

Abstract.

A critical review of seven earlier Yoruba grammars (Chapter 1) leads to the conclusion that, in many ways pointed out, these grammars failed to provide an adequate grammar of the Yoruba Verb. This failure calls for a deeper and more meaningful analysis of the Yoruba Verb System which the analysis presented in Chapters 3 - 10 attempts to provide.

In Chapter 3, the syntactic status of the Verb Phrase (VP) is defined; and a distinction is drawn

- (a) between Auxiliary and Full Verb elements; and
- (b) between Bound Verbs and Free Verbs.

Clause types and patterns relevant to the use of verbal elements are defined and listed.

In Chapters 4 to 8, the syntactic distribution of Full Verb elements is discussed in four separate subclasses:

- (i) Single Verb: a Free Verb occurring as the only verbal element in a clause (Chapter 4);
- (ii) Complex Verb: a sequence of two Full Verb elements - of which at least one is a Bound Verb - occurring within the same VP (Chapter 5);
- (iii) Compound Verb: involving the catenation of two Free Verbs within a single VP (Chapter 7);
- (iv) Composite Verb: a sequence of more than two Full Verb elements within the same VP and derived from Complex and Compound Verbs by operations described in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6 deals with the catenation of Full Verb elements with nominalized forms of other Full Verbs.

In Chapter 9, the Auxiliary is discussed in three sub-classes: Pre-emptive, Intensifier, and Modal. The syntactic structure of Auxiliary clusters and the semantic use of Auxiliaries are also discussed.

Chapter 10 discusses the Negation of the VP. Two Negators are recognized: a Primary Negator, KÒ, and a Secondary Negator, MÁÁ. Two syntactic (and semantic) features of Rēinforced Negation and Double Negation are described.

Chapter 11 ("Conclusion") summarises the analysis and points out areas of the analysis that are seen as an original contribution to the study of Yoruba.

A GRAMMATICAL STUDY
OF THE
YORUBA VERB SYSTEM

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The aim of the present work is a descriptive grammar of the Yoruba Verb.

1.01 Underlying this aim are two assumptions:

- (a) that the Verb is of sufficient importance to isolate for a serious study such as the present one may claim to be;
- (b) that the Verb can indeed be studied in isolation from other constituent parts of the clause or sentence of which it forms a part.

We believe that both assumptions are valid.

1.011 With regard to the first assumption, there is little or no theoretical problem: it is a question of one's judgment as to what is sufficiently important to engage one's attention. But our judgment is strengthened in the present case by two facts. First, that there are serious studies of the Verbal elements of several languages made by prominent scholars who must know what they are doing. A few examples may be given for English alone: A. Ota (1962); Martin Joos (1964); F. R. Palmer (1965); R. L. Allen (1966); and Peter S. Rosenbaum (1967)¹. Secondly,

¹Throughout this work, references are made only by author's name, year of publication and, where applicable, relevant pages. Full titles of work, as well as names of publishers, are given in the Bibliography at the end.

that the present writer's own practical experience, in the learning of Yoruba as well as the teaching of it to foreign students (but particularly in the latter), shows beyond doubt that the mastery of the language depends to a great extent on the mastery of the structural details and stylistic uses of the verb forms. Someone else's experience is significant in this respect. F. R. Palmer states unequivocally:

"The most difficult part of any language is usually the part that deals with the verb. Learning a language is to a very large degree learning how to operate the verbal forms of that language . . ." ²

That the Yoruba Verb is difficult not only for the learner but for the descriptive linguist is probably the factor underlying the fact that the description of the Verb is always the weakest and most inadequate part of all existing Yoruba grammars. This inadequacy is spotlighted in the "Review" below and in other parts of the present work.

1.012 The second assumption raises a theoretical problem. If the whole language is itself a system, with intricate inter-relationship of one part to others, to what extent is it valid to describe just one of the constituent parts of that

²F. R. Palmer (1965), p.1.

system unless one already has a clear and adequate representation of the system as a whole? This question becomes more relevant if one assumed, as the present writer does, that no existing Yoruba grammar approximates in any satisfactory way to an adequate representation of the over-all system of Yoruba. The question asked here is, however, largely theoretical. Practical as well as theoretical answers can make it less relevant than it seems. A theoretical answer, for instance, is that each component part of the system may itself be a mini-system with its own internal structure, much of which can be described without reference to other component parts. In that case, what may be difficult to describe, in the absence of an adequate over-all representation of the system, is the network of external relations of one component part to the others. In the practical sense, it can be argued that an adequate over-all representation of the entire system has much to gain from a deeper study of the component parts, which may, in fact, be only tentatively set up to start with. This question is explored with greater attention in 2.2 below.

1.02 In summary, the scope of this work is the Yoruba verb as a linguistic sub-system. As such, it has its own internal structure in addition to external relations to other sub-systems. The external relations, especially when one probes the semantic

aspects of the verb, could easily lure the analyst into greater depths of the other sub-systems than may be desirable. It must be conceded that it is difficult to define what limits are "desirable"; such limits may be imposed rather by practical convenience than by theoretical necessity. In the present work, an attempt is made to achieve a just combination of both.

1.1 A REVIEW OF OTHER STUDIES OF THE YORUBA VERB

1.10 There is no existing work known to us that is exclusively devoted to the Yoruba verb.^{**} All grammars of Yoruba, however, contain statements (or chapters) on the Yoruba verb. In this review, works that do not claim by their titles to be "grammars" of Yoruba are also examined; this is because they devote sections to the Yoruba verb or the ~~distinction~~^{description} of most of the elements that are considered in the present work.

1.11 SAMUEL CROWTHER (1852)

1.111 Summary: Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba verb may be summarized in the following outline:

I There are two principal types of verbs³:

a) "Auxiliary and Defective Verbs"; b) Verbs*.

³ Nowhere does Crowther commit himself so specifically. But by recognizing a set of "Auxiliary and Defective Verbs" (p.18), it is implied that these are different from other verbs (here distinguished as 'Verbs*'). It is to this other set of 'non-auxiliary, non-defective' verbs that his verb classification on p.27 of his work refers.

** We have seen the abstract of A. Gladele Awobuluyi's Ph.D. thesis : Studies in the Syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb (Columbia Univ., 1967) A review of this is not carried out here because the present study was completed before we knew about the thesis.

II (a) Auxiliary and Defective Verbs:

"it is by them the principal verbs are conjugated"

List: bá ('should, would'); gbòddò; ibá ('should, would, had'); jẹ or jẹki; kí ('may'); lè; má or maṣe; ma ('be doing'); ti; tillẹ; yio or o.

(Crowther's spelling forms are given here; and his English gloss is given only in cases where they may be confused with other items),

A participial form n is recognized. Though listed separately from "Auxiliary and Defective Verbs", it is linked to a verb of that set. After citing examples of the occurrence of n, Crowther goes further:

"Ma, one of the defective verbs, is also used instead of

n in the second future time: Iwo yio ti ma lo ki ó tó dé,

"Thou wilt have been going before he arrives . . ." (pp.19-20).

(b) Verbs*.

There are four types of 'Verbs*': (p.17)

- (i) Active: Verbs of this type "govern the objective case"; e.g. rí in Ó rí mi 'He saw me'.
- (ii) Passive: which "are formed simply by prefixing a or nwon to the active verbs"; e.g. A rí mi 'I am seen'.
- (iii) Neuter: in this type, "the sense is complete, without any substantive following"; e.g. subu in Mo subu 'I fell down'.

(iv) Compound Active Transitive, "formed by the help of a preposition . . . The nouns or pronouns which they govern are always placed between them"; e.g. bá...wí in "Babba bá mi wí, (My) father blamed me".

Two major sets of paradigms are set up with no comment at all on why these have been considered the only relevant ones. Though he does not expressly state it, the paradigms show that his verb forms express "Mood" and "Time".

Mood may be: indicative, imperative, potential or subjunctive for the verb ní 'to have' and it is further pointed out (p.27): "The conjugation of the verb ni is a sufficient example for any active verb"

Earlier (p.18), Crowther refers to the "infinitive mood which expresses anything in a general and unlimited manner". The exponent of the "infinitive mood" is there given as kí. Unless Crowther intends to say that there are two distinct categories of 'mood' in the Yoruba Verb system, his idea on the subject of 'mood' is confused. One cannot simply add a fifth term of 'mood' to the four given above because, apart from the fact that he does not list an 'infinitive mood' in his paradigms, the exponent of his 'infinitive mood' is again given as the exponent of the Imperative Mood in the paradigm on p.28.

Time may be: Present, past or future and, in the subjunctive mood only, may also be perfect.

In the indicative mood, two future times are recognized; and four 'Time' paradigms are given:

Indicative Present: (no auxiliary) + Verb* form (e.g. Emi ní)
" Past : aux. ti + " " (e.g. Emi ti ní)
" 1st Future: aux. o + " " (e.g. Emi o ní)
" 2nd Future: aux. o + ti + " " (e.g. Emi o ti ní).

'Perfect Time', the paradigms illustrate:

Subjunctive Present: bí + (no aux.) + Verb* form (e.g. Bí emi ní)
" Past: bi + aux. bá + Verb* form (e.g. Bi emi bá ní)
" Future: " + aux. o + " " (e.g. Bi emi o ní)
" Perfect: " + aux. bá + ti + Verb* form (e.g. Bi emi bá ti ní)

There is no need to set out the other paradigms since these two sufficiently show the weakness of the grammar. But it should be pointed out that the Imperative Mood is not marked for 'Time' at all; while the Potential Mood (exponent = aux. lè) is marked only for 'Present Time' and 'Past Time'.

Paradigms for 'Passive' verb forms are identical with those for the 'Active' forms as regards Mood and Time: the only difference between both sets of paradigms is the replacement of 'emi' and other pronominal forms of the 'non-passive' clauses by a in the 'Passive'.

Paradigms are set up for 'Participial Forms' of which there

are three types:

1. 'Participial Form' I; exponent: n before the 'Verb* form'
(e.g. Emi nní 'I am having')
2. " " II; exponent: bí + [n+bá] + [n + Verb* form]
(e.g. Bi emi n-bá nní 'If I were having')
3. " " III; exponent: bí + [n+bá] + [n+ti] + [n+Verb*
form]
(e.g. Bi emi n-ba nti nní 'If I have
been having').

1.112 Criticism:

Crowther's grammar is the first known grammar of Yoruba. All subsequent grammars, including the present work on the Yoruba Verb, owe much to it, however indirectly. The shortcomings pointed out below are intended not to underestimate its importance but to spotlight the deficiencies of its presentation of the Yoruba Verb in order to justify the need for an alternative presentation.

On the credit side, it should be noted that it attempts to be explanatory even if the explanation of the syntactic build-up of the verbal clusters as well as of the meaning is, by present-day standards, not sufficiently explicit. The explanatory nature of it may be seen from the following descriptions of the 'Future Time' auxiliaries:

"The first future describes time indefinitely, and is expressed by the sign yio, often contracted to o prefixed to the verb . . ."

"The second future, which describes an action to be finished before another future action or event, is expressed by the auxiliary ti added to the sign of the future yio, and sometimes tah, 'done', is also added to the verb . . ."

Examples are given in both cases to illustrate the points made (p.21). His intimate knowledge of the language as a native speaker probably facilitates the 'explanation'; but no other native speaker writing on the Yoruba Verb has been able to see, like him, that ma (the 'defective verb') and n (the marker of 'Participle Forms') are variant forms the distribution of which (as shown in 9.0 below) is syntactically conditioned.

Bamgbose (1966) finds fault with 'traditional' grammars on three main grounds: that

- (i) their categories are based on notional criteria;
- (ii) they transfer categories from other languages; and
- (iii) their categories are usually 'undefined and uncoordinated'.⁴

He specifically mentions Crowther as guilty of the first two.

For reasons given in 2.4 below, we do not consider Bamgbose's first

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Bamgbose (1966), pp.3-5. In Bamgbose (1967), p.9, these faults are reduced only to the first two. This may be significant because in Bamgbose (1966), there is no strict definition, for instance, of the verb or of a preverb: examples are given but there is no reason given why those, and only those, elements belong to the sub-class, or why some of them are there and not in other syntactic classes.

objection as enough justification for rejecting a grammar as inadequate and unsatisfactory. We agree with Bamgboṣe, however, that, in Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba Verb, categories are transferred from Latin and from 19th century grammars of English to describe Yoruba. A few examples may be given here.

(i) The inclusion of jẹ́ and jẹ́ kí, 'let', in the class of 'Auxiliaries and Defective Verbs' is not based on the facts of Yoruba syntax. The syntactic form of the clauses or VPs in which all the other 'Auxiliaries and Defective Verbs' operate shows that they are immediately followed by forms of Crowther's other class, the 'Verb*.' But jẹ́ or jẹ́ kí is always followed by a clause (not a 'Verb*') which must have an initial NP. It seems that the 19th century practice of classifying let as an auxiliary element induced Crowther to include its Yoruba translation equivalents in the class of 'Auxiliaries and Defective Verbs'. (As late as 1931, English grammars were still classifying let as an auxiliary. Cf. George O. Curme: Parts of Speech and Accidence, section 12 . 1 a, p.64; section 50.2a, p. 224; or Syntax, section 43,IA: let as a modal auxiliary; section 46: let as a causative auxiliary).

(ii) Crowther's description of the 'Future Time' auxiliaries quoted above shows his reliance on a Latin model into which he moulds Yoruba. This model provides for a 'first future' and a 'second future'. That it is not a Yoruba model is plain: if there is a 'first future' with exponent yíò and a 'second future' with exponent yíò ti ... (tán),

there is no reason why there should not be a 'third future' with exponent yíò ma..., etc., until all auxiliary forms that combine with yíò ('first future') are exhausted. Nor is the model, as far as we know, provided by English: while 'will, shall...', Crowther's translation forms for yíò (p.18), have often been regarded in English grammar as 'auxiliaries', the sequence 'shall have' (Crowther's translation of yíò ti, p.21) has never, to our knowledge, been regarded as 'second future' in English grammar. There is evidence, on the other hand, that in 19th century Latin grammar, there were two Future Tenses: Future I and Future II. Thomas Arnold's Latin Prose Composition (revised by G. G. Bradley) is an example of a 19th century Latin grammar that recognised Future I and Future II.^{4*}

(iii) Crowther's 'infinitive mood' is another evidence that he transfers categories from 19th century English grammar. The 'infinitive mood' is meant to embrace all Yoruba forms that are translation equivalents of the English construction 'to + verb' which was commonly regarded as the 'infinitive' form of a verb. Since this example also well illustrates the next point, it will be more fully discussed below.

4*

We wish to express our gratitude to the Rev. E.C. Rowlands who read through this work and first pointed out to us Arnold's 19th century Latin grammar as a possible influence on Crowther.

Our second criticism of Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba Verb is that the methodology by which it is worked out is inconsistently applied, and the result contains many internal contradictions. To illustrate Crowther's methodological inconsistency, we take his treatment of the 'infinitive mood'. There are three exponents of the 'infinitive mood':

a) ki:- Wi fun u ki o se e: Tell him to do it, or

Tell him that he may do it.

b) 'Nouns derived from verbs by the prefix i ... when two verbs follow each other'; e.g. Mo wa iwo nyin: I come to

see you, or I come a seeing you.

c) ati, lati:- Ojo npete atiro: The rain is about to fall..

(pp.18-19. All examples and their translation forms from Crowther).

Crowther describes the distribution of a) and b) as being syntactically complementary:

'a)' occurs 'only when the second or third person is desired to act in the name of another'; 'when the first person expresses his own action', ki is excluded: and

'b)' then occurs.

There is a semantic connection in Yoruba between b) and c): all constructions of the type b) may be paraphrased by the l^áti form of c), /
though not

vice versa. But there is no link at all between either (b) or c) on the one hand and a) on the other. The only link in Crowther's grammar is that they are all translated by the English 'to + verb'. This so-called English 'infinitive' form is matched in Yoruba by members of three different syntactic classes: in a), it is matched by a clause signalled by kí; in b) by a verbal form; and in c) by a noun phrase (henceforth shortened to NP).

Crowther's methodological inconsistency becomes plain if we consider his analysis in any of two possible ways. Firstly, we may complete the partially set-up paradigm in which Crowther allows only 2nd and 3rd person forms and it will become plain that 1st person forms are equally permissible:

1st Person	<u>kí</u> <u>n</u> se é (sg.)	kí <u>a</u> se é (pl.)
2nd Person	kí <u>o</u> se é	kí <u>e</u> se é
3rd Person	kí <u>o</u> se é	kí <u>wón</u> se é

(pronominal forms are underlined).

It is not being hard on Crowther to take examples of 1968 Yoruba to prove the inconsistency of a mid-19th century grammar: the examples given by him actually include (on p.18) 'kí a, "that we may"...' which his rules of distribution affecting a) and b) deny in the two sentences that follow his examples. Similarly, mo (1st person pronoun) can be replaced by any other pronoun

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(or noun), 2nd Person or 3rd Person, singular or plural; and the substitute nominals will still be 'expressing their own action'. Crowther's lack of methodological consistency may be demonstrated in an alternative way. Granted that he has to use the English model 'to + verb', however misguided that may seem to us today; one cannot say that it is the same syntactic element 'to + verb' that occurs in:

a) Send him to call him; and

b) I come to see you.

(Crowther's own examples, pp.18-19). According to his own alternative English forms, 'to + verb' has two different meaning types. His English alternatives are:

for a) Send him that he may call him;

for b) I come a seeing you.

These alternatives, in fact, have exactly the same syntactic structures as the Yoruba a) and b). Consistent adherence to the English model would have produced a more satisfactory analysis.

There are many examples of internal contradiction in the analysis. Here, three simple and straightforward examples will be given.

1. After carefully, and justifiably, avoiding the use of 'tense', talking of 'future time' rather than 'future tense', he remarks (as if succumbing to a pressure that makes the recognition of a

'tense' system inevitable):

"I have used the word TIME instead of TENSE, because tense is a nicer distinction of times; which distinction I do not think can always easily be made in the Yoruba language. However, a little explanation about the use of the tenses may be serviceable.

The present and past indefinite tenses are both alike ... examples given .

From these examples it will be seen that some attention is required to know which tense is used." (p.20)

The paradigms later set up have nothing to say about 'tense': they all illustrate 'mood' and 'time'. It is contradictory to demonstrate that a system of 'tense' is not necessary in the description of the language and to proceed immediately to make a 'servic^eable' 'explanation about the use of tenses' in that language. It is a less obvious but equally bad contradiction to cite identical forms and say they belong to different 'tenses' with no further justification.

2. Even more direct than the above is the description of 'kí a, 'that we may'...' as an exponent of the 'infinitive mood' and the description in the next sent^{ce}ce:

"This mode of expressing the infinitive is used only when the second or third person is desired to act in the name of another."

The form a 'we' is, of course, first person. Though a is not listed among Crowther's pronouns, evidence that it was in use in his own time as a 'contracted form' of the 1st person, plural, pronoun is given by Bowen⁵.

3. Another very simple piece of evidence of internal contradiction is the setting up of an 'infinitive mood' expounded by ki' (p.18); the failure to recognize it as one of the terms of 'mood' which are listed as Indicative, Imperative, Potential, and Subjunctive (pp.22-29); and the assigning of its exponent, ki', to the Imperative Mood without formally equating the Infinitive with the Imperative Mood. Of course, such equation would be impossible because ki o pe e in Ran a ki o pe e (Crowther's example of the occurrence of the 'infinitive mood') is not a full sentence as the examples given for the Imperative Mood are.

Our fourth and final criticism of Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba Verb is that it is descriptively inadequate. Two major examples of descriptive inadequacy may be given.

1. The eleven 'auxiliary and defective verbs' listed by Crowther (p.18) may co-occur in various combinations to form clusters before 'Verb*' forms. In his paradigms illustrating 'Mood' and 'Time', a few such clusters are listed:

yio ti; le ti; ba ti; n-ba n; n-ba nti n.

5

T. J. Bowen (1858), p.18 of the 'Grammar of the Language' section.

There are, and were in the 19th century, many more combinations of these auxiliaries.

2. A fairly large number of Crowther's non-auxiliary verb (i.e. 'Verb*') forms co-occur in clusters, with or without the auxiliaries. Crowther's 'Compound Active Transitive' verb class is one such type of combination. But there are other clusters of non-auxiliary verbs that do not, like the 'Compound Active Transitive', require to be 'formed by the help of a preposition'. An example is found in sentences illustrating the second exponent of his 'infinitive mood', as he says, 'when two verbs follow each other'. This kind of cluster is not examined at all in Crowther's verb system.

Much emphasis has been placed here on Crowther's work because it is the proto-type of a whole class of Yoruba grammars that Bamgboṣe has appropriately labelled 'traditional'⁷.

1.12 T. J. BOWEN (1858)

1.120 Bowen's reliance on Crowther's work is mainly in the Dictionary part of his work; and he acknowledges this in the Preface. Crowther's influence on the Grammar seems to be comparatively small: they reach the same conclusion on the 'moods' (though Bowen is here more consistent than Crowther); and Bowen's ready adoption of the term 'compound active transitive' -

7

A. Bamgboṣe (1967), p.9.

Crowther gives the impression that it is of his own coinage - to describe split verbs like bà...jé and pa...mó, makes it appear that Bowen accepts many points of Crowther's grammar (pp.32-33, parag.147-149).

Bowen's grammar of the Yoruba Verb is, however, much more rigorously worked out than Crowther's; and if both share certain faults, it is not because Bowen's is, in part, a reproduction of Crowther's grammar.

Bowen's methodology is distinct from Crowther's. To start with, his approach to the language is that of a foreign scholar:

"The grammatical principles here presented have been deduced from a multitude of sentences taken chiefly from the lips of the natives". (Preface).

In the analysis itself, his procedure is consistent right through. First, he isolates the form he treats as a verbal element. After that there is no definite order in which the other processes are applied; but in all cases, they are kept apart. These subsequent processes consist of an attempt to trace the etymology of the form or relate it to other forms he deals with elsewhere; an attempt to state the syntactic use of the verbal element; and an attempt to state its semantic use. Even if he is later on going to fit these elements into the traditional model of English grammar, he first takes them in their own right. In parag.127 (p.28), for instance,

before dealing with the 'Auxiliary Particles', he announces his procedure:

"Before exhibiting in detail the forms of expression in Yoruba which correspond to our ideas of mode and tense, we will first examine into the nature and uses of each of the particles by the help of which these various accidents are denoted".

1.121 Summary: Bowen's grammar of the Yoruba Verb may be summarised as follows:

I Verb: may be a 'verbal root' (parag.123, p.27) or an 'Auxiliary Particle' (p.28).

^{They} Both may ^{combine} ~~co-occur~~ in a fixed order: Auxiliary + Verbal root (parag.125)

II 'Verbal root': may be a 'Substantive Verb' or, by implication, a non-substantive verb.

'Substantive verbs' are exhausted in a list of ten items, the characteristic of which is stated as 'expressing existence'

List: m̀be, wà, yà, sí ('chiefly used in negative sentences'), rí (with meaning 'seem'), ni or li (with meaning 'BE'), gbé, di, se (with meaning BE), jé. (pp.40-43).

Bowen's grammatical model makes provision for the categories of Voice, Tense, and 'Mode' in the 'verbal root'.

Voice is Passive or, by implication, non-Passive. (parag.147-149).

Tense has three terms: Aorist or Indefinite; Past; and Future (parag.151). Aorist and Past are either Perfect or Imperfect; while Future is either First Future or Second Future - parag.151. (As in Crowther's case, this subclassification of Future into First Future and Second Future shows the influence of 19th century Latin grammar).

Mode has five terms, the first three of which each have their own peculiar 'auxiliary particles'. The five terms are: Indicative, Optative or Potential, Subjunctive, Imperative and Infinitive. (Parag.150)

III. 'Auxiliary Particles': These indicate the 'modes and tenses' that are set up in the grammatical model (parag.125). In reality, however, they are shown to be exponents of only three 'modes' and no tenses at all (pp.28-32).

(a) 'Auxiliary Particles' of the Indicative: n or m; ti; óò or óò; áà ('substitute for óò or óò'); ni or li (emphatic).

(The double vowel sequences here represent a re-spelling of Bowen's because the diacritic mark used by him is typographically inconvenient in the present work).

(b) 'Auxiliary Particle' of the Optative: ma.

(c) 'Auxiliary Particle' of the Subjunctive: bá; abá or ibá ('which appear to be derivatives of ba' - parag.142); kí.

IV It should be noted that, in his paradigms, Bowen sets up paired Affirmative: Interrogative, as well as paired Positive: negative forms. The former, in fact, has nothing to do with the Verb: only the ultimate clause structure is affected by it; but this in a way underlines his thoroughness.

V Two-constituent verbal forms cited in Dictionary entries.

I - IV represents all that Bowen has to say about the form of the Yoruba verb in the Grammar section of his work. In the dictionary, however, there is a large number of two-constituent verbal forms cited as if they were single lexical items; the fact that they may not be is shown by his orthographic representation of them as split forms.

Examples:- bù...jẹ 'to bite'

bù...sán 'to bite severely, as a dog'

(cf. the single lexical entries bù'... to cut or break...');

dže (our jẹ) 'to eat, to consume...'

sán (our sán) '...to eat dry bread or yam'

'bi...lè-re (li ere)...to question, interrogate'

'bì...lò-hun (li òhun)...to reproach for a fault'

'bi...le-bi (li ebi)...to ask, inquire...'

(cf. the single lexical entries:

bi 'to ask'

èbi 'a question, interrogation

'ère,...a question...'

'òhun,...the voice, speech, a sound'.)

These entries represent sequences of verbal elements; while they may be rendered by single verbal forms in English, in Yoruba they are not single forms, syntactically or lexically.

1.122 Criticism

Like Crowther's grammar, Bowen's tries to force Yoruba into the mould of a pre-fabricated model - more clearly 19th century English grammar than is the case with Crowther's. In spite of his methodological rigour, and with no apparent justification, Bowen easily sidetracks the unfamiliar (in the sense that it is non-Latin based) categorization to which his careful analysis would inevitably lead and easily adopts the Latin-based model of English grammar, with its paraphernalia of Voice, Tense and 'Mode'. When one finds such statements as

- (a) "In Yoruba, as in many other African languages, there is properly speaking, no passive voice. Various forms of speech, however, supply its place." (parag.147, p.32);
- or (b) "The Yoruba language has no participial words... The substitutes to be employed for participles depend on the nature of the sentence." (parag.172, p.39),

it is difficult not to conclude that this is an English-based contrastive analysis of Yoruba and English rather than a descriptive grammar of the Yoruba language.

Like Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba Verb, Bowen's is descriptively inadequate in a number of ways.

In the first place, like Crowther's grammar, it fails to describe the structure of verb clusters (clusters of auxiliaries as well as of non-auxiliary verbs). The failure to consider the structure of non-auxiliary verb clusters leads him to miss an opportunity for useful generalisation in his Dictionary, thus reducing the economy of statement in the latter. The Dictionary is, of course, outside the scope of the present work; but it is pertinent to remark that a grammar which consigns to the lexicon what could be more usefully and more economically handled by syntactic rules is a poor grammar. In the examples quoted from Bowen's Dictionary at the end of 1.121 above, the split forms cited as lexical units are in reality composite forms based on stateable rules of syntax. The rule that produces examples like

'bi...lè-re'

'bi...lò-hun'

'bi...le-bi'

is a highly productive transformational rule. Bowen's inability to see that they are all composite forms constructed by the application of a common rule makes his grammar and the use of his

Dictionary very uneconomical and weakens the generative capacity of the grammar.

In the second place, Bowen's grammar is based on a limited corpus of data collected 'from the lips of the natives'. It is reasonable to predict that if the corpus falls short of what an average native speaker normally acquires as the corpus with which he fully communicates with the rest of the linguistic community, it would be inadequate. Any description based on an inadequate corpus, even when it exhaustively covers the data in hand, is bound to be inadequate as a representation of the whole language. In this respect, any description of a language, even when made by a native speaker, can only be more or less adequate. This seems to suggest that a reasonable degree of tolerance of descriptive inadequacy is required in evaluating any particular grammar. But the inadequacy of Bowen's grammar leads to other faults which only underline the weakness of the grammar of the verb as a whole. Two such faults arising from the inadequacy of data or of observation are enough to illustrate this point.

(i) The reader of Bowen's grammar is likely to be misled by some of his conclusions. For instance, recognizing the 'participial' form, n, but unable to see that this is in complementary distribution with a ma form, he reaches a conclusion which may mislead the reader to believe that oo ('future' marker) does not ^{combine} co-occur with the 'participial' form. He expects that any

such ^{combination} ~~co-occurrence~~ must be in the form of óò n, but when he finds that this is unattested, he concludes:

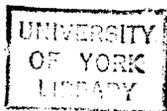
"Although it is not customary to prefix 'n' to verbs in the future tense, no reason is apparent why this should not be done; as yi óò nṣiṣẹ, 'he will be working'". (parag.129, 2).

Adequate observation, or adequate data-gathering, or even a good reading of Crowther, would have easily shown that the combination of the 'future tense' with the 'participle' is in the form of yio ma. In a similar way, he expects the Yoruba equivalent of English

'I shall or will have seen' to be 'emi óò ti ri'. He actually cites this form in order to get a perfect paradigm (parag.126: 'Indicative Forms. Simple'); but in a footnote (p.27), explains:

"This form is scarcely recognised by the Natives".

Adequate data-gathering and good observation would have shown that the verb form rí 'see' requires a following nominal in Yoruba. The reader may be misled in two ways. He may believe that, if native speakers do not recognize the example, it should be dismissed as nonsensical; this would only leave a gap in that particular paradigm with the obvious but misleading suggestion that the 'second future' (i.e. 'óò + ti + verb') does not exist in Yoruba. He may also believe that the other forms are correct: in fact, all of them would be as 'unrecognizable' as the one on which the footnote is written provided a constant tone is maintained on the verb rí.



The forms 'emi rí', 'emi ti nrí', etc. are ^{as} nonsensical as the rejected 'emi óò ti rí'. But 'emi ri', 'emi ti nri', etc. are easily recognized as normal sentences. The tonal change on rí also signals a syntactic change:

ri = rí + 3 Pers. Sg. pon. object.

The only circumstance that occasions his footnote is almost certainly the inadequate observation of the fact that, in this case, a mere tonal change also signals a syntactic change.

(ii) Bowen's grammar is, in parts, confused. In parag.135 (pp.29-30), for instance, he discusses the distribution and use of á 'shall, will', but confuses this with a 'we' which, in the examples he gives, may become á when í of a preceding kí is elided. A higher level of linguistic competence ^ω could have made it plain to Bowen that these are two distinct items referentially, syntactically or even, in their basic forms, phonologically.

Similarly, and with more serious consequences in the misleading of the reader, two homophonous but syntactically and semantically distinct items, ma, are confused as one item. After assigning to ma the meaning 'will or desire' (the same as he assigns to óò), his own example

'nwon óò ma loh, they will go' (parag.137, 1)

should have made him ask why two forms with the same meaning occur together in a direct sequence before a verb. Is it to reinforce the meaning? Why a sequence of these forms only, since no

other synonymous auxiliaries so ^{combine?} ~~co-occur?~~ (e.g. no sequence òò á). This might have led Bowen to the fact that ma which has the same meaning as òò is not the same item as ma which follows it and also occurs initially in Imperative clauses⁸.

1.13 J. A. DE GAYE and W. S. BEECROFT (1922)

This is a pedagogical grammar for 'students reading for the Yoruba Matriculation Examination of the Universities of London and Glasgow, and ... [for] the numerous Public Officers of Nigeria...'. (Preface).

Although the authors make no acknowledgements of help, their debt to Crowther's grammar of the Yoruba verb as well as to Bowen's is clear in almost every paragraph: in the categories they recognize, in their examples of the exponents of these categories, and, in some cases, even in the order of setting out the categories and examples.

1.131 Attempted Summary

It is hardly possible to summarise this grammar of the Yoruba verb without actually reproducing every sentence of ^{it} for it has no definite form and its (only) linguistic goal seems to be no other than an outline presentation of traditional English grammar with traditional English text-book examples that are then translated into Yoruba sentences and, in many cases, non-sentences. (As

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For fuller details of the distinction of the two ma forms, see 9.0 below.

examples of non-sentences, one may take all the 60 translations of English forms on pp.42-44: 'Conjugation of the Verb FERAN, to love').

The following summary is the best we could make of this grammar.

- I Verb: (a) 'expresses action of any kind'. (parag.55, p.34)
- (b) It is marked for Voice, Mood, Tense, Number and Person which have for their exponents 'Auxiliary Verbs and Pronouns'.
- (c) The use of the term 'Auxiliary Verbs' implies that verbs may be 'Auxiliary' or Non-'Auxiliary'. No further mention is made of Auxiliaries in the grammar and no single example is given.

II The verbal sub-categories

- (a) Voice: Active only. 'The English Passive is rendered by the Active, thus:
- I am loved by God, is translated by,
God loves me'. (Even the translations are not given in Yoruba) - parag.56, p.35.
- (b) Moods: (i) Indicative; features: 'assertion or enquiry'
- (ii) Imperative; " : 'command or advice'
- (iii) Subjunctive; " : 'supposition, uncertainty, purpose, wish'

(iv) Potential; features: 'power, possibility, liberty, obligation'.

(v) Infinitive; No features at all.

(parag.57, p.35).

(c) Tenses: (i) Present, Past, Future; each of them may be Indefinite, Incomplete, or Complete.

'The past tense in Yoruba is of the same form as the present' (parag.60, p.35).

(ii) Tenses are marked for 3 persons and 2 Numbers (Sg. Plural). No examples.

(iii) 'Formation of Tenses': 'CONTINUOUS ACTION is expressed by the prefixing of the letter n...'

ti expresses the 'PERFECT TENSE'- parag.62.

(Note that no provision is made for this in (c,i): 'The Tenses are the Present, the Past, the Future.' - parag.58).

'The Pluperfect is the same as the Perfect'.

The verbal sub-categories of Number and Person (listed in I,b above) are not dealt with at all.

III Towards the end of the book, the authors devote a section to 'Word Building', under this, they have a sub-section dealing with the 'Derivation of Verbs'. Twelve rules are listed for the 'derivation of verbs'; none of them is productive but one of them,

(iv), is capable of explaining the syntactic use of a certain group of verbal elements which is here tentatively called 'split verbs'.⁹

1.132 Criticism

By any standard, de Gaye and Beecroft's grammar of the Yoruba verb is a bad grammar. In Bamgbose's words, 'there is an excessive preoccupation with English grammar'¹⁰: categories are set up which cannot be exemplified in Yoruba at all. When Yoruba examples are given for most of the categories that are exemplified at all, the examples are given first in English and then translated into Yoruba.

It is a formless grammar made more unsatisfactory by its internal contradictions as, for instance, in the Tense system.

1.14 I. O. DELANO

1.140 Although I. C. WARD (1952) is chronologically to be listed before DELANO (1958) and DELANO (1965), for the reason that it belongs to another 'tradition' of Yoruba grammar from that of the grammars so far reviewed, it is reserved for review in a later section. Both grammars by I. O. DELANO belong to the Crowther-Bowen tradition and deserve to be reviewed in this section.

⁹ For a full analysis of the verb-type to which this group belongs, see 5 below.

¹⁰ A. Bamgbose (1966), p.4.

1.141 DELANO (1958)

As with Crowther (1852) and Bowen (1858), this is a grammatical appendix to a Dictionary, one major difference being that it is written in Yoruba.

1.141 Summary:

I Verbs are

(a) Transitive or Intransitive

(i) Syntactically defined, a Transitive Verb is

obligatorily followed by either

1. a NP (Delano does not say in what conditions); or

2. ~~φ~~ in a ti-clause (6, b, 1; p.xx) unless the subject

of the verb in the ti-clause is referentially

the same as the subject of the Main Clause

(6, b, 2i, p.xx).

(ii) An Intransitive Verb is not followed by a NP.

(b) Monosyllabic or Polysyllabic. (section 7, pp.xx ff.)

(i) Monosyllabic (no examples).

(ii) Polysyllabic may be composite or non-composite.

non-composite: e.g. duro, tẹle

composite may be

verb + verb: e.g. muso, rígbà

verb + adverb: e.g. jorere

verb + noun: e.g. kọrin, doro, sare

verb + preposition: e.g. bọsi

His sole criterion for regarding these as verb units is that they are often written together (this is made very plain on p.xx, section 7, and in the third line of p.xxi).

II A clause containing a Verb manifests three major categories: Person, Number, and Tense (p.xxii).

The exponents of tense are the auxiliaries. Though these are not listed, it is clear from the conjugational paradigms that they are: ϕ 'zero', \acute{n} , ti , $y\acute{o}$, \acute{a} , $b\acute{a}$, $b\acute{i}...b\acute{a}$, $m\acute{a}a$, $a\ m\acute{a}a$ and the following combinations of them:

$b\acute{a}\ ti$, $b\acute{i}...y\acute{o}\ b\acute{a}$, $ti\ \acute{n}$, $y\acute{o}\ ti$, $y\acute{o}\ m\acute{a}a$, $a\ ti\ m\acute{a}a$, $ti\ m\acute{a}a\ \acute{n}$.

Two negative auxiliaries are given:

$m\acute{a}$, $k\grave{o}$

The latter combines with any of the auxiliary units or combinations listed above to make negative tense forms.

It is particularly stressed that 'tenses' in Yoruba do not express Time: the exponents of 'tense' have no meaning of their own and are used only to influence the meaning of the verb with which they occur. Time becomes evident only when one considers the full sentence and the expression of it is not necessarily to be found in the exponent of 'tense', the auxiliary. (section 9, p.xxii).

III Conjugational paradigms are set out for 32 'tenses':

3 Imperative tenses;

- 15 Positive non-Imperative tenses; and
- 14 Negative "

1.142 DELANO (1965)

1.1420 This grammar is 'intended principally for students studying Yoruba in Nigerian schools' (p.xiv). As a pedagogical grammar, it may not be expected to have any strictly defined form which can lend itself to easy summarizing. However, its aim being to provide 'A Modern Grammar of Yoruba' (its title) for schools, it shows a fairly explicit form which, it is hoped, is reflected in the following summary.

1.1421 Summary

- I Verb: (a) Definition: 'If a word tells us what a person does or something about a thing, or explains or clarifies our thought concerning certain objects, that word is a verb' (p.7)
- (b) May be Transitive or Intransitive.
- (i) Transitive: 'A Transitive Verb denotes an action directed towards a person or thing; it requires an object to complete its meaning' (p.71). (Object is defined thus: 'What is called the OBJECT of a sentence consists of the word, or words, showing the receiver of the action expressed by the verb' - p.62).

(ii) Intransitive: No definition; but note:

'The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Yoruba depends entirely on the use of, or the meaning of, the verb. It does not follow that because a noun follows a verb therefore the verb is transitive ... A noun or pronoun sometimes follows an intransitive verb'. (Chpt. 7.6-7, p.72).

(c) Manifests 'Tense'

'Tense is the form assumed by a verb for indicating time. There are three main divisions of time ...' - Present, Past and Future; 'so there are in grammar three tenses, namely, present, past and future'. (Chpt. 7.18, p.76). A classification is made of 'tense forms showing the nature of time and action'. Even though the grammar formally recognizes only three tenses as the only tenses possible in grammar, it ultimately outlines paradigms for 16 tenses - recognizing the category of Number (singular and plural) for all of them and Affirmative: Negative distinction for almost all.

II Verb classes: There are four classes of verbs in Yoruba, none of which is defined: perhaps the class labels and examples are expected to make clear what they are.

(a) Double Verb: from the examples (p.94), this is a class of any two free verbal elements following each other. So considered, it is difficult to see why lè 'can' should be regarded as participating in this class.

(b) Negative Verb: Nothing unites all four members

of this class: $k\acute{o}$, $s\acute{i}$, $t\grave{i}$, $\underset{|}{s\grave{e}}$. It is claimed that they are 'used in the negative sense', a claim that cannot^{be} validly made for $\underline{s\acute{i}}$ or $\underline{s\grave{e}}$.

(c) Split Verbs: This, like the Double Verb class, is a class of verbs occurring in direct sequence. It differs from the Double Verb only in that 'the object comes between them' (i.e. between its members).

(d) Special Verbs: are of three types (the nature of each sub-class shows in what sense its members are 'special'):

(i) Those that can be conjugated 'like other verbs,' but do not by themselves express complete sense.'

List: $b\acute{a}$, fi , $t\acute{u}n$.

(ii) Those that cannot be conjugated like other verbs.

All four members of this sub-class ($d\acute{a}$, $m\acute{o}$, $m\grave{o}$, $k\acute{u}$) - Chpt. 7.37, p.95 - occur only in the cited idioms.

(iii) Those that are used with special meanings. Surprisingly, the author lists only nine members of this sub-class: he may just as well compile a full list of all metaphoric occurrences of verbal forms in Yoruba!

III Auxiliaries:

An auxiliary is 'A word which has no meaning of its own but is used to help form the meaning of another word ...' (p.11).

There are two classes of auxiliaries:

(a) Verbal Auxiliary: 'reflects the tense form of a verb' (p.11)

List: yio, ti, n.

(b) Operative Auxiliary: 'operates on a noun to become a verb' (p.11). This means that auxiliaries of this sub-class can become verbs if they are followed by the appropriate noun forms.

1.143 Criticism

The first of Delano's two grammars can be rejected straight-away as a weak grammar on the ground of incompleteness alone. While it goes further than any previous grammar in considering clusters of 'auxiliaries', it has nothing at all to say about clusters of non-auxiliary verbals. Even in its treatment of 'auxiliary' clusters, it is untidy, uneconomical, and incomplete. It is untidy in the sense that it represents three Imperative tense forms which have sentences that are completely different in structure from the remaining 29 tense forms and which have 'auxiliary' forms which, unlike the other single-item 'auxiliaries', cannot form negatives by the prefixing of kò. The three so-called 'Imperative tenses' have so much in common with one another and so little in common with the rest that they represent a distinct 'group'. Since it is mainly clause structure rather than the form of the 'auxiliaries' that distinguishes them, the 'traditional' treatment of these as exponents of an 'Imperative Mood' would probably have been less unsatisfactory. It is

uneconomical in that the whole difference between Tenses 1 to 12 and 19 to 32 is the presence of the negator kò in the latter set and its absence in the former. It would have been more economical to recognize a system of Positive : Negative 'polarity' as distinct from Tense, with kò as the exponent of 'Negative'. Finally, it is incomplete in two senses. First, considering the forms presented in the paradigms, there are 15 positive forms to 14 negative forms in the non-Imperative tenses. Of the 14 negative forms, Tenses 20 and 21 negate 20 alone, while 29 and 30 negate only 10. This leaves three positive forms with no negative forms at all; namely 13 (a mǎa), 14 (a ti mǎa) and 15 (ti mǎa ñ) all of which certainly have negative forms in Yoruba. Secondly, the forms presented in the paradigms do not, by any means, exhaust all auxiliaries and 'auxiliary' clusters in the language. For instance, if there are Tenses Future I and Future II formed by yio and á, why not Future III formed by mǎa which can replace either of them before any Main Verb? Or, taking only those forms listed in the work, if yio ti, yio mǎa each mark a separate 'tense', why not á ti, á mǎa? Or, one may ask, if some 2-item 'auxiliary' clusters are Tense exponents, why not all 2-item, 3-item, and 4-item 'auxiliary' clusters in the language?

The second grammar is bad in many ways. We here select only

three general faults and ignore the confusion and minor contradictions deducible from the summary made above.

In the first place, Delano's criteria and verb classes are purely notional and, for that reason always imprecise. His definition of the verb clearly demonstrates this as much as does that of the Auxiliary as 'a word which has no meaning of its own': it is not easy to determine when a word 'has no meaning of its own'.

Secondly, the grammar is clearly based on the model of English. The author seems to have ignored his own warning on page 1 that:

'The grammar of a language is the ... statement of how that language behaves';

'There is no universal grammar; grammar is not a rigid mould into which all languages must be forced'.

He, in fact, forces Yoruba into the 'rigid mould' of a 'universal grammar' (e.g. when he states: 'There are three main divisions of time ...' - Past, Present and Future; so there are in grammar three tenses, namely, present, past and future'. Underlining ours).

Much of his confusion and the vagueness of his statements arise from his attempts to find Yoruba equivalents to categories and subcategories recognized for English by a Latin-based approach to grammar. In this way, his grammar is NOT, as the title claims, A Modern Grammar of Yoruba: it is 'traditional'. Even though he criticises 'early authors' of Yoruba grammars for presenting 'Yoruba in the grammatical framework of English' (parags. 1 and 2 of

Introduction, p.xi); even though he claims also in the Introduction (parag. 9, p.xiii) 'to classify accurately words in different parts of speech strictly according to their nature and behaviour in society of words in Yoruba', he tells the reader in the last two lines of the Introduction:

'The various examples given aim at the DUAL ROLE of helping the student to learn good Yoruba and at the same time to learn good English'.

At no time does he forget this promise. For no other obvious reason than that English has them, Number and Person are considered in the Yoruba verb and their grammatical status (which is NIL!) is compared with English. Delanq's grammar of the Yoruba verb thus gives us the impression of an ill-worked out and poorly presented contrastive analysis of English and Yoruba verbs.

Finally, Delanq's study is incomplete. If in the 1958 study he dwells almost exclusively on the auxiliaries, ignoring the Main Verb itself, in this study he tends to neglect the auxiliaries and concentrate on the Main Verb. Even if both studies were taken to be complementary, the most interesting things about the Yoruba Verb System are still left unsaid. Clusters of auxiliaries and of non-auxiliary verbs and their syntactic as well as semantic uses are, in both studies taken together, given no more than perfunctory treatment.

1.15 I. C. WARD (1952)

This is a grammar for the European learner of Yoruba and it is an 'Introduction' to the language rather than a complete study of it. The modest aims may easily obscure its real contribution to Yoruba grammar. Almost exactly half of the 'grammar' part of the work is devoted to a study of verbal forms.

A summary of this work is much more difficult to make than is the case with the other grammars. It is presented only in bits that would make the Yoruba Verb easier for the European to learn. However, the following summary is attempted for the sole reason that it may spotlight the main contributions of the grammar to a modern linguistic study of Yoruba, and show its weaknesses as well.

1.151 Summary:

The Verb has two 'forms' (the term 'forms' is not defined): the Imperative form and the Simple form. This is the best that can be made of parags. 152-157.

'The Imperative form is the stem of the verb with its inherent tone'; e.g. bẹ́ 'cut'; fà 'pull' (152). The Simple form is 'like the imperative and consists of the stem of the verb alone.' (155)

In terms of the verb unit, this is an unnecessary distinction;

as it turns out, the 'Simple form' as well as the 'Imperative form' describe, not the verb type but, the structure of the clause in which they operate.

II Verbs are Intransitive or Transitive.

A Transitive Verb takes an object. Where the object is a personal pronoun, a characteristic form of the pronoun is selected: this form has its characteristic phonemic shape as well as a characteristic tone. These features are described (parags. 159-161, pp.80-82).

III Tenses: Ward does not consistently use the term 'tense'; she seems to prefer the non-committal 'form'. But, in this respect, she equates 'form' and 'tense'; for instance, in dealing with 'The Progressive ... Form of the Verb', she writes:

'This tense is formed by prefixing a nasal consonant ...' etc. (underlining ours); parag. 165.

The tenses explicitly recognized are:

- (a) Progressive or Continuous:- exponent is a homorganic syllabic nasal on high tone, preceding the initial consonant of the verb (165). Uses of the Progressive are discussed. Here the habitual is confused with the continuous; from talking of 'habitual' meaning and without explicitly recognizing a habitual tense, the

author later discusses the 'habitual' as a 'tense' form in the Negative. (196).

(b) Perfect: exponent is normally ti, but tii is used in the Interrogative and Negative.

(c) Past Progressive: exponent is ti n̄ (i.e. 'ti preceding the continuous'.) (175).

(d) Future: exponents are yio (176) and á (180).

IV 'Polarity': As well as a Positive form (which is implied by the separate treatment in Chapter VII of 'The Negative of the Verb'), a Verb may have a Negative form.

The exponents of Negativity are:

(i) má in the Imperative and 'in two other types of sentences' (193), namely: (i) after gbqdq in a sentence containing that element; (ii) in a noun-clause initiated by kí.

(In Ward's example:

Ó ní kí m má lq 'He said I was not to go',

the kí-clause is not described as a noun-clause; but it is clearly specified as such in 382 (p.168)).

(ii) kò or kì.

However, tense-forms apparently do not have paired positive: negative forms in Ward's grammar. Though only four tenses are listed in the positive, six are listed in the negative; while three of the six have corresponding positive tense-forms, three

have none, and one of the four positive tenses ('Past Progressive') has no corresponding Negative. The six Negative tense-forms are:

- (a) Simple Form Negative (194 ff.) No corresponding Positive
- (b) Habitual Form Negative (196 ff.) No corresponding Positive
- (c) Perfect Form Negative (198 ff.)
- (d) 'Negative of the Form with the Nasal Consonant Prefix'
(Progressive Form Negative?) - 202
- (e) Future Form Negative (203-207)
- (f) Negative Imperative (191).

In addition to these, there is a special class of verbs called 'Negative Verbs' - a purely semantic classification which, as noted in the review of Delano's second work in which this classification is uncritically copied, does not have even the weight of the meaning of individual member items fully to justify it.

'Negative verbs' are kó, şe, sí and tì.

V Internal structure of 'clusters' involving at least one Main Verb:

'These combinations take the form of verb + noun
verb + verb'. (215)

Examples of these are given and, while the first is not discussed, the second is.

VI Verbs of Existence: A list is given of 12 Verbs of Existence or Identity. These are: wà, ni, jé, sí, kó, şe, bẹ (always preceded by m), yà, di (or dà) 'to become', dà (Interrogative Verb),

gbé 'to live', and rí 'to appear'.

VII In many cases, Ward considers the semantic use of many of the verb forms.

