí
blouse fit me
'I look attractive in a blouse outfit'

[38] As in ọ̀bẹ gé mi
knife cut me
'The knife cut me'



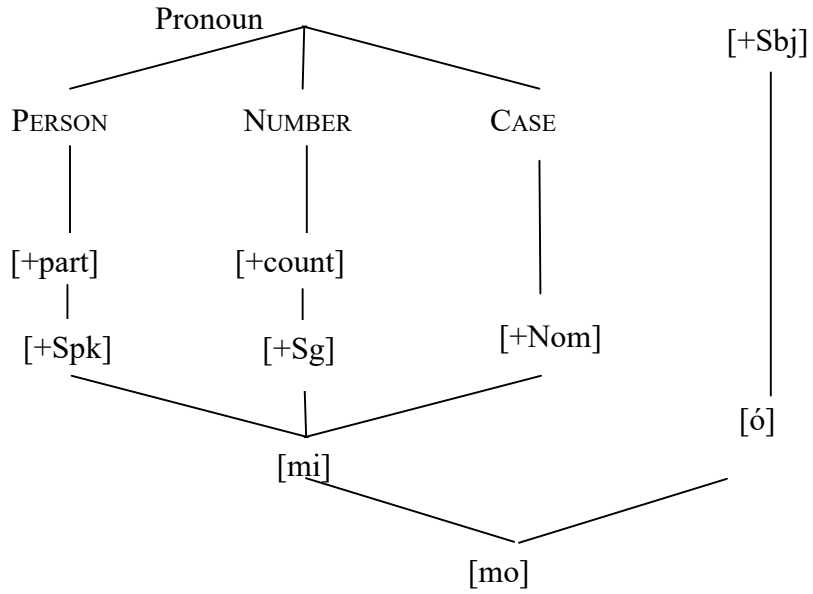
4.2.1 Geometry of the morphophonemic features in dependent pronouns

Japhet (2012) provides an account of the morphosyntactic features of Ìlàjẹ pronouns. The analysis was based on the generative grammar assumption that features are basically unordered. However, this leaves a number of issues unresolved. For instance, the emphasis which characterised independent pronouns requires where have been analysed (Japhet, 2012), the feature has not been ordered in a way to determine how each form is selected from the lexicon. The analysis does not incorporate the lexical properties that distinguish the forms into the abstract case feature. Yet each pronoun has case encoded in its form. This section, therefore, incorporates into the geometry of the pronoun features the morphophonemic information that assist speakers in identifying their forms. The morphophonemic information in (19)is incorporated into the morphosyntactic composition of the pronoun to provide information on their distribution as subject forms, thus rendered Sbj here. Inclusion of Sbj[39] in the morphology of the pronoun requires the need for more detailed feature geometry of the dependent pronouns in this section. The analysis of affirmative forms is provided in (19) where (a)is the feature geometry analysis of the first person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*mo*'. (b)the second person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*wo*'; (c) the third person dependent singular affirmative subject pronoun '*ó*'; (d) the first person dependent plural affirmative subject pronoun '*a*'; (e) the second person dependent plural affirmative subject

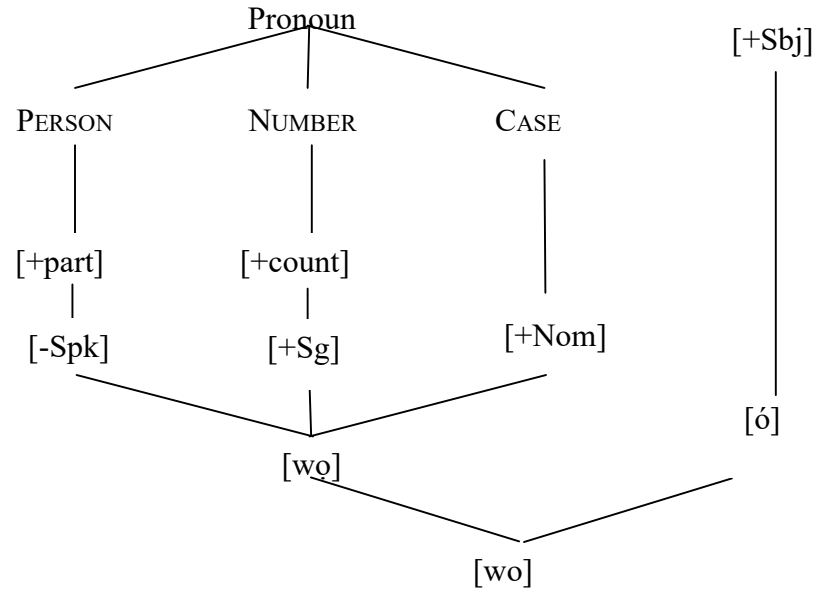
[39] This follows from Ajongolo (2005) where AgrS was contemplated. Although, AgrS projection is not the case here, this item is usually the most closely related preverb with the subject in Ìlàjẹ. So the label, Sbj (abbreviated from subject), is adopted here.

pronoun '*an-án*'; (f) the third person dependent plural affirmative subject pronoun '*an-án*'

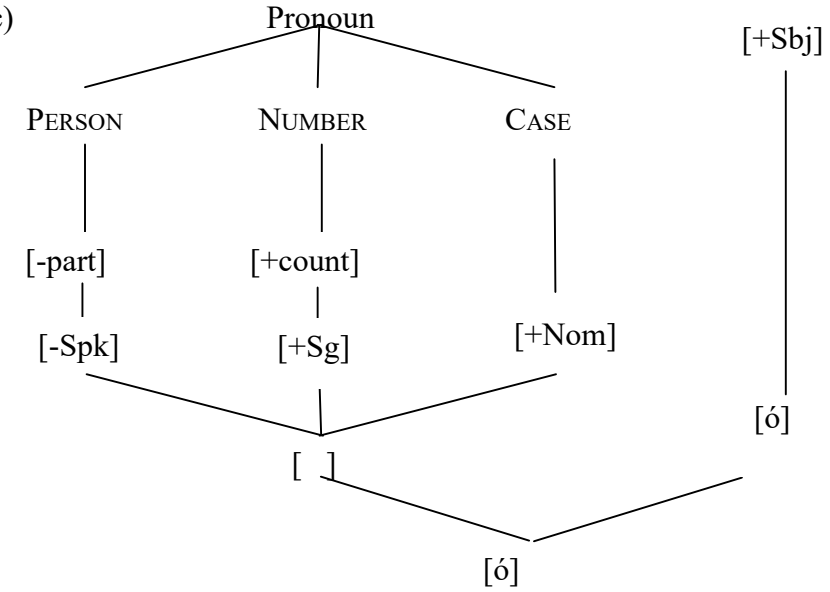
19(a)



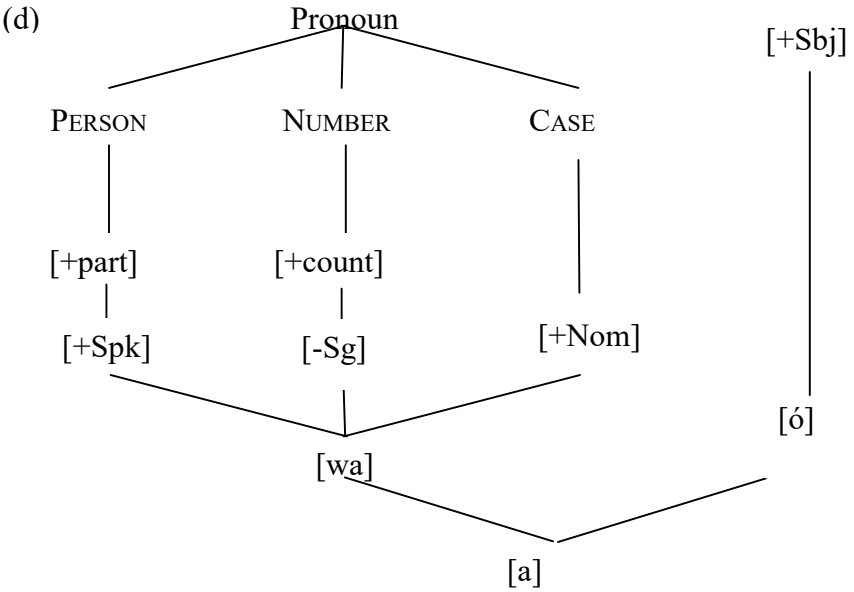
(b)


Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[wo]
[+Sbj]
[ó]
[wo]

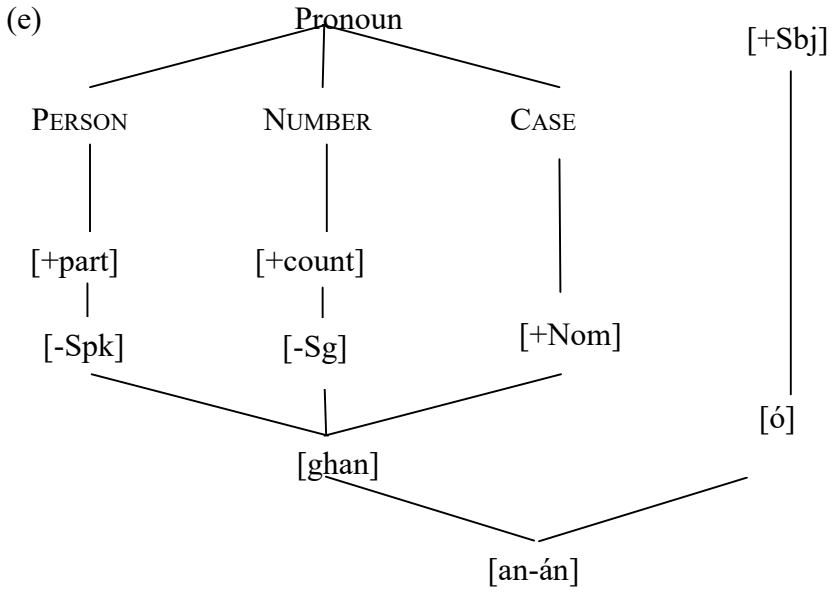
(c)

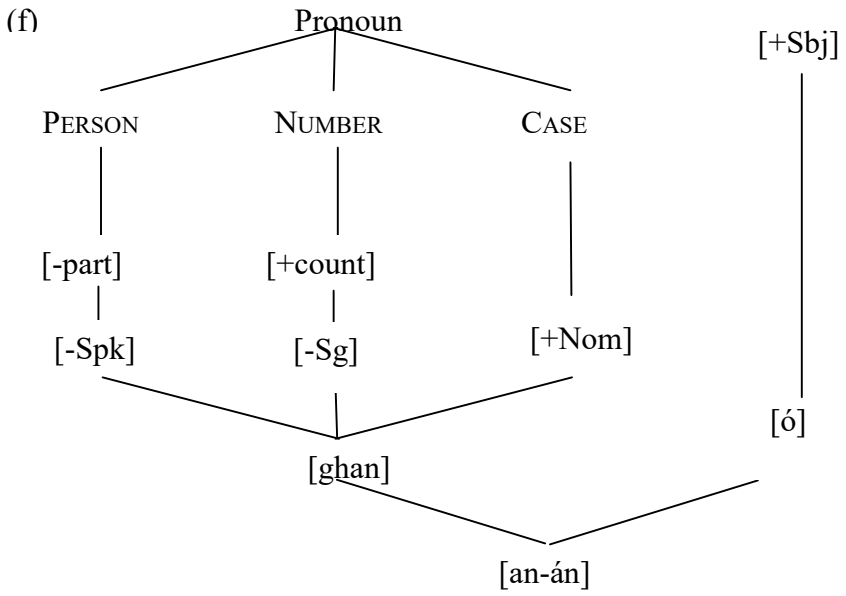

Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[-part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[ ]
[+Sbj]
[ó]
[ó]

(d)


Pronoun
[+Sbj]
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[+Spk]
[-Sg]
[+Nom]
[ó]
[wa]
[a]

(e)


Pronoun
[+Sbj]
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[-Sg]
[+Nom]
[ó]
[ghan]
[an-án]

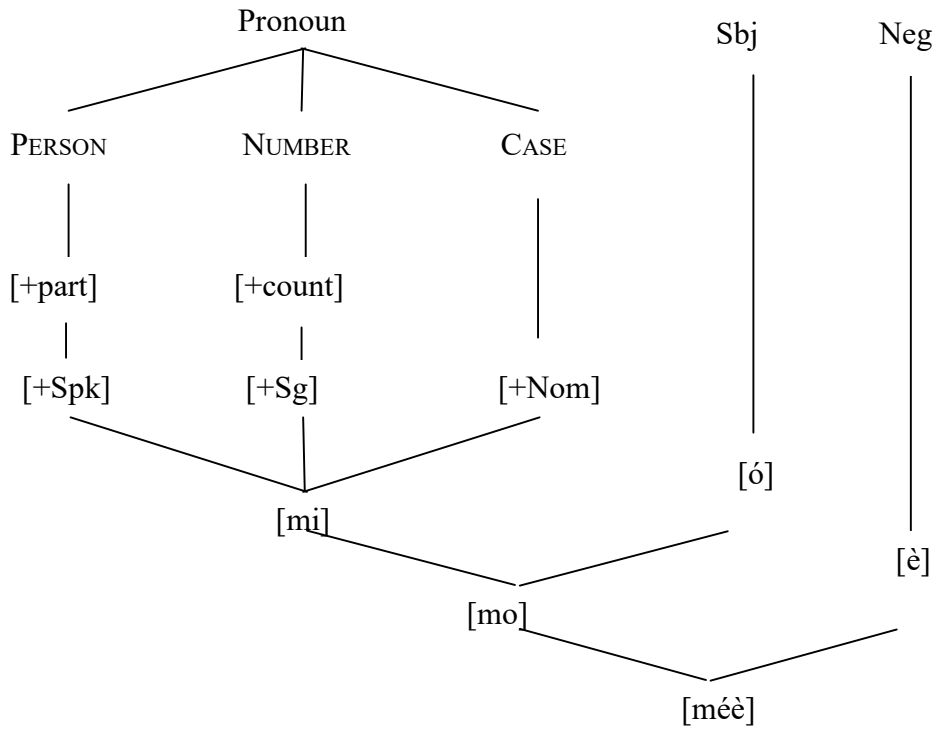


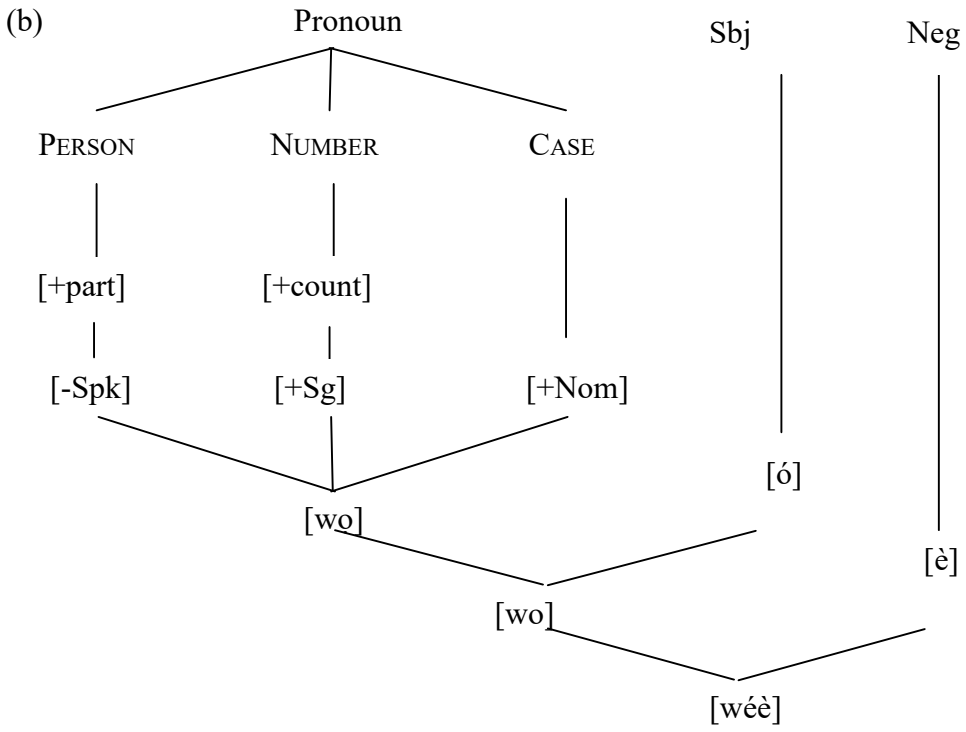
4.2.2 The negative dependent subject pronouns

It has been proposed in the literature that the preverbal *ó* and the preverbal negator *è* (derived from *kè*) combined to form *éè* (Salawu, 2001; Olumuyiwa, 2006: 34; 2008: 40). *Éè* is usually glossed as a sentential negator in Ìlàjẹ. In the following analysis, it is necessary to distinguish the affirmative forms from their corresponding negative counterparts by splitting the Sbj preverb, *ó* from the negation preverb, *è*. This forms part of the analysis done in this section.

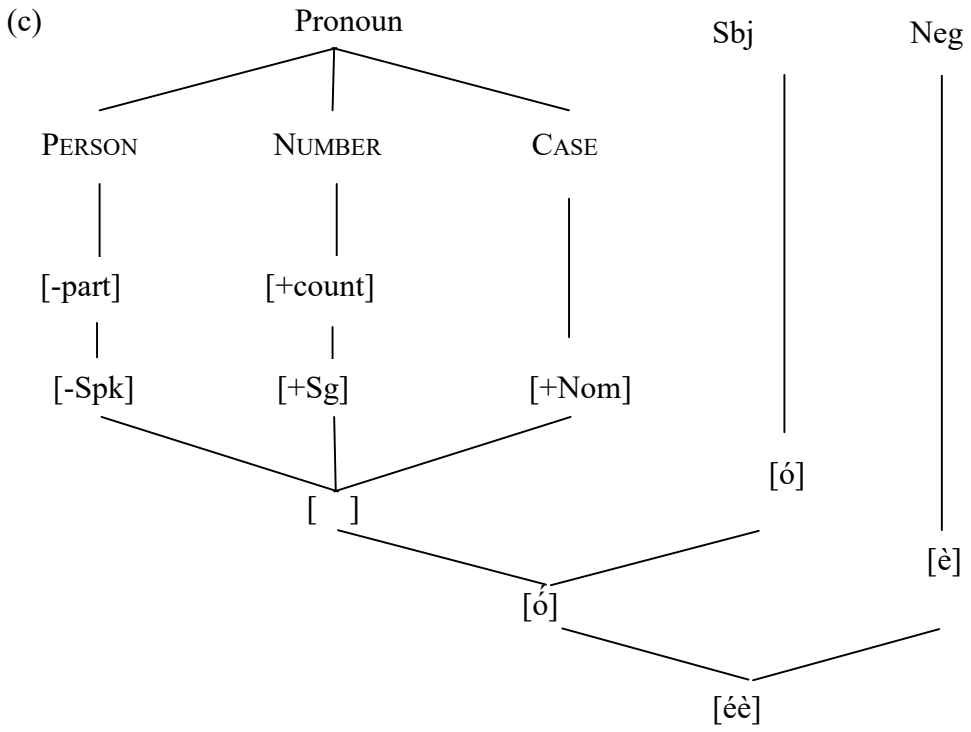
For the plural forms, the vowel segments of the [+Sbj] and the negator morpheme are not overt in the final forms of the dependent pronoun. These morphemes are marked on the base vowel segment of the pronoun as floating tones in order to be overtly represented. The negator is usually marked with a low floating tone in this respect. The feature geometry analysis of the negative subject pronouns are given in (20). The final output form of each pronoun is given at the base off the feature geometry structure (.i.e '*méè*' for first person dependent singular negative subject pronoun).

20(a)

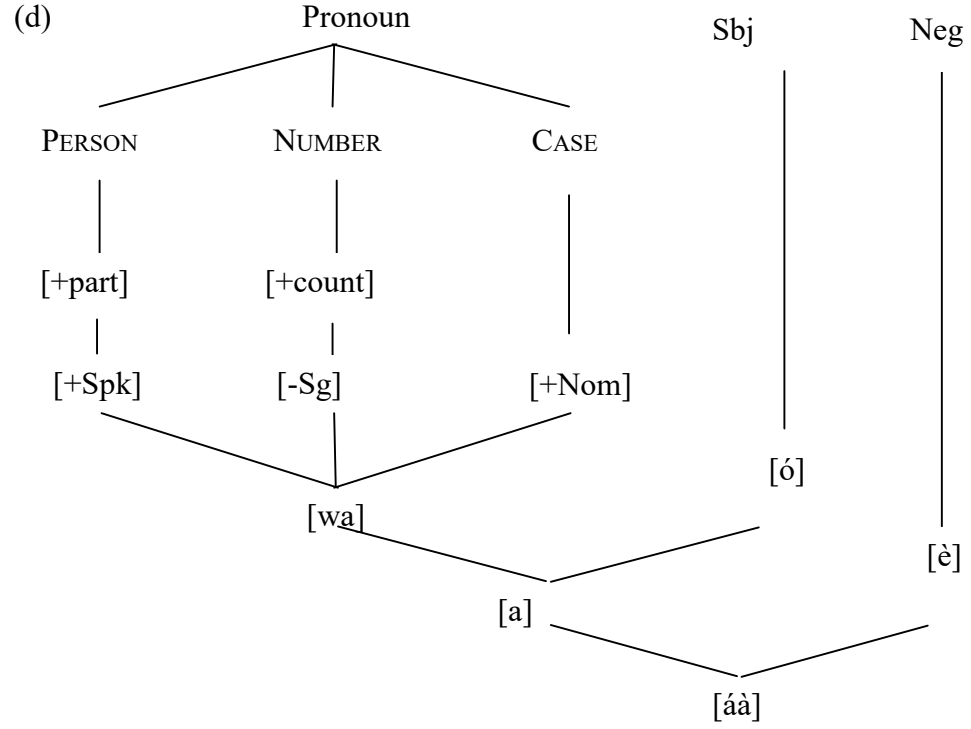

Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[+Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[mi]
Sbj
[ó]
Neg
[è]
[mo]
[méè]


(b)
Pronoun
Sbj
Neg
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[ó]
[wo]
[è]
[wo]
[wéè]

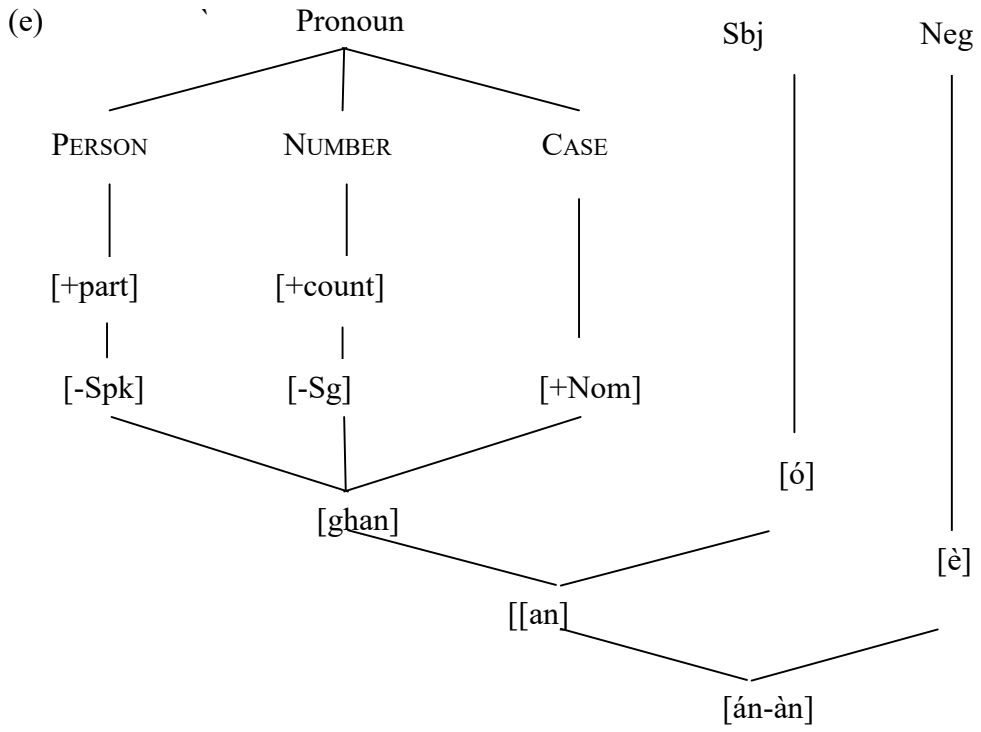
(c)

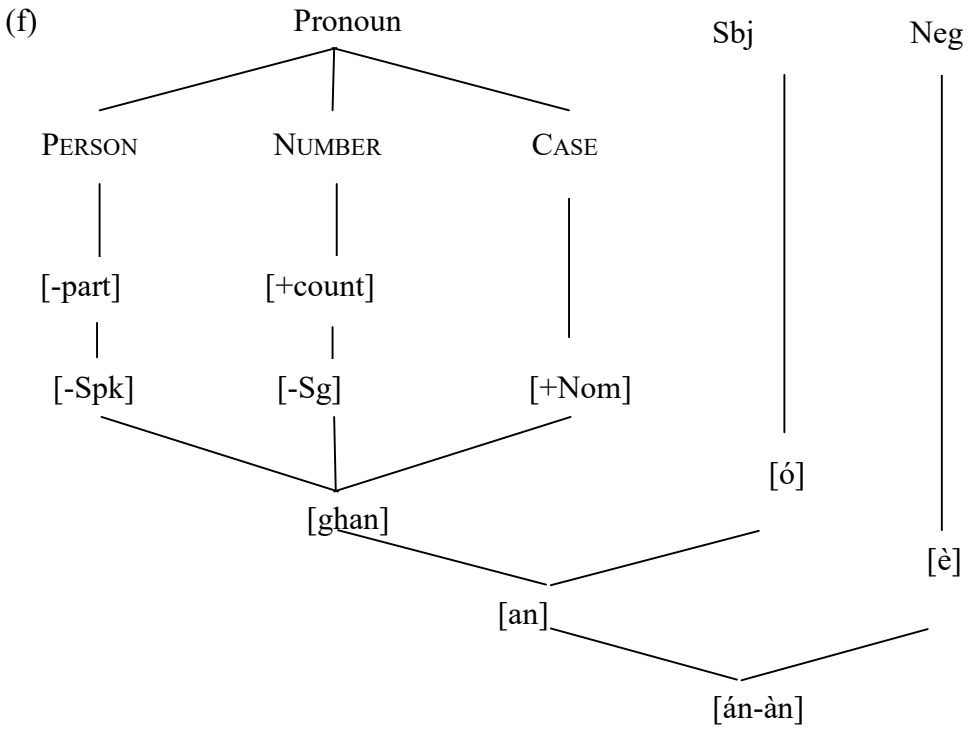

Pronoun
Sbj
Neg
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[-part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[ ]
[ó]
[è]
[ó]
[éè]

(d)


Pronoun
Sbj
Neg
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[+Spk]
[-Sg]
[+Nom]
[wa]
[ó]
[è]
[a]
[áà]

(e)


Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE
[+part]
[+count]
[-Spk]
[-Sg]
[+Nom]
[ghan]
[[an]
Sbj
[ó]
Neg
[è]
[án-àn]



4.2.3 The dependent object forms of the pronoun

Just as the pronoun occurrence with the SHT (a preverbal element) creates a nominative case environment for subject pronouns (Awoyale, 1995), the verb also establishes an overt accusative case relation with its object through the verb-object tonal polarity noted in (9). The phenomenon known as tone polarity has been widely attested in the literature (Cahill, 2004; Trommer, 2005, 2007, 2008; Stirtz, 2012 and de Lacy, 2012). For Cahill (2004), tone polarity occurs due to a surface constraint requiring specific suffixes to have the opposite tone from preceding stems. Yip (2002), shows that tone polarity can come from a dissimilation involving underlying High or Low tone. Similarly, Trommer (2005) reports in Kanuri a tone polarity that develops from dissimilation involving underlying contour tones. In the current study, the pronoun derivational affiliation with the verb tonal feature shows its strict dependence on the verb.

From a syntactic point of view, structural case function of tone is not new in the literature. Schadeberg (1986) attests tone as a case marker on objects in Umbundu. In Yoruba, tonal analysis of structural nominative case is already implied in Awoyale

(1995)[40]. Similarly, Japhet's (2012)[41] follows the same structural perspective in analysing the tonal behaviour of the dependent object pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. The high tone is interpreted as a grammatical tone having its entry in the lexicon as a transformational item evident in the pronoun. What seems to operate between the verb and its dependent pronoun object is the polarity of the tone on the last syllable of the verb with the tone of the pronoun. Therefore, high-toned objects are derived through tone polarity with the verb. In the present study, the tonal change[42] is structurally linked to the verb which requires tonal marking for accusative case relation. Since the low tone is never used for the dependent object, each verb can only choose between a mid-toned object output and a high-toned alternative depending on which of them forms a tonal polarity with the verb. For instance, a mid-toned verb can only establish tonal polarity with the high-toned dependent object pronoun. A high-toned verb will establish tonal polarity with a mid-toned dependent object pronoun. This object-marking tone, represented in the analysis as [Obj], relates the verbal tone to the object. This portrays a tonal contrast pattern ([mid] and [high]) with the verb indicating a tonal phenomenon displayed by the dependent object pronoun as a verb-dependent tonal condition. It is expected that the object marking-tone encodes the relevant features of the verb (such as: [+Obj] <[ghò] -high-toned vb; to look>) through which the verb-object agreement is established.

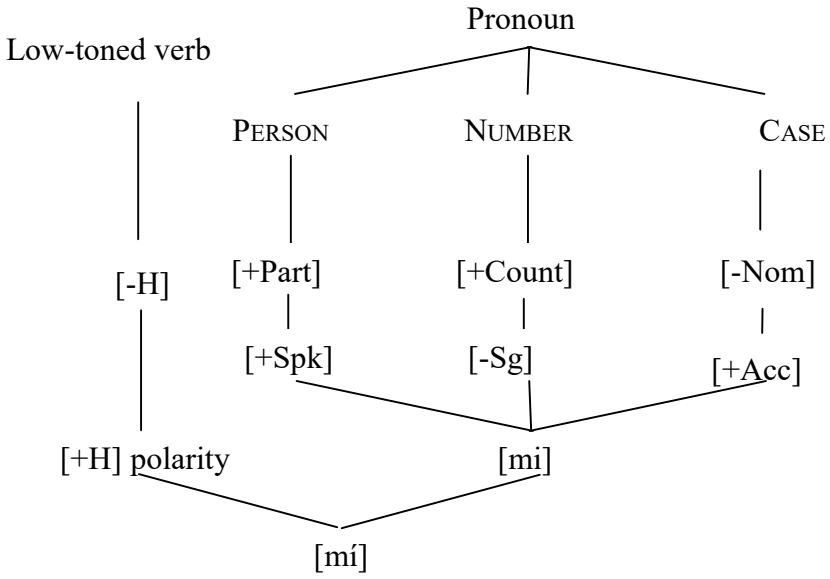
The native speakers' choice between high-toned and mid-toned pronouns is a proof to show that the tone of the object pronoun is strictly determined by the verb selecting it[43]. This view slightly differs from Akinlabi's position based on tonal underspecification. Akinlabi (1985) proposes pronouns to be basically high-toned in the lexicon though with the claim that the mid-toned counterpart is underspecified for this high tone. In line with Akinlabi's view, the current analysis affirms that the high tone

[40]Awoyale's (1995) Yoruba IP analysis identifies the subject high tone (a floating tone) as the inflection head on which the nominative case assignment depends in Government Binding framework.
[41]Japhet's (2012) proposal shows that the *object high tone* (OHT) is an object-marking floating tone, which occurs between the verb and its short object pronoun. See also Japhet's (2009:283-285) view, where the tone is proposed to be the object agreement marker within an AgrOP analysis. While Japhet (2012) does not claim the projection of any Agreement phrase (AgrP) as he did in Japhet (2009), it does however show that (OHT) is a prelinked underlying object-juncture tone, which only surfaces in the language before a short object pronoun.
[42]This view differs from Akinlabi's (1985) view. In his view, the tone change depends on the pronoun which only takes a default mid tone when it becomes toneless.
[43]This object-marking tone does not apply to the long pronoun, the nouns and noun phrases.

exists in the lexicon. However, this high tone is analysed here not as the actual lexical tone of the object, but as a grammatical tone with an object-marking function. It is conceived as an existing underlying tone which only surfaces when it becomes necessary for the object to form tonal polarity with the tone on the last syllable of the verb. The Autosegmental analysis in 17(b) above shows how the high-toned objects are derived after the mid tones of the pronouns elide and the stranded pronouns melody is relinked with the floating object-marking high tones. For the mid-toned dependent object, as analysed in 18(b), it is the floating object-marking tone that is deleted, so the pronoun has to maintain its mid lexical tone. The feature geometry structures of the first person singular high-toned object and the mid-toned counterpart is given in 21(b) and 22(b) respectively.

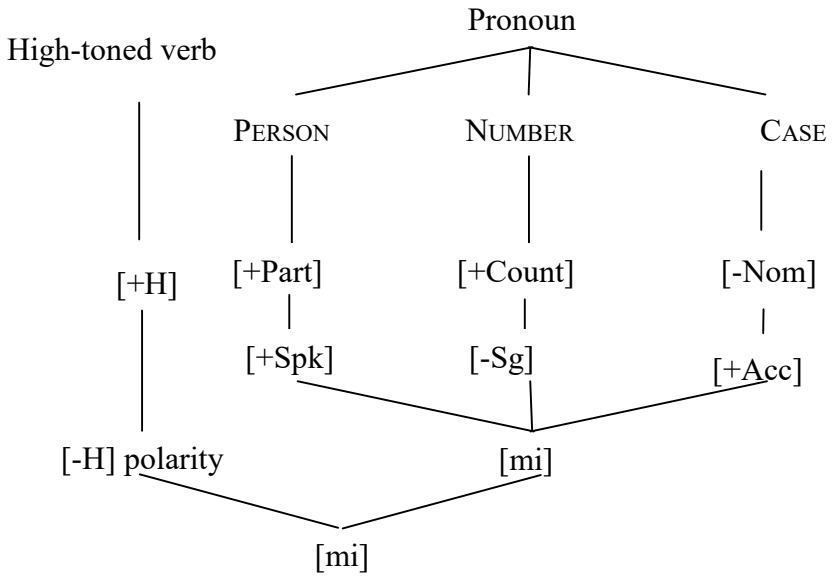
21 (a) Adé ghò mí
Ade look-at me
'Ade looked at me'

(b)



22 (a) ọ̀bẹ gé mi
knife cut me
'The knife cut me'

(b)



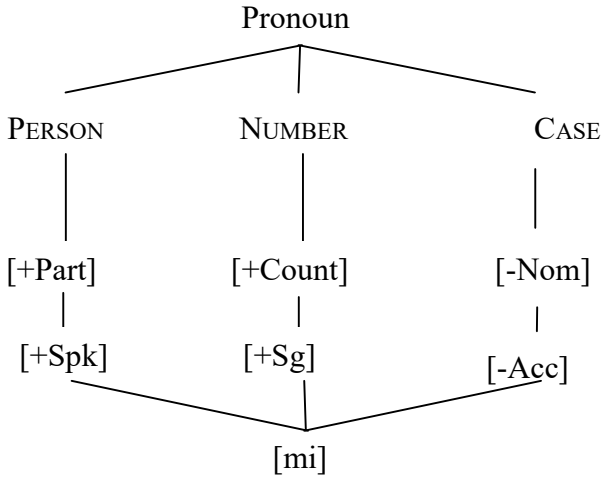
4.2.4 The possessive forms of pronouns

The possessive is unique group of dependent pronouns because its domain is limited to the noun phrase comprising the possessor and the possessed item. In this way, this pronoun occurs as a modifying pronoun within another nominal thereby functioning as subpart of a subject or a subpart of an object noun phrase. Despite this major difference, the features specification of the possessive pronoun is still very similar to those found in personal pronouns. First, as a modifier in the noun phrase, it takes the monosyllabic dependent form just like any other dependent pronoun. Second, it also has structural floating tone affiliation with the noun head of its local domain parallel to the SHT being associated with the subject pronouns and the verb tonal polarity being associated with the object pronouns.

In the derivation of the first and second person singular possessive pronouns *mi* and *rẹ,* Ìlàjẹ and Standard Yoruba have a uniform process. These two possessive pronouns, *mi* and *rẹ,* go with a floating low tone henceforth called the low-toned syllable (LTS).

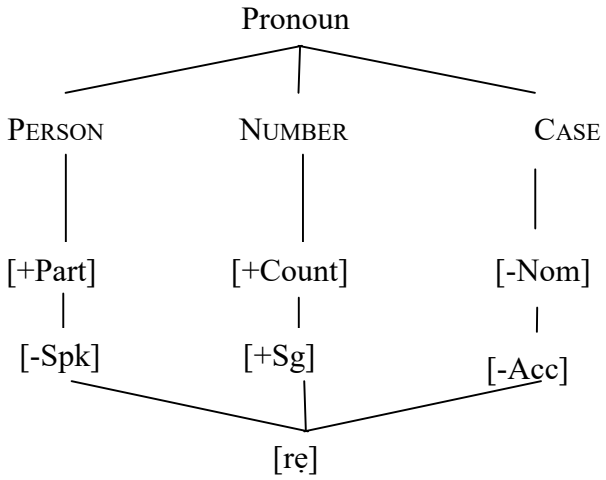
23 (a) unáà mi
fire-LTS 1sg
'my fire'

(b)



24 (a) uná-à rẹ
fire-LTS 2sg
'your fire'

(b)



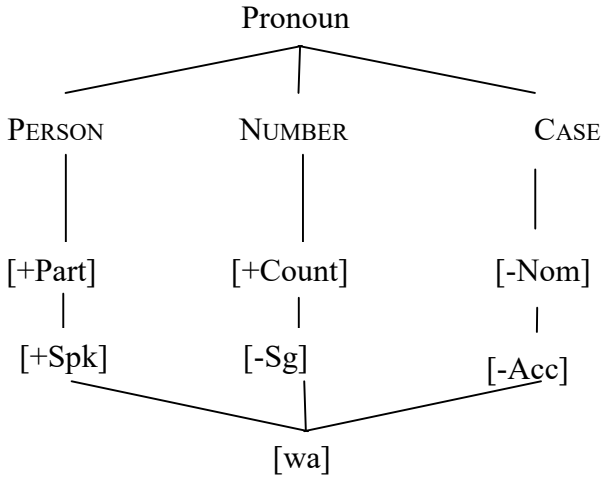
Ìlàjẹ differs from the Standard Yoruba in the use of the associative mid tone syllable (henceforth, MTS) in possessive construction. Awóbùlúyì (2013: 241-260) identifies this tone to be a genitive case marker. The MTS is not overt in Ìlàjẹ genitive construction; hence, the feature geometry trees in (25) do not include the floating tone.

25 (a) uná wa

fire 1pl

'our fire'

(b)



Standard Yoruba (MTS- marked possessive)

26 (a) iná-a wa

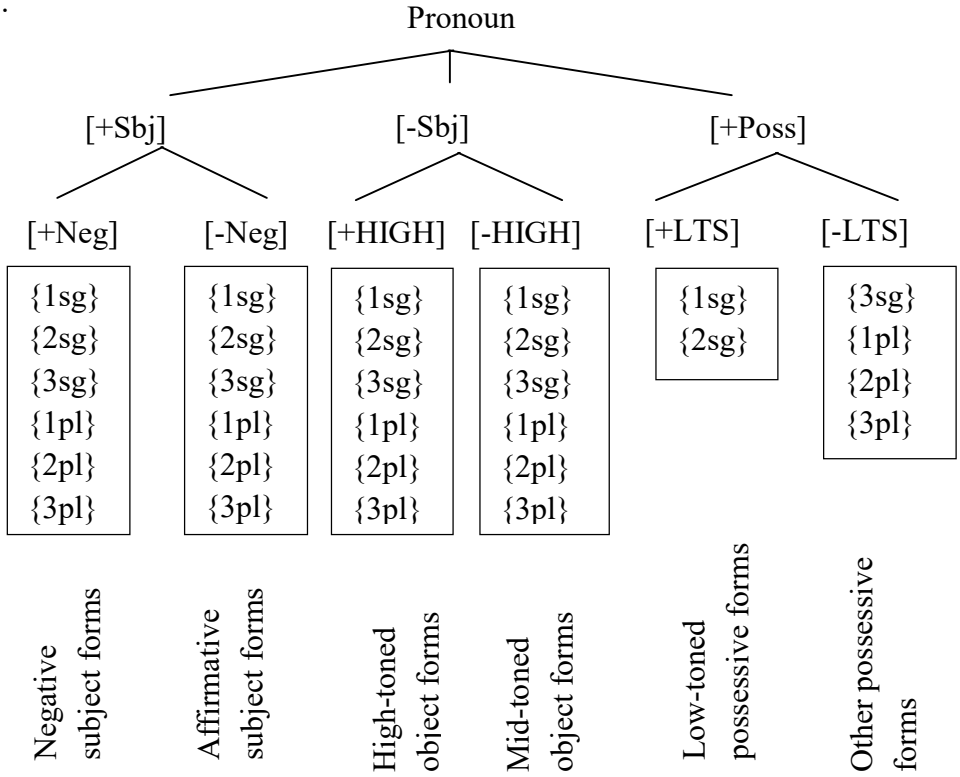
fire 1pl

'our fire'

4.2.5 Geometry of the morphophonemic features of dependent pronouns

A summary of the morphophonemic features analysis is given in (27) below, using a Feature geometric tree that comprises the three feature complexes employed in the specification of the morphophonemic environment. The [±Sbj, ±Neg] specifies the subject forms; the [±Sbj, ±HIGH] specifies the object forms; the [Poss, ±LOW] specifies the possessive forms.

27.



As already established in the literature (Awóbùlúyì, 1992; 2013, Japhet, 2012), the underlying form of the subject high tone syllable is the high-toned preverbal element *ó* which usually comes immediately after the subject. This is evident in Ajongolo (2005).
The phonemic form of each of these pronouns is structurally dependent on the nearest syntactic head that determines the morphophonemic form. The subject depends on the high-toned element *ó*. A dependent object pronoun is either high-toned or mid-toned, depending on the tone on the last syllable of the verb. The possessive form is marked with a low toned syllable or without any tone depending on whether the tone of the low tone of the deleted first syllable of the possessor is retained or not.

The dependent object with the verb tonal polarity is conceived to be specifying the verbal tone feature. The feature specification of dependent object pronoun will therefore show that it is an object of a verb (being verb-selected). Going by the adopted bivalent approach, the object feature is marked as [-Sbj] in polarity to the [+Sbj] feature of the subject. To indicate the applicable verb-object tonal configuration of the selecting verb, the [-Sbj] object feature has to specify further the [+High] for high-toned verbs and [-

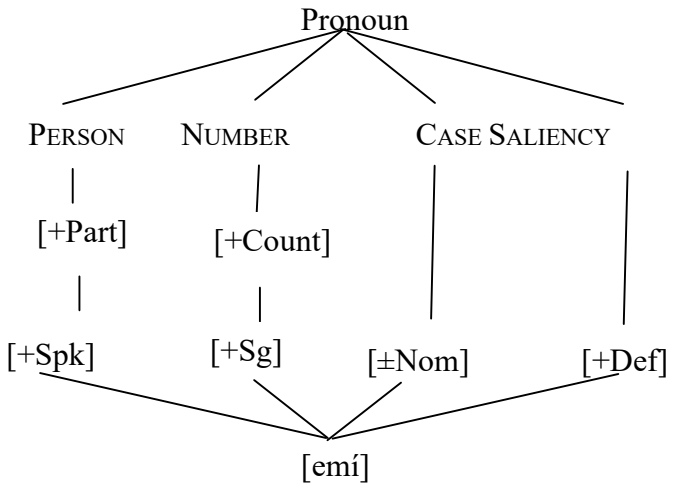
High] for mid-tone verbs and low-toned verbs. Therefore, a dependent object having a high and a counterpart with a midtone will display the following specifications: [-Sbj, +HIGH] and [-Sbj, -HIGH] respectively.

For the possessive forms, the deleted first syllable of the possessor surfaces as a floating low-toned syllable (LTS) genitive marker for the first and second person forms. For other forms of the pronoun, no overt phonemic marker exists between the possessor and the possessed. While all possessive forms are marked with [+Poss] feature, the contrast created by the floating LTS is explored to be specified as [+LTS] tonal feature on the first and second singular forms which contrasts with the specification [-LTS] of other possessive forms lacking the floating low-toned syllable.

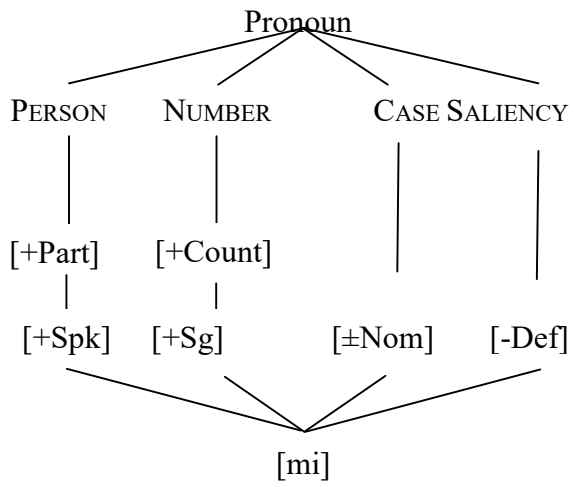
4.2.6 The structure of Ìlàjẹ independent pronoun forms

The independent pronouns differ from their dependent counterparts in their morphosyntactic features. The independent pronouns are more emphatic in use than their dependent counterparts. This emphasis is represented in this study as saliency, a morphosyntactic feature. The analysis in (28) provides the feature geometry of the core morphosyntactic features of the first person singular independent pronoun in 28(a) along with its dependent counterpart in 28(b). This structure differs from the earlier cited in 19(a) due to the inclusion of saliency. A unified analysis is given in 28(c), showing the major difference between the two sets of pronouns.

28(a)



(b)



4.2.7 The saliency in independent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ

The analysis so far has shown that the independent pronouns differ from their dependent counterparts essentially on the presence of a saliency feature. Independent pronouns can be accessed by heads probing for saliency which make them to undergo certain syntactic operations of which a dependent pronoun is not permitted because it lacks saliency feature. As can be seen in English and Ìlàjẹ in (29) below, pronoun saliency is normal in syntax.

29 (a) *They* attended the congress.

(b) *He* and *she* attended the congress.

(c) A lọ

1pl go

'We went'

(d) èmi ùwọ lọ

1sg conj. 2sg go

'You and I went' (literally rendered: 'I and you went')

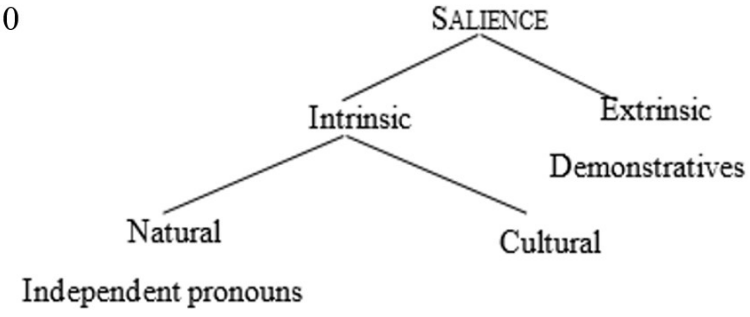
While the use of *they* in (a) and *a*(1pl) in (c) simply provide the information that the participants in the discourse were more than one, the enumeration of the individuals in (b) and (d) displays more saliency because it provides additional information stating the participants' gender features (*he*: masculine; *she*: feminine) and person features (*èmi*: 1st

person; *ùwọ*: 2nd person) of each participant. The choice of the conjoined pronouns, (*he* and *she; èmi* and *ùwọ*) instead of the unified plural forms, (*they*, and *a* (1pl)) could probably be due to the need to specify some DP internal saliency stipulating the individual specific features of the conjoined pronouns (i.e. gender and person) which are usually concealed if the unified plural pronouns are used.This kind of specification demonstrates discourse saliency (Frigerio, 2017).

Frigerio (2017) considers saliency as the main semantic feature in demonstratives and pronouns showing that they have to refer to the most salient object in a discourse. Due to different contexts in which saliency may apply, Frigerio (2017)classifies it into extrinsic and intrinsic types. The extrinsic type depends on the speaker's deictic gestures while the intrinsic type requires mutual consent based on an object that has some proprieties at the time of the discourse on which the participants will naturally focus their attention upon no matter the disposition of the speaker. Therefore for an object to display intrinsic salience, there should be a cultural or at least, a natural justification for such.

Saliency is a very crucial part of the lexical entry of the pronoun in Ìlàjẹ because it guides operation select on the appropriate choice of pronoun for each construction. In fact, all independent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ carry natural intrinsic salience due to the speaker naturally focusing on the personal qualities of the referent of the pronoun. The consideration of saliency as an internal feature of pronouns extends the morphosyntactic features analysis beyond the usual phi-feature description.

30



The first thing to note here is that the independent pronoun occurs where more content specification is required. Thus, this additional internal content specification of the

independent pronouns demonstrates discourse saliency lacking in the dependent pronouns. As can be seen in (31) – (33), saliency make independent pronouns preserve their individual phi features of speech the participants (in terms of number and person features) as in 31(a). On the other hand, the dependent pronouns organise the features, rank them, and specify only the highest ranking among them as the label feature as in 31(b), 8(b) and 9(b). In the dependent pronoun, the low-ranking features have to be underspecified. While the number feature simply changes from singular to plural, as logically expected, the person feature on the other hand keeps only the higher-ranking first-person feature. What occurs in the independent pronoun forms as first and the second person singular pronouns (showing two person features) is realised in the dependent form as first person plural (indicating a single person feature without specifying any other person). Although independent pronouns preserve every feature, it is important to note that the features have to be properly ranked in order to linearize the pronouns. Improper ranking of *èmi* (1sg) and *ùwọ* (1sg) generates odd expression in 31(c).

31 (a) èmi ùwọ-ọ́ jà
1sg 2sg-SHT fight
'You and Ifought'

(b) a jà
1pl fight
'We fought'

(c) *ùwọ[44] èmi-í jà
2sg conj. 1sg-SHT fight

Where *ùwọ* (2sg) and *òghun* (3sg) are not properly ranked in 32(c), it results in marked expression.

32 (a) ùwọ òghun-ún jà
you he-SHT fight
'He and you fought'

(b) àn-án jà

[44] This is ill-formed for not observing the 1>2 person ranking.

3pl-SHT fight

'You (plu) fought'

(c) *òghun[45] ùwọ-ọ́ jà

3sg conj. 2sg-SHT fight

Even where plural and singular forms are used together, their person features still have to be ranked properly. Putting *àwa* (1pl) before *ùwọ* (2sg) still generates an odd output in 33 (c), because it violated person features ranking.

33(a) àwa ùwọ-ọ́ jà

1pl conj. 2sg-SHT fight

'He and you fought'

(b) a jà

3pl fight

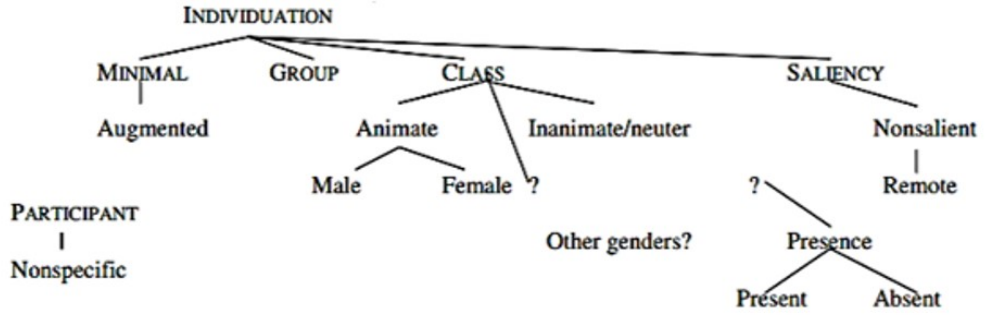
'We fought'

(c) *ùwọ[46] àwa-á jà

2sg conj. 2sg-SHT fight

Within Feature Geometry analysis, Wier (2006) provides the first analysis on saliency. This innovation incorporates saliency feature into Harley &Ritter's model to ensure proximate arguments are distinguished from the obviate ones. While the proximate participantsare considered salient, the obviate onesare non-salient. Weir's(2006:162) demonstration of this is reproduced in (34).

34.



[45] This is ill-formed for not observing the 2>3 person ranking.

[46] This is ill-formed for not observing the 1>2 person ranking.

While saliency is not a new term in language use, its association with specific morphosyntactic features of pronouns is not widely known in the literature. InYoruba, Ajiboye (2005) provides a saliency analysis in Standard Yoruba; but this analysis does not involve the pronoun. It is restricted to the definite article *nàà*. Von Heusinger's (2013) analysis of saliency categorises deictic use of the pronoun to be carrying definiteness kind of saliency contrary to the plain anaphoric functions expected in every pronoun. Just like proper nouns and demonstratives, deictic pronouns carry the kind of definiteness comparable to emphasis found in the independent pronouns. The use of the first person singular independent pronoun, *èmi* in 35(b) gives more emphasis to the pronoun than it does to its dependent counterpart *mi* in 35(a).

STANDARD YORUBA

35(a) O jí mi
2sg wake 1sg
'You woke me up'

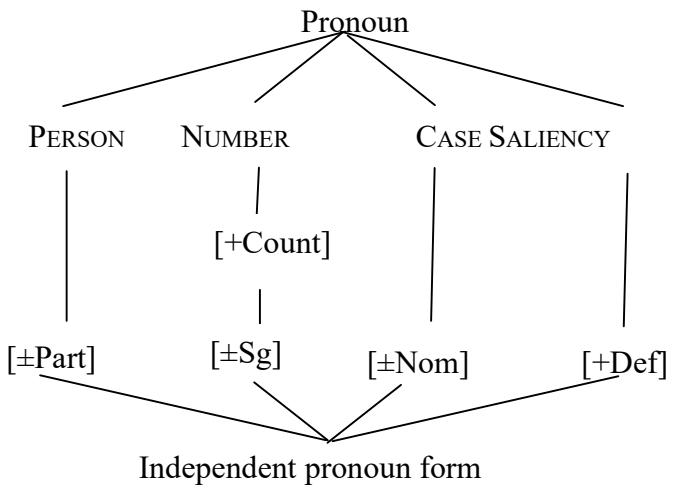
(b) O jí emi
2sg wake 1sg
'Do you mean you woke me up' (Emphatic reference on 'me')

As observed in (35), the definiteness in emphasised pronoun demonstrates its saliency to the discourse. This emphasis found in independent pronouns has been epresented in (28) as [+Def] marker of saliency. It is reproduced here in (36). The saliency feature in the independent pronoun involves some measure of definiteness [+Def] in (28), reproduced as(36) below. The structure in 36(a) represents the independent form which has [+Def] saliency feature. The dependent counterpart given in 36(b) has [-Def] feature, lacking the emphasis that gives the independent pronoun form its definiteness.

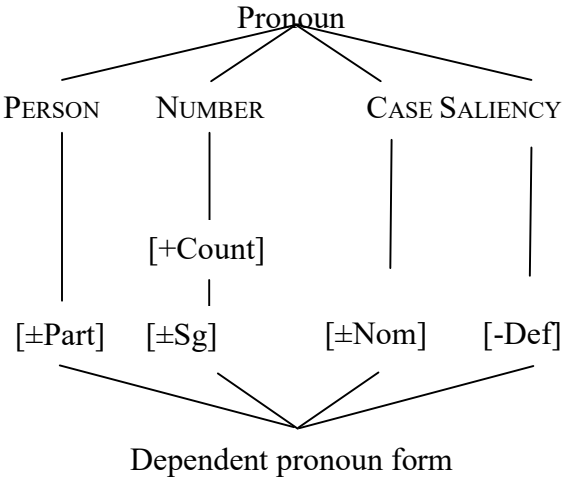
4.2.8 Dependent and independent forms of Ìlàjẹ pronouns

The foregoing analysis provides a vivid description of the internal structure of both dependent and independent pronouns. It basically shows that a pronoun may need to specify saliency feature either with a positive value (such as [+Def] for the independent form) or a negative value (as [-Def] for the dependent form). This [+/-Def] Saliencyfeature is identified as the major difference between this pronoun and its dependent counterpart.

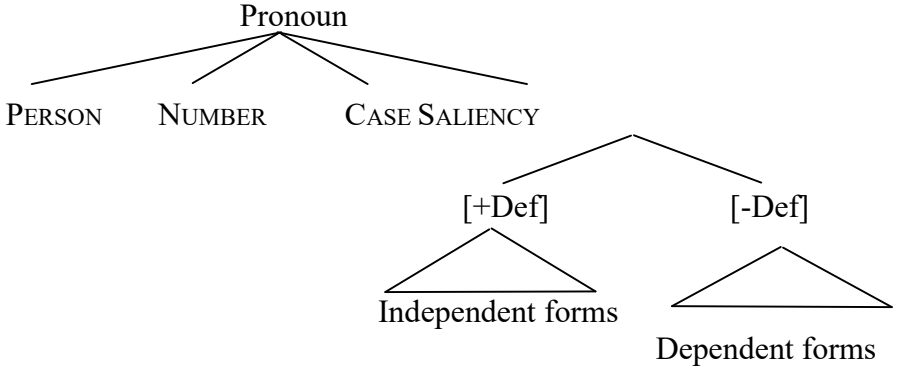
36(a)



(b)



(c)



By this analysis, saliency is at the same level with person, case and number. It is just an important parameter in Ìlàjẹ pronominal analysis. Just as person feature categorises

pronouns into first, second and third; number feature categorising them into singular and plural forms; case feature categorising them into subject and object forms, so does saliency feature in categorising pronouns into dependent and independent forms.

4.3 Logophoricity in the Ìlàjẹ third-person singular pronoun

This section focuses on the pronoun as a logophoric marking item. Empirically, logophoric pronouns are used in different ways depending on the syntactic function of its antecedent (Nau, 2006:78-79). Typically, a logophor is either considered*subject referent* (Heath, 2004: 1006)[47]or *object referent* (Bhat, 2004: 65)[48].However, a rare case of the combination of subject and object referent types has also been reported (Culy, 1997: 855)[49]. This gives three possible types of logophoricity[50].

In subject referent logophoricity*,* the subject in the matrix clause is the antecedent of the logophor. For the object referent logophoricity, the object of the verb in the matrix clause is the antecedent of the logophor in the embedded clause. The third type is possible in a language that permits both subject and object referent logophors.

The *logophoricity* is a discourse-driven process which produces a *logophoric domain,* a clause that reports someone's speech, thought, knowledge, perception or emotion. (Sells, 1987; Culy, 1994)[51]. Within a logophoric construction, three basic items are expected. First, there should be a logophor-selecting verb also known as a *report verb*[52] that introduces the report. Second, there should be a *logophor*[53] which may be a pronoun or an affix that functions as the logophoric marker. Third, there should be a logophor-controlling antecedent in the construction. In the literature, this antecedent has been called different names. Hyman & Comrie (1981) call it 'logophoric trigger'; Stirling

[47]This is established in Babungo by Heath (2004: 1006).
[48]This is reported in Pero by Bhat, (2004: 65).
[49]This multiple use of logophors is reported in Mupun by Culy (1997: 855).
[50]A schematic illustration of the three types is provided here in (a)-(b), representing subject referent logophoricity,object referent logophoricity and a combination of subject and object referent logophoricity respectively.

(a) He_x said to her_y: that $logophor_x$ loved her_y
(b) He_x said to her_y: that he_x loved $logophor_y$
(c) He_x said to her_y: that $logophor_x$ loved $logophor_y$

[51]Nau (2006) divides logophoric construction into two parts: the introduction and the logophoric context. The introduction comprises the opener and the antecedent while the logophoric context denotes the structure where the logophoric marker is found; this part has also been called 'logophoric domain' Culy (1994; 1997).
[52]Nau (2006) calls this verb report opener. Stirling (1993; 1994) calls the same item 'logophoric trigger.'.
[53]This often refers to a person whose speech or thought is represented in discourse (Crystal, (2008:392).

(1993; 1994) calls it '*logocentric* NP'. However, the present study adopts Wiesemann's (1986) and Nau's (2006) view, who simply call it *antecedent.*

Pronominal analysis of logophoricity takes the logophoric pronoun[54] to be a morphologically distinct pronominal form in the pronoun system of a language. Logophoric use of the pronoun is exemplified in Ewe and Igbo in (37) and (38) respectively.

Ewe (adapted from Clements (1975: 142))[55]

37(a) Kofi$_i$ be e$_j$-dzo
Kofi say 3sg-leave.
'Kofi said that he/she left.'

(b) Kofi$_i$ be yè$_i$-dzo
Kofi say LOG-leave
'Kofi said that he left.'

Igbo (Hyman & Comrie, 1981:19)

38 (a) ọ́$_i$ sị̀rị̀ nà ọ́$_j$ byàrà
he said that 3sg came
'He said that he came'

(b) ọ́$_i$ sị̀rị̀ nà yá$_i$ byàrà
he said that LOG came
'He said that he came'

In 37(a), the pronoun, *e*, cannot refer to *Kofi*, it has to refer to someone else. However, the logophor, *ye*, must obligatorily refer to *Kofi* in 37(b) instead of any other person as shown

[54] As Curnow's (2002:1) puts it: 'the term 'logophoric' was introduced by Hagège (1974) to refer to special pronominal forms found in West African languages which show that an argument of a subordinate verb is referential with the speaker or 'source' argument of a superordinate verb of speech or thought.' See the cited work here: Hagège, C. 1974. Les pronoms logophoriques. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 69: 287–310.

[55] This is one of the most circulated examples ever used in illustrating logophor cited in many works including Sells (1987) and Bhat (2004) which are already included among the references in the current study. See the full citation here: Clements, G. N. 1975. The logophoric pronoun in Ewe: its role in discourse. *Journal of West African Languages* 10: 141-177

by the co-indexing subscripts. A similar relationship holds between the pronoun, *ó* and the logophor, *yá* in Igbo in (38). In such contexts where the logophor establishes obligatory co-reference with an antecedent in the matrix clause, it is expected that a blocking effect should have applied preventing the use of non-logophoric pronouns.

Akɔɔse (Hedinger, 1984:95)

39(a) à$_i$-h bé a á$_j$-kàg
he-said RP he-should.go
'He said that he (someone else) should go'

(b) à$_i$-h bé a m$_i$-kàg
he-said RP LOG-should.go
'He said that he (himself) should go'

Gokana (Hyman & Comrie, 1981:20)

40 (a) aè$_x$ kɔ aè$_x$ dɔ̀-ɛ̀
he said he fell-LOG
'He said that he fell'

(b) aè$_x$ kɔ aè$_y$ dɔ̀
he said he fell
'He said that he (someone else) fell'

Asthe structure which relates the logophor to its antecedent, logophoricity is usually discourse-based. Being discourse-based, logophoricity usually constitutes a difficult task for in transformational syntax, even where logophoricity is not expressed in the pronominal system as the case is in the *verbal logophoricity*[56] in (39) and (40). Hence, the logophor[57]does not have to obey the strict clause-bound anaphoric condition binding on other forms of the pronoun (Stirling, 1993; Minkoff, 2004; Nau, 2006).

[56]In *verbal logophoricity*, logophoric markings occur as bound morphemes realised as verbal affixes as found Akɔɔse and Gokana.

[57]Logophoricity has also been expressed in terms of a long distant anaphor being discoursed based which is beyond the scope of the present research. Relevant Chinese data on this can be found from the following sources: Huang(2009), Curnow (2002), Biggs (2012; 2014) and Chan (2017).

Syntactic conditions for logophoricity have constituted much debate among scholars (Stirling, 1993; 1994; Manfredi, 1995; Minkoff, 2004; Adesola, 2005; Nau, 2006). Stirling (1993: 259; 1994: 2304) and Culy (2002: 202) ranked reported speech construction higher than other constructions as the ideal environment for logophoric construction. The verbs that trigger logophoricity are usually speech act verbs implying that logophors are more likely to occur frequently in the reported speech than in any other expression. So the reported speech is the most likely domain of logophoric pronouns.

However, the universal occurrence of the reported speech does not licence universal logophoricity. From this premise, it is important to note that while languages using logophoric pronouns are likely going to have logophoricity in her reported speech, the reported speech, in itself, does not necessarily trigger logophoricity. As observed by Nau (2006), a typical reported speech, as the case is in English, does not use logophoricity. A language that lacks logophoricity will not have any logophoric pronoun her reported speech. This implies that logophoricity does not depend solely on construction but on the presence of logophoric items in the lexicon upon which can trigger logophoric constructions.

4.3.1 Òghun, the third person singular logophoric pronoun in Ìlàjẹ

Three kinds of the third person singular pronoun are identified in Yoruba syntax. These are the covert form, the independent form and the logophoric form (Awóbùlúyì, 1992; 2008 and 2013; Japhet, 2012; Lawal, 2006). The covert form is described in chapter three. Whatever name[58] given to the covert dependent pronoun, it is clear that it depends on the subject high tone syllable element or the tone of the verb or even carrying null phonological matrix as shown in (41). In Standard Yoruba, the occurrence of the covert third person dependent singular pronoun is obviously represented in the subject position of a negative clause.

41(a) Adé kò lọ
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'

[58]Awobuluyi (2013) argues that *un,* the short form of *òghun*, does not occur as overt pronoun in Yoruba and many of her dialects.

(b) òun kò lọ
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'

(c) *ó kò lọ
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'

(d) Ø kò lọ
3sg neg go
'He/she/it did not go'

Itis important to note that Ìlàjẹ places more restriction on the distribution of the independent pronoun than Standard Yoruba does. Consider the data in (42) where Standard Yoruba permits the independent form of the first person singular pronoun *èmi* to occur where its dependent counterpart *mo* can occur. In Ìlàjẹ, the independent pronoun, *èmi,* is ruled out since it does not occupy a focused position or form part of a larger nominal structure (i.e. NP).

42(a) Mo_x sọ fún $Adé_y$ pé mo_x/$èmi_x$[59] ma $pè\text{-}é_y$
1sg say show Ade that 1sg FUT call-3sg
'I told Ade that I would call him.'

(b) Mo_x fọ̀ ghàn $Adé_y$ pé mo_x/*$èmi_x$ ra $pè\text{-}é_y$
1sg say show Ade that 1sg FUT call-3sg
'I told Ade that I would call him.'

While Bond's (2006) proposal[60] ranks highest the nominative position for logophors, *òghun* as a logophor is not restricted to the nominative case. It can also occur in accusative and genitive cases. In (43) below, the logophor is in accusative case being

[59]The major condition here is on the additional emphasis placed on the long pronoun distinguishing it from its short counterpart, *mo*.

[60]As noted in Bond 2006:237, logophoric marking observe some hierarchies as stated below
(a) a *grammatical* hierarchy: subject > non-subject
(b) a *person* hierarchy: 3rd > 2nd > 1st
(c) a *number* hierarchy: sg > pl
Adapted from (Hyman and Comrie 1981:33).

the object of the verb, *rí* 'see.' This agrees with Nikitina's (2012a) account that logophoric pronouns occupy the same syntactic positions as personal pronouns just as found in (45) where *òghun* occurs in the same position with *mi* 'my' in (44) indicating the possessor of *ulé* 'house' and *ìwé* 'book'.

43. Ìgè$_x$ jí[61] ó$_y$ rí oghun$_x$
Ìgè say SHT-3sg see LOG3sg
'Ìgè said he (someone) saw him (Ige).'

44 Mo$_x$ ji ọnẹ́ èyí kọ́ ulé mi$_x$ fẹ́ jí mi$_x$ mú ìwé mi$_x$ wá
1sg say person that build house 1sg want that 1sg take book 1sg come
'I said that the person that built my house wanted me to bring my paper'

45 Akin$_x$ ji ọnẹ́ èyí kọ́ ulé òghun$_x$ fẹ́ jí òghun$_x$ mú ìwé òghun$_x$ wá

Akin say person that build house LOG$_{3sg}$ want that LOG$_{3sg}$ take book LOG$_{3sg}$ come

'Akin said that the person that built his house wanted him to bring his (Akin's) paper'

The logophor can be distinguished from the two important pronoun forms closely related to it: the third person singular independent pronoun and the covert third person singular dependent pronoun. although, the third person singular independent pronoun and the logophor are phonologically similar having the same form, *òghun.* they differ in their syntactic distributions. The logophor, unlike other independent pronoun, can never be used in plural form.

[61]Where the reporting verb *jí* 'to say' is typical in Ìlàjẹ logophoricity, other verbs are also possible. These include *fọ̀* 'speak', *mà* 'to know', *gbà* 'to accept/ agree, *rò* 'to think' *ghò-ó* 'to reason it'.

(a) Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀-ọ́ pé ó$_y$ rí oghun$_x$
Ìgè say-it that SHT-3sg see log
'Ìgè said he (someone) saw him (Ige).'

(b) Ìgè$_x$ mà pé ó$_y$ rí oghun$_x$
Ìgè know that SHT-3sg see log
'Ìgè knew he (someone) saw him (Ige).'

(c) Akin$_x$ gbà pé ó$_y$ rí oghun$_x$
Akin agree that SHT-3sg see log
'Akin agreed he (someone) saw him (Ige).'

46(a) Àn-án$_x$ ji mo pe ghan$_x$

3pl-SHT say 1sg call 3pl

'They said I called them'

(b) *Àn-án$_x$ ji mo pe àghan$_x$

3pl-SHT say 1sg call 3pl$_{LOG}$

Intended output: 'They said I called them'

Secondly, while the independent pronoun *òghun,*can occur in phrasal forms or in focus position like any other independent pronoun, the logophoric*òghun*occurs inreported speech where it can be in complementary distribution with the third person singular covert formwhich is a dependent pronoun.

The logophor also differs from the covert dependent pronoun in two ways. First, they have different phonological forms. Second, they have different kinds of antecedent. The difference in the distribution of these forms of third person singular pronouns depends on their antecedents. Logophoric òghun is required by a logophoric controlling antecedent which must be a third person singular subject of a logophoricity-inducing verb. Onthe other hand,the covert pronounis required by any other third person singular antecedent without logophoric conditions. In (47), *Akin* is a logophor-controlling antecedent. Therefore, where this antecedent, *Akin*, selects the logophor in 47 (a), it generates a well-formed expression. However, where it serves as an antecedent to a non-logophoric pronoun in 47(b), the derivation generates an ill-formed output.

47 (a) Akin$_x$ fọ̀ ghan Adé$_y$ pé òghun$_x$ra pè-é$_y$

Akin say show Ade that $_{LOG}$ FUT call-3sg

'Akin told Ade that he (Akin) would call him (Ade).'

(b) Akin$_x$ fọ̀ ghan Adé$_y$ pé *ó$_x$ ra pè-é$_y$

Akin say show Ade that 3sg FUT call-3sg

'intended: Akin told Ade that he (Ade) would call him (Akin).'