1.152 Criticism

This represents the first serious effort to describe Yoruba as a language in its own right. For the first time, it seems that criteria of verb classification are based on the morphology and syntax of the language itself rather than on an English or Latin model. This is clearly stated, for instance in 226:

'It will be seen that the first element of each of the verbal combinations behaves exactly as a verb in that it takes the different verb form particles. Therefore, though these express the relationship shown by prepositions or adverbs in English, they should be considered as verbs, since formally and functionally they are verbs'

In Chapters XIII, XIV and XV, the author gives serious thought to the possible problems of homophony - a problem which earlier and later writers of Yoruba grammar ignore and which contributes a great deal to the confused analysis they produce. However, whatever 'homophony' is covered in Ward's work is indirectly brought in: in all those chapters, the author's aim is to point out the 'various uses' of words which are written with a common spelling even if they are pronounced differently.

In spite of these merits, Ward's study is an unsatisfactory study

of the Yoruba Verb for several reasons.

In the first place, as Bamgboṣe points out:

'In spite of Ward's awareness of the fault of transferring categories (i.e. from one language to another), her classification of certain items appear to be based on their English translation equivalence ...'¹⁰

Regarding si' as a preposition (p.129) and si as a conjunction which 'is probably a verb in origin' (p.153) seems to justify Bamgboṣe's criticism.

Insufficient knowledge of the language or insufficiency of collected data leads to the citing of non-sentences to illustrate grammatical points; e.g.

*Yio rọ̀jò ni ìrọ̀lẹ̀ òní (179)

*Fi ọ̀mọ na lé ẹ̀gbọ̀n rẹ (231)

*Mo nlọ s'oko fun igi (236)

*Ó nii lọ (239)

*Ki l'ounjẹ l'enu? (246)

These are forgivable since the main points of grammar being illustrated do not rely on these examples only: the validity of such points being proved by other examples. But when insufficiency of data or of knowledge leads to a misleading analysis as in 205, it weakens the grammar considerably. In that section, ní (spelt throughout our own study as níí) is given as the suppletive form

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A. Bamgboṣe (1966), p.3, point (ii).

occurring in the 'Future' negative. This element is confused with the partially homophonous ni 'to have'; and several examples of the type - kò ní ilé ilò - are given to illustrate the negation of the 'Future' auxiliaries. The ni in this sentence and in three other examples cited in 205 does not express futurity at all; it is a Full Verb with the meaning 'to have'. As such, it can itself be preceded by the suppletive 'Future' form, as in the sentence - kò níí ní ilé 'lò ('Future' marker underlined). There is a difference of syntax between regular 'Future Negative' sentences and the other mistaken illustrations she cites for futurity. This difference may be seen in the following pair of sentences:

kò níí lò ilé (Future Negative)

kò ní ilé 'lò (Ordinary Negative with Full Verb ni 'have')

The author attempts to explain away the syntactic difference in a footnote:

'The inversion of order of subject and verb in these sentences indicates greater emphasis.' (fn.2, p.100).

But, in fact, this is just a totally different structural pattern using several other non-auxiliary verbs of the type of ni; e.g.

kò tó ilé 'lò^{ll}

Failure to come to grips with this type of problem is acknowledged in 207: 'The use of these forms ... needs further research ...'

ll

For treatment of this kind of structure, see 6.2232 below.

This admission of descriptive incompleteness is further justification for the kind of work we here set out to do.

The author also frankly admits the inadequacy of her grammar in 319 where she attempts an explanation of the use of ní:

Ní 'is used with a number of verbs which can take two objects. The examples below illustrate its incidence, but I have not found it possible to say what this word is. It is frequently untranslatable ...'¹²

The author makes much effort to see that this introductory grammar is not meaning-based. But it is clear that the separate categorization of Verbs of Existence or Identity (cf. Bowen's 'Substantive Verbs' all of which are included in Ward's) is only a semantic categorization. Syntactically considered, some of the verbs (e.g. gbé 'to live', di 'to become') do not behave differently from other verbs.

Finally, we agree with the author that this 'does not pretend to be a complete study of spoken Yoruba'. Perhaps nobody can produce that, single-handed. But the fact that, as in earlier studies, clusters of 'auxiliary' as well as of non-auxiliary verbal elements are not investigated shows that this is nothing near a 'complete study'.

1.16 R. C. ABRAHAM (1958)

1.160 This is, strictly speaking, a 'Dictionary' of Yoruba and

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This structure is fully explained in 5:241 below.

probably need not be reviewed with studies of the Yoruba Verb or of Yoruba grammar. But it has a grammatical appendix, a part of which will be referred to in parts of the present work. In addition to this, since there are few useful studies of Yoruba grammar, emphasis is sometimes placed on the sketchy statements that Abrahm makes in this appendix to his Dictionary. For instance, though Bamgboṣe criticises him for transferring English categories into Yoruba, he is generally satisfied that Abraham's sketch of Yoruba grammar is good. Examples of such endorsement are found in his review of earlier Yoruba grammars when, for instance, he speaks of 'Abraham, whose classification of items is on the whole quite good'¹³. A few lines earlier on the same page, extolling the 'structural approach' to grammar, he writes:

'In a structural approach, the analyst starts from the position that certain formal contrasts can be observed between items and that these contrasts are regularly associated with differences in meaning. This ... approach is most in evidence in Ward and Abraham'.

A close scrutiny of Abraham's treatment of the Verb or verbal elements, indeed of the whole section on Grammar, does not show that his 'classification of items is on the whole quite good'. The following 'summary and criticism' may illustrate how bitty

¹³

Bamgboṣe (1966), p.3 (last paragraph).

and ragged is his presentation of the verb in the grammatical appendix.

1.161 Summary and Criticism

I. The Verbal Noun: Without say^{ing} anything about the nature of the verb in Yoruba, the 'Grammar' (section 'R', pp.xxvi ff.) opens with Verbal Nouns which seem to include any verbal cluster that includes a NP either as an 'Object' or a 'Qualifier'.

All the explanation there is on the 'Verbal Noun' is:

'Many compounds are separable and interpose their object between their two components. Thus:- In the case of the verb rígbà, we say mo rí owo gbà ...' etc. (xxvi).

II. The Internal Verbal Noun: 'The form which I call the Internal verbal-noun is one where a compound verb is converted into its own verbal noun by change of tone internally between the components of the compound'. (xxvi, 2a).

By the definition of 'verbal noun' in I, it is impossible in Yoruba to have a verbal compound 'converted into its own verbal noun': the compound will, as required in I, need to interpose its object between its two components and, as required by II, must do this 'by change of tone internally between the components of the compound'. The examples he gives do not justify his definitions at all; e.g. in σ sè̀sè̀ ní dídè 'bò̀, 'he's beginning to make his way in the world',

there is no 'object', and none is possible. In

'emun yíí tóó (*) mun 'this emun is ready to drink',
we posit '*' to show the position at which an 'object' is possible;
but this is not an object of the verb compound: syntactically,
it is an object of tó and notionally, it is the 'goal' of tó and
the 'actor' associated with 'mun'. This kind of structure is
transformationally derived from simpler underlying structures.¹⁴

III. Imported Verbs: All that is done is to point out that

'Most verbs introduced from other languages artificially
proceed on the assumption that they consist of ... two
elements' - i.e. Verb + noun.

IV. The Tenses: Before listing what are presumably to be regarded
as Yoruba Tense forms, the author observes:

'Some verbs have both past and present tense'; e.g. mọ, ní,
ránfí. With these examples, only his English translations are
'present' or 'past', except in the case of ní where the Time-
adverbial nísisiyí, 'now', collocates with the verb. Since the
author himself does not give this collocation as his criterion,
it would be unfair to put it in for him because it is bound to
expose his classification of Tense to the charge that it is
largely semantic. But even if that were the author's intention,
nísisiyí does not mean 'now' only in the sense of 'the present
moment': it may also cover the senses 'recently' or 'soon' -

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For detailed analysis of it, see 6.224 below

i.e. notional Past or Future.

List of Tenses: (Section 'Y', pp.xxx - xxxi).

Past Tense	:	exponent	- ti
Habitual	:	"	- maa; ti (as in 'Ojú àléjò làá ti ' jẹ gbèsè ...); ni (as 'Èkó là á lo).
¹⁵ Negative Habitual	"	"	- ní (after kì)
¹⁵ Past Habitual	"	"	- ti ní
Future	"	"	- yío, maa, á
¹⁵ Negative Future	"	"	- ní after kò
Future Perfect	"	"	- yio ti ¹⁵ , ti maa ¹⁵
¹⁶ Double Future	"	"	- á maa (why not, then, yio maa, maa maa?)
Negative	"	"	- kì, kò, maa, àì-, aláì-
Imperative	"	"	- 'This is the root of the verb'! (p.xxx)
Subjunctive	"	"	- Kí
Progressive	"	"	- ñ

After these, it is difficult to know whether the author intends the rest of the list to be 'Tense' forms; but certainly they are listed under 'The Tenses' and numbered serially with those listed above. If these others are supposed to be tense forms, then Abraham's other tenses are:

(a) Emphatic sentences

¹⁵ These forms are given only in the body of the Dictionary after the individual entries, not in the 'Grammar'; so clumsy is Abraham's handling of the 'grammar'.

¹⁶ Like others, Abraham fails to see that there are two syntactically and semantically distinct maa forms in Yoruba. If he noticed that, there would be no 'Double Future' at all.

(b) 'Prepositions inherent in the Verb': '... a preposition such as 'to', 'in', 'concerning' may be included in the sense of a verb'. The examples given, e.g.

'wo NP' 'look at NP'; 'tó NP' 'sufficient for NP', show that Abrahams never forgets the English translation equivalents and his classification, contrary to Bangboṣe's praise of it, is not a strictly structural classification based on Yoruba itself.

- (c) MUST;
- (d) Relative sentences;
- (e) Demonstratives;
- (f) ONESELF;
- (g) ONLY;
- (h) VOCATIVE;
- (i) HOW MUCH; etc. etc.

This is a ragged presentation of the Yoruba verb and would not merit any attention were it not that it is sometimes regarded as one of the few analyses of Yoruba that could be used for reference.

1.17 A. BANGBOSE (1966), (1967)

1.170 Of these two, the 1966 work is the basic study. Bangboşe (1967) is a school grammar 'which contains all the essential points about the grammar of Yoruba (of the 1966 work) presented in simple and, as far as possible, non-technical language' (Preface). The only difference that we have noticed between Bangboşe (1966) and Bangboşe (1967), apart from the tabular 'Summary of Tenses' ((1967), p.39), is the use of 'Neutral' (1967) to describe what the earlier study considers as 'Unmarked' on the scale of Transitivity.

Whatever general presentation is outlined here for Bangboşe (1966) also applies to Bangboşe (1967). In the same way, the criticism of the 1966 study applies in all ways to the 1967 grammar.

1.171 Summary:

A. Clause types in which the Verb Group operates:-

I (a) A clause may be Free or Dependant

(b) Either type may be Verbal or non-verbal

This gives four types of clauses:

(i) Verbal Free clause

(ii) " Dependent clause

(iii) Non-verbal Free clause

(iv) " Dependent clause

Since the characteristics of (iii) and (iv) is that they exclude the Predicator (which contains the Verb element), whatever the

- Note: 1. Whenever 'T' or 'X' occurs, the other is obligatory.
2. In Basic structure (i), SP is further subclassified as '± overt subject'. This is of no great importance to the work as a whole; so the sub-subclassification that attends on it is here ignored.
3. It is further stated that T (thematic element) as well as X (obligatory post-thematic element) may be positive or negative.
4. Exponents of the various clause-structure elements are listed.

(b) Systems of the Verbal Free clause

(i) Mood : Imperative or Non-imperative.

Non-imperative may be Affirmative or Interrogative.

(ii) Theme : 1. Thematic or Non-Thematic

(Thematic clause contains 'Subject + ni(+...))

2. Thematic:- Negative Them. or Positive Them.

(iii) Emphasis: 1. Emphatic or Non-Emphatic

2. Emphatic:- Weak Emphatic (+ clause-final óo)

Strong " (+ lengthening of
final vowel of clause).

III The Verbal Dependent Clause

There are seven kinds:

(a) 'ki ... tóó ...' clause;

- (b) ibáà clause;
- (c) ibá clause;
- (d) ká ní clause;
- (e) tí ... bá clause;
- (f) yálà clause;
- (g) P clause (P = predicator). This is initiated by
verbal group exponents: kàkà tí, jú ... ló, dípò.

B. Structure of the Verbal Group itself.

(In this presentation, important faults which do affect the general nature of the whole grammar are pointed out; while shortcomings considered to be of a more general nature are reserved for 1.172 below.)

I The 'Verbal Group' consists of

- (a) 'Verbal elements whose exponents are verbs'
- (b) A nominal element, whose exponent is a nominal group (i.e. NP). ((b) is of no direct interest).

II The 'Verbal elements'

- (a) The Verbal Particle: n'. No criterion is given for isolating this form as a class by itself.
- (b) The Preverb: This class is expounded by verbal elements which 'must be followed by a free verb, and cannot be preceded by a free or a bound verb in verbal group structure'. (p.68).

Three sub-classes of Preverbs are set up, the first two on negatively stated criteria, the third on no stated criterion at all. These are:

1. Restricted Preverbs: 'are mutually exclusive'; 'do not operate in imperative clauses'; 'exclude the verbal particle'. (p.69). List of 12 is given.
2. Unrestricted Preverbs: Unlike Restricted Preverbs, 'do not exclude any preverb, nor do they exclude the verbal particle' (p.70). 26 are listed and sub-classified on the criterion of their distribution with regard to ń.
3. Negators: No criterion is given for setting up this sub-class. There are three negators:

kò/ò; kì; mǎà

- (c) The Bound Verbs: These are 'verbs that must be followed, and can be preceded, by a free verb in verb group structure' (p.74).
- (d) The Free Verb: This is 'the class of verbs that may operate as the only verb in a verbal group' (p.75); and is sub-classified as Strong and Weak on the criterion of the tonal behaviour of the last syllable of a high-tone-junction-contracting verb immediately preceding the free verb. (A high-tone-junction-contracting (henceforth HTJ) verb is a verb that requires a high-tone extra syllable

whenever it precedes certain free verbs; there are 10 such verbs in Yoruba according to Bamgboṣe's 'complete list'. (p.76).

1. Strong Verb: Any free Verb 'before which an immediately preceding high-tone-junction-contracting verb always has a high tone'. (p.77).
2. Weak Verb: Any free verb before which an immediately preceding HTJ_n^{Verb} 'may have a high-tone junction or a zero junction'. (p.77)

(e) The Post-Verb: 'the class of verbs which must be preceded by a free verb in verbal group structure'. 'In verbal group structure, a post verb is the final verb'.(p.78). There are only 5 members of this class.¹⁸

III Verb Sub-classes

There are three sub-classes of verbs depending on whether or not they are, or can be, followed by a Complement (NP).

- (a) Transitive Verbs: 'must be followed by complement' in verb group structure UNLESS the complement which ought to follow is identical with an immediately preceding complement, or a preceding Thematic Element, or a Nominal head. (p.79). All the exceptions to the simple rule are, in fact, cases of transformationally derived sentences or

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Cf. 5.24 below for an alternative handling of these items.

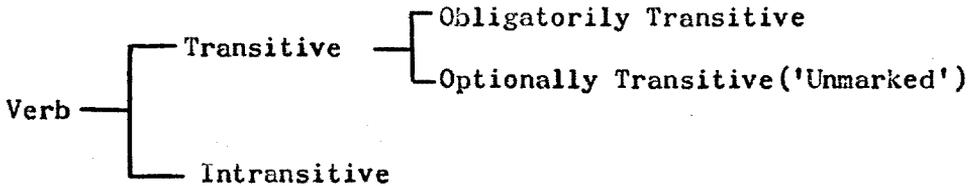
phrases in which the 'transitive verb' operates. These exceptions to the rule would be unnecessary if such structures were handled as transformationally derived structures. Further to this, it is to be noted that the provision 'it is identical with' means 'referentially identical with' - a curious mixture of a notional with a syntactic criterion of classification in a work which strongly criticises earlier grammars for their use of notional criteria in classification.

(b) Intransitive Verbs: 'cannot be followed by a complement' in verb group structure. This sub-class includes all Preverbs, máa (which is said to be the only 'bound verb' that is intransitive), and an open set of free verbs.(p.79).

(c) Unmarked Verbs: ('Neutral Verbs' in Bangboşe (1967). In the 1967 work, this is more clearly defined as any verb 'that may or may not be followed by an object'. (p.31)

It is hard to see why three (rather than two) sub-classes are set up here: verbs can either be followed by the object (i.e. complement) or cannot. In other words, they are either Transitive or Intransitive. The 'Unmarked' or 'Neutral' verbs can be followed by complements and are therefore Transitive. A sub-classification of Transitive may then be carried out on the basis of the obligatoriness or otherwise of the complement. Thus, we should have a

2-term rather than a 3-term system of Transitivity, as follows:



The view taken here is further justified by the fact that both Transitive and Unmarked (Neutral) sub-classes have certain characteristics in common which the Intransitive sub-class lacks. The grammatical characteristics (tonal changes) are exploited by Bamgboṣe to sub-classify each of his Transitive and 'Unmarked' (Neutral) classes.

(1966, pp.82-84; 1967, p.31).

IV The question of Verb-nominal collocations is dealt with; some collocations are separable by what turns out to be an application of certain transformations while others are 'fixed'.

V Systems of the Verbal Group:

Bamgboṣe (1966) recognizes five separate systems in respect of which choice must be made whenever a verb group is used in Yoruba. The 1967 study puts emphasis on only one of these (Tense) but all the others are also implicit in the study of the clause and the Verb Group. The systems are:

- (a) Transitivity: A 3-term system: Transitive, Intransitive, 'Unmarked'. (Note that all others have only two terms and compare with our suggestion in (III) above).

(b) Emphasis: A 2-term system: Emphatic or Non-emphatic.

the exponent of the Emphatic is the preverb mà.

(c) Linkage: A 2-term system: Linked or Non-linked.

The exponents of linkage are dè and si. Occurrence of a linked verb group 'presupposes a preceding clause'. (D8.3, p.90).

The last sentence shows the weakness of the notionally based system of linkage. The preverb a often 'presupposes a preceding clause'; if Bamgboṣe's limited text had contained this, it would no doubt have been picked out as an exponent of Tense because in distribution it is in no way different from 'Tense' elements like yio, á, and in meaning as well as the choice of negative form, it is identical with the exponents of his Habitual Tense.

(d) Polarity: A 2-term system: Positive or Negative.

(e) Tense: A 2-term system: simple or perfective.

Perfective tense-forms are marked by the exponent ti.

1. Simple Tenses: 5 terms in the Positive, 4 in the Negative:

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
(a) Future (marked by: <u>yíò</u> , <u>á</u> , <u>máa</u>).	marked by: <u>kò</u> + <u>níí</u> ; <u>kì+ó</u>
(b) Habitual (" " : <u>máa ní</u> ; <u>a máa</u>).	" " : <u>kò/kì ní</u> ; <u>kíí máa</u>
(c) Continuous (" " : <u>n̄</u> only)	
(d) Unmarked $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Past} \\ \text{Neutral} \end{array} \right\}$ No marker.	" " : <u>kò</u> (or <u>ò</u>)
(^e) Conditional Past (marked by: <u>ìbá</u>)	" " : <u>kìbá</u> ; <u>kìbá máa</u> ; <u>ìbá máa</u> .

In an attempt to explain the sequence of two Negators - namely kí and máa - in the 'Conditional Past', the grammar postulates a 'Double System of Polarity'. This is also used as an explanation of the occurrence of máa after kò within the same verb phrase when any one of the following five verbal elements are also present in the clause : ìbáa, gbòòdò, kí, lè and féréfè. It seems clear that these sequences of two Negators pose a special problem of description; but for reasons stated elsewhere in the present study¹⁹, we think that the "Double System of Polarity" falls short of providing a satisfactory description or explanation of these sequences.

2. The Perfective Tenses: The terms and markers are the same as for the simple Tenses, the only difference being that tí - the 'perfective marker' - is present in the 'perfective' tenses.

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See 10.12 below

1.172 Criticism

Two reviews of Bangboṣe (1966) have appeared in print²⁰ and we are to some extent indebted to both. These reviews are, however, of the Grammar as a whole; and because they do not concentrate sufficiently on Bangboṣe's analysis of the 'Verb Group', we attempt the following critical review of the Yoruba Verb as represented in Bangboṣe (1966) and (1967).

In criticising Bangboṣe's two grammars, it may be pointed out that he himself cannot entirely escape the charge he levels against others that earlier grammars relied on notional criteria. As pointed out in the above summary of his 'Transitive Verb' class, transitivity is to some extent notionally defined. Perhaps if a grammar ultimately has to account for the 'meaning' of an utterance at one point or another, it cannot avoid 'notions'; but Bangboṣe is so hard in his criticism of others on this point

²⁰ E.C. Rowlands (1967); N. V. Smith (1967).

that one would not expect him to introduce 'notions', however indirectly, at the earliest stages of what promises to be a 'structural' classification. Similarly, while he rightly accuses others of transferring categories from other language models into the description of Yoruba, he himself does the same thing in what is probably a worse way by fixing Yoruba into the mould of an artificial grammatic model (Scale and Category) - a model which has since then been rapidly expanding to cope with the expression of meaning in natural languages.²³

It may also be pointed out that both grammars lack precision of statement and economy of presentation. As an instance of the former, it is sufficient that in dealing with the 'verb group' at no point does Bamgbose make clear what the 'verb' is. Smith's review has made much of this point and there is no need to discuss it much longer here.²⁴ But it may be pointed out that, in an incidental note on the verb (given as an example to illustrate structuralist description to non-specialist readers), Bamgbose (1967, p.10) points out:

'For example, any word in Yoruba that can take the prefixes à, àl and ń is a verb'.

This is an illustration with a different purpose from rigorously

²³ For evidence of this expansion, see M.A.K. Halliday (1966); 1967 (a); 1967 (b); 1968 (forthcoming).

²⁴ N. V. Smith (1967), p.94.

defining a 'verb': it would be unfair to take it as Bamgboṣe's clarification of the vaguely defined class which he regards as 'verbal elements, whose exponents are verbs' in the 1966 study (p.67). The 1967 definition would exclude his 'preverbs', some of his 'Free Verbs' (e.g. wà 'be'), and all his 'post verbs'.

As an instance of the lack of economy of presentation, it may be pointed out that the classes 'Strong' and 'Weak' Verbs could be avoided altogether if the syntactic rather than phonological structure of what Bamgboṣe regards as 'HTJ-Verb + High Tone + Vb2' had been considered; but N. V. Smith rightly observes 'the basis of categorization (in the Free Verbs) is phonological not grammatical'²⁵ if by 'grammatical' Smith means 'syntactic'. In a similar sense, there is no need at all for the system of Theme and probably for the Systems of Linkage and Emphasis.

But if the above were all the criticism we could make of Bamgboṣe's two grammars, there would be no need at all to set out to write an alternative grammar of the Yoruba verb; for the above are faults that could be tolerated or put right without radically changing the grammatical description of the Yoruba verb. Bamgboṣe's grammar, however, fails in four important ways, each of which in our view is enough to make it a bad grammar.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.94.

1. False, and therefore misleading, statements:-

Two examples of false and misleading statements are enough to illustrate this fault.

First, a 'Preverb' is defined as a verb 'that must be followed by a free verb, and cannot be preceded by a free or a bound verb in verbal group structure' (D3.2, p.68). Two important things are to be noted about this statement: first, that 'Preverb' includes the 'negators' - kò, ki, máà (p.68); and second, that 'verbal group structure' includes a sequence of free Verbs - e.g. HTJ Verbs + free verbs (D3.421, p.76). There are well-formed and normally used Yoruba sentences that falsify the definition of the 'preverb' quoted above. For instance, fé is a HTJ verb (a 'Free Verb') and fé é ló manifests 'verbal group structure'. But nothing bars the occurrence of fé é máa ló (involving 'preverb' máa) as in:

Mo fé é máa ló (I would like to be going).

Similarly, a 'preverb' (máa) is preceded by free verbs in NPs like

a-sòrò-máa-gb'èsì (one who talks and takes no reply)

a-ló-máa-dá-gbére (one who goes without bidding good-bye).

Of course, these are NPs and not clauses. What matters, however, is that there are 'verbal groups' in these NPs -

sòrò - máa - gb'èsì

ló - máa - dá - gbére -

to which the agentive a- is prefixed. These examples show that Bamgbose's statement about the 'preverb' is false and misleading: contrary to his

definition, some of the listed preverbs are regularly preceded by free verbs in 'verbal group structure'.

Secondly, his definition of weak verbs is

'a free verb before which an immediately preceding high-tone-junction-contracting verb may have a high tone junction or a zero junction' (D3. 432, p.77).

His listed examples are jù, fún, lọ, ní. But the HTJ-contracting verbs listed are, in most cases, incapable of what he calls 'zero junction' before these 'weak verbs'. Thus, we never attest

* Ó bèrẹ̀ sí jù/fún/lọ/ní

* Ó fẹ́ jù/fún/lọ/ní

* Ó ẹ̀ jù/fún/lọ/ní; etc.

But his definition of 'weak verbs' misleads the reader to expect or to form these non-grammatical structures.

2. Irrelevance of Criteria:-

Bamgboṣe makes an over-use of phonological criteria. A phonological criterion is not necessarily irrelevant to grammatical classification; and, as we try to show in 3.111 (II), phonological criteria are to a considerable extent relevant to the definition and, perhaps, sub-classification of the Yoruba VP. Bamgboṣe's

use of them is, however, not always relevant. Examples of his irrelevant and sometimes misleading use of phonological criteria may be seen in his use of them

- (a) to set up classes of Weak and Strong Verbs (D3.43);
- (b) to set up class I and class II Verbs (D4.4); and
- (c) to analyse the structure of a surface pattern of the type: 'verbal element 1 + high-tone syllable + verbal element 2'. (D3.42).

There are two ways in which the phonological criterion is irrelevant and even misleading in the case of (c).

(i) The high-tone syllable does not always represent the same grammatical phenomenon. For instance, in

ó ló ó s'is̩ t'a ní k'ó máà se 'he went about doing the
the kind of work he was told not to do',
the high-tone syllable (in the underlined portion) represents ń (the marker of the 'progressive' which in Bamgbose's grammar is called the 'verbal particle'). In another kind of sentence,

Iş̩ náà s̩ro ó se 'The work is hard to do',
the high-tone syllable represents the remnant of a nominalizing prefix (after consonant elision and vowel assimilation).

(ii) Whereas the high-tone syllable in the second sentence above represents a nominalizing prefix which is part of 'verbal element 2' and is often attested as such in slow

speech, Bamgboṣe takes it to be a mere junctural feature between two Free Verbs and uses it as such to classify Free Verbs that may or may not precede and verbs that may or may not follow. As a matter of fact, all Transitive Verbs can occur in the position after verbs like soro. What decides that is a matter of syntactic collocability and not the high tone. In addition, the explanation of the structure, and the semantic interpretation, of sentences containing the structure given in (c) above would be much easier if the criterion of analysis were, rightly, syntactic rather than phonological.

Another criterion that is over-used without any reason is the so-called 'verbal particle', ń. Without giving any reason at all, Bamgboṣe creates a verbal class of one item (ń) as separate from all other verbal elements. After creating this class by fiat, he uses it arbitrarily for sub-classification of Preverbs as well as of Free Verbs. We do not see anything special about ń and there seems to be no reason why it should not be classified together with the 'preverbs'.

It is said that

'The marked form of the first and second person pronouns ...

occurs as subject only before the verbal particle' (Dḡ.1, p.68).

But Bamgboṣe's own examples for another class of verbal elements shows the 'marked form of the first...person pronoun' (plural) as

.occurring in

ábá rínkón tó wà níbè (p.69).

The fact is that the so-called 'marked forms' of the pronouns (including the third person pronouns) regularly occur before the 'preverbs' báá and báà of our present analysis. The inaccuracy of Bamgbose's observation of the syntax prevents him from seeing these as minimal 'preverb' units before which ONLY the 'marked forms' of the pronouns can occur.²⁶ Thus there is nothing special about the use of ń rather than any other preverbal element as a classifying criterion.

It is our view that if grammatical patterns are to be set up in a way that adequately accounts for the meaning that ultimately emerges from their use, the criteria on which the setting up of patterns is based in our description must be ultimately relevant to the meaning conveyed by those patterns. A criterion that does not adequately show the productive patterns of a language is, to the extent that it fails to show these, an irrelevant criterion in the description of the language. An irrelevant criterion is hardly likely to yield pattern types or classification that are relevant to the expression of meaning in a language. To some extent, phonological criteria are relevant in the description of Yoruba; but Bamgbose's use of them, as shown above, is not always

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For further consideration of this point, see 9 . 0 below.

Relevant to the meaningful patterns of Yoruba. Less relevant still is his use of the arbitrarily set up class of 'verbal particle'.

3. Lack of explanatory power:

Bamgboṣe's grammar completely lacks explanatory power. This fault derives partly from the arbitrary nature and hence the irrelevance of the criteria of pattern classification. But more than anything, it derives from the fact that the sentences in his corpus are approached from a point of view that shuts out meaning. The theory on which his grammar is based is only now being broadened to cope with the expression of meaning in the surface structure. (This seems to us to be the motive behind Halliday's recent essay on 'Deep' Grammar and Transitivity²⁷).

Since Bamgboṣe's grammar is modelled to describe only surface structure, he has a difficulty in accounting for the different meanings of examples cited by him as 'Ambiguous Structures'. An instance is provided on p.41:

ẹyin obirin nọ̀ọ̀ ló wà lẹ́wọ̀ ẹ̀

(i) 'It's you women that it is up to'

(ii) 'It's you women that are at her mercy'

There are two different sets of underlying structures that explain the difference of meaning; but Bamgboṣe resorts to surface structural labels to account for the different meanings. For

²⁷ See fn. 23 above.

instance,

'meaning (i)' has the label TaXSPA

'meaning(ii)' " " " TsXSPA

to describe the same sentence.²⁸ This is an acknowledgment that there are two distinct structures underlying the surface structure of the ambiguous sentence. But Bamgboṣe's handling of it fails to account effectively for this distinction. The use of modificational labels for T (e.g. Ta, Ts) which are interpreted as 'T in concord with A, etc.' (D3.231) is an indirect way of dragging 'notions' into the syntactic description; for the description 'in concord with' refers not to grammatical concord but rather to semantic concord: otherwise, the so-called 'Thematic Element' 'eyin obirin' should have a pronominal concordial element 'e' (2nd Person, pl.) rather than ó. In a more serious way, Bamgboṣe's structural labels cannot show each meaning of that ambiguous sentence as semantically related to

(i) ó wà l'ówó eyin obirin (label SPA) 'It's up to you women'

(ii) èyin obirin wà l'ówó è (label SPA) 'You women are at her mercy'

In fact, that ambiguous sentence is derived from each of these

²⁸ Interpret the labels as follows:

- (i) TaXSPA = Them. Element-in-concord-with-Adjunct + X + Subj
 + Pred + Adjunct. (èyin obirin nóó ni ó
 wà l'owó è)
- (ii) TsXSPA = Them Element-in-concord-with-Subject + X + Subj +
 Pred + Adjunct (èyin obirin nóó ni ó
 wà l'owó è)

sentences by the application of the same Transformation (T-Emphatic: see 4.22 below) to the constituent 'èyin obìrin' which is common to these two. When, in the first line of Appendix III (p.154), Bangboṣe says:

'Many of the structures handled in this grammar could be handled as well in transformational terms' (underling ours),

he is seriously overstating the claim to explanatory adequacy that anyone can make for his Scale and Category description. Many similar examples can be given of the failure of his grammar to provide a basis for assigning meanings to the catalogue of syntactic forms that his analysis is.

4. Lack of descriptive thoroughness:

Bangboṣe has been criticised by one of his reviewers for basing his grammar on a 3-hour tape-recorded conversation²⁹: this, it must be agreed, is not likely to provide enough basis for an adequate and thorough description of the whole language. But the lack of completeness in the description of what is actually attested in his text is even much more serious; and, more than any other single factor, calls for a more thorough study of the verb system in particular.

In D3.25, a few lines set out the "Sequence of Preverbs":

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E. C. Rowlands, (1967), p.736.

'Preverbs are found in the following sequence for which eight places have been set up': the eight slots are listed and slot-fillers are set out accordingly. Nothing is said about the full range of syntactic combination of these and nothing indicates that all eight slots cannot be filled before a 'Free Verb' in 'verbal group structure'. In the reality of linguistic usage, one finds that the 'Free Verb' is only a lexical item; its multiple shades of meaning within the utterance depend very much on a preceding preverb element or preverb-cluster. The construction of permissible preverb clusters in Yoruba (perhaps in any language) is not something simply left to chance: there are definite rules relating to the combination of preverbs and the outlining of these is no less important than the setting out of any other rules. In practice, it turns out that what Bamgboṣe dismisses in a few lines in D3.25 requires more effort than the description of the syntax of other verbal sub-classes.

Similarly, though Bamgboṣe's examples abound with clusters of 'Free Verbs', no attempt is made in the grammar to describe the structures of these. A page of Appendix III (pp.157-8) mentions something about this; and, again, this comes up only when the writer experiments with kinds of Transformation.

More instances of this shortcoming can be listed. The above seem to be sufficient proof of the weakness of the grammar.

But we would like to add the complete failure of the grammar to recognize that homophony creates a problem of description, especially with the preverbs. This failure results in the under-differentiation of syntactic units that are homophonous but distributionally distinct. Examples include máá, ń, báá and other forms that are noted in the descriptive part of the present study.

Underlying points (2) and (3) of our criticism is the fact that Bamgbose's two grammars are essentially data-classifying grammars; the meanings expressed by the 'data-classes' are of no concern. In a statement of the theory on which his grammar is based, the expression of meaning belongs to 'the level of context' (2.1); and nowhere in the statement or in the grammatical description that follows is any indication given as to how the catalogue of patterns is to be related to the level of context. Because 'grammar' for him is not concerned with the expression of meaning, the classificatory criteria used are often irrelevant to the way the language is used to express meaning. We regard it as an inescapable fact of the use of Yoruba that, apart from lexical items, there are syntactic 'functors' (like Bamgbose's class of 'preverbs') which have no definite lexical status but none the less express 'meanings' which cannot be listed in a Dictionary. Similarly, certain pattern types do convey 'meanings'

Bamgboṣe's grammars simply list such 'functors' and 'patterns' without any consideration of the fact that they express 'meanings'. When the grammars run into difficulty arising from their methodological limitations (e.g. the case of the ambiguous sentence considered above), Bamgboṣe tries to get out of the problem by a subtle appeal to 'meaning' in a description like 'in concord with ...' which really means 'in semantic concord with ...'.

The view we take in the present study is that a grammar needs to indicate how the linguistic forms and patterns classified are used and interpreted. A grammar that merely lists syntactic forms and arrangements, paying no attention to the meaning of the forms, is no more than an inventory of code forms with no clues as to how the code functions. This does not appear to be a highly controversial view in present-day linguistics.³⁰ Nor is it contested by SCG theory which provides the model for the grammars reviewed. But the actual grammars produced by Bamgboṣe

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There is, of course, no perfect uniformity of views on the depth of 'meaning' to represent in linguistic description. (cf., for instance, J.R. Firth's 'Situational approach' as summarised in 'F.P. Dinneen (1967)', p.306, and the Transformational Grammar representation of 'meaning' which to the best of our knowledge does not include Firth's 'context of situation': Noam Chomsky (1964), J.J. Katz and P. Postal (1964), Noam Chomsky (1965)). There seems, however, to be general agreement that theories of grammar and, by implication, the grammars of actual languages modelled by these theories, should provide a means of understanding how the forms used by human languages have meanings in the respective linguistic communities using them.

simply ignore meaning and the 'context' level to which it is supposed to belong.

1.2 CONCLUSION

We conclude that, in the various ways pointed out in the above review, existing grammars of Yoruba have failed to provide an adequate description of the Yoruba Verb. With the present study, we hope to contribute in a way to a fuller and explanatory description.

2. GENERAL QUESTIONS ON PROCEDURE

2.0 The analysis of the Yoruba Verb presented in the following chapters raises a few questions which may seem important. These are questions on the general procedure of this study; and an attempt is made to answer them in this chapter.

2.1 THE FORM OF THE DESCRIPTION

In Bamgboṣe's view, some of the major weaknesses of earlier Yoruba grammars are due to a lack of theoretical foundation. He is of the opinion that the 'undefined and uncoordinated categories' of these grammars are 'a consequence of the ad hoc nature of the descriptions. A proper description must be based on a linguistic theory'. (Bamgboṣe (1966), p.5; underlining ours). It seems then that there are linguists who may deny the status of 'proper description' to a grammar that is not rigorously worked out according to a given theory. There is a sense in which the description presented in this work is 'ad hoc' and, perhaps, it is necessary to explain why this is so.

Chomsky (in N. Chomsky (1964)) makes a distinction between theory and 'analytic procedures' - 'systems of terminology or methods of investigation' (p.50). Defining 'competence' as 'what the speaker of a language knows implicitly' as opposed to 'what he does (his performance)',¹ Chomsky has shown in several articles

¹ N. Chomsky (1966; p.3.

that the concern of Transformational Theory is the language user's competence, the most striking aspect of which is the 'creativity of language' - the ability to make and understand new sentences and to identify deviant ones. Any 'theory of language that neglects this 'creative' aspect of language is only of marginal interest'. (1964, p.51). The Grammar of a language is the system of rules representing the 'thorough competence' which 'each normal human being' has developed in the use of his native language.² 'The problem for the grammarian is to discover this system of rules; the problem for linguistic theory is to discover general properties of any system of rules that may serve as the basis for ... the general form of language that underlies ... each particular natural language'. (Chomsky (1966), p.3). Chomsky regards Transformational Grammar (henceforth TG) as one form of 'generative grammar'. As such, it is 'a system of rules that relate signals to semantic interpretations of these signals'.

We are of the opinion that the goal of Transformational theory is proper. To the extent that the present work aims at the above-stated goal, it is based on Transformational theory.

In an attempt to find a ^{very}/effective way of pairing signals with semantic interpretations, TG has worked out an elaborate set of 'analytic procedures' which have become part and parcel of the

² N. Chomsky (1964), p.51; N. Chomsky (1966), p.3.

statement of TG. It is in the rather sparing use of TG's rigorous formalism that the following analysis of the Yoruba Verb is 'ad hoc'. For several reasons, none of which is of fundamental importance to the goal of accounting for the language user's 'competence', we have chosen the 'ad hoc' path in methodology.

The most important reason is one of personal taste: that, even when as flexible as the experimental stage of TG's formalism appears to be, rigorous formalism does not attract us. In spite of this, we find that if we were to 'relate signals to semantic interpretations' in any effective sense, certain steps in TG's methodology are indisputably convenient; and we have adopted these. Thus, although at no point do we formally distinguish three major components in this grammar, all elements of the phonological, syntactic and semantic components are present in the description. We also use TG's distinction between surface and deep structure and, hence, the distinction between underlying structures and derived structures into which they are mapped by Transformations.

Another reason why we do not stick to the formal rigour of TG is that we are not convinced that a basic sentence in Yoruba is necessarily NP + VP which is accepted as a normal part of TG's Phrase Structure. Neither in Chomskyan grammar

nor in the constituent structure grammars on which it is based (e.g. Z.S. Harris, R. S. Wells, or ultimately L. Bloomfield) is there a convincing explanation of why only a NP and a VP are necessary in the re-write rule for a sentence; or, indeed, why any of them is necessary at all. R.S. Wells' idea of analyzing each sequence 'into parts which are expansions of something', or Z.S. Harris' adoption of it (with the modification that he sees the utterance 'up' instead of 'down'), is only a matter of procedural convenience. Perhaps the only justification of taking a sentence as having the constituent structure of NP + VP is Bloomfield's remark, quoted by Seymour Chatman³, that:

'Any English-speaking person who concerns himself with this matter, is sure to tell us that the IMMEDIATE CONSTITUENTS of Poor John ran away are the two forms poor John and ran away...'

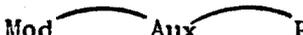
That not all English-speaking people see it that way is shown in the fact that Hallidayan Scale and Category Grammar (SCG) would describe the Structure of Bloomfield's sentence as 'SPA' (Subject-Predicate-Adjunct) - an alternative view of sentence structure which in Bamgboṣe's SCG description of Yoruba seems much more convenient than taking a Yoruba sentence to be NP + VP. Another view of an English-speaking person shows that a case can be made for not

³ Seymour Chatman (1955), p.377.

including NP in the structural description of a sentence. Thus, for Charles J. Fillmore,⁴

'The major constituents of a 'sentence' (S) are 'modality' (Mod), 'auxiliary' (Aux) and 'proposition' (Prop) ...'(p.22).

His re-write rule for a sentence thus excludes NP altogether:

S --> Mod  Prop; etc.

Finally, we do not believe that sticking to the rigorous formalism of a particular theory necessarily ensures a 'proper description'. The formalization of either TG or SCG, to take two examples well known to us, is constantly changing because the formulation is only at a relatively early stage. Bamgboṣe's grammar of Yoruba was based on a linguistic theory that was only at its 'classical stage' of formulation when the grammar was produced. That this theory has since undergone an immense change is an indication that basing a description on a linguistic theory and all its formalism is no guarantee that such a description will be 'proper' in the sense of 'exhaustive' or 'explanatory'. On the other hand, F. R. Palmer (1965) is an 'ad hoc' description of the English verb and it is probably a more 'proper' description of the English verb than any that has yet been formally produced on the model of any existing theory.

2.2 STUDY OF THE VERB AS AN ISOLATED SUB-SYSTEM

Since a Verb interacts with other constituents of the clause

⁴ Charles J. Fillmore (1966)

or sentence in which it functions, the question may be asked:
To what extent can the verb be studied in isolation?

It is not easy to study the verb in isolation: it is debatable whether it has any absolute autonomy of its own. In fact, our view is that it is not possible to know what the verb is unless we see the sentence as a whole; and, in inflected languages for example, it is hardly possible to know if two forms represent the same or distinct verbs unless we pair several sentences to establish minimal contrasts and see whether one verbal form depends on the shape of a preceding NP or any other element within the clause or sentence. Confronted with this kind of question, F. R. Palmer (1965) states for English:

'The point is that the recognition of took as the past tense of TAKE and equally of is taken as the passive of TAKE depends upon relating large numbers of sentences and specifically upon a statement of collocations between nouns and verbs in the sentences. For it is not enough to base the analysis simply upon the verbal forms. This would certainly not establish went as the past tense of GO, and would not even permit the recognition of fought as the past tense of FIGHT, rather than FIX ... Take and took can be brought together only if it may be shown that the classes of

nouns collocated with these verbal forms in the functions of both subject and object are the same ...' (p.64) (sentence underlining ours).

This, of course, does not mean that the verb cannot be isolated for thorough investigation. The implication is simply that one needs a good knowledge of the structure of clauses and sentences of the language; for it is in these that the verb operates and its characteristics derive, to a very great extent, from its interaction with other constituents of the clause or sentence.

There are three reasons why we believe that the Yoruba Verb can and should be studied in a degree of isolation that does not totally exclude a consideration of other sub-systems of the language.

The first is that the structure of the Yoruba clause or sentence is, at this stage of linguistic study of Yoruba, fairly clear. Where we think modifications of earlier work are necessary, we carry out such modifications in a way that throws light on the verb.

Secondly, the Yoruba verb, being uninflected, is less dependent on the non-verbal parts of the clause or sentence and, therefore, more autonomous than the English verb to which the above quotation from F. R. Palmer (1965) refers. For instance, we do not have to bother much about the problems raised by the

occurrence of several forms of the same verb; nor do we face the problem of any syntactic concord that affects the phonological shape of the verb. Of course, as will be seen in the Negative or 'Progressive' form of WA 'BE', we may have to decide whether the suppletive elements used instead of WA represent WA rather than a totally different word. But this all takes place within the verb group and owes nothing to changes in the non-verbal parts of a simple sentence. In derived sentences, however, changes in the 'subject' position affect the choice (but NOT the form) of verbs that can function as the 'predicator' of the sentences; but this is no sufficient reason why the verb cannot or should not be studied in relative isolation, especially when our third reason is considered.

The third reason is that the linguist may borrow from the physical scientist the very reasonable method of splitting up a problem into parts so that the parts may be more thoroughly considered. This method, which R. S. Wells recommends in linguistic study, is stated in one of his articles as follows:

'Among the notable and distinctive features of science - and one that sets it in contrast with philosophy - is its policy, 'Divide and conquer'. The piecemeal method ... of considering problems in isolation is one secret of its success ...'⁵

⁵Rulon S. Wells (1954), p.238.

Where portions of a problem have the kind of autonomy here claimed for the Yoruba Verb, there is no reason why the policy of 'Divide and conquer' should not be applied. Its advantage is that it narrows the scope of investigation and, by focussing attention on a smaller area within the sentence, is likely to ensure greater thoroughness. Indeed, it seems that one reason for the incompleteness of earlier Yoruba grammars is that the scope is too wide to enable the analyst to go deeply into the problems posed by the various subsystems of Yoruba. We are convinced that the linguistic study of Yoruba has now reached a stage at which the overall problem of analysis has become clear: the grammars reviewed in Chapter 1 above present a bold if inadequate outline of Yoruba grammar and their failure also sufficiently (though only incidentally) spotlights the greater problems of description. As in science, we may now split the problem into parts that can be solved with greater thoroughness than the wider scope of earlier grammars allowed; provided that, as in science, two things are borne in mind. First, that the parts into which we split the problem are relatable to one another in such a way that each can profit by relevant advances in the others and yet not be held back by their difficulties. Secondly, that our results are tentative to the extent that each part we choose to deal with fails to be completely autonomous. The results of our study of the partially autonomous portions must

be related to one another from time to time not only to be validated but also to contribute to a solution of the problems raised by the overall system. For greater thoroughness, the partially autonomous subsystems themselves (e.g. Verb, Nominals, etc.) may be further broken down for more concentrated study. In this way, there is a greater chance of eventually achieving an adequate representation of the overall system than by tackling it as an indivisible problem, all at once.

2.3 THE CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION OF LINGUISTIC FORMS

In 1.172 above, we criticise Bamgboṣe's criteria as irrelevant. This implies that ^{some} criteria of classification can be more or less relevant than others. The question may be asked: when is a criterion relevant or irrelevant?

As indicated in that criticism, we assume that the ultimate goal of formal analysis of a language is to show how the form patterns are used to express 'meanings' in the language. If this assumption is valid, then the criteria used in classifying the form patterns must be ultimately relevant to the expression of meaning in the particular language. A criterion is irrelevant if it does not lead to form patterns that are relatable to meaning patterns. Classification, by producing less classes than there are individual items, achieves an economy of representation. But if the aim of grammar is ultimately to show how the linguistic forms and their classes contribute to the expression of meaning,

then economy of explanation, rather than of representation, should be the linguist's aim. If economy of explanation can be combined with that of representation, there is a positive gain. But if economy of explanation is sacrificed to that of representation, nothing is gained and the real purpose of grammar is missed.

In the analysis that follows, while keeping the criteria clearly formal, we attempt to ensure that meaning types are ultimately traceable to the pattern types set up.

2.4 THE USE OF FORM RATHER THAN MEANING IN CLASSIFICATION

Formal rather than semantic approach to grammatical analysis has become so established in present-day linguistics that there seems to be no need for an explanation why the choice is formal rather than semantic. In the present study, however - especially in the section on the uses of the auxiliary forms - after the formal analysis has been done, the forms are re-classified according to the meanings they express. We find this to be a practical necessity; but we also notice that the use of a formal rather than a semantic approach to linguistic analysis is itself a practical rather than a theoretic necessity.

In theory, it would be possible to start with meanings and set up semantic categories and investigate how the forms fit into them. Indeed, if the linguist were out to discover a 'true-to-fact, true-to-feeling' grammar of a human language, it may turn out to be theoretically more viable to proceed from semantic categories to forms than to go from formal categories to 'meanings'.

This is why, in 1.112 above, we do not go all the way with Bamgboṣe in totally rejecting grammars for basing their classification on notional criteria.

In spite of the theoretic possibility of a meaning-based linguistic description, it is more practical to start with form and go on to meaning as the last stage of the investigation. This is partly because 'meaning' is less amenable to methods designed for precision than is form and partly because all formal elements in a language are, theoretically at least, well known while meanings and shades of meaning are not so well known. For instance, a mature native speaker who knows how the language operates can conceivably tell us ALL 'symbols' (formal elements) used in the language and their permissible combinations; but he cannot tell us all 'concepts' that may be expressed by the language; nor can he predict how users of the language are likely to combine the 'concepts' he knows (not to mention those he does not know). It is only more practical to proceed from the known (the formal elements) to the unknown or less known (the 'meanings'). But this does not imply that this more practical procedure is the only one that is theoretically possible.⁶ What we criticise in earlier

⁶We notice that Paul Roberts (1964) approaches analysis first from the point of view of 'meaning' as the following quotation shows:

'In the classification of adverbials, as in other classifications we have made, we begin by simply distinguishing meanings. But the further we go, the more we find these differences in meaning supported and conveyed by differences in form. Ultimately it is the formal differences that make us aware of the meaning differences ...' - parag. 517.

grammars is not so much the use of notional criteria as the mixing of notional with syntactic criteria, apparently without knowing that they do so. To some extent, syntactic patterns are themselves carriers of 'meaning'; but description will be less confused and perhaps easier if the formal patterns were first analysed before a consideration of the 'meanings' they express. Formal elements or patterns thus kept apart may, however, be seen to express the same type of 'meanings'. In a consideration of how forms express 'meanings', we see nothing wrong in re-classifying these forms or formal patterns on semantic criteria in order to have the most generalised statements possible. This we sometimes do in relating forms to meaning in 9.71 below.