4.3.2 Morphosyntactic feature specifications of the logophoric*òghun*

As previously observed (in section 4.3) above, any language that marks logophoricity in reported speech must have the marker as part of its lexicon. This implies that, even in a reported speech, logophoricity will only occur if there is a lexical entry for

it. The Ìlàjẹ logophor, *òghun* therefore, must have been listed in the lexicon for logophoricity to be licensed. Since this is a pronominal kind of logophoricity, the logophor has to be considered as part of the lexical entry in the pronominal system.

An important question to ask is whether logophoricity is mainly employed to solve the ambiguity problems of the third person reference or not. This implies that the logophor basically exists as a product of ambiguity-reducing strategy in a language (Bhat, 2004: 58–74; Nau, 2006).

48 (a) Akin$_x$ jí Ige$_y$ lọ ulé rẹ̀$_{y/*x}$
Akin say Ige go house 3sgposs
'Akin said that Ige went home (Ige's home)'

(b) Akin$_x$ jí Ige$_y$ lọ ulé òghun$_{x/y*}$
Akin say Ige go house log
'Akin said that Ige went to his (Akin's) home'

However, a closer look at (49) below shows that logophoricity is not the third person reference ambiguity-reducing strategy in Ìlàjẹ. Instead of removing the ambiguity in 49(a), the use of the logophor in 49(b) yields an ungrammatical output.

49 (a) Akin$_x$ mú Ige$_y$ lọ ulé rẹ̀$_{x/y}$
Akin take Ige go house 3sgposs
'Akin took Ige home (either Akin's or Ige's home)'

(b) *Akin$_x$ mú Ige$_y$ lọ ulé òghun$_{x*/y*/z*}$
Akin take Ige go house 3sgposs
Intended: 'Akin took Ige home'

The expression 49(b) is ill-formed because *mú* 'take' is not a report verb.The verb should be able to licence logophoricity before the logophorcan be used. Logophoricity is not triggered in (49);therefore, it cannot be used in resolving the ambiguity problem in the expression.Therefore, the ambiguity problem of the antecedent of the resumptive, *rẹ̀* in 49(a) has to be solved only by the context. A wider context is thus required to determine whether *Akin* or *Ìgè* actually functions as the antecedent of the resumptive, *rẹ̀*.

If logophoricity is not basically needed to resolve ambiguity problems, what could have been its trigger? This is the next question to answer in this section. Previous

mentions of the logophor in Yoruba syntax are restricted to it syntactic distribution. (Manfredi, 2005; Adesola, 2005; Lawal, 2006). Its trigger[62] is yet to be identified making logophoricity a mere construction of which nothing is known on its feature. Yet a logophoric construction like other syntactic constructions is expected to be triggered by some morphosyntactic features[63]. The current study revisits the logophor, *òghun*, as having at least a morphosyntactic feature distinct from the non-logophoric counterpart also known as *antilogophor* (Manfredi, 1995:92).

50. Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀ pé òghun$_x$ -ún ri Ø$_y$
Ìgè say that 3sgLOG -SHT see 3sg
'Ìgè said he (Ige) saw him (another person).'

51. Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀ pé Ø$_y$-ó rí òghun$_x$
Ìgè say that 3sg-Sbj see 3sgLOG
'Ìgè said he (someone else) saw him (Ige).'

52. Ìgè$_x$ fọ̀ pé Ø$_y$-ó rí Ø$_z$
Ìgè say that 3sg Sbjsee 3sg
'Ìgè said he (someone else) saw him (another person).'[64]

In (50) – (52), the covert third person singular pronoun (represented with Ø in the data) and the logophoric third person singular pronoun (glossed 3sgLOG) refer to different

[62]The one provided in Japhet (2012:104-106) is very brief and perhaps speculative. Japhet's (2012) proposal in tracing Ìlàjẹ logophoricity to the presence of the emphatic feature, [+E] does not explain why the logophoricity is restricted to the third person pronoun.

[63]Japhet (2012:104) writes: 'when a speaker having third person singular feature refers to somebody else in a reported speech, the short form *pro* will be used for the reference. However, when the reference is intended for the speaker, it is obligatory for the pronoun to take the disyllabic (long) form. The [+E] emphasis feature ... can be taken as the trigger for the logophoricity in Ìlàjẹ. The third person singular pronoun usually preserves its disyllabic form when it functions as a logophor....' the major weakness of this proposal is that this [+E] feature is tied to the disyllabic rather than the morphosyntactic function intended.

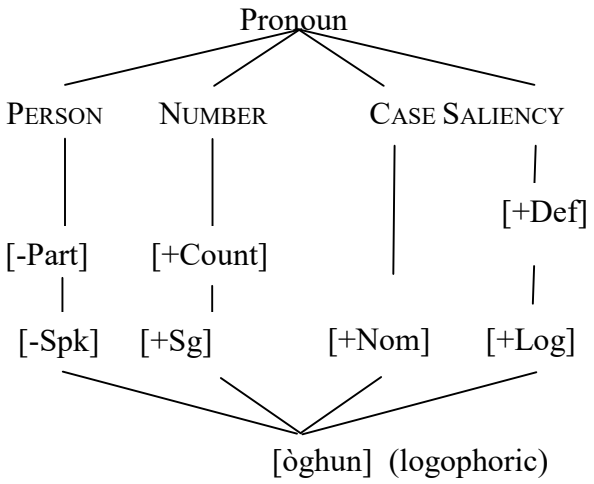
[64] This can also be rendered with *ji* 'say'. In this case, the overt COMP 'pe' will not be derived. This is also applicable to (50) and (51).
Ìgè$_x$ jí Ø$_y$-ó rí Ø$_z$
Ìgè say 3sg Sbj see 3sg
'Ìgè said he (someone else) saw him (another person).'

antecedents. While the logophor will usually refer to the third person singular antecedent functioning as the subject of a reporting verb in the matrix clause, the covert form is meant to refer to any other third person singular antecedent (Bamgbose, 1986). This phonemic difference between the two forms of the third person singular pronoun exhibits a language internal strategy to ensure the pronoun selects an appropriate antecedent. The reference to the speaker in a discourse make logophoric pronoun to be more salient than a pronouns referring to any other participant. Going by the analysis arrived at, the logophor can be distinguished from the covert third person singular pronoun using the saliency feature.

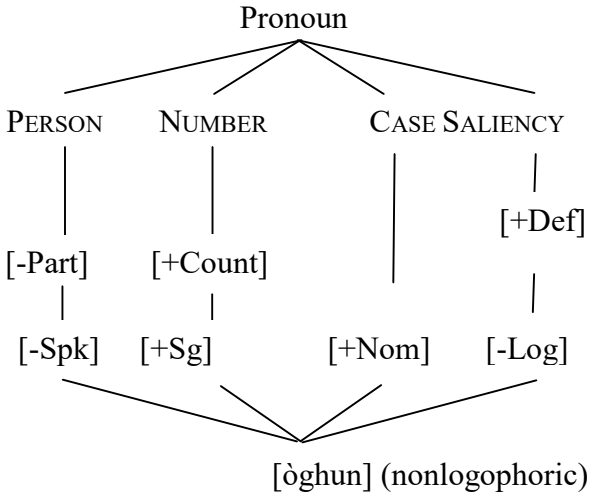
Generally, our analysis so far takes independent pronouns to be [+Def], the same feature we just propose for the logophor. Therefore, the logophoric third person singular form, *òghun*and the normal third person singular independent form, *òghun*(without any logophoric index) seem to be identical both in their [+Def] saliency feature and in their*òghun* phonological form. However, but the logophor as used in (50) and (51) actually cannot occur in the same syntactic position with its non-logophoric identical form. In the other way round, the syntactic distribution of the logophor and that of the covert third person singular pronoun are almost identical except in two conditions. First, thelogophor is more salient to the discourse than the covert third person singular pronoun. Second, the logophor canbe bound to a logophor-controlling antecedent[65] in the matrix clause contrary to what obtains for the third person singular covert pronoun.Hence, logophoricitydoes not only distinguish the logophor from whole group of nonlogophoric pronouns, but also specifically helps to differentiate this [+Def] *òghun* logophor from the nonlogophoric [+Def] *òghun,*a third person singular independent pronoun. On this premise, the logophor needs to carry an additional [+Log] logophoricity feature in its saliency as in (53).

[65]This is participant being reported as the author, thinker, initiator or speaker of the idea in the embedded clause which contains this logophor

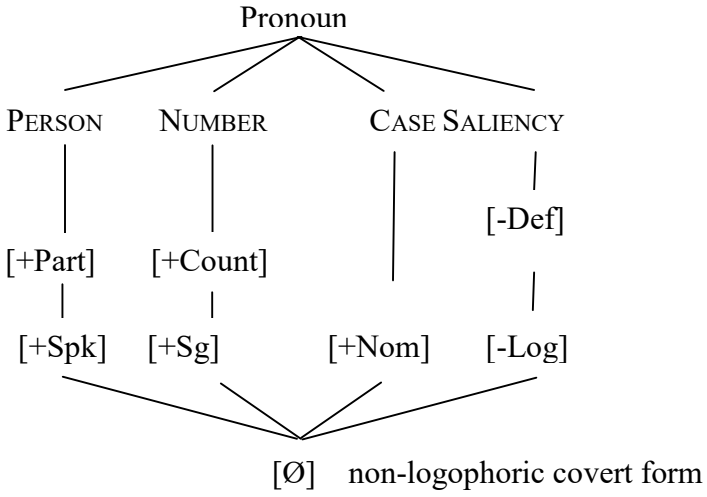
53(a)


Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE SALIENCY
[+Def]
[-Part]
[+Count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[+Log]
[òghun] (logophoric)

(b)

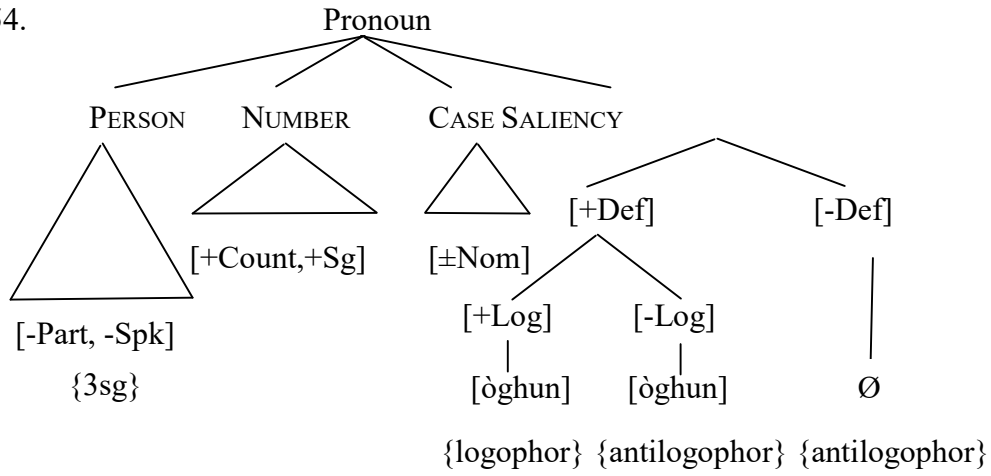

Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE SALIENCY
[+Def]
[-Part]
[+Count]
[-Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[-Log]
[òghun] (nonlogophoric)

(c).


Pronoun
PERSON
NUMBER
CASE SALIENCY
[-Def]
[+Part]
[+Count]
[+Spk]
[+Sg]
[+Nom]
[-Log]
[Ø] non-logophoric covert form

The analysis so far has revealed that these three kinds of third person singular pronoun can be distinguished from one another using the [±Def, ±Log] feature complex. The covert third person singular pronoun has [-Def, -Log] feature complex because it lacks the saliency feature. *Òghun* as an independent pronoun has positive saliency. However, the absence of logophoric function provides a [+Def, -Log] saliency specification that differs from the [+Def, +Log] of the logophor. A unified feature geometry tree of the third person singular pronoun reflecting these three forms is provided in (54) below.

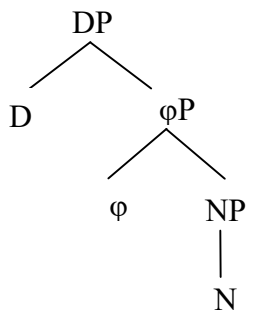
54.



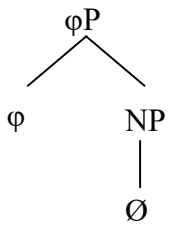
4.4 The Feature decomposition of Ìlàjẹ resumptive pronouns

Based on Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) pronoun decomposition proposal, three major pro-formsare possible revealing on the internal structure of the pronoun: namely, the pro-DP, the pro-phi and the pro-N earlier given in chapter 2, but reproduced here in (55) – (57).

55(a)



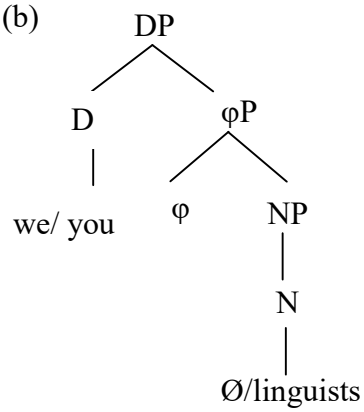
(b)



(c)

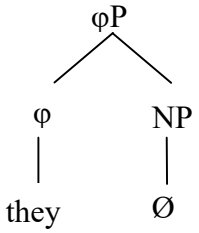
56(a) We/ you linguists

(b)



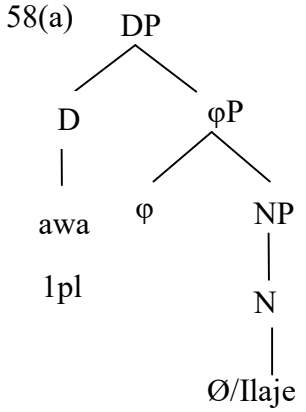
57(a) *They linguists

(b)

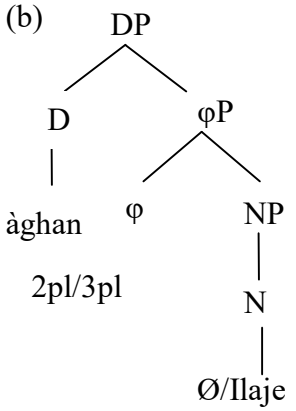


In Ìlàjẹ, the independent pronouns can take NP complements in Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) pro-DPs; therefore, they are pro-DPs. The dependent pronouns, on the other hand, has the characteristics of the pro-Phi because they do not take any NP complement. Personal pronouns in Ìlàjẹ do not demonstrate pro-N features. Adapting the Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) pro-form proposal to Ìlàjẹ, the structures in (58)and (59) are given as typical pro-form structures of the independent and dependent pronouns respectively.

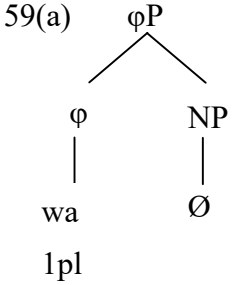
58(a)



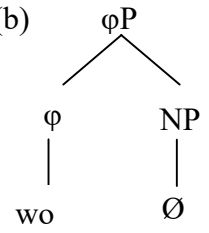
(b)



59(a)

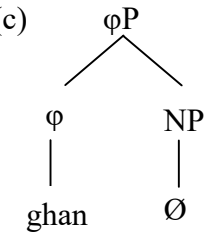


(b)



2pl

(c)



3pl

The independent pronouns behave like nouns in their syntactic distribution because both have saliency feature. Therefore, independent pronouns can be conjoined with another nominal; they can take modifiers; they can also be moved to the focused position. On the other hand, the dependent pronouns, lacking the saliency feature, do not exhibit these syntactic peculiarities demonstrated in (60) – (62) below. While conjoining, modifying and focussing of pronouns are possible with the independent pronouns and nouns in (60) and (62), such operations generate ill-formed expressions in (62), thus forcing the derivation to crash.

60(a) èmi ùwọ
1sg conj 2sg
'you and I' rendered: 'I and you'

(b) ùwọ èyí mo pè
2sg who 1sg call
'You whom I called'

(c) ùwọ Ìgè-é mà rin
2sg Ige-SHT know foc

'You were the one Ige knew'

61(a) Adé òghun[66] Ìgè

Adé conj. Ìgè

'Ade and Ige'

(b) Adé èyí mo pè

Ade who 1sg call

'Ade whom I called'

(c) Adé Ìgè-é mà rin

Ade Ige-SHT know foc

'Ade was the one Ige knew'

62(a) *mi òghun wo

1sg conj 2sg

(b) *wo èyí mo pè

2sg who 1sg call

(c) *wo Ìgè-é mà rin

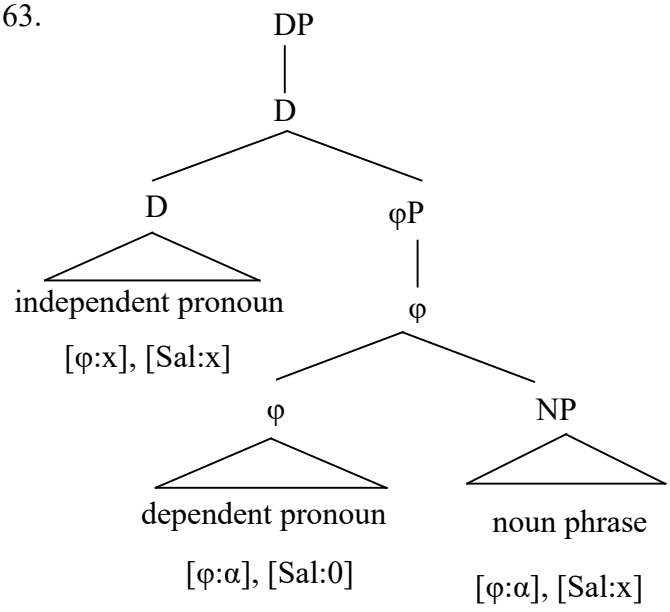
2sg Ige-SHT know foc

At this stage, the point of similarity and divergence can be established. On the one hand, the independent and dependent forms of the pronoun are closely related due to the presence of the phi features. Number and participant features are fully specified in both types of pronoun. In this respect, they differ from nouns which are usually deficient in participant and number features specification. On the other hand, the independent pronouns and the nouns are closely related due to their similar saliency feature specification, being different from the dependent pronouns which lack definiteness. Based on this feature composition, the pro-form structure of Ìlàjẹ pronouns is represented as (63). The analysis uses the following symbols *x*, α and *0*to set the value for the features.

[66] òghun in a coordinating conjunction in Ìlàjẹ.it occurs in complementary distribution with the covert conjunction (usually represented as Øin this study. Japhet (2020) argues how this affects Ilori's (2004) position on the use *òun* as a conjunction in Yoruba.

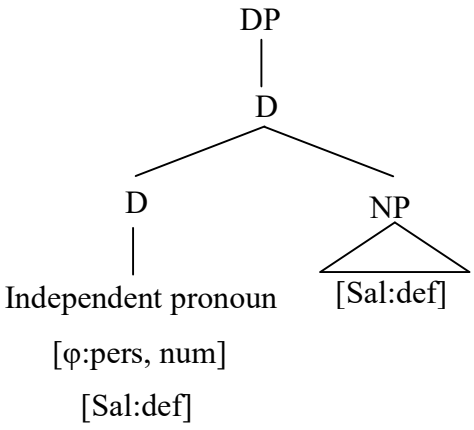
The value *x* shows that a feature is valued and fully specified; the value, α, means the feature is not valued, though present; and *0* means the feature is not present so cannot be valued). The independent pronoun specifies phi-features and saliency feature {[φ:x], [Sal:x]}. The dependent pronoun has the phi-features specified but lacks the saliency feature, thus having {[φ:x], [Sal:x]} specification. For a noun, the phi features may require determiner to be valued though having the saliency feature specified. Its features are represented as {[φ:α], [Sal:x]}.

63.

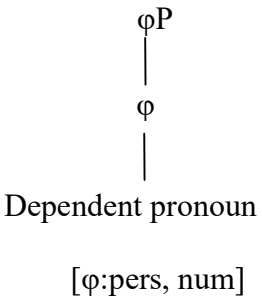


In this section, this proposal will be tested first on the attested pronouns, and it will be extended to the analysis of the resumptive pronouns. Before going into serious analysis, it is important to know that this pro-form proposalis adapted in Ìlàjẹ with the following modifications. Unlike the typical structure in (63) where φ and D can project within a DP, Ìlàjẹ pronoun can only have either D or phi positions. Therefore,the D-headed independent pronoun and the phi-headeddependent pronouncannot be compressed into a single tree as shown in (64). In the DP proform in 64(a), the φP is not projected at all because D does not take a φP complement. In 64(b), the DP is not projected because φP does not merge with D to project into a higher DP.

64(a).



(b).



4.4.1 The Phi-driven computations of dependent pronouns in the vP phase

Another difference between the independent and the dependent pronouns lies in their spell-out domains. The dependent pronouns are spelled-out in the *v*P, hence they demonstrate morphological agreement with the negator and the verb through the negative subject forms derivations and verbal tone polarity derived objects. The independent pronouns do not display these vP-related phonemic attributes. The independent pronoun is spelled-out in the DP, hence it behaves exactly like a noun which is a DP constituent being a complement of D, and therefore has to project as DP. Dependent pronouns having phi-features are selected in the lexicon solely on the conditions satisfied by these phi-features.

The dependent pronouns are subject to the operations triggered by the phi-features, therefore they cannot be moved out of the *v*P being subject to the weak *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC) where the *v*P phase can only be extended to TP.The dependent pronouns discussed in this section are of two types. The first type comprises the

arguments of the verb selected as subjects and objects. The second type are the arguments of the preposition, used as possessive pronouns. They are discussed in the order they are listed here.

Following Richard's (2011) sub-array hypothesis, subject and object dependent pronouns form the same sub-array with T (tense); in this study, this subarray is known as *v*P phase sub array.

65 (a) a rí ghan
1pl see 3pl
'We saw them'

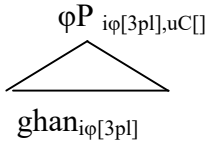
(b) LA= {a, rí, ghan, *v*, T, V, φ}

(c) N= {a_1, $rí_1$, $ghan_1$, v_1, T_1, V_1, $φ_2$}

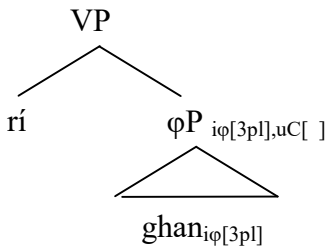
The tense head has an interpretable tense feature, but it has an uninterpretable phi-feature as well asthe uninterpretable EPP feature ($T_{iT[pres].\ Uφ[\ ],\ EPP}$). For the determiner, the subject and the object have interpretable phi-features which are probed for by the light verb and the lexical verb since both verbs have uninterpretable phi-feature.

The step-by-step derivations on tree diagrams are given in (66). In 66(a), *ghan* (3pl) merges with φ; this derives the first φP in the derivation. Then, in 66(b), *rí* merges with *ghan*to derive the VP: *rí ghan*. In 66(c), *rí ghan* merges with v to derive a *v*P. The φP, *ghan*, with its interpretable phi-features, establishes structural agreement with *v* having uninterpretable phi-features. In 66(d), *rí*, undergoes internal merge moving to merge with *v* as displayed below. In 66(e) below, *a* also merges with the φ to form the φP which later merged with the vP, *rí ghan* in 66(f).

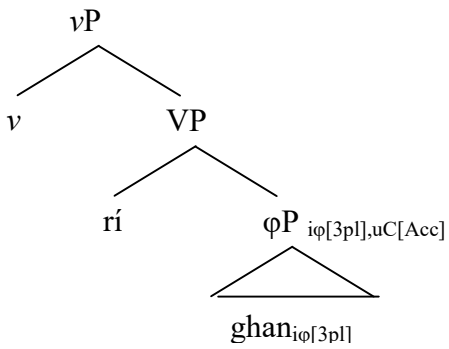
66(a)



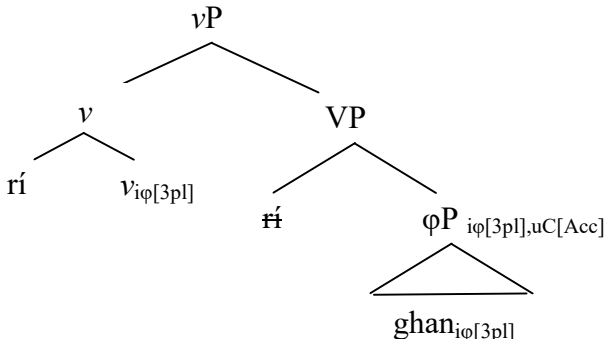
(b)


VP
rí
φP iφ[3pl],uC[ ]
ghaniφ[3pl]

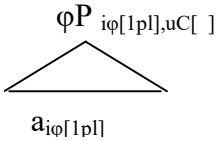
(c)


vP
v
VP
rí
φP iφ[3pl],uC[Acc]
ghaniφ[3pl]

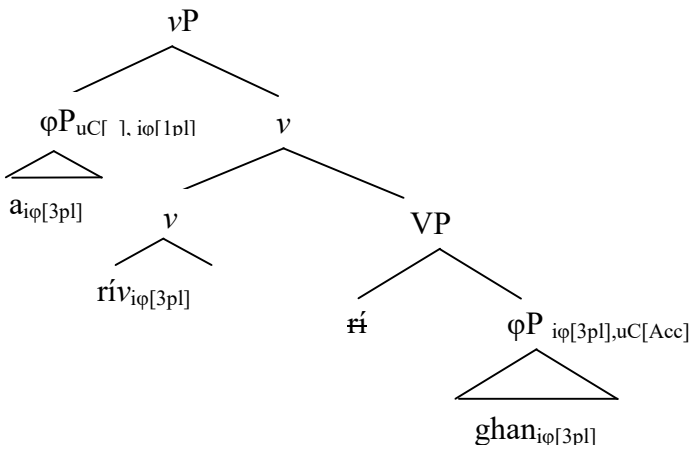
(d)


vP
v
VP
rí
viφ[3pl]
rí
φP iφ[3pl],uC[Acc]
ghaniφ[3pl]

(e)


φP iφ[1pl],uC[ ]
aiφ[1pl]

(f)



Going beyond the *v*P, the derivation reaches the TP. Here, T is merged with the *v*P. At this stage, agreement operation occurs between T and [φP a]. While T has interpretable EPP feature but uninterpretable phi-features, the φP has uninterpretable EPP feature and interpretable phi-features. Through internal merge, the subject (*a* (3pl)) is moved to [Spec, TP] to check the EPP feature of T. As this derivation reaches the final stage, CP is merged with TP. Then the *v*P is transferred to SM and C-I. This is the spell-out stage.

For possessive pronouns, they are selected based on the agreement they have with the possessors. It is possible to have the possessive pronoun occurring with the overt preposition, *te,* in (68) instead of the comitative construction in (67). This implies that the genitive case must have been required by a covert preposition instead of the PF noun-noun comitative construction. Being selected as part of the DP sub-array, a possessive pronoun has to be spelled-out in the DP phase as shown in (67) and (68) below. The possessive pronoun merges with the genitive preposition to have its case feature valued. The product of that merger also merged with *oma*'child' to complete the possessive agreement between the possessed noun, *ọma*'child' and the possessor, *rẹ* (poss). In 69(c), the possessive pronoun is spelled-out before the DP gets merged with the verb as the computation moves into the *v*P phase in 69(d).

67(a) ọma rẹ mà
Child $2sg_{poss}$ know
'Your child knew'

(b) LA= {{T,*v*, mà}{D,φ, ọma, rẹ}}

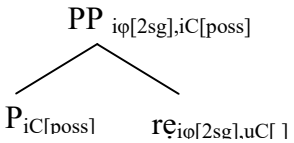
68(a) ọma terẹ mà

Child $2sg_{poss}$ know

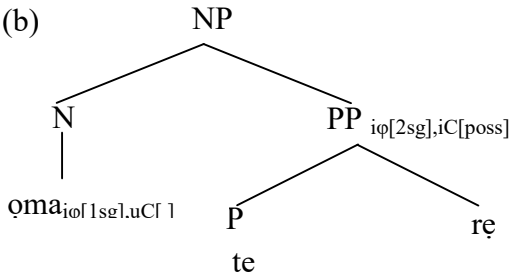
'Your child knew'

(b) LA= {{T,*v*, mà}{D,φ, P, ọma, rẹ, te}}

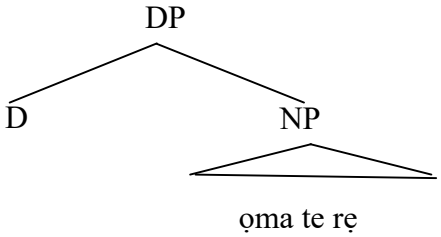
69(a)



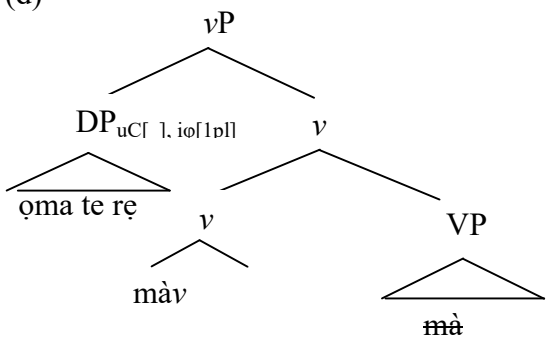
(b)



(c)



(d)



4.4.2 The DP structure of independent pronouns

As selection is made from the lexicon, the independent pronoun forms the same subarray with D (determiner). This sub-array is called DP phase sub-array because the independent pronoun selected in the DP has to be spelled-out (within the DP) before the pronoun enters into computation with relevant heads in the *v*P. Because this DP comprises spelled-out independent pronouns subject to operations triggered by saliency features, they can form larger DP structure or be extracted without being subject to conditions associated with the vP phase. Just like the phi-features being specified as number, person (participant), saliency can be specified as definiteness with proximal or distal reference (von Heusinger, 2013). This section will discuss this peculiarity associated with the independent pronouns.

Beginning with the operations involved in conjoining two pronouns, it is generally expected that the goal of such should be pluralisation. Therefore, if two nominals (i.e. *Tọ́pé* and *Táyé*) enter a syntactic relation without any other goal more than mere pluralisation, morphology will simply select the third person plural pronoun which presents the plurality in the number feature of the object. Before lexical selection in the lexicon, morphology would have merged the phi-features of the two items to derive a unified number composition where number is given prominence over other phi features. However, the conceived objects may have to preserve their individual features (other than the number feature used in pluralisation), if those features are salient to the discourse. While pluralisation will still apply, each of the syntactic objects in that pluralisation will still be selected as a different nominal. This is exactly what informs the conjoining of independent pronouns in Ìlàjẹ as evident in (70) below. Considering 70(b) and 70(c), the union of first person singular with second person singular will yield first person plural. The second person is lost. This is seen in the reflexive form which shows only the first person agreement in 70(b). This reflexive justifies the dependent form,*ara-wa* 'ourselves' in 70(c) which is actually the form on which the pronoun establishes agreement with other syntactic units (such as verb, antecedent or anaphors).

The agreement of the anaphor *arawa* 'ourselves' with the first person alone shows that the second person aspect of the subject is not visible in syntax. In 70(e), the structure

of the conjoined pronouns reveals the hierarchy of the two pronouns in the DP. The structure of the whole sentence is shown in 70(f). This is the major reason why first person singular *we* is considered 'singular speaker in a group' according to Ritter and Harley (1998). Since people do not usually talk in chorus, the use of *we* '2pl' simply means one person in a group speaks on behalf of other members of the group.

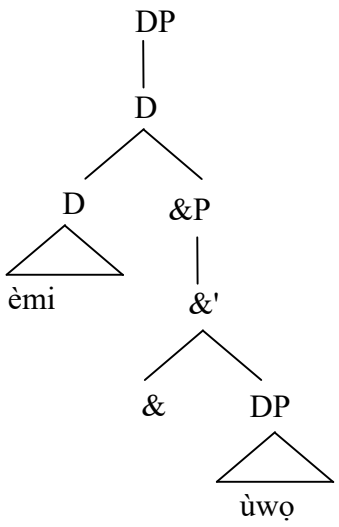
70(a) èmi ùwọ
1sg conj 2sg
'you and I', rendered: 'I and you'

(b) èmi ùwọ mà ara-wa
1sg conj 2sg know self-1pl
'you and I know ourselves'

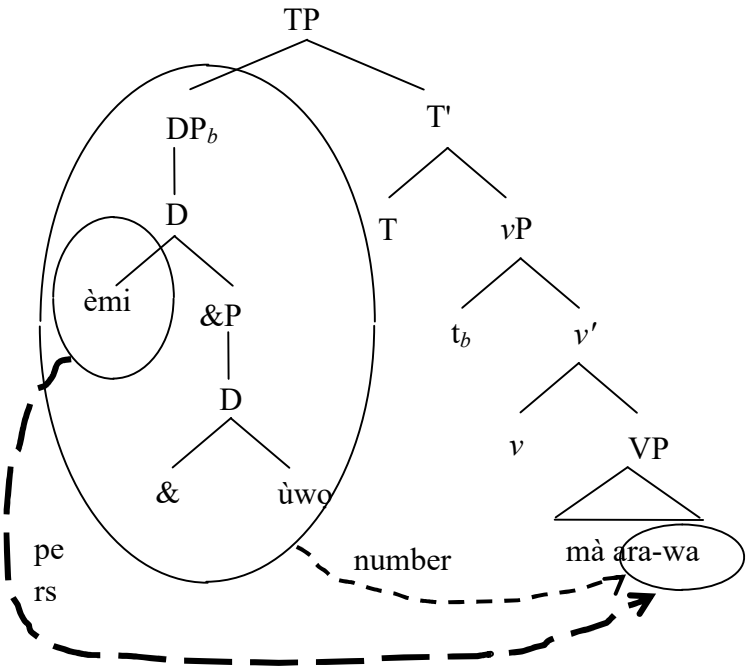
(c) a mà ara wa
1pl know self 1pl
'We know ourselves/ each other'

(d) *èmi ùwọ mà aràghan
1sg conj 2sg know self-2pl

(e).



(f)



Since syntax sees the first item to establish agreement, the grammar ensures the conjoined items are properly ordered to aid syntactic interpretation and minimise ambiguity. This ordering of items follows feature ranking in the lexicon. The first person being the speaker or author of the information to be passed to the addressee is considered higher in the ranking of participant features. The second person is the direct receiver of the information being present as a participant is ranked higher than the third person who is not a participant at all. This is represented in (71) below where 1, 2 and 3 denote first, second and third persons respectively. This ranking prevents a lower ranked pronoun from preceding a higher ranked one as shown in (72) – (75) below.

71.
1
|
2
|
3

72(a) èmi ùwọ

1sg conj 2sg

'you and I'

(b) *ùwọ èmi

2sg conj 1sg

73(a) ùwọ òghun

2sg conj 3sg

'he and you'

(b) *òghun ùwọ

3sg conj 2sg

74(a) èmi òghun

1sg conj 3sg

'he and I'

(b) *òghun èmi

3sg conj 1sg

75(a) àwa àghan

1pl conj 3pl

'They and we'

(b) *àghan àwa

3pl conj 1pl

There can also be an attempt to rank number features. Ìlàjẹ has three number specifications morphology: [+count, -singular] plural pronouns, [+count, +singular] singular pronouns and [-count] for nouns which may be either singular or plural in context but are lacking in the morphemic specification in their lexical forms. This can also be ranked as in (76) where pl, sg and α denote plural, singular and unspecified number values.

76.

pl
|
sg/α

Singularis taken as the default number value since plural comes from adding together some singular individuals. Based on this fact, the noun is usually conceived as singular in its default value. Hence, the third person singular pronoun does not take NP modifiers due to feature redundancy in the duplication of the same person and number feature as in (77). However, there is a difference in person the feature, the modifier can stay.