2.5 INFORMATION GATHERING AND THE NATURE OF THE DATA USED

The three sources of information normally used by analysts in the writing of grammars are texts (preferably selected at random), native-speaker informants, and the analyst himself as an informant.

The usual danger in using the first source is that the corpus may not represent contemporary usage either because it is selected from an earlier period or because a contemporary writer's language is highly literary or influenced by some earlier writer. This is not a great danger in the description of Yoruba since the earliest texts date back to little more

than a century, a period within which syntactic change may have been negligible. The danger in using Yoruba texts is, however, ^{still} no less great: writers are often in doubt whether, or how, to represent features of elision and juctural tonal change which are so common in the language. In most cases, these are left out of the written form altogether. Where these are of grammatical significance (e.g. the juncture between 'sentence subject' and the 'predicator' of the sentence; or the tonal phenomenon involved in FV + vn.2 catenatives - see 6.221 below), the analyst has no clue whatsoever to the true grammar of the sentence taken from the text.

The second source is the more common in structural linguistics. One of its chief weaknesses is pointed out by D. L. Olmstead (IJAL XXVII, Oct. 1961; p.312):

'the process of drawing the examples is crucial to the analysis and ... is a weak, possible fatally weak, link in the chain of investigation. Its weakness results from the fact that, where the linguist is not a native speaker of the language, the process devolves in an unstructured way upon the informant'.⁷

⁷ Quoted on p.25 of Robert L. Allen (1966).

One other serious weakness is that, where the analyst is not a native speaker, or where a native speaker analyst unnecessarily ties himself to a corpus collected from native-speaker informants (as Bamgboṣe does in his two grammars) the analysis can hardly be descriptively complete or explanatory in the most meaningful sense. The fact is that the corpus is bound to be limited and even the most thorough analysis based on it is bound to fall short of fully describing the subject language. It is probably not unfair to say that linguistic analysis became inevitably taxonomic when linguists stopped studying their native languages and relied on a necessarily limited corpus provided by a native-speaking 'middle-man' to describe languages which the analyst did not know well.

The third source also has its own limitations. As pointed out by F. R. Palmer and Robert L. Allen, there is the danger that the analyst, with no fraudulent intentions, may invent some forms to fill some hole in his analysis and achieve a perfect paradigm. Both of them take an English VP of the type have been being scolded as an example⁸. In the present study, we have attempted to combine the second and third sources after finding the first to be totally unreliable. We find no justification whatsoever for relying on the

⁸F. R. Palmer (1965), p. 57; Robert L. Allen (1966), p. 26.

second alone and are aware that much of the weakness of Bamgboṣe's two grammars derives from his acknowledged reliance on this alone. The third has of late been a fruitful source for TG. However, we have not relied entirely on it because other native speakers are readily available⁹ and examples of doubtful acceptability (arising either from the present writer's own speech or from the speech of any of the informants) are easily referred to them: this has been very much the case with the multi-item Aux. sequences (9.3 below).

E. C. Rowlands in his review of Bamgboṣe (1966) seems to be in doubt on the validity of claiming the Yoruba of educated native speakers as 'Standard Yoruba'. For instance, he writes:

'The Yoruba of this type of speaker tends to be influenced by English idioms in a way foreign to other Yoruba who equally claim to speak standard Yoruba'.¹⁰

We would readily concede that "the Yoruba of this type of speaker tends to be influenced by English idioms". It should be noted, however, that it is this type of Yoruba that provides the model for school children and the uneducated speaker who often does business outside his own dialectal region.

⁹ The three informants most consistently used are Mr. and Mrs. A. Faloye (of Leeds) and Mrs. O. Qkẹ (physician at Harrogate General Hospital).

¹⁰ E. C. Rowlands (1967), pp. 736-737.

When educated Yoruba people speak of "Standard Yoruba", they mean the Yoruba taught and used by the schools. This 'school Yoruba' shows slight regional varieties, especially in the spoken form; but the differences are often so slight that they do not impair communication.

What we refer to as Standard Yoruba in this study is the kind of Yoruba taught in Nigerian schools and used by educated people, the government agencies and the broadcasting corporations. This is different from the "standard" once described by Ida Ward as "the pronunciation of the district of Oyo".¹¹ To the extent that speakers from every dialectal region (including Oyo) have to learn it at school and imitate it in formal social circles; to the extent also that all educated Yoruba speakers from whatever dialectal background use it (sometimes in a way foreign to Oyo speakers); and to the extent that most of them pass it on to their children as a native dialect; we consider Standard Yoruba to be a separate dialect of Yoruba. As a social, rather than a geographical, dialect it is largely used by the group described by Rowlands as "highly literate in English"; and their form of it (although it sometimes appears to be influenced by foreign idioms) is what we attempt to describe in the chapters below.

¹¹ Ida C. Ward (1952), p.2, parag.6.

3. THE ELEMENTS, STRUCTURE, AND
CLAUSAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE
YORUBA VERB PHRASE:
A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE

3.1 DEFINITION OF THE VERB PHRASE

3.10 The term 'Verb Phrase' as used in this study (henceforth VP) is not the same grammatical unit as the VP of, say, TG's Phrase structure. It does not represent a node dominating a Verb (or verbal elements) and a possible NP. As pointed out in 2.1 (p.80) above, we do not think there is any convincing reason why there should be such a node in Yoruba syntax, and we think Bamgboṣe's view of a Yoruba sentence as poly-constituent in structure is methodologically more convenient. But the VP of this study does not correspond to Bamgboṣe's 'Verbal Group' which, by definition (D1, p.67 of Bamgboṣe (1966)), is made up of 'verbal elements' and a following complement which is a NP. VP as here used is very similar to the B (Predicator) of Bamgboṣe's clause structure; but we prefer not to use that label because it includes several elements which cannot be included in our VP: e.g. - kí (p.69); pé, wí pé (p.78) - all of which we regard as clause initiators (subordinators) and not elements of VP.

3.11 Defining characteristics of the VP

3.110 The defining characteristics of the Yoruba VP are essentially syntactic since the VP is not morphologically marked within the

structure of the clause. Of the syntactic features defining the VP, we shall refer to some as 'tone-syntactic' and the rest as 'pure-syntactic'. The tone-syntactic features are those features of tonal change and, sometimes, vowel elision or assimilation that mark the junction of the different constituents of a clause.

3.111 The Characteristics are:-

I. Pure-Syntactic

(i) Occurrence as a single word in the position y in any basic clause of the type:

'Non-emphatic Pronominal form + v + NP \pm Adv-Phr.'

or the type:

'Non-emphatic Pronominal form + v \pm Adv-Phr.'

(ii) Occurrence as a sequence in direct catenation of two or more members of y defined in (i).

(iii) Taking p as any element that may intervene between a non-emphatic pronominal and a y, occurrence as sequence or cluster 'p + v' in any affirmative clause of the type:

'Non-emphatic Pronominal form + p + y \pm NP \pm Adv-Phr.'

provided that y in the cluster p + v has the same value as the y of (i) or the sequence defined in (ii).

(iv) Whenever the Negator kò occurs in a clause, it always marks the on-set of a VP (i.e. whatever follows it is the first element of VP).

II Tono-syntactic'

- (v) In a clause without the Negator kò, the on-set of the VP is normally marked by a high tone on the syllable immediately preceding the VP. With the exception of a few cases noted in 3.1123 below, this high tone is obligatory whatever the normal lexical tone of the item immediately preceding the VP, provided it is not the non-emphatic form of a Pronoun.
- (vi) The end of the VP is very difficult to define. However, in most cases, the VP terminates with the type of unmistakably verbal element defined in (i) and (ii) above. The tonosyntactic characteristics of these unmistakably VP-final elements may be used in turn to define the termination of VP's in general and to resolve the syntactic status of any doubtful verb-like elements within the clause. These characteristics are:
- A. The VP is immediately followed by pause, or an adverbial complement, or a Nominal complement.
 - B. Where it is followed by a Nominal complement, the complement is either a NP or a Pronoun.
 - 1. If it is a NP with an initial vowel, this means that two vowels are in direct contact; one of these is deleted and the following tonal rule applies:¹

¹ E. C. Rowlands (1954), IIA, b, p.382. A. Bamgboṣe (1965), 1.22.

- (a) If the verbal element ends on a high tone, this high tone is preserved on the surviving vowel;
- (b) If the verbal element ends on mid or low tone, this tone is deleted altogether and the tone of the initial vowel of the nominal is preserved on the surviving vowel. If it is a NP with an initial consonant, there is no elision; and the following tonal rule applies:²
 - (a) If the verbal element ends on a high tone, the high tone is preserved;
 - (b) If the verbal element ends on a mid or low tone, it takes a mid tone before the Nominal complement.

2. If, however, the Nominal complement is a Pronoun, only the objective form of the pronoun can follow.³ In addition to these five major characteristics of the VP, there is a phonemic characteristic which is no less relevant than the syntactic ones stated above. Thus,

- (vii) Except in a few cases, elements of the VP have the phonemic structure CV(CV...)

3.112 Discussion of the characteristics

3.1121 It seems necessary to clarify what is meant by 'a single word' in the defining characteristic (i). A rigorous definition need

² E. C. Rowlands (1954), IIB; p.385.

³ Ibid, p.381

not worry us because a mere listing of the characteristics of what we regard as 'single word' is sufficient.

A single word in the position v in (i) cannot be split by a NP; thus, though a layman may regard bàjé as 'a single word', we reject it as such because of sequences of the type baNP jé 'spoil NP'.

Secondly, to be 'a single word', the verbal element occurring at v must not contain any element which can itself occur alone at v. ? lesser

Usually, elements having these two characteristics would be found to be monosyllabic in most cases: only in a few cases would they be longer than one syllable (CV), With most of the ones that have more than one syllable, it may be found on further testing that they contain a verb and a noun: this is likely to be so if such elements were defined as VP by the environment as

'Non-emph. Pronoun form + v ± Adv-Phr.'

That they contain 'verb+noun' and are, therefore, not minimum VP forms is of little importance at this stage: the material point is that the fused form behaves like a VP; the fusion of the verb with what may possibly be seen as a noun is a matter of detail relevant only in a consideration of VP types. Examples of such VP elements are bínú 'to be angry', jiyá 'suffer', jéun 'eat'.

3.1122 It seems equally necessary to explain why the 'Non-emphatic Pronominal form', rather than any other Nominal form, is used in the clause-frames in (i)-(iii). To use any other Nominal form (e.g. nouns or emphatic pronominal forms like èmi 'I', iwò 'you', etc.) would not fail to exclude non-verbal elements such as Adjectivals or Interrogative particles (e.g. ńkó). The use of non-emphatic pronominal forms in the clause frame excludes all elements that are not VP from the position immediately after them; though it does not include all VP elements, neither would the substitution of any other nominal do.

3.1123 None of the VP characteristics (i)-(vii) can alone define all elements participating in a VP: we may need to consider all seven characteristics if we want to define all VP elements. If we may borrow verb-class labels from later sections of this study, close scrutiny of the scope of the seven characteristics reveals the following facts.

Characteristic (i) defines all single Free Verbs except ni 'be'; but fails to include any Bound Verbs. (ii) allows us to recognise as VP only Compound Full Verbs and those Composite Full Verbs which contain no Bound Verbs; like (i), it fails to include any Bound Verbs in the VP and thus excludes Complex Verbs. (iii) only allows us to recognise Auxiliaries as VP elements; hence it includes as VP all sequences:

'Single Auxiliary + any Full Verb form allowed by (i) or (ii)'.

Characteristic (iv) confirms as VP elements all those defined by i-iii (with the exception of a few preverbs which do not co-occur with kò: e.g. báá, báà); and, in addition, it recognises the verbal status of at least the initial constituents of Complex Verbs, all of which can be preceded by kò. It, however, fails to define the status of any elements in a kí' clause since kò never occurs in that clause type. Characteristic (v) has exactly the same scope as (iv): it confirms as VP elements all those already confirmed by (iv) and fails to recognise only those that (iv) cannot recognise. Before the elements a, yio, báá⁴ and báà as well as before any verbal element in a kí-clause, the syllable immediately preceding the VP does not take an obligatory high tone as before other VP elements.⁴ The fact that (v) has exactly the same scope as (iv) does not make either of them redundant; in fact they are necessary alternatives, (iv) defining the VP in a negative clause and (v) defining it in a positive clause. Characteristic (vi A) is not very useful if an element of disputable status is followed by a pause. It is however useful if it is immediately followed by an Adv-Phrase (e.g. ráá-ráá 'at all'; pátá-pátá 'altogether'; gìrì-gìrì 'in a rush'; ní agogo méjì 'at 2 o'clock'; l'àná 'yesterday'; l'òlá 'tomorrow'; l'Èkó 'in Lagos'). This defines the end of all VP and as such, in conjunction with (iv) and (v), may allow us to define as VP all Complex Full Verbs, Compound Full Verbs and

⁴For further details, see 9.51 below.

Composite Full Verbs in addition to the single-item Full Verbs.

This, too, is the purpose that (vi B) serves; but (vi B, 2) includes the 'special verb' ni 'be' as well.

3.1124 Finally, it should be pointed out that the combination of (iv) or (v) with (vi B, 1) would define as VP any sequence Verb + ni as for instance in the sequence (1):

(1) Verb (NP) ni NP

(a) (...sùn ni Èkó 'slept in Lagos')

(b) (...rí ɔ l' ɔjà 'saw you in the market place')

(c) (...fún miní sílè kan 'gave me a shilling')

(d) (...jǐ mi ní kèkè 'stole my bicycle')

Indeed, this study regards Verb + ni of lc, d as VP, while it excludes the same sequence as in la, b from VP. This is because we recognise two homophonous but grammatically and semantically distinct elements ni: ni of lc, d is a Bound Verb and Verb + ni is, in those phrases, a Complex Verb transformationally derived from other verbal elements;⁵ ni of la, b is a preposition and not part of VP at all. That ni of la, b is not an element of VP but rather part of a prepositional phrase may be easily shown by applying the Emphatic Transformation to the clause in which it occurs: it will become clear that ni is always linked to the following NP and never to the preceding verbal element.⁵

While the above case of homophony may indicate that our

⁵ This is discussed in 5.241 below.

seven 'defining characteristics' include Non-VP elements in addition to VP elements, this should not detract from their usefulness in enumerating all VP elements and identifying with a fair amount of certainty that part of clause structure which is the object of the present study. It is hoped that procedural devices used in the later parts of this work have totally excluded any non-VP element that the above seven 'defining characteristics' may have failed to exclude. One such device is the application of the Emphatic Transformation to which we referred above.

3.2 CLASSES OF VERB PHRASE ELEMENTS

3.20 In this section, we propose to indicate in the barest outline the classes of elements that participate in the VP and state the criteria of classification. In Chapters 4 to 9, the distribution of these elements in the construction of the VP is discussed.

Two broad types of classification are necessary.

3.21 FREE ELEMENTS AND BOUND ELEMENTS

A Free Verbal element is one that can occur as v defined in 3.111 above; when v defined in 3.111 is a single item, we shall call it the Free Verb of the clause. The occurrence of another verbal element with the Free Verb in a simple clause is optional.

A verbal element that cannot occur as the only element in the position v as defined in 3.111 - i.e. which cannot serve as

the only verbal element in the clause - is a Bound Verb. The occurrence of another verbal element with the Bound Verb in a simple clause is obligatory.

3.22 AUXILIARY VERBS AND FULL VERBS

Any Free Verb is a Full Verb. But some Bound Verbs are Full Verbs while others are not; for this reason, it is necessary to indicate which Bound Verb elements are Full Verbs and which are Auxiliaries.

A Bound Verb is a Full Verb element if it can be immediately followed by a NP or an Adverbial Phrase; e.g.

(a) followed by NP:

bè as in bè wá wò 'visit us';

dè as in dúró dè mí 'wait for me';

(b) followed by Adverbial Phrase:

pò as in kó wọn pò kíá-kíá 'Put them together quickly'.

In addition to these more easily defined Full Verb elements, we include a set of items such as kókó, túnbò, etc., which may appear controversial when we consider that some people have classified them differently before. This is taken up in Chapter 5.

One characteristic that clearly distinguishes the Full Verb from the Auxiliary sub-class is the ability of the Full Verb to combine with nominalizing prefixes. The prefixes include:

(a) The Agentive prefixes, the most productive form of which is

a-, which occurs in abániḡe 'one who lives on others' hospitality'
(< bá...ḡe 'eat with')

(b) Cí- (i.e. consonant followed by í, where the consonant is phonetically identical with the initial consonant of the verb stem)
e.g. jíḡe 'eating' (< ḡe); fífi ɔmɔ f'ɔkɔ 'the betrothal of a girl'
(< fi ɔmɔ f'ɔkɔ); lílù pa 'beating to death (< lu pa).

(c) ì- as in ìbínú 'anger' (< bínú); ìdàrú 'confusion' (< dàrú).

(d) à- as in àlɔ 'the going of...' (< lɔ); àmúḡeré '(of) a play thing' (< mú ḡeré).

There are several other nominalizing prefixes which, however, do not, in present-day Yoruba, have a productive pattern.

Some of these prefixes attach only to a Full Verb and never to an Auxiliary. Where elements in the Full Verb are more than one, it is usually the first element that takes the nominalization prefix.

All verbal elements that are not Full Verbs are Auxiliaries; and these constitute a very small set to which we give attention in chapter 9.

3.221 AUXILIARY SUB-CLASSES

Partly for convenience (especially in the discussion of semantic uses) and partly for syntactic reasons, we set up three sub-classes of Auxiliaries. These are the Pre-emptives, the Intensifiers, and the Modals. (The class labels are unimportant).

(i) The Pre-emptives: In linear order, these are closest to the Full Verb and, when the VP includes members of the other Auxiliary sub-classes, farthest from the Negator, kò, of the tonal feature which initiates the VP.

All members of this sub-class share with the Modals the characteristic of restricted occurrence in Auxiliary clusters; but they are syntactically separated from the Modals by a class of Aux. elements (Intensifiers) that are relatively free from such restrictions (see Table 4 in 9.2).

(ii) The Intensifiers: In the sequence of verbal elements within the VP, members of this sub-class occur between the Modals and the Pre-emptives. Significant among the characteristics of the sub-class is the fact that all its members may freely occur before the Full Verb in Secondary Pattern - a position from which all Modals and all Pre-emptives (except M, sì, and in the Negative, ti) are excluded. Its other characteristics are indicated in Chapter 9. Examples are si, dě, kàn: the full list is given in 9.32.

(iii) The Modals: In linear order, these are the farthest away from the Full Verb and are next to the tonal or Negator on-set of the VP. They form a sub-class of items that are mutually exclusive and combine only with items from the other two sub-classes or with the Full Verb. (The only exception to the rule of mutual exclusiveness is the rather literary sequence yíò báá²: see 9.33).

There are syntactic links between some members of (i) and some of (iii); e.g. máa¹ of (i) has the same Negative form as á, yíò, of (iii); máan of (i) is similar^{ly} linked by Negation to a of (iii); (see 10.211, AII, 1). There are also semantic links between these elements of (i) and (iii). But since they are syntactically separated by (ii); and since the Modal class has its own characteristic - its rule of mutual exclusion by its members - which it does not share with the Pre-emptives, there is justification for separating them.

3.222 SUB-CLASSES OF FULL VERB ELEMENTS.

There are two major sub-classes of Full Verb elements, each of which can in turn be sub-classified by various criteria. The criteria used here are selected in order to facilitate the statement of uses, formal as well as semantic. The two major sub-classes are distinguished largely by the occurrence or non-occurrence of an immediately following NP in basic clause structure. We label the sub-classes as Transitive and Intransitive.

TRANSITIVE Full Verbs.

The principal feature is the occurrence (optional or obligatory) of (a form of) a NP immediately after the Full Verb (see 3.225 for further details). The various NP forms which may occur are:

NP-obj. : the only way of knowing that a NP is in 'object' form is to substitute the object form of the corresponding pronominal.

NP-poss.: as in the case of the object, verify by substituting the possessive form of the corresponding pronominal.

NP-Vnl: in this case, the NP is a 'verbal noun' derived from the Full Verb itself; otherwise, it is a semantic equivalent of the vn. ✓

NP-place: the NP is a noun or a nominal phrase naming a place; otherwise, it is any of the substitute words ibè 'that place', ibí 'this place', òhún 'that place', ihín 'this place'.

Other NP's: the NP is any noun or nominal phrase not listed among the above four, or a Bound clause initiated by kí or pé.

In all five environments, occurrence of the NP may be optional or obligatory. The Full Verb elements, too, may be Free or Bound.

INTRANSITIVE Full Verbs

The principal feature is the non-occurrence of a NP after the Full Verb in basic clause pattern.

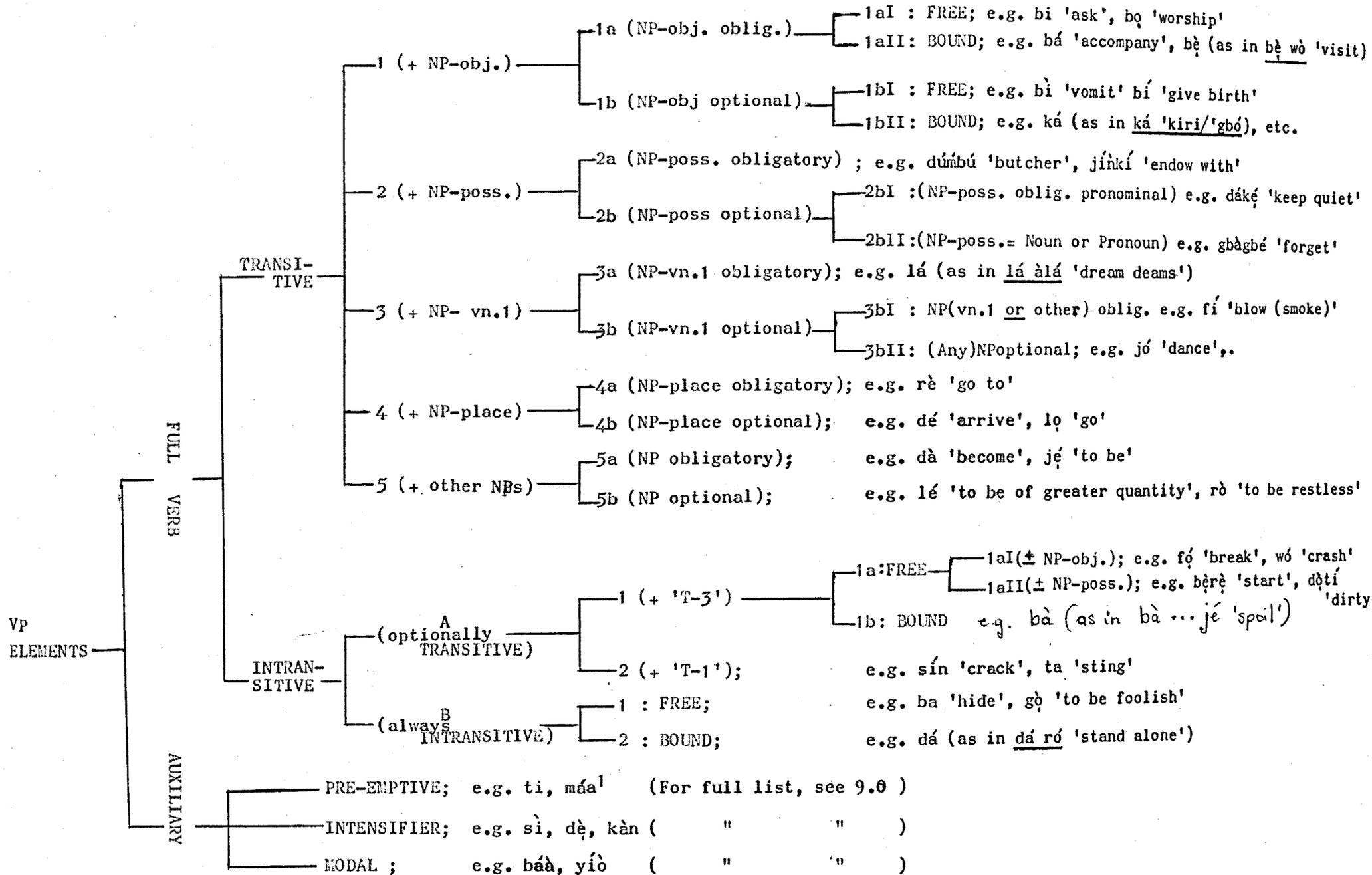
Intransitive Full Verbs may be either Free or Bound.

This classification of Full Verbs is based on a close examination of all verb forms cited in the two dictionaries 'Delanq (1952)' and 'Abraham (1958)'. Several verbal items have been added from our own sources. It is hoped that any possible addition to the verb-group lexicon provided in Appendix I will not materially affect the classification here presented.

3.223 TABLE 1: OUTLINE OF CLASSES OF VP ELEMENTS (see next page).

3.224 EXCLUSION OF THE TONAL AND NEGATOR ONSET FROM THE VP

The Negator kò is considered by some analysts (e.g. Bamgboṣe, Delanq) as an element of the VP in a class equivalent to our



Auxiliary. In the present work, we do not regard kò as an element of the VP for the following reasons.

Kò is in formal contrast, within clause structure, with the tonal feature marking the onset of a VP; and, like this tonal feature, it is itself a marker of the onset of the VP. In this role, we see both the tonal feature (high tone, sometimes on an extra syllable) and kò as giving a signal that the VP is about to start. We note also that there is a suggestion that this high tone feature may represent an assimilation of 3 Pers. Singular pronoun which is the form ó⁶. We also note that, in partial support of this suggestion, that kò may be found in formal contrast with ó in positive-negative pairs like:

- (2) ó lɔ 'he went'
 kò lɔ 'he didn't go'

The argument for taking kò as a verbal element is certainly not weaker. For instance, it may be validly argued that there is no need to speculate in a formal analysis on the origin of the (extra) high-tone syllable at the junction between a VP and a preceding item: after all, this in no way affects the semantic interpretation of the clause, which is our ultimate goal. It may also be pointed out that if kò is excluded as an element of VP for the reason that contrasting pairs like (2) exist, yíó

⁶ Rowlands (1954), pp.385-6.

should equally be excluded because of pairs like (3):

- (3) Ó l_o 'he went'
Yí^ò l_o 'he will go'

But yí^ò cannot be excluded if only because of its close connection with máa¹ with which it shares not only a common suppletive form, níí, in the Negative but also a common meaning.

If, however, kò were included as a VP element, not only would we have to include the high-tone marker of VP onset, but we would also need to create a fourth class of VP elements because kò does not share the 'mutual exclusion' characteristic of the Modals. It is no disadvantage to create such a sub-class because, if it is not created within the VP, it will be created somewhere else in the grammar of the clause.

For two reasons, it is better to create a new system of 'Negation' elsewhere in the grammar rather than in the VP. In the first place, this will include other Negators like máà and kó (and àì- - the negative noun-forming prefix - if our grammar were to include nominalization). máà operates on the VP; but, unlike kò, has no fixed syntactic position in the grammar of a sentence. kó, in this study, is regarded as a negative qualifier in a NP. If we were to set up a VP sub-class for kò and the junctural high tone, we would

still have to account elsewhere within the VP for the distribution of máá; because it is unlike any other verbal element in distribution, a new (and fifth) VP sub-class would be required. This is a loss in economy of statement which, in addition, makes a statement of meanings more difficult at a later stage.

In the second place, if a VP sub-class were to be created to include kò and the junctural high tone, we would have difficulty in explaining the syntactic distribution of both members of the sub-class. The only thing they have in common is their syntactic position. While kò co-occurs with all the Modals in Independent Clause Structure, the junctural high tone excludes all Modals but one (báá²). In fact, the junctural high tone need not bother us as a syntactic (sub-)class. There are similar tonal features in, for instance, the junction of 'NP1 + NP2 - qualifier' where there is no overt morphological element in contrast. In other words, the positional contrast of kò with a high tone (extra syllable) occurring between a VP and a preceding element may be of no grammatical relevance.

For these reasons, we regard kò as an exponent of a system of

Negation with a grammatic function of negativising the VP. Like máà, which is another exponent of the same system, it is not a VP element. Similarly, we regard the junctural high tone as a non-VP feature.

3.225 TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The term 'Transitive' is used in this study to describe a verb

- (i) if that verb can be followed in basic clause structure by the object form of a pronoun or the 'NP-place' substitutes ibí, ibè; ìhín, òhún; or
- (ii) if it can be followed by a NP in such a basic construction as would permit the NP to be transposed to a syntactic position before the verb and leave the verb as a final element of the construction.

By (ii), bi 'ask' and jéwó 'confess' are Transitive Verbs (Vtr. for shorter reference), though jéwó does not fulfil condition (i). The condition demanded in (ii) is met by both in the change from the structures in (4) to (5):

- (4) a. Mo bi í 'I asked him'
- b. Mo jéwó rẹ 'I confessed it'
- (5) a. Òun ni mo bi 'It was him I asked'
- b. Òun ni mo jéwó 'It was (the thing) I confessed'

(The NP-Object í and its possessive counterpart in the examples (4) converge, in 5, in the common NP-subject form (emphatic), òun).

Another example is the change from (6) to (7) in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|--------|----------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (6) a. | na qmɔ | 'cane (a) child' | |
| | b. | tɔ́jú qmɔ | 'care for (a) child' |
| (7) a. | qmɔ ninà | 'the caning of (a) child' | |
| | b. | qmɔ titɔ́jú | 'the taking care of (a) child' |

Though nà 'cane' and tɔ́jú 'care for' belong to different verb sub-classes in more detailed classification (nà being marked by the feature '+ NP-object' while tɔ́jú is marked by '+ NP-possessive'), they both meet condition (ii) and are both 'Transitive' verbs.

In the table in 3.223, class 2bI is the only class under the label 'Transitive' which does not express the semantic notion: 'activity' "directed" at a notional "goal". It is, however, convenient to leave it in that position in the table because the surface structure of the clauses in which its very few members occur is closer to the rest of 'Transitive 2' class than to any other; and its members are not semantically closer to any other class or sub-class.

'Intransitive B' is the only set of Full Verbs that cannot be used transitively: it is 'Pure Intransitive'.

The distinction 'Transitive:Intransitive' is irrelevant to Auxiliaries.

For the rest of this study, Vtr. stands for 'Transitive Verbs', Vintr. stands for 'Intransitive Verbs'.

3.3

STRUCTURE OF THE VP

The normal structure of the VP is stated in the following Rule

Rule : VP → (Aux.) Full Verb.

The Auxiliary (Aux.) is an optional element; but the Full Verb is obligatory. Whenever an Aux. occurs in the VP, it normally precedes the Full Verb (exceptions are noted in 9.40 below).

st

The Aux. and the Full Verb respectively have their own internal structure. This will be stated in Chapters 4 to 9 and will all be brought together in a co-ordinated statement in 9.4. below.

3.4 CLAUSAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE VP

3.40 In this section, we list the types of clauses that affect the distribution of the elements of the VP since we need to refer to them in the Chapters that follow. We also find it necessary to say something about sentence types not only because the clause types here listed are ultimately relevant only in their relation to other clauses within a sentence but also because in accounting for the distribution and meaning of some of our VP elements we shall need to look beyond the limits of the constitute clause.

3.41 SENTENCE TYPES AFFECTING THE DISTRIBUTION OF VP ELEMENTS

For the purpose of this study, the only obligatory feature of a sentence is a Full Verb.⁷ If a single sentence includes more than this, the other elements appear in the following order relative to the Full Verb (bracketed elements are optional):

(NP) (Aux) Full Verb (NP) (Adv-Phr) (Adv-Phr)

⁷ The structure of the Full Verb is discussed in 4.01 below.

All sentences are based on this structure; but since some of them involve the joining of two or more sentences based on this structure, and since not all such joined sentences are necessary for the study of the VP, it is necessary to specify which of the sentence types are needed. To study the VP, all that is required is what we shall refer to henceforth as the simple sentence. (In a full discussion of clause types, this would be distinguished from the Compound Sentence which includes in it two or more Simple Sentences. This is of no relevance to our study because all verbal elements participating in it also occur within the structure of the Simple Sentence).

comprises

A Simple Sentence is either Single or Complex.

A Single sentence contains only one Free Clause.

A Complex sentence contains at least one Bound clause and a Free Clause.

3.42 CLAUSE TYPES AND PATTERNS

A clause has an obligatory Full Verb; other elements in its structure may be obligatory or optional, depending on the type of pattern (see 3.422).

3.421 There are two types of clauses:

Free (Independent) Clause: The defining characteristic of a Free clause is that it can occur alone as a full utterance without any syntactic necessity to be followed or preceded by another clause.

Bound (Dependent) Clause: A Bound Clause is a clause that cannot occur independently as a full utterance; it is obligatorily joined to a Free Clause. In addition, it must include in its structure a clause-initiator.

Clause Initiators in the structure of a Bound Clause:

- (i) LT: This is an obligatory low tone on the syllable immediately preceding the first verbal element in the VP. The only LT-clause type obligatorily contains báà; e.g. ò báà lẹ 'even if you go'
- (ii) bí¹: e.g. Mo mú u bí mo ɕe/ti d'ojú lé e⁸

(I arrested him as soon as I saw him)

In a bí¹-clause, ɕe⁵ or ti³ is obligatory (See Table 2, 5.11).

- (iii) bí² e.g. Mo lẹ aɕọ náà bí o ɕe/ti ní kí n lẹ ọ

(I ironed the clothes as you ordered me to do).

As with a bí¹-clause, a bí²-clause requires an obligatory ɕe⁵ or ti³. But there are two major syntactic differences between them:

(a) When T-Emphatic operates on the Complex Sentences in which they are constituents, there is a difference in the derived sentences. Thus:

the example in (ii) becomes

Bí mo ɕe/ti d'ojú lé e ni mo mú u;

the example in (iii) becomes

Bí o ɕe/ti ní kí n lẹ aɕọ náà ni mo ɕe lẹ ọ.

The difference is that the transposed Free Clause (after ni)

⁸ In all the examples, the Bound Clause is underlined.

requires an obligatory şe in (iii) while it does not in (ii).

(b) The Free Clause in (iii) can be a clause of Secondary pattern while in (ii) it cannot. Thus, in (iii) the example can be

Lọ aşọ nàà bí mo şe/ti ní kí o lò ọ

(Iron the clothes as I order you to);

while the corresponding construction in (ii) would be non-sensical:

* Mú u bí o şe/ti d'ojú lé e.

This syntactic difference has a parallel semantic difference: bí¹-clauses specify TIME ('as soon as') while bí²-clauses specify CONDITION ('in the condition that').

(iv) bí³/tí¹: The initiator of a bí³-clause can also be tí¹.

e.g. Bí/Tí o báá² lọ, o óò jìyà

(If you go, you will suffer).

(v) bí...bí... e.g. Bí wọn lọ, bí wọn ò lọ, wọn óò jìyà

(Whether they go or not, they will suffer).

This initiator will be preferred to as bí⁴.

(vi) kí¹: In a clause with this initiator, torí '(for) the reason' is optional before the initiator; e.g.

Ó fún wa ní káà (torí) kí a báà lè lọ

(He gave us a car so that we could go).

(vii) kí²: e.g. A fẹ́ kí ẹ máa wá

(We wish that you would come).

There are two main syntactic differences between kí¹ and kí²;

(a) Except in a sentence derived by T-Emphatic, báá is obligatory with kí¹: it is not even possible with kí².

(b) Clauses initiated by kí² always occur in a syntactic position where they can be replaced by a NP. In addition to this, if the NP after kí in (vii) were any NP but a non-emphatic pronoun, the structure of the Bound clause may be

kí NP (kí ó) máa wá -

i.e. with an optional kí ó. None of these is possible with kí¹.

(viii) kí³: e.g. kí wọ̀n tó dé, a ti sá lọ

(Before they arrived, we had run away).

As with kí², if the NP after kí³ is any other than a non-emphatic pronoun, the structure of the Bound clause may include an optional

kí ó as in the structure specified in (vii, b) above. The

differences between a kí²-clause and a kí³-clause are:

(a) A kí³-clause includes an obligatory bound verb tó which cannot occur in a kí²-clause.

(b) A kí³-clause cannot operate in the same syntactic position as a kí²-clause: i.e. where it can be replaced by a NP.

(ix) k'a ní: e.g.

k'á ní o wá (ní), à báá¹ r'owó diẹ̀ gbà

(If you had come, we could have received some money)

Of all the Dependent clause initiators k'a ní is the only one that is not a single morphological element. In its full form, kí a ní

'let's say that...', this initiator is a full clause with an obligatorily Transitive Verb whose object can only be another clause. It is treated here as a clause initiator because it is always used as a fused form which has, in this case, lost its significance as a poly-lexical sequence in the language. This initiator will be henceforth referred to as ki⁵.

(x) pé: e.g.

(a) A gbo pé e máa wá

(We heard that you would come)

(b) 1. Ó bí wa n'inú pé e wá

(It annoyed us that you came)

or 2. Pé e wá yen bí wa n'inú

(That you came annoyed us)

A pé-clause can be replaced by a NP as in (a) or (b2); or it may be in apposition to an anticipatory ó 'it'.

3.422 Types of Clause Patterns

A clause is either ^{of} a Primary pattern or of a Secondary pattern.

The Primary Pattern

The structure of a clause in Primary pattern is:

(Clause Initiator) NP (Aux) Full Verb (NP.2) (Adv-Phr) (Adv-Phr).

Its minimum structure is thus 'NP + Full Verb'

It is further required that 'NP' preceding a 'Full Verb' in Primary pattern be in 'Subject relation' to the '(Aux) Full Verb'.

It is in 'Subject relation' if and only if it is not deletable.

The Secondary Pattern

The structure of a clause in Secondary pattern is:

(ki⁴) (NP) (Aux) Full Verb (NP-2) (Adv-Phr).

Its minimum structure is thus only the presence of a 'Full Verb'.

It is further required that the 'NP' occurring before the 'Full

Verb' in Secondary pattern be in 'Hortative relation' to the

'(Aux) Full Verb'. It is in 'Hortative relation'

(a) if and whenever it is deletable; or

(b) if as a non-deletable NP, it is preceded by ki⁴ as explained below.

It is necessary to point out the following characteristics of the first two optional elements of Secondary pattern structure:

(i) ki⁴: As with ki² and ki³, if the NP after ki⁴ is any other than a non-emphatic pronominal form, an intervening ki⁴ ó is optional between NP and '(Aux) Full Verb'; i.e. both clauses in the following example are well-formed:

Kí gbogbo yín máa lọ

Kí gbogbo yín kí ó máa lọ

If ki⁴ is deleted, ki⁴ ó automatically has no part in the structure of the clause. The difference between ki⁴ and the other two (ki² and ki³) is that both it and the following NP can be deleted from the clause with no consequence for the grammaticality or the semantic interpretation of the clause; in fact, ki⁴ occurs in a totally different clause type - a Free Clause.

The occurrence of ki⁴ depends on there being a NP to follow it: it is only when the NP occurs that an optional ki⁴ comes

into the structure.

(ii) NP: The NP (Hortative) is very often the non-emphatic form of the 2 person Plural pronoun, e. In phonological structure this creates ambiguity between a Primary pattern clause and a Secondary pattern clause, as in:

E wá : (1) You came.
 : (2) Come.

But contextually as well as in the phonological structure of the clause when 'e' is replaced by other NP types (e.g. the emphatic pronominal iwó, you (sg.), or personal names), there is no ambiguity.

When NP (Hortative) is a personal name or iwó you (sg.), there is an obligatory pause between it and '(Aux) Full Verb'; and the NP may occur before or after the rest of the clause.

All Secondary pattern clauses are Free Clauses. The distinction Free Clause and Bound Clause applies only to the Primary pattern.

3.423 Basic and Derived Patterns

The distinction Basic as opposed to Derived patterns is also made in this study. This, however, is not restricted to clause structure.

A Basic structural pattern: is one that is not the result of the application of a transformation.

A Derived structural pattern: is one that results from the application of a transformation.

4. THE SINGLE VERB

4.0 FULL VERB TYPES

There are four types of Full Verb: the Single Verb, the Complex Verb, the Compound Verb, and the Composite Verb.

4.01 Structural characteristics:

(i) The Single Verb consists of one and only one Free Verb element from any of the non-Auxiliary classes of VP elements set out in 3.223.

(ii) The Complex Verb consists of a sequence of two verbal elements one of which is a Bound Verb. The order may be Free + Bound, Bound + Free, or Bound + Bound.

(iii) The Compound Verb has two constituents both of which are Free Verbs. The catenation is transformationally derived.

(iv) The Composite Verb consists of any sequence of more than two verbal elements, the structure of which includes a Complex Verb or a Compound Verb.

Each of these Full Verb types can occur in the position v as defined in the statement of VP characteristics in 3.111; this means that it can be preceded by the Auxiliaries, by the junctural high tone, or by the Negator kd.

For the rest of this Chapter, we shall be considering the distribution of the Single Verb. In subsequent Chapters, we shall consider the structure and distribution of the other three Full

Verb types before dealing with the Auxiliaries.

4.1 PRELIMINARY NOTE

As outlined in 3.223, there are two broad classes of Single Verbs: Transitive and Intransitive with the various sub-classes that are indicated in that table.

4.2 TRANSITIVE

4.21 TRANSITIVE CLASS 1:

All verbs in this class may be followed by the Object forms of the personal pronouns.¹

There are two sub-classes of Transitive Class 1 verbs.

(a) Obligatorily Transitive: Verbs belonging to this sub-class must be directly followed by an object NP in basic clause pattern. The sub-class contains a very large set of verbs of which only a few examples are here given.²

Examples:

bi 'ask'; bọ 'worship'; dè 'tie'; gàn 'scorn';

gún 'pound'; gbọ́n 'scoop out liquid'

(b) Optionally Transitive: Verbs in this sub-class are only optionally followed by an object NP. Grammaticality and, to a great extent, the semantic content of the constitute clause are not affected by the deletion of the object NP. It is only

¹For a statement of the object forms of the pronouns, see Appendix II

²Where an indication is given that the examples for a verb class are not exhaustively stated, see Appendix I for a fuller set.

when it becomes situationally necessary to state any detail about the object NP that it cannot be deleted. This is a fairly large set of verbs and only a few examples are here given.

Examples:

bì 'vomit'; bí 'give birth'; dà 'vomit (children only)'

fò 'skip, jump'; gbà 'admit, receive'; kò 'refuse'.

4.22 TRANSITIVE CLASS 2

Verbs of this class are characterised by the feature '+ NP-possessive'. NP-possessive means 'a qualifying Noun Phrase'; where it is pronominal, it is always the Possessive form of the pronoun³.

It is difficult to determine what to regard as basic verb forms of this type because, of the many items of that type which are commonly regarded by informants as lexical units, many are obviously sequences of 'verb + noun' in which the constituents are recognizable; e.g. kòrin 'sing' (= kò 'crow?' + orin 'song'; kò occurs freely as a Transitive 1(a) verb), sàré 'run' (= sá 'run' + éré 'race'). On the other hand, there are verbs cited as lexical units by the informants (and in the dictionaries) which behave as sequences of 'verb + noun' but whose constituents cannot be recognized in present-day Yoruba; e.g. gbàgbé 'forget'; jéwó 'confess';

³ For a statement of the possessive forms of the pronouns, see Appendix III. If a qualifying non-pronominal NP is consonant-initial, an obligatory mid-tone extra syllable intervenes between the qualifying NP and the final vowel of the qualified NP. The extra syllable has the same quality as the final vowel of qualified NP.

kojá 'pass by'. Between these two types are others whose meanings suggest what the constituents may be but which are however difficult to analyse as 'verb + noun' sequences; e.g. dúró 'stand'; jóòkó 'sit'.

In order to reduce the arbitrariness of membership of this class to the barest minimum, we classify as Transitive Class 2 verbs any elements that cannot be split into constituents either by any intervening elements or by an application of either T-Emphatic or T-Relative. The transformational test consists of the following operation:

Given the verb kòrin 'sing' as suspect, either of the above-mentioned transformations should split it into its constituents in the following manner:

NPl + VP (if VP = 'Verb + noun')

⇒ noun + $\begin{matrix} ni \\ ti \end{matrix}$ + NPl + Verb.

Mo kòrin ⇒ Orin ni/tí mo kò

Orthographic (and informants') 'words' like bínú 'to be angry'; júbà 'to pay respects'; lérí 'boast'; and sáré 'run' are excluded by this test. An item like bínú is also easily excluded because the sequence bí NP n'inú 'annoy NP' demonstrates that bínú is a sequence of 'verb + noun'.

A considerable number of VP elements are irreducible to 'verb + noun' constituents by any tests, but are nevertheless

followed by possessive forms of the NP. These are here regarded as Transitive Class 2 verbs. Most members of this class are foreign loans treated in Yoruba as if they were 'verb + noun' sequences.⁴ But some of them are not foreign and probably represent fossilized 'verb + noun' sequences.

There are two broad sub-classes of Transitive Class 2 verbs, one of them capable of further sub-classification (only a few examples are given here):

(a) NP-possessive obligatory:

Examples:

dabarú	'confuse'	dúmbú	'butcher'
jínkí	'endow with'	júuwe	'point out'
kùndùn	'cherish (sweet things)'	mẹ̀à̀sì	'mess up'

(b) NP-possessive optional:

This can be further sub-classified by considering the type of possessive nominal that follows the verb.

I: The 'NP-poss.' is obligatorily pronominal. There are only six single verbs in this sub-class:

dáké	'stop noisy activity'	dìdè	'rise'	duró	'stand'
jóókó	'sit'	simi	'rest'		
pé	'to be late (only in idiomatic	<u>kò pé rẹ̀</u> ...	'Not long after that...'		

⁴ One reason for this is that such words are borrowed into Yoruba in a phonological form that involves two syllabics in direct sequence. In Yoruba verbs where phonological structure is normally CV(CV...), an occurrence of two syllabics in direct sequence indicates word junction. If the loan-word is used as a verb, it is interpreted as necessarily involving a junction of verb and noun.

In Abraham (1958), there is a sentence:

Òkó dùn láti jó 'it is pleasant to sit'

This is not possible in my usage or in that of any of the informants. If it were a Yoruba sentence, this sub-class would exclude jòòkó which would in fact be a 'verb + noun' sequence.

Abraham however adds:

"The word òkó has no independent existence, but has been created for this usage out of a word jókó 'sat'." p.144.

No doubt, the informant who 'created' it did so on the kind of analogy we noted in 'foot-note 4' of this Chapter.

As pointed out on p.113, this sub-class of verbs is somewhat different from other Transitive sub-classes. It is pseudo-transitive in the sense that its members are followed by a form of a NP; but syntactically at least, the language treats them as if they were 'verb + noun':

Ó dáké rẹ 'He kept his silence'

Mo rọra dide mi 'I quietly got myself into a standing position'

Ó dúró (ti)-rẹ jẹjẹ 'He quietly kept his (standing) posture'

Ó jóòkó (ti)-rẹ 'He stayed on his seat'

Ó simi (ti)-rẹ 'He kept his peace'.

But there are no recognizable verb and nominal constituents in them.

In the idiomatic kò pé rẹ 'Not long after that ...', the monosyllabic verb pé, normally of Transitive class 1, behaves like verbs of this class.

II: The 'NP-poss.' may be a Noun or a Pronoun. (A few examples are here given).

Examples:

gbàgbé	'forget'	jéwó	'confess'
kọjá	'pass by, surpass'	múra	'be prepared'

Both Transitive sub-class 2bI and 2bII may occur in basic sentences with the same surface structure as in the pair (1) sentences:

NP1 + verb + NP2-poss.

1 (a)	ó	jóókó	rẹ̀	:	Verb = <u>2bI</u>
(b)	ó,	gbàgbé	rẹ̀	:	" = <u>2bII</u>

In such cases, our syntactic distinction of 2bI from 2bII verbs corresponds to a semantic distinction between sentences 1 (a) and 1 (b). All 2bI verbs assign to the pattern given above the meaning:

'NP1 is referentially identical with NP2'.

On the other hand, all 2bII verbs assign to the same pattern the meaning:

'NP1 is referentially different from NP2'.

4.23 TRANSITIVE CLASS 3

The characteristic of this 3b class of Transitive verbs is '+ NP-Vnd'. 'NP-Vnd' is a verbal noun derived from the classified Full Verb element itself.⁵

⁵ The verbal noun is characterised as Vnd to distinguish it from other Vn types that are relevant to the distribution of Single Verb elements in Catenative Pattern 1 (Chapter 6).

There are two sub-classes of Transitive Class 3.

(a) 'NP-Vn.1' is obligatory

There are four members of this sub-class (verbal nouns underlined):

- fí OR fín : Mo fí èéfi(n) sí wọn 'I blew smoke at them'
- gé : Mo gé ègé n'ibi bọ̀plù 'I dribbled at football'
- lá : Ó lá àlá 'He dreamed a dream'
- sé : Ó sé ìsẹ 'He lived in poverty'

Although their occurrence is normally with their nominalized forms, the first two, fí(n) and gé, may be followed by NPs other than the verbal nouns derived from them. In the case of fí(n), apart from the Vn.

èéfi(n) 'smoke', the NP may be the object producing the smoke (e.g. iná 'fire'; or ewiri 'bellows') or the object on which the smoke is blown (e.g. eku 'rats'). In the case of gé, apart from the Vn. ègé 'dribbling', the NP may be the person beaten to the ball in the process of dribbling;

e.g. - Mo gé Alábi 'I beat Alabi to the ball'

(b) 'NP-Vn. 1' is optional

As with fí(n) and gé, members of this sub-class may be followed by NPs other than their own nominalized forms; but these other NPs that may follow them have meanings that are substitutable for the Vn. For instance, NP after jó 'dance' may be ijó 'dance' or bàtá, jùjú, etc., which are specific types of dance.

'NP' optional.