77(a) Èmi ọkọ̀nrẹn
1sg man
'I, being a man,…'
(b) Uwọ ọkọ̀nrẹn
2sg man
'You being a man…'
(c) *Òghun ọkọ̀nrẹn
3sg man
'He being a man…'

Singular nouns usually occur bare without determiner just like the uncountable nouns in English. Where pluralisation is involved, the plural feature being the highest ranked number value usually subsume other number values. The number values of the individual content of the plural are superseded by the summation value of the plural.

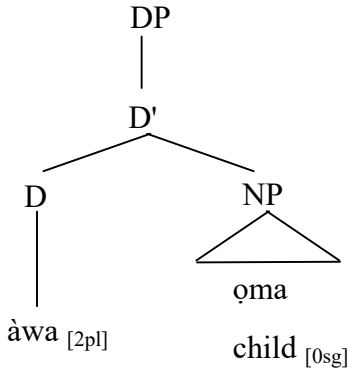
78(a) Ọma rẹ̀ mà
child POSS know
'His child knew'
(b) Àghan ọma rẹ̀ mà
3pl child POSS know

'His children knew'

Just like conjoined pronouns, modified pronouns are also in their independent forms. Structurally, the pronoun-modifier merger is similar to the conjoined merger discussed above. The modifiers usually occur as complements in an appositive construction. Thus, the formed DP[67] may comprise a D and a NP with different person features as represented in in (79) here.

79 (a) àwa ọma
2pl child
'we children'

(b)

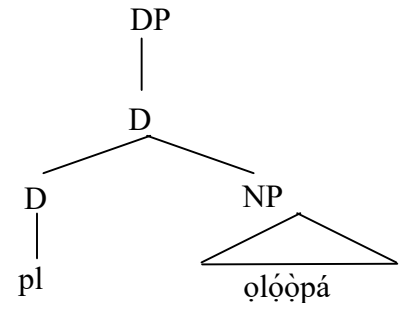


A typical plural construction strategy usually involves the third person plural pronoun, *àghan* and the NP to be pluralised. Since most nouns are basically singular by default in Ìlàjẹ, plural construction becomes necessary where the nouns demonstrate plurality in number. *Àghan* occupies the D node of the DP where the number feature as well as the person feature of the noun is valued as shown in 80(b).

80 (a) àghan ọlọ́ọ́pá
3pl policeman
'policemen'

[67] The independent pronoun can also co-occur with a relative clause as involve the D and a CP modifier as given below.
Uwọ èyí mo pè
2sg which 1sg call
'You whom I called'

(b)



Where pluralisation applies to a group of individuals each of which is inherently singular, the ranking still applies taking plural rather than the singular individuals. The reflexive agrees with the plural summation even where *Akin* is used in (82). Individualistic peculiarity of the singular number feature of the individual persons has given way to the higher ranked plural feature.

81 Akin, Olú òghun Ìgè mà ara ghan
Akin, Olú conj. Ìgè know self-3pl
'Akin, Olú and Ìgè know themselves/ one another'

82 Àghan Akin mà ara ghan
3pl Akin know self-3pl
'Akin's company know themselves/ one another'

Focussing is another syntactic operation that app lies to independent pronouns. Dependentpronouns do not undergo focussing as evident in (83) below.

83 (a) Emi rèé lọ rin
1sg foc. go foc.
'It was I who went'

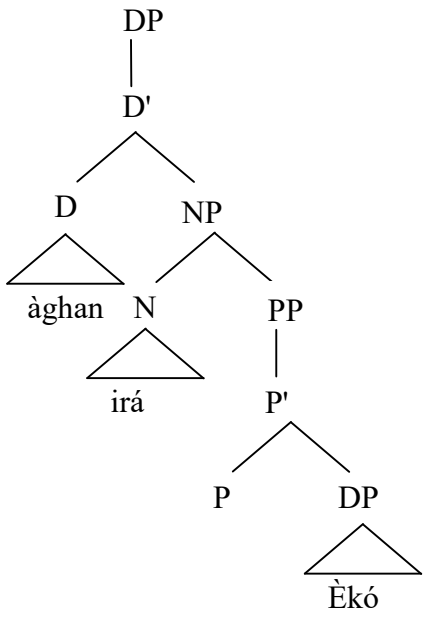
(b) *mo rèé lọ rin
1sg foc. go foc.
'It was I who went'

4.4.3 The spell-out of a possessive DP within the DP phase

In a genitive construction which consists of an independent pronoun and its PP modifier, the preposition is usually covert as in (84). However, the preposition has to become overt whenever the noun modifying it (the pronoun) is not overt in the spell-out in order to prevent the ambiguity resulting from adjacency of two covert elements. This ensure they are recovered in the PF as in (84).

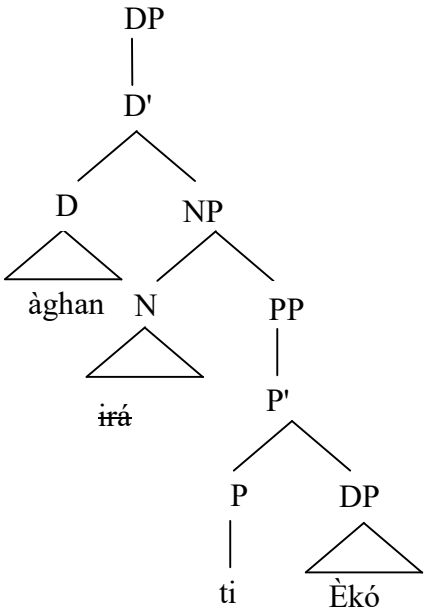
84 (a) àghan irá Èkó
3sg people Lagos
'those from Lagos'

(b)



85 (a) àghan ti Èkó
3sg of Lagos
'those from Lagos'

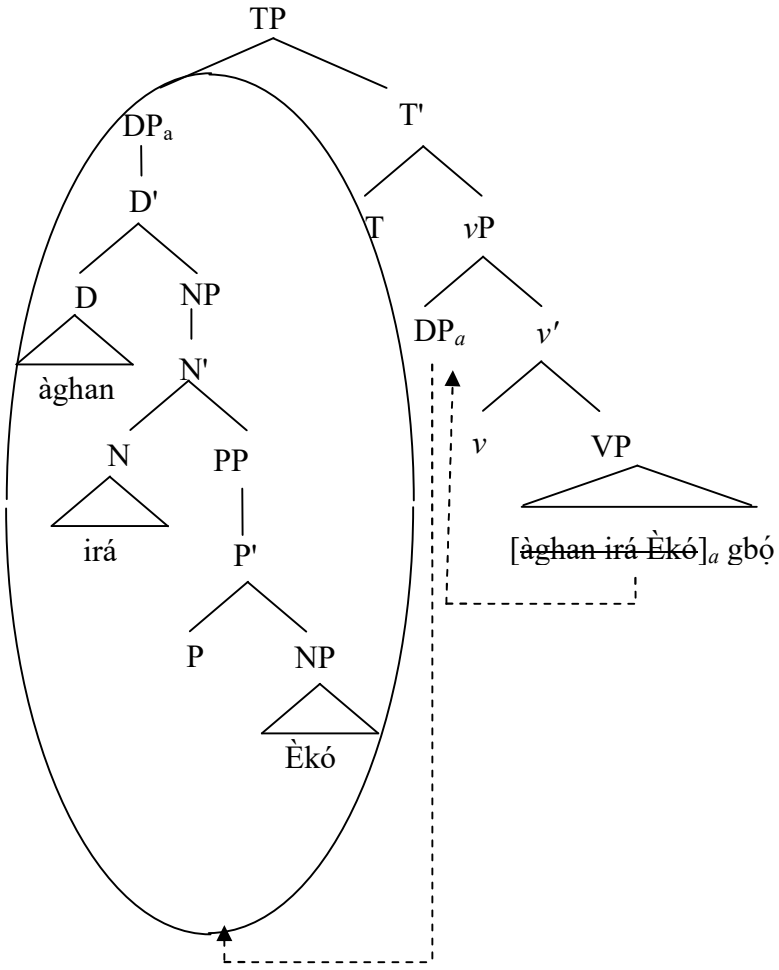
(b).



In such genitive construction, scope marking can apply where the modifier can undergo *wh* movement. So (87) can be derived from (86).

86 (a) àghan irá Èkó gbọ́
3sg people Lagos hear
'Those from Lagos heard'

(b)



87 (a) irá ubòhí[68] gbọ́?

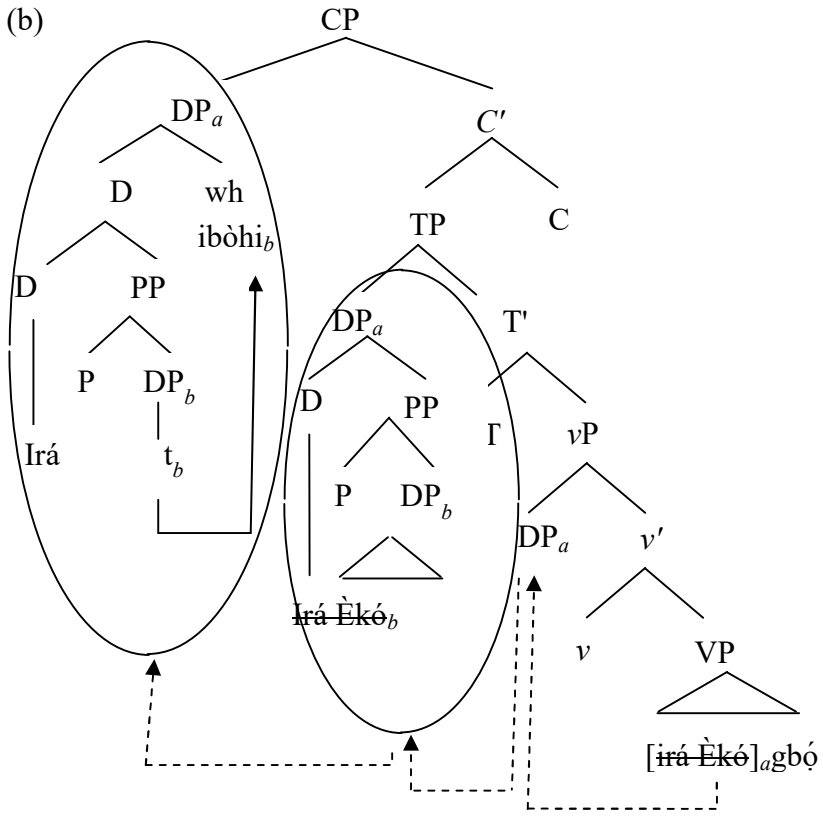
People place-which hear

'Who were the people that heard?'

(Literally: 'which people from which place hear?')

[68] *Ibohi* is derived from *ibo* 'place' and *ehi* 'which', literally meaning: 'which place'. Where scope marking is not involved, it can easily be glossed as 'where' in English.

ùbòhí wo lọ?
where you go
'Where did you go'



4.4.4 The spell-out of a conjoined DP within the DP phase

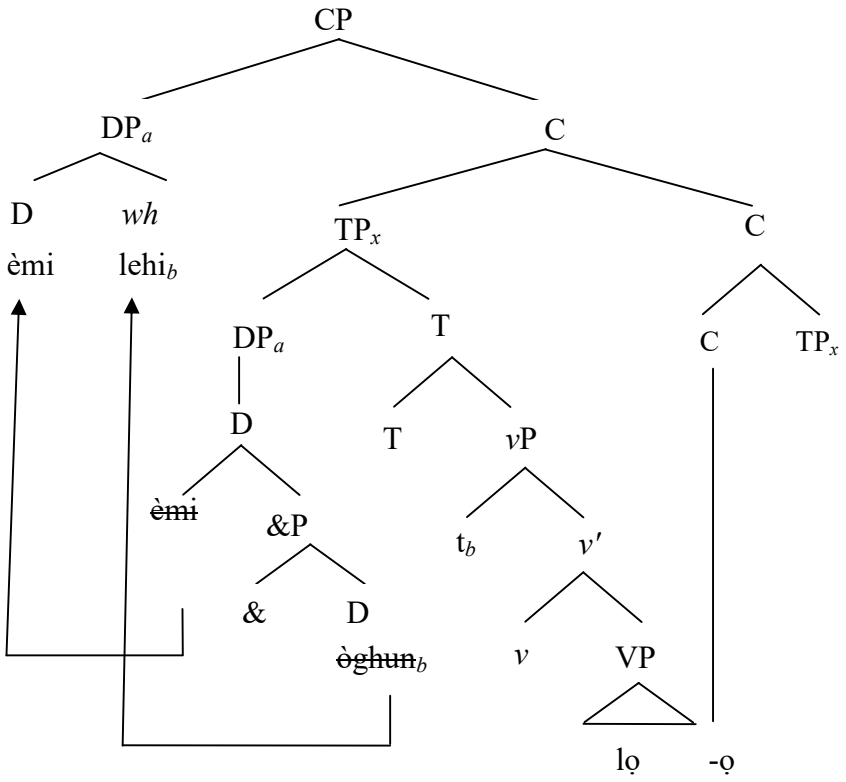
Obvious syntactic branching can be demonstrated within a DP made up of conjoined pronouns (in a conjunction phrase, &P,) as can be seen in (88) and (89) where either of the conjoined subjects can undergo wh- question movement. *Lèhí* or *èhí* is the grammaticalized form for *ọnẹ èyí* which literarily means 'the person which....'

88 (a) Emi lehi lọ-ọ?

1sg conj who go-que

'With whom did I go there?' Literally: 'I and who went?'

(b).

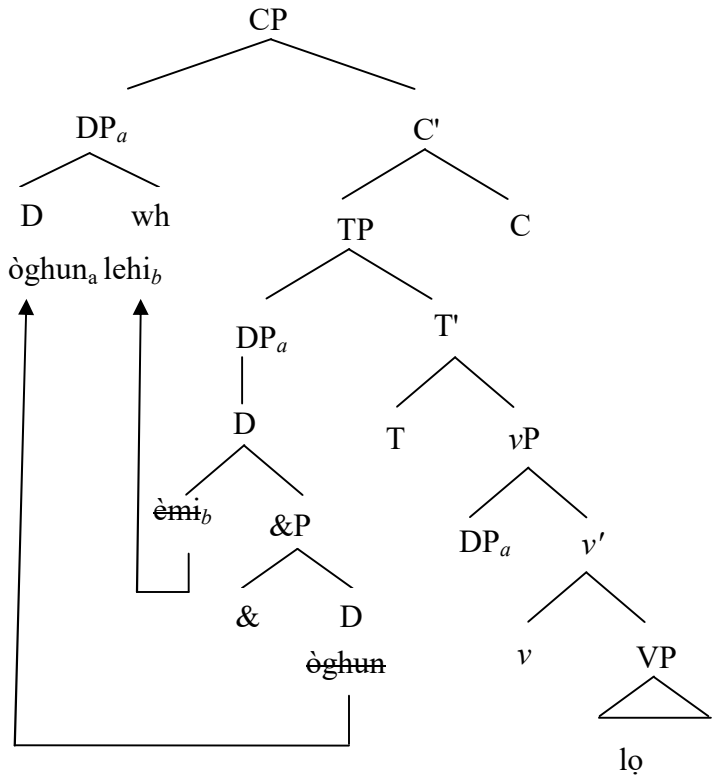


89(a) òghun lèhí lọ-ọ?

3sg conj who go-que

'With whom did he go there?' Literally: 'he and who went?'

(b)



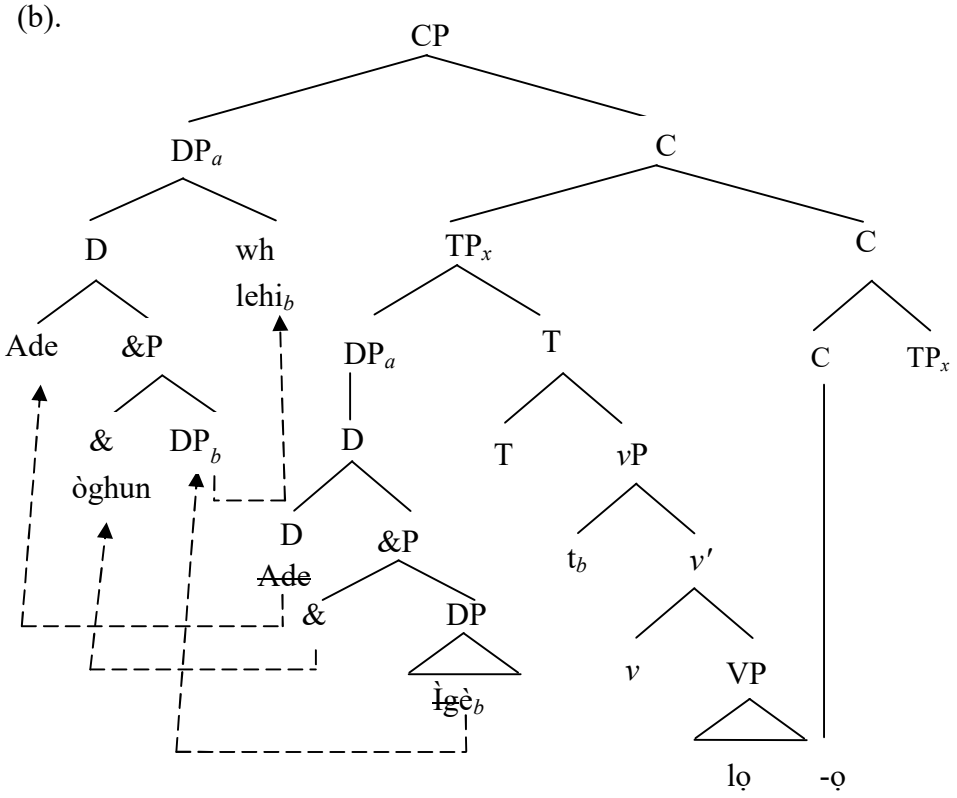
Where the extracted pronoun is conjoined with a noun (NP), the conjunction that link them will become overt as in (90). In this case, the conjunction cannot be covert.

90 (a) Ade òghun lehi lọ?

Ade conj who go

'who and I went?'

(b).



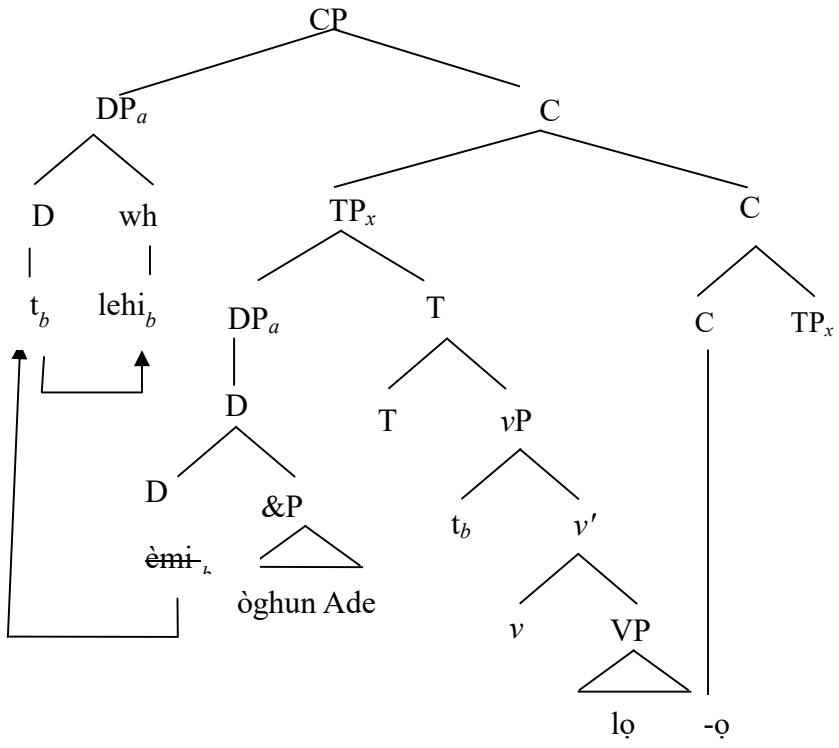
Then the wh-copy will only apply to one of the items at the [spec, TP]. If the first among the conjoined items in the DP is to be raised to the [Spec, CP] position, the item left behind must be a noun as in (91).

91 (a) [$_{CP}$Lehi$_b$ [$_{TP}$ t_b òghun Ade [$_{T'}$ lọ?]]

Who 1sg conj. Ade go

'Who went with Ade? (literally: with whom did Ade go?)'

(b).

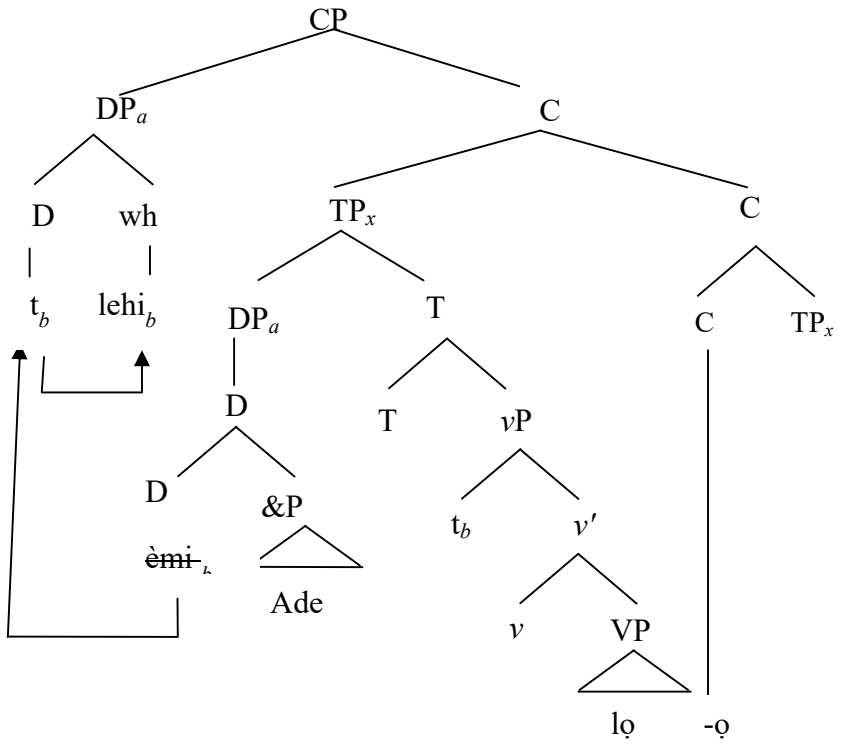


In (91), the conjunction, *òghun,*has to be spelled out in the [spec, TP] position to substantiate the phonetic gap created by the trace of the extracted part of the DP. Where this conjunction is not spelled out in (92),there is a problem to contend with. The wh word can no longer refer to the first person singular pronoun conjoined with *Ade* because there is no overt conjunction to substantiate such movement shown in 92(b) in the speech. Therefore, *lèhí* can be misinterpreted as representing *Ade*in 92(c). This will require that *Ade* should be removed from the PF chain to generate a grammatical output.

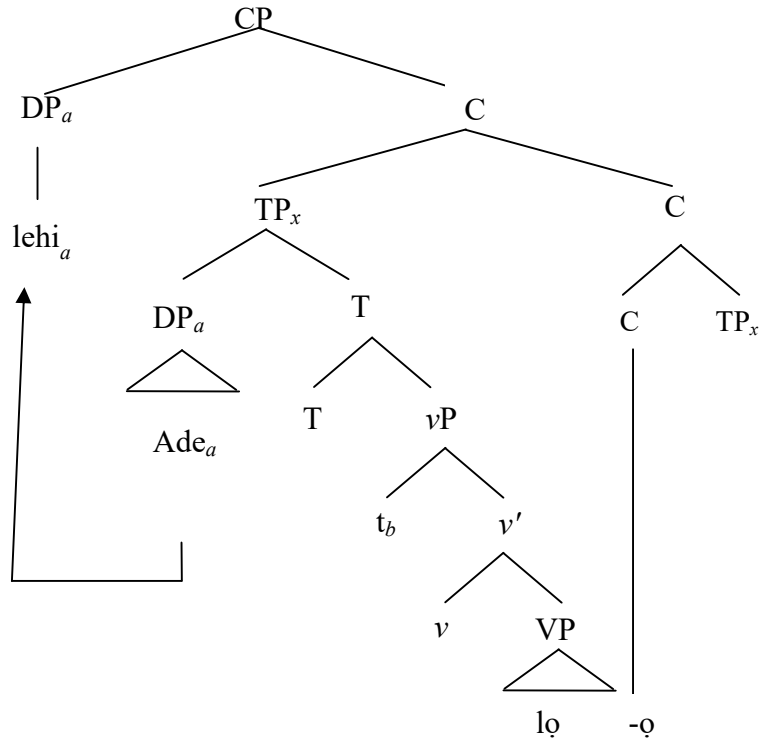
92 (a) [$_{CP}$Lehi$_b$ [$_{TP}$ t$_b$ Ø Ade [$_{T'}$ lọ?]]

Who 1sg conj. Ade go

(b).


CP
DP$_a$
C
D
wh
TP$_x$
C
t$_b$
lehi$_b$
DP$_a$
T
C
TP$_x$
D
T
vP
D
&P
t$_b$
v′
èmi
Ade
v
VP
lọ
-ọ

(c).


CP
DP$_a$
C
TP$_x$
C
lehi$_a$
DP$_a$
T
C
TP$_x$
T
vP
Ade$_a$
t$_b$
v′
v
VP
lọ
-ọ

4.4.5 Pronoun stranding and the spell-outswithin a conjoined DP

Partial movement out of a conjoined DP can lead to stranding of pronouns.Felser (2004) has argued that resumptive pronouns are derived when movement out of a DP leaves some stranded part that have to be spelled out in the PF.In Ìlàjẹ resumption, a pronoun *rẹ̀,* can be stranded due to an extraction made from a&P comprising conjoined nominals.This resumptive pronoun is spelled-out at the extraction point in the &P, whether the conjunction is covert or overt. This resumptive pronoun is always expressed in the third person singular regardless of the person and the number values of its antecedent (Ajayi, 2019; . In (93) below, *ùwọ* having 2sg features is moved to [Spec, CP], at the base position, it is still replaced with *rẹ̀*, having 3sg features.

93 (a) [$_{CP}$Lehi$_b$ [$_{TP}$èmi rẹ̀$_b$ [$_{T'}$ lọ?]]

Who 1sg conj[69]. 3sg go

'Who did I go with?'

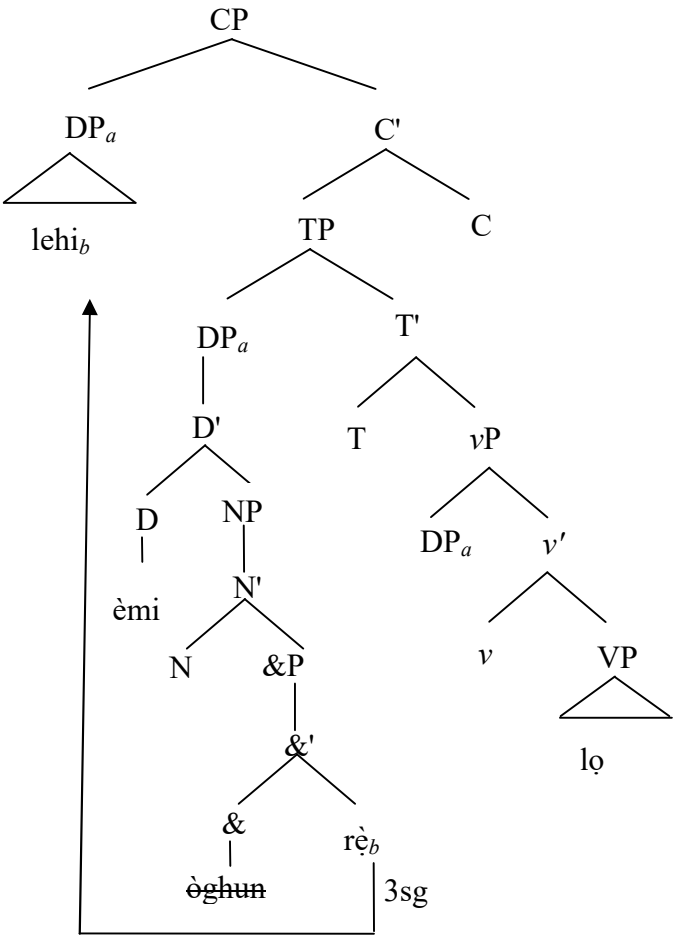
[69] It is also possible to have the conjunction overt as in

Lehi emi òghun rẹ̀ lọ?

Who 1sg conj 3sg go

'Who did I go with?'

(b).

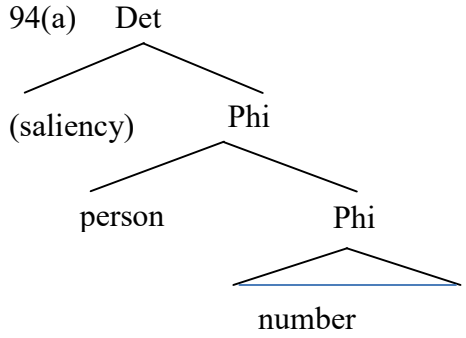


4.4.6 Feature-based composition of pronoun stranding in Ìlàjẹ

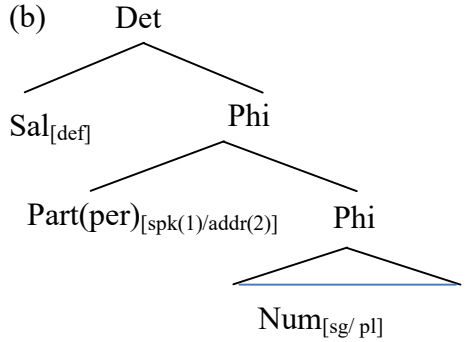
As posited in Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), the D dominates the phi, which justifies saliency feature being placed in D occurring higher in the tree than the phi features. Person and number features are the basically specified phi features in the morphology of Ìlàjẹ pronouns.Following van Koppen (2012), it was proposedthat there is a hierarchical syntactic composition phi features,where the participant features combine as a bundle of features located more specifically in the [Spec,PhiP]. Analysing participant (person) as being base-generated in [spec,PhiP] of the phi phrase (PhiP), van Koppen (2012) does not only indicate that person can be syntactically separated from other phi features (as already proposed in Heim and Kratzer (1998)) but that the number feature is base-generated in the phi head of PhiP (van Koppen, 2012:147). Application of these

pronominal projection proposal renders Ìlàjẹ pronouns as given in (94) below. The typical projection is given in 94(a), putting saliency in parentheses implies it is optional, being not required for PhiP projection. 94(b) shows the structure of the first and second person pronouns. 94(c) describes the third person pronoun.

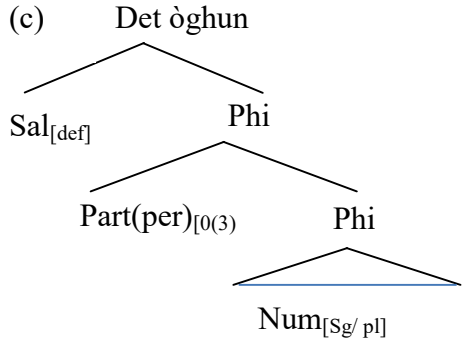
94(a)



(b)



(c)



Having the number located in phi is attested in the person syncretism of the plural pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. Person is ranked lower than number; therefore, it is easy for the dialect to lose the original form of the second person plural form and replace it with*àghan,* a homophone of *àghan*, the third person plural form. Speakers have to use the [±

participant] feature to distinguish the second person plural *àghan* from its third person counterpart.

95(a) Àghan èyí a pè jẹ́ wa
2pl who 1pl call answer 3pl
'Those of you whom we called answered us'

(b) Àghan èyí a pè jẹ́ wa
3pl who 1pl call answer 3pl
'Those whom we called answered us'

In the case of Ìlàjẹ, the movement beyond TP are discourse-driven thus requiring the movement of the saliency feature. If this movement affects the entire DP, then it copies the saliency feature as well as the phi features. It will have covert PF representation in the extraction points. In a situation where the movement leaves out some features, the moved copy may still carry the entire PF representation of the DP since saliency does not have an independent phonetic form, to be phonetically isolated from the stranded features. Although, the linearization process requires the PF deletion of the moved item at the extraction point(s), the stranded phi features cannot undergo complete copy-deleting operation at the extraction point in order to save the stranded features from being totally removed from the derivation. The stranded features are thus represented by the default values of the features involved. This translates into the use of third person as default person value and singular for default number value, yielding a third person singular resumptive pronoun. It should be noted that this resumptive establishes agreement relation with the moved copy despite the fact that they may differ in person and number markings.

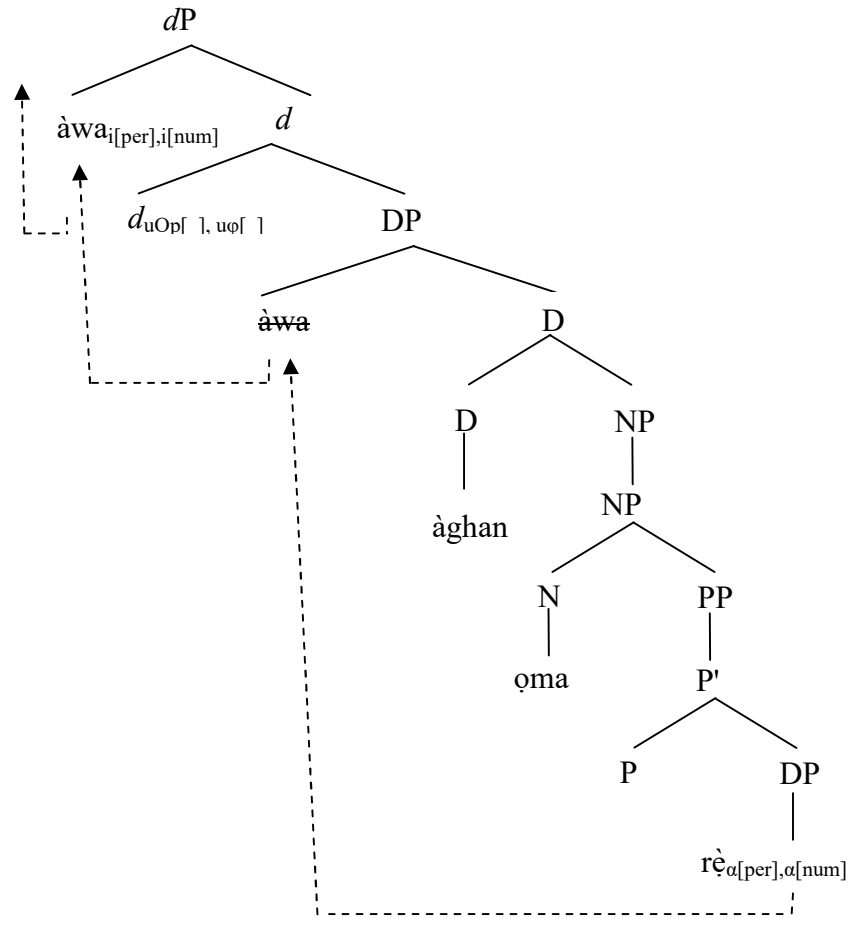
4.4.7 Pronoun stranding and the spell-outswithin the *v*Pphase

Adapting Heim and Kratzer's (1998) proposal in the current study, Ìlàjẹ has to distinguish feature inputs that affect the entire DP from the ones that affect some selected features in the DP. In a DP having a possessor, the possessor can be extracted to be focused or relativized. But the possessor will be spelled-out in the based position as *rè* (a third person singular possessive form) a distant resumption of the raised possessor which modifies the stranded remnant of the DP. In other word, when a possessor is moved

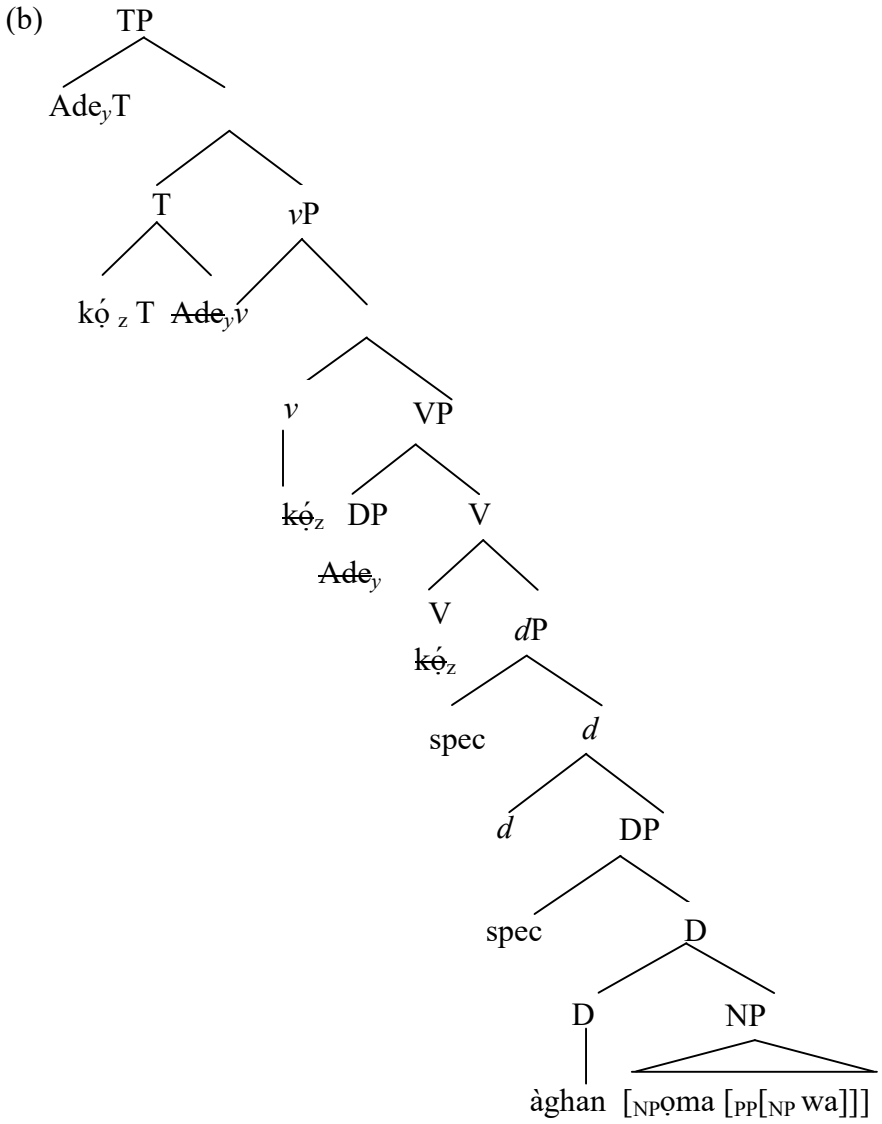
leaving behind the possessed part of the DP, it is required that the moved possessor should be spelled-out. Hence, the phonetic gap left by the extracted possessor requires an overt pronoun so that the stranded DP can have the minimum PF representation needed for the derivation to converge. Starting from the DP with the possessive construction, the possessor is a complement in the DP as already indicated. The DP in (96) can function as an object to *kọ́* 'teach' in (97).

96 (a) àghan ọma wa
3sg child POSS1pl
'our children'

(b)



97(a) Adé kọ́ àghan ọma wa
Ade teach 3pl child POSS3pl
'Ade taught our children'

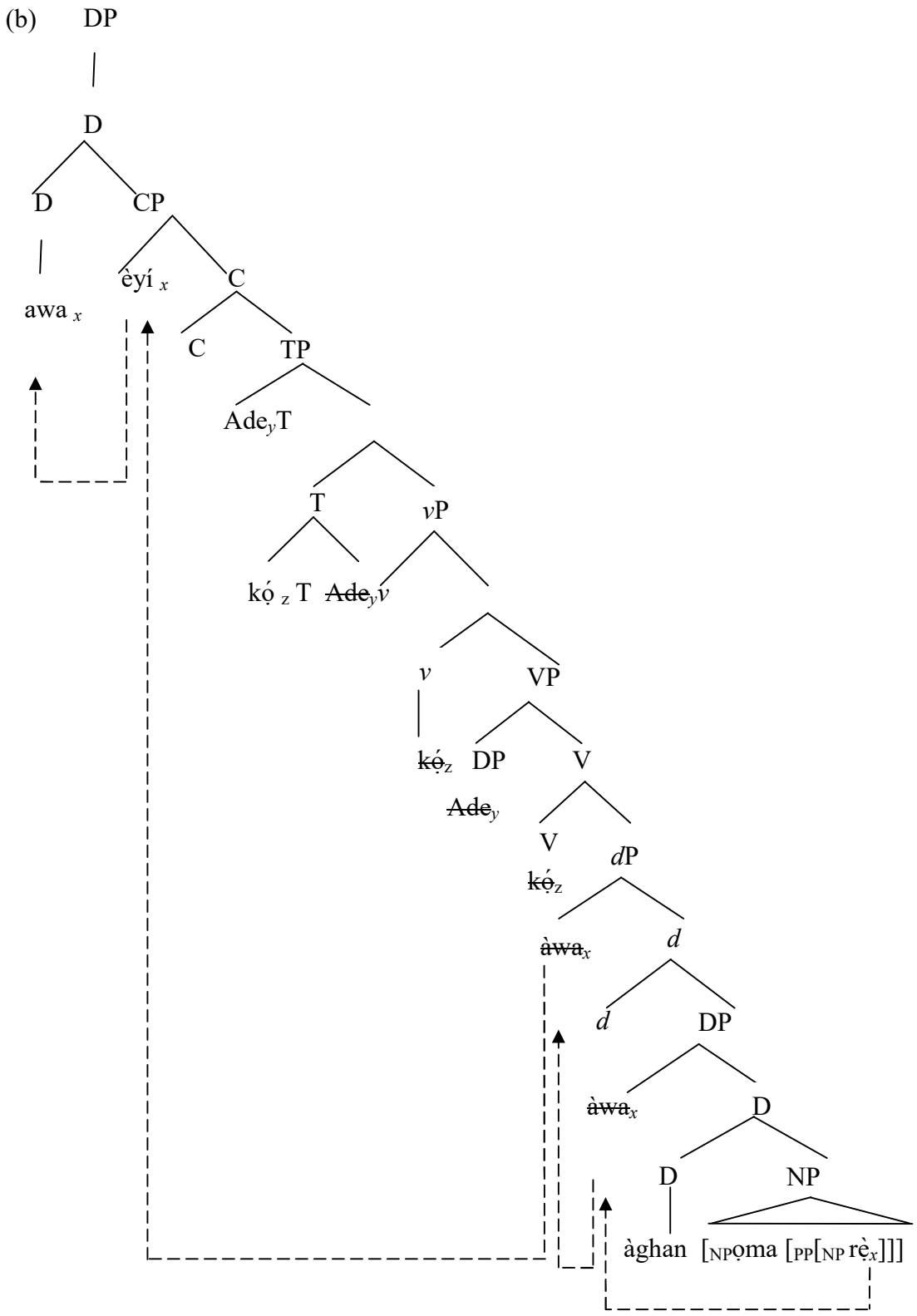


However, something happens when the possessor, *wa*, 'our' is extracted from the DP,`*àghan ọma wa*, 'our children' to be relativized outside the TP. The derivation leads to the stranding of the possessive feature as a resumptive in the extraction point within the vP. The entire derivation shown in (98) reveals the movement all the way from the lowest *d*P (given in (96) above) through to the [spec, CP] of the relative clause. Instead of having covert PF realisation at the extraction point, the possessor being too far from the item it modifies, is made overt using a special pronoun meant for such to ensure the derivation does not violate linearization condition in the PF.

98(a)	Awa	eyi	Ade	kọ́	aghan	ọma	rẹ̀
	3pl	which	Ade	teach	3pl	child	POSS3sg

'We whose children Ade taught'

(b)


DP
D
D
CP
awa x
èyí x
C
C
TP
Ade$_y$T
T
vP
kọ́ z T
~~Ade~~$_y$*v*
v
VP
~~kọ́~~$_z$
DP
~~Ade~~$_y$
V
V
*d*P
~~kọ́~~$_z$
~~àwa~~$_x$
d
d
DP
~~àwa~~$_x$
D
D
NP
àghan
[$_{NP}$ọma [$_{PP}$[$_{NP}$ rè$_x$]]]

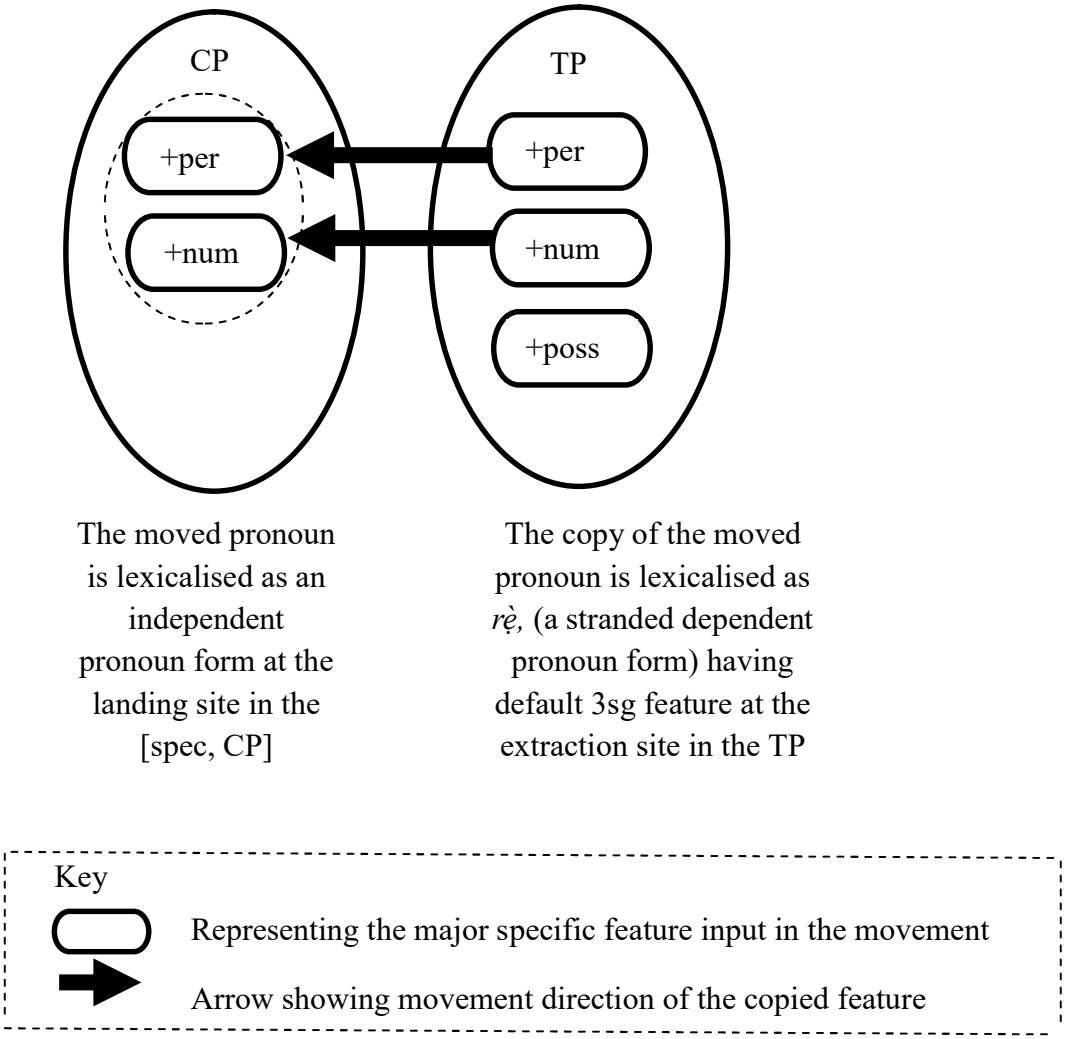


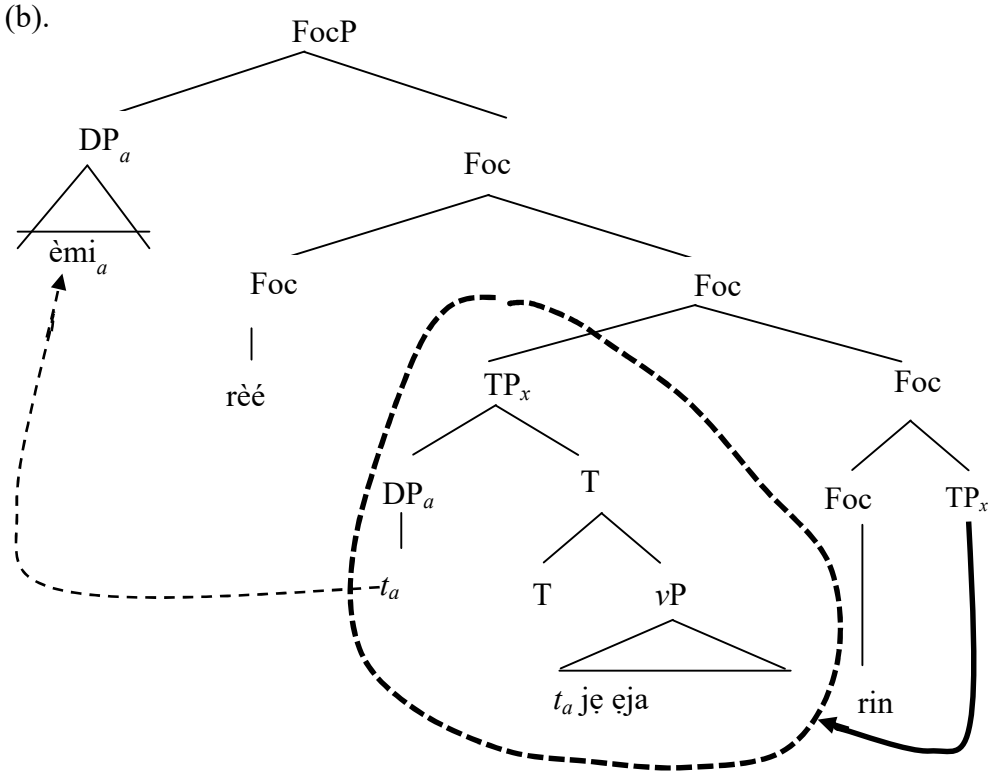
Figure 4.3 The derivation of resumptive possessor, *rẹ́*.
(Source: Japhet, 2020: 53)

4.4.8 Pronoun stranding and the spell-outs within the CP phase

A resumptive pronoun, *òghun* often occurs immediately after a focused item in a focus construction. *Òghun* and the focused item are co-referents in the LF. This pronoun is spelled out in the CP phase where focussing occurs. In Ìlàjẹ, focus construction raises the entire TP along with the focused item. While the focused item moves to the [Spec, FocP], the TP adjoins to the Foc head just as it is in CP in 94 (b) above. Where the subject is focused, the subject-verb boundary has to be preserved in the PF by spelling out an extra lexical focus marker, *rèé*, as in (99) and (101). The use of *rèé* is necessary to distinguish this focus subject from the independent pronoun which can only be used within the DP.

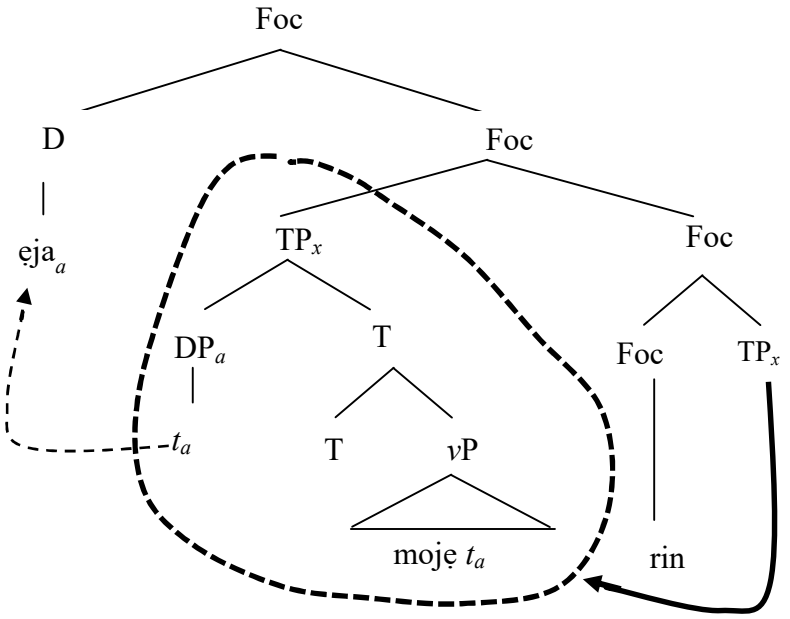
99(a) Emi rèé jẹ ẹja rin
1sg foc. go fish foc.
'It was I who ate fish'

(b).



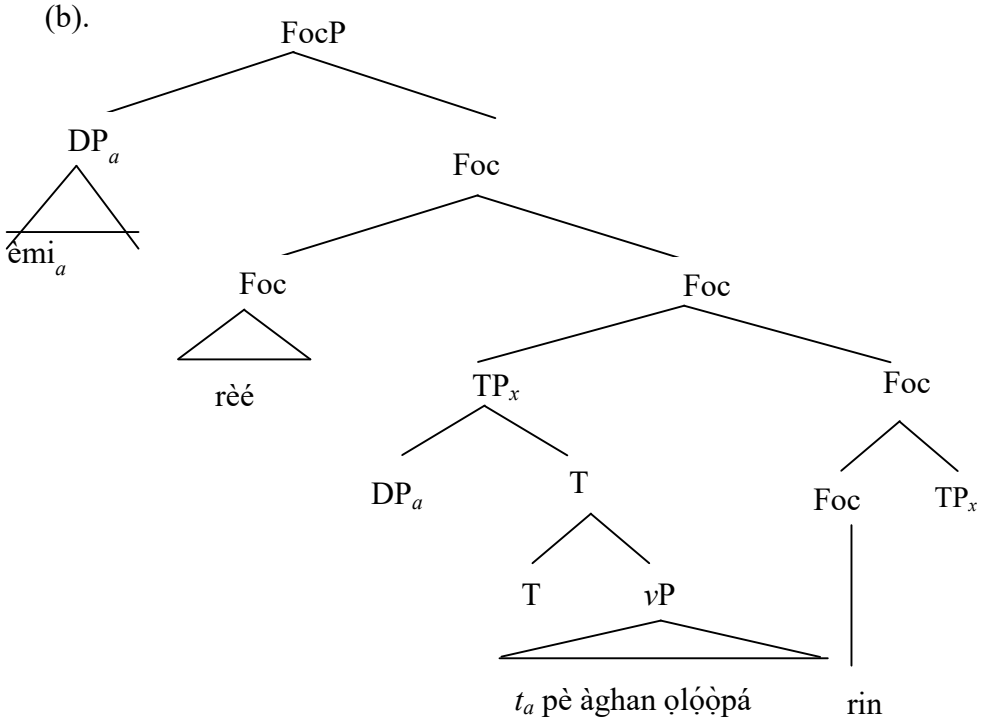
100(a) Ẹja mo jẹ rin
fish 1sg go foc.
'It was fish that I ate'

(b)



101(a). Emi rèé pè àghan ọlọọpá rin
1sg foc call 3pl policeman foc.
'Itwas I who called the police'.

(b).

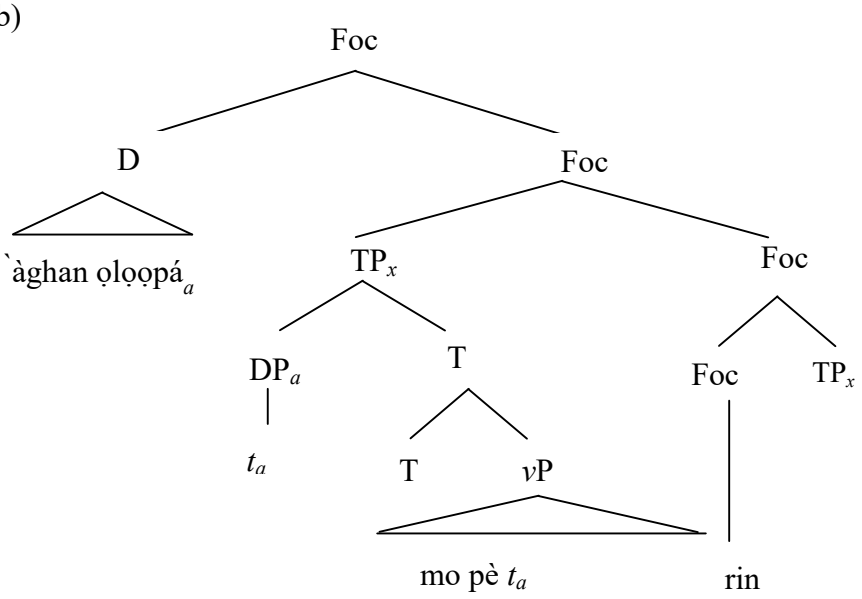


102(a) Àghan ọlọọpá mo pè rin

3pl policeman 1sg call foc.

'I called the police (Lit: It was the policeman that I called '.

(b)

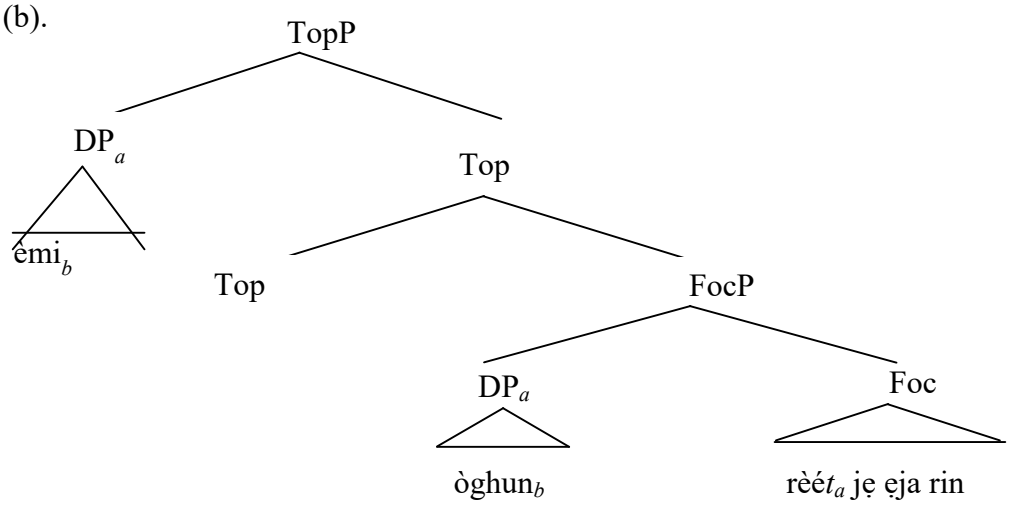


In regular speech, additional emphasis can be placed on the focused item by adding an appositive, *òghun*, which is co-indexed with the focused item. The current study analysed this emphasis as a merger of the topic functor, Top, with the FocP. The new projection derives the Topic Phrase(henceforth TopP) into which the focused item is further raised. However, the movement of the focused item to [spec, Top] does not render the [spec, Foc] position covert. It is overtly occupied by the appositive, *òghun*, which is a resumption of the moved item as indicated in the co-indexation of the appositive with the focused items in (103) – (106).

103 (a)	Emi	òghun	rèé	jẹ	ẹjạ	rin
	1sg	APPOS	foc.	go	fish	foc.

'It was I (not other person)who ate fish'

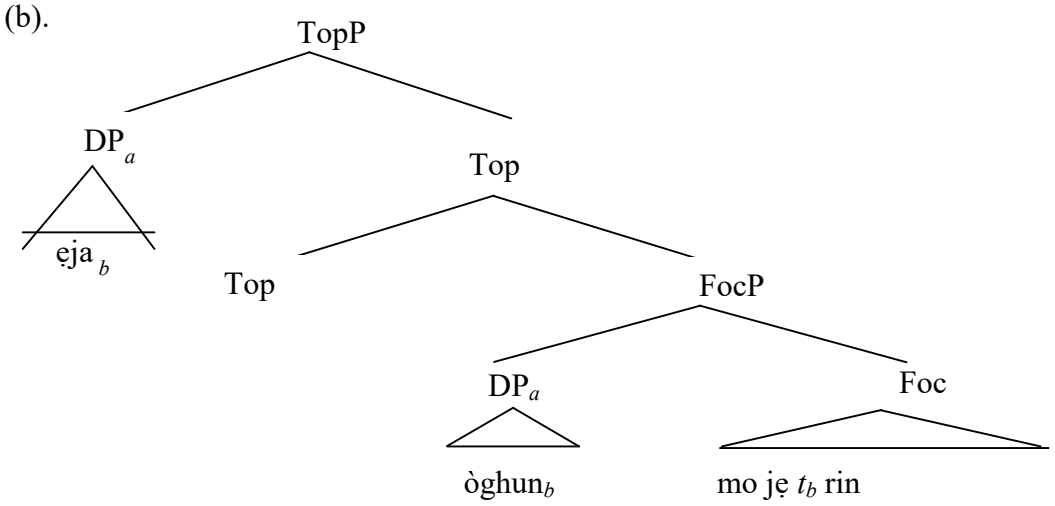
(b).



104(a)	Ẹja	òghun	mo	jẹ	rin
	fish	APPOS	1sg	go	foc.

'It was fish (not other food) that I ate'

(b).

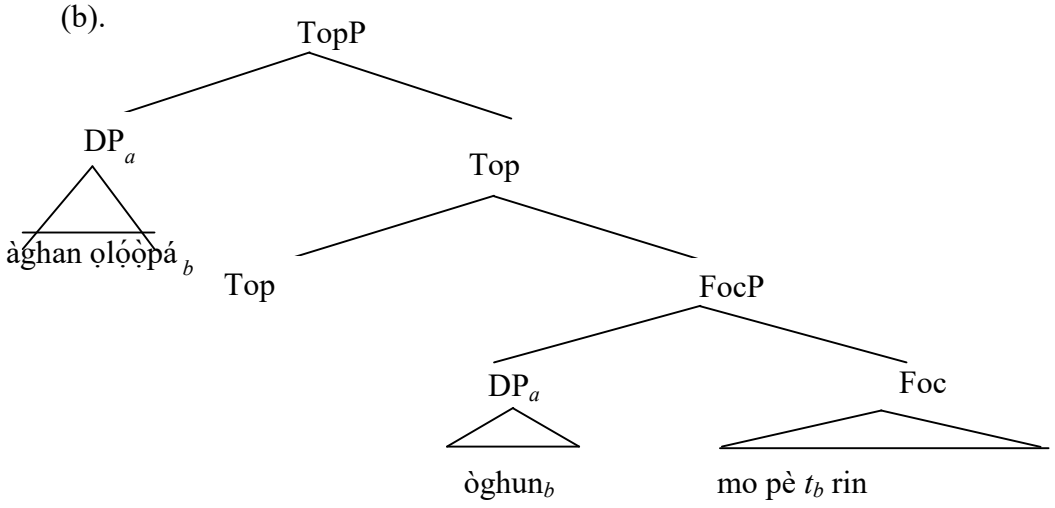


105(a). Àghan ọlọọpá òghun mo pè rin

3pl policeman APPOS 1sg call foc.

'I called the police (Lit: It was the police (not another person) that I called '.

(b).

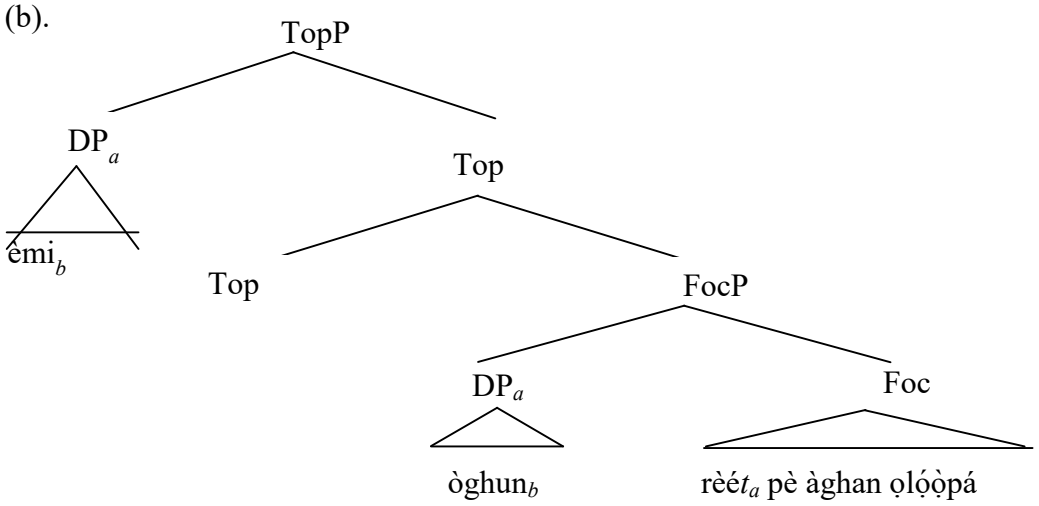


106(a). Emi òghun rèé pè àghan ọlọọpá rin

1sg APPOS foc call 3pl policeman foc.

'Itwas I who called the police'.

(b).



The nominal content of the appositive,*òghun,* as used in (103) - (104) above has already been argued in Ilori (2004) who calls it a putative conjunction because it has identical PF realization with *òghun* another lexical item which functions as a conjunction. In Ìlàjẹ, *òghun*[70] as an overt conjunction is in complementary distribution with the covert conjunction. The covert form is used with independent pronouns[71] while the covert form is used to conjoin nouns or noun phrases as in (72)-(75) above.

The derivation of the resumptive *òghun* given in (103) –(106) above are further described in (107) and (108) below. The data in (106) is reproduced as (107) to illustrate the derivation. The subarrays in the derivation of 107(a) is given in 107(b). Following Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), the pronouns in this derivation (being in the independent forms) are of the pro-DP type. They are thus selected in the DP sub-array. The verb and

[70]*Òghun* as overt conjunction does not join two pronouns in order to avoid ambiguity that will result in confusing the conjunction with *òghun*, the third person singular pronoun. This is the case because the ambiguity that may occur between (c) where *òghun* is a pronoun and (b) where òghun is a conjunction.

(a) Adé òghun Tọ́pẹ
Adé conj Tope
'Adé and Tope'

(b) *èmi òghun ùwọ
1sg ~~conj~~/3sg 2sg
Intended: 'I and you'

(c) èmi òghun ùwo
1sg, 3sg, conj 2sg
Intended: 'I, he and you'

However, as evident in Ìlàjẹ, Japhet (2012:33, 44) shows that òghun as the overt form of the covert conjunction is different from òghun which Ilori (2004) identifies as an appositive pronominal which merely co-occurs with the covert conjunction.

[71]Short pronouns are not conjoined as already shown in this study.

the light verb are selected in the *v*P subarray, while the focus functor and the topic functor are in the CP subarray.

107(a)	Emi	òghun	rèé	pè	àghan	ọlọọpá	rin
	1sg	APPOS	foc	call	3pl	policeman	foc.

'Itwas I who called the police'.

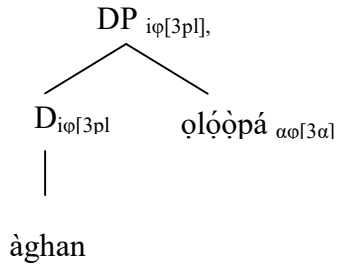
(b) CP phase sub-array: {top, foc, rin, rèé}

*v*P phase sub-array: {*v*, pè, DP_2}

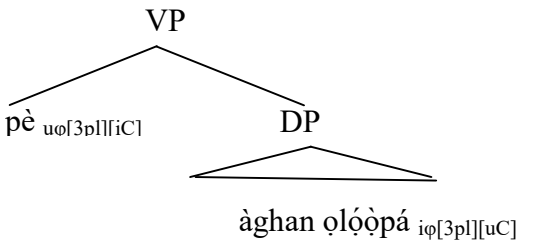
DP phase sub-array: {d_2, àghanọlọ́ọ́pá, èmi, òghun}

*Òghun*is spelled-out as the third person singular independent pronoun because extra emphasis placed on the focused item (pronoun) leads to the derivation of a superstructure TopP (Topic Phrase) in 108(g) which copies the person and number features of the focused item (from the [Spec, FocP]), while still leaving the saliency feature stranded in the [spec, FocP]. The [Spec, Foc] cannot do without the saliency feature, focussing being a saliency-driven operation. The stranding saliency has to be spelled-out in with phonological matrix to ensure its visibility in the PF. This is also a DP phase because the movement does not just copy the entire DP, but it moves through the edge passing through [Spec, DP] and [Spec, *d*P] responding to *d* as the probe which selectively seeks agreement with only the selected features copied out of the DP.