- jó 'dance' : Mo jó ijó nàà d́áa-d́áa 'I performed the dance well'
- rín 'walk' : Mo rín irin púpò 'I walked a long distance'
- rín 'laugh' : Mo rín erin kèé-kèé 'I laughed heartily'
- sá 'run' : Mo sá asála 'I ran to safety'
- sò 'grumble' : Ó sò asò 'He made a fuss about a good turn he did'
- tò 'urinate' : Ó tò itò púpò 'He passed much urine'

Almost any monosyllabic Free Verb can be followed by its own nominalized form if we were to consider nominalization of the type Cí-Verb. Similarly, almost any Transitive verb can be followed by its own duplicative nominalized form if we were to consider nominalization of the duplicative type (pattern: i-vb-kú-vb as in ìmu-kú-mu 'reckless drinking'; < mu 'drink'). We exclude these nominalized types because they constitute no good classificatory criteria if all (or almost all) verbs are characterized by them.

4.24 TRANSITIVE CLASS 4

The characteristic feature of this class of Transitive verb is '+ NP-place'. With the exception of kiri and rè, all members of this class are optionally followed by the Bound Transitive Verb sí which intervenes between them and 'NP-place'. The resultant sequence verb + sí is a Complex Verb (Chapter 5) and not a Single Verb. Thus, it may be argued that most of the members of this class are directly followed by a 'NP-place' only after an optional Deletion Transformation has operated on the Complex Verb sequence 'verb + sí'. This would have the effect of making most of the verbs (e.g. lọ 'go', wá 'come') Intransitive.

This, however, does not argue against the setting up of this Transitive Class; for there are verbs which are followed only by 'NP-place' and which do not permit an inter-

vening sí. In addition, all the verbs, like lọ, wá, fulfil both conditions of Transitivity in 3.225; and they are taken in this study as Transitive. This, of course, does not bar them from participating, like many other Transitive verbs, in Complex Verb structure. We regard the alternative syntactically 'fuller' but semantically identical Complex Verb form (Transitive Class 4 verb + sí) as a stylistic variant of the verbs listed below. This procedure makes it unnecessary to derive 'verb + NP-place' from 'Complex Verb + NP-place' by means of an additional deletion operation.

There are two sub-classes of Transitive Class 4 verbs

(a) 'NP-place' obligatory

The only examples of Free Verbs in this sub-class are:

já 'to be through' : já (sí) òde/òṅà
rè 'go off to' : rè Èkó/Ìlú-Òyìnbó/Okò/òjà, etc.

(b) 'NP-place' optional

Examples:

dé 'arrive' : Mo dé (sí) Èkó
kiri 'roam' : Mo kiri Èkó fún oṣù kan
lọ 'go' : Mo lọ (sí) Èkó
sùn 'sleep' : Mo sùn (sí) Èkó/orí-ilẹ̀
wá 'come' : Mo wá (sí) Èkó

('NP-place' are underlined. They are all deletable; but whenever they are, sí is automatically deleted. Brackets show that

si is deletable even when NP-place occurs).

4.25

TRANSITIVE CLASS 5

This class of Transitive verbs is characterized by the occurrence after a verb of a NP that is not of any of the types that characterize Transitive Classes 1 to 4. These can only be Nouns or the emphatic form of the pronouns occurring in a post-verb position in which they cannot be replaced by a place-nominal, a verbal noun formed from the preceding verb, the possessive form of a pronoun, or the Object form of a pronoun. Verbs of this type are very few and the following list exhausts the whole type:

There are two sub-classes.

(a) NP obligatory

Examples: (Superscripts are for distinguishing homophones; see Appendix I)

- dà, di 'become' ; fò¹ 'fetch' (+iná 'fire')
gbà³ 'march upon' (+erùpè, iyèpè 'mud')
gbà⁵ (+iyànjú 'effort' > gbìyànjú 'try')
hù (+ìwà 'manners' > hùwà 'behave')
jé¹ 'to be'
pa³ 'set up, create' (+agbo 'gathering'; àgò 'hut';
ààlè 'magical charm for protection of property';
àtè 'display counter in the market-place').

si is deletable even when NP-place occurs).

4.25 TRANSITIVE CLASS 5

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Examples: (Superscripts are for distinguishing homophones; see Appendix I)

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gbà³ 'march upon' (+erùpè, iyèpè 'mud')
gbà⁵ (+iyànjú 'effort' > gbìyànjú 'try')
hù (+iwà 'manners' > hùwà 'behave')
jé¹ 'to be'
pa³ 'set up, create' (+agbo 'gathering'; àgó 'hut';
ààlè 'magical charm for protection of property';
àtẹ 'display counter in the market-place').

- pa⁴ 'make a sound' (+ariwo 'noise'; atéwọ 'clapping';
esẹ 'feet' - pa'sẹ = tap a rhythm with one's
feet to attract the attention of a crying baby;
òsẹ 'noise made by sucking the lips in frustration')
- sà 'apply to' (as in Mo sa ipá mi 'I did my best')
- yá⁵ 'to be exposed (to source of heat)'; e.g. Mo yá ná
'I warmed myself by the fire'.

The verb kú used in greetings belongs to this sub-class and there is virtually no restriction on the choice of NPs following it. When used with a NP-Hortative 'e', however, (e.g. È kú), it may seem that a following NP is optional. It should be noted, however, that in that usage, the greeting is idiosyncratic in its clause structure: there is an obligatory lengthening of e; and this is the only instance of it in Yoruba.

(b) NP optional

There are four examples of this.

- kù¹ 'remain'
- lé 'to be of greater quantity' (as in Ó lé (méjì):
'It has increased (by two)').
- rò¹ 'to be restless' (as in Ó n rò ('lé) jù 'He is
exceedingly troublesome').
- rùn 'smell' (as in Ó n rùn ẹja 'It smells fish')

Two verbs, jẹ⁴ 'allow' (which is normally followed by a Noun Clause initiated by kí¹) and ní³ 'say' (used for immediate reporting) are Transitive Class 5 Verbs. They are different from all other Transitive Verbs in that they are not normally followed directly by a Noun or the object form of pronouns.

4.3 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

4.31 INTRANSITIVE CLASS A

4.310 This class includes all Single Verbs that are Intransitive in basic clause structure but can become Transitive when certain Transformations operate on the basic clause structure. Thus, it is a class of Potentially-Transitive Intransitive verbs.

Two broad sub-classes may be distinguished on the criterion of the characteristic Transformation operating on them and on no other verbs.

4.311 SUB-CLASS A1

The characteristic Transformation distinguishing this class from other Single Verb classes is the 'Causative Transformation 2' (labelled as 'T-3' on the table in 3.223 for easy reference but referred to in the descriptive parts of this study as 'T-Caus.2').

The operation of 'T-Caus.2' may be stated as follows:

NP1 + Verb \implies NP2 + Verb + NP1 - obj./NP1 - poss.

e.g. i \acute{O} wó \implies NP2 wó o : (NP1 - obj.)

('It crashed' 'NP2 crashed it')

ii \acute{O} bẹ̀rẹ̀ \implies NP2 bẹ̀rẹ̀ rẹ̀ : (NP1 - poss.)

('It started' 'NP2 started it')

(Since we distinguish only the Object and Possessive forms of NPs, the remaining form of NP as distinguished, for

instance, in the Pronouns, is that which normally functions as subject. We think there is no need to mark it 'NP-subj.' as we always mark 'NP-obj.', 'NP-poss.' Thus the NPs that are not marked before the 'verb' are to be understood as 'Subject' forms).

There is no special syntactic reason for taking 'NP1 + Verb' as the basic form and thus implying that the Intransitive use of the verbs is basic while the Transitive use is derived. If the Transitive use is taken as basic, verbs in this sub-class will be members of Transitive Classes 1 and 2. But nothing is gained by doing this; since in Transitive Class 1, for instance, we must also sub-classify to distinguish this as a 'potentially-intransitive' sub-class, the number of classes is in no way reduced. By taking the Intransitive use as basic, we have, quite frankly, been influenced by the view that the grammar should ultimately be capable of explaining the meanings of the structures in which the verbal elements participate. When verbs of this class occur '+NP', the clause structure is different from that in which no NP follows; and this difference of structure is always matched by a semantic difference that may be characterized as 'causative'. The 'causative' meaning is probably a product of the kind of clause structure used; but the material point is that this clause structure is matched with another which

consistently the same. In the case of bò, for instance, the meaning in Transitive usage is 'causative' like in all other cases.

This sub-class may be further sub-classified on the criterion of what kind of NP follows the verb in the derived clause structure: this may be 'NP-obj.' or 'NP-poss.'

(a) NP-object after the verb.

Most of the verbs in this Intransitive Class are followed by 'NP-obj.' in derived clause structure. Only a few examples are listed.

Examples:

bù ¹	'cut'	dà ²	'pour'
dá ⁴	'snap'	dí ¹	'block'
fọ́ ¹	'break'	gbá ³	'fry'
jì ¹	'shake, swing'	wó	'crash'

(b) NP-possessive after the verb.

There are three members of this sub-class:

bèrè ¹	'start'	dòtí	'to be dirty'
parí	'finish'		

A fourth verbal element which shares the syntactic privileges of occurrence that are characteristic of this sub-class is gbádùn 'to be pleasant'. Thus, we have the following syntactically related structures (a) and (b):

(a) Ó gbádùn 'It is pleasant'

(b) *Ko gbádùn rẹ̀* 'I find it pleasant; I enjoy it'.

The structure of (b) is derived from that of (a) in exactly the same way as specified in our statement of 'T-Caus.2' at the beginning of this section. This is, however, an exception (the only one known to us) to our suggestion that the relationship between the basic and the derived structures in the operation of 'T-Caus.2' is semantically 'minus causative': 'plus causative'.

4.312 SUB-CLASS A2

The characteristic Transformation distinguishing this class of verbs is what we label as 'P-Transformation' ('T-1' in the table of verb classes, 3.225; but referred to in other parts of this work as 'T-P'). The operation of T-P may be stated as follows:

(Transformational Operations are listed here as A, B, C, for easy reference)

(A): NP1 + NP2-poss. + Verb (+Adv-Phr) \implies NP1 + Verb + NP2-obj (+Adv-Phr)

e.g. *Orí mi sín (wàá-wàá)* \implies *Orí sín mi (wàá-wàá)*

(lit. 'Head my split ... ' 'Head split me ... ')

'My head ached badly'.

In all cases, 'NP1' is a Noun designating a physical portion of NP2; while NP2 is always animate, usually human.

The product of Operation 'A' may serve as input for the application of T-Caus.1 (Causative Transformation 1), the

operation of which is as follows:

(B) : NP1 + Verb + NP2 - obj. (+ Adv - Phr)

⇒ NP3 + fi + NP1 + Verb + NP2 - obj (+ Adv...)

e.g. Ori' sín mi (wàá-wàá) ⇒ Èéfin fi ori' sín mi (wàá-wàá)

('My head ached badly' 'Smoke made my head ache badly')

As part of the operation, any auxiliary (sequence) attached to 'verb' in the input sentence attaches to fi in the output sentence. This further possible operation applies to input sentences containing any of the examples listed below.

It is a further characteristic of this class of verbs that the output of Operation 'B' may, in turn, serve as input for the operation of another Transformation which in this study is labelled as 'T-ní 1'. 'T-ní 1' operates as follows:

(C) : fi + NP1 + Verb + NP2 - obj. (Adv. - Phr)

e.g. fi ori' sín mi (wàá-wàá) (product of 'B')

'caused my head to ache badly'

⇒ Verb + NP2 - obj. + ní + NP1 (+ Adv - Phr)

e.g. sín mi ní ori' (wàá-wàá)

(lit. 'ached me in the head ...')

provided that NP1 is not a non-emphatic pronoun'.

Thus, from the sentence

'Èéfin fi ori' sín mi wàá-wàá'

produced by Operation 'B', we may derive by Operation 'C':

'Èéfin sín mi l'ori' wàá-wàá'.

The semantic connection between this last sentence and the

initial input sentence 'Orí mi sín wàá-wàá' is derived through the operations 'A', 'B' and 'C', all of which produce actual sentences of the language at their different levels. Only verbs of this sub-class allow the functioning of this sequence of transformational operations.

Sub-Class A2 verbs may be further sub-classified into two sub-classes. First, there are those that permit only fixed NPl lexical items (label these 'I') as against those in which there is a relatively free choice of lexical items to serve as NPl (label them as 'II').

All the exemplificatory sentences below are products of Operation 'A'; exemplification can similarly be made of any of the other two operations.

Examples: (In 'I', the fixed 'NPl' are given in brackets after the verbs).

I.

fó² (orí 'head')

Orí fó mi (wàá-wàá)
'I had a throbbing head-ache'

gbé³ (inú 'guts')

Inú gbé mi (gèdègè)
'I had a feeling of nausea'

jà³ (àyà 'chest')

Àyà já mi (gìrì-gìrì)
'I was frightened'

kan¹ (ara 'body')

Ara kan mí (gó-gó)
'My nerves were on edge'.

kò¹ (ìmí 'breath')

Ìmí kò mí
'I felt satisfied and relaxed'.

là¹ (ara 'body', àyà 'chest',
orí 'head')

Orí là mí (wàá-wàá)
'I had a splitting head-ache'.

lọ¹ (inú 'guts')

Inú lọ mí (kóróó)
'My stomach churned badly'.

sín²/sán¹ (orí 'head',
etí 'ear')

Orí sín mí (wàá-wàá)
'I had a splitting head-ache'.

yá⁵ (ara 'body')

Ara yá mí (gá-gá)
'I had a feeling of exhilaration'.

II. III.

hún = yún²

: Ara hún mí (wẹlẹ-wẹlẹ)
'My body itched all over'.

jà³

: Ọwọ jà mí (yùù)
'My hands stung'.

rìn²

: Ara rìn mí (gìn-rìn-rìn)
'I felt as if something was
crawling all over me'.

- ro⁴ : Apá ro mí (sùù)
'I had a feeling of strain on my arms.'
- rò¹ : Ara rò mí (sìì, wòò)
'I felt relaxed'.
- ta⁵ : 'Ènu ta mí (fòò, yàà)
'I had a smarting pain in my mouth'.
- wì¹ : Àyà wì mí (wìrì-wìrì)
'My heart was pounding'.

(Adverbials are added only where sentences of the basic structure would require them in order to be 'idiomatically complete'. A sentence is not 'idiomatically complete' in cases where, although it is syntactically well-formed and semantically acceptable, it is stylistically odd.)

DOUBTFUL CASES

There are four verbs which in my speech belong to this class but which result in sentences that are not readily acceptable to some informants. The ready acceptability of such sentences to several other people questioned suggests that these verbs regularly belong to this class in at least one dialect and not necessarily in 'Standard Yoruba'.

I.

- dẹ (ara 'body'): Ara dẹ mí (wẹlẹ-wẹlẹ)
'I felt relaxed'.
- gbẹ (" " : Ara gbẹ mí (wẹlẹ-wẹlẹ)
'My body itched all over'.
- wá² (" " : Ara (ti lẹ) wá ẹ jù.
'You are very restless'.

II.

- wẹ³ : Ara wẹ mí (kóróó) 'I was agitated'.

Some of the verbs listed under Ia and Ib participate in a

clause in which the syntactic roles of the two NPs in the output sentence of operation 'A' (p.138) are reversed. The structure of the output sentence is:

(i) NP1 + Verb + NP2-obj. (+Adv-Phr)

e.g. 'Aya ja Olu 'Olu was afraid'

The structure of the sentence in which syntactic roles of the NPs are reversed is:

(ii) NP2 + Verb + NP1-obj. (+Adv-Phr)

Olu ja 'ya 'Olu was afraid'

The only semantic difference is that the content of the verb is given emphasis in the structure of (i) while (ii) gives no emphasis.

Sub-Class A2 verbs that permit the reversibility of NP roles described here are:

ja³, ya⁵; la only when NP = ara.

Of the Doubtful cases listed (p.142): wa².

4.32 INTRANSITIVE CLASS B

This is the class of all verbs that are always Intransitive.

There is only one class of Single Verbs that are always Intransitive, since the Bound elements indicated as Intransitive Class B2 in the table (3.223 above) are not, by definition (4.01, (i)), Single Verbs.

This class is a fairly large set of Full Verb elements. Only a few examples are here given.

Examples:

ba 'hide'; dára 'to be good'; du 'run fast';

gò 'to be foolish'; hq 'flee'; şubú 'fall';

tóbi 'to be big'; yan 'march'.

5. COMPLEX VERBS

5.0 DEFINITION OF THE COMPLEX VERB

5.01 As defined in 4.01, a Complex Verb is a sub-class of Full Verb in which a Bound Verb combines with (another)^v Full Verb element. The constituent partner of the obligatory Bound Verb may be a Free Verb or another Bound Verb.

Before examining the structure and possible sub-classification of the Complex Verb, it seems necessary to examine problems that arise in determining what are, and what are not, constituents of the Complex Verb and to suggest a practical solution.

5.02 THE DIFFICULTY OF PRECISELY DETERMINING WHAT IS A BOUND VERB

A Bound Verb is an obligatory element in the structure of a Complex Verb. As defined in 3.21, a Bound Verb is a Full Verb form that cannot occur in the position v as defined in 3.111; i.e. it cannot serve as the only verbal element in a clause. In fact, 3.21 and 3.22 fully define the syntactic status of the Bound Verb but still leave a practical problem when we examine not verbal units but sequences of them. The following difficulties arise.

5.021 The first arises from the occurrence of elements like lé and lù in the following type of sentences:

1. lé : (a) Ó lé ténté s'orí-igi 'It perched conspicuously on a tree'
(b) Ó dúró lé igi 'It stood on a tree'.

2. lù : (a) Mo lù ú 'I beat him'
(b)(i) Mo subú lù ú 'I fell on him'
(ii) Ó fò lu ògiri 'It flew against a wall'

In 1(a) and 2(a), lé 'stand out clearly', and lù 'beat' are Free Verbs. In 1(b) and 2(b), the syntactic status of lé and lù is disputable. They are fully homophonous with the Free Verbs and have a vague semantic similarity to them; but they are not indisputably Free Verb elements. Are the homophonous elements in the (a) and (b) sentences to be regarded as instances of distinct verbal elements? Or are they to be considered as different occurrences of the same Free Verbs even though the occurrences in 1(b) and 2(b) are not obviously relatable in meaning to those in 1(a) and 2(a)?

The solution could be syntactic or semantic. Precision is impossible with a semantic solution: an arbitrary decision has to be taken as to how widely unrelatable to each other the two items have to be before we stop regarding them as the same. For this reason, we prefer a syntactic solution.

If items like lé and lù were Free Verbs, then verbal sequences like the ones cited in the examples would be Compound Verbs (see Chapter 7 below). As such they have to be derived from underlying structures in which each of them is indisputably a Free Verb. Where no such underlying structures are plausible,

we regard the sequence as a Complex Verb. Thus, for instance, the sequences cited above are Complex Verbs and lé and lù are Bound Verbs.*

5.022 In Complex Verb structure, the obligatory Bound Verb may precede a Free Verb partner. But Auxiliaries are also Bound Verb elements, preceding, for instance, Free Verbs. It seems reasonable to ask: When is a Bound Verbal element preceding a Free Verb non-Auxiliary? In 3.22, the distinction between Aux. and non-Aux. is fairly clearly drawn; but this does not put ALL cases beyond doubt.

On this question, we offer the following suggestions.

1. In our view, one criterion that puts the non-Aux. status of verbals beyond doubt is nominalization. In this respect, the most useful among the nominalizing prefixes are Cí-, ì-, à- which are never prefixed to Auxiliary elements. By far the most helpful of them is à-.

Mainly because earlier grammars had made little use of the rare morphological evidence available in Yoruba, a large number of verbal items, when they have not been totally ignored, have been classified as adverbials or prepositions apparently because their translation equivalents are regarded as such in English. Bamgboṣe (1966) has drawn attention to the verbal status of most of these but has left them inadequately classified

* Since the writing of this thesis, E.C. Rowlands has (by private correspondence) suggested the setting up of a verbal subclass of elements that occur sometimes as Free and sometimes as Bound verbs to deal with the distribution of elements like lé and lù. By this subclassification, the analysis can avoid the kind of lexical over-differentiation to which our present approach may lead.

under his blanket term 'Preverb'. Most of the 'preverbs' listed on pp.69-70 of Bamgboṣe (1966) are here classified as Bound (Full) Verbs on the basis of their ability to take the à- nominalizing prefix. (In the following list, '*' marks Bamgboṣe's 'preverbs').

dédé	'chance to'	àdédé	'suddenness'
*gbé ⁴ /ti ²	(Syntactic marker, associated with NP-place)		
		àgbóko-jẹ	'that which is eaten on the farm'
		àtilẹ-bá	'a hereditary custom'
*jàjà	'manage to'	àjàjà-bọrí	'an effort that just managed to succeed'
jọ(jọ)/jìjọ	'together'	àjọ-jẹ	'fellowship'
*jùmò	'together'	àjùmò-ṣe	'communal effort'
*kọ(kọ)	'first'	àkọkọ	'first time'
		àkọ-bí	'first-born child'
*mòòmò	'intentionally'	àmòmò-dá	'that which is intentionally created'(e.g. èṣẹ 'sin')
*nìkan	'alone'	ànikan-jẹ	'roaming about all alone'
pà(pà)	'in spite of'	"àpàpà-gbé imọlẹ-ọjà"	(lit.: the market-god that one serves in spite of one's earlier reluctance to do so) 'a responsibility which one ultimately accepts'. ⁺⁺
*ṣẹṣẹ	'have just'	àṣẹṣẹ-yọ	'newly sprouted'
*tètè	'early; quickly'	"àtètè-sùn (l') àtètè-jí"	'early to bed (is) early to rise'
*tún	'repeat'	àtúnbí	'rebirth'
*tú(n)bọ	'further'	àtú(n)bọ-tán	'last stage of man's life'
*gbòḍḍò	'must'	àgbòḍḍò-ṣe	'a must'

⁺⁺ pàpà: While this item is normally used by many speakers of the Yoruba Standard who have an Eastern Yoruba background, it is rejected as substandard by some people and is unknown to a few others.

*gbòḡḡḡḡ 'must' : àgbòḡḡḡḡ-ḡe 'a must'

(This element has a dialetal variant - gbéḡḡḡḡ - from which the widely used noun àgbéḡḡḡḡ 'prohibition' is formed).

NOTE: àbámò 'regret' may suggest that báá¹ should be included in this list. In fact, it is not derived by prefix à-; it is a full clause meaning 'Had we known'.

2. Nine verbal elements cannot be classified specifically as Aux. or Full Verb by any of the criteria we have defined. All but two of them are restricted to specific structural patterns.

(a) Elements restricted to specific structural patterns

The following verbal elements are restricted to certain structural patterns described below:

fi³; fi⁴/ḡe⁴; (gbé⁴/ti²); ḡe³; ḡe⁵/ti³; tó².

(Notation: '/' indicates that items on both sides are in free variation; gbé⁴/ti² are enclosed in brackets because, although their occurrence in clause structure is restricted like those discussed here, they are easily classified as Full Verbs on the criterion of nominalizing prefix, à-, discussed above).

With the exception of fi³ and tó², all these elements are syntactic markers¹ found in the Emphatic Transformation of four basic sentence types which are distinguished by the kind of use they make of the Adverbial elements participating in them. The transformation is described in (a) - (d) below.

¹ A 'syntactic marker' is a syntactic element that cannot be glossed like lexical items and its occurrence in the clause, while required to make the construction syntactically well-formed, does not to the best of our knowledge affect the meaning of the following verbal element or of any other constituent of the clause.

(a) fi⁴/şe⁴:

Basic Sentence: NP + FV (Full Verb) + Adv-Reason²

(e.g. Mo lo nitori bée)

'I went for that reason'

+ T-Emph. => Adv-Reason + ni + NP + fi/şe + FV

e.g. Nitori bée ni mo fi/şe lo

'It was for that reason that I went.'

(b) gbé⁴/ti²:

NP + FV + Adv-place³

e.g. Wón sùn L'oko

'They slept in the farm'

+ T-Emph. => Adv-place + ni + NP + gbé/ti + FV

e.g. L'oko ni wón gbé/ti sùn

'It was in the farm that they slept'

² 'Adv-Reason' (like 'Adv-place', etc.) is merely a mnemonic label for a syntactic class. 'Adv-Reason' in a basic clause is the prepositional phrase ni + NP (NP → itori/tori + NP-qualifier; itori = 'cause; reason'). When the prepositional phrase is transposed by T-Emph., ni is optional before tori and the NP tori may be replaced by idi 'cause', ohun 'thing', or abájo 'no wonder'. Whenever 'abájo' replaces 'tori', NP-qualifier is obligatorily deleted.

³ 'Adv-place' in a basic sentence is always the prepositional phrase ni + NP-place. In the derived sentence, ni is only optional.

(o) še^3 :

NP + FV + Adv-purpose⁴

e.g. A lə lăti rí wɔn

(We went in order to see them)

+ T-Emph. \Rightarrow Adv-purpose + ni + NP + še + FV

e.g. Lăti rí wɔn ni a še lə

'It was in order to see them that we went'

(d) $\text{še}^5/\text{ti}^3$:

NP + FV + Adv-manner⁵

e.g. A yà bááyí

(We turned aside like this)

+ T-Emph. \Rightarrow Adv-manner + ni + NP + $\text{še}/\text{ti}$ + FV

e.g. Bááyí ni a $\text{še}/\text{ti}$ yà

'This is how we turned aside'

$\text{še}^5/\text{ti}^3$ also occur in basic clauses whenever the clauses are initiated by bi¹ and bi² (3.421).

⁴ 'Adv-purpose' in a basic sentence always has the structure lăti + verb; otherwise it is a clause initiated by ki¹ (see 3.421). The clause constituent lăti + verb is an 'Adv-purpose' if and only if it can be transposed to sentence-initial position by T-Emph.; otherwise, it is a verbal noun in catenation with the preceding Full Verb (see 6.11).

⁵ There are three different types of syntactic structure making up 'Adv-manner': (a) Bi + NP. When NP is eyí 'this', iyen 'that' or ewo 'which', bi + NP results in bááyí 'thus', béeyen 'in that way', and bááwo 'how' respectively. (b) Reduplicated or partially reduplicated adverbials; e.g. wómú-wómú 'completely'; giri-giri or giriri 'noisily (of dragging)'. (c) The NP ki (in questions) whenever it is substitutable for bááwo 'how'.

(The Relative Transformation - T-Rel - also applies to Basic Sentences (a) and (b) with the replacement of ni by ti and, in the case of (a), the replacement of Adv-Reason by a NP selected from the list in 'footnote 2').

Five of the above seven VP elements (i.e. all except $gbé^4/ti^2$) cannot be definitively classified as Aux. or Full Verb by any of our criteria. If they were auxiliaries, they could only be Pre-emptives since they can be preceded by Modals and all Intensifiers (see 9.1 and 9.34 below). One argument against classifying them as Pre-emptives is that they would be a sub-class of Pre-emptives, the only ones whose occurrence is totally restricted to the structural pattern outlined above. But, in a sense, this argument against regarding them as 'Aux' is also an argument against regarding them as Full Verbs; for if they would constitute a special and syntactically irregular sub-class of Pre-emptive elements, they would similarly constitute a special and irregular sub-class of Full Verb elements restricted to the kind of structural environment described above. There seems to be justification, therefore, for setting up a third sub-class of VP elements. For two reasons, however, rather than set up a third sub-class, we consider these VP elements as Full Verbs.

Firstly, in a statement of the syntactic uses of VP

elements, auxiliaries (of undoubted status) are distributed in relation to these elements in exactly the same way as they are in relation to the Full Verbs jàjà, sèsè.

Secondly, if such a third sub-class of VP elements were set up, gbé⁴ and ti² would be among its members. But these have been shown to have the Full Verb characteristic of nominalization by à-: a characteristic which they do not share with the other VP elements under present consideration. This would have the effect of placing gbé⁴ and ti² in two classes that are supposed to be distinct.

In our view, all these elements are probably historically related to present-day homophonous Full Verb elements. That gbé⁴ and ti², for instance, are restricted to co-occurrence with place nominals or Place adverbials strongly supports our view that they may be historically related to the Full Verbs gbé² 'live'; 'inhabit', and ti¹ 'from' which always have place-nominals as their object. In a synchronic description, these are not very important factors to consider; but where the syntactic status of VP elements ^{is} are so difficult to decide, diachronic considerations would probably have been of use if historical evidence were available.

The elements fi³ and to² are also restricted to certain structural patterns. Both could be identified semantically with other more easily classified elements: by relying on

syntactic rather than on semantic criteria, we are led perhaps to over-differentiate homophonous elements.

The element \underline{fi}^3 , for instance, has the same meaning as \underline{fi}^2 'use', a Bound Full Verb that always requires a following NP in a simple sentence. We here distinguish \underline{fi}^3 from \underline{fi}^2 because it occurs in only one type of clause; and in that occurrence it is not easy to relate it syntactically to \underline{fi}^2 for two reasons:

(i) The NP-obj associated with \underline{fi}^3 is always a Time-nominal; whereas the object of \underline{fi}^2 can be NP of any type.

(ii) The object of \underline{fi}^2 may be transposed to clause-initial position by an application of the Relative Transformation to the basic clause in which \underline{fi}^2 occurs. This transformation produces what may be labelled as a Relative-clause or \underline{ti}' -clause. The element \underline{fi}^3 , on the other hand, occurs only in a \underline{ti}' -clause; and what would be its basic clause is not grammatically acceptable in the way that the basic clause of the \underline{ti}' -clause containing \underline{fi}^2 is acceptable. Thus we may compare the following pairs (a) and (b):

- (a) (i) Derived: $\text{Owó } \underline{ti}' \text{ o } \underline{fi}^2 \text{ kó wọ́n}$
'The hand with which you gathered them'
- (ii) Basic: $\text{O } \underline{fi}^2 \text{ owó kó wọ́n}$
'You gathered them with your hands'
- (b) (i) Derived: $\text{Ìgbà } \underline{ti}' \text{ o } \text{máa } \underline{fi}^3 \text{ dé}$
'By the time you will have arrived'
- (ii) Basic: $\text{*O } \text{máa } \underline{fi}^3 \text{ ìgbà dé}$
'You will spend time arriving?'

While a (ii) is a Yoruba sentence, b(ii) is not. The fact that fi³ always occurs in a ti-clause, however, marks its status beyond any doubt: a ti-clause always involves the pre-positioning of a 'NP-object' before the Transitive Verb to which it is related, and this makes fi³, like fi², a V-tr. (On pp.166 ff., there is further discussion of the difference between these two and other fi forms used in this grammar).

As for tó², Bangboṣe (1966) cites it as

'tóó' 'reach' (preverb after ki)' - p.69.

Abraham (1958) includes it under the lexical entry 'tó D'; but treats this particular element as 'ki tó before' (tó D, 7). There is a free verb tó which may be glossed as 'reach; be sufficient'. It could be argued that it is this same element that occurs after ki and that the distinction we make here between tó¹ (Free Verb) and tó² (Bound Verb), like Abraham's description of it or Bangboṣe's classification of it as a "preverb after ki", is a case of over-differentiation. For two reasons, however, we think there is justification for making the distinction tó¹/tó². First, if our analysis recognized only a Free Verb tó, we would still have to describe tó as a special kind of Free Verb which can precede or follow itself in the sequence tó tó as in:

Kí ó tó tó oḡó méta 'before three days'.

Secondly, the sequence tó + Free Verb would be a Compound Verb; but this again would be a Compound Verb of a special type in view of the fact that there would be no plausible underlying clauses transformationally joined into a sentence containing two Free Verbs tó + Verb.

If tó² were regarded as an auxiliary, it would be a Pre-emptive because it can be preceded by members of the Intensifier sub-class. In this study, we regard it as a Full Verb for the following reasons:

(i) As an auxiliary, it would be the only Aux element that is homophonous with a Full Verb to which it bears a partial semantic similarity.

(ii) As an auxiliary, it would be the only Pre-emptive restricted to a Dependent clause - a fact that would destroy an important generalization in the statement of syntactic uses of auxiliaries.

(iii) As a Full Verb, on the other hand, its distribution in relation to elements that are clearly established as auxiliary is identical with the distribution of the Full Verb nikan in relation to these auxiliaries (see 5.11, Table 2).

(b) Elements which are not restricted to specific structural patterns

There are only two of these: f_ér_èé, s_ábà.

The element f_ér_èé⁶ is here regarded as a Full Verb for the following reasons. First, if it were considered to be an

⁶ Bowen (1858) cites this item as 'f_ér_è, adv 'almost'...'. Abraham (1958) cites it as 'f_ér_è ... (verb used adverbially in the sense of 'almost')...'. There is definitely an error of phonetic recording in Abraham (1958) and, unless the pronunciation of this form has changed in the past century, almost certainly in Bowen (1858). This error is repeated in Delano (1953) where the form is cited as 'f_ér_è...adv (2)...'. Bamgboṣe (1966) cites it as 'f_ér_èé almost', an 'unrestricted preverb'. Whatever the origin of this element, which is almost certainly a fusion of more forms than one, it is difficult today to see what its parts are and we record it as 'f_ér_èé' and not 'f_ér_è'.

auxiliary element, its polysyllabic nature would make it a suspicious element. Furthermore, it does not behave like auxiliaries when the clause in which it occurs is negated. All auxiliaries which may be negated in Free clauses of Primary Pattern normally co-occur with the Primary Negator KÒ (see 10.211, AII). While the element férèè may be negated in clauses of this type, it never co-occurs with KÒ (10.211, AI); it always selects the Secondary Negator, MÀÀ (10.211, BI).

e.g. Positive: Wón férèè lè dide (They could nearly stand)

Negative: Wón férèè màà lè dide (They could hardly stand)

*Wón kò férèè lè dide.

If férèè were to be classified as an auxiliary, it would be the only auxiliary that is syntactically irregular in this respect.

On the other hand, if classified as a Full Verb, it would be found to share this syntactic distribution with the Full Verb elements jàjà and sèsè.

The element sábà cannot be tested as a Full Verb or an auxiliary by any of the criteria we have used so far⁷. It seems to be a foreign element in the language and is recorded

⁷ Bangboşe (1966) cites this element as "sábàá 'usually'" (p.70), and notes that it cannot be followed by "the verbal particle" - i.e. ń. We follow Abraham (1958) in regarding the element as sábà because we attest sábà mǎán and sábà ń. The final á of Bangboşe's form seems to be, in fact, an assimilated ń.

in Abraham (1958) as a loan from Hausa. There, are, however, three reasons why we classify it as a Full Verb rather than an Auxiliary. First, if classified as an Auxiliary, it would be the only Aux. element that cannot occur directly before a Full Verb; an intervening M or maan' is obligatory. Secondly, it can be preceded by M which is normally the last element in a sequence of auxiliaries; sába cannot be regarded as an Aux occurring after M in a sequence of auxiliaries because of the frequently attested sába n' + FV in which it also precedes M. Thirdly, if regarded as a Full Verb, the syntactic distribution of sába in relation to auxiliaries is identical with the distribution of such easily classified Full Verb elements as jùmò, tètè, etc. (see 5.11, Table 2).

5.023 What may be regarded as a third difficulty in precisely defining the elements of our Complex Verb group is the fact that some of the elements regarded in this study as second Bound Verb elements in Complex Verb structure have been traditionally classified as prepositions. For instance, Delanq (1958) includes si' and ni' in his class of prepositions (p.lxvi). There is need to explain why we break with this type of descriptive tradition to classify these as verbal elements.

Regarding them here as Bound (Full) Verb elements is not to deny that some of these elements can have prepositional use. However, we think it would be useful if we clarified which occurrence is regarded in the present study as prepositional and which is regarded as verbal. For us, the syntactic status of such elements is in doubt only when they occur between a verbal element and a NP as in:

- | | <u>Vb</u> | | <u>NP</u> | |
|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| (i) Mo | simi | <u>ni'</u> | London | 'I rested in London' |
| (ii) Mo | gbé e | <u>ka</u> | 'na' | 'I put it on the fire'. |

If we label the underlined elements (and others occurring in that position in clause structure) as x, then the sequence

'Verb... + x + NP'

in the above sentences may be analysed as

(Verb + x) + NP

or

Verb + (x + NP)

where verb + x is a Complex Verb and x + NP is a prepositional phrase.

As a test of the structure of such a sequence, we suggest the application of T-Emph. to a simple clause in which it occurs. If the sequence verb + x cannot be split by the operation of T-Emph, then the sequence is a Complex Verb and x itself is a Bound Verb. But if T-Emph. splits the sequence in such a way that there is a resultant x + NP in sentence-initial position, then x is a preposition, not a verb. As an illustration, if the sentences (b) can be derived from the corresponding sentences of (a), then the elements underlined in (a) are NOT verbal elements; if, however, they cannot be so derived, then and only then are the underlined elements verbs; and together with preceding verbs they constitute Complex Verbs.

- (a) (i) Mo simi ni London 'I rested in London'
- (ii) Mo lo si London 'I went to London'
- (iii) Mo gbé e ka 'ná 'I put it on the fire'
- (b) (i) Ni London ni mo ti simi
- (ii)*Si London ni mo lo
- (iii)*Ka 'ná ni mo gbé e

(* = not grammatical)

By this demand, ni in a,i is a prepositional element while si and ka in a,ii a,iii are verbal elements. Ni may be deleted in b,i; but its deletion is only optional.

This test by T-Emph, however, does not resolve decisively in all cases the status of ní. From the sentence:

(a) (iv) Mo fún Òjó ní obì 'I gave Ojo cola',

T-Emph produces:

(b) (iv) Obì ni mo fún Òjó

in which ní is obligatorily deleted. The element ní cannot be easily classified as either preposition or verb, given that neither of the following sentences is well-formed:

*Ní obì ni mo fún Òjó

*Obì ni mo fún Òjó ní.

Any rule stating that ní is obligatorily deleted in the forming of an acceptable sentence cannot support the verbal any more than the prepositional status of ní.

In this study, we classify ní as a verbal element in the verb group of a,iv and similar sequences because, as shown in 5.24:1 below, we consider the verb group of all such sequences to be transformationally derived from verbal bases. Thus fún...ní derives from fi...fún...; hàn...ní... (e.g. in hàn é l' Qya) from fi...hàn...; etc. We find support for our classification of ní as a

verbal element in Bamgboṣe (1966) which regards ni' as a Post-verb (p.78), and in E.C. Rowlands (1967), p.737. Even as a verbal element, however, as E.C. Rowlands (1967) notes on p.737, ni' is special in the senses that

- (a) while it is transitive, it cannot be followed by object pronouns;
- (b) it is obligatorily deleted after the operation of T-Emph. on ^{is} the simple clause in which it occurs and so never used without a following object.

5.1 STRUCTURAL SUB-CLASSES OF THE COMPLEX VERB

5.10 DEFINING THE SUB-CLASSES

Characteristically, as pointed out in 5.01, a Bound (Full) Verb is obligatory in the structure of a Complex Verb. The other verbal element may be a Free Verb or another Bound (Full) Verb. This means that there are three broad structural sub-classes of Complex Verbs:

1. Bound + Bound
2. Bound + Free
3. Free + Bound

There are two kinds of patterns in the combination of the verbal elements. These are:

Free Pattern: When the verbal element combining with the obligatory Bound Verb is chosen from an open set of verbs.

Fixed Pattern: When this verbal element is fixed by usage and there is no choice. Sometimes the fixed partner of the Bound Verb is selected from a small set of items. This, however, does not raise a practical problem; for instance, it is not necessary to ask: 'how many verbal elements must there be in the set from which the partner is chosen before we regard it as a free rather than a restricted choice?' In the few cases in which the partner of the Bound Verb is chosen from a set, all elements in the set are semantic variants; e.g. gbá and ta in gbá/ta kò... both mean 'to move in a menacing way'.

The pattern differentiation, Free/Fixed, does not apply to sub-class 1 (Bound + Bound); but (2) and (3) may be sub-classified as

- 2(a): Bound + Free ; in Free Pattern.
- (b): " ; in Fixed Pattern.
- 3(a): Free + Bound ; in Free Pattern.
- (b): " ; in Fixed Pattern.

These four and sub-class 1 are the Complex Verb sub-class structures recognized in the table of Complex Verbs below. In the table itself, we further break down these structural sub-classes on various criteria; e.g. whether the obligatory Bound Verb in (2) and (3) are Transitive or Intransitive; or, in the case of (2,a), what Auxiliaries are permitted to intervene between the Intransitive Bound Verb and the Free element.

5.11 TABLE 2 : SUB-CLASSES OF COMPLEX VERBS

2 BOUND VBS.		ONE BOUND VERB IN COMBINATION WITH ONE FREE VERB.					
1. BD + BD		2. BOUND + FREE		3. FREE + BOUND			
		a. Free Pattern	b. Fixed Pattern	a. Free Patt.	b. Fixed Patt.		
A. BOUND VERB = TRANSITIVE	dà ⁶ ...kọ ⁴ ...	ba ² ... + vb	bà ⁵ ...kù ¹ /tì ²	vb + de ² ...	dà ¹³ (kàn ⁴ ...) { kún ² ... } { sí ² ... } gbá ² } kò... ta ⁵ }		
	kọ ⁴ ...lẹ ⁴ /sí ¹	fi ¹ ... + vb	bẹ ² ...wò	vb + fun ⁴ ...			
	fi ² ... + vb	dá ¹¹ ...dúró	vb + ka ³ ...			
	bà ³ ...jẹ ⁵	mú ³ ... + vb	dá ¹² ...kọjá	vb + lẹ ⁴ /kà ³ ...			
	dá ¹⁰ ...ní ⁶	ti ¹ ... + vb	dán ² ...wò	vb + lù ² ...			
	dá ¹⁰ ...sí ³		vb + mó ⁴ ...			
	pa ⁷ ...dà ⁶	bù ² ... + v-tr		vb + sí ¹ ...			
	pa ⁷ ...mó ²	dá ² ... + v-tr		vb + sí ² ...			
	pa ⁷ ...pò ³	tún... + v-tr	pa ⁷ ...dẹ ³	vb + tí ⁴ ...			
	tù ⁴ ...pò ³		tù ⁴ ...jọ ¹			
	yé...sí ³		sọ ⁵ ...dà ³ /dì...	v-tr + ní ⁵ ...			
	B. BOUND VERB = INTRANSITIVE		dá ² + vb				tẹ ¹ ...ba ² kà ² /sẹ ² ...kò { dẹ ¹ } { dẹ ² } { dẹ ² } { fun ² } { kàn ² } { lẹ ¹ } ..pa { sọ ³ } { tí ⁵ } { wẹ ¹ } { yí } sẹ ² /yí...po
			mọ̀mọ̀ + vb	bù ³ sẹ/parí			
		* dẹdẹ + vb	dá ³ kù ¹	vb + pò ³			
		*1 { fẹrẹẹ + vb					
		{ nikan + vb					
		{ tó ² + vb					
		{ fi ³ + vb					
		*2 { fi ⁴ /sẹ ⁴ + vb					
		{ gbẹ ⁴ /tí ² + vb					
		{ jàjà + vb					
		{ pàpà + vb					
		{ sẹ ³ + vb					
		{ sẹ ⁵ /tí ³ + vb					
		{ sẹsẹ + vb					
		*3 gbọ̀dọ̀ + vb					
		*4 { jọ(jọ) + vb					
		{ jùmọ̀ + vb					
	{ kọ(kọ) + vb						
	{ sàbà + vb						
	{ tètè + vb						
	{ tú(n)bọ̀ + vb						
	*5 tún + vb						

1. The superscripts marking the verbal elements in this Table are those used in Appendix I. When these Complex Verbs are cited in the rest of this study, the superscripts are included only where omission may cause confusion.

2. NOTATION: In 2a(B), all starred groups permit Aux. between their verb elements

- * : permitted Aux = M only; *1 : permitted Aux = M, lẹ.
- * 2 : " = all Pre-emptives, except ti, sí.
- * 3 : " = M, lẹ, ti; *4 : permitted Aux = M, máán;
- * 5 : " = all Pre-emptives

5.2 NOTES ON THE COMPLEX VERBS LISTED

5.21 1. BOUND + BOUND:

These are divided into two sets:

- (a) dà...kọ... and kọ...lé/sí... in which both verbal elements are Transitive;
- (b) the rest, in which only the first verbal element is Transitive.

5.211 In the first set, (a), each Bound Verb element is obligatory followed by NP in basic clause structure. The NP following the first Bound Verb is limited to the words ojú 'eyes, face' and orí, subject to the qualification to be given for kọ...sí... The NP following the second Bound Verb is usually a NP-place.

- e.g. (a) O da ojú/orí kọ ònà London
 (b) O kọ ojú/orí lé ònà London
 (c) O kọ ojú/orí sí ònà London
- } 'You turned in the direction of London'

(dà (ojú/orí) kọ and kọ (ojú/orí) lé/sí may be interpreted as 'head for'). In sentence (b), kọ ojú lé is sub-standard; but it is attested.

Both elements of kọ...sí... have freer choice of a following NP. Any part of the body that is capable of being physically oriented may serve as NP after kọ; while personal pronouns as well as concrete nouns may serve as NP after sí.

e.g. O kọ èhìn sí wa 'You turned you back on us'

O kọ eti dídì sí aya rẹ 'You turned a deaf ear to your wife'

5.212 In the second set, (b), the Complex Verbs bà...jé, pa...dà, and pa...pò are different from the others in that the first Bound Verb of each belongs to Intransitive class Alb (3.223); that is bà and pa are potentially Transitive; e.g.

bà...jé:	Aşọ mi bà jé	'My dress was spoilt'
	O bà aşọ mi jé	'You spoilt my dress'
pa...dà:	Ó pa dà (sí burúkú)	'It returned to a bad state'
	Wón pa á dà (sí burúkú)	'It was turned to a bad state'
pa...pò:	Wón pa pò	'They merged'
	A pa wón pò	'We merged them'.

The others occur with their first elements obligatorily

Transitive; e.g.

dá...sí	'spare'	: O dá igi náà sí	'You spared the tree'
dá...ní	'hold'	: O dá ẹgba náà ní	'You held the cane'
pa...mọ	'keep'	: O pa ẹgba náà mọ	'You stored the cane away'
tù...pò	'scrape together'	: O tu owó diẹ pò	'You scraped some money together'
yé...sí	'honour'	: Ó yé mi sí	'He honoured me'

5.22 2(a). BOUND + FREE: FREE PATTERN:

5.221 Bound Verb, '+NP': In the first set in which the Bound Verb is followed by an obligatory NP in basic clause structure, there are two sub-sets: one in which the Free Verb is V-tr only (+ V-tr), and the other in which the Free Verb may be Transitive or Intransitive (+ Vb). We consider first the case with V-tr.

In the structure 'Bound Verb + NP + V-tr', the NP intervening between the two Complex Verb constituents is the preposed 'object' of V-tr. The interpretation of the sequence definitely involves the re-positioning of NP after the Free

Verb element. The relationship of the Bound Verb to the following NP does not involve transitivity in spite of our requirement in 3.225 that a verb should be considered as Transitive if it can be followed by the object form of a pronoun. This is because we consider this to be a sequence derived from a basic sequence 'Bound Verb + V-tr + NP'. There are two points in support of this. Firstly, in the semantic interpretation of the sequence, there is no connection between the Bound Verb and NP; rather, NP is semantically connected with the Free Verb. Secondly, in two of the three instances of this sequence, the sequence we here postulate as basic in fact exists and has the same meaning as the sequence where the NP is pre-posed to the Free Verb. The reason why we deal with 'Bound Verb + NP + V-tr' as syntactically separate from 'Bound Verb + V-tr + NP' is that in the case of bu...V-tr, there is no corresponding bu V-tr (+NP) as an actual sequence; while in syntactic description we may regard it as the form underlying the actual sequence, we cannot cite it in a list in which all other sequences are actual. ?

Examples:

bù...V-tr Ó ti bu ìwé náà kọ 'He has nearly finished writing the book'

(Cf. non-grammatical : *Ó ti bù kọ ìwé náà)

dá²...V-tr Ó dá igi yẹn gbé 'You lifted that log all alone'

(Cf. Ó dá gbé igi yẹn 'You alone lifted that log')

tún...V-tr Ó tún aṣọ yẹn wọ 'You re-adjusted that dress on you'

(Cf. Ó tún wọ aṣọ yẹn 'You wore that dress again')

In the structure of 'Bound Verb...+ Vb', it may be necessary to explain the difference between the forms of fi we are using here, especially between fi¹ and the other fi forms.

The verbal element fi occurs in the following sentences:

- (i) Ó fi ìwé mi pa mó 'He put my book away'
- (ii) Ó fi ìwé náà fún wọn 'He gave them the book'
- (iii) Ó fi bàtà gbá a 'He kicked it with his boots'
- (iv) Ó fi oḡbón gbà á 'He cleverly got it'
- (v) L'àkókò ti mo fi wà l'oko 'When I was on the farm'
- (vi) T'orí iyẹn l'òun fi kúrò 'That's why he left'.

In our view, there are four different types of fi in the above examples. The fi occurring in (vi) has been described as fi⁴ on p.150 above; while that occurring in (v) has been described as fi³ on pp. 154-155. The occurrences of fi in sentences of the types (i) - (iv) have so far not been described in this study.

The fi occurring in (iii) and (iv) can be glossed in English as 'use'; the NP following this occurrence of fi is, in notional terms, an instrument used to do what is specified in the following Free Verb. This is the occurrence of fi that is referred to in this study as fi².

The fi occurring in (i) and (ii), however, cannot be glossed as 'use'; and it is indeed difficult to gloss it as anything in English. Its meaning may be roughly given as 'put, take'. This verbal element is labelled fi¹ in this study.

The distinction we are making between fi¹ and fi² has the implication that in sequences like fi...bẹ and fi...rań, we need to

recognize two different Complex Verbs in each case; one in which fi¹ occurs and the other in which fi² occurs. This may appear to be a case of over-differentiation. But, in view of the following pairs of sentences in (1) and (2), we do not think this, in fact, is a case of over-differentiation.