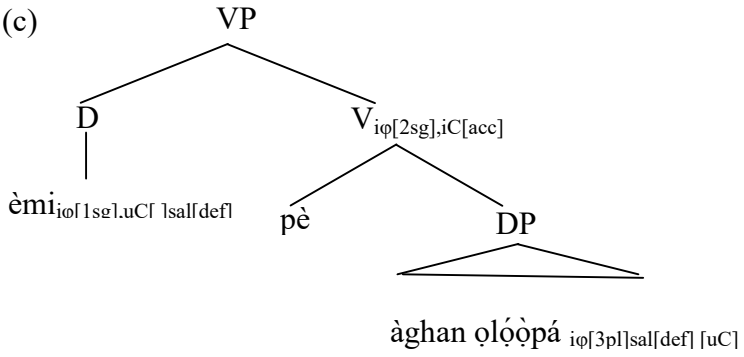
108(a)



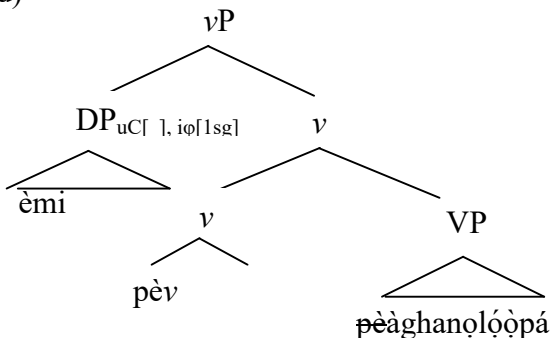
(b)


VP
pè uφ[3pl][iC]
DP
àghan ọlọ́ọ̀pá iφ[3pl][uC]

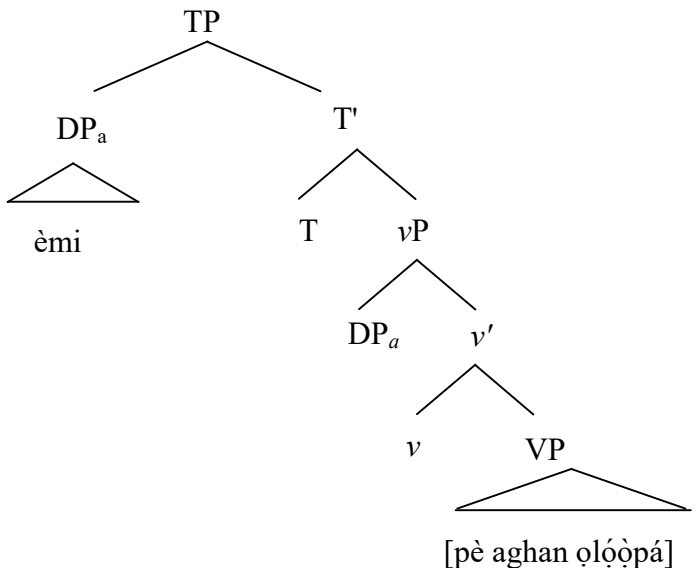
(c)


VP
D
Viφ[2sg],iC[acc]
èmiiφ[1sg],uC[ ]sal[def]
pè
DP
àghan ọlọ́ọ̀pá iφ[3pl]sal[def] [uC]

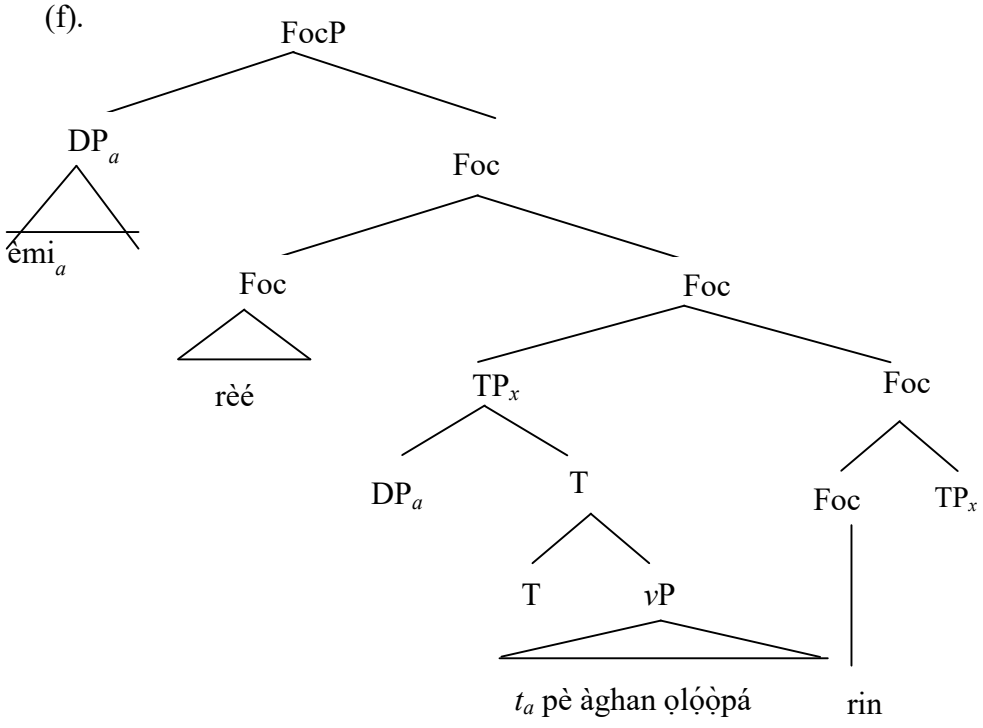
(d)

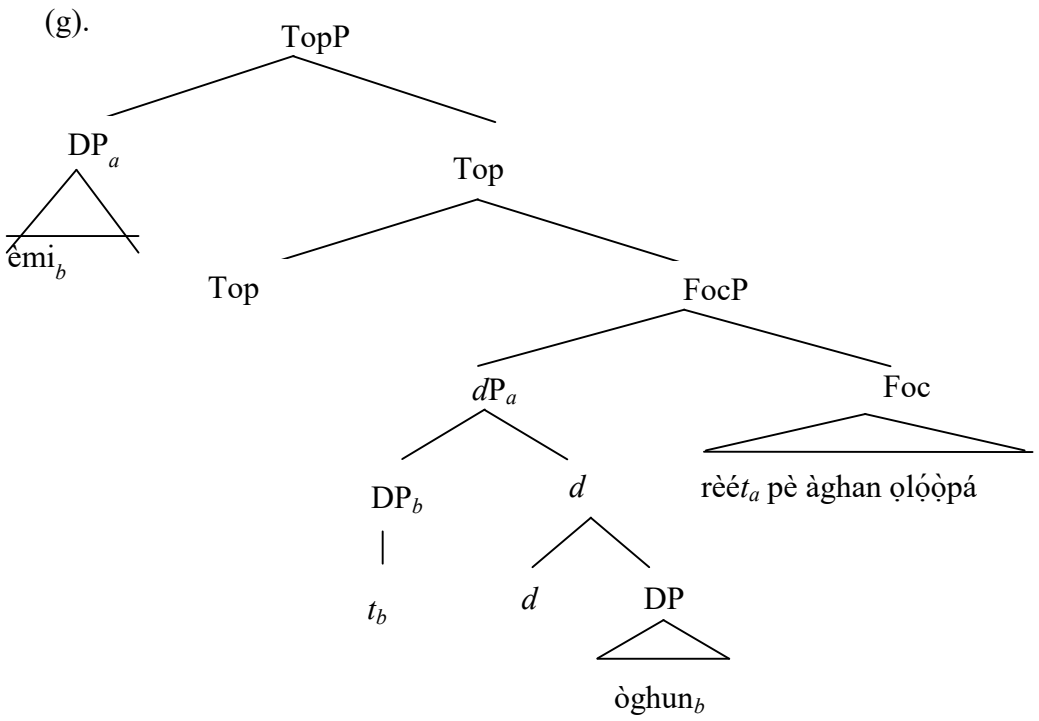

vP
DPuC[ ], iφ[1sg]
v
èmi
v
VP
pèv
~~pè~~àghanọlọ́ọ̀pá

(e)


TP
DP$_a$
T'
èmi
T
*v*P
DP$_a$
v′
v
VP
[pè aghan ọlọ́ọ̀pá]

(f).


FocP
DP$_a$
Foc
émi$_a$
Foc
Foc
rèé
TP$_x$
Foc
DP$_a$
T
Foc
TP$_x$
T
*v*P
t$_a$ pè àghan ọlọ́ọ̀pá
rin



The data in (108) shows the derivation of the emphatic resumptive form, **òghun,** from the specifier of the FocP showing the partial copying of features from the focus phrase (FocP).

In pictorial terms, figure 4.4 describes the process that derives the resumptive pronoun. Three phrases are involved. The derivation started within the TP before the pronoun was focused when the derivation merges Foc with TP. At that point, the entire phi features of the pronoun are copied along with the saliency feature leaving behind a full copy represented as trace. However, when the derivation later merges with Top, only the phi features are copied to the [spec, Top]. The saliency feature is left stranded in the [spec, foc]. The stranding saliency feature is lexicalised as *òghun* having the default third person singular feature which must agree with antecedent which does not have to be a third person singular nominal.

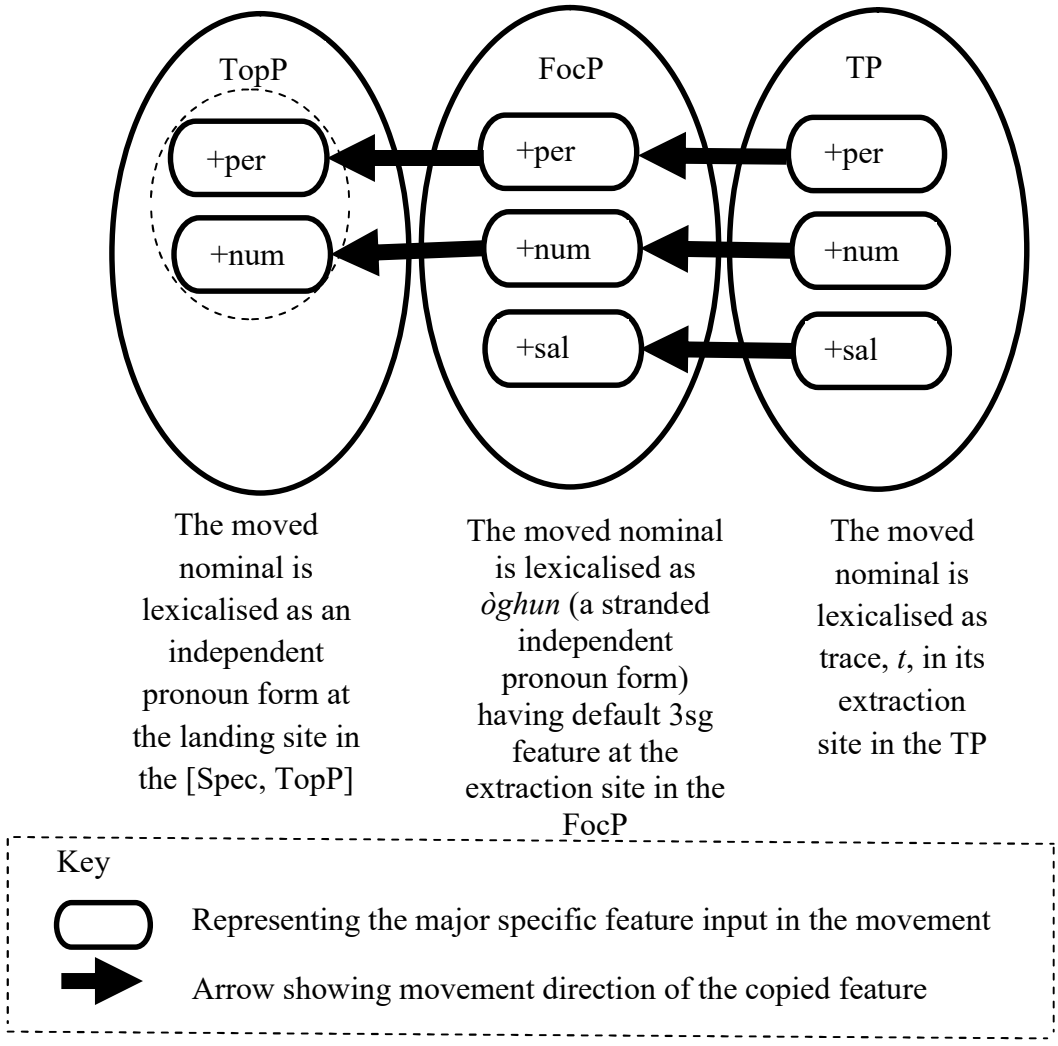


Figure4.4 The derivation of resumptive *òghun*.

(Source: Japhet, 2020: 54)

4.4.9 Results of the analysis on the resumptive pronouns

The analysis in this section reveals the resumptive pronouns are products of partial extraction of features for movement and the spelling out of the stranded features at the extraction points. For the pronouns analysed in this section, the copied features include person and number features, leaving behind stranded the possessive and the saliency features for resumptive *rẹ̀* and *òghun* respectively. since these stranded portions lack person and number feature, they are spelled out by default in their third person singular forms.

4.5 Analysing the lexical entries of Ìlàjẹ pronouns

Although, the independent and dependent pronouns show some corresponding structural relatedness in their phonemic forms, the study adopting the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis of the Minimalist Program assumes that each pronoun has a unique lexical entry being fully formed before entering syntactic derivations. This position known in Chomsky (1995) as Inclusiveness Condition is stated as follows:

> Inclusiveness Condition
> The interface levels consist of nothing more than arrangements of lexical features. (Chomsky,1995:225).

The condition implies that at the numeration stage, the pronouns have taken the exact forms known with them in syntax. Usually, these forms should not change thereafter because the interface should not tamper with the lexical forms. The inclusiveness condition was later revised as No Tampering Condition (Chomsky, 2008).

4.5.1 Lexical entries of the feature specifications of Ìlàjẹ pronouns

Each form of the pronouns carriesspecific morphosyntactic and morphophonemic features constituting a unique lexical entry with which it can be distinguished from another form of the pronoun. This complex feature composition is a formal account of the native speaker intuition in choosing the right form[72]of the pronoun. The structure of each pronoun thus depends on the interaction between the morphosyntactic and morphophonemic features as shown in figures (4.5) - (4.14) below.

[72] Ìlàjẹ does not employ the honorific pronoun use of the second person plural for a second person singular referent. So the forms discussed in this study do not involve such use even though this honorific use occurs often in Standard Yoruba.

This lexical entry inventory lists out all the independent forms, all the dependent forms, the logophoric form and the two resumptive forms. From the Strong Lexicalist's perspective where words are taken as fully inflected forms in the lexicon, it is possible for the computational system to select the right pronoun for each of its derivation.From this proposal, the need to prove if any pronoun is derived from the other is unnecessary. The rest of the section will discuss these various forms of the pronoun as distinct syntactic object.

In Figure 4.5, the dependent singular pronounsare six in number, *mo, méè, wo, wéè ó* and *éè*. Three of them are affirmative *mo, wo,*and *ó,* having [-Neg] feature*;* while the other three are negative: *méè, wéè* and *éè* with [+Neg] feature. They all have uniform [+Sbj] (nominative) morphophonemic feature because they occur in the subject positions of their clauses. They also have a uniform [+count, +sgl] (countable and singular) morphosyntactic number feature complex because they are all singular pronouns. Their saliency feature is also uniform, being always [-Def, -Log]. This indicates that they are dependent pronouns which are also non-logophoric. Their case features are also uniformly specified as [+Nom, -Acc] showing that they are not accusative but nominative in case. On their person features, the first-person and the second-person forms have [+Part] feature because they are discourse participants being the speaker and the addressee respectively. The third-person pronoun differs in participant feature being marked [-Part] because it does not participate in the discourse. However, the third person and the second-person are uniform in their speaker feature. They are both [-Spk] because they are not speakers.
The figure also shows how the features are selected and matched with their appropriate forms before being imported into syntax. This implies that morphological processes are completed in the lexicon to ensure lexical items are fully inflected for syntactic derivations.

Figure 4.6 describes the lexical properties of the dependent plural pronouns: *a, áà, an-án, án-àn. an-án, án-àn*. They have similar configurations in their feature specifications with their dependent form counterparts; however, they differ in their number features. They are all [+Count, -Sgl] because they are plural pronouns. The other thing to note is the uniformity in the phonological form between the second-person plural forms and their third-person counterparts. The fact that there is no ambiguity in their use

implies that the features selection process is independent of the form selection process as indicated in the derivational flow. It also affirms the Strong Lexicalist hypothesis that words are fully formed in the lexicon before syntactic derivations.

Figure 4.7 reveals the lexical features of the dependent object pronouns in the lexicon. They are uniform with their nominative counterparts in figure 4.5 in respect to their person, number and saliency features. In case, they differ being specified as [-Nom,+Acc] in their features; they are accusative pronouns. They also differ from their nominative counterparts in their morphophonemic features. they are subject to the verb-object tone marking. Therefore, in addition to their [-Sbj] (non-subject) feature, each bears a morphophonemic marking of either [+HIGH] (high tone) or [-HIGH] (non-high: as a mid or low tone) feature. The third-person form of this pronoun lacks its own phonological segment. It still displays the verb-object tone marking, but such tone is borne by nearest tone-bearing unit (TBU) which is usually the last vowel of the preceding verb.

Figure 4.8 displays lexical properties of the dependent plural object pronouns: *wa, wá, ghan, ghán, ghan* and *ghán*. These pronouns are not very different from their singular counterparts in figure 4.7. But they differ in number features having [+Count, -Sgl]. The second-person and the third-person forms are also uniform.

The possessive pronouns are described in figure 4.9. they take the following forms: *mi, rẹ, rẹ̀, wa, ghan* and *ghan*. The first three forms are singular with [+Count, +Sgl] feature, while the rest are plural having [+Count, -Sgl] plural feature. These pronouns form a group that specifically differs in its their case features from the other groups (in figures 4.5 – 4.8). They are neither nominative nor accusative; they are genitive pronouns. Their morphophonemic features combine the [+Poss] (possessive) with either a low-toned syllable [+LTS] feature or a mid-toned syllable [-LTS] feature. The second-person form is also identical with the third-person form.

Figure 4.10 shows the singular independent pronoun forms: *èmi, èmi-ì, ùwọ, ùwọ́-ọ̀, oghun-ún* and *oghun-ún-ùn*. This set of pronouns are closely related to their dependent singular counterparts in person, number, case and morphophonemic features. But they differ from their dependent counterparts in the saliency feature, which is uniformly non-logophoric definite [+Def, -Log] in feature.

Figure 4.11 displays the plural counterparts of the pronouns shown in figure 4.10. The major difference between the two groups lies in their number features. While the singular forms in 4.10 have [+Count, +Sgl], the independent forms in figure 4.11 have the number feature is [+Count, -Sgl].

There just three forms of the pronoun in figure 4.12. These are the object counterpart of the forms described in figure 4.11. They differ from their nominative forms in two major ways. First, they do not undergo the verb-object tonal alternation. So, theseobjects pronouns do not occur in pairs of high and non-high toned. Their case feature is [-Nom, +Acc] accusative.

Figure 4.13 provides the lexical entries of the logophoric pronoun having affirmative, negative, accusative and possessive forms. The nominative case has two forms: the affirmative and the negative forms. The accusative and the possessive forms are phonologically uniform.

Figure 4.14 displays the forms and features of the two resumptive pronouns: *oghun* and *rè*. These pronouns are not specified for person sub-features of participant and speaker being [αPart,αSpk]. They are also not fully specified for number feature. Their feature is [+Count, αSg]; that is why they are usually singular even if their antecedent is plural. They also have their case features not fully specified [αNom, αAcc]. The use of α in their feature complex shows that the actual value of these features are not specific without the wider context.

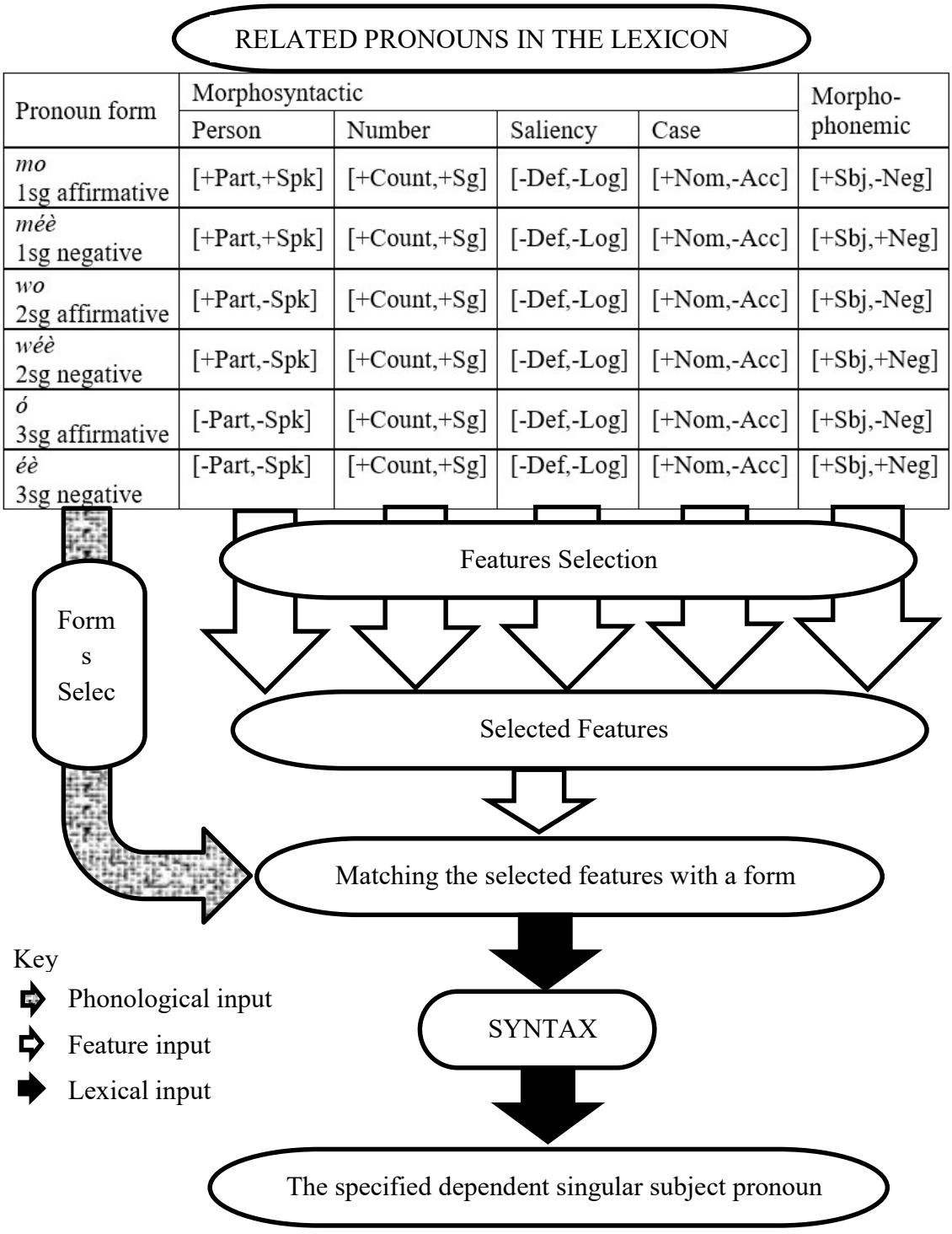


Figure 4.5 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Dependent Singular Subject Pronouns.(Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 64).

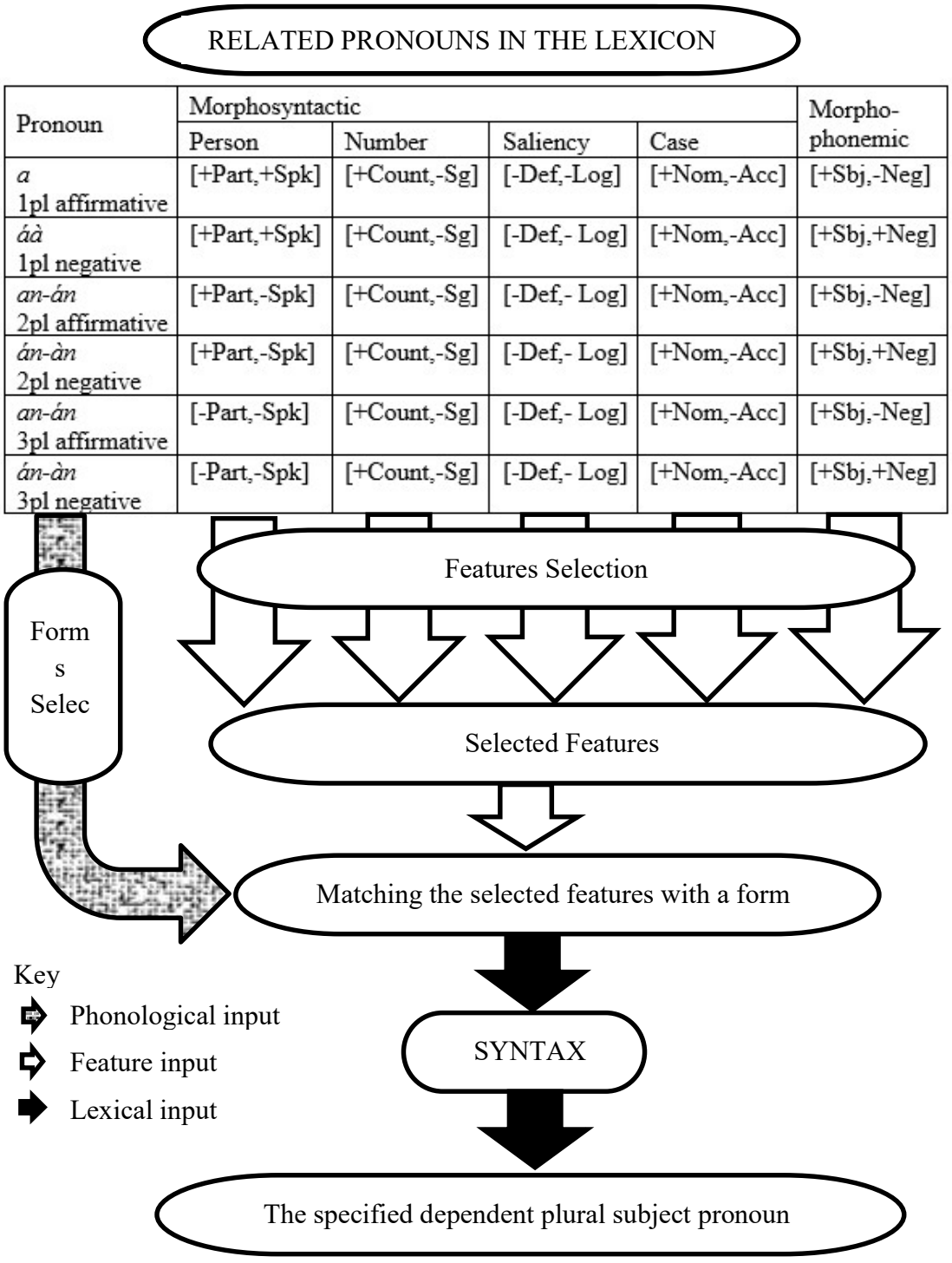
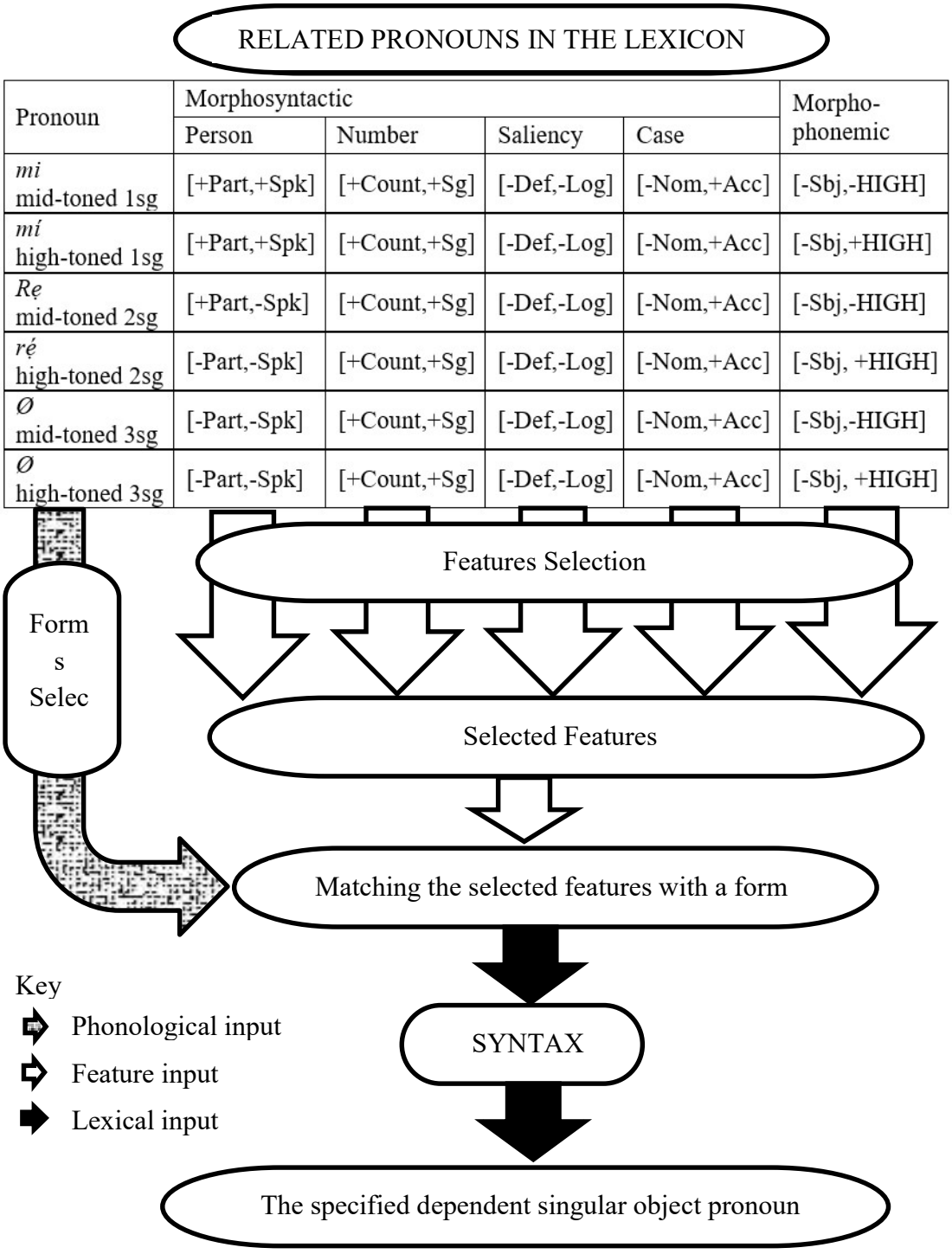


Figure 4.6 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Dependent Plural Subject Pronouns. (Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 64).



Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
mi mid-toned 1sg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
mí high-toned 1sg	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,+HIGH]
Rẹ mid-toned 2sg	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
rẹ́ high-toned 2sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +HIGH]
Ø mid-toned 3sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
Ø high-toned 3sg	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +HIGH]

Figure 4.7 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Dependent Singular Object Pronouns. (Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 65)..

RELATED PRONOUNS IN THE LEXICON

Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
wa mid-toned 1pl	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
wá high-toned 1pl	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +HIGH]
ghan mid-toned 2pl	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
ghán high-toned 2pl	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +HIGH]
ghan mid-toned 3pl	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj,-HIGH]
ghán high-toned 3pl	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,-Sg]	[-Def,-Log]	[-Nom,+Acc]	[-Sbj, +HIGH]

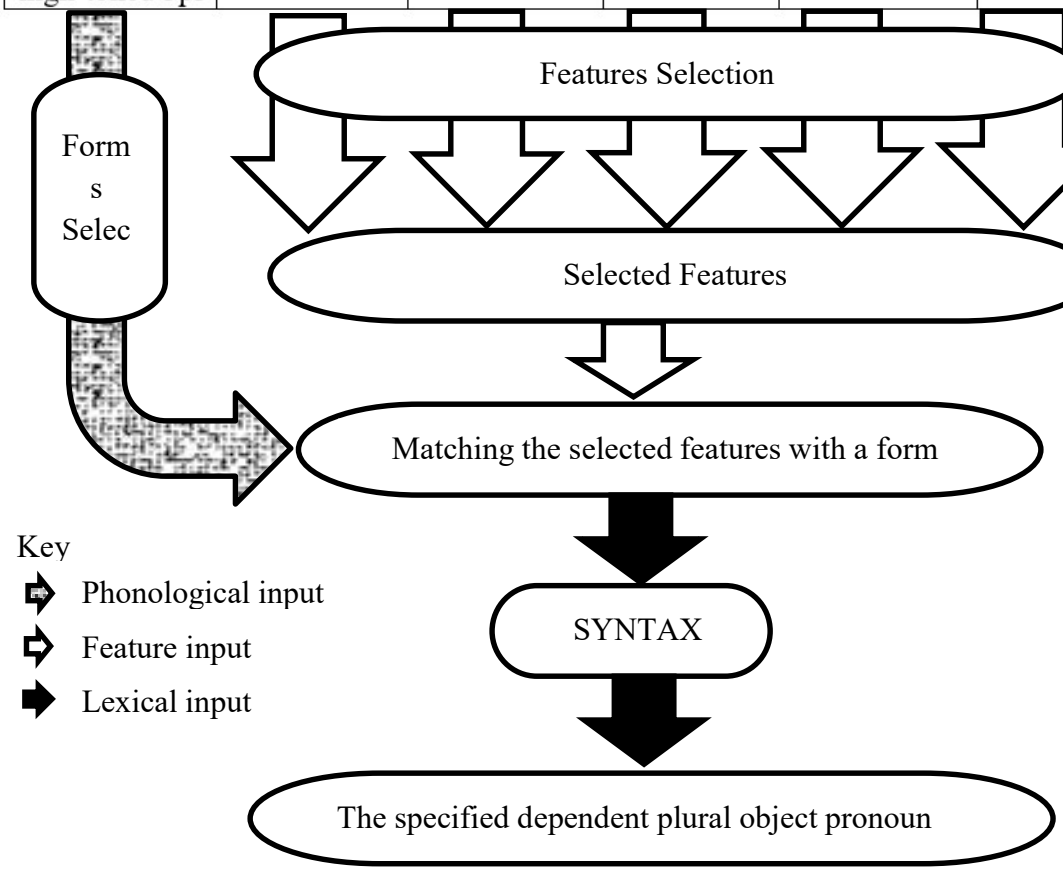


Figure 4.8 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Dependent Plural Object Pronouns.
(Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 65).

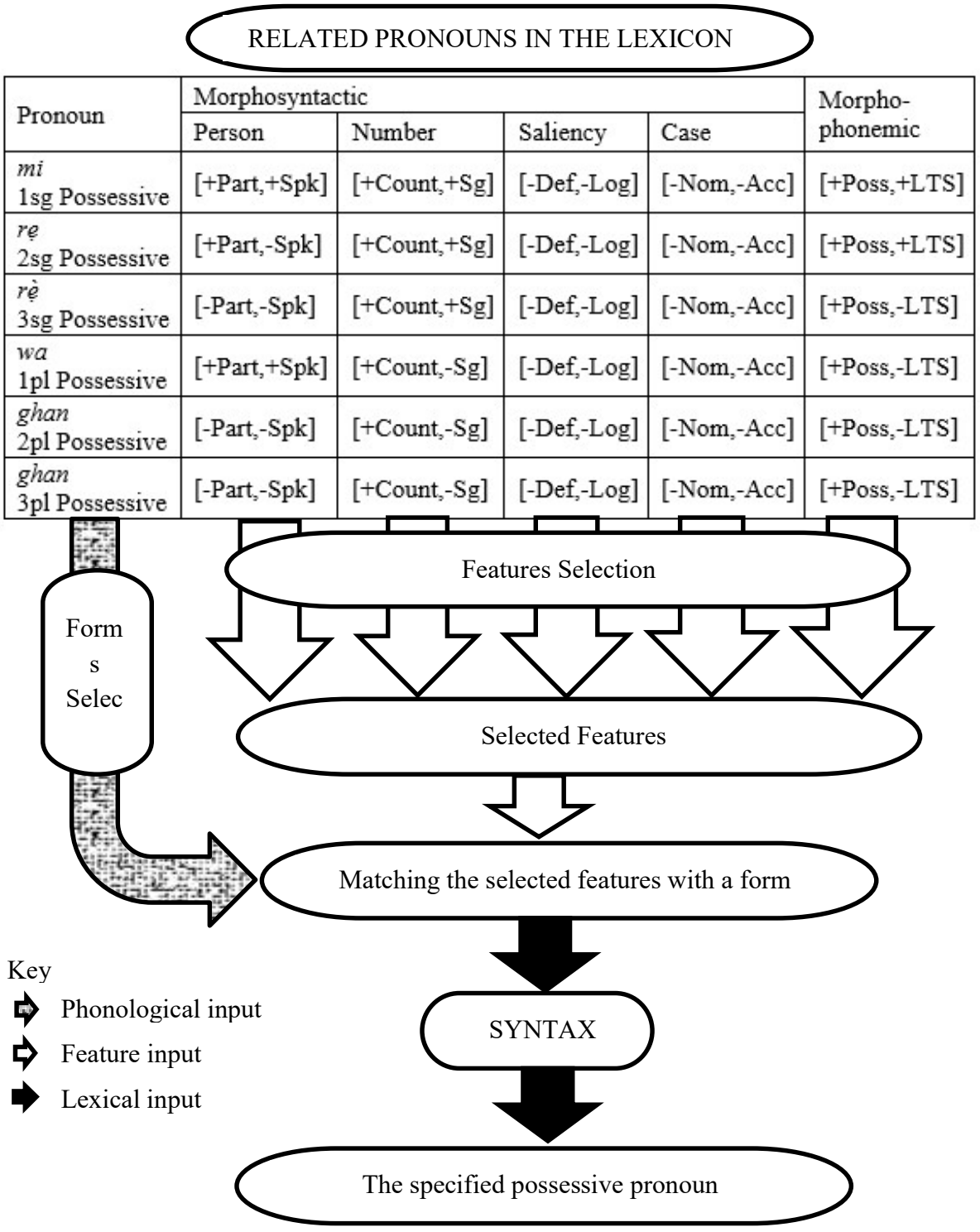
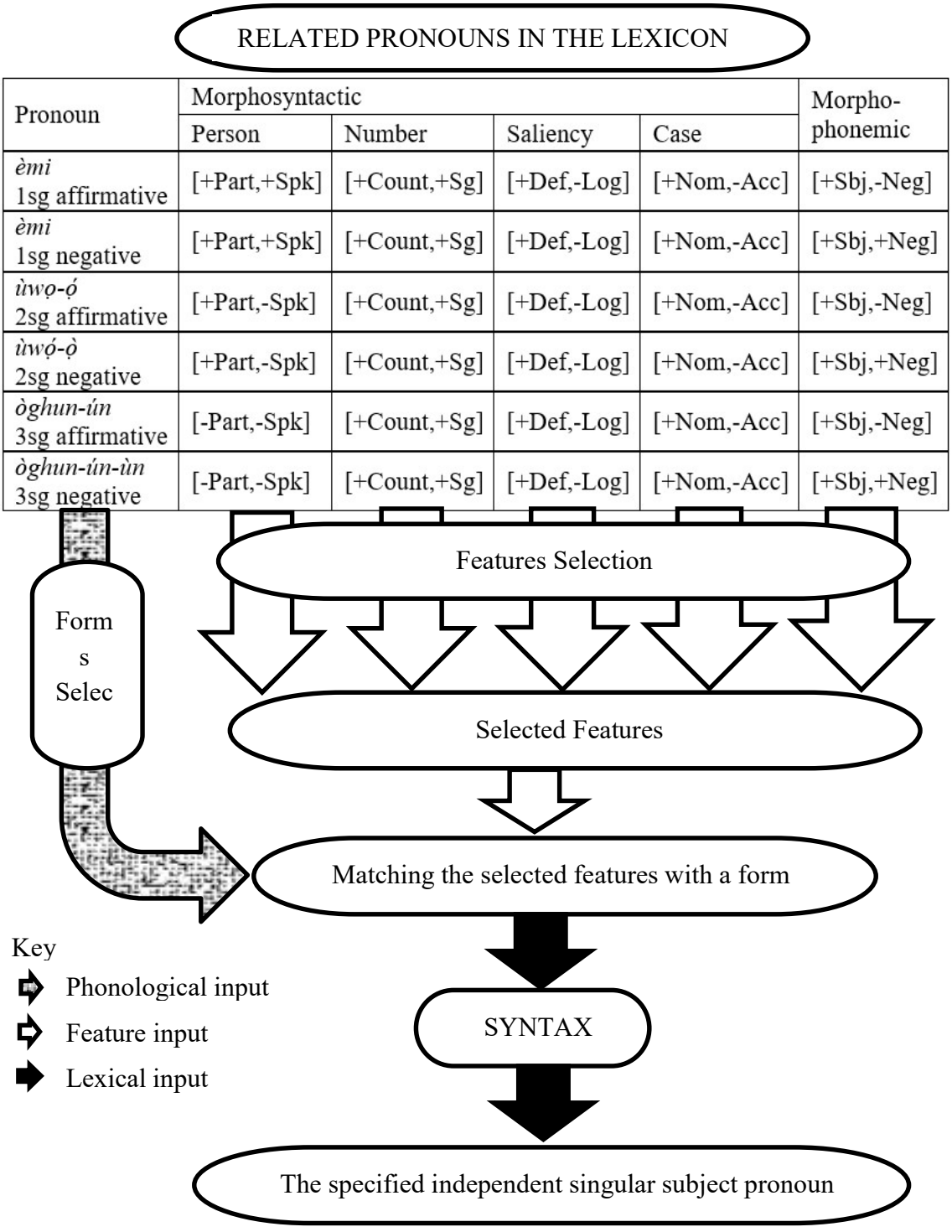


Figure 4.9 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Possessive Pronouns.

(Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 66).



Pronoun	Morphosyntactic				Morpho-phonemic
	Person	Number	Saliency	Case	
èmi 1sg affirmative	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
èmi 1sg negative	[+Part,+Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
ùwọ-ọ́ 2sg affirmative	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
ùwọ́-ọ̀ 2sg negative	[+Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]
òghun-ún 3sg affirmative	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,-Neg]
òghun-ún-ùn 3sg negative	[-Part,-Spk]	[+Count,+Sg]	[+Def,-Log]	[+Nom,-Acc]	[+Sbj,+Neg]

Figure 4.10 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Independent Singular Subject Pronouns. (Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 66).

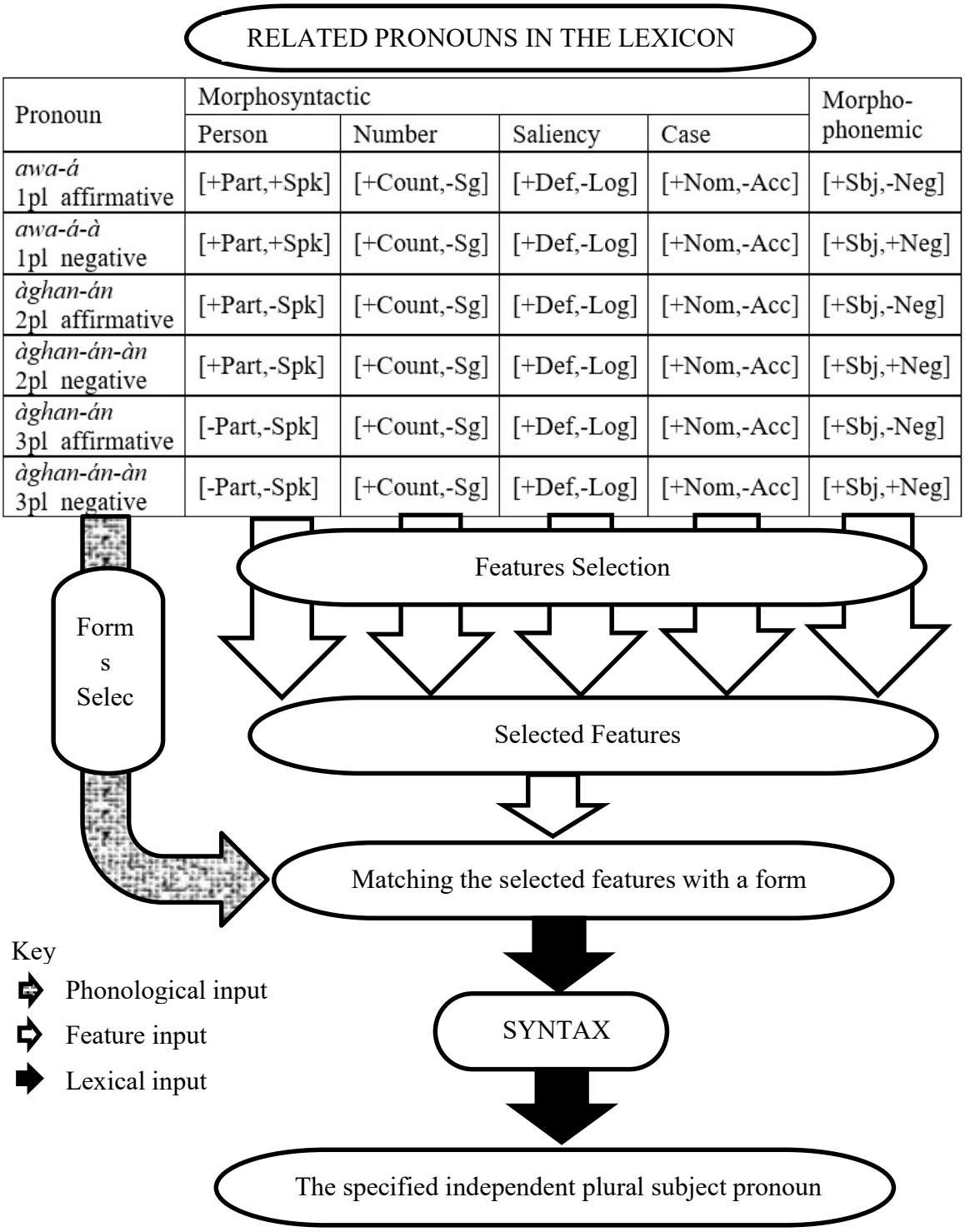


Figure 4.11 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Independent Plural Subject Pronouns. (Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 67).

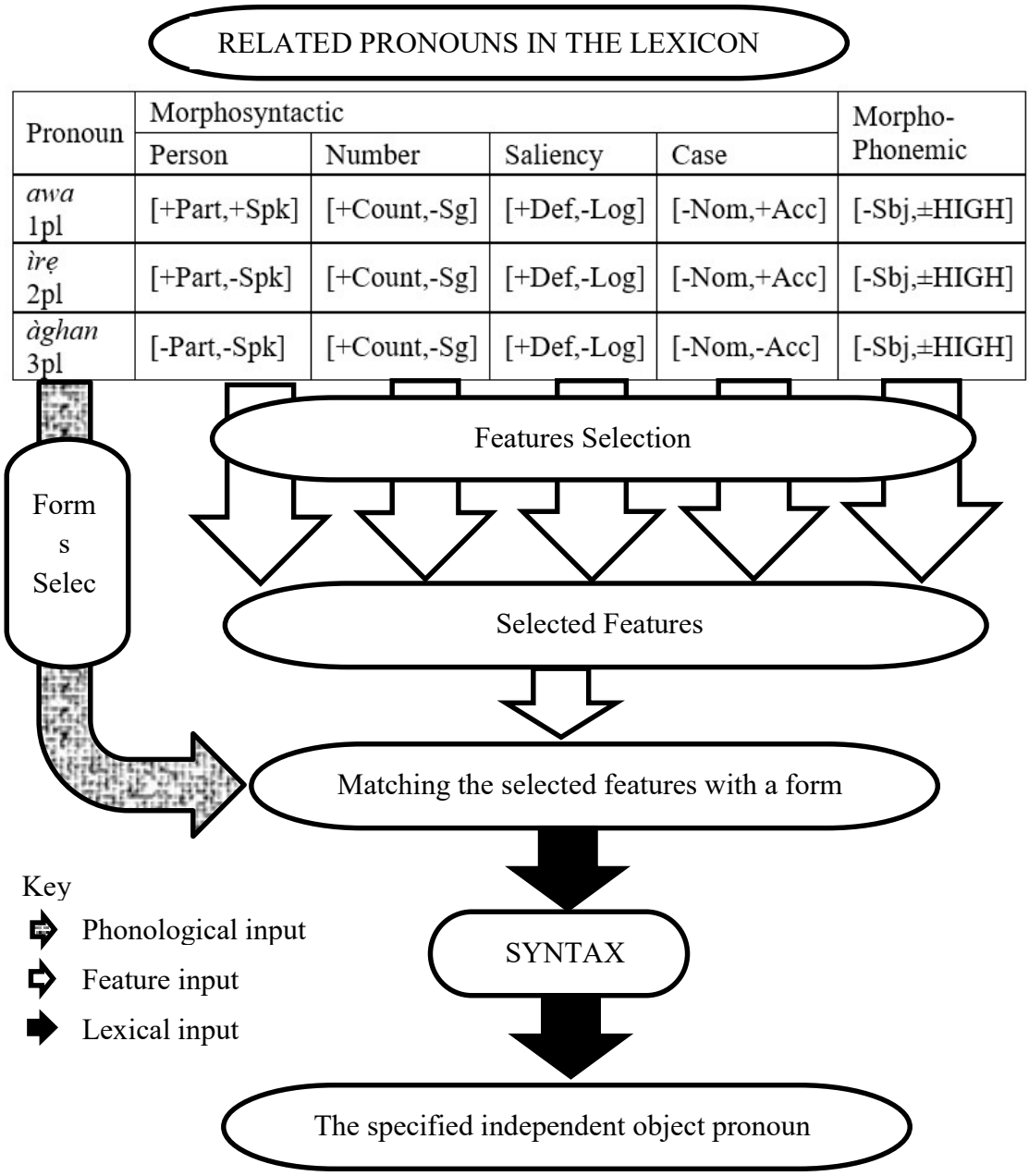


Figure 4.12 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Independent Object Pronouns.
(Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 67).

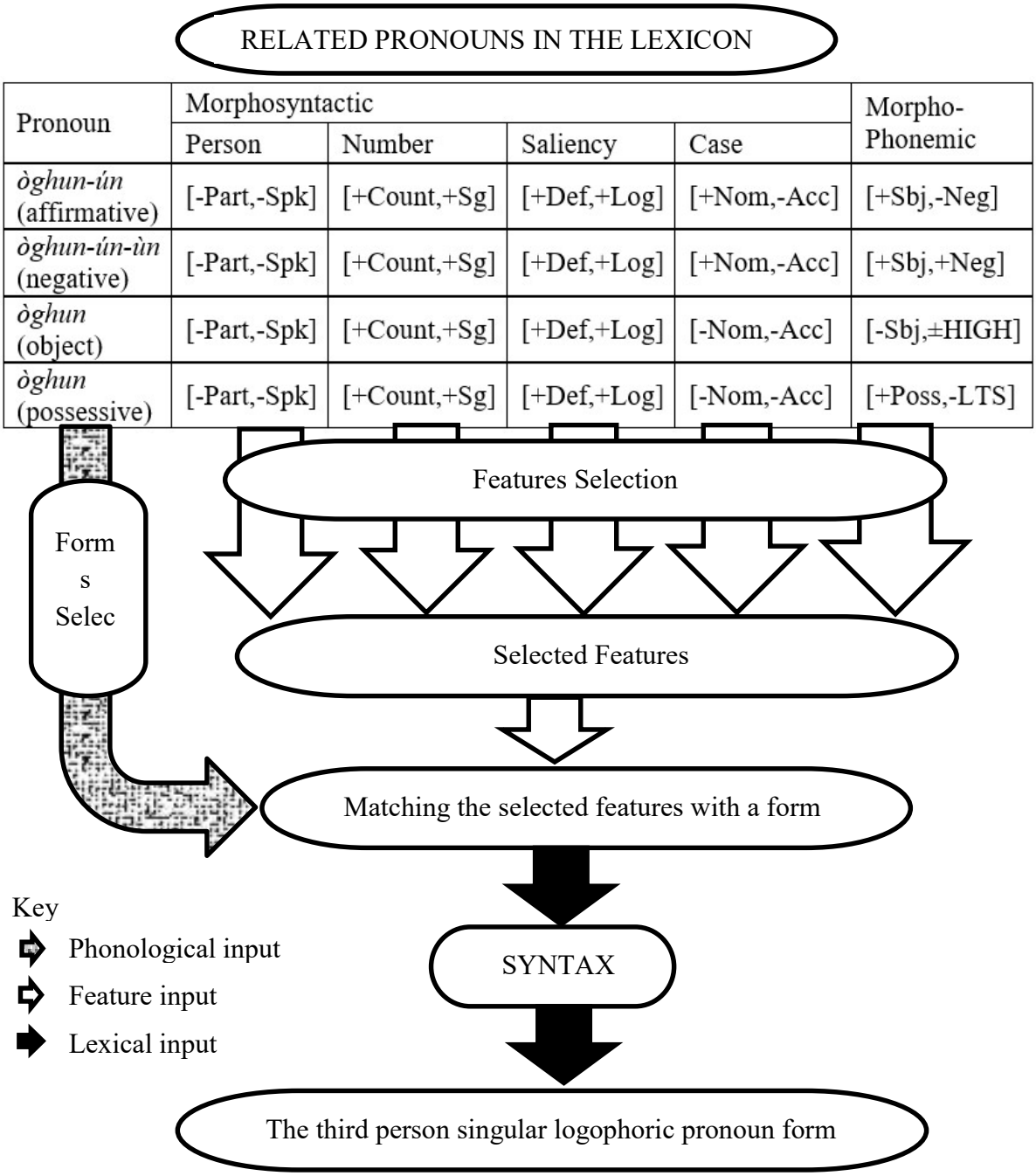


Figure 4.13 Feature Specifications of Ìlàjẹ Third Person Singular Logophoric Pronoun. (Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 67).

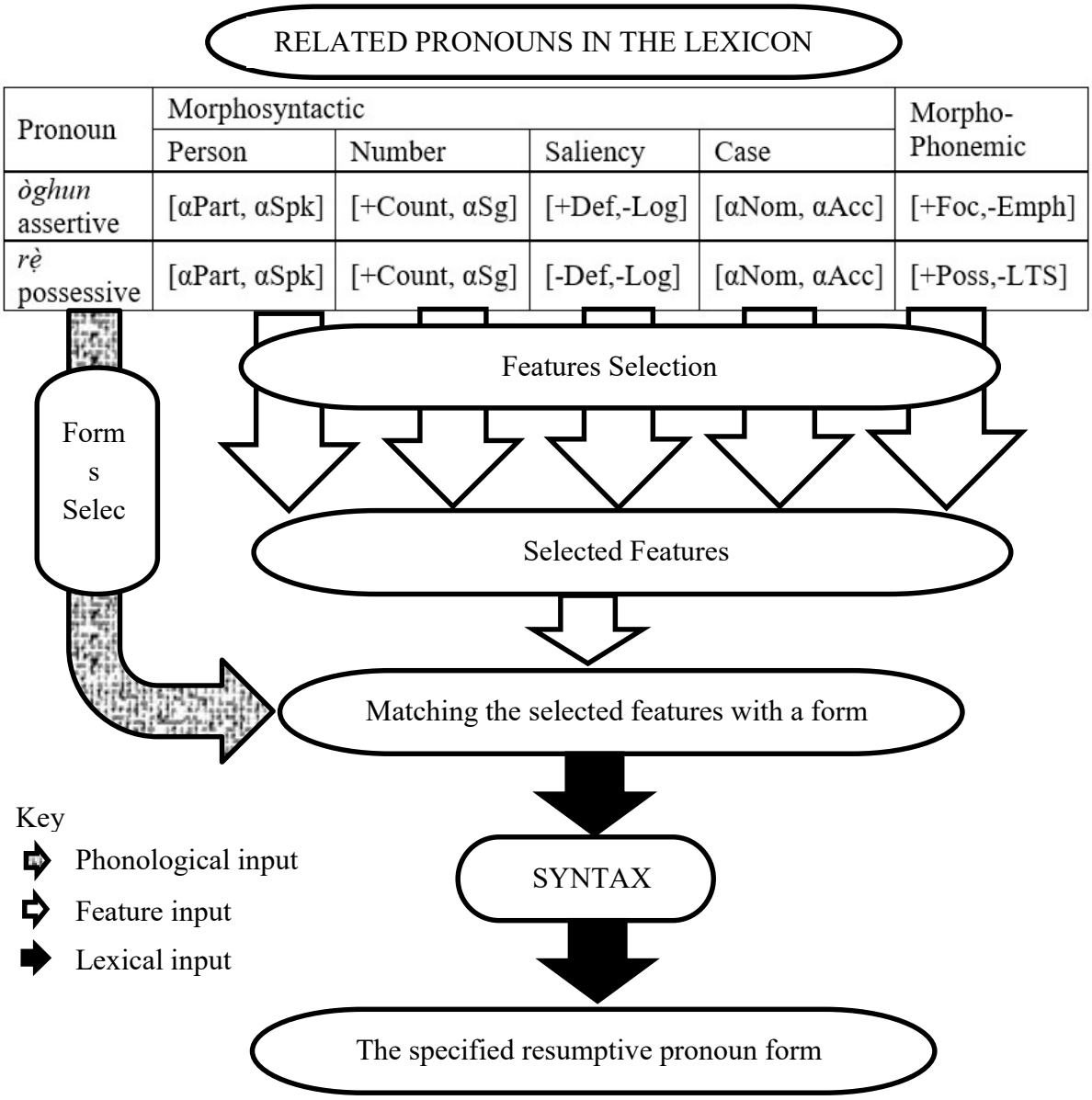


Figure 4.14 Feature Specifications of the Resumptive Pronouns in Ìlàjẹ.
(Source: Adapted from Taiwo & Japhet, 2019: 67).

4.5.2 Pronoun forms selection procedures

These specifications look very complex if they have to be taken all together as a huge bundle of features. However, the order in which the features are presented in each specification (ranging from person to morphophonemic features) logically suggests a pattern that the whole bundle is subdivided into three smaller sub-bundles: namely, phi-features bundle, saliency bundle and morphophonemic bundle as presented in the stratified bundle model given in figure 4.15.

Phi-feature bundle comprises the person and number features. This bundle has internal structure of [±speaker] and [±singular] sub-features. The saliency bundle determines which is suitable between the dependent and the independent forms. Logophoricity is determined within this bundle. Morphophonemic bundle deals with the phonemic form of the pronoun. Case and other features that condition the forms of the pronoun to its syntactic environment are accounted for in this bundle.Figure 4.15 shows the three bundles of features necessary in the current analysis of pronouns.

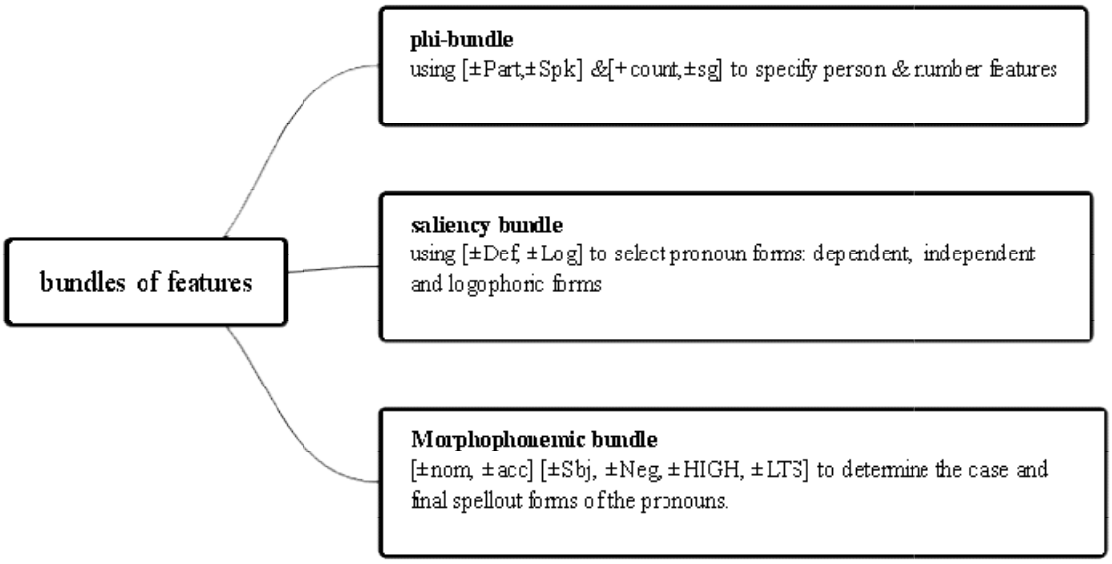


Figure 4.15 A concept map summary of the pronoun features bundles.
(Source: See footnote) [73]

[73] The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use.

Each sub bundle has its own internal searches for features. It identifies the right features and generate results before moving into the next bundle to search for another set of features. The ranking naturally follows the way native speakers select their pronouns. When one first thinks of a pronoun, what comes to mind is the role of the participant. Is the participant the same as the speaker, the addressee or the third party being discussed?

The issue of number is also necessary to ascertain if the participant carries singular referent or not. These are done within the phi-bundle. If the person and number features are done with, the value of the saliency feature can be addressed. Saliency determines if the pronoun should be used in its long (independent) form or in its short (dependent) form. The syntactic functions such as subject, object or modifying position determine the final form.

This model provides a simple way of accessing any of the pronoun forms in the lexicon. Figure 4.16 shows the selection procedure of Ìlàjẹ pronouns based on their forms and features.

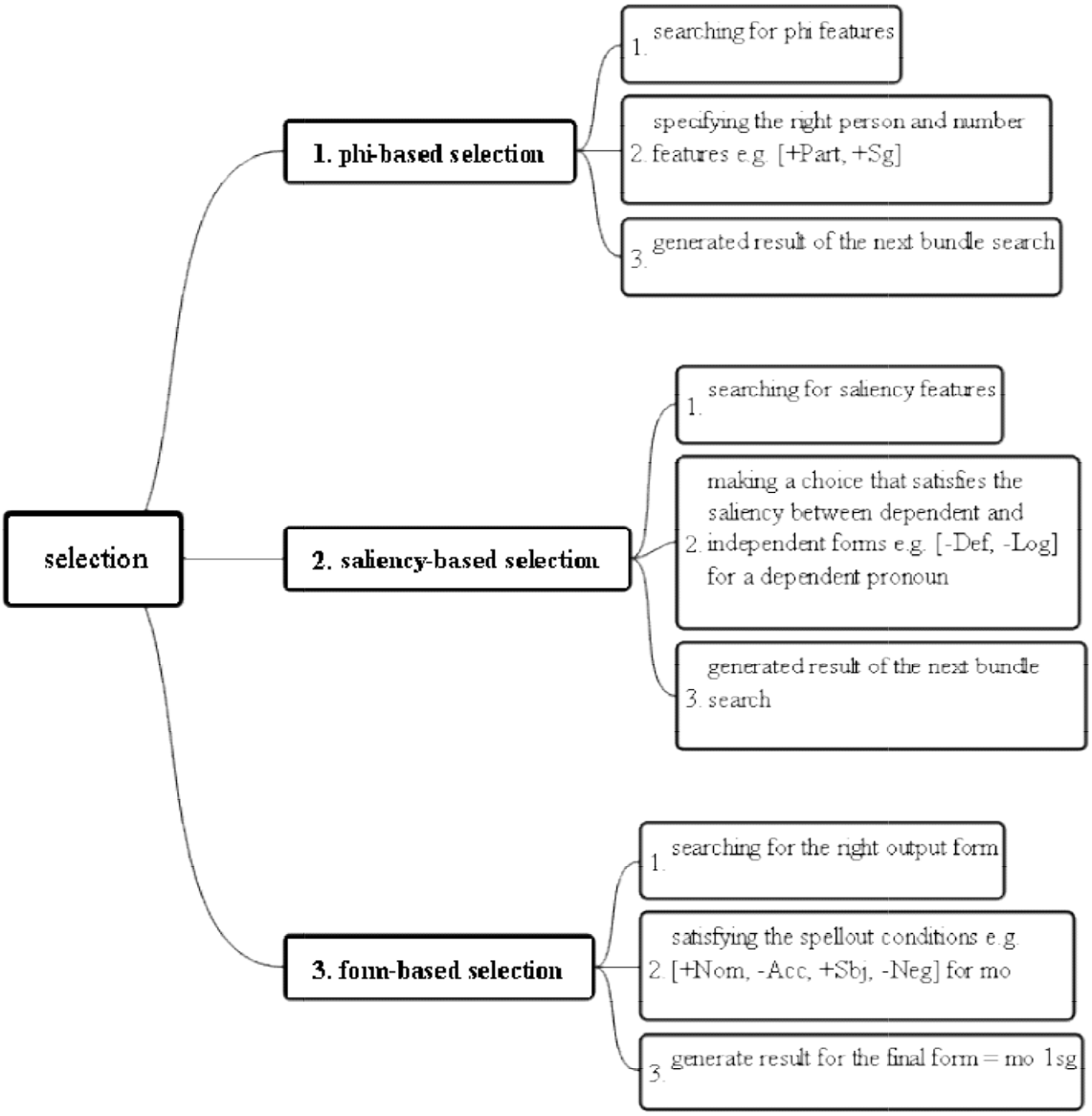


Figure 4.16 A concept map summary onthe pronoun selection procedure.
(Source: See footnote)[74]

[74] The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use.

4.6 Discussion of findings

A number of findings had been made in this study. In this section, these findings are weighed with the literature in line with the data and analysis provided it the earlier sections of the chapter. While much have not been written on Yoruba pronouns, the few works available have some controversies that are well addressed in the finding made in this study.

4.6.1 Multiple forms of the pronoun

This is different from the typical analysis of the pronouns in Yoruba. Yoruba personal pronouns are usually considered to be few in number listing merely six forms for the long pronouns and a few more number for the short pronouns(Bamgbose, 1990;Awóbùlúyì, 1992; 2001a; 2001b; Yusuf, 1998).

This is not far from the limitations posed by the mode of analysis employed. Ajongolo (2005)'s analysis was able to provide a longer list of pronouns due to the theoretical framework employed in the analysis. Ajongolo (2005) identifies many short forms of the Àọ pronoun and argues that they are all represented in the lexicon. This clearly shows that Yoruba pronouns are not that few as often portrayed in the pedagogical literature.

The current study has gone a step further by claiming that the various forms of the pronoun can be formally accounted for beyond the usual native intuitive properties that are only accessible to competent native speakers. While Minimalist Program used in Ajongolo (2005) can spot many out forms of the pronoun in use, it does not provide descriptive adequacy on the ranking of use.

In all, the study reveals50 forms of the pronoun which are lexically distinguishable from one another with their lexical entries accessible to the computational system. Despite the fact that there exist homophonic forms, the interaction between the morphosyntactic and morphophonemic features ensures ambiguity is minimised among the overlapping phonological forms in the lexicon.

4.6.2 Long and short pronouns and the spell-out domains.

These pronouns are considered to be spelled out due to features that are too technical for the language users' knowledge (Chomsky 1999, 2001). It has also be argued that spell-out can be multiple contrary to Chomsky's basic idea (Uriagereka, 1999;

Grohmann, 2003, 2006, 2007; Marušic, 2005; Citko, 2014). The midway about the twoextremes is the sub array proposal which gives room for delay in spell-out with the assumption that the spell-out domain can be regulated by the available arrays in the construction Richards (2011). All these have implications on Yoruba pronouns. Yoruba has two sets of pronouns: the independent (long) and the dependent (short) pronouns. Are they spelled out in the same domain?

The current study shows that First, dependent and independent pronouns are different kinds of pronoun.By this finding, it is necessary to affirm Ajongolo (2005) proposal that the dependent (short) and independent (long) forms of the pronoun are uniquely represented in the lexicon. Neither is expected to be derived from the other, though phonologically related. Their morphology are syntactically encoded; therefore, they are all basic lexical elements and should thus be recognised that they lexically differ from one another.

4.6.3 Syntactic analysis of the logophoricpronoun

Logophoricity had at a time been discussed in the literatureeither as verbal affixes or as full pronominal forms (Hedinger, 1984, Sells, 1987; Culy, 1994; Hyman & Comrie, 1981; Wiesemann, 1986; Stirling, 1993; 1994; Manfredi, 1995; Minkoff, 2004and Nau, 2006). The major problem with logophoricity comes from its challenge it poses to syntactic analysis. Even while it functions as a pronoun, it often fails to comply with strict clause-bound anaphoric condition that applies on other forms of the pronoun (Stirling, 1993; Minkoff, 2004; Nau, 2006). As a result of this, Adesola (2005) argues against logophoricity in Yoruba. Japhet (2012) mentions it in Ìlàjẹ, but it could not be properly identified. It has the same form with the third person independent pronoun, òghun, however, it has a different syntactic distribution because it can only be used in the same environment with dependent pronoun. This is a clear case in Ìlàjẹ because independent pronouns are not usually being used in the TP if they are not in conjoined or modified (Japhet, 2012:33).

Apart from Adesola (2005) and Japhet (2012) there has been a serious dearth of research in Yoruba logophor until this study commenced. However, the current study clearly shows that syntactic analysis of the logophoric pronoun is possible in Ìlàjẹ. Despite the fact that logophoricity is basicallya discourse-related phenomenon; the study has been

able to analyse the logophoric pronoun, *òghun* ($3sg_{log}$), by providing the morphosyntactic features specification through which the pronoun is licensed. Logophoricity has been traced to the application of saliency on the third person singular pronoun. However, the saliency in the logophor being proximal is different from the distal type generally associated with all the independent pronouns (Japhet, 2012).With the implementation of Feature Geometry (Harley 1994; Harley and Ritter, 2002a, b), logophoric feature was identified in the syntax of Ìlàjẹ pronouns as [+Definiteness, +Logophoric] specification of the saliency feature of definiteness for the logophor while the non-logophoric independent form is having distal definiteness marked [+Definiteness, -Logophoric]. The dependent third person singular form neither has this definiteness nor the logophoric use, hence it is marked [-Definiteness, -Logophoric].

4.6.4 The Long and the short forms of pronouns

Yoruba pronouns naturally fall into two broad sets: the disyllabic and the monosyllabic ones. These sets receive different labels from different scholars. They are generally known as long and short pronouns (Awóbùlúyì, 1992;2001a; 2001b). This is also known as independent and dependent pronouns respectively (Yusuf, 1998; Ajongolo 2005; Taiwo, 2007; Taiwo and Japhet, 2019; Japhet, 2020). For Bamgbose (1990), the disyllabic set are called pronominals (a noun-like functional category) while only the monosyllabic set is to be considered as true pronouns. Akinlabi (1985) on the other hand classifies the disyllabic set as the true pronouns while their monosyllabic counterparts are known as pronominal clitics as also affirmed by. Manfredi (1995).

A clearer distinction is made between the two sets of pronouns in the current study putting to rest the different controversies among the earlier classifications of the pronoun. Usingthe decomposition proform analysis, Ìlàjẹ dependent (short) pronouns and their independent (long) counterparts are classified into the phi-form and DP-form types respectively.this conforms to Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002) proform hypothesis where a pronoun is either of DP proform, phi proform and NP proform.

4.6.5 Syntactic diversity between the long and short pronouns

A long pronoun usually behaves like a noun in that it can be modified or be conjoined to other nominals while such are not possible with the short pronouns. This is the main reason long pronouns they were classified as pronominals (Bamgbose, 1990). To

strengthen this diversity, Ajongolo (2005) and Taiwo (2007) show that the two sets of pronouns are separately represented in the lexicon contrary to the derivational hypothesis claiming that one set is derived from the other (Awobuluyi,1992, 2008, 2013).

While the syntactic uniqueness of the two set of pronouns are attested in syntax, the reasons for such diversity in their syntactic behaviour have not been formalised. This is one of the feats sustained in the current study. This unique syntactic difference between the two sets of pronouns have not been given any satisfactory theoretical reason. Different computational triggers are responsible for the use of dependent pronouns and their independent counterparts in syntax revealing two kinds of computations. The dependent pronouns basically comprising the phi features will undergo phi-driven computations in the *v*P phase. Phi-driven computations only require the valuation of phi and case features on the pronoun. In Ìlàjẹ, only the dependent pronoun is selected for this operation in order to ensure minimalism in operations. However, where saliency is required, such as in logophoricity or indemonstratingthe saliency in different person features of conjoined pronouns, the independent forms of the pronoun are selected.

4.6.6 Resumptive pronouns

Resumptive pronouns are products of feature stranding in partial extractions. The preverbal analysis of the high-toned ó in focused subjects has challenged one of the cases often assumed to resumptive pronouns in Yoruba (Awobuluyi, 2009; 2013; Japhet, 2009; 2012; Taiwo, 2007; Olumuyiwa, 2008). This leaves the possessive pronoun as the only undisputed case for pronoun resumption in Yoruba (Ajayi,2019). In this study, two types of resumptiveswere identified. The first takes the form of the third person singular dependent pronoun, *rẹ̀*. This is described to be a stranded phi-feature after definite saliency has been extracted. This occurs in possessor extraction and extraction of the complement of & (conjunction) in a &P (Conjunction Phrase). The second resumptive is spelled-out as the third person singular independent pronoun, *òghun*. This happens when extra emphasis is added to the focused item (pronoun). The derivation will have to project aTopP (Topic Phrase) which copies the person and number features of the pronoun in [Spec, FocP]. This movement will allow the saliency feature to be stranded in the [Spec, FocP] since focussing is highly salient.