1. (a) Ta l' ó fi ẹ́jọ̀ bẹ̀ ẹ́ 'What business of his is it?'
 (b) Ta l' ó fi owó bẹ̀ ẹ́ 'Who bribed him with money?'
2. (a) Ta l' ó fi iwé-kíkọ̀ rán ẹ́ 'Who asked you to write books?'
 (b) Ta l' ó fi owó rán ẹ́ 'Who sent the money through you?'

In the first pair, fi...bẹ̀ in (a) is semantically different from fi...bẹ̀ in (b). Similarly, the two occurrences of fi...rán in the second pair have two different meanings.

Anomalies in the occurrence of 'fi¹' and 'fi²'

Fi¹ and fi² are anomalous in the sense that when their object is a non-emphatic 3 Pers. Singular pronoun, it is not expressed;

e.g. fi¹: Ó fi pa mọ́ 'He put it away'
 (cf. Ó fi mí' pa mọ́ 'He hid me')

fi²: Ó fi s'ògùn 'He used it to make medicine'
 (cf. Ó fi wón s'ògùn 'He used them to make medicine').

Fi¹ is further anomalous in the sense that it shares the privilege of occurrence of Free Verbs in two ways. First, it occurs before lé and sí (which are normally preceded by Free Verbs) to produce the Complex Verbs fi...lé... and fi...sí.... Secondly, as noted on p. 247 below, it can occur before the non-splitting form of pa mọ́ to produce the Composite Verb fi(NP) pa mọ́. In these two positions, no other Bound Verb occurs.

The Individual Complex Verbs

bá...Vb:	Ó bá mi kọ létà mi	'He wrote my letter for me'
	Ó bá mi jẹ iṣu	'He ate yam with me'
	Ó bá mi lọ	{ 'He went for me'
		{ 'He went with me'

As the examples show, the Complex Verb bá...Vb has two meaning types: one is paraphrasable by the Complex Verb Vb fún (3a) and the other by the Compound Verb Verb + pèlú. The ambiguity is lexical and is traceable to bá. The two meaning types are represented in the following paraphrases:

Ó bá mi lọ	{	Ó lọ fún mi	'He went for me'
		Ó lọ pèlú mi	'He went with me'

When Vb in bá...Vb is either sùn or non-Transitive ṣe, this semantic two-way pattern does not hold; the Complex Verbs bá...sùn (lit. 'sleep with') and bá...ṣe (lit. 'do with') mean 'have sexual intercourse'.

fi¹...Vb:

Vb as 'V-intr.': e.g. O fi ẹṣẹ bó 'You had a scratch on your foot'

Vb as 'V-tr.': e.g. O fi ìwé fún mi 'You gave me a book'

Sometimes when Vb of this pattern is V-tr., T-ní l operates as follows:

(NP+) fi¹ + NP1 + V-tr. + NP2

⇒ (NP+) V-tr. + NP2 + ní + NP1

e.g. Mo fi ìwé fún ọ ⇒ Mo fún ọ ní ìwé

(I gave a book to you) (I gave you a book).

Even though this Transformation is somewhat unproductive, there are several pairs of expressions distinguished only by fi¹...V-tr and V-tr...ní which are freely substitutable for each other in everyday usage; e.g. -

fi...bè... : Ta l'ó fi ẹ́jọ̀ bẹ̀ ẹ́? }
Ta l'ó bẹ̀ ẹ́ l' ẹ́jọ̀? } 'Is it any business of his?'

fi...fún... : Mo fi ìwé fún ẹ }
Mo fún ẹ n' ìwé } 'I gave you a book'

fi...rán... : Ta l' ó fi iṣé rán ẹ? }
Ta l' ó rán ẹ n' iṣé? } 'Who asked you to do it?'

Ward (1952) is the only study of the Yoruba Verb that notes that the verbal sequence Vb + ní raises a problem (parag. 319, p. 144); but the author stops with the following statement:

Ní "is used with a number of verbs which can take two objects...but I have not found it possible to say what this word is. It is frequently untranslatable.

The usage with fún 'give' is the commonest example..."

As we show below (5.421), Vb + ní can be derived from at least three underlying structures by the use of different Transformations. One of these underlying structures is a clause containing the Complex Verb fi...V-tr.

fi²...+ Vb: e.g. Ó fi òbẹ jà 'He fought with a knife'
Wón fi orí iyá-omọ bẹ é 'They appealed to him in
the name of all mothers'
Wón fi èrọ gbé e 'They lifted it with a machine'.

mú³...Vb: e.g. Òògùn yẹn mú mi sùn
'That drug made me sleep'
Ó mú mi gbàgbé iyà mi
'It made me forget my suffering'

ti¹...Vb: e.g. Wón ti London wá
'They came from London'
Wón ti òhún se ètò wọn
'They made their arrangements from there'

5.222 Bound Verb, '-NP'

The only point of syntactic interest in this pattern is presented in the Table of Complex Verbs (5.11 above); namely, that certain Auxiliaries of the Pre-emptive sub-class may occur between the Bound Verbs and the partner Free Verb. This section is devoted to exemplification in order to provide the semantic interpretation of the Complex Verbs, especially since most of their Bound Verbs do not express meanings that we can gloss like the other verbs in Appendix I.

dá² + Vb : Mo dá yan 'I marched alone'

Mo dá ɕe iɕé náà 'I did the work alone'

(This Complex Verb was postulated as the basic form of da... + Vb in 5.221 above).

mòòmò + Vb : Mo mòòmò du 'I intentionally fled'

Mo mòòmò fọ ọ 'I deliberately broke it'

dédé + Vb : Ó dédé hò 'He simply fled (i.e. while no-one expected him to)'

Mo dédé rí i 'All of a sudden, I found it'

fèrèè + Vb : Mo fèrèè kú 'I nearly died'

O fèrèè lù mí pa 'You nearly beat me to death'

nìkan + Vb : O nìkan gọ 'You hid alone'

O nìkan ɕe é 'You did it unaided'

tó² + Vb : kí ó tó kú 'before he died'

kí o tó ɕe é 'before you do it'

fi³ + Vb : ìgbà tí wọn yìò fi tóbi 'by the time they will have grown big'

títí tí wọn fi pa á 'until they killed it'

fi⁴/ɕe⁴ + Vb : Torí bèè ni ó fi/ɕe sùn 'That was why he slept'

Abájọ tí wọn fi/ɕe lù é 'No wonder they beat you'

gbé⁴/ti² + Vb: N'ibi tí wọn gbé/ti n sùn

'While (lit. where) they were sleeping...'

London ni wọn gbé/ti ɕe e

'London is the place where it is made'

jàjà + Vb : O jàjà sùn 'You managed to sleep'

O jàjà ɕe 'kan yí 'You managed to do this one'

pà/pàpà + Vb : Ó pà/pàpà dára 'It was good after all'

O pà/pàpà şe é 'You did it after all/in
spite of our warning'

şe³ + Vb : kí a bàá lè rí wọn ni a şe yà

'We turned aside in order that we might see them'

Láti wòran ni mo şe san iye owó yèn

'I paid so much in order that I might watch the show'

şe⁵/ti³ + Vb : Báàyí ni a şe/ti yà

'This is how we turned aside'

Báàwo ni ẹ şe/ti şe é

'How did you do it?'

şèşè + Vb : Wọn şèşè yọ

'They have just escaped'

A şèşè şe é

'We have only recently done it'

gbòòò + Vb : A gbòòò yọ 'We must escape'

A gbòòò parí rẹ 'We must finish it'

jọ/jìjọ/jọjọ + Vb; A jọ/jìjọ/jọjọ yọ 'We escaped together'

A " parí rẹ 'We finished it together'

jùmò + Vb : Wọn jùmò yọ (nínú ẹwọn)

'They escaped together (from prison)

A jùmò gb'èrò rẹ

'We plotted it together'

kọ/kókọ * Vb : Ó kọ/kókọ funfun 'It was white at first'

Ó kọ/kókọ bí obìrin 'She first had a daughter'

sábà + Vb : Wón sábà ní yọ	'They often escape'
Wón sábà ní ɛ é	'They often do it'
tètè + Vb : Kò tètè dúdú	'It did not turn black quickly'
Mo tètè ɛ é	'I quickly did it'
tú(n)bò + Vb : Mo tú(n)bò sún	'I moved further away'
Mo tú(n)bò lù ú	'I gave him more beating'
tún + Vb : A tún yọ	'We escaped again'
A tún ɛ ɛ ɛ náà	'We did the work again'

(This Complex Verb was postulated in 5.221 above as the basic form underlying tun...V-tr).

5.23 2(b) BOUND + FREE : FIXED PATTERN

5.231 Bound Verb, '+ NP':

bà...kù/tì 'fail to achieve' : O ba óúnjẹ yí kù/tì
'You failed to finish this food'

bè...wò 'look at; visit' : Ó bè wá wò 'He visited us'

(As with dán...wò below, and with bù...V-tr, dá...V-tr, and tún...V-tr in 5.221 above, it is necessary here to postulate a basic structure Bound Verb + V-tr in order to relate the intervening NP to the Free Verb wò, even though there is no actual sequence bè wò NP or dán wò NP)

dá...dúró 'cause to stop' : Mo dá a dúró 'I stopped it'

(The Bound Verb dá is a Verb of Intransitive Class A1(b) (3.223). Thus: Ó dá dúró 'It stopped').

dá...kojá 'to stride over' : Mo dá a kojá
'I strode over it'

dán...wò 'to test' : Mo dán wọn wò
'I tested them'

pa...dé 'to draw together' : Mo pa 'lèkùn yẹn dé
'I shut that door'

(pa is a verb of the Intransitive Class Alb (3.223); thus,

'Lèkùn yẹn pa dé

'That door snapped shut' is also grammatical)

pa...dé is synonymous with pa...pò dealt with in

5.212 above.

tù...jọ 'scrape together' : O tu owó diẹ jọ
'You scraped some money together'

tu...jọ is synonymous with tù...pò in 5.212 above.

sọ...dà/di... 'change...to (another form)' has a different pattern

from the above 2(b) Complex Verbs in that the Free

Verb constituent is followed by a NP:

Wọn sọ ọ dà/di ọpè

'They made a fool of him'

In this Complex Verb di is the more common of the

Free Verb variants.

5.232 Bound Verb, '-NP':

bù pari/şe 'to be finished':

Isẹ yí bù pari 'This work is finished' (Abraham 1958, p.118)

" bù şe

"

dá kú 'faint': Ọmọ yẹn dá kú 'That boy fainted'

5.24 3(a) FREE + BOUND : FREE PATTERN

5.241 Bound Verb, '+ NP':

Vb + dè... : Maa rin dè mí 'Keep walking till I come'

Ó se ìjàngbàn de bàbá rè 'He caused trouble before his father's arrival'

Vb + fún... : Olú wà fún mi , 'Olu supports me' (lit. Olu exists for me)

O wá isè fún wọn 'You found them a job'

Vb + ká... : Ó n bé ká 'lé 'He is bounding about in the house'

Ó fón èjè eyè nàà ká 'gbó

(He sprinkled the bird's blood over the bush)

(ká is a verb of Transitive class 1b (3.223); hence the NP following it is optional).

Vb + lé... : O tọ lé orí-àga 'You jumped on the chair'

O kó ìwé lé agogo mi 'You put books on my watch'

Vb + kà... : is a variant of Vb + lé... whenever Vb is the V-tr element gbé 'lift, put'. Thus,

O gbé e lé orí-àga }
" " ka " } 'You set it on top of the chair'

This Complex Verb, however has its most frequent occurrence in the fixed form ka 'lè 'right on the ground': e.g.

Ó fọ ọ ka 'lè 'He smashed it all on the ground'

Ó purọ ka 'lè 'He multiplied his lies'

(lit. He spread lies on the ground)

- Vb + lù... : Mǎà şubú lù mí 'Don't fall on me'
Mo ju òkúta lù u 'I hit him with a stone'
Vb + mọ́... : Ó so mọ́ wọ́n 'It stuck to them'
Ó wé gèlè mọ́ eti 'She tied the scarf around her ears'

Vb + sí¹ : sí¹ expresses the meaning 'in the direction of, towards' when Vb involves the notion of movement; otherwise, it expresses a notion 'locative' which is not easy to gloss. sí¹ is always followed by NP-place or a NP describing the state of a thing; e.g. Ó padà sí àídára 'It returned to a bad condition'
O lọ sí Èkó 'You went to Lagos'
Ó mú fèrè sí ẹnu 'He set the flute to his lips'

Vb + sí²... : sí² is a Bound Verb of Transitive Class 1 (a) and is always followed by object pronouns or nouns other than NP-place.
Ọlá rẹ ta sí wa 'His affluence favourably affected us' (lit. '...was dispersed to us').
O sọ òkò sí i 'You threw a missile at it'
sí² with a 3 Pers. Sg. object (sí i) also has an idiomatic use with an English meaning that may be roughly put as 'in addition to; more'.
e.g. Rìn diẹ sí i 'Do a little more walking'
Mo jẹ diẹ sí i 'I ate a little more'
Mo bù sí i 'I added to it'.

The 3 Pers. Sg. pronoun may, of course, be replaced by the noun it stands for (with unchanged meaning); but whenever it is not so replaced, the semantic interpretation of sí i is fixed in the sense indicated above.

- Vb + tì... : Mo dúró tì í 'I stood by him'
 Mo gbé e ti ògiri 'I rested it against a wall'
 (Whenever Vb in this Complex Verb is V-tr, the NP after tì is optional).

V-tr + ní...:

We are treating this separately because it is different from the others in three ways. Firstly, it is the only 3(a) Complex Verb in which the first element is obligatorily V-tr. Secondly, in all Complex Verbs, T-Emph. and T-Rel. have the effect of bringing into clause-final position the second verbal element whenever the NP following it is transposed to initial position in the derived structure. Thus, the following basic clauses (1) become (2) by T-Emph., and (3) by T-Rel.

(Complex Verb constituents underlined):

- (1)(a) Mo bá a jẹ işu 'I ate yams with him'
 (b) O kọ lù mí 'You stumbled against me'
 (c) O sọ òkò sí wa 'You threw a missile at us'
 (2)(a) Işu ni mo bá a jẹ 'It was yams I ate with him'
 (b) Èmi ni o kọ lù 'It was me you stumbled against'
 (c) Àwa ni o sọ òkò sí 'It was us you threw a missile at'

- (3) (a) Isu tí mo bá a jẹ 'The yams I ate with him'
 (b) Emi tí o kọ lù 'I, on whom you stumbled'
 (c) Awa tí o sọ òkò sí 'We at whom you threw a missile'

In the case of Vb + ní..., however, the Bound Verb ní is obligatorily deleted in final position in derived structures like (2) and (3).

In the third place, the Complex Verb Vb + ní... is not, like the others, a basic structure; it is derived from three different underlying structures which determine the three different meanings attributable to it. The underlying structures are:

I. fi + NP1 + V-tr + NP2

e.g. fi owó fún mi

'give me money'

⇒ V-tr + NP2 + ní + NP1

fún mi ní owó

The lexical items that may fill the slot V-tr here constitute only a restricted subset of the long list of Transitive Verbs.

This Transformation (which we label as T-ní 1) has been exemplified in 4.312 and 5.221 above. It is necessary, however, to point out here that this constitutes a meaning type that is totally different from the other two because the meaning can be traced only to the underlying structure described here.

II. V-tr + NP1 + NP2-poss. ⇒ V-tr + NP2-obj + ní + NP1

e.g. fé aya òré rẹ ⇒ fé òré rẹ ní aya

'court his friend's wife'

We label the Transformation involved here as T-ní 2. The constituents 'NP2-poss' and 'NP2-obj' in the above operation are to be interpreted as 'Possessive form of NP2' and 'Object form of NP2' respectively. It is only in the pronominal forms that there is any phonological difference between these two; but the distinction is marked in the nature of tonal link with forms immediately preceding them.

This is a very productive Transformation, since almost any basic clause containing the underlying structure stated above can be transformed by T-ní 2.

Examples: (Vb + ní underlined in the examples)

O fó mi l'àwo 'You broke my plate' (<O fó àwo mi)

Ó n fé òrè rè l'aya 'He is courting his friend's wife'
(<Ó n fé aya òrè rè)

Wón jí mi ní kèkè 'They stole my cycle' (<Wón jí kèkè mi)

III. V-tr + NP1 + mọ́ + NP2 ⇒ V-tr + NP2 + ní + NP1

e.g. fó kùmọ́ mọ́ mi fó mi ní kùmọ́

'Struck a club-blow on me' 'struck me with a club'

We label this Transformation as T-ní 3. Its basic structure involves the use of a restricted sub-set of the Complex Verb verb + mọ́... . V-tr of the basic structure consists of verbs meaning 'to strike, hit'.

List:

V-tr = dá, fó, gbá, gbó, já, jàn, kán, kù, là/lè, lù, nà, ní, ró,
sá, sán, tí, wó, wón

These expressions are fixed and all describe different forms of 'striking' or 'hitting'. In a few cases the NP occurring after the listed verbs (i.e. the instruments used in 'striking') are also fixed; where this is so, we list the lexical items that can occur as the NP. Finally, this list is not presumed to be complete because we have attested a form like fí (NP = ẹgba 'lash') which is acceptable to two informants with a common dialectal background and not to others; this suggests not only that the method used in this case in judging what is sub-standard (i.e. a concensus) may be rather arbitrary but also that if there were more informants with a wider range of dialectal background, this list may be longer.

Examples: (only sentences with basic structure are cited; the derived structure is given only in the first example but applies to all other basic sentences as well).

dá : Ó dá igi mọ mi 'He struck me with a stick'
 Ó dá mi n'igi

fọ : Ó fọ igi mọ mi 'He struck me with a stick'

(NP = heavy object)

gbá : Ó gbá pónpó mọ mi 'He struck me with a baton'

gbó : Ó gbó ẹgba mọ mi 'He struck me with a lash'

(NP = ẹgba, 'lash', òpá 'staff')

- já : Ó já ẹgba mọ̀ ìdí mi 'He struck my buttocks with a lash'
(NP = light object)
- jàn : Ó jan àdà mọ̀ ẹtu náà 'He struck a heavy blow on the
antelope with a matchet'
(NP = heavy object)
- kán : Ó kán kóndó mọ̀ mi 'He struck me with a baton'
(NP = ìkó 'knock on the head'; kóndó 'baton')
- kù : Ó ku mọ̀rìmọ̀ mọ̀ orí mi 'He struck my head with a whip
with many lashes'
(NP = aṣọ 'cloth'; mọ̀rìmọ̀ 'whip with many lashes')
- là/lẹ : Ó la igi mọ̀ mi 'He struck me with a stick'
- lù : Ó lu igi mọ̀ mi 'He struck me with a stick'
- nà : Ó na igi mọ̀ mi 'He whipped me with a stick'
(NP = light object wielded smartly)
- ní : Ó ní àdà mọ̀ mi 'He struck me with a matchet'
(NP = àdà 'matchet'; ọgbé 'matchet-blow')
- ró : Ó ró ọpá mọ̀ mi 'He struck me with a staff'
(NP = ẹgba 'lash', ọpá 'staff, stick')
- sẹ : Mo sẹ́ 'kùmọ̀ mọ̀ ọ 'I struck him heavily with a club'
(NP = heavy object)
- ṣá : Wọ́n ṣá àdà mọ̀ ọ 'They struck a matchet blow on him'
(NP = àdà 'matchet'; ọgbé 'matchet-blow')
- ṣán : Ó ṣán irin mọ̀ mi 'He flung an iron rod to hit me'
- tí : Ó tí àdà mọ̀ ọ 'He struck it with the blunt edge of
a matchet.
- wó : Ó wó ìwé mọ̀ etí mi 'He crashed a blow on my ear with
a book'
(NP = heavy object)

wón : Mo wón igi mọ ọ 'I flung a stick at him and hit him'

Sentences using verb + ní... derived by T-ní 3 are unlikely to be confused with sentences derived by T-ní 1 or T-ní 2, especially because of the restriction on membership of V-tr. But there are a few cases of ambiguity as exemplified by the following:

Ó kán mi ní kóndó	{	Ó kán kóndó mi 'He broke my baton'
		Ó kán kóndó mọ mi 'He struck me with a baton'

T-ní 2 and T-ní 3 may operate on parts of the same basic clause to produce a derived sentence in which there is a combination of what look like two Complex Verbs each of which is Vb + ní..... In that case, the operation of T-ní 2 strictly precedes that of T-ní 3. The basic sentence must have the following two elements in its structure:

- i) A Complex Verb with structure V-tr + mọ... where V-tr is one of the Verbs in the above list;
- ii) a NP with structure NP1 + NP2-poss occurring immediately after mọ of the Complex Verb specified in (i).

An example of such a basic sentence is:

Ó wó ìwé mọ etí mi (see wó above).

T-ní 2 operates on this to produce:

Ó wó ìwé mọ mi l'etí

T-ní 3 operates on this derived sentence to produce:

Ó wó mi n'ìwé l'etí

In fact, we do not accept this final product of the operations as involving a combination of two Complex Verbs for the following reasons.

In the product of T-ní 2 (i.e. the in-put for T-ní 3)

Ó wó ìwé mọ́ mi l'etí,

if the ní before etí were indeed a Verb, the verbal sequence in the sentence should be wó...mọ́...ní... (a three-element verbal sequence is possible as a Composite Verb: Chapter 8 below). But when T-ní 3 operates on this, ní is not at all affected. This may seem insignificant since T-ní 3 operates on clauses with Vb + mọ́... only; but the fact that ní is in close syntactic link with the following NP should raise doubts about its verbal status. These doubts are confirmed by the application of T-Emph or T-Rel.

If T-Emph or T-Rel were applied to the product of T-ní 2, the sequence ní etí would be found to behave like an 'Adv-place' (a prepositional phrase). For instance, T-Emph operating on

Ó wó ìwé mọ́ mi l'etí

produces

(L') etí ni ó gbé/ti wó ìwé mọ́ mi.

This means either that Vb + ní... produced by T-ní 2 is not a Complex Verb since ní may be the (prepositional) initiator of an 'Adv-place' or that not all instances of Vb + ní... produced by T-ní 2 are Complex Verbs. We are inclined to the latter view.

In the underlying structure on which T-ní 2 operates (V-tr + NP1 + NP2-poss), there is a need to sub-classify NP1 on the basis of its semantic rather than syntactic relation to 'NP2-poss'. We note that T-ní 2 is applicable to an underlying structure containing the Complex Verb V-tr + mọ́... + the structure NP1 + NP2-poss if and only if NP1 is, in notional terms, a physical portion of NP2. Where NP1 and NP2 are distinct physical entities, T-ní 2 is not applicable. Thus, while T-ní 2 is applicable to

Ó lù iwé mọ́ eti Olú

(where NP1 + NP2-poss = eti Olú 'Olu's ear), it is inapplicable to

Ó lù iwé mọ́ aya Olú

(where NP1 + NP2-poss = aya Olú 'Olu's wife'); though it normally applies to Ó fẹ́ aya Olú (>Ó fẹ́ Olú l'aya) in which 'V-tr + mọ́...' is not involved.

There is need, therefore, to sub-classify the structure underlying the operation of T-ní 2 as

- (a) 'V-tr + NP1 + NP2-poss in which NP1 and NP2 are distinct physical entities'. This is the underlying structure that produces Complex Verbs V-tr + ní...
- (b) 'V-tr + NP1 + NP2-poss in which NP1 is a physical portion of NP2'. The operation of T-ní 2 on this structure produces Vb + 'Adv-place' rather than Complex Verbs. If the underlying

syntactic structures and the transformational operation were not the same in both cases, a case might be made for recognizing two different Transformations, one of which (operating on (b)) is locative.

A fourth type of Vb + ní... sequence resulting from the operation of a locative Transformation is that in the following examples:

NP1 + NP2-poss + V-intr \Rightarrow NP2 + V-intr + ní + NP1

e.g. Èsè Olú tóbi \Rightarrow Olú tóbi l' èsè

'Olu's legs are fat' 'Olu is fat in the legs'

2 ìdí ìkòkò nàà fọ́ \Rightarrow ìkòkò nàà fọ́ ní ìdí

'The bottom of the pot cracked' 'The pot cracked at the bottom'

We may label this Transformation as T-ní 4. It is very similar to T-ní 2 operating on (b) above. Firstly, NP1 must be a physical portion of NP2. Secondly, application of T-Emph or T-Rel to the product of the operation of T-ní 4 similarly shows that ní is linked to NP1 rather than to V-intr and that the resultant sequence 'V-intr + ní + NP1 does not involve a Complex Verb V-intr + ní but an 'Adv-place', ní+NP1. For instance, T-Emph applied to

Olú tóbi l' èsè

produces

(L') èsè ni Olú gbé/ti tóbi.

5.242 Bound Verb, '-NP'

- Vb + pò : A rìn pò 'We walked together'
 A so wọn pò 'We tied them together'

5.25 FREE + BOUND : FIXED PATTERN

5.251 Bound Verb, '+ NP':

- gbá/ta kò... : Ó gbá/ta kò mí 'He sprang at me'
 (lit. He swept/scattered at me)
 dá kàn/kún/sí²... : Mára dá kàn/kún/sí mí 'Don't interfere with me'.

5.252 Bound Verb, '-NP' :

- tẹ...ba : O tẹ orí mí ba 'You forced me to succumb'
 Mo tẹ 'rí ba 'I bowed'
 (NP after tẹ = eékún 'knee; orí 'head')
 ká/ṣé...kò : Mo ká/ṣé irin náà kò 'I bent the iron rod till
 one end touched the other'.

(ká and ṣé are Verbs of Intransitive Class A1a

(3.223). This means that the exemplificatory

sentence - and any of its type - may be:

Irin náà ká/ṣé kò 'The iron rod bent till...')

Vbs...pa: ten verbs are involved in construction with pa.

We include Vb + pa in the 'fixed pattern' because

(a) all these ten are variants of the same meaning,

'to tighten'; and

- (b) The choice here is restricted only to the ten verbs.
- (c) If these verbs were not treated as Verbs of Fixed Pattern 3b they would alternatively have to be treated as Verbs of the Free Pattern 3a: V-tr + pa. As demonstrated in 8.1 below, the position Vb or V-tr in Complex Verb subclass 3a may be filled by Complex or Compound Verbs in Composite Verb construction. In the case of V-tr + pa, however, this capacity for expansion is impossible since the choice at V-tr is limited to only the Single Verb items listed below.

dé...pa	'cover tight'	: Mo dé e pa	'I rendered it air-tight'
dè...pa	'screw tight'	: Mo dè é pa	'I screwed it tight'
dì...pa	'tie'	: Mo dì í pa	
kàn...pa	'hammer tight'	: Mo kàn án pa	
fún...pa	'pull tight'	: Mo fún okùn náà pa	'I pulled the rope taut'
lọ́...pa	'twist'	: Mo lọ́ okùn náà pa	
so ...pa	'tie'	: Mo so ó pa	
tì...pa	'shut tight'	: Mo ti ilẹ̀kùn náà pa	'I shut the door tight'
wé...pa	'fold tight'	: Mo wé e pa	'I folded it tightly'
yí...pa	'turn/twist'	: Mo yí i pa	
ṣẹ́/yí...po		: Mo ṣẹ́ ẹ po	'I bent it round'
		: Mo yí i po	'I turned round it'

(ṣẹ́ is a verb of Intransitive Class A1a and as such the NP following it can become the sentence subject).

6. CATENATIVE PATTERN 1

6.0 CATENATIVE PATTERNS

The term 'Catenative Pattern' is used in this study to describe a VP in which a Single Verb is directly followed either by another Single Verb or by the nominalized form of another Full Verb (Single or non-single). The only possible intervening element is the NP that is obligatory if the first Single Verb is a V-tr.

There are two Catenative Patterns in Yoruba. When a Single Verb is followed by a nominalized form of a Full Verb, the sequence is Catenative Pattern 1. When it is followed by a simple (i.e. non-nominalized) form of a Single Verb, the sequence is a Catenative Pattern 2

Each non-nominalized Single Verb in a Catenative Pattern 1 is a 'catenative verb' (henceforth FV in structural statements). The nominalized form of the Second Full Verb element is henceforth represented by the symbol Vn; while a 'Catenative Pattern' is referred to as CP.

Each Catenative Pattern is transformationally derived from underlying structures. We refer to the process as 'catenation'.

6.1 STRUCTURE OF CATENATIVE PATTERN 1

6.10 The structure of CP1 in derived sentences is FV + Vn.

In the rest of this chapter, the Vn. will be exemplified only by those derived from Single Verbs (see 6.4).

6.11 3 KINDS OF PARTICIPANT Vn.

Three types of nominals participate in CP 1. These, of course, are not the only nominals derived from verbs. One type (Vn.1) was used in the sub-classification of Full Verb elements in 3.223 and 4.23 above. To discuss the derivation of any other verb-based nominals (e.g. the derivation of agentive nouns by a-) will, however, take us beyond the limits of the Verb and into the grammar of Yoruba nominals.

The three relevant Vn.s are described in this study as :

Vn.2, which consists of a prefix Ci- (consonant + high tone i) and a verb, the consonant having the same quality as the first consonant of the verb stem; e.g. ṣiṣe, from ṣe 'do'.

Vn.3, which consists of a prefix àti- and a verb. (In writing this Vn. and Vn.4, we shall follow orthographic convention and write the prefix and the verb as two words; e.g. àti lẹ, from lẹ 'go').

láti + verb, as in: láti lẹ from lẹ 'go'.

Not all attested sequences láti + vb will/ ^{however} be considered in this study as involving CP 1 catenation.¹ There are

¹ There are at least 4 different syntactic forms represented in the Yoruba orthography as láti, all of them representing a fusion of ní + àti. One such form has the constituents preposition 'ní' + àti, the latter of which is, in turn, derived from the Bound Verb ti 'from', as may be seen in :

ti: O ti Èkó dé London (You arrived in London from Lagos)
a-ti: àti Èkó dé London (the distance from Lagos to London)
ní + àti: (= láti): láti Èkó dé London (from Lagos to London)

two types of FV + láti + vb that we do not regard as involving CP † catenation and, therefore, exclude from the Instrumental and Non-Instrumental patterns listed below :

(a) We exclude any sequence FV + láti-verb whenever it is possible to separate FV from láti - verb by 'T-Emphatic'. Thus, the sequence

dìde láti lɔ 'rise up to go'

does not involve CP † catenation because, in any sentence in which it may occur, dìde can be separated from láti lɔ; e.g.-

O dìde láti lɔ Láti lɔ ni o ʒe dìde
'You got up to go'; 'It was in order to go that you got up'

(b) We exclude any sequence FV + láti - verb whenever that sequence is derived (by 'T-ní 1') from the Complex Verb fi... + FV. Thus, the sequence kɔ... láti rìn 'taught ... to walk' does not involve CP † catenation because it is derived by 'T-ní 1' from fi, àti rìn kɔ ... as in:

O fi àti rìn kɔ mi O kɔ mi láti rìn (láti < ní àti)
(lit. You took walking teach me) 'You taught me to walk'

The structure of kɔ... láti rìn here is: V -tr + ní + NP.

All other sequences FV + láti - verb are considered in this study as involving CP † catenation. The láti - verb constituent of it is, for easy reference, labelled here as Vn.4.

.../(footnote 1, contd.)

Another has the constituents Bound Verb 'ní' + nominalisation prefix 'àti-' as in (b) on this page. A third one has the constituents Preposition 'ní' + nominalisation prefix 'àti-' as in (a) on this page. The fourth is the Vn.4 of the present study.

6.12 In the structure FV + Vn, FV may be Transitive (V-tr) or Intransitive (V-intr). Similarly, Vn may be derived from V-tr or V-intr.

Thus FV + Vn may be any of the following four:

- (a) FV-intr + Vn < intr (i.e. Vn derived from V-intr)
- (b) " + Vn < tr (" " " V-tr)
- (c) FV-tr + Vn < intr
- (d) " + Vn < tr

Since by definition (3.225), V-tr is associated with a NP which normally follows (but may be transformationally pre-posed), whenever FV or Vn is marked 'tr' in the following structural statements, the feature '+ NP' is automatic.

(Where either element is not marked with 'tr', it is to be interpreted as Intransitive).

6.13 USE OF UNDERLYING STRUCTURES IN SUB-CLASSIFYING CP1

It is possible to sub-classify the catenative verbs (FV) of CP1 on the criterion of the Vn-type by which they are followed. Thus we shall have three classes: FVs that precede Vn2, those that precede Vn3 and those that precede Vn4. This, however, is a most uninformative classification; for it obscures the meaning expressed by any particular type of FV + Vn and, especially, the fact that whenever the same word occurs as FV before more than one Vn-type, if all other parts of the clause remain the same,

there is a close similarity of meaning. Similarly, it obscures the fact that, even when the same FV + Vn occurs in two clauses that are apparently identical, it signals different meanings (i.e. such sub-classification fails to reveal ambiguity).

Since our aim is ultimately to show how form expresses meaning, we think it is more informative to sub-classify FV + Vn types on the basis of their underlying structures which determine the meanings they express. This meaning is actually due to the relation of FV or Vn to some other constituent element in the clause in which it occurs. This no doubt underlines the point that the VP cannot be studied in isolation - a point we conceded in 2.2.above.

6.2 STRUCTURAL SUB-CLASSES OF CP1

6.20 In this sub-classification, the Rules by which actual sentences (the surface structural patterns) are derived from the postulated underlying structures are omitted since they are of no direct concern to the distribution of the verb forms considered. These Rules are, however, listed in Appendix IV in order to demonstrate the plausibility of the underlying structures postulated.

6.21 TWO MAJOR TYPES OF CP1

There are two major types of CP1: Instrumental and Non-Instrumental.

The Instrumental pattern is characterized by an obligatory fi² in its underlying structure. The Non-Instrumental is not so characterized. We discuss first the Non-Instrumental.

6.22 NON-INSTRUMENTAL CATENATIVE PATTERN 1 SUB-CLASSES

6.221 Non-Instrumental pattern 'A'

Underlying structure: [NP + FV]* [v-tr + N_F]²

Derived surface structure: NP + FV + V_n

Types of V_n occurring in this pattern: V_{n2}, V_{n3}, V_{n4}.

(Whenever the sets of catenative verbs (FV) preceding V_n are not identical for the V_n-types occurring, we list the sets separately).

Catenative Verbs of this pattern, with sentence examples:

(i) + V_{n2}:

Unless otherwise stated in this description, V_{n2} prefix has the following phonetic shape. The consonant of the prefix

²Notation:- '[]' marks off a different construction.
'*' marks the relationship that enables constitutes or items immediately preceding and immediately following to co-occur in order to form the surface structure after application of all 'Rules'. '*' is automatically deleted when the last obligatory 'Rule' of structural derivation has been applied.
'+' Interpret as 'is followed by'...' within the constitute'.

In the translation of the examples, '()' means the enclosed English translation follows the pattern of the Yoruba example; a free translation into English is given between single inverted commas: ' '.

Ci' is elided; and the vowel is assimilated, with its high tone unchanged, by the final vowel of the preceding word, where the preceding word ends in a consonant (as in a foreign name e.g. 'Nat' - borrowed with foreign pronunciation as sometimes in the speech of the 'highly literate' informant), Ci' retains its full phonetic value. In all examples given below, where consonant elision and vowel assimilation take place, we spell the remnant of Ci' as I-; e.g.

Iṣẹ nàà pé wa I-ṣẹ (where I- stands for a phonetic [á]).

dára : Ìwé dára I-kà

(Books are good to read).

dùn¹ : Ìwé dùn I-kà

(Books are pleasant to read).

ṣẹ¹ : Ìwé nàà ṣẹ I-kà

(The book is possible to read).

ṣòro : Ìwé nàà ṣòro I-kà

(The book is difficult to read).

tó : Ìwé yẹn tó I-parí

'It is time that book was completed'.

Ọmọ yẹn tó I-lù

'That child is old enough to beat'

yá² : Ọúnjẹ yá I-jẹ (n'ìwòyí)

'It is too early to eat (at this time)'.

yá⁴ : Iṣé yá I-ṣe o

(Work is ready to do) 'Come, let's start working'.³

yẹ : Ìwé yẹn yẹ I-kà

'That book ought to be read'.

If the elements nira 'to be difficult' and rọ̀rùn 'to be easy' are accepted as Single Verbs, they belong to the class of verbs occurring as FV in this pattern. However, in view of such sequences as ni mí l'ara 'is difficult for me', rọ̀ mí l'ọ̀rùn 'is easy for me', it is clear that ni and rọ̀ are separate V-tr elements. Further proof that rọ̀ is a V-tr with ọ̀rùn as NP-obj. is supplied by the fact that the tonal feature marking the juncture between rọ̀ and ọ̀rùn is that normally found between a low-tone V-tr and a following NP-obj. For these reasons, we regard ni and rọ̀ (see 4.312 above) as separate V-tr elements

(ii) + Vn₃:

kéré : Ọmọ yí kéré àti nà

'This child is too small/young to be caned'

³The distinction yá²/yá⁴ is made (i) on formal grounds because yá² collocates with a certain set of Time-Adverbials (those initiated by ni) with which yá⁴ does not collocate; and (ii) on semantic grounds because in a sentence like 'Iṣé yẹn yá I-ṣe o', there are two meanings: 'That work was quickly done' and 'It is time to do that work' (That work is ready for doing). These two meanings 'quick' and 'ready' correspond to the two formal types with yá² having the meaning 'quick' and yá⁴ meaning 'ready'.

(iii) + Vn4:

- burú : Ọ̀rọ̀ yẹ̀n burú láti sọ (sí ìyá rẹ)
'That is a bad thing to say (to your mother)'
- dára : Irú ìyẹ̀n (kò) dára láti fẹ́
(That type is (not) good to marry)
- dòtí : Aṣọ yí dòtí láti wọ̀
(This dress is too dirty to wear).
- dùn¹ : Ọ̀rọ̀ yẹ̀n dùn láti sọ
(That affair is pleasant to relate)
- gbádùn : Oúnjẹ yẹ̀n gbádùn láti jẹ́
(That food was delicious to eat)
- kéré : Ọmọ yí kéré láti nà
(This child is too young to beat)
- ṣòro : Ìwé yí ṣòro láti kà
(This book is difficult to read)
- sunwòn : Ọmọ yí sunwòn láti fẹ́
(This girl is beautiful to court)
- tó : Ìwé yẹ̀n tó láti parí
'It is time that book was completed'
- wón : Ìyẹ̀n wón láti rà
(That is too costly to buy).

- wúwo : Igi yí wúwo láti gbé
(This log is too heavy to lift)
- yá⁴ : Oúnjẹ yá láti jẹ o
(Food is ready for eating)
- yẹ : Ó yẹ láti ẹ
(It is fit to do)

It should be noted that some catenative verbs occur in more than one sub-type of pattern 'A'. Where a catenative verb occurs in two such sub-types (i.e. with more than one Vn-type following it), provided that all other elements of actual sentences are the same, the sentences in which they occur are synonymous in spite of the structural difference created by the occurrence of different Vns. For instance, dùn¹ + Vn2/Vn4 produces synonymous actual sentences:

Òrò yẹn dùn I- sọ (That affair is pleasant to relate).
" " " láti-sọ

Catenative verbs are common to the sub-patterns as follows:

- (a) Common to structures with 'Vn2' and those with 'Vn4':
dáara, dùn¹, sòro, tó, yá⁴, yẹ
- (b) Common to structures with 'Vn2' and those with 'Vn3':
None
- (c) Common to structures with 'Vn3' and those with 'Vn4':
kéré

One semantic feature shared by all the catenative verbs listed as '+ Vn4' is the expression of something about the 'state' or 'quality' of a thing (as opposed to 'activity', etc., by a thing). This, admittedly, is very vague; but it is something present in all these verbs. We may call it 'attribution'.

Will all FVs listed as '+ Vn4' (except yá and yé, the verbal element jù 'exceed' may intervene between them and Vn4. Though FV + jù is regarded in this study as a Compound Verb; and though the sequence FV + jù + Vn4 is not, by our definition, a CP1 sequence, FV + jù may be introduced at this point since it occurs regularly before Vn4. The set of Single Verbs possible as FV in FV + jù + Vn4 is a considerable enlargement of that occurring directly before Vn4: it includes every verbal item having the semantic feature vaguely characterized above as 'attribution'.

- Examples: dè 'soft' ɛ Èkọ́ yí dè jù láti jẹ
(This ẹkọ́ is too soft to eat)
- dòtí 'dirty' : Aṣọ́ yí dòtí jù láti wẹ
(This dress is too dirty to wear)
- rọ́ 'tough' : Iyán yí rọ́ jù láti jẹ
(This iyán is too tough to eat)

6.222 Non-Instrumental pattern 'B'

Underlying structure: [NP + FV] * [NP + V-intr]

Derived surface structure: NP + FV + Vn

Types of 'Vn' occurring in this pattern: Vn₂, Vn₃, Vn₄.

Catenative Verbs of this pattern, with sentence examples:

(i) + Vn₂

- fẹ́ : 0 fẹ́ I-dìdè
(You want to get up)
- mọ̀ : 0 mọ̀ I-ba
(You know how to hide)
- pẹ́ : 0 pẹ́ I-dìdè
(You were late to get up)
- tó : 0 tó I-bẹ̀rẹ̀
'It's time it started'
- yé : Kí ó yé I-dún
'Let it stop sounding'

The Complex Verb múra sí occurs in this pattern. Though not a catenative verb by our definition, it may be brought in for consideration since it participates in the pattern where the Single Verb múra is syntactically excluded. When múra sí occurs in this pattern, no consonant elision or vowel assimilation is permitted in Ci-.

- múra sí : 0 múra sí lílọ
(You persisted in going)

(ii) + Vn3

The structure of Vn3 (ati + Vb) is slightly modified in this pattern. After all the catenative verbs listed, except gbàgbé, gbìmò, kéré, kọ, mò and múra, an intervening Auxiliary M is obligatory between àti and vb. For the listed exceptions, an intervening M is optional. M in this position is realised as máa².

- bèrè : Ó bèrè àti máa gbó
'It started to bark'
- déèkun : Ajá mi déèkun àti máa gbó l'òru
'My dog ceased to bark at night'
- féràn : Ajá mi féràn àti máa gbó l'òru
'My dog is fond of barking at night'
- gbádùn : Ajá mi gbádùn àti máa gbó l'òru
'My dog enjoys barking at night'
- gbàgbé : Mo gbàgbé àti (máa) wá
'I forgot to come'
- gbìmò : A gbìmò àti (máa) gọ l'òru
'We planned to hide/be hiding at night'
- kéré : Ajá kii kéré àti (máa) gbó
'A dog is never too small to bark'
- kọ¹ : O kọ àti (máa) wẹ (nínú ibú)
'You learnt to swim (in the deepest parts)'
- kojá : Mo kojá àti máa du bẹẹ yẹn n'igboro
'I am too mature to run like than on the street'

mò : Mo mò àti du; sùgbón ...
(I know I could flee; but ...)

múra : O múra àti du
'You have got ready to flee'

(iii) + Vn/4

bikítà : Omò yẹn kò bikítà látì dídè
(The boy did not care to stand)

búra : Mo búra látì hò
(I vowed to flee)

gbà : Mo gbà látì dídè
(I agreed to stand)

gbàgbé : Mo gbàgbé látì jí l'àsìkò
(I forgot to wake up at the right time)

kò : Mo kò látì jí
(I refused to wake up)

múra : Ó n múra látì kó
'It is about to lose its freshness'

pé : O pé látì jí
(You were late to wake)

pinnu : Mo pinnu látì mù
(I made up my mind to dive)

tó : Wọn ò tó látì jì pèké
'They dare not move'

Catenative Verbs are shared by the sub-patterns as

follows:

- (a) Common to structures with Vn2 and those with Vn3: mo
- (b) " " Vn2 " Vn4: pé, tó
- (c) " " Vn3 " Vn4: gbàgbé, míra

6.223 Non-Instrumental patterns 'C'

6.2231 Non-Instrumental pattern 'C1'

Underlying Structure: [NP1 + FV] * [V-tr + NP2]

Derived Surface Structure: NP1 + FV + Vn + NP2

Types of 'Vn' occurring in this pattern: Vn2, Vn3, Vn4.

Catenative Verbs of this pattern:

(i) + Vn2

fé : Mo fé I-rí ọmọ náà

(I want to see the boy)

pé : Mo pé I-rí ọmọ náà

(I was late to see the boy)

tó : Ọmọ náà tó I-kẹ ìyá rẹ

(The boy is (old/...) enough to look after his mother)

yé : (kí o) yé I-şe wàhálà

'Stop worrying'.

The Complex Verb bẹrẹ sí also occurs in this sub-pattern:

bẹrẹ sí : Mo bẹrẹ sí I-nà wọn

(I started to cane them)

The set of FV in this sub-pattern is largely the same as

for Non-Instrumental pattern 'B' (6.222). The exceptions from the pattern 'B' set are mò and múra sí; but there is an additional member here: bèrè sí.

(ii) + Vn3

FV items: same list as for Non-Instrumental pattern 'B', ii (6.222). All examples are as given in 6.222, with substitution of V-tr + NP-obj for V-intr element after àti (máa).

(iii) + Vn4

FV items: same list as for Non-Instrumental pattern 'B', iii (6.222). All examples are as given in 6.222, with substitution of V-tr + NP-obj for V-intr element after láti.

Catenative Verbs shared by the sub-patterns are as follows:

(a) Common to Structures with 'Vn2' and those with 'Vn4': pé, tó

(b) " " 'Vn3' " 'Vn4': gbàgbé, múra

6.2232 Non-Instrumental pattern 'C2'

Underlying Structure: $\overline{NP1 + FV} * \overline{V-tr + NP2}$

Derived Surface Structure: NP1 + FV + NP2 + Vn

Types of 'Vn' occurring in this pattern: Vn2, Vn4

This pattern has the same underlying structural pattern as C1; and where the same FV elements occur in C1 and C2, the sentences containing them have the same meaning. It might have been sufficient to make a simple note of the reversibility of

order in the sequence '...Vn + NP2' ending the derived structure in C1; but this is not satisfactory because not all FV elements of C1 are permissible in C2 and a large number of FV elements permissible before Vn2 in C2 cannot occur before Vn2 in C1. Yet they are not totally different patterns because:

- (a) they have a common underlying structural pattern;
- (b) while Vn3 does not occur in this pattern, it is noticeable that 'C2' sentences with Vn2 are synonymous with 'C1' sentences with Vn3 if they share a common FV.

e.g. O fẹ̀ràn iṣẹ́ I-ṣe (C2, with Vn2)

= " àti máa ṣe iṣẹ́ (C1, with Vn3)

'You are fond of working'

Catenative Verbs of this pattern:

(i) + Vn2

Those shared by 'C1' and 'C2'

fẹ́ : Mo fẹ́ ọmọ yẹn I-rí

(Cf. Mo fẹ́ I-rí ọmọ yẹn: pattn. 'C1')

'I want to see that child'

tó : Ọmọ náà tó ìyá rẹ̀ I-ké

(Cf. Ọmọ náà tó I-ké ìyá rẹ̀: pattn. 'C1')

'The boy is old/... enough to look after his
mother'

yé : Ó yé wàhálà I-ṣe⁴
(Cf. Ó yé I-ṣe wàhálà: Pattn. 'C1')
'He stopped worrying'

Those not shared by 'C1'

bèrè : Wón bèrè oṭí I-mu
(Cf. Wón bèrè àti máa mu oṭí: pattn. C1, + Vn3)
'They started drinking wine'

dèṣkùn : Ajá mi dèṣkùn ẹran I-pa
(Cf. " " àti máa pa ẹran: C1, + Vn3)
'My dog stopped killing animals'

fẹràn : Ajá mi fẹràn ológbò I-lé
(Cf. " " àti máa lé ológbò: C1, + Vn3)
'My dog is fond of chasing cats'

gbádùn : Ajá mi gbádùn ológbò I-lé
(Cf. " " àti máa lé ológbò: C1, + Vn3)
'My dog enjoys chasing cats'

kọ¹ : O kọ mọ̀tò I-wà
(Cf. " àti (máa) wa mọ̀tò: C1, + Vn3)
'You learnt car driving'

kọjá : Mo kọjá mọ̀tò I-wà
(Cf. " àti máa wa mọ̀tò: C1, + Vn3)
'I am too old to drive'

⁴ yé does not occur in this pattern in our material; we owe this example to Abraham (1958), lexical entry yé.

mò : Mo mọ mọtò I-wà

'I know how to drive'

(Cf. Mo mọ àti (máa) wa mọtò: C1, + Vn3)

Literally, this means 'I know how to drive cars'; but in usage, it is not synonymous with pattn. 'C2, + Vn2'.
It is restricted in usage to the meaning:

'I could drive if I wanted to').

múra : O múra eré I-şe

(Cf. " àti (máa) şe eré: C1, + Vn3)

'You got ready to play games'

ní : Mo ní ife yẹn I-lò

'I need to use that cup'

wá³ : Mo n wá işé I-şe

(I am looking for work to do)

The Complex Verbs bèrè sí and múra sí occur in pattern 'C2'.

bèrè sí : Mo bèrè sí wọn I-nà

(Cf. " I-nà wọn: pattn. 'C1, + Vn2')

'I started to cane them'

múra sí : Mo múra sí ìwé I-kà

'I increased my effort at reading'

(ii) + Vn4

fé : Mo n fé ife kan láti lò

'I want a cup to use'

wá³ : Mo n wá iṣé láti ṣe

(I am looking for work to do)

Catenative Verbs shared by both sub-patterns: fẹ́, wá³.

.224 Non-Instrumental pattern 'D'

Underlying Structure: $\overline{NP2} + V\text{-tr} + \overline{NP1}$ * $\overline{NP1} + FV\text{-tr} + \overline{NP2}$

Derived Surface Structure: NP1 + FV + NP2 + Vn

Types of 'Vn' occurring in this pattern: Vn2, Vn3, Vn4.

Catenative Verbs of this pattern:

(i) + Vn2

ni : Ìwé yí ni 'ra I-kà

'This book is difficult to read'

pẹ́ : Iṣé nàà pẹ́ yín I-ṣe

'The work has taken you a long time to do'

rọ́ : Ìwé yí rọ́ 'rùn I-kà

'This book is easy to read'

sú : Ìwé yí sú mi I-kà

'I am tired of reading this book'

tó : Ọtí yí tó mi I-mu

'This wine is enough for me to drink'

Ọmọ nàà tó iyá rẹ́ I-kẹ́

'The child is enough for its mother to look after'

- wù : Ọtí wù mí I-mu
(Wine delights me to drink)
'I wish I could have some wine to drink'
- yá² : Ọúnjẹ yá yín I-jẹ (n'ìwòyí)
'It's too early for you to eat (at this time)'
- yá⁴ : Ọúnjẹ yá yín I-jẹ (n'ìyẹn)?
'Does that mean you are ready to eat?'

(ii) + Vn3

- ni : Ọwó ni 'ra àti rí (bẹẹ yẹn)
'It is difficult to get money (like that)'
- rọ : Ọwó (kò) rọ 'rùn àti rí (bẹẹ yẹn)
'It is not easy to get money (like that)'

(iii) + Vn4

As for Vn2 above.

For the examples, substitute prefix lati for prefix I-.

Catenative Verbs shared by the sub-patterns are as follows:

- (a) Common to 'Vn2' and 'Vn4': All Catenative Verbs listed under Vn2 above.
- (b) Common to 'Vn2', 'Vn3', 'Vn4': ni, rọ.

A Note on 'ni' and 'rọ' in this sub-pattern:

Whenever the 'NP-obj' following the FV ni/rọ is any NP other than that occurring in the fixed phrases ni 'ra and rọ'rùn, the actual sentence contains:

- ni NP l'ara
rọ NP L!ọrùn.

The element ni is an Intransitive Class A2Ia verb; while

rò is a verb of Intransitive Class A2IIb (4.312 above).

These sequences are products of the operation of 'T-ní 1' on

fi ara ni NP

" ọ̀rùn rò NP

which are themselves ultimately derived (via the operations of 'T-Caus 1' and 'T-P') from

ara NP ni

ọ̀rùn NP rò

The derivation is fully explained in 4.312 above.

6.23 INSTRUMENTAL CATENATIVE PATTERN 1

6.230 GENERAL STRUCTURAL PATTERN

Underlying Structure: NPx (< fi² + NP1 + Vb) + FV.

The underlying structure is NPx + FV; but NPx is a NP derived from the sequence fi² + NP1 + Verb by the nominalization of the verb fi².

e.g. NPx = fífi bàtà rìn; from fi bàtà rìn

In this structure, FV may be Transitive (optionally or obligatorily) or Intransitive; Vb may be Transitive or Intransitive.

Derived Surface Structure: NP1 + FV + Vn

Corresponding to the underlying structure, FV in the derived surface structure may be Transitive (optionally or

obligatorily) or Intransitive; and Vn may be the nominalized form of a V-tr or V-intr. (Note that whenever a verb is Transitive in basic clause pattern, it is automatically marked by '+ NP-obj').

Types of 'Vn' occurring in this pattern: Vn2, Vn4

6.231 SUB-CLASSES OF INSTRUMENTAL CPI

On the criterion of whether the FV element participating in its underlying structure is Transitive or Intransitive, the following sub-classification of this pattern is made. (If Vb is Transitive, a 'NP-obj' follows it in underlying structure as well as derived structure).

6.2311 INSTRUMENTAL PATTERN 1 'A':- FV = Intransitive.

Catenative verbs (FV) of this pattern, with sentence examples:

(i) + Vn2

- dára : Bàtà dára I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀ọ̀lù
(Boots are good (to use) for walking/kicking football)
- dùn : Bàtà dùn I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀ọ̀lù
(Boots are pleasant (to use) for walking/kicking football)
- gbádùn : Ilá gbádùn I-(fi) jẹ̀ èbà
(Okro-sauce is nice (to use) for eating èbà)
- şe : Bàtà-onígi शे I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀ọ̀lù
(Wooden shoes are possible (to use) for walking/
kicking football)

- şòro : Èşè lásán şòro I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀òlù
(Bare feet are difficult (to use) for walking/
kicking football)
- yẹ : Ilá l'ó yẹ I-(fi) jẹ iyán
(Okro is the right sauce (to use) for eating iyán).

(ii) + Vn4

All FVs of (i) with exception of şe may occur in this sub-pattern. All the examples used in i (+ Vn2) above are also appropriate in this sub-pattern, provided that the following two changes are made:

- (a) Substitute látí for I-;
- (b) fi is obligatory in this sub-pattern and not merely optional as in (i).

6.2312 INSTRUMENTAL PATTERN I 'B':- FV = Transitive.

In this sub-pattern, the FV may be optionally Transitive or obligatorily Transitive.

1. Optionally Transitive

Catenative Verbs of this pattern, with sentence examples:

(i) + Vn2

- pé : Ọwọ pé (mi) I-(fi) lọ ògì
'It takes (me) too long to grind corn by hand'
- tó : Bàtà ẹşè kan tó (mi) I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀òlù
(A boot on one leg is enough (for me) to walk/kick football)

yá² : Bàtà-aláṣọ yá (mi) I-(fi) rìn

'I can walk fast when I use canvas shoes'

Èédú yá (wa) I-(fi) dá 'ná

'We make fire rather quickly when we use coal'

(ii) + Vn4

All the three FVs listed in (i) occur in this sub-pattern; and all the examples given apply as well in this sub-pattern provided

(a) láti is substituted for I-;

(b) fi is obligatory and not merely optional.

2. Obligatorily Transitive

Catenative Verbs of this pattern, with sentence examples:

(i) + Vn2

ni : Èṣẹ́ lásán kò ni 'ra I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀òlù

(Bare feet are not difficult (to use) for walking/
kicking football)

rọ̀ : Bàtà rọ̀ 'rùn I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀òlù

(Shoes are easy (to use) for walking/kicking football)

wù : Bàtà wù mí I-(fi) rìn/gbá bọ̀òlù

'I would be pleased to walk/play football in boots'

(Note that, because of their class membership (Intransitive Class A2), ni and rọ̀ have fixed 'NP-obj' (ara and orùn respectively) but can take any nominal as 'NP-obj' if T-ní is applied).

(ii) +Vn4

All the three Verbs listed in (i) (for + Vn2) occur in this sub-pattern; and all the examples given apply as well provided that

(a) lāti is substituted for I-;

(b) fi is obligatory and not merely optional.

6.3 FORMAL PATTERNS AND MEANINGS

The above analysis of formal patterns helps to show how sentences with CP1 in their VP convey divergent meanings even when they have the same surface structure. For instance, Non-Instrumental Patterns 'A' and 'B' as well as the Instrumental Pattern have the surface structure NP + FV + Vn. But the meanings they express are very different; e.g.

Bàtà dùn I-rà 'Shoes are nice to buy' (Non.-Instr, 'A')

Bàtà dùn I-rìn 'Shoes are nice to walk in' (Instr 'A')

(Lit. Shoes are pleasant to use for walking).

However, while a common surface structure may express different meanings, different surface structures may express similar meanings. For instance, in the examples given for Non-Instrumental Pattern 'C2' (6.2232) and Non-Instrumental Pattern 'D' (6.224), one actual sentence is common to both patterns and actually expresses different meanings:

Ọmọ náà tó iyá rẹ̀ I-ké { 'The boy is... enough to look after
his mother' (Pattern C2)
{ 'The boy is enough for his mother to
look after' (Pattern D)

On the other hand, a different actual sentence produces the same meaning as expressed by 'C2'. Thus, 'C1' produces

Ọmọ nàà tó I-kẹ ìyá rẹ

'The boy is ... enough to look after his mother'

In our view, the sub-classification of catenation using the criterion of underlying structures has effectively established a link between the formal catenative patterns and the meaning types they express. Similarly, it has established a pattern for matching paraphrase equivalents. Granted that Vn₂, Vn₃ and Vn₄ are different nominalizations of the same verbal element, if they occur in catenation with the same FV in actual sentences that share a common underlying pattern, then these sentences are paraphrases of one another. Thus, taking examples from Non-Instrumental pattern 'A', each sentence in the following pairs is a paraphrase of the other:

Pair (i): Ọrọ yẹn dùn I-sọ (dùn + Vn₂)

" " látí sọ (" + Vn₄)

Pair (ii): Ọmọ yí kéré àti nà (kéré + Vn₃)

" " látí nà (" + Vn₄)

6.4. OTHER FULL VERB TYPES IN CATENATIVE PATTERN 1

In this chapter, we have examined only Single Verb instances of 'Vn' in CP1. This is a matter of convenience: the other Full Verb types that may occur as 'Vn' (the nominalised verb) are

the Complex Verb, the Compound Verb and the Composite Verb (Chapter 5, 7, 8 respectively). In these cases, the nominalization prefixes are attached to the first element (Bound or Free) of each Full Verb type.

6.5 CP1 IN EARLIER STUDIES

Of the three CP1 types discussed above, only that containing Vn.2 has received attention in earlier studies; and in all cases, attention has been paid only to its phonological feature of a high tone intervening between two Free Verb elements.

Abraham (1958) describes this phonological feature in the section 'The Verbal Noun' (p.xxvi). There he refers to a paraphrase equivalent of our CP1 structure which may be represented as:

$$\underline{\text{FV}} + \underline{\text{Vn.2}} : = \underline{\text{FV}} + \underline{\text{ní Vn.2}}$$

('=' means : 'paraphrase as')

Example: (quoted from Abraham (1958); we underline the CP1 and its paraphrase form).

"Ojúú sòmòń tó ẹ̀yẹ́ fò = ojúú sòmòń tó ẹ̀yẹ́ ní fífò

'The expanse of heaven is the proper place for birds to fly in!'

Abraham's paraphrase form is not accepted as a Standard Yoruba form; although informants admit that it is not nonsensical.

E. C. Rowlands (c)⁵ and Bamgboṣe (1966)⁶ also draw attention

⁵ E. C. Rowlands (c) is an unpublished paper presented at a West African Languages Conference, perhaps that of March 1964. We substitute '(c)' for the year of publication because we are not certain of the date.

⁶ Bamgboṣe (1966), D3.421, p.76.

to the phonological feature; but neither in these nor in Abraham (1958) is a syntactic description attempted. Nor has any study of the Yoruba Verb drawn attention to the sequences FV + Vn.3 and FV + Vn.4.

7. C A T E N A T I V E P A T T E R N 2:
COMPOUND VERBS.

7.0 STRUCTURE OF A COMPOUND VERB

A compound verb is a type of Full Verb with two Free (or single) Verb constituents (4.01). The two Free Verb constituents are linked by "catenation"; thus the sequence of Free Verbs in a Compound Verb is labelled as "Catenative Pattern 2" to distinguish it from another two-item sequence of (forms of) Free Verbs (6.0).

In the FV + FV structure of a compound verb, either FV may be Transitive. When the first FV is Transitive, there is an intervening NP between both FV constituents of the Compound Verb. This means that ^{the two} both FV's are not always contiguous in the sentences in which they occur.

7.01 THE ESSENTIALLY CATENATIVE NATURE OF COMPOUND VERBS.

FV + FV sequences have rarely been given any consideration in Yoruba grammars. But the Dictionaries have always included them as lexical entries. As such, they are either treated as if they were single verbs (e.g. Delano (1958): fàgùn, fàjá) or as sequences of single verbs in which each sequence is comparable to any single word cited (e.g. Abraham (1958): géjá, géjẹ, gekúró, gekúró, gépa - all of them, in fact, containing the FV gé 'cut'

in catenation with another FV). It is no concern of this study to examine how Compound Verbs should be cited in a Dictionary; but it might be noted here that it is wrong analysis to give the impression, as the Dictionaries do, that the composition of FV + FV sequences (Compound Verbs) is an aspect of word-formation.

Ida Ward (1952), in one of the rare comments on FV + FV sequences in any grammar of Yoruba gives another impression. Ward comments:

"What in English may be expressed by one verb consists frequently of a series of actions: in Yoruba ... the separate actions into which the idea may be analysed are usually expressed by separate verbs" (para. 218, p. 106).

The impression we have from this is that FV + FV sequences are a direct product of concept formation in the Yoruba-speaking community: an "idea" is analyzable into "separate actions" and the Yoruba language expresses each separate action by a separate verb. That this may be the ultimate explanation of the use of FV + FV sequences in Yoruba is a proposition we are not competent to contest. But we note:

- (i) That what constitutes "a series of actions" into which an "idea" is analyzable is a matter of

personal opinion and may be impossible to test. For instance, taking one of Ward's examples ---

ó ñsùn lọ. He is dropping asleep (p. 114), we fail to see how FV + FV (sùn 'sleep' and lọ 'go') expresses a series of separate actions.

- (ii) That FV + FV may or may not be required when a series of manifestly separate actions is to be expressed in words; e.g.

ó fo igi náà (1 FV) 'He jumped over the bar'

ó to fo igi náà (FV + FV) "

- (iii) That the direct source of FV + FV sequences in Yoruba is less remote than a method of concept formation: it is to be found in the catenation of two separate sentences that have certain non-verbal constituents in common.

In Appendix III (c), Bamgboṣe (1966) gives a transformational sketch of "Verbal Groups Having More Than One Free Verb". That single page of experimental transformational analysis appended to a SCG grammar that makes no mention of Free Verb clusters is too limited to exhaust types of Free Verb sequences (Compound as well as Composite) in Yoruba. But the approach in that analysis is basically the same as we use here in the description of Compound Verb structure.

The analysis of FV + FV that we present below claims, in effect, that these Compound Verbs result from the synthesis of two clauses mapped into a single sentence by a Synthetic (or Conjunctional) Transformation (henceforth 'T-Synth.'). This seems to be a valid claim for the following reasons.

- (a) In many cases, the actual sentence containing the Compound Verb is only a stylistic variant for a sequence of two actual sentences each containing one of the FV's of the synthetic sentence.

Thus,

Mo bó ògèdè náà jẹ. 'I peeled the banana
and ate it'

may, in a narrative where there is a sequence of several actions, be:

Mo bó ògèdè náà. Mo jẹ é. 'I peeled the
banana. I ate it'.

- (b) The Compound Verb in the synthetic sentence may be split by what is always a clause initiator, şùgbón 'but'; as in

Wón bó o jẹ (They peeled it off and ate it)
as against

Wón bó o; şùgbón wón kò jẹ é (They peeled it;
but did not eat it)

(c) Either FV in the Compound Verb may be syntactically negated by kò (though both cannot be separately negated within the same sentence); e.g.

Wón sá dé 'bí (They ran and reached here).

Wón kò sá; şugbón wón dé 'bí (They did not
run; but they got here)

Wón sá; şugbón wón kò dé 'bí (They ran but did
not reach here)

Thus, in order to negate only one FV without negating the other, the synthetic sentence has to be split up into its underlying constituents.

7.02 NATURE OF THE TRANSFORMATION PRODUCING 'FV + FV'

The process involved in the application of T-Synth. is conjunctive and involves NP-deletion (see 7.21). T-Synth. has sub-classes depending on what underlying structures it is applied to.

Secondly, T-Synth. provides the machinery for explanation of the structure of a Compound Verb, and hence its semantic interpretation, in an actual sentence. But it does not offer an effective machinery for the generation of new Compound Verbs since most Compound Verbs are more or less fixed combinations of some FV elements. Rules generating grammatically correct Compound Verbs are also bound to generate a large set

of ungrammatical FV + FV sequences. Thus, the Rules will generate the grammatical sequence

fò dide as in ó fò dide 'He sprang to a standing position';

and also the ungrammatical

*fò dúró and *fò jòókó

although dúró 'stand' and jòókó 'sit' belong to the same Verb class as dide. The underlying structure from which the grammatically correct

ó fò dide

is derived involves two sentences;

ó fò. ó dide (He leapt; he stood up).

There are no plausible syntactic rules to bar the generation of the ungrammatical FV + FV sequences from a similar sequence of grammatically correct sentences.

Nor will there be any to bar the generation from:

ó sún. ó jòókó jéé (He moved. He sat still)

of the ungrammatical *sún jòókó. For this reason, we list examples of Compound Verbs in the sub-classes set up below. The list is probably not exhaustive; but it is based on Compound Verbs cited in Abraham (1958) and supplemented by material from a story book, Ọdúnjọ (1964).

7.1 SUB-CLASSES OF COMPOUND VERBS .

7.11 SUB-CLASS 'A' : Generated by T-Synth. 1

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2] *

[NP1 + FV2 + NP2]

Structure of Derived Sentences: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2

Examples:

(a) Mo bó ògèdè náà. Mo jẹ ògèdè náà (I peeled the
banana. I ate the banana)

⇒ Mo bó ògèdè náà jẹ (I peeled the banana and ate
it)

(b) Mo fí eku náà. Mo pa eku náà (I smoked the rat's hole.
I killed the rat)

⇒ Mo fí eku náà pa. (I smoked the rat to death)

List of Compound Verbs generated by 'T-Synth.1'

bó ... jẹ/sè 'peeled and ate/cooked ...'

bù ... jẹ/ṣán (cut and ate) 'bit ...'

bù ... pín 'cut and shared ...'

dá ... pa 'threw down and killed ...'

dà ... rò (turned over .. and thought ...)
'pondered ...'

fí/fín ... pa 'killed ... by smoke'

fà/fọn ... mu 'suck'

gbà ... bó/pa/tà/tọ 'took over ... for breeding/killing/
selling/training'

FV after gbà 'receive' may be chosen from the long list of Transitive Free Verbs of Classes 1 and 3 and Intransitive Verbs of Class A 1 a. The general meaning is 'to take over and do something that is not normally one's responsibility'.

gbé ... dè	'tie ... (in chains, like a prisoner)'
gbé/gún/sè/sé ... mu	(took (drugs)/ pound (herbs)/boil/sieve ... for drinking)
gbó ... sọ	(hear ... say)
já ... gbà	(tore ... and got)'snatched'
jí/rí...r gbé	(stole/saw ... and lifted) 'stole'
jò ... mu	(leaked ... for drinking)
ká ... di	(folded ... tied) 'folded ... up'
kó ... dè/so	(gathered ... for tying up)
lé ... bá	(chased ... and caught up with ...)
mú ... so	'put ... in chains'
nà ... sá	(stretched ... to dry) (NP after first FV = clothing material)
pa ... bò/jẹ/run/tà	(killed ... and hid/ate/destroyed/sold ...)
pò ... mu	(mixed ... and drank ...)
rà ... Vb	(bought ... and vb) <u>Vb</u> in this Compound Verb is selected from an open set of Transitive Verbs
ré ... jẹ	'cheated'
rí ... Vb	(found ... available to Vb) Vb in this Compound Verb is selected from an open set of Transitive Verbs
rò ... jẹ/mu	'mixed ... for eating/drinking'
rò ... sọ	(thought ... and said it)

- sún ... lò 'carefully used ...'
 şà ... jẹ/rò/yàn 'ate/considered/chose ... selectively'
 sọ ... lò/mu/şe/wò 'used/drank/did/looked .. watchfully'
 wò ... kọ/şe 'copied'
 Vb ... jẹ (Vb ... and ate it)

First FV in this Compound Verb is selected from an open set of Transitive Verbs.

- Vb ... pa (Vb ... and killed ...)

First FV is selected from the following list: ⁴ bọ ; ³ bú ; ⁷ dá ;
² dẹ ; ³ fi ; ² gún ; ³ gbà ; ³ kàn ;
² jẹ ; ³ lù ; ² pẹ ; ³ rà ; ² rí ; ² şa ;
⁴ sán ; ² şì ; ⁵ ta ; ² tẹ ; wò.

- Vb ... tà (Vb ... and sold ...)

First FV is selected from the following list: ² bù ; ² dì ; ² dín ;
² gbà ; ⁴ gbé ; ² jí ; ² kù ; ² lé ;
⁵ pa ; ² sè ; ¹ tu ; ¹ yọ ; ¹ yó.

- Vb ... wò (Vb ... to examine ...)

First FV is selected from the following list: ² dẹ ; ² gbà ; ⁴ gbé ;
² jí ; ³ rò ; ¹ sọ ; ³ sọ ; ³ tọ ; yẹ ;
 yó.

7.12 SUB-CLASS 'B': Generated by T-Synth.2.

Structure of Underlying Sentences: $\frac{\sqrt{NP1 + FV1}}{NP1 + FV2 + NP2} \#$

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP 1 + FV1 + FV2 + NP2

Examples

(a) Mo tọ. Mo wọ inú-ilé nàà (I hopped. I entered the house)

⇒ Mo tọ wọ inú-ilé nàà (I hopped into the house)

(b) Èyàn búburú pò. Wón jù 'gbé (Evil people are many.

They exceed weeds)

⇒ Èyàn búburú pò jù ìgbé (There are more evil people than
there are weeds)

(The postulated underlying sequence of sentences
in (b) is more commonly used than the derived form
because it is part of a well-known proverb; as such,
the non-synthetic sequence has become fixed and is
attested together with the synthetic form).

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth. 2.

Vb. jù/tó...

(e.g. burú jù...

'worse than'

burú tó...

'as bad as')

Vb. + jù/tó is always used in the
comparison of the quality of two
things. jù = 'exceed'; tó = 'reach'.

An open set of FV elements

denoting what was described as

"attribution" at the end of 6.221
may occur as the first FV of this
Compound Verb.

Vb kiri/kọjá/wọ:

(e.g. fò kiri... 'fly about'

fò kọjá ... 'fly past'

fò wọ ... 'fly into')

In the above Compound Verbs, kiri

'roam, go about' and wọ 'enter' are
followed by NP-place only. The

first FV of the Compound Verb is

selected from the set: bẹ²;

fò¹; rá¹; rìn¹; sá¹; sǎn¹; sán²;

tọ; wẹ²; yọ². Since kiri and kọjá

are verbs of Transitive class 4b,

and 2b respectively, a following NP

is only optional; thus these

Compound Verbs of which they are

second elements may occur in derived

sentences with the same surface structure

as in sub-class 'C' below.

kán jó ...

(drop and burn ...)

ké bá ...

(cry and reach to) 'come crying to'

ké pè ...

(cry and call ...) 'shout to ...'

- kù gbé ... (stir and lift ..) 'lift ... with a burst of strength'
- kún bò... (was full, and covered ...) 'full to the point of covering ...'
- sá bá/tò ... (ran, and reached/followed ...) 'ran to ...'
- tè bò ... (bent, and entered into ...) 'pierced'
Since tè is a verb of Intr. Class A 1 (which is potentially Transitive), this Compound Verb may also belong to Sub-Class 'F' below.
- Vb pèlú ... (do something with ...) The first FV may be selected from an open set of Intransitive or optionally Transitive Verbs.
- Vb sáájú ... 'do something before ...' The first FV element in this Compound Verb may be selected from the whole range of Intransitive or Optionally Transitive verbs.

7.13 SUB-CLASS 'C': Generated by T-Synth. 3

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP + FV1]* [NP + FV2]

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP + FV1 + FV2

Example:

Mo sá. Mo lọ (I ran. I went)

⇒ Mo sá lọ 'I ran away'

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth. 3

dìde dúró (rose and stood)

fò dìde (jumped and rose) 'sprang to a standing position'

jà Vb (struggled/fought and ...)

The second FV of this Compound Verb is selected from the list: $b\acute{o}^1$; $k\acute{u}^1$; $l\grave{a}^2$; $w\acute{o}.$

$jà\ b\acute{o}/f\acute{o}/k\acute{u}$ (lost grip and fell from a height/ crashed down/fell to death) $jà^2$ is a verb of Intr.Class A 1; as such it is 'potentially Transitive'; but of the three Compound Verbs in which $jà$ is first FV, only $jà\ b\acute{o}$ belongs also to Sub-Class 'E' below)

lọ Vb (went and ...)

The second FV of this Compound Verb is selected from an open set of Intransitive Verbs. Generally, it expresses the meaning 'went and,

as a consequence, did something' or
'went for the purpose of doing
something'.

nà ró	(stretched and stood) 'stood straight' Since <u>nà</u> is a verb of Intransitive Class A 1, it is 'potentially Transitive'; thus, this Compound Verb may also belong to sub-class 'E' below.
pé jò	(were complete and were assembled) 'fully assembled'
pín yà	(divided and parted) 'went/drifted apart'
ré bọ́/fọ́	(fell off and dropped/broke)
rìn lọ/wá	(walked and went/came) 'walked away/ towards us'
sá lọ/wá	(ran and went/came) 'ran away/towards us'
sán kú	(flung and died) 'died suddenly'
sẹ́ kú	(snapped and died) "
sẹ́ kù	'remain'
ta jí	(shock and woke) 'woke with a start'
wá Vb	(came and ...)

The second FV of this Compound

Verb is selected from an open set
of Intransitive Verbs.

Vb tán (done something to a finish)

The first FV is selected from an
open set of Intransitive Verbs.

7.14 SUB-CLASS 'D': Generated by T-Synth.4.

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2]*
[NP1 + FV2]

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2

Example:

Olú jẹ̣ iṣu. Olú yó. (Olú ate yam. Olú felt satisfied)
=> Olú jẹ̣ iṣu yó

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth.4.

jẹ̣ ... yó (eat one's fill of ...)
mu ... yó (drink ... to satisfaction)
rí ... sá (see ... and run away)
tẹ̣ ... dọ (found a settlement at ...)
Vb ... kú (do something to the point of death)

'Vb' in this Compound Verb is a
member of an open set of Transi-
tive Verbs.

Vb ... lo/wá (do something while going/coming)

'Vb' here is a member of an open set
of Transitive Verbs.

Vb ... yè (do something to the point of survival)
'Vb'. here is a member of an open set
of Transitive Verbs.

This list would be longer if we considered the nominalized forms of this class of Compound Verbs used in the clause pattern outlined in 7.22 below. For instance, though there are no corresponding Compound Verbs in present-day Yoruba, the following nominalized forms derived from sub-class 'D' Compound Verbs may be cited as examples:

àjẹlà (jẹ ... là) as in/^{the}poetic expression: Ìyà
tí awo. ní jẹ, àjẹlà ni.

àjẹpọ (jẹ ... pọ 'eat ... to the point of being sick')

àşelà (şe ... là 'do ... to the point of survival',
or 'to the point of becoming rich')

7.15 SUB-CLASS 'E': Generated by T-Synth. 5.

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2] *
[NP2 + FV2]

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2

Example:

Atẹgùn bi igi náà. Igi náà wó. (The wind pushed the tree.
The tree fell.)

⇒ Atẹgùn bi igi náà wó (The wind blew the tree down.)

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth.5.

- bì/gé/ré ... ṣubú/wó (pushed/cut/sliced ... to fall)
dà ... rú 'caused ... to be unsettled'
fà ... Vb (pulled ... to a state described
by the Vb.)
(Vb in this Compound Verb may be
any of the set: dí; gùn³; já³;
le; ro; ya; yọ¹.)
- gbé ... ga (lift ... high) 'exalted'
gbé ... ró (lift ... to standing position)
'supported'
- já/ré ... bọ (pluck ... to fall) 'brought ... down'
jẹ ... gún NP = debt or something borrowed
'incurred a bad debt'. (We record
this as Compound Verb only on the
authority of Abraham (1958) citation
of gún as a Free Verb: Owó mi gún
'the money owed me has become a bad
debt' - see gún D (1)).
- jẹ ... ra/run (ate ... to ruin)
lò ... gbó/kù/pé (use ... till it is worn/partially/
for long)
mò ... yàtò (know ... to be different)

nà ... ró	(make ... to stand upright) - cf. <u>nà ró</u> in sub-class 'C'
pa ... kú/run	(kill ... dead)
pón ... mú	(whet ... to a sharp point)
so ... rò	(tie ... in a hanging position)
sàn/sìn/wẹ/fò ..mọ́	(rinse/rinse/wash/wash ... clean)
se ... parí'	(do ... to completion)
tẹ ... rì	(bend ... to drown)
wò ... sànyè	(look after ... to improvement/ survival) 'cure'

In the following Compound Verbs, "Vb" is selected from an open set of Transitive Verbs.

Vb ... jọ	(to assemble ... in the way specified in the first <u>Vb</u>)
Vb ... kù	(to do what is specified in <u>Vb</u> only partially; <u>kù</u> ¹ = 'remain')
Vb ... kúrò	(e.g. gbé e kúrò (n'ibí) 'take it off (from here)' jẹ ounjẹ yí kúrò (n'ilẹ) 'eat off all this food'; etc.)
Vb ... lọ	(e.g. Mo lé wọn lọ 'I drove them off)
Vb ... nù	(to lose or dispose of ... in a way specified in <u>Vb</u> ; <u>nù</u> ¹ = to be lost)
Vb ... pé	(to bring .. to completion in way specified in <u>Vb</u> ; <u>pé</u> ¹ = to be complete)

- Vb ... tán (to do ... to completion in way specified in Vb)
- Vb ... wá (e.g. O lé wọ́n wá 'you chased them to this direction' Ohun t'ó tì ẹ́ wá 'whatever urged you to come')

7.16 SUB-CLASS 'F': Generated by T-Synth. 6

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2] *
[NP 2 + FV2 + NP3]

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2 + NP3

Example:

Atégùn dá igi. Igi pa Òjó. (The gale blew down the tree.

The tree killed Ojo)

⇒ Atégùn dá igi pa Òjó. (The gale blew down a tree
which killed Ojo)

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth. 6.

dà ... bò ... (spread ... to cover ...)

dá/wó ... pa ... (crashed down ... to kill ...)

Since dá and wó are verbs of Intrans.

Class A1, the Compound Verbs of

which they are constituents may

belong to sub-class 'B'.

fí/fín ... pa ... (blow (smoke) on ... till it dies)

jù ... bà ... (throw ... to hit ...)

kà/là/so/wí ... yé... (read/explain/say/speak ... to the
understanding of ...)

7.17 SUB-CLASS 'G': Generated by T-Synth. 7

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2]*

[NP1 + fi + NP2 + FV2 + NP3].

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2 + NP3.

Examples:

(a) Ọba náà tẹ́ 'wọ́. Ọba náà fi ọwọ́ gbà ọpá-oyè. (The
king stretched his hand. The king
used his hand to receive the staff of
office)

⇒ Ọba náà tẹ́ 'wọ́ gba ọpá-oyè. 'The king stretched
out his hand and received the staff
of office'.

(b) Mo bu omi. Mo fi omi la ẹmu náà. (I fetched water.
I used water to split the wine).

⇒ Mo bu omi la ẹmu náà. 'I diluted the wine with
water'

Note: Although the surface structures of sub-classes 'F'
and 'G' are identical, they produce totally distinct types
of meaning because of the distinct underlying structures
postulated here.

List of Compound Verbs generated by T-Synth. 7.

bù ... kún ...	'increase ... by ...'
bù ... là ...	'dilute ... with ...'
bù ... lẹ ...	'mend ... with ...'
bù/ṣe ... wọn ...	'sprinkle ... on ...' (NP after the first FV = liquid object)
ká ... wé ...	'wind ... to fold round ...'
nà ... fà/gbà/gbé/ mú ...	(stretch ... to pull/receive/carry/ take ...) (NP after the first FV = ọwọ 'hand')
pa ... bọ ...	(kill ... in worship of ...) 'sacrifice ... to ...'
ta ... dí ...	(spread ... to block ...)
té ... gbà/gbé ...	(spread out ... to receive/carry ...) NP after the first FV = orí 'head'; ọwọ 'hands'. The sentence 'Ó té 'rí gb' aṣọ' in which <u>té ... gbà ...</u> occurs is an idiomatic expression with the meaning 'He is dead' - used only to break the news of a king's death.

7.18 SUB-CLASS 'H': Generated by T-Synth. 8

Structure of Underlying Sentences: [NP1 + FV1 + NP2] *

[NP 1 àti NP2 + FV2 + NP3]

Structure of Derived Sentence: NP1 + FV1 + NP2 + FV2 + NP3

Example:

Òkẹ́ lé Olú. Òkẹ́ àti Olú wọ̀'yàrá (Òkẹ́ chased Olu. Òkẹ́
and Olu entered the room)

=> Òkẹ́ lé Olú wọ̀'yàrá. 'Òkẹ́ chased Olu into the room'

Note: The surface structure of 'H' is identical with 'F' and 'G'. Its underlying structure is, however, totally different from 'G'; and hence they are semantically very different. However, the underlying structure of 'F' is very similar to that of 'H'; the only difference between them is that while NP2 is in construction with 'FV2 + NP3' in 'F', the syntactic position of the "NP2" of 'F' is filled by a conjunctive phrase in which NP1 is linked by àti 'and' to NP2. The structural difference between NP2 and NP1 àti NP2 creates a semantic difference with the latter meaning 'NP2 in addition to something else'. But the fact that NP2 shares a common privilege of occurrence with NP1 àti NP2 in the underlying structure seems also to lie at the root of the semantic similarity of sentences generated by 'T-Synth. 6' and 'T-Synth. 8'. Sentences generated by 'T-Synth. 8' are ambiguous. For instance, the sentence in the above example means either:

Òkẹ́ chased Olu; and Olu entered the room alone,
or - Òkẹ́ chased Olu; and both of them entered the room.

The first meaning may be traced back to the underlying structure of 'F'; while the second derives from the underlying structure of 'H'.

List of Compound Verbs generated by 'T-Synth.8'

gbé ... gùn... (carried ... to mount ...)

Vb ... wò ... (Vb ... into ...)

Vb in this Compound Verb is
 selected from the list; fà²;
 gbé³; lé³; mú²; sún¹; tì³;
 wò¹; yí.

7.2 FURTHER NOTES ON THE COMPOUND VERB SUB-CLASSES

7.21 THE USE OF DELETION IN THE OPERATION OF 'T-SYNTH'

In all the sub-classes 'A' to 'H', there is always a deletion of any NP that occurs a second time. That it is the second occurrence of the NP that is deleted is conclusively proved by the following two facts:

- (a) In sub-classes A, B, C, D, G and H, the deleted items are not in doubt. For instance in A, the surface structure does not include the two NPs occurring before and after FV2 in the underlying structure.
- (b) In E and F where the underlying structures have two consecutive NP2 in our structural statement, there may be a doubt as to which one is deleted. The

deleted NP2 is the second one because

- (i) the tone between NP2 and FV2 in the derived sentence is clearly not that between a NP-subject and a following VP; in the occurrence of FV2 in the underlying structure, the tonal relationship is clearly that between NP-subject and a following VP;
- (ii) if the instances of NP2 in the underlying structures were pronouns, NP2 occurring after FV1 would be the object pronoun while NP2 preceding FV2 would be the subject pronoun. In the derived sentence, it is the object (and not the subject) pronoun that is retained.

The principle underlying the operation of 'T-Synth.' and, hence, of the formation (and use) of Compound Verbs seems to be the elimination of redundant grammatical elements.

7.22 EMPHATIC USE OF NOMINALIZED COMPOUND VERB FORMS.

Compound Verbs may be nominalized like other Full Verb elements; the nominalization prefix attaches to the first FV only. The prefix à - produces Compound Verb nominals which are used in a construction in which the VP pattern is: FV1 (NP1) + ní + à-FV1-FV2 (NP2).

This means that the first constituent of the Compound Verb is isolated and immediately followed by a prepositional phrase containing the nominalization of the full form of the Compound Verb. If either FV is normally followed by NP, this NP is not affected.

Examples:

- (a) $f\acute{e} \dots t\acute{a}n$ 'love ... completely' $\Rightarrow f\acute{e} \acute{n}\acute{i} \grave{a}f\acute{e}t\acute{a}n$
(love with complete love)
- (b) $s\acute{a} \dots r\grave{e} \dots$ 'run to ...' $\Rightarrow s\acute{a} \dots \acute{n}\acute{i} \grave{a}s\acute{a}r\grave{e} \dots$
as in: $E\grave{s}\grave{i}n \acute{n}\acute{a}\grave{a} s\acute{a} a \acute{n}\acute{i} \grave{a}s\acute{a}r\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ (The
horse ran the race in a final home-
ward burst)
- (c) $j\grave{a} k\acute{u}$ (fight and die) $\Rightarrow j\grave{a} \acute{n}\acute{i} \grave{a}j\acute{a}k\acute{u}$ 'fight to death'

The semantic significance of this, from our point of view, is to emphasize the meaning of FV1 by the syntactic isolation and later repetition of it in the compound, and exaggerate the consequence of the content of that first FV by converting FV2 (which normally expresses the consequence of FV1) into a constituent of an Adv-Manner.

Not all the Compound Verbs listed in sub-classes 'A' to 'H' participate in this alternative pattern, whereas, as noted in 7.14, some forms occur in the pattern (e.g. $s\acute{e} \dots l\grave{a}$ as $s\acute{e} \acute{n}\acute{i} a\acute{s}\acute{e}l\grave{a}$) which cannot be attested as

Compound Verbs in the derived sentences described in 7.1. The only sub-class that seems to be totally excluded is 'B' (7.12). The pattern described above is productive with all other sub-classes; though some very common Compound verbs (e.g. pín yà, sè kú) are often used as if they were single lexical items and they sound funny though syntactically well-formed when used in the alternative pattern outlined above.

8. COMPOSITE VERBS

8.0 DEFINITION

A Composite Verb is a VP containing more than two (forms of) Full Verb elements. It is not a random string of Full Verb elements; rather it is regularly derived from Complex Verb and Compound Verb bases. Theoretically (as one may expect in the case of class I Composite Verbs - 8.1 below), there should be no limit to the number of Full Verb elements occurring in a Composite Verb; but in practice, we can rarely find anything more than a sequence of five Full Verb elements: anything more than a five-item sequence is probably the analyst's own fabrication and is most often firmly rejected by informants.

Examples of the Composite Verb are shown in the following sentences: (Full Verb elements underlined)

Lọ mú lúé yẹn wá 'Go and bring that book'

O mòdómò so òkí-adìẹ mọ nọ̀tò-ọ̀lọ̀pá ká 'gboro

'You deliberately tied dead chickens to the police vans
all over the town'

One of the weaknesses of all earlier grammars is that none of them even so much as recognized the existence of VPs of this type.

8.01 TYPES OF COMPOSITE VERBS

In all cases, the Composite Verb is an expansion of either a Complex Verb or a Compound Verb. (By 'expansion', we mean the

substitution of a multi-item sequence for the normal one item in one of the two structural positions of a Complex or Compound Verb). In the following discussion, we shall often refer to the 'Complex Verb base' and the 'Compound Verb base' of the Composite Verb.

On the criterion of what base the Composite Verb has, we recognise two broad types of Composite Verbs:

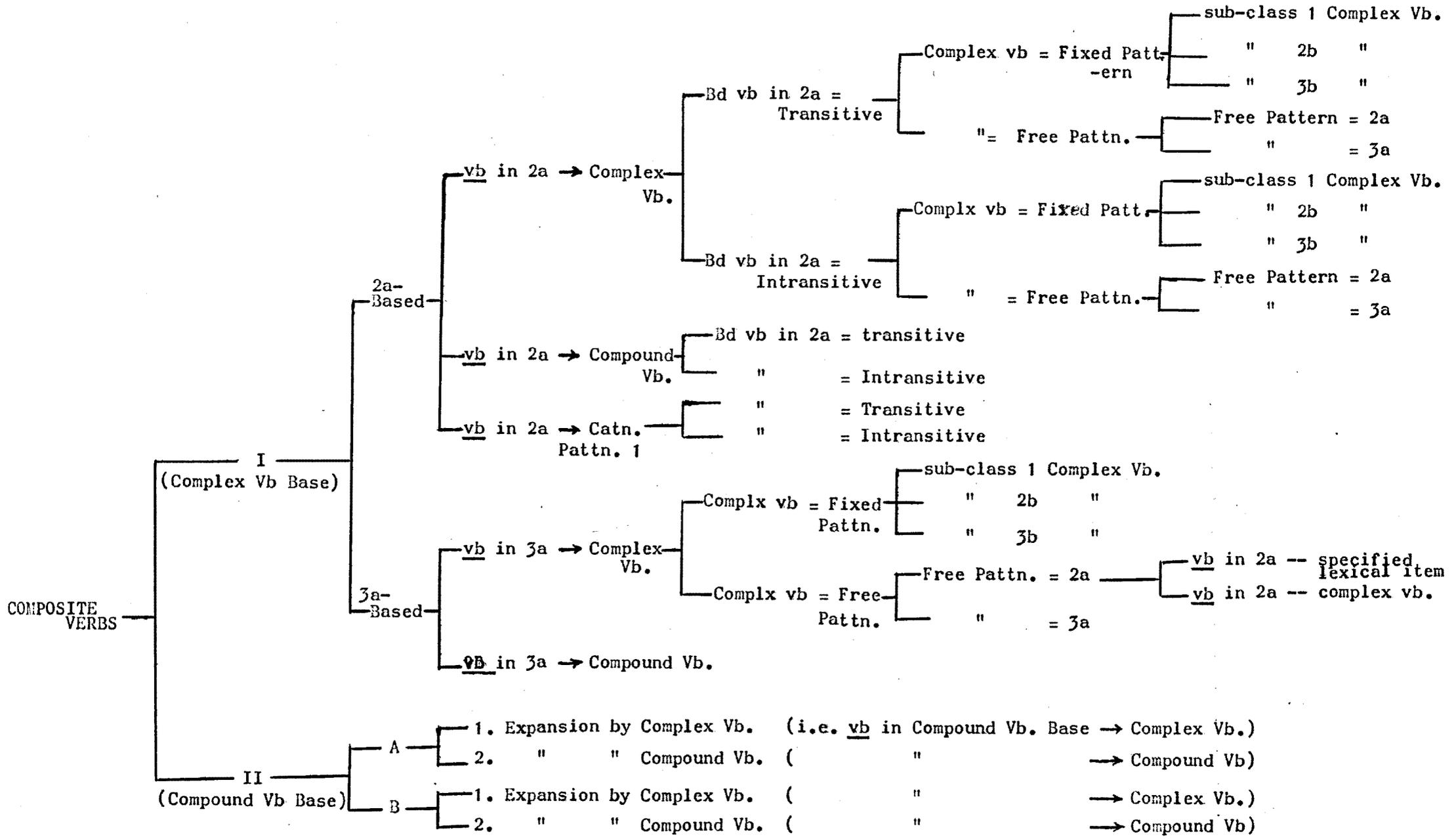
- (a) Composite Verb with a Complex Verb base: henceforth, Class I
- (b) Composite Verb with a Compound Verb base: henceforth, Class II.

The attached Table (3) sets out all the sub-classes of Composite Verbs and is a summary of the analysis that follows. (Table 3 next page).

8.1 CLASS I COMPOSITE VERBS

8.10 NATURE OF THE COMPLEX VERB BASE

Since the Composite Verb of 'Class I' is derived by a substitution of a multi-item verbal sequence for one of the two items of a Complex Verb (8.01 above), the structural nature of the Complex Verb base obviously affects the possibility of Composite Verb formation. As evident on Table 2 in 5.11, there are two broad types of Complex Verbs: those of Fixed Pattern (where the constituent elements are invariable) and those of Free Pattern (in which there is a position marked "Vb" which allows the occurrence of different (types of) items). Since both constituents of a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb are invariable, no substitution is permitted; consequently, Composite Verbs cannot be derived from a Complex Verb of this type. On the other hand, because



substitution is permitted at the position marked "vb" in Free Pattern Complex Verbs, this type can serve as a base for the kind of expansion by which Composite Verbs are derived. Complex Verbs of the Fixed Pattern, of course, participate as constituents in Composite Verb construction, as we show in several sub-sections of this chapter: they are substitutable for the "vb" of Free Pattern Complex Verbs but cannot themselves serve as the base for expansion.

There are only two Free Pattern sub-classes of Complex Verbs: sub-classes 2a and 3a - see 5.11; these two can serve as the base for the derivation of 'Class I' Composite Verbs.

Complex Verb sub-classes are themselves further sub-classified as 'A' (with the obligatory Bound Verb as Transitive) and 'B' (with the obligatory Bound Verb as Intransitive). Like the distinction 2a/3a, this A/B distinction is relevant to Composite Verb construction and classification.

The broadest classification of class I Composite Verb structure is in terms of the Free Pattern Complex Verb on which it is based: 2a or 3a.

8.11

COMPOSITE VERB BY EXPANSION OF A 2a COMPLEX VERBBASE.

Preliminary Notes:

In a 2a Complex Verb, the structure is

Bound Verb + vb ("vb" position allows an open choice).

In this structure, the constituent of immediate concern is "vb". The position "vb" can be filled by what we shall henceforth call EXPANDERS; these are Single Verbs, Complex Verbs, Compound Verbs, and Catenative Pattern 1 sequences. The filling of that position by

Single Verb expanders is of no interest to us here (see 5.22 for the treatment of this); and we shall deal only with the substitution of Complex Verbs, Compound Verbs and Catenative Pattern 1 sequences for "vb".

It is important to note also that the 2a Complex Verb sub-class is further sub-classified as 'A' and 'B'.

8.111 EXPANSION BY COMPLEX VERB EXPANDERS.

8.1110 Where the Complex Verb Base is 2a(A): i.e fixed Bound Verb is Transitive.

The expander may be a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb (i.e. from Complex Verb sub-class 1, 2b, or 3b) or a Free Pattern Complex Verb (i.e. from sub-class 2a or 3a).

1. Expansion by Fixed Pattern Complex Verbs.

The structure of the Composite Verb resulting from this may be:

- (i) Bound Verb (morphologically fixed) + sub-class 1 Complex Verb
- (ii) " " + " 2b "
- (iii) " " + " 3b "

(i) + sub-class 1 Complex Verb¹

Of the eight verbs of 2a(A), three are not capable of expansion by sub-class 1 Complex Verbs. These are: bù...V-tr , dá...V-tr , and tún...V-tr . Four of the remaining five can be expanded into Composite Verbs by any Complex Verb of sub-class 1.

Examples (with sub-class 1 verb as "dà...kọ..."):

2a(A) = bá...+vb : Mo bá wọn d' orí kọ òná-Èkó

' I headed for Lagos with them'.

¹Because hundreds of examples may be necessary in this chapter, we are restricting exemplification only to cases where an example might not be apparent even to someone who knows the language well. In the examples given, Composite Verb elements are underlined.

= fi^2 ...+vb : Mo fi ìgbóyà d' orí kọ ònà Èkó
'I headed for Lagos with courage'.

= mu^3 ...+vb : Ó mí mí d'orí kọ ònà Èkó
'It made me head for Lagos'.

ti^1 ...+vb : Mo ti ibè d'orí kọ ònà Èkó
'From there, I headed for Lagos'

The Complex Verb fi^1 ...+vb can be expanded into a Composite Verb by only one of the five sub-class 1 Complex Verbs in which the first element is of Intransitive Class A 1 (i.e. which are only Potential Transitives). When this serves as the expander in this environment, the Complex Verb cannot be split by an intervening NP. The Composite Verb so derived is:

fi ... p a mọ́ 'hide ...'

(ii) +sub-class 2b Complex Verbs

As in (i), the three 2a(A) Complex Verbs with 'V-tr' cannot be expanded. The Complex Verb fi^1 ...vb is also excluded from expansion. The position "vb" in the remaining four --

bá...vb , fi^2 ...vb , mu^3 ...vb , and ti^1 ...vb

-- may be filled by all the Complex Verbs of sub-class 2b(A) with the exception of bà...kù/tì which cannot substitute for "vb" after bá... (i.e. there is no Composite Verb:

*bá (NP) bà (NP2) kù/tì).

Of the two Complex Verbs of 2b (B), bù se/parí cannot substitute for "vb" at all in this type of pattern. The other, dá kú, is an expander only after mú³... and ti¹... as in:

Ó mú mi dá kú "It made me faint"

Mo ti ibè dá kú "I fainted right there"

(iii) + sub-class 3b Complex Verb

As in (ii) above, the Complex Verbs that can be expanded are bá...vb, fi²...vb, mú³...vb, and ti¹...vb. With these, the position "vb" can be filled by ANY 3b Complex Verb, whether 'A' or 'B'.

2. Expansion by Free Pattern Complex Verbs.

The structure of the Composite Verbs resulting from this may be:

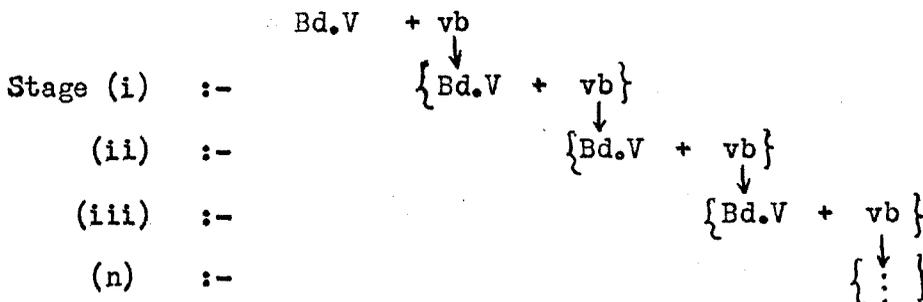
(i) Bound Verb (specified Morphological item) + sub-class 2a complex vb

(ii) " + " 3a "

The Nature of Expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb Expander:-

Theoretically, when an expander is 2a or 3a, the process of expansion may be expected to be infinite as shown in the following illustration. If we had a complex Verb of Free Pattern (e.g. 2a = 'Bound Verb + vb') to expand into Composite Verb by another Complex Verb of Free Pattern (e.g. 2a), the processes would be as follows:

Processes: ('Bound Verb' is abbreviated as Bd.V)



('↓' stands for 'Rewrite 'vb' as ...' ; '{ }' embraces the expander at each stage. ; 'n' stands for an undefined stage in the operation after (iii)).

In deriving a Composite Verb from a 2a or 3a Base and by means of a 2a or 3a expander, it is essential to note the following points.

(a) While the expansion is theoretically an infinite process, Composite Verbs are hardly ever longer than 5 items in speech. The 5-item sequence is produced by only 3 successive expansion operations of the type:

"vb" -----> Complex Verb

This means that, of the infinite number of possible repetitions of the expansion operation, the language rarely uses more than three.