4.6.7 Lexical entries of pronouns

The major setback in early studies on Yoruba pronouns generally comes from either theoretical limitations or lack of focus. Most of the works only included pronouns in the analysis when their primary focus eventually required. The tendency of letting out aspects that are not necessary to the main focus cannot be denied. On the other hand, the current did not only focus on pronouns, but also employed different theoretical tools to cover new areas in the analysis. The formulation of native speakers' lexical entries on pronouns is a new area in pronoun analysis in Yoruba. The lexicon enriched with lexical entries of the pronoun equips a native speaker on their use. All personal pronouns have person and number features as their basic features. The gender feature is not marked in Ìlàjẹ just as it is in Standard Yoruba. However, the independent pronoun has in addition to its phi features a saliency-marking definiteness feature which determines the pronoun's appropriateness for some syntactic positions where Ìlàjẹ bars the dependent pronouns.

Each form of the pronoun is therefore encoded with specific information on its lexical entry on which selection is based during syntactic derivation. This prevents the computation from selecting a wrongpronoun form for a particular syntactic derivation.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter clearly distinguishes the dependent pronouns from their independent pronouns as different items though related in forms. The chapter also provides striking features that identify the third person singular logophoric pronoun, *òghun*, any other forms of the third person singular pronoun in Ìlàjẹ.

In the morphosyntactic feature geometry account of the pronouns,the independent pronouns differ from their dependent counterparts due to their saliency feature specification. Saliency is triggered as [±Def] feature specification of definiteness depending on whether the pronoun has enough discourse emphasis to be salient or not. In the feature geometry tree, saliency node dominates the salient [+Def] (for independent pronouns) and the non-salient [-Def] (for independent pronouns). In order to distinguish between the third person singular independent form, *òghun* ($3sg_{def}$), and its logophoric counterpart, *òghun* ($3sg_{log}$), the [+Def] feature is further specified as [-logophoric] for the former and [+logophoric] for the latter. Saliency is therefore generally specified using [±Definite, ±Logophoric] feature complex.

In syntax, Ìlàjẹ pronouns comprise of the projection of phi features (for their dependent forms) but the projection of saliency feature (for their independent forms). With the number feature at its base, the pronominal projection in Ìlàjẹ further projects participant features for the first and second person pronouns (dependent and independent forms) and saliency for the independent forms. The resumptive forms are simply the PF representation of stranded features when some features are selectively copied in syntactic movements.

This chapter has shown that each pronoun is a unique syntactic object selected like every other syntactic object in the lexicon. Each form of the pronoun has its representation in the lexicon, based on a well-specified lexical entry which determines its spell-out form. This complex lexical entry reveals the complexity within a pronoun regardless the simplicity of its structure in the PF.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the findings in the research. It concludes the entire study with recommendations for further studies and the highlight of the major contributions to the body of knowledge in Yoruba studies.

5.1 Summary

This study was mainly undertaken to determine the morphosyntactic features of personal pronouns and how their syntactic derivations express these features. It was designed to satisfy four main objectivesto provide solutions to the research questions.The entire study is therefore summarised in conformity with these objectives.

5.1.1 Dependent and independent pronoun subgroups in Ìlàjẹ

In order to properly distinguish from each other what have been known as long and short pronouns, the study identifies the major difference between Ìlàjẹ dependent and theindependent pronouns as the application of a morphosyntactic saliency feature. This saliency feature is present in nouns and independent pronouns. This explains why independent (long) pronounswere considered pronominal or grammatical nouns by Bamgbose (1990). Therefore, nouns and independent pronouns are [+Sal] being more salient than the dependent (short) pronouns, which are labelled [-Sal].

5.1.2 Logophoricity in Ìlàjẹ third person singular pronouns

Thestudy distinguishes the third person singular logophoric pronoun, *òghun* from its non-logophoric counterparts in Ìlàjẹ. Although the logophor, *òghun*, is similar in form to the nonlogophoric third person singular pronoun, *òghun*, the former (the logophor) differs from the latter (non-logophoric) in saliency feature specification. The third person singular logophoric pronoun, *òghun,*is specified as [+Def, +Log], while its non-logophoric

*òghun*is specified as [+Def, -Log] in Ìlàjẹ. The third person singular dependent pronoun forms are distinguishable from one another through their saliency feature specifications [±Def, ±Log].

5.1.3. The resumptive pronouns in Ìlàjẹ

The third objective was also realised by identifying features that determine the derivation of resumptive pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. Thestudy identifiesthe major features specifications of the two resumptive pronouns,*rẹ̀* and *òghun,* as [+Poss, -LTS] and [+Foc,-Emph] respectively. Each of these pronouns indicatesthe morphophonemic repairs of their syntactic strandingby combining their syntactic positions features ([+Poss] for possessive position; [Foc] for focused position) with the respective phonemic recovery strategy ([LTS, tone syllable;

5.1.4. Lexical entries of Ìlàjẹ pronouns

In order to produce the lexical entries of Ìlàjẹ pronouns in the way it can represent the native speakers' intuition guiding the computation system, thestudy compiled all the morphophonemic and morphosyntactic features that can help in distinguishing the pronoun forms from one another. They were first grouped into subclasses: dependent pronouns (singular, plural, subject, object and possessive forms), the independent (singular and plural forms), the logophoric form and the resumptive forms. Each pronoun form in these subgroups was identified based its morphosyntactic features (person, number, saliency, case) and morphophonemic features (tone, syllable, emphasis). The lexical entries substantiate the vast knowledge of the native speakers as they explore the lexicon for syntactic derivations.

5.2 Conclusion

In addition to the above-mentioned achievements, this study has been able to provide research-based findings that are useful for further studies in Ìlàjẹ and other dialectsof Yoruba on the internal structure of the personal pronouns.

5.2.1 Contributions to knowledge

This study has shown the uniqueness in the dependent and independent sets of Yoruba pronouns being not only different in use but are also distinct in the lexicon despite their comparative phonological relatedness. This debunks the argument that one set of the

pronoun is derived from the other (Awobuluyi, 1992, 2008, 2013). On Bamgbose's (1990) *pronominal* analysis of the independent pronouns as grammatical nouns, the current study reveals feature that links these pronouns (called *pronominal*) with nouns as a result of the current application of the saliency feature which is present in nouns and independent pronouns but absent in dependent pronouns. This study reveals the importance of the least studied pronoun forms in Yoruba (the logophoric pronoun and the resumptive pronouns) and how their analysis can contribute to Yoruba syntax contrary to the view held in Lawal (2006) and Adesola (2005). This study has provided a novel methodology in the analysis of Yoruba pronouns, indicating the fact that personal pronouns in the language are being underexplored where their analyses are restricted to case, number, gender and person. Other specific contributions are outlined in this section.

First, features of the pronoun are organised in the lexicon. Just as already being generally proposed for pronouns in Harley and Ritter (2002a), the internal structure of Ìlàjẹ pronouns can be explained systematically and in clearer terms that show the composition of the features and their relevance in syntax.This is contrary to the norm in Generative Grammar where features are considered unordered. Therefore, the morphosyntactic features of pronouns should not be merely taken as bundles of features, but as bundles of well-ordered features. Each pronoun has internal organization through which the features are ranked. This ranking is directly consequential on the morphemic and syntactic forms of the pronoun.

Second, both phi- and saliency-driven computations are needed in pronoun derivations. While the general conception in Phase Theory requires the phi features as the major items needed for pronoun syntax, the current study reveals instead two major features bundles in the computation of pronouns in Ìlàjẹ. The first type is the phi-features bundle which comprises person and number. The second bundle is saliency-marking features bundle which basically marks definiteness but can further specify it as [±definiteness]where contrast is required. While phi features are needed in general derivation usually within the TP, saliency-driven computations are usually required for independent pronouns in computation going beyond the TP.

Third, the subarrays and spell-out forms of the pronouns are very important. In relation to Richards' (2011) subarray and the PIC2 of Phase theory, Ìlàjẹ distinguishes the

dependent pronounsfrom their independent counterpartsusing the spell-out conditions. Dependent pronouns are spelled out in the *v*P hence they cannot be copied out of the *v*P. On the other hand, the independent pronounsare spelled-out in the *d*P within the DP phase. The independent pronouns are already fully formed in their DP's before they merge with any verb. This explains why they do not demonstrate the verb-object tone polarity in the object position. It also provides a structural cluewhy they do not get assimilated to the preverbal elements (subject high-toned (SHT) element and the negator) within the *v*P.

Four, the saliency feature is applicable toboth nouns and independent pronouns. The present study reveals the affinity of features between the independent pronoun and a noun. Both of them have saliency feature which makes it possible for them to undergo saliency-driven computations.It is an important theoretical implication of Bamgbose's (1990) *pronominal* analysis of the independent (long) pronouns as grammatical nouns.This study identifies the positive specification of the morphosyntactic saliency feature as the major factor responsible for the similarity noted between nouns and independent pronouns in Bamgbose (1990).

5.2.2 Recommendations

The current study clearly indicates the need for further rigorous analyses in the pronoun system beyond mere classification of case, number, person and gender. More studies will reveal other features that have not been fully explored like saliency.

The use of the pronouns across social groups (age, occupation, class, gender) anddiverse situations is yet to be studied in the dialect. Understanding the social use of pronouns in language has a lot of benefits to the society and to its linguistic studies. Just as Ikotun (2003) has done for Ijesa pronoun, there is need for to study the social of Ìlàjẹ pronouns in order to provide additional perspectives to the current grammatical analysis.

The pronoun category has not been specifically studied in many regional dialects of Yoruba.The possibility of having more features to discuss on Yoruba pronouns depends on how many of its regional dialects have been fully described. Therefore, it is important to replicate the study in other dialects of Yoruba so that facts that are peculiar to those dialects can be dug out for a better analysis in standard Yoruba.

Generally, there is need for corpus study of Yoruba pronouns. Pronouns shift and change are usually detected where there is constant investigation on the frequency of their use. Languages that have regular check on the use of pronouns are in realizing linguistic innovations on the pronouns.While studies like these continue in the dialects, there should be regular corpus studies on the use of Yoruba pronoun to detect which forms are dying out, which forms are being replaced and which forms are just emerging.

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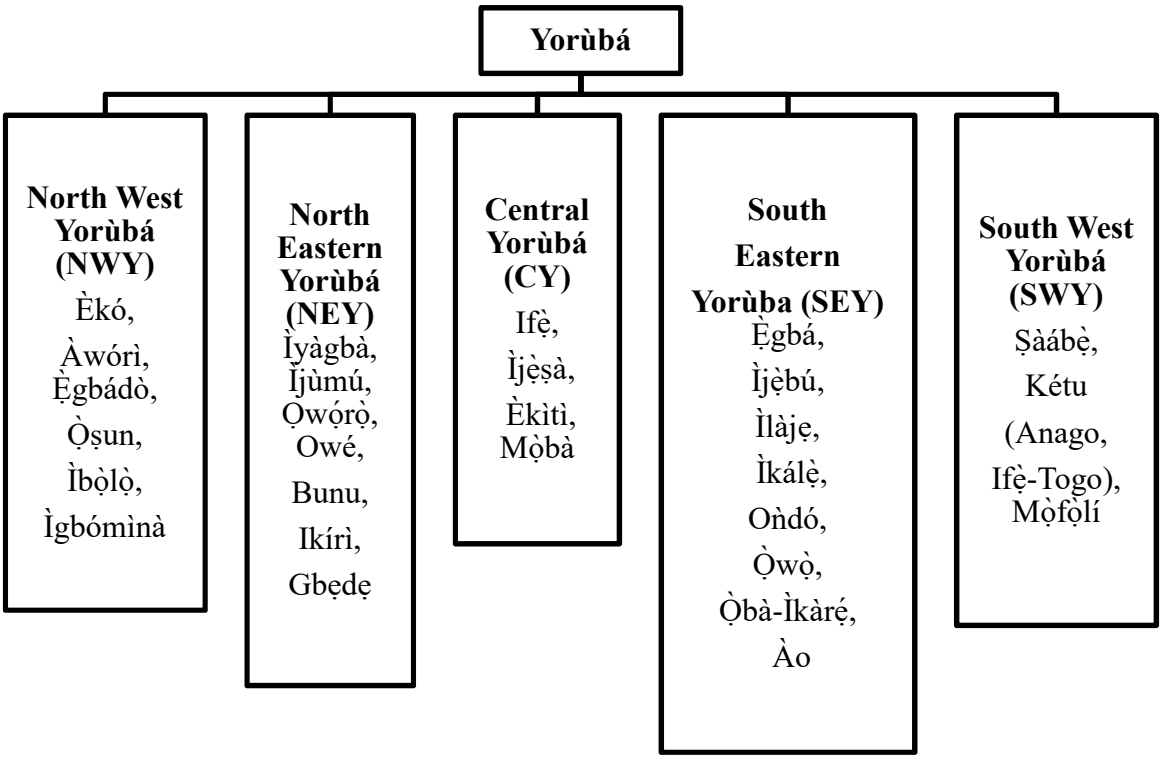
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ÌLÀJẸ IN RECENT YORUBA DIALECTS CLASSIFICATIONS

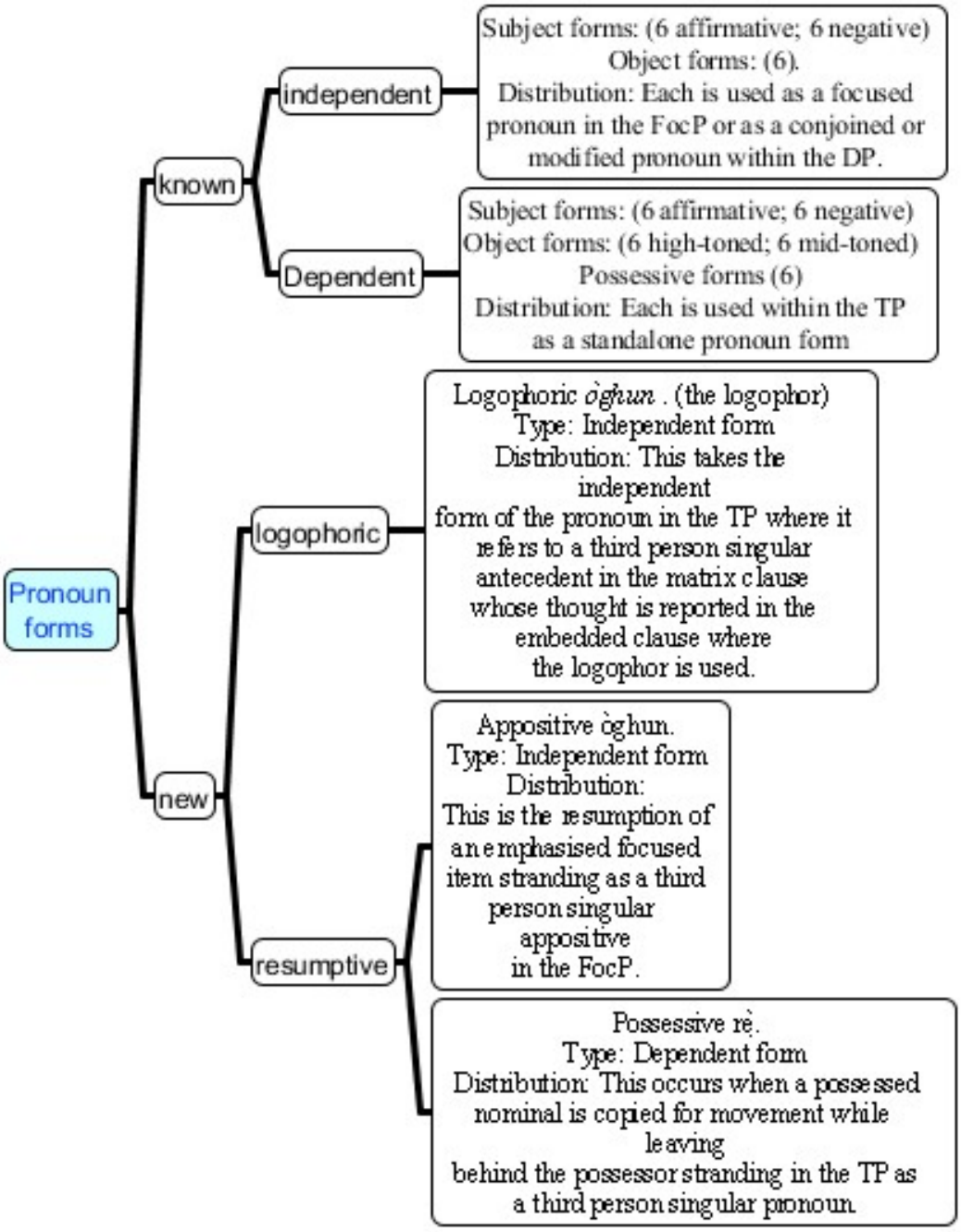


(Adapted from Ajọ́ńgọ́lọ̀, (2005:6))

MAP


OKITIPUPA LOCAL GOVT. AREA
OGUN STATE
LEGEND
Local Gove
Towns and
Farmsteads
Secondary
Primary Sc
Rivers/Stre
To Ilutitun
To Okitipupa
IGBOKODA

. APPENDIX 3:A CONCEPT MAP OF ÌLÀJẸ PRONOUNS



The summary of the forms of the pronouns already attested in the dialect are termed **known** while those newly identified in this study are termed **new.** Source:The concept map was designed by the researcher in the course of the study. There is no copywrite infringement in its use.

APPENDIX 4: CHECKLIST OF ÌBÀDÀNSYNTACTIC PARADIGM

CHECKLIST OF ÌBÀDÀNSYNTACTIC PARADIGM

Created by IBALSG (ÌBÀDÀN LANGUAGE STUDY GROUP)

Basic information:

Name of language: …….....……

Number of dialects: …….....

Name of Informants:

.....……

……

……

……OGUN……

The dialect where the data are drawn: …….....

Place: …….....

Date: …….....

Interviewer/Researcher: …….....

Name of corresponding audio file: …….....

Comment/Observation: …….....

…….....……

……..……

……..……

……..……

……..……

Note: The interviewers advised and should feel free to add more grammatical samples to the list provided here, because the list provided here is not exhaustive. You should be conscious of idiomatic use of some expressions appearing to be used literarily.

Greetings:

Good morning ma/sir	Responses	
Good afternoon		
Good day		
Good evening		
Good night		
Good bye		
Welcome		
Well done		
I greet you		

Noun phrases: This section is designed to test the noun phrase to ascertain among other things headedness, location of the head, the numbers of modifiers allowed in nominal phrases. These test examples are arranged in such a way that will enable you to have more than one structure in one construction because the nouns are not altogether the same.

One house/car/cat/ book	
Two houses/cars/cats/ books	
Three houses/cars/cats/ books	
Four houses/cars/cats/ books	
Five houses/cars/cats/ books	
Six houses/cars/cats/ books	
Seven houses/cars/cats/ books	
Eight houses/cars/cats/ books	
Nine houses/cars/cats/ books	

Ten houses/cars/cats/ books	
Many houses/cars/cats/ books	
Some houses/cars/cats/ books	
A few house/car/cat/ book	
Few houses/cars/cats/ books	
The house/car/cat/ book	
An egg/orange/apple	
All the houses/cars/cats/ books	
Some houses/cars/cats/ books	
This man/car/cat/ books	
That man/car/cat/ books	
These men/cars/cats/books	
Those men/cars/cats/books	
That tall man/house/	
Those tall men/houses/	
This tall man/house	
These tall men/houses	
This long car/table/street	
That long car/table/street	
These long cars/tables/streets	
Those long cars/tables/streets	
This big house/table/car/book	
These houses/tables/cars/books	
That houses/tables/cars/books	
Those houses/tables/cars/books	
A man/table/car/cat/rat	
An umbrella/plate/spoon/cloth	
A block/yam/goat/boy/girl	
An egg/umbrella/underpants/eye	
A bag/shoe/city/town/hall/farm	
An award/army/ant	
The tall man/boy/girl/house/tree	
The shot man/boy/girl	
The yam/shoe/goat/plate/table/car/book	
The short man/boy/story/holiday	
The short men/boys/stories	
That tall man/boy/building/house	
Those tall men/boy/building/	
This tree/house/shirt/bucket/bicycle/	
The tree at the backyard/	
The tree in the house/compound/village	
The book on the table/freezer/TV/chair/car/bag	
the books on the table/freezer/TV/chair/car/bag	
The car in the garage/house/market/yard	
The cars in the garage/house/market/yard	
My head/book/child/money/car/cloth	
Your (sg) head/eyes/book/child/money/car/cloth	
Your (pl) head/eyes/book/child/money/car/cloth	
His head/eyes/book/child/money/car/cloth/house	
Her head/eyes/book/child/money/car/cloth/house	
Our heads/eyes/books/children/money/cars/cloths/houses	

Their heads/eyes/books/children/money/cars/cloths/houses	
It head/eyes/jaw/back/house/bag/yam/rice/beans	
Ayo's chair eyes/jaw/back/ house/bag/yam/rice/rag	
John's book eyes/jaw/back/ house/bag/yam/rice/bag	
The book of John/boys/elders	
The house of Ayo/boys/elders	
Ola's house eyes/jaw/back/ house/bag/yam/rice/bag	
Fola's shop eyes/jaw/back/house/bag/yam/rice/beans	
Olu's car/book/bag/school/friend/yam/rice/beans	
Ola's brother/aunt/uncle/father/mother	
Ola's sister/aunt/uncle/father/mother	
The book/car/chair/house is mine	
The book/car/chair/house is yours (sg)	
The book/car/chair/house is yours (pl)	
The book/car/chair/house is ours	
The book/car/chair/house is theirs	
The book/car/chair/house is his/hers/its	
The book/car/chair/house is my own	
The book/car/chair/house is your own (sg)	
The book/car/chair/house is your own (pl)	
The book/car/chair/house is our own	
The book/car/chair/house is their own	
The book/car/chair/house is his/her/its own	
That is good/bad/tall/short/loud/rough/kind/fine/nice	
This is good/bad/tall/short/loud/rough/kind/fine/nice	
Those are good/bad/tall/short/loud/rough/kind/fine/nice	
These are good/bad/tall/short/loud/rough/kind/fine/nice	

Demonstratives (Yoruba Data)

The demonstratives in this group are of two types: demonstratives pronouns and the demonstrative used as qualifier of nouns e.g

a) This is good

b) This book is good

The uses of these two types are very important to understanding the nominal domains.

Èyìí/èyí/ yìí'this'	
Mo fẹ́ èyí I want this.	
Wọ̀nyìí these	
Mo fẹ́ ra iṣu wọ̀nyìí *I want to buy these yams.*	
Ìyẹn/ yẹn'that'	
Ìyẹn dára. *That is good.*	
Ilé yẹn dára *That house is good.*	
Ìwọ̀nyẹn/ wọ̀nyẹn'those'	
Ìwọ̀nyẹn dára *Those are good.*	
Ìwé wọ̀nyẹn ni mo fẹ́ Those books are what i want	

Pronouns

I saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
You (sg) saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
He/she/it saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
We saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
You (pl) saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
They saw/killed/ate/bought the cat	
The man saw/called/loved me	
The man sees/calls/loves me	
The man saw/called/loved us	
The man sees/calls/loves us	
The man saw/called/loved you (sg & pl)	
The man sees/calls/loves you (sg & pl)	
The man saw/called/loved him/her/it	
The man sees/calls/loves him/her/it	
The man saw/called/loved them	
The man sees/calls/loves the m	
It's me	
It's him	
It's you (sg. & pl.)	
It's a dog	
Olú rí mi/ẹ/i/wa/yín/wọn Olu see me/you/it/us/you(pl)/them Olu saw me/you/it/us/you(pl)/them	
Olu rí ẹ/ọ Olu see you Olu saw you	
Olú rí i Olu see it Olu saw it	
Olú rí wa Olu see us	
Olú rí yín Olu see you Olu saw you	
Olú rí wọn Olu see them Olu saw them	
Mo rí Olú I see Olu I saw Olu	
O rí Olú You (sg) see Olu	
Ó rí Olú HTS see Olu He/she saw Olu	
A rí Olú We see Olu We saw Olu	
ẹ rí Olú you (pl) see Olu You saw Olu	
Wọn rí Olú	

They see Olu They saw Olu	
Èmi mà ni 1spE ? FM I am	
Ìwọ mà ni 2sgE ? FM You are	
Òun mà ni He/she ? FM He/she is	
Àwa mà ni 1plE ? FM We are	
èyin mà ni 2plE ? FM You are	
Àwọn mà ni They ? FM They are	
Olè/ ó/ Olú jí owó mi Thief/HTS/Olu steal money my The thief/He/Olu stole my money	
Olè/ ó/ Olú jí owó rẹ Thief/HTS/Olu steal money your The thief/He/Olu stole your money	
Olè/ ó/ Olú jí owó rẹ̀ Thief/HTS/Olu steal money his/her The thief/He/Olu stole his/her money	
Olè/ ó/ Olú jí owó wa Thief/HTS/Olu steal money our The thief/He/Olu stole our money	
Olè /ó /Olú jí owó yín Thief/HTS/Olu steal money your(pl) The thief/He/Olu stole your money	
Olè/ó/Olú jí owó wọn Thief/HTS/Olu steal money their The thief/He/Olu stole their money	
Tèmi dà/ńkọ́? Mine QV Where is mine	
Tìrẹ dà/ńkọ́? Your QV Where is yours	
Tirẹ̀ dà/ńkọ́? His/her QV Where is his/hers?	
Tiwa dà/ńkọ́? Our QV Where is ours	
Tiyín dà/ńkọ́? Your QV Where is yours	

Tiwọn dà/ńkọ́? They QV Where is theres	
Èyí/ ìyẹn dára This/ that good This/ that is good	
Ìwọ̀nyí/ ìwọ̀nyẹn dára These/ thosegood These/ those are good	

Specific Noun phrases for Noun class constructions

The old man	
The very old man	
The very old ugly man	
The book	
The black book	
The long black book	
The two long black cars	
That long black beautiful car	
The young short black hunter killed two small white bird	
The two big lovely green bag	
My new ruler/shoe/car/plant/ear	
My two new ruler/shoes/car/plant/ears	
My small dirty leg/eye/hand two new ruler/shoes/car/plant/ears	
My two very small dirty ugly legs/ears/cars/clothes/yams	
Our two very small dirty ugly legs/ ears/ cars/ clothes/yams	
Your very small dirty ugly legs/ears/cars/clothes/yams	
The small red feather/bucket/chair/cup	
The two small ugly red feather/bird/	
The two tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
Our two tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
Your two tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
His/her two tiny ugly black feather/mat/cutlass/dog	
Theirtwo tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
Those two tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
These two tiny ugly black feathers/mats/cutlasses/dogs	
This two tiny ugly black feather/mat/cutlass/dog/fan/book	
That two tiny ugly black feather/mat/cutlass/dog/fan/book	

Basic Sentences

I am coming	
You/they/the men are coming	
He/she/it has come	
We/they/the boys have come	
I am drinking water	
You/they/the boys are drinking water	
I will come	
You/they/the boys will come	
You/they/they boys would come	
Ola ate rice/yam/corn/cat/dog/meat/fish	
Olu/the man ate yam/the meat/the food	
Ola/the man has eaten	

Ola/the man will eat	
Ola/the man is eating	
Fola has eaten	
Fola will eat	
Fola is eating	
Ola can eat	
It is raining	
Ola is running	
I want him to come	
He wanted me to come	
He has not come	
Boy have not come	
He is not coming	
They are houses	
He is in the house	
They are in the market	
Their children are at the farm	
The rope is longer than that	
I brought water for him	
I have been called	
He has been called	
This is my hut	
I am a farmer/student/boy/girl/politician	
I am not a farmer/student/boy/girl/politician	
Olu arrived yesterday/last week/year/month	
Olu did not arrive yesterday/last week/year	
Olu did not arrive since yesterday	
Olu will arrive tomorrow	
Olu will not arrive tomorrow	
Olu has not arrived	
Olu is coming	
Olu is already coming now	
Olu is coming right now	
Olu is here	
Olu is there	
I heard that Olu arrived yesterday	
Olu should arrive tomorrow	
I Want Olu to arrive tomorrow	
I don't know if Olu will arrive tomorrow	
It is good that Olu came	
It is not good that Olu should not come	
I said Olu should come	
Let him return quickly	
Olu said I should go out	
Olu said you should go out	
Olu said he/she/it should go out	
Olu said you (pl) should go out	
Olu said they should go out	
Olu is tall	
Olu sleeps	
The boy feels the pain	

He has cold	
Do you recognize him?	
Our father appreciated the work	
I hear the music	
John has a car	
You deserve the man	

You may have to try move stative verbs to discover more about their behaviour. Examples are:
adore, agree, appear (seem), appreciate, be (exist), believe, belong to, concern, consist of, contain, cost, deny, depend on, deserve, detest, disagree, dislike, doubts, equal, doubt, equal, feel, hate, have (possession), hear, imagine, include, involve, know, lack, like, loathe, look(seem), love, matter, mean, measure, mind, need, owe, own, possess, promise, realize, recognize, remember, resemble, satisfy, see, seem, smell, sound, suppose, surprise, taste, think (opinion), understand, want, weigh, wish, etc.
other examples of action verbs include: a*ssigned, attained, considered, decided, delegated, directed, enforced, established, generated, hired, hosted, improved, increased, managed, merged, oversaw, produced, replaced, restored, drafted, edited, enlisted, explained, expressed, joined, judged, listened, marketed, outlined, promoted, analysed, conducted, examined, gathered, invented, organized, summarized, persuaded,*

Imperative/Command sentences

Sit down	
Let's sit down	
Let him sit down	
Let them sit down	
Let the boys sit down	
Go out of here	
Get out	
Come here	
Come here	
The man said go out	
Go out of my office	
Leave me alone	
Please leave me alone	
Little kids, come out here	
Little kids, I said come out here	
I said, stop beating him	
Stop shouting	
Don't cry	
The boss said you are up	
Come in and eat your food	
Don't be late today	

Interrogative constructions

You saw me.	
Did you see me?	
You saw him	
Did you see him?	
You have come	
Have you come?	

He has reported to work	
Has he reported to work?	
He killed the dog	
Did he kill the dog?	
Olu arrive yesterday	
Did Olu arrive yesterday?	
Or, did Olu arrive yesterday?	
The name of that one is rat.	
What is the name of that one?	
Your name is Ola	
What is your name?	
He came yesterday	
When did he come?	
John came	
Who came?	
He sat at the back	
Where did he sit down?	
He saw a cat.	
What did he see?	
Olu is there.	
Where is Olu?	
Olu will arrive today.	
Which day did Olu leave?	
He will return tomorrow	
When will he return?	
He would return by road	
How would he return?	
He will ride bicycle or derive car	
Will he ride bicycle or drive a car?	
Olu is coming from Ìbàdàn	
Where is Olu coming from?	
He did something	
What did he do?	
Olu went to greet Ayo	
Who did Olu go to greet?	
Olu is greeting someone	
Who is Olu greeting?	
You said something.	
Why did you say that?	
The thief stole his money in the class	
Where did the thief steal his money?	
The car that Olu bought is over there	
Where is the car that Olu bought?	
Olu that bought the car is here.	
Where is Olu that bought a car?	
The name of the place that Olu bought his car is Lagos	
What is the name of the place that Olu bought his car?	
Ilé bàbá dà House baba QV “where is baba?	
Àbúrò rẹ ńkọ́ Younger your QV	

“how is your younger sibling?	
Ọlá ńkọ́ name QV “How is Ola?	
Gbogbo ibi tí mo ní kí o lọ ńkọ́ All place that I said that you go QV “How about all the places I asked you to go?”	
Gbogbo nǹkan tí mo ní kí o rà dà All something that I said that you buy QV “Where are all the things I asked you to buy?”	
ìyá rẹ ńkọ́? mother your QV “How is your mother?”	
Ìwé rẹ dà Book your QV “Where is your book?”	
Ilé ńkọ́? House QV “How’s family?	
Olú sọ pé ìwé rẹ dà? Olu say that book your QV “Olu said where is your book?”	
Kí ni...? What is ...? Kí ni o fẹ́?What do you want?	
Ta ni...? who is ....? Ta ni ó wà ní ilé? Who FM HTS be prep home Who is at home?	
Àwọn wo ni ...? who are ...? Àwọn wo ni ó kan ilẹ̀kùn? Who are those knocking?	
Ibo ni ...? Níbo ni ...? where is ...?	
Níbo ni ìwé mi wà? Where FM book my be Where is my book?	
Níbo ni Olú wà? WhereFM Olu be Where is Olu?	
Ibo ni o ń lọ? Where FM you cont go Where are you going?	
Ìgbà wo ni ...? Nígbà wo ni ...? when is ...?	
Ìgbà wo ni Olú dé? Time which FM Olu arrive When did Olu arrive?	
Nígbà wo ni o jí? When which FM you wake When did you wake up?	
Èlòó ni ...? How much is ...?	
Èlòó ni owó mi?	

How FM money my How much is my bill/money?	
Èlòó ni iṣu mẹ́ta yìí? How FM yam three this How much is these three yam?	
Èlòó ni owó mọ́tò? How FM money car How much is the transport fair?	
Èlòó ni mo jẹ ẹ́? How many FM i owe you How much did i owe you/how much am i owing you?	
Mélòó ni...? How many FM How many is/are...?	
Mélòó ni o fẹ́? How many FM you want How many do you want?	
... Mélòó ni...? How many is/are...?	
Ọmọ mélòó ni ó dé? Child how many FM HTS arrive How many children arrived?	
Ṣé dáadáa ni ...? QM good FM ... Hope all/someone is fine?	
Ṣé dáadáa ni o wà? QM good FM you be Are you doing fine?	
Ṣé àláfíà ni ...? QM peace FM... Hope all is well?Yes.	
Ṣé àláfíà ni ilé wà? QM peace FM house be Hope all is well at home?	
Ǹjẹ́ Olú dé ní àná? QM Olu arrive prep yesterday Did Olu arrive yesterday	
Ṣé Olú dé ní àná? QM Olu arrive prep yesterday Did Olu arrive yesterday?	
Àbí Olú dé ní àná? Or Olu arrive prep yesterday Or Olu arrive yesterday	
Olú dé ní àná bí? Olu arrive yesterday QM Did Olu arrive yesterday?	
Ǹjẹ́ Olú dé ní àná bí? QM Olu arrive prep yesterday QM Did Olu arrive yesterday?	
Ṣé Olú dé ní àná bí? QM Olu arrive prep yesterday QM Did Olu arrive yesterday?	
Olú/ajá/ìwé dà/nkọ́?	

Olu/dog/book QV/QV Where is Olu/dog/book?	
Ibo ni Olú/ìwé/mótò/ẹran wà? Where FM Olu/book/car/animal come Where is Olu/book/car/animal come	
Ọjọ́ wo ni Olú lọ? Day which FM Olu go Which day will Olu return?	
Ìgbà wo ni Olú máa padà? When FM Olu will return When will Olu return?	
Báwo ni Olú ṣe máa padà? How FM Olu do will return How will Olu return?	
Olú máa gun kẹ̀kẹ́ ni, àbí ó máa gun mọ́tò? Olu will ride bicycle FM, or HTS will drive car Will Olu ride bicycle or drive car?	
Ibo ni Olú ti n bọ̀? Where FM Olu has cont come Where is Olu coming from	
Kí ni Olú lọ ṣe? What FM Olu go do What did Olu go to do	
Ta ni Olú lọ kí? Who FM Olu go greet Who did Olu went to greet?	
Kí ni o torí sọ bẹ́ẹ̀? What FM you for that reason say so What is the reason for saying so?	
Kí ni o ṣe sọ bẹ́ẹ̀? What FM you do say so Why did you say so	

Some Negative Constructions

I didn't see him	
The boys did not see the man	
Olu bought a dress at Ìbàdàn	
Olu did not buy a dress at Ìbàdàn	
Olu did not buy a dress	
They ate together	
They did not eat together	
They ate without eating together	