(b) A given Base may be recurrently expanded by one and the same Complex Verb expander; i.e. each time "vb" occurs in the product of the initial expansion and its successors, the same expander is substituted for "vb". Whenever the expander recurrently applied is a 2a Complex Verb, the Composite Verb produced has a string of initial Bound Verbs. Whenever the expander recurrently applied is a 3a Complex Verb, the Composite Verb produced has a string of final Bound Verbs.

(c) The recurrent application of a given expander is, however, not obligatory. At every new occurrence of "vb" after an expansion, there is always a choice among the rules:

- (i) "vb" -----> Single Verb
- (ii) "vb" -----> Fixed Pattern Complex Verb

(iii) "vb" → Free Pattern Complex Verb

(iv) "vb" → Compound Verb.

("vb" → 'Catenative Pattern 1' is permissible only in a few cases of the initial operation on a 2a Base: see below).

Whenever the choice is (i), (ii) or ⁱⁿmost cases of (iv), the operation automatically ends since there is no "vb" to replace. But whenever the choice is (iii), the operation continues; and in the position "vb" where substitution takes place, there is an open choice between Complex Verbs 2a and 3a. It is this open choice that makes the application of a given expander a variable rather than a constant process: there is, at every position "vb", a choice as to whether to make it constant or variable.

Since only three expansion operations are required to produce the usual maximum of a 5-item sequence, the 'variability' in which we are interested is that afforded at "vb" after the first or the second expansion operation. The position "vb" after the operations makes possible any further expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb expander.

(d) Given the same Base, a sequence of operations using Free Pattern expanders, whether 2a or 3a, will produce the same Composite Verb no matter in what order the expanders are applied during the process of derivation. For instance, given a 2a Base, the following different sequences of expansion operations produce the same Composite Verb. (Notation: 'X' stands for the expansion operation in which the Verb type following it — 2a or 3a — replaces "vb" in the particular

sequence to which the operation applies).

<u>2a Base</u>	X	2a	X	3a	}	= Bd.V + Bd.V + <u>vb</u> + Bd.V
"	X	3a	X	2a		

e.g. O bá wa f' ogbón sọ fún wọn

'You cleverly informed them on our behalf'.

<u>OR</u>	<u>2a Base</u>	X	2a	X	2a	X	3a	}	= Bd.V + Bd.V + Bd.V + <u>vb</u> + Bd.V
"		X	2a	X	3a	X	2a		
"		X	3a	X	2a	X	2a		

e.g. Wón tètè bá mi fi ogbón fà á ti ògiri

' They quickly used their cleverness to help me drag it against the wall'.

Each sequence of expansion operations in each set consists of the same expanders in a different order of application; but the differently ordered sequences result in the same Composite Verb.

More examples of such convergence are given later on in this Chapter.

(e) In some cases, different sequences of expanders operating on different bases produce the same Composite Verb. For instance,

<u>2a Base</u>	X	2a	X	3a	}	= Bd.V + Bd.V + <u>vb</u> + Bd.V
<u>3a Base</u>	X	2a	X	2a		

e.g. O bá wa fi ogbón sọ fún wọn

Ó t' òhún f' ipá fón ọn ká 'gbó

(Right there, he sprayed it all over the bush by force.)

There are several other examples of this type of convergence in, for instance, 8.121.

The points made in (d) and (e) are of interest because if we were

to make a systematic description of all expansion operations used in the derivation of Composite Verbs, such a description would be uneconomical: the derivation of one and the same Composite Verb would be given under several expansion operations. In fact, almost all Composite Verbs produced by expansion operations on a 3a Complex Verb are also produced by different or similar operations on 2a base. There are only two actual instances of 3a Composite Verb types which are not also produced by operations on a 2a Base. These are:

- (i) the expansion of a 3a Complex Verb Base by a 3a expander; (see pp 286 - 287 below)
- (ii) the further expansion of the product of (i) by a 3a expander. (see pp. 289 below)

In the following analysis, therefore, after a full outline of 2a-based Composite Verbs, we shall describe fully only two 3a-based Composite Verb types and merely point out the 2a-based equivalents of the others, the structures of which will, of course, be outlined.

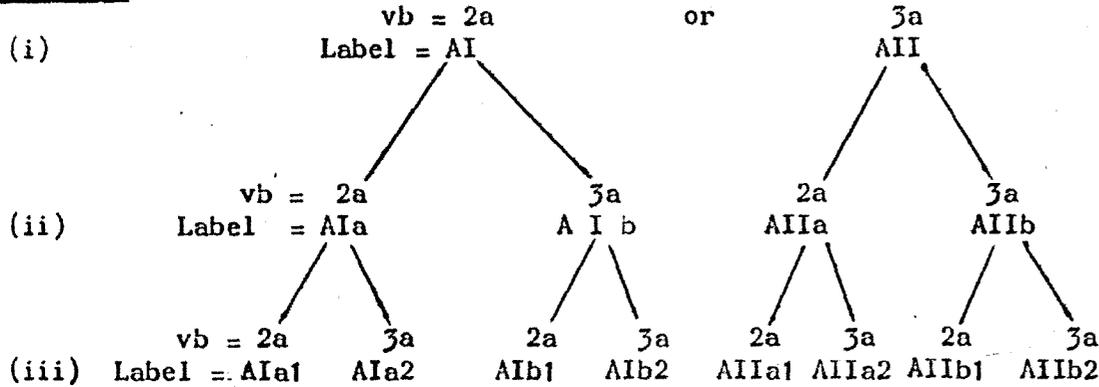
Theoretically, 28 expansion operations are involved in the derivation of all the Composite Verbs from 3-item to 5-item ones. As set out below, 14 of these apply to a 2a Composite Verb base and 14 to a 3a base. For easy reference, we label these as in the following diagram.

Base = 2a Composite Verb.
 (Structure of Base = Bd. V + Vb).

Expansion:

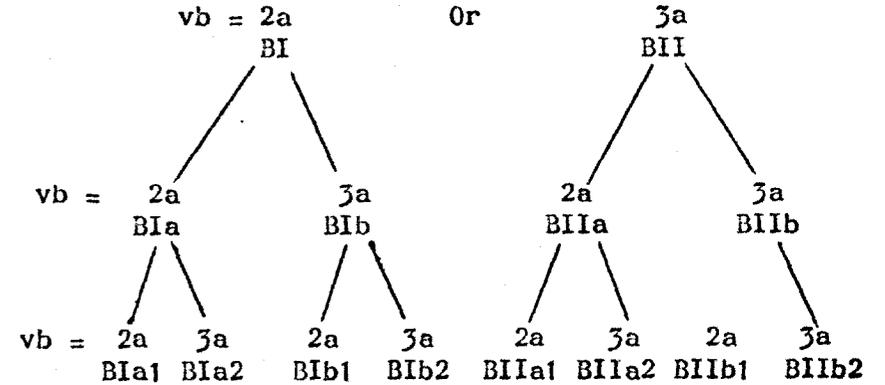
Label = A

Expansion:



Base = 3a Composite Verb.
 (Structure of Base = Vb + Bd. V).

Label = B



In the above, the four operations I, II, produce 3-item Composite Verbs;

the eight operations distinguished by the labels a , b , produce 4-item Composite Verbs; while

the sixteen operations distinguished by the label 1, 2, produce 5-item Composite Verbs.

(1) Expansion of 2a(A) by sub-class 2a Complex Verbs.

This implies expanding sub-class 2a(A) by itself as well as by 2a(B). It would be easy to focus attention on the labelled operations (p.253) by which the Composite Verb types are derived. However, since the labelled operations refer to expansion by Free Pattern Complex Verbs only, we find it more convenient in this study to describe the derivation of Composite Verbs in terms of the number of verbal items in each derived Composite Verb because this kind of description can be applied to expansion by Fixed Pattern Complex Verbs as well. When expansion by 2a or 3a (Free Pattern expanders) is involved, we shall need to refer to the operations by the labels given on p.253.

Derivation of 3-item Composite Verbs.

The operation involved is 'AI' and may be summarised as: '2a Base x 2a'. Only four of the eight 2a(A) Complex Verbs can be expanded into Composite Verbs. These are: bá...vb , fi²...vb , mu³...vb , and ti¹...vb.

bá...vb : Expander -- any 2a(A) Complex Verb except bù... V-tr.

e.g. Ó bá mí bá a dé 'lè
(He joined me in razing it to the ground).

O bá mí tún un se 'You repaired it for me'.

fi²...vb : Expander -- all 2a(A) Complex Verbs except bù...V-tr. Thus "vb" here may be replaced by fi²...vb itself.

e.g. Ó fi ìbínú fi ìgí fó ọ
(In his anger, he smashed it with a stick)

Wón fi oògùn bá a jà 'They fought him with magical charms'

mu³...vb : Expander --- all 2a(A) Complex Verbs except mu³...vb itself.

e.g. O mu mí bù ọ̀rọ̀ yẹn sq (kí o tó dá sí i)
'You made me say nearly everything (before coming into the matter)

ti¹...vb : Expander -- any 2a(A) Complex Verb except ti¹...vb itself.

e.g. O ti ọ̀hún dá a se 'You did it by yourself right there'.

The Complex Verb bá...vb excludes any 2a(B) Complex Verb as expander;

but the other three permit a few 2a(B) Complex Verbs. Thus :

(a) in fi²...vb, "vb" may be 2a(B) Complex Verbs dá + V-itr, nìkan + vb, tètè + vb, and túnbò + vb ;

(b) in mú³...vb, "vb" may be dá + V-intr, mòómò +vb, dédé +vb, nìkan + vb, tètè + vb, and túnbò + vb.

(c) in ti¹...vb, "vb" may be dá + V-intr, nìkan + vb, and túnbò + vb.

In the Composite Verbs in which mú³ occurs, (in this and other sub-classes), an alternative pattern exists in which mú³ is directly followed by a ki²-clause (see 3.421 above). In place of a 4-item Composite Verb, this alternative pattern seems to be more commonly used.

Examples(with 3-item Composite Verb):

O mú mi bu òrò yèn sò (with Composite Verb).

(alternative): O mú ki ng bu òrò yèn sò (ki²-clause underlined).

Derivation of 4-item Composite Verbs.

In the examples discussed above, "vb" in the expander was obligatorily replaced by a Single Verb only in the derivation of a 3-item Composite Verb. Alternatively, "vb" may be replaced by another Complex Verb. In this way, 4-item Verbs are produced. In the following discussion, we set out the 4-item sequences so derived.

The 3-item Composite Verb operation described above (with the result : 'Bd.V + Bd.V +vb') yield 41 different Composite Verb types as follows :

- 7 based on bá...vb
- 11 based on fi²...vb
- 13 based on mú³...vb
- 10 based on ti¹...vb.

Of these 41, the following 15 are not capable of any further expansion (i.e. "vb" in their structure is obligatorily replaced by a Single Verb):

- bá...bá...vb bá...mú...vb bá...fi¹...vb
- bá...dá...vb bá...tún...vb
- fi²...fi¹...vb fi²...fi²...vb fi²...dá...vb
- fi²...tún...vb fi²...dá vb.
- mú³...bù...vb mú³...tún...vb.
- ti¹...fi¹...vb; ti¹...bù...vb ti¹...tún...vb.

Two others may be further expanded, but the Composite Verbs so derived produce deviant though intelligible sentences. These are:

mú³...dá vb; and ti¹...dá vb.

In sentences containing the expanded (4-item) forms of these, parallel forms with the synonymous nikan are used. One of the remaining 24 --

mú³...fi¹...vb

-- can be expanded only by pa mó of Complex Verb sub-class 1, as in:

Ó mú ni fi NP pa mó

'He made me hide NP'

The remaining 25 3-item Composite Verbs are expandable into 4-item Composite Verbs. The expanders operating on the 3-item base may be Fixed Pattern or Free Pattern Complex Verbs. In the following statement, these two different types of expanders are handled together for economy. Whenever the expander is a 2a Complex Verb in the following statement, the operation is a 'A1a' expansion and may be summarized as

'Base 2a x 2a x 2a'.

But whenever it is a 3a Complex Verb, the operation is a 'A1b' expansion

and may be summarised as

'Base 2a x 2a x 3a'.

Those that may be expanded by Complex Verbs of all sub-classes 1 - 3b:-

$ba' \dots fi^2 \dots vb$: Expander -- any Complex Verb of sub-classes 1, 2a(A) (except $fi^2 \dots vb$, $mu^3 \dots vb$, $ti^1 \dots vb$, and $bù \dots V-tr$), 2b(A) (except $ba \dots ku/ti$), 3a and 3b.

e.g. $O' ba' mi fi agbara fa a ti ogiri$

'He helped me use force to drag it to the wall.'

$fi^2 \dots ba' \dots vb$: Expander -- any Complex Verb of sub-classes 1, 2a(A) (except $bù \dots V-tr$), 2b(A) (except $ba \dots ku/ti$) 3a and 3b.

$fi^2 \dots mu^3 \dots vb$: Expander -- any Complex Verb of sub-classes 1, 2a(A) (except $mu^3 \dots vb$ and $bù \dots V-tr$), 2b(A) (except $ba \dots ku/ti$), 3a and 3b.

$fi^2 \dots ti^1 \dots vb$: Expander -- any Complex Verb of sub-classes 1, 2a(A) (except $fi^2 \dots vb$, $ti^1 \dots vb$, and $bù \dots V-tr$) 2b(A), 3a, and 3b.

e.g. $O' fi iwara ti ibe ba a je$

'He spoilt it there by his impatience'.

$mu^3 \dots ba' \dots vb$: Expander -- all of sub-class 1; 2a(A) except

bá...vb, mú³...vb, bù...v-tr and dá...v-tr),

2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b

e.g. Ìbínú l' ó mú mi bá wọn bà á jé

(it was anger that made me join them in wrecking it)

mú³...fi²...vb : Expander - all sub-class 1 (except dà...kọ... and kọ...lé/sí...), 2a(A) (except fi²...vb. and mú³...vb and bù...v-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a, and 3b.

mú³...mòómò vb : Expander - all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except mú³...vb, and bù...v-tr), 2b (except bù se/parí), 3a, and 3b.

mú³...dédé vb : As for "mú³...mòómò vb"

mú³...nìkan vb : Expander - all sub-class 1, 2a (A)(except mú³...vb, bù...v-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b.

mú³...tètè vb : Expander - all sub-class 1, 2a (A) (except mú³...vb and bù...v-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a, and 3b.

mú³...túnbò vb : Expander - all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except mú³...vb, bù...v-tr and dá...v-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b.

ti¹...bá...vb : Expander - all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except bá...vb, ti¹...vb, bù...v-tr and dá...v-tr),

2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b.

ti¹ ...fi²...vb

: Expander -- all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except fi²...vb, ti¹...vb, and bù...V-tr), 2b(A), 3a, and 3b.

ti¹...mú³...vb

: Expander -- all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except mú³...vb, ti¹...vb), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a, and 3b.

ti¹...nikan vb

: Expander -- all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except ti¹...vb, bù...V-tr, and dá...V-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b.

ti¹...túnbò vb

: Expander -- all sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except ti¹...vb and bù...V-tr), 2b(A) (except bà...kù/tì), 3a and 3b.

Three others can be expanded by Complex Verbs from all sub-classes but the choice of expanders is much more restricted. These are:

fi²...nikan vb

: Expander can be

from subclass 1: dà...kọ...; kọ..lé/sí...; dá..ní

" " 2a(A): bá...vb; fi¹...vb;

ti¹...vb; tún...V-tr; fi²...vb.

" " 2b(A): bù...wò; dá..dúró; dá..kọjá;

dán...wò; pa...dé; sọ...dà/di...

" " 3a : All

" " 3b : All

fi²...túnbò vb

: Expander can be any from sub-class 1, and 3a

from sub-class 2a(A) : bá...vb; mú³...vb

" 2b(A) : dá...dúró; dán...wò;
pa...dé

" 3b : ká/şé...kò; vbs...pa.

mú³...ti¹...vb

: Expander can be all of sub-class 3a, 3b.

from sub-class 1 : dà...kọ...; kọ...lé/sí;

bà...jé; dá...sí; pa...dà

" 2a(A) : bá...vb.

" 2b(A) : bà...wò; dá...dúró;

dán...wò; pa...dé;

şọ...dà/di...

Those that may be expanded by only some of the Complex Verb sub-classes:-

bá...ti¹...vb

: Excludes sub-class 1 altogether. Among other sub-classes, the expander may be all in sub-class 2a(A) (except ti¹...vb, bù...v-tr), 2b (except bà...kù/tì, bù se/parí), 3a, and 3b.

mú³...dá...vb

: Excludes 3a altogether. Among the rest, expander can only be:

from 1: bà...jé; pa...mó.

" 2a: bá...vb; fi¹...vb; fi²...vb; tún...v-tr.

" 2b: bà...wò; dán...wò; pa...dé.

" 3b: ká/şé...kò; vbs...pa; şé/yí...po.

$fi^2 \dots tètè \text{ vb}$: Excludes 3a and 3b altogether. Among Complex Verbs of other sub-classes, the expander may be all in sub-class 1, 2a(A) (except $fi^2 \dots \text{vb}$, $ti^1 \dots \text{vb}$ and $bh \dots \text{v-tr}$), and 2b(A) (except $bà \dots kù/tì$)

$ti^1 \dots dá \dots \text{vb}$: Excludes expansion by 1, 3a, 3b altogether. Expander can only be:
 from 2a: $tún \dots \text{v-tr}$.
 " 2b: $bè \dots wò$; $dán \dots wò$

In Composite Verb sequences featuring nìkan, there is ambiguity which is caused by the fact that nìkan may be a VP element or an Adjective; e.g. $ó \text{ fi } \text{ìgbóyà } \text{nìkan } \text{bá } \text{wọ́n } \text{já}$ { He alone fought them with courage
 { Courage was the only thing with which he fought them

Application of T-Emph. would clearly reveal that it is the dual syntactic role of nìkan in the language that creates this ambiguity. T-Emph. preposing ìgbóyà would create two different sentences:

$\text{ìgbóyà } \text{ni } \text{ó } \text{fi } \text{nìkan } \text{bá } \text{wọ́n } \text{já}$ (nìkan = verb)
 $\text{ìgbóyà } \text{nìkan } \text{ni } \text{ó } \text{fi } \text{bá } \text{wọ́n } \text{já}$ (nìkan = adj.)

Derivation of a 5-item Composite Verb.

Of the 4-item Composite Verbs outlined above, only those derived by 2a and 3a expanders are capable of further expansion. Thus, the immediate 4-item base of the 5-item Composite Verbs here considered must have the structure:

(i) 'Bd.V + Bd.V + Bd.V + vb' (derived by a 2a expander and with the

'history' "2a Base X 2a X 2a"); or

(ii) 'Bd.V + Bd.V + vb + Bd.Vb' (Derived by a 3a expander and with the 'history' "2a Base X 2a X 3a").

To derive a 5-item Composite Verb from any of these 4-item bases, the position "vb" in each case is theoretically replaceable by a 2a or a 3a expander; so that the 'history' of the 5-item Composite Verb would be any of:

i, (a) 2a Base X 2a X 2a X 2a

(b) " " " X 3a

ii, (a) 2a Base X 2a X 3a X 2a

(b) " " " X 3a

i (a) and ii(a) are not permitted unless the 2a Base is a Complex Verb '2a(B)' -- which is outside the scope of this section. By contrast, i (b) and ii(b) are productive. Since there are hundreds of underlying 4-item bases to consider, it is necessary to do a commutation test on all these with all the 12 3a Complex Verbs listed in 5.11. Here, we think it is enough merely to establish the possibility of these Composite Verbs and to illustrate only with those 4-item bases ultimately derived from bá...vb. (This is the smallest group of 4-item Composite Verbs here concerned).

i (b) Type.

4-item base : bá...fi²...bá...vb

3a expanders : vb + dè...; vb+ fún...; vb + ká...; vb+ sí¹...; vb + pò.

Examples : Bá mi fi sùúrù b' ọmọ yí şeré de iyá rẹ
(Help me attend patiently to this baby until its mother's arrival)

O ò dè bá 'ni fí ogbón b' omódé yí sò fún iyá wè (pé...)

'Can you help this child tell his mother (that...)'

4-item base : bá...fí²...tún...vb.

3a Expanders: vb + dè...; vb + fún...; vb + mọ...; vb + pọ.

Examples : Bá mi fí sùúrù tún un se dè/fún wón ^(/)

(Help me repair it patiently pending their arrival/for them).

Bá mi fí òwá tún un sò pọ

'Help me re-fasten it with a thread'

The third 4-item base -- bá...fí²...fí¹...vb --- cannot be further

expanded by 3a.

ii(b) Type.

4-item base : bá...fí²...vb dè...

3a Expanders: vb + fún...; vb + ká...; vb + kà/lé...; vb + mọ...

vb + sí¹...; vb + tí...; vb + pọ.

Examples : Bá mi fí ogbón sò fún 'Bísí dè okọ wè

(Help me relay the message cleverly through Bisi to her husband).

(T' ó báá tó àkókò), bá mi fí ìkòkò yí gb' omi kà/lé 'ná

(When it is time), help me boil some water in this pot

dè Mámá

pending mother's arrival

4-item base : bá...fí²...vb ká...

3a Expanders: vb + fún...; vb + mọ...; vb + pọ.

Examples : Ó bá mi fí lọ kàn án mó 'gi ká gbogbo ilú

(He helped me nail it to trees all over the town)

Bá 'ni fí ogbón sò fún wón ká gbogbo ilú

(Help us use your cleverness to tell everyone in town)

4-item base : bá...fi²...vb...mó...

3a Expander : vb + pò.

Example : Bá wa fi èrọ rẹ jó o pò mó kẹkẹ yí
(Help us with your machine to weld it to this bicycle).

4-item base : bá...fi²...vb...sí¹...

3a Expander : vb + tí...

Example : Mo bá wọn fi agbára wó ọ tí sí ara-ògiri
(I helped them use my strength to drag it against the wall)

4-item base : bá...fi²...vb...tí...

3a Expander : vb + kà/lé...

Example : Mo bá wọn fi ikòkò gbé e ka/lé 'ná tí iyá-àgbà
(I helped them warm it in a pot on the fire near grandmother)

4-item base : bá...fi²...vb...pò.

3a Expanders : vb + fún...; vb + kà/lé...; vb + lù...
vb + mó... ; vb + sí²...

Examples : Ó bá wa f' ogbón sọ fún wọn pò
(He cleverly informed them together on our behalf).

Ó bá wa fi èkọ lè wón mó 'gi pò
(He helped us stick them together on a tree with a paste of 'ẹkọ').

Other 4-item Composite Verbs are not further expanded by 3a. These are:

bá...fi²...vb...fún...

" " " kà/lé...

" " " lù...

" " " sí²...

(ii) Expansion of 2a(A) by sub-class 3a Complex Verbs.

Derivation of 3-item Composite Verbs .

This involves the alternative 'AII' to the choice of a 2a expander at the first stage of the expansion of a 2a Complex Verb (see p 253).

The operation may be summarised as

'Base 2a x 3a'.

Only five 2a(A) Complex Verbs can be expanded by 3a. These are:

bá... + vb : Expander -- any 3a Complex Verb.

e.g. Bá mi fà á ti ògiri

'Help me pull it against the wall.'

fi¹... + vb : Expander -- only vb...dè...; vb...ká...;

vb...fún...; vb...sí¹...

e.g. Mo gbé omi náà dúró dè é

'I waited for him with the water.'

Wón ní fi ìwé náà wá ẹ ká 'lé

'They were looking round the house to show you the book.'

fi².... + vb : Expander may be any 3a Complex Verb.

mu³.... + vb : " "

ti¹.... + vb : " "

Derivation of a 4-item Composite Verb

The structure of the above set of 3-item Composite Verbs is

"Bd.V + Vb + Bd.V". For further expansion into a 4-item Composite Verb,

a choice is permitted at the position "vb". The expander may be a 2a or a 3a Complex Verb. Alternatively, it may be a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb.

When the choice of expander is 2a (i.e. when the operation is 'AIIa' or '2a Base x 3a x 2a') the Composite Verb derived is exactly the same as the product of AIb (the operation '2a Base x 2a x 3a' on pp.257 - 261 above). The structure of the Composite Verb is

Bd.V + Bd.V + Vb + Bd.V

Thus for instance, the Composite Verb bá...fi²...Vb...tì as in

Mo bá a fi agbára fà a tì ògiri
(I helped her use force to drag it to the wall)

is derived from the 2a Complex Verb base bá...Vb through two different operations. One - '2a Base x 2a x 3a' - produces the intermediate 3-item Composite Verb bá...fi²...Vb on which the expander 3a (=Vb...tì...) operates; while the other - '2a Base x 3a x 2a' - produces the intermediate 3-item Composite Verb bá...Vb...tì on which an expander 2a (= fi²...vb) operates. All Composite Verbs resulting from this operation have thus been covered earlier in the treatment of the '2a Base x 2a x 3a' type.

When the choice of expander is 3a (i.e. when the operation is 'AIIb' or 2a Base x 3a x 3a), the Composite Verb produced has the structure:

Bd.V + Vb + Bd.V + Bd.V.

Since this is different from any structure described so far, we shall give fuller details here of the Composite Verbs derived.

The 3-item Composite Verbs that serve as the immediate base for

the expansion operation fall into five types. We specify the derived 4-item Composite Verbs according to these five different types.

1. Base ultimately bá...+Vb.

Immediate 3-item Composite Verb Base :-

bá...Vb...dè : Expander - vb...fún...; vb...ká...; vb...kà/lé...;
vb...mọ́...; vb...sí¹...; vb...sí²...; vb...tì...; vb...ní...;
vb...pọ́.

e.g. Bá wa sọ fún Bisi de ọkọ rẹ
(Help us relay it through Bisi to her husband)

Mo bá won rìn ín mọ́ lẹ de ọlọpá
(I helped them hold him down pending the
policeman's arrival).

bá...vb...ká.: Expander - vb...fún...; vb...kà/lé...;
vb...lù...; vb...mọ́...; vb...sí²...; vb...tì...;
vb...ní...; vb...pọ́.

e.g. Ó bá wa sọ fún won ká 'gboro
(He helped us tell people on the streets)

Tòmínbá won gún ni l' òbẹ ká 'gboro-Èkó
(Tommy has joined the gang inflicting knife
wounds on people all about Lagos).

bá...vb...mọ́.: Expander - vb...pọ́

e.g. Bá mi kó won pọ́ mọ́ tìrẹ
(Help me collect them with yours)

bá...vb...sí¹.: Expander - Vb...dè...; vb...tì...

e.g. Mo bá won dúró tì í s' ẹbá - ònà
(I joined them in standing by it at the
road side)

bá...vb...tì.: Expander - vb...kà/lé...

e.g. Ó bá mi gbé e ka/lé ná ti iyá rẹ
(He helped me put in on the fire near
her mother).

The seven other 3-item Complex Verbs cannot be further expanded by

3a. These are :

- bá...vb...fún... ; bá...vb...kà/lé...;
- bá...vb...lù... ; bá...vb...sí²...;
- bá...vb...ní... ; bá...vb...pò

The first and last of them seem to be excluded in order to avoid redundancy; bá is synonymous, in a sense, with fún (both meaning 'on behalf of') and, in another sense, with pò (both meaning 'in the company of').

2. Base ultimately fi¹...vb

Immediate 3-item Composite Verb base :-

fi¹...vb...dè... : Expander - vb...ká...; vb...sí¹...

e.g. Ó fi l'wé nàà han gògò won ká 'lé dè é

(He showed the book round to all of them in the house before your arrival)

fi¹...vb...sí¹... : Expander - vb...dè...; vb...tì...

e.g. wón fi èbùn tìrè dúró dè é s'Èkó

(They are waiting for you in Lagos with your own present)

The other 3-item Complex Verbs of this type cannot be further expanded

by 3a. They are :

fi¹...vb...fún...; and fi¹...vb...ká...

3. Base ultimately fi²...vb

Immediate 3-item Composite Verb base :-

fi...vb...dè... : Expander - vb...fún...; vb...ká...; vb...kà/lé...; vb...mọ́...; vb...sí¹...; vb...sí²...; vb...tì...; vb...ní...; vb...pò.

e.g. Ó fi l'gòyà so fún awon olopa nàà dè bàbá rà
(He boldly informed the policeman pending his father's arrival).

fi...vb...ká... : Máà fi lkánjú sòò kà/lé 'lè dè mí o

(Don't hastily bring it down from the fire before I come back)

fi...vb...fún... : Expander - vb...ká...; vb...kà/lé...; vb...mó...; vb...sí¹...; vb...sí²...; vb...tì...; vb...ní...; vb...pò.

e.g. Mo fi gbón tàn òrò nàà ká 'lú fún won
(I cleverly broadcast news of the affair for them all over the town)

Fi owó gbá a l'ojú fún mi
(Slap him in the face for me with your hand)

fi...vb...ká... : Expander - vb...fún...; vb...lé...; vb...mó...; vb...sí²...; vb...ní...; vb...pò.

e.g. Ó ní fi tròbà ta' kúta sí won ká 'gbó
(He is using a catapult to shoot stones at them all over the bush).

fi...vb...mó... : Expander - vb...pò.
e.g. O fi òkánjúwà gbá won pò mó tire
(You greedily gathered them with yours)

fi...vb...sí¹... : Expander - vb...dè...; vb...tì...
e.g. Mo fi lrójú dúró dè yin s'etf-odd
(I patiently waited for you at the river-bank)

fi...vb...tì... : Expander - vb...kà/lé...
e.g. Mo f'apẹ gbé e kà/lé 'ná tì lyá-àgbà.
(I set it on the fire in a clay pot near grandmother).

The other 3-item Composite Verbs cannot be further expanded by

3a. These are :

fi...vb...kà/lé...; fi...vb...lù...; fi...vb...sí²...

fi...vb...ní...; fi...vb...pò.

4. Base ultimately mú³...vb.

Immediate 3-item Composite Verb base :-

mú...vb...dè... : Expander - vb...kà/lé...; vb...mọ́...; vb...sí¹...;
vb...tì...; vb...ní...; vb...pọ́.

e.g. Òun l' ó mú mi sò ó ka/lé orí-àga dè yín
(That's what made me bring it down on the
chair until you came).

mú...vb...fún... : Expander - vb...kà/lé...; vb...lù...; vb...mọ́...;
vb...sí¹...; vb...sí²...; vb...tì...; vb...ní...;
vb...pọ́.

e.g. Wọn mú mi yín 'bọn lù ú fún wọn
(They made me shoot at it for them)

mú...vb...ká... : Expander - vb...fún...; vb...lé...; vb...mọ́...;
vb...sí²...; vb...tì...; vb...ní...; vb...pọ́.

e.g. Kí l' ó n mú ẹ jòókó lé 'ri-àga ka 'lé?
(What makes you shift from one chair to
another all about the room?)

mú...vb...mọ́... : Expander - vb...pọ́.

e.g. Wọn mú mi so ó pọ́ mọ́ òpọ́
(They made me tie it to a post)

mú...vb...sí¹... : Expander - vb...tì...

e.g. kí l' ó mú ẹ gbé e tì ògiri s' ibè?
(What made you rest it against a wall there?)

mú...vb...tì... : Expander - vb...kà/lé...

e.g. Wọn mú mi sò ó ka/lé 'lè tì igi yẹn
(They made me bring it down near that tree)

mú...vb...pọ́... : Expander - vb...kà/lé...; vb...sí¹...

e.g. Ìsẹ́ l' ó mú wọn lọ s' òhún pọ́
(It was poverty that made them go there
together).

The five other 3-item Composite Verbs cannot be further expanded by 3a. These are :

mú...vb...kà/lé... ; mú...vb...lù... ; mú...vb...sí²... ;
mú...vb...ní...

5. Base ultimately ti...vb

4-item Composite Verbs derivable from this base are slightly deviant; although they are acceptable, with some reluctance, to informants. Since our practice is to reject forms that are not considered normal by consensus, we leave these 4-item Composite Verbs out. An example is 'ti...vb...pò mọ́...' (derived from a 3-item base ti...vb...mọ́...) as in:

A ti ibè so wón pò mọ́'ra

(From there, we tied them to each other)

The form used instead consists of a Place-Adverbial preposed to a clause containing the remaining three verbal elements, as in :

Láti ibè ni a ti so wón pò mọ́'ra

The Place-Adverbial is itself derived from the verbal element ti and its 'NP-place' object. This construction is also more frequently used by some informants in place of the 3-item Composite Verb based on ti...vb.

DERIVATION OF A 4-ITEM COMPOSITE VERB BY FIXED PATTERN VERBS.

In the position "vb" in all the 3-item Composite Verbs expanded by Free Pattern Complex Verbs in the above section, the expander may also be Fixed Pattern Complex Verb sub-class 1, 2b, 3b. The following is the list of such permissible Fixed Pattern expanders.

1. Base ultimately ba...vb.

- bá...vb...dè... : Expander - Sub-class 1: dá...sí; dá...ní;
pa...dà; pa...mó; yé...sí.
Sub-class 2b: bè...wò; dá...dúró;
dán...wò; pa...dé; sọ...dà/di...
Sub-class 3b: dá sí...; ká/şé...kò;
vbs...pa; şé...po.
- bá...vb...ká... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...ní.
Sub-class 2b: bè...wò
Sub-class 3b: None.
- bá...vb...mó... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...ní;
pa...pò.
Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró;
dán...wò; pa...dé.
Sub-class 3b: vbs...pa.
- bá...vb...sí¹... : Expander - Sub-class 1: dá...sí; dá...ní;
pa...dà; pa...pò.
Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró; sọ...dà/di...
Sub-class 3b: ká/şé...kò; vbs...pa.
- bá...vb...tì... : Expander - Sub-class 1: pa...mó.
Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró; tu...jọ.
Sub-class 3b: None.
- bá...vb...ní... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...ní.
Sub-class 2b: None.
Sub-class 3b: gbá/ta kò...;
ká/şé...kò; şé...po.

2. Base ultimately fi¹...vb.

fi¹...vb...dè... : Expander - Sub-class 1: pa...mó.
Sub-classes 2b, 3b: None.

fi¹...vb...sí¹... : Expander - Sub-class 1: pa...mó.
Sub-classes 2b, 3b: None.

3. Base ultimately fi²...vb.

fi...vb...dè... : Expander - Sub-class 1: All, except dà...kọ...;
kọ...lé/sí...

Sub-class 2b: All, except bà...kù/tì;
bù ʒe/parí; dá kú.

Sub-class 3b: All, except tẹ...ba.

fi...vb...fún... : Expander - Sub-class 2: All, except
dà...kọ...; kọ...lé/sí...

Sub-class 2b: bè...wò; dá...dúró;
dán...wò; pa...dé; tù...jọ; sọ...dà/di...

Sub-class 3b: All, except
gbá/ta kò...; ká/sẹ...kò.

fi...vb...ká... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jẹ; dá...sí;
dá...ní.

Sub-class 2b: bè...wò; dá...dúró;
pa...dé; tù...jọ.

Sub-class 3b: dá sí...

fi...vb...mó... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jẹ; pa...pọ.

Sub-class 2b: dán...wò.

Sub-class 3b: ká...kò.

fi...vb...sí¹... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...sí;
dá...ní; pa...mó; pa...pò.

Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró; tu...jọ;
sọ...dà/di...

Sub-class 3b: ká/şé...kò; vbs...pa.

fi...vb...tì... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; pa...mó.

Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró; tu...jọ.

Sub-class 3b: ká/şé...kò.

fi...vb...ní... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...ní.

Sub-class 2b: None.

Sub-class 3b: gbá/ta kò...; ká/şé...kò.

4. Base ultimately mú³...vb.

mú...vb...dè... : Expander - Sub-class 1: All, except dà...kọ...
kọ...lé/sí...

Sub-class 2b: All 2b(A), except
bà...kù/ti.

Sub-class 3b: dá sí...; tẹ...ba;
vbs...pa; şé/yí...po.

mú...vb...fún... : Expander - Sub-class 1: All, except dà...kọ...
kọ...lé/sí...

Sub-class 2b: All 2b(A), except
bà...kù/ti.

Sub-class 3b: All

mú...vb...ká... : Expander - Sub-class 1: All, except
dà...kọ; kọ...lé/sí...

Sub-class 2b: bè...wò; dá...dúró;
dán...wò; tu...jọ.

Sub-class 3b: ta kò...; dá sí...;

tẹ...ba; ká/şé...kò.

mú...vb...mó... : Expander - Sub-class 1: pa...pò.

Sub-class 2b: dán...wò.

Sub-class 3b: ká...kò.

mú...vb...sí¹... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...sí;
dá...ní; pa...mó; pa...pò.

Sub-class 2b: dá...dúró.

Sub-class 3b: ká...kò; vbs...pa.

mú...vb...tì... : Expander - Sub-class 1: pa...pò.

Sub-class 2b: pa...dé.

Sub-class 3b: ká...kò.

mú...vb...ní... : Expander - Sub-class 1: bà...jé; dá...ní.

Sub-class 2b: None.

Sub-class 3b: gbá/ta kò...;

ká/şé...kò.

DERIVATION OF 5-ITEM COMPOSITE VERBS.

The 4-item Composite Verbs considered in the above section (those derived by Free Pattern expanders) can be further expanded by 2a and 3a expanders². This expansion involves all eight operations at the bottom of the 'A' section of the diagram on p.253.

They are:

(i) A1a1 = 2a Base x 2a x 2a x 2a

(ii) " 2 = " " " x 3a

2. Theoretically, these 4-item Composite Verb bases should be expandable by Fixed Pattern Complex Verbs as well. But we find no actual Composite Verbs of this derivation.

- (iii) AIbI = 2a Base x 2a x 3a x 2a.
- (iv) " 2 = " " " x 3a.
- (v) AIIaI = " x 3a x 2a x 2a.
- (vi) " 2 = " " " x 3a.
- (vii) AIIbI = " " 3a x 2a
- (viii) " 2 = " " " x 3a

We shall not specify the derived 5-item Composite Verbs in any detail because of the amount of space that it would inevitably take up. To give an idea of the enormity of the number of Composite Verbs that may theoretically be expected, it is enough to point out that the 4-item Composite Verbs specified above (and they do not include those derived by the operation of a 2a expander on a 3-item base) number 77 (21 ultimately derived from ba...vb, 4 from fi¹...vb, 27 from fi²...vb, and 26 from mi³...vb). Each of them, like each of the larger set derived by the operation of a 2a expander on a 3-item base, is a potential 4-item Composite Verb base on which a 2a or 3a expander may operate. Each 5-item Composite Verb thus derived will have its 'history' specified by one of the eight operations listed above. As pointed out on pp.250 - 251 above, some of these different operations actually 'converge' in their result. Thus, operations (i) - (viii) above actually produce only four different types of Composite Verb. We think it is enough to outline these four types and give a few examples to illustrate them. The derivation of all the actual Composite Verbs resulting from the operations is done by a commutation test in which the position "vb" in the underlying 4-item Composite Verbs is, in turn, filled by all 2a and then all 3a expanders.

The four types are :

1. 'AIa1' [(i) in the list of operations]

The structure of the Composite Verb resulting is:

'Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.V + vb'

This structure is possible only if the "2a Base" is a 2a(B)

Complex Verb.

e.g. Mo kókó bá wón fi² ikáánú fi òkú ègbón rẹ hàn án

(At first I showed him, on their behalf and with great pity, his brother's corpse).

2. (ii), (iii) and (v) on the list [i.e. 'AIa2', 'AIb1', and 'AIIa1']

all produce a Composite Verb with the structure:

'Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v + vb + Bd.v'

It is to be noted that after the initial 2a Base, the same expanders are used, although in different order, in all three operations. As was observed earlier (p. 250), a sequence of operations using 2a or 3a expanders will always produce the same Composite Verb no matter in what order the expanders are applied during the process of derivation.

e.g. Àánú l'ó mí³ mí bá wón fi² èrọ mí wọ ọ ti ògiri

(It was sympathy that made me use my machine to drag it against the wall for them).

3. (iv), (vi) and (vii) on the list [i.e. 'AIb2', 'AIIa2' and 'AIIb1']

all produce a Composite Verb with the structure:

Bd.v + Bd.v + vb + Bd.v + Bd.v

As in 2, different orderings of the same expanders operate on the same 2a Base to produce the same Composite Verb; e.g.

Mo bá wón fi² okùn so ó pọ mọ tẹ̀mì

(I helped them tie it to mine with a rope)

4. 'AIIb2' [i.e. (viii) on the list].

This is similar to (1) above : while (1) has a sequence of three 2a expanders operating on a 2a Base, (4) has a sequence of three 3a expanders operating on a 2a Base.

The structure of the Composite Verb thus derived is :

Bd.v + vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v

e.g. Kí l'ó mú ẹ so àsiá tiwa pò mó tiwọn ká 'gboro?

(What made you tie our flags to theirs all over the town?)

8.1111

WHERE THE COMPLEX VERB BASE IS A 2a(B) (i.e. Bound Verb = Intrans.).

The expander may be a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb or a Free Pattern Complex Verb.

1. Expansion by Fixed Pattern Complex Verbs.

The processes are exactly as in 8.1110,1, and all the Composite Verbs derived by those processes can substitute for "vb" in 2a(B) Complex Verbs.

2. Expansion by Free Pattern Complex Verbs.

The processes are also the same as in 8.1110,2; similarly, all the Composite Verbs derived by those processes can substitute for "vb" in 2a(B), subject to the following condition. Any 8.1110,2, Composite Verb containing any of the Bound Verbs of 2a(B) cannot substitute for "vb" in 2a(B) if the 2a(B) Bound Verb in it does not normally co-occur with the Bound Verb in the 2a(B) base as set out in (3) below. Five-item Composite Verbs are thus regularly derived from a 2a(B) base.

3. Expansion by combination of two 2(a)B Bound Verbs.

Two Bound Verbs of 2(a)B Complex Verbs may precede or follow each other in the formation of Composite Verbs; e.g. dédé nikan vb.

The position "vb" in this case is not often filled by a 4-item Composite Verb (perhaps because the sequence is too long in speech).

Strictly speaking, and as indicated in the Table in 8.02, this is expansion by Free Pattern Complex Verbs since the position "vb" permits an open choice of Full Verb types.

In the following list of co-occurring Bound Verbs, the verbal element before '+' can be followed in Composite Verb formation by any of the elements listed after.

dá:	+	(No Bound Verb)
mòómò:	+	dá ; nìkan ; tètè ; túbò.
dédé:	+	dá ; mòómò ; nìkan ; jọ.
férèé:	+	dá ; nìkan ; jọ ; túbò.
nìkan:	+	(No Bound Verb)
tó ² :	+	dá ; dédé ; nìkan ; jàjà ; sèsè ; jọ ; jùmò ; kókó ; tún ; túbò.
fi ³ :	+	dá ; nìkan.
fi ⁴ /se ⁴ :	+	All 2(a)B Bound Verbs except the clause-bound ones: tó ² ; fi ³ ; fi ⁴ /se ⁴ ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² ; se ³ ; se ⁵ /ti ³ .
gbé ⁴ /ti ² :	+	dá ; nìkan ; jọ ; jùmò ; tètè ; túbò ; tún.
jàjà:	+	dá ; nìkan ; fi ³ ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² .
pàpà:	+	All 2(a)B Bound Verbs except: dédé ; fi ³ ; jàjà ; pàpà ; sèsè.
se ³ :	+	All 2(a)B Bound Verbs except the clause-bound ones.
se ⁵ /ti ³ :	+	dá ; mòómò ; dédé ; férèé ; nìkan ; pàpà ; gbòòdò ; jọ ; jùmò ; kókó ; tètè ; túbò ; tún.
sèsè:	+	dá ; nìkan ; tó ² ; fi ³ ; fi ⁴ /se ⁴ ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² ; se ³ ; jọ ; jùmò ; túbò ; tún.
gbòòdò:	+	dá ; nìkan ; fi ⁴ /se ⁴ ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² ; se ³ ; se ⁵ /ti ³ ; jọ ; jùmò ; kókó ; tètè ; túbò ; tún.
jọ(jọ):	+	mòómò ; férèé ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² ; túbò.
jùmò:	+	(No Bound Verb).
kókó(kó):	+	dá ; mòómò ; dédé ; férèé ; nìkan ; tó ¹ ; gbé ⁴ /ti ² ; se ⁵ /ti ³ ; gbòòdò ; jọ ; jùmò ; (kò)...sàbà ; tètè ; túbò.

- sábà: + dá ; dédé ; nìkan ; fi³ ; fi⁴/se⁴ ; se⁵/ti³ ; jò ;
 jùmò ; tètè ; túnbò ; tún.
 tètè: + dá ; nìkan ; fi⁴/se⁴ ; jò ; jùmò ; sába.
 túnbò: + dá ; fèrèfè ; nìkan ; fi⁴/se⁴ ; gbé⁴/ti² ; se³ ;
 se⁵/ti³ ; sèsè ; jò.
 tún: + All 2(a)B Bound Verbs except : túnbò ; tún.

8.112 EXPANSION BY COMPOUND VERB EXPANDERS

8.1120 Where the Complex Verb Base is a 2a(A) (i.e. Bound Verb = Trans.)

The position "vb" in the 2a base can be filled by Compound Verbs from any of the Classes A - H (7. 1 above) if and only if the Complex Verb base is one of the following:

- bá...vb. e.g. Mo bá a bó o sè (vb = bó...sè, Class A)
 (I helped him peel it off for cooking)
 fi²...vb. e.g. Mo fi ipá bé wò 'lé (vb = bé wò..., Class B)
 (I leapt into the house by force)
 mú³...vb. e.g. Ó mú mi fò dìdè (vb = fò dide, Class C)
 (It made me jump to a standing position)
 tí¹...vb. e.g. Mo t' ibè m'otí yó (vb = mu...yó, Class D)
 (I got myself drunk from there)

When the Complex Verb base is dá...V-tr, the Compound Verb expander is selected from sub-classes A, D, E only - i.e. the three Compound Verb sub-classes in which the first verb is followed by a NP and the second by no NP at all; e.g.

- Mo dá òpó nàà gbé ró (Vb = gbé...ró, Class E)
 (I erected the post all by myself)

In this Composite Verb type, there are two Transitive Verbs (the first and second elements) both having the same 'NP-object' in basic structure. In the Composite Verb, the common 'NP-obj.' follows the first Transitive Verb and precedes the second.

With other 2a(A) Complex Verbs (fi¹...Vb, bù...V-tr and tún...V-tr), no expansion is possible.

A 3-item Composite Verb with a 2a(A) base may also be expanded by a Compound Verb. Thus, in the 3-item Composite Verbs listed for further expansion in 8.1110, 2, (pp.254- 5), the position "vb" may be filled by Compound Verbs from any of the sub-classes A - H provided the 3-item base does not include the sequence dá...vb. In the two instances that include dá...vb (mú³...dá...vb, ti¹...dá...vb), any possible Compound Verb expander is selected from sub-classes A, D, E.

8.1121

Where the Complex Verb Base is a 2a(B) (i.e. Bound Verb = Intrans.)

The position "vb" can be filled by Compound Verbs from any of the sub-classes A - H.

In a 3-item Composite Verb with a sequence of two 2a(B) Bound Verbs (outlined in 8.1111, 3 above), the position "vb" may similarly be filled by Compound Verbs from any Compound Verb sub-class.

8.113

EXPANSION BY CATENATIVE PATTERN 1 EXPANDERS.

8.1130

Where the Complex Verb Base is 2a(A) (i.e. Bound Verb = Trans.)

In mú³...vb and ti¹...vb, a Catenative Pattern 1 sequence may be substituted for "vb".

mú³...vb : "vb" may be Catenative Pattern 1 sequence of any of the patterns (Instrumental or Non-Instrumental) outlined in 6 . 2.

ti¹...vb : "vb" may be Non-Instrumental Catenative Pattern 'B' or 'C'. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'A', with the exception of the vn.3 sub-pattern, may also substitute for "vb".

8.1131

Where the Complex Verb Base is 2a(B) (i.e. Bound Verb = Intrans.)

Not all Catenative Pattern 1 types can substitute for "vb" in a 2a(B) Bound Verb. Since the restrictions do not appear to be subject to any general rule, we list below all the permissible Catenative Pattern 1 expanders after each Bound Verb.

- dá vb: + Non-Instrumental (Non-Instr.) A only.
 e.g. Iwé tirè l'ó dá dùn I-kà l'àárin gbogbo wọn.
 (Of all the books there, his was the only one that was pleasant to read).
- mòómò vb: + Non-Instr. B, C.1, C.2.
- dédé vb: " B, C.1, C.2.
- férèé vb: + " B (vn.3, vn.4 only), C.1 (vn.3, vn.4), C.2 (vn.2), D.
- nikan vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2.
- tó² vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; Instrumental (Instr.)A.
 e.g. K' ó tó sú mi I-kà (vb = Catn. Pattn. D, Non-Instr.)
 (Before I became disgusted with reading it).
- fi³ vb: + Non-Instr. B, C.1, C.2.
- fi⁴/se⁴ vb: + " B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.
- gbé⁴/ti² vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; " A, B.
- jàjà vb: + " C.2.
 e.g. Ó jàjà kọ́ mótò I-wà
 (He managed to learn car driving at last)
- pàpà vb: + Non-Instr. A (vn.2, vn.4), B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.
- se³ vb: + " B, C.1, C.2, D.
- se⁵/ti vb: + " A (vn.2, vn.4), B, C.1, C.2, D.
- sèsè vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.
- gbòòdò vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; " A, B.
- Jọ(jọ) vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; " A.
- jùmò vb: + " B, C.1, C.2.
- kọ́(kọ́) vb: + " A (vn.2, vn.4) B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.
- sábà vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.
- tètè vb: + " B, C.1, C.2, D.
- túnbò vb: + " A (vn.2, vn.4), B, C.1, C.2, D.
- tún vb: + " A, B, C.1, C.2, D; Instr. A, B.

8.12 COMPOSITE VERB BY EXPANSION OF A 3a COMPLEX VERB BASE

8.120 The structure of a 3a Complex Verb is Vb + Bound Verb

The Bound Verb constituent is a morphologically specified element (see Table in 5.11). The position of potential expansion is "vb"; and it may be filled by a Single Verb, a Complex or a Compound Verb. In the derivation of Composite Verbs, we are interested only in the expansion of 3a by Complex or Compound Verbs. Since the Complex Verb base is 3a, we are interested, too, only in the operation type labelled 'B' in the diagram on p. 253.

8.121 Expansion by a Complex Verb.

As in 8.11, we shall distinguish between expansion by a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb and expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb.

DERIVATION OF A 3-ITEM COMPOSITE VERB

1. Expansion by a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb

(1) + sub-class 1 Complex Verb

The structure of the Composite Verb resulting from this is 'sub-class 1 Complex Verb + Bound Verb'.

The Composite Verb thus derived is a 3-item sequence.

All sub-class 1 Complex Verbs can substitute for vb in two of the eleven 3a Complex Verbs. The two are :

vb dà... ; vb fun...

All, except dà...kọ... and kọ...lé/sí..., can substitute for vb in vb sí¹...

Four other 3(a) Complex Verbs are expanded by a restricted set of sub-class 1:

vb	ká...	:	"vb" may be	dá...ní.
vb	mó...	:	"	bà...jé; pa...pò; tù...pò.
vb	si ² ...	:	"	bà...jé.
vb	pò.	:	"	bà...jé; dá...sí; dá...ní; pa...dà.

The remaining four 3a Complex Verbs cannot be expanded by sub-class 1.

(ii) + sub-class 2b Complex Verb.

The structure of the Composite Verb resulting from this is

'sub-class 2b Complex Verb + Bound Verb',

and it is a 3-item Composite Verb. The possibility of expansion is as follows:

vb + dè... : Expander may be any 2b Complex Verb except

bà...kù/tì; dá...kọjá; and bù...şe/parí

vb + fuh... : As for vb + dè...

vb + ká... : Expander - any 2b Complex Verb except

bà...kù/tì; dá...kọjá; bù...şe/parí; and dá kú.

vb + mó... : Expander - any 2b Complex Verb except

bà...kù/tì and bù...şe/parí.

vb + sí¹... : Expander may be: dá...dúró; dá...kọjá;

tù...jọ; dá kú.

vb + tí... : Expander may be: tù...jọ; dá kú.

vb + pò : As for vb + mó...

The following 3a Complex Verbs cannot be expanded by 2b Complex

Verbs:- vb + lé/kà...; vb + lù...; vb + sí²...; vb + ní...

(iii) + sub-class 3b Complex Verb

The Composite Verb derived by this is a 3-item verb sequence, with the structure:

'sub-class 3b Complex Verb + Bound Verb'.

The possibility of expansion is as follows:

vb + dè.... : Expander - any 3b Complex Verb except gbá kò ...
(though its alternative, ta kò...., is possible);
dá kàn/kún/sí²....; and tè...ba.

vb + fún... : Expander - all 3b except dá kàn/kún...., though their variant form dá sí ... is also a possible expander.

vb + ká.... : As for vb + fún...

vb + lé.... : Only expander possible is ká/sé....kò.

vb + mo.... : Expander - vbs...pa only. The sequence tè...ba + mó... occurs in a line of a school-children's song.

"Mo kí èyin òbí mi (I pay respects to you, my parents,
Pèlú 'tè - rí - ba - mó - 'lè" with a bow right to the
ground).

We have no other instance of the Composite Verb tè...ba...mó

vb + sí¹... : Expander - ká/sé....kò ; vbs....pa ; sé/yí... po.

vb + tí... : As for vb + sí¹....

vb + gbé : Expander - all 3b, except: gbá/ta kò....; tè...ba.

Although dá sí.... is a possible expander, its variant forms dá kàn/kún are not.

vb + pò : Expander - all 3b, except vbs....pa and da kàn/kún though their variant form dá sí... is a possible expander.

The following 3a Complex Verbs cannot be expanded into Composite Verbs by 3b :-

vb + kà... (though not so with its variant, vb + lé...);

vb + lù... ; vb + sí²... ; vb + ní...

2. Expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb.

Expansion by a 2a Complex Verb :- Using labels from the diagram on p. 253, the operation involved here is 'BI' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a).

The structure of the Composite Verb so derived is

'Bd.V + vb + Bd.V.'

as in :

Ó bá a sè iṣu náà dè mí
(She helped him cook the yams before my arrival)

This Composite Verb is also derived by operation 'AII'; and since this has been dealt with above (p.265), it is of no further interest here.

Expansion by a 3a Complex Verb:-

The operation involved is 'BII' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a). The structure of the derived Composite Verb is

'Vb + Bd.V + Bd.V.'

as in :

Mó gbé e kà/lé 'ná dè é
(I place it on the fire pending your arrival)

This is a new structure and the following further detail is necessary.

3a Bases and 3a Expanders

vb dè... : Expander - All 3a, except vb dè ; vb lù...

e.g. Maa se é fún wọn dè mí

(Keep doing it for them till I come back)

- vb fún... : Expander - All 3a, except vb dè...
- vb kà/lé... : Expander - only vb...mọ...; vb + pọ.
e.g. Mo dà á mọ ẹwà kà/lé 'ná
'I mixed it with beans while cooking it'.
- vb ká... : Expander - All 3a, except vb dè..., vb ká...,
vb sí¹...
- vb mọ... : Expander - vb pọ only
- vb tì... : Expander - vb kà/lé... only.
- vb pọ. : Expander - All 3a, except vb pọ.

DERIVATION OF A 4-ITEM COMPOSITE VERB

1. Expansion by a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb.

Since 3-item Composite Verbs derived by operation 'BI' are of no further interest (their forms and longer Composite Verbs resulting from their expansions having been covered in the treatment of certain 'A' type operations), the expansion of interest here is that of 3-item Composite Verbs derived by the operation 'BII'.

All 46 Composite Verbs derived by the operation 'BII' are of the structure: ³

Vb + Bd.v + Bd.v'.

Each of them is expandable by Fixed Pattern Complex Verbs

(Sub-classes 1, 2b, 3b) subject to the following restriction:

3. The total of 46 is reached as follows:

vb dè..., 9; vb fún..., 10; vb ká...8; vb kà/lé..., 2 each;
vb mọ..., 2; vb sí¹... 2; vb tì...1; vb pọ 10.

All Fixed Pattern verbs are excluded as expanders if they do not normally co-occur with the Bound Verb following "vb" in the immediate 3-item base. (Such co-occurrence is outlined in Subsection 1 of 'Derivation of a 3-item Composite Verb' above - pp.283 - 286).

Examples of 4-item Composite Verb thus derived:

a) 3-item Composite Verb base : vb fún...dè...

4-item Composite Verb derived : sọ...dà/di...fún...dè...

(vb = sọ...dà/di...)

e.g. Wọn sọ ọ di méta fún Olú dè mí

(They made it three for Olu before I arrived)

(Expander - 2b Composite Verb).

b) 3-item Composite Verb base : vb lé...tì...

4-item Composite Verb derived : ká...kò lé...tì...

e.g. Mo ká a kò lé 'rí-àga tì wọn

(I coiled it on the table near them)

2. Expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb.

Expansion by a 2a Complex Verb

If the immediate 3-item base has been derived by operation of the type 'BI', the derivation of the 4-item Composite Verb is by the operation labelled 'BIa' on p.253 (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 2a). The structure of the Composite Verb is

'Bd.v + Bd.v + vb + Bd.v.'

Since this structure is the same as that derived by 'AIb' and 'AIIa' above, it is of no further interest.

Similarly, if the 3-item base has been derived by an operation of the type 'BII', the derivation ^{of the} 4-item Composite Verb is by the operation 'BIIa' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a x 2a), yielding a Composite Verb with the structure :

'Bd. v + vb + Bd. v + Bd. v'

This Composite Verb is identical with that produced by 'AIIb' which has been dealt with.

Expansion by a 3a Complex Verb

If the immediate 3-item base has been derived by an operation of type 'BI', the derivation of the 4-item Composite Verb is by the operation labelled 'BIb' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 3a); and the structure of the derived Composite Verb is :

'Bd. v + vb + Bd. v + Bd. v'

This is identical with Composite Verbs derived by 'AIIb' and BIIa' which have already been dealt with.

If, however, the immediate 3-item base has been derived by an operation of the type 'BII', the derivation of the 4-item Composite Verb is by 'BIIb' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a x 3a) and produces Composite Verbs of a new structure :

'Vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v'

To produce Composite Verbs of this structure, all the 46 3-item Composite Verbs outlined on p.287 are theoretically expandable by 3a expanders subject to the following restriction :

3a expanders are excluded if they do not normally co-occur with the Bound Verb following "vb" in the under-lying 3-item base. (Such co-occurrence is outlined in sub-section 4 of 'Derivation of a 3-item Composite Verb' -pp.283-286 above).

In reality, however, though they may all seem syntactically well-formed, only a few of the Composite Verbs thus derived are actually used. Spoken language prefers a less synthetic style which breaks up the thought expressed into different phrase sequences. There is a strong

tendency not to pile up Bound Verbs after the Single Verb element occurring in a clause. This fact, however, cannot be formulated into a rule since informants find some of the resultant 4-item Composite Verbs more acceptable than others. The following sentence 1(a), for instance, has a build-up of three Bound Verbs after Single (Free) Verb so 'tie' and is no less acceptable than its variant 1(b) in which the post-Free Verb sequence of Bound Verbs is reduced :

1(a) O so ó pò mọ́ 'gi fun mi
(You helped me tie it to a stick)

Compare the synonymous but structurally different

1(b) O bá mi so ó pò mọ́ 'gi .

On the other hand, the following occurrence of the same Composite Verb structure (as in 2(a)) is regarded as forced and is even firmly rejected by some informants, while 2(b) - the structural equivalent of 1(b) - is preferred :

2(a) O sòrò sí wọn fun wa de bàbá

Cf. 2(b) O bá wa sòrò sí wọn de bàbá
(You helped us speak to them on behalf of father).

DERIVATION OF A 5-ITEM COMPOSITE VERB

1. Expansion by a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb

The only 4-item Composite Verb base that is of interest, since it has not been covered in earlier parts of this description, is that derived by the operation 'BIIb' and described in the sub-section above. In fact, no further expansion of that structure (vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v) by a Fixed Pattern Complex Verb is possible.

2. Expansion by a Free Pattern Complex Verb.

Given a 4-item Composite Verb base with the structure

'vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v',

eight expansion operations are theoretically possible as shown on the diagram on p. 253 . Seven of these are merely alternative operations for deriving Composite Verbs which have already been described in earlier parts of this chapter. These seven produce three types of Composite Verbs :

- (a) 'BIa1' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 2a x 2a) uses a Complex Verb 2a expander to produce a Composite Verb with the structure:

'Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v + vb + Bd.v'

This is the same as is produced by 'A1a2, 'A1b1 and 'A11a1' (see Type 2, p. 277).

- (b) 'BIb1' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 3a x 2a) : expander - 2a;
'BI1a1' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a x 2a x 2a) : " - 2a;
'BIa2' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 2a x 3a) : " - 3a.

All these three operations produce identical Composite Verbs with the structure :

'Bd.v + Bd.v + vb + Bd.v + Bd.v'

These are identical with 5-item Composite Verbs produced by 'A1b2', 'A11a2', and 'A11b1' (see Type 3, p. 277).

- (c) 'BI1b1' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a x 3a x 2a) : expander - 2a;
'BIb2' (i.e. 3a Base x 2a x 3a x 3a) : " - 3a;
'BI1a2' (i.e. 3a Base x 3a x 2a x 3a) : " - 3a.

All these operations produce identical Composite Verbs with the structure :

'Bd.v + vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v'

These are identical with 5-item Composite Verbs produced by 'AIIb2' (see Type 4, p. 278).

The eighth operation (which would be type (d) here) is 'BIIb2' (i.e. Base 3a x 3a x 3a x 3a). This does not produce any Composite Verb in Yoruba, since there is no Composite Verb with the structure derivable by this operation :

'Vb + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v + Bd.v'.

In summary, there are only four types of 5-item Composite Verbs derived by Free Pattern expanders in Yoruba. Three of these can be derived from a Complex Verb 3a base by the (a) - (c) groups of operations here specified or alternatively from a Complex Verb 2a base by the (2) - (4) groups of operations specified on p. 277 - 278 above. The fourth type is derivable only from a Complex Verb 2a base by the operation specified as Type 1 on p. 277 . All four types are exemplified on p. 277 - 278.

8.122

EXPANSION BY A COMPOUND VERB.

A Complex Verb 3a (structure: vb + Bd.v) or a 3-item Composite Verb derived from a 3a base may be expanded by a Compound Verb from any of the Compound Verb classes.

The general rule governing the choice of a Compound Verb expander is that the second constituent of the Compound Verb must be a lexical item that can fill the position "vb" if the structure were simply the basic 'vb + Bd.v'. In this regard, the first constituent of the Compound Verb is irrelevant. For instance, in vb lù..., "vb" may be the lexical items bọ́ 'drop' or ré 'lose grip'; and in vb mọ́..., "vb" may be ré but not bọ́. In the expansion of vb lù..., the Compound Verb ré bọ́ occurs before ...lù...; but in the expansion

of vb mợ... , it cannot occur before ...mợ... Thus :

ré (...) bợ lù... 'fell and dropped on...'

but NOT

* ré (...) bợ mợ... in spite of ré (...) mợ...

We may note two points with regard to this general rule.

Firstly, while it is true that the second constituent of the Compound Verb expander must be semantically compatible with the Bound Verb occurring in '...vb + Bd.v...' of the base, not all Compound Verbs having a lexically compatible second constituent do occur as expander before a given Bound Verb. For instance, though dè 'tie' is lexically compatible with mợ... (as in dè mợ...), the Compound Verb gbé...dè, 'arrest and bind', does not serve as expander of vb mợ...; thus there is no Composite Verb *gbé...dè mợ... Similarly, in spite of sọ.ká... (vb ká) 'relate... about...', the Compound Verb rò sọ does not produce a Composite Verb rò...sọ ká...

Secondly, the general rule stated above may suggest that there is greater cohesion between the second constituent of the Compound Verb and the following Bound Verb in a Composite Verb than between the two constituents of the Compound Verb. It may seem from this that what we consider to be a Composite Verb is in fact a Compound Verb in which a Single Verb is transformationally joined to a Complex Verb. Thus ré (...) bợ lù... can be seen as ré (...) + bợ lù... rather than ré (...) bợ + lù... (vb + Bd.v). This is not satisfactory since it fails to explain the meaning of many other similar structures. For instance, pón...mú dè/fún... in

Ó pón àdà nàà mí dè wọn

(He sharpened the cutlass in readiness for their arrival)

Ó pón àdà nàà mí fun wọn 'He sharpened the cutlass for them', cannot be analysed as 'pón... + mí dè/fún' - an analysis that would totally fail to derive the correct meanings (or any meanings at all) from the 3-item sequences of verbal elements.

8.2

CLASS II COMPOSITE VERBS

8.20

In the description of Compound Verbs, (Chapter 7), the structure of certain Compound Verbs was specified as 'vb + specified lexical item' or 'lexical item + vb' (e.g. ri...vb, sub-class A; or vb...wò, sub-class A). The position "vb" may be filled not only by Single Verbs (as in the structure of Compound Verbs) but also by Complex Verbs and Compound Verbs.

For descriptive convenience, this class of Composite Verbs is sub-classified as 'A' (the base of which permits expansion by ANY sub-class of Complex Verb or Compound Verb) and 'B' (in which the expanders are restricted to fewer sub-classes).

8.21

SUB-CLASS A

This includes bases specified in Chapter 7 as follows :

- Sub-class A : ri...vb ; vb...wò.
- " B : vb pèlú... ; vb ṣáájú...
- " C : lọ vb ; wá vb.
- " E : vb...tán.

8.211

Expansion by Complex Verbs

ri...vb : Any Complex Verb or expanded Complex Verb (i.e. Composite Verb) with a limit of 4 items may substitute for "vb", subject to the following restriction :

That the expander must contain in its structure at least one Transitive Verb element (Free or Bound). In the Composite Verb thus derived, the 'NP-obj.' of the expander's Transitive Verb occurs immediately after ri and before the expander. If the expander contains more than one 'NP-obj.', only one of them (usually, any one) is treated as described.

The general meaning of the Composite Verb 'ri + expander' is, literally : 'find for the purpose of...'.
Examples:

(a) Complex Verb expander : bá...lọ (as in: bá ẹni lọ)

O r' ẹni bá lọ (You found someone available to go with)

(b) 3-item expander : (i) mú...dá ní (as in: mú owó dá ní)

O r' owó mú dá ní (You found some money to take with you)

(ii) gbé...dúró dè... (as in: gbé ẹmu dúró dè ọrẹ):-
'2 NP-obj.'

O ri ọrẹ gbé ẹmu dúró dè
(You found a friend for whom you could retain the wine)

or O ri ẹmu gbé dúró de ọrẹ (rẹ).
(You found some wine to retain for (your) friend).

(c) 4-item expander : ká...kò lé...tì... (as in :

ká a kò lé àga ti iyá rẹ) :- 3 'NP-obj.'

O r' ohun ká kò lé àga ti iyá rẹ
(You found something to coil on the chair near your mother)

or O ri àga ká a kò lé ti iyá rẹ
(You found a chair on which to coil it near your mother)

or O ri iyá rẹ ká a kò lé àga tì.
(lit. You found your mother to coil it on the chair by)

vb...wò : Any Complex Verb or Complex Verb expansion can substitute for "vb". The only restriction on the choice of expander is semantic.

The general meaning of vb...wò is 'do what is specified by "vb", for a test'.

e.g. (with 4-item expander = fi²...bá...dá sí...)

Mo fi ogbón bá wọn dá sí i wò
(I tried a clever trick to help them out, (waiting)
to see the consequences).

vb pèlú... : Complex Verb expanders may be selected from the whole list given in 5.11 with the exception of bù se/parí. One common meaning is 'do what is specified in "vb" together with ..' It shares this meaning with bá vb which is, in fact, its paraphrase equivalent. Another meaning is 'do what is specified in "vb" with (an instrument)'; it shares this meaning with fi²...vb which is also used to paraphrase vb pèlú...

Since the Free Verb pèlú is obligatorily Transitive, we do not regard clause-final pèlú as a Free Verb and it does not participate in Composite Verb construction.

Composite Verb expansions of the Complex Verbs are also freely used to expand vb pèlú, the restriction on their choice being semantic.

Examples :

(a) vb pèlú... = bá...vb

expanders : dá...ní ; mú³...dá kú.

O dá a ní pèlú mi (You held it with me)

O mú mi dá kú pèlú wọn (It made me faint with them)

(b) vb pèlú = fi²...vb

expanders : dá...dúró ; bá...fà...tì...

Mo dá a dúró pèlú agbára (I stopped it by force)

O bá wa fà á tì ògiri pèlú agbára
(He helped us drag it to the wall by force).

vb ṣáájú... : Complex Verbs of all sub-classes as well as their expansions may substitute for "vb". Restrictions on the choice of expanders are semantic.

The meaning of vb ṣáájú... is 'do what is specified in "vb" before...' When ṣáájú is followed by a 'NP-time', the auxiliary ti (perfective) is sometimes semantically required before the Composite Verb.

Examples :

expanders : dà...kọ... ; bá...tún...ṣe ; fi²...gbá...pò mó...

Ó dì orí kọ òṅà - Èkó ṣáájú wá

(He headed for Lagos before us)

Mó ti bá a tún un ṣe ṣáájú ìgbà yẹn
(I had repaired it for him before that time)

O ti fi òkánjúwà gbá a pò mó tìrẹ ṣáájú ìgbà yẹn
(You had greedily gathered it with yours before then)

lọ vb ; wá vb : All Complex Verbs (except 2a(B), and bùṣe/parí of 2b) and their expansions (except the 5-item Composite Verbs) freely occur as "vb".

The meaning of lọ vb is 'go for the purpose of doing what is specified in "vb"'; while the meaning of wá vb is 'come for the purpose of doing what is specified in "vb"'.

Examples :

expanders : bà...jé ; bá...ta kò... ; fi²...dúró dè...sí¹...

Lọ/wá bà á jé (Go/come and spoil it)

Mó lọ/wá bá wọṅ ta kò ó (I went/came to help them tackle him)

Ó lọ/wá fi ìgbóyà dúró dè wọṅ s' òṅà-oko.

(He went/came and awaited them with boldness on the way to the farm).

vb...tán :- All Complex Verbs and their expansions (up to 4-item Composite Verbs) may occur as expanders, though the freedom of such occurrence is limited by semantic restrictions. The meaning of tán is 'to be finished' (vb...tán = 'do what is specified in "vb" to completion') and the expander must be semantically compatible with that meaning.

Examples :

expanders : dá...kọjá ; fi²...ká...kò ; bá...fi²...fà...tì...

O dá a kọjá tán (You finished crossing over it)

O (ti) fi ọwọ ká a kò tán kí...
 (You (had) finished bending it with your hand before...)

N' igbà tí ó bá mi fi èrọ fà á tì ògiri tán ...
 (When he had finished helping me to pull it against the wall with his machine...)

8.212 Expansion by Compound Verbs.

Six of the seven structures ('vb + specified lexical item' or 'specified lexical item + vb') cited at the beginning of 8.211 can be expanded by Compound Verbs from any of the sub-classes A - H in Chapter 7. The only one that restricts the choice of expanders is rí...vb which excludes all members of Compound Verb sub-class 'C' from the position "vb". This is because at least one 'NP-obj.' is obligatory in the structure of the expander of rí...vb, and neither constituent of Compound Verb 'C' is a Transitive Verb.

Examples :

expander : bó...sè

rí...vb : Mo rí ògèdè bó sè
 (Bananas were available for me to peel and cook).

vb...wò : Mo bó o sè wò (I peeled and cooked it as a test).

vb...pèlú ; Mo bó o sè pèlú isù (I peeled and cooked it with yams).

- vb...sáájú : Mo bó o sè sáájú tìrẹ
(I peeled and cooked it before yours)
- lọ vb : Wón lọ bó ògèdè sè (They went to peel banana for cooking)
- wá vb : " wá " " (" came " ")
- vb..tán : Wón ti bó ògèdè nàà sè tán
(They have finished peeling off the bananas for cooking)

8.22

Sub-Class B

The bases are specified in Chapter 7 as follows :

- Sub-class A : rà...vb ; vb...jẹ ; vb...pa ; vb...tà.
- " C : jà...vb.
- " D : vb lọ ; vb wá.
- " E : fà...vb ; vb...kù ; vb...kúrò ; vb...nù

8.221

Expansion by Complex Verbs.

rà...vb : The Complex Verb expanders are :

sub-class 1 : dá...ní ; pa...dà ; pa...mó ; pa...pò.

The 'NP-obj.' of each of these is the same as the 'NP-obj.' of rà. In the resultant Composite Verb, it is preposed to the Complex Verb expanders ; e.g.

Mo rà wón pa mó (I bought and hid them)

sub-class 2a : ti...lọ/wá only.

e.g. Ó rà á t' Èkó wá (He bought it from Lagos).

sub-class 3a : lọ/wá si¹... only.

e.g. Mo rà á lọ/wá s' ilé. (I bought and took it home).

The 2b Complex Verb dán...wò 'to test' is used idiomatically after Single Verbs and Verb sequences in the sense of 'try as a last resort to do something one would normally not do.'

In this sense, it is an expander of rà...vb ; e.g.

O máa ra 'yèpè dán wò

(You will eventually resort to buying even mud)

vb...jẹ : Expanders :- sub-class 3a : vb fún... ; vb kà/lé... ;
vb mó... ; vb sí¹... ; vb ní... ; vb pò.

e.g. Mo gbé e lé 'sè jẹ

(I put it on my laps to eat)

A kó wón pò jẹ (We gathered them and ate them).

vb...pa : Expanders :- (As for vb...jẹ).

e.g. Wón gbé e s'ilè pa (They put it down for slaughtering).

vb...tà : Expanders :- (As for vb...jẹ with the exception of vb sí¹...)

jà...vb : Expanders :- sub-class 2a : ti¹...wá only.

" 3a : lọ/wá sí¹...

e.g. Mo jà t' òhún wá (I came from there quarrelling)

Ó jà wá s'ilé (He came back home quarrelling).

vb lọ/wá : Expanders :- sub-class 1 : dá...ní

" 2b: dá...kojá

" 3a: vb...pò

" 3b: ká/sé...kò ; vbs...pa

e.g. Ó dá ọmọ rẹ ní wá

(He held his child by the hand as he came)

Wón dá odò náà kojá lọ

(They crossed the stream as they went)

fà...vb : Expanders :- sub-class 1 : dá...ní ; pa...dà ; pa...pò

As with rà...vb, the object of fà is also

the object of the expander Complex Verb.

In the resultant Composite Verb, the 'NP-obj.'

is preposed to the Complex Verb ; e.g.

Mo fà á dá ní (I pulled it along)

sub-class 2a: ti¹...lọ/wá only.

e.g. Mo fà á t'òhún wá (I pulled it from there)

sub-class 2b : dán...wò

e.g. 0 fà á dán wò (You even resorted to pulling it)

sub-class 3a : lò/wá sí¹... only.

vb...kù ; vb...kúrò : No complex Verb expanders are permitted.

vb...nù : Expander :-All Complex Verbs of 3b, 3a and 2b(A),
(except bà...kù/tì), and the following 2a
Complex Verbs:

fi¹...vb ; fi²...vb ; and mu³...vb.

All sub-class 1 Composite Verbs are excluded
for semantic reasons.

The general meaning of vb...nù is 'do what is
specified in "vb" with no profitable consequence'.

e.g. A tiè dán an wò nù (śáá ni).
(We simply tested him for nothing)

Composite Verb expansions of the 2a and 3a Complex Verbs listed
above may also serve as expanders provided they are semantically
compatible with the constituent that is lexically specified in the
structure of the base. The number of such expansion forms being in
turn used as expanders in this is very small for two reasons; and we
shall take the case of vb...jẹ to illustrate.

First, collocational incompatibility rules out a large number of
possibilities. For instance, six expanders are listed above (p.300)
for 'vb...jẹ'. Theoretically, these six can be further expanded in
their occurrence before jẹ to produce 28 4-item Composite Verbs. But,
of these 28, only five are actually syntactically well-formed, producing
from vb...jẹ the Composite Verbs:

- vb mó...fún...jẹ : Ó sè é mó èwa fún mi jẹ
(He cooked it with beans for me to eat)
- vb sí²...fún...jẹ : O bù epo sí i fún mi jẹ
(You put oil on it for me to eat)
- vb pò...fún...jẹ : O sè wón pò fún mi jẹ
(You cooked them together for me to eat)
- vb pò...mó...jẹ : O dà èwà pò mó o fún mi jẹ
(You mixed beans with it for me to eat)
- Vb sí¹...pò jẹ : -

The last of these is syntactically well-formed and produces intelligible sentences which are however rejected by informants as clumsy. The sentence:

Mo kó wón s'inú-àwa pò jẹ
(I collected them in a plate to eat)

is perfectly normal for us but rejected by most informants who would rather omit pò or break the sentence into two loosely co-ordinated ones:

Mo kó wón s'inú-àwo pò : mo sì jẹ wón

This, then, is a second factor further reducing the number of Composite Verbs ultimately derivable from the Compound base.

8.222 Expansion by Compound Verbs

- rà...vb : No Compound Verb expander among those listed in Chapter 7.
- vb...jẹ : Theoretically only sub-class 'C' Compound Verbs are syntactically excluded from the position "vb" since then expander must contain a Transitive Verb. But of all the examples of Compound Verbs listed in Chapter 7, only so...rò(E) and dà...bò (F) are expanders of vb...jẹ as in:

Wọ́n da aṣọ́ bo oúnjẹ wọ́n jẹ

(They covered their food with cloth as they ate it)

N'ìgbà orò nàà, wọ́n máa n so iṣu rọ́ jẹ (ni).

(At the time of the festival, they normally tie yams in a hanging position to eat).

vb...pa : No Compound Verb expander among those listed in Chapter 7.

vb...tà : Expanders :- bó...sè ; jí...gbé ; mú...so (sub-class A) ;
nà...ró ; so...rọ́ (sub-class E) ; dà...bò (sub-class F) ;
bù...là ; bù...lẹ́ ; bù/ṣe...wọ́n ; ká...wé (sub-class G).

jà...vb : No Compound Verb expander among those listed in Chapter 7.

vb...lo/wá : Expanders :- fò kọjá... ; fò wọ́... ; sá tọ́...(sub-class B) ;
jẹ...yó ; mu...yó (sub-class D) ; dà...bò (sub-class F) ;
all of sub-class H.

fà...vb : No Compound Verb expander among those listed in Chapter 7.

vb...kù : Expanders :- bó...jẹ/sè ; bù...jẹ ; fà/fọ́n...mu ;
já...gbà ; pa...jẹ ; rọ́...jẹ/mu ; ṣà...jẹ - all of
sub-class 'A'.

vb...kúrò : Expanders :- Any Compound Verb the second constituent of
which is an Intransitive Verb signifying motion;

e.g. fò díde ; já bó of sub-class 'C'

or já...bọ́ ; ré...bọ́ of sub-class 'E'.

vb...nù : Expanders :- Compound Verbs from all sub-classes.

The restriction on the choice of expander seems to be
entirely semantic. The meaning of vb...nù is as
indicated in 8.221.

8.3. Five of the Compound Verbs with the structure 'vb + specified lexical item' are not capable of expansion into Composite Verbs either by Complex Verb expanders or by Compound Verb expanders. These are :
vb...kú ; vb...yè (both of sub-class 'D')
vb...jò ; vb...pé (both of sub-class 'E')
vb...wò (sub-class 'H').

8.4. C O N C L U S I O N

Our material may have excluded possible verbal sequences. This is very likely for two reasons. Firstly, I have excluded what seemed to be possible verbal sequences if and whenever they were rejected by some native speakers other than myself. The reason for this is that they may very well be dialectal forms not normally used in the Standard dialect here described or they may be 'linguist's examples' believed to be normal only because I constructed them. Secondly, it is hardly possible for a single native speaker, aided by information provided by two Dictionaries, three or four modern grammars and three other native speakers, to enumerate all the verb forms of a language.

However, the possibility that the Composite Verbs considered in the above sections may not constitute the full list of such verbal sequences only serves to underline the weakness of all earlier grammars; for not a single one of these grammars recognised the occurrence of such sequences in the syntax of the language.

The omissions cannot be many; and they are hardly likely to fall outside all the structural types and derivation patterns outlined in 8.1 and 8.2.

9. THE AUXILIARIES

9.0 INTRODUCTION

The Auxiliary has been defined in 3.22; and in 5.022, morphological and syntactic reasons were given for regarding as non-Auxiliary certain verbal elements that have been classified as Auxiliary in earlier grammars.

In Chapter 1, we criticised earlier grammars for making a poor and perfunctory description of Aux. elements and, except Delano (1958), for neglecting the question of Aux. sequences. In 1.143, we showed that Delano's attention to Aux. sequences produces a poor and incomplete description. In the following description, a few items are included which have not been on the traditional lists; and at least two ^{entirely} new Aux. elements are listed as a result of our recognition of the homophony of elements that are in every way syntactically distinct: these are báá¹/báá² and máa¹/máa².

The Auxiliaries are:

- (i) M; lè; máán; máa¹; ti; s̄i.
- (ii) kúkú; dè; s̄i; tiè; kàn; sàa; mà .
- (iii) a; á; yìò; báa¹; báa²; báa; bàá (or sometimes bàa/bàa).

The grouping here is anticipatory of the description that follows later in this chapter since nothing can be gained by random listing.

It is necessary to explain the not-so-obvious features of this list.

M is an Aux. element with two syntactic realizations:

(a) n¹ (phonetically, a high-tone homorganic nasal whose place of articulation is determined by the initial consonant of the following verbal element). In 2-item clusters, it occurs after all Intensifiers, after one Modal - báá² and after two Pre-emptives - si and ti.

(b) In 2-item clusters, máa² occurs after all other Aux. elements with which M co-occurs (see Table 4 in 9.2), and in the Secondary (clause) Pattern (traditional 'Imperative Mood').

With the exception of Crowther (1852) earlier grammars failed to recognize this perfect complementary distribution. This is partly responsible for much of the chaos in Bamgboṣe's class of 'Preverbs'. The arbitrary setting up of a separate 'Verb group' class for n¹ as well as its use as the sole criterion for classifying 'preverbs' seems to stem from the assumption that it is special in a way that no other Aux. element is. Seen in complementary distribution with máa², the basic distribution of the syntagme of which n¹ is a realization is not strikingly different from that of some other Pre-emptive auxiliaries¹.

¹In spite of the complementary nature of n¹ and máa² noted here, we follow orthographic convention in this study and spell them differently as n and máa respectively.

Máa¹ is given the superscript '1' to distinguish it from máa².

It is syntactically different from máa² in at least two ways.

First, it has a negative form (a suppletive element níí) which it shares with two synonymous but syntactically different Aux. elements (á, yíò). As we show in 10.211 (a and b), this form of negation is totally different from that used by máa². Secondly, máa¹ may directly precede máa² as in:

Wọ̀n máa¹ máa² jà lát' isin' yí lọ
(They will be fighting from now on).

No other auxiliary can be juxtaposed to itself in an auxiliary cluster in Yoruba. If our máa¹ and máa² are taken to be one and the same form, it will be the only auxiliary that can precede itself. Finally, máa¹ is semantically different from máa²: while the latter has the same meaning as ní¹, the former shares a common meaning with á, yíò, with which it also shares the suppletive negative form.

máań is a syntactic and semantic unit although it has parts which phonetically resemble other auxiliary units.^{1*} It has a variant ní² which has the same negative form and collocates with the same adverbials. It also has the same meaning. One example of the occurrence of ní² is sufficient at this stage:

Wọ̀n ní lọ n'ìgbà kọ̀ọ̀kan
(cf. Wọ̀n máań lọ n'ìgbà kọ̀ọ̀kan) 'They do go occasionally'

Common negative for both:

Wọ̀n kii lọ (ráá-ráá) : 'They never go (at all)

1* In Appendix V, we examine alternative ways of describing the structure of máań. We also consider the possibility of merging ní¹ and ní² of this study into a single ní form.

The relationship will be further illustrated in later discussion (see 9.411). In this study, máán' is regarded as the base form.

yíò is an orthographic form with the phonetic forms [jód], [jóó], [óò], [óó]. Whenever this Aux. element occurs clause-initially, one of the first two phonetic forms is obligatory.

báá¹ and báá² : Bamgboṣe (1966) records a 'preverb' "íbá 'would/should/could have'" (p.69). The example cited in the work indicates that one of our two báá forms is intended. The author seems to us to be wrong in three ways. Firstly, in all our material, the á is long (phonemically double in Bamgboṣe's type of analysis; e.g. tóó, p.69 of the same work); and we cannot conceive of any speech sequence in which it could be short. Secondly, the illustrative example given for the occurrence of this form is "àbá ri..." (p.69) where the pronoun a occurs before the item. A substitution of other non-emphatic pronominal forms would show that the 'preverb' is consonant-initial and that the form with i is 3 Pers. Sg. Thirdly, there is syntactic under-differentiation in recognizing only one form. In our analysis, báá¹ is that form which always requires an intervening low-tone syllable between a 'Subject' Noun and the auxiliary báá; báá² requires no such intervening low-tone syllable but, like most other Aux. and Full Verb elements requires an obligatory intervening high-tone syllable. A second distinction is that báá² requires an obligatory clause-initiator bi⁵ or tí¹ (see 3.421: Bound Clauses) while báá¹ does not. Semantically,

there is also a difference between the two (see 9.712, F, G).

9.1 AUXILIARY SUB-CLASSES AND THEIR STRUCTURAL POSITIONS IN AUXILIARY CLUSTER

Any direct sequence of more than one Aux. element is an 'Auxiliary cluster'. An Aux. cluster may be constructed from elements of the same Aux. class or from elements of different classes:

There are three classes of Aux. elements. These are:

- (i) The Pre-emptive Aux. The list of elements of this class corresponds to list (i) in 9.0 above;
- (ii) The Intensifier Aux. The list of its elements corresponds to list (ii) in 9.0; and
- (iii) The Modal Aux. The list of its elements corresponds to list (iii) in 9.0.

Their characteristics are stated in 3.221 above.

In an Aux.-cluster containing members of more than one of these classes, the order is always:

Modal + Intensifier + Pre-emptive.

9.2 CO-OCCURRENCE POSSIBILITIES OF INDIVIDUAL AUXILIARIES IN AN AUXILIARY CLUSTER

For two reasons, it is necessary here to consider the syntactic possibilities of individual Aux-elements outside their

three classes.

First, while all three classes are syntactically compatible as classes and in the order indicated in 9.1, not all individual members of different classes are syntactically compatible: some always occur in mutual exclusion.

Secondly, the compatibility or incompatibility of individual Aux. elements, even outside the boundaries of their classes, affects the construction of Aux. clusters. The Rules of Aux. cluster formation, as stated in this section and in 9.3, are based on the syntactic compatibility of individual elements rather than of classes.

The following Table shows what individual Aux. elements co-occur in the simplest Aux. cluster (2-item cluster) and in what syntactic order the co-occurrence is permissible. Elements arranged vertically are those that precede (and the notation 'element +' marks this); those on the horizontal axis are those that follow (the notation '+ element' marks this).

(TABLE 4 : next page)

TABLE 4.

		PRE-EMPTIVES						INTENSIFIERS						MODALS								
		+ l	+ lè	+ méáí	+ méáí	+ tí	+ sí	+ kúáí	+ sí	+ dè	+ tiè	+ sáa	+ kún	+ ná	+ béd	+ béc	+ béc ²	+ bédí	+ yíó	+ á	+ c	
MODALS	a	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	á	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	yíó	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	bédí	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	béc ²	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	béd	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+		+									
INTENSIFIERS	ná	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
	kún	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+											
	sáa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+											
	tiè	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+												
	dè	+	+	+	+	+	+	+														
	sí	+	+	+	+	+	+															
PRE-EMPTIVES	kúáí	+	+	+	+	+	+															
	sí	+	+	+	+	+																
	tí	+	+	+	+																	
	méáí	+	+			+																
	lè	+	+																			
	l	+																				

NOTATION.

1. A square marked '+' indicates that co-occurrence of Aux. elements is possible. The cluster will thus be constructed by tracing an element on the vertical axis to a square where '+' occurs and following this element by the one dominating the square on the horizontal axis (e.g. tí + méáí).

2. A blank square indicates that no such co-occurrence is possible; e.g. there cannot be a sequence: lè + yíó.

At this point, and from material presented in Table 4, two general Rules of Aux. cluster construction may be formulated.

Rule 1: Given an Auxiliary element in a clause, its expansion is done by a left-hand addition (or a pre-positioning) of another Auxiliary element which is syntactically capable of preceding it.

Rule 2: In the construction of a 2-item Auxiliary cluster, no element can precede itself.

Rule 1 seems rather arbitrary since it may equally well be said that the expansion is by a post-positioning of an Aux. element. The stated Rule is, however, preferable to its alternative for two reasons. First, the expansion of the VP from a given Full Verb is also by a left-hand addition of an Aux. element. In this case, there can be no alternative way of describing the expansion since the Full Verb, and not the Auxiliary, is the obligatory VP element in the clause. If the initial expansion of the VP by an Aux. element is achieved by means of a pre-positioning operation, it seems feasible to postulate further expansion in the same direction. Secondly, in the statement of semantic uses of Aux. clusters (9.7. below), we regard the modification of the Full Verb and 'Aux. + Full Verb' by the semantic content of any Aux. element as also a left-hand operation. This is not only intuitively satisfactory; to regard it otherwise would make the statement of meaning of Aux. clusters in a VP totally chaotic.

Rule 2 is not, like Rule 1, an arbitrary Rule. As evident in Table 4 where all permissible 2-item clusters are set out in the order of syntactic co-occurrence, no Aux. element can be juxtaposed to itself.

9.3 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF AUXILIARY CLUSTERS

9.30 We shall first deal with clusters formed by elements of the same class (9.31-9.33) before considering clusters formed by a combination of elements from different classes.

9.31 CLUSTERS OF PRE-EMPTIVES ONLY

The order of syntactic precedence among Pre-emptive elements is as follows:

4	3	2	1	(+ FULL VERB)
<u>si</u>	máan'	lè	M	
ti	máa' ¹			

By 'order of syntactic precedence' we mean, whenever clusters of these elements are formed, an element listed under any of the figures 2 to 4 normally precedes elements listed under a lower figure. Thus, in any Pre-emptive cluster, M or máan' does not precede máa'¹ or si or ti. This does not work with perfect regularity; but the few exceptions noted below (in the next paragraph) and which may be due to inter-dialectal or other influences, have variants which are regularly formed and which alone serve as the bases of further expansion.

2-item Pre-emptive Clusters

There is a total of 14 2-item Pre-emptive clusters (see Table 4). The element M is the only one which cannot be pre-posed to another Pre-emptive to form a 2-item cluster.

Two of the fourteen Pre-emptive clusters may be described as irregular. These are :

lè ti and máa ti.

We consider these to be irregular because, in their structure, ti is preceded by elements which would be expected to follow it in accordance with the 'order of syntactic precedence' stated at the beginning of this section. It could be argued that the 'order' itself, as set out above, inadequately represents the attested sequence of auxiliaries; that it should have been presented in a way that makes the syntactic position of ti variable in relation to lè and máa¹. It appears to us that, by doing that, we would be ignoring a valuable generalisation made possible by the fact that ti may precede all Pre-emptives except si. Given our present approach, ti lè and ti máa¹ are the regularly formed 2-item clusters.

One of the irregularly formed clusters, máa¹ ti, is always synonymous with the regularly formed ti máa¹; but the other, lè ti, has only one of the two meanings of ti lè (see p. 373 below).

The irregularly formed clusters have a common Negative form with their regularly formed counterparts in the speech of many speakers of the Yoruba standard. This common Negative is based on the regularly formed clusters as follows:

ti lè)	} Neg. = kò tíì lè
lè ti)	
ti maa ¹)	} Neg. = kò tíì níí
maa ¹ ti)	

In the speech of many others, mostly speakers whose native dialect is Oyo, the irregularly formed clusters have different Negative forms distinguished from the regularly formed ones as follows: (R = 'regular'; unmarked = 'irregular')

ti le (R)	:	Neg.	=	kò tíì le
le ti	:	"	=	kò le tíì
ti maa ¹ (R)	:	"	=	kò tíì níí
maa ¹ ti	:	"	=	kò níí tíì

3 - item Pre-emptive clusters

In the further expansion of a 2-item auxiliary cluster, Rules 1 and 2 on cluster formation (see 9.2) leave the way open for certain ungrammatical auxiliary clusters. A combination of both Rules still allows the construction, for example, of the ungrammatical

* maan' lè maa² from lè maa²;

or *yíò ti máa¹ from ti méa¹

The following Rule is a necessary supplement to Rules 1 and 2:

Rule 3: In expanding an Auxiliary cluster to a cluster with more than two elements, the expander must be an element which is capable of preceding EACH of the constituents of the base cluster when these constituents are used alone. Any element that does not normally precede a given Auxiliary in a 2-item cluster cannot precede that Auxiliary in any cluster even if there are other intervening Auxiliaries.

By virtue of Rule 3, there is no ^{longer any} more chance of producing ungrammatical 3-item clusters like those cited above; i.e.

*máan lè máa²; *yíò ti máa¹. Taking the example of *méan lè máa², while the 2-item clusters lè máa² and máan lè are well-formed, as in:

Ó lè máa² lo 'He may be going'

and A máan lè lo 'We are usually able to go', the 3-item

*méan lè máa² is ungrammatical given that M (= máa²) cannot

be preceded by méan in a 2-item cluster. Similarly, any

cluster of more than two elements is ungrammatical if any of

the elements involved occurs before another element which it does

not normally precede in a 2-item cluster. A combination of Rule 2

and Rule 3 will have the effect of preventing the construction

of an ungrammatical cluster in which one Aux. element occurs more

than once.

or *yíò ti máa¹ from ti máa¹

The following Rule is a necessary supplement to Rules 1 and 2:

Rule 3: In expanding an Auxiliary cluster to a cluster with more than two elements, the expander must be an element which is capable of preceding EACH of the constituents of the base cluster when these constituents are used alone. Any element that does not normally precede a given Auxiliary in a 2-item cluster cannot precede that Auxiliary in any cluster even if there are other intervening Auxiliaries.

By virtue of Rule 3, there is no ^{longer any} more chance of producing ungrammatical 3-item clusters like those cited above; i.e.

*máán lè máa²; *yíò ti máa¹. Taking the example of *méán lè máa², while the 2-item clusters lè máa² and máán lè are well-formed, as in:

Ó lè máa² lọ 'He may be going'

and A máán lè lọ 'We are usually able to go', the 3-item *méán lè máa² is ungrammatical given that M (= máa²) cannot be preceded by máán in a 2-item cluster. Similarly, any cluster of more than two elements is ungrammatical if any of the elements involved occurs before another element which it does not normally precede in a 2-item cluster. A combination of Rule 2 and Rule 3 will have the effect of preventing the construction of an ungrammatical cluster in which one Aux. element occurs more than once.

elements. The remaining four produce 9 3-item clusters as follows:

- mée¹ M : ṣi maa¹ M; ti maa¹ M.
- maa¹ lè : ṣi maa lè; ti maa¹ lè.
- maan¹ lè : ṣi maan¹ lè; ti maan lè.
- lè M : ṣi lè M; maa¹ lè M; ti le M

The actual form of M that is used in these clusters^{is} specified by Rule 4.

- Rule 4: (a) If ANY of the elements preceding M in the new cluster normally selects the maa² variant, then
 M → maa²;
 (b) otherwise, M → n̄

Examples:

- (a) ti/ṣi n̄ (expander: baa²) : 3-item cluster = baa² ti/ṣi n̄.
 (" : Intensifier): " = Intensif. ti/ṣi n̄
 e.g. mà ti/ṣi n̄.
- (b) (i) ti/ṣi n̄ (expander: yiô): 3-item cluster = yiô ti/ṣi maa²
 (ii) lè maa² (" : baa²): " = baa² lè maa²

4-item Pre-emptive cluster

None of the nine 3-item Pre-emptive clusters can be expanded into a 4-item Pre-emptive cluster. Eight of them are impossible because their first constituents are either ti or ṣi which cannot be preceded by any Pre-emptive Aux. element. The ninth, maa¹ lè maa² is theoretically expandable but the two 4-item clusters

resulting from the expansion (*si máa¹ lè máa²; *ti máa¹ lè máa²) are rejected as being phonetically clumsy. Indeed, the 3-item máa¹ lè máa² is acceptable to all informants only as a barely tolerable sequence. Although they are syntactically well-formed, the synonymous forms with the Modals á and yiò are normally used.

9.32 CLUSTER OF INTENSIFIERS ONLY

The 'order of syntactic precedence' in the Intensifier subclass is:

5	4	3	2	1	(+ FULL VERB)
mà	kàn	tiè	dè	kúkú	
	sáa		sì		

2-item Intensifier cluster

Table 4 presents all the 16 2-item Intensifier clusters. The element sì is the only one with irregular syntactic behaviour: it does not occur after kàn, sáa and tiè as may be expected from the normal 'order' of Intensifier elements stated above.

3-item Intensifier cluster

Of the 16 2-item Intensifier clusters, the six containing mà cannot be expanded by any Intensifier Auxiliary: any expansion will, by virtue of Rule 1, require a left-hand addition of the expander and, as Table 4 shows, no Intensifier Aux. can precede mà. The remaining 10 are expanded as follows:

(a) Expander = mà:

All the 10 2-item Aux. clusters can be expanded by the pre-

positioning of mà to produce 10 3-item Intensifier clusters.

Examples: mà sàakúkú; mà kàn tiè.

(b) Expander = kàn, sàà:

Since kàn and sàà are mutually exclusive, neither can expand any cluster containing the other. Similarly, by Rule 2 and Rule 3, neither can expand a cluster containing itself. Thus the six 2-item clusters containing kàn and sàà cannot be expanded by either element. Of the remaining four clusters, the expansion of sì kúkú by kàn or sàà is barred by Rule 3, given that neither of them precedes sì in a 2-item cluster. The remaining three clusters -

tiè kúkú; tiè dè; dè kúkú -

can be expanded into 3-item Intensifier clusters by kàn and sàà.

Six new clusters are thus produced; e.g.

kàn tiè kúkú; sàà tiè kúkú

(c) Expander = tiè:

Rule 3 prevents the expansion by tiè of the cluster sì kúkú and gny of the six clusters containing kàn and sàà given that tiè cannot precede sì, kàn and sàà in a 2-item cluster. The expansion of two other clusters - tiè dè and tiè kúkú - is prevented by Rule 2. Thus, of the 10 2-item clusters, the only one that can be expanded by tiè is dè kúkú; and the cluster produced is:

tiè dè kúkú

There is thus a total of 17 3-item Intensifier clusters produced in the manner described in (a)-(c).

4-item Intensifier cluster

The 10 3-item Intensifier clusters containing mà cannot be expanded by any Intensifier Aux. given that no Intensifier precedes mà. But the remaining seven are regularly expanded, and produce nine 4-item clusters as follows:

(a) Expander = mà:

All the seven 3-item clusters can be expanded by ma, yielding

mà kàn tiè kúkú	;	mà sàà tiè kúkú
mà kàn tiè dè	;	mà sàà tiè dè
mà kàn dè kúkú	;	mà sàà dè kúkú

mà tiè dè kúkú.

(b) Expander = kàn, sàà:

The last cluster in (a) is produced by the expansion of a base: tiè dè kúkú. The same base may be expanded by kàn or sàà to yield two 4-item clusters:

kàn tiè dè kúkú : sàà tiè dè kúkú

5-item Intensifier cluster?

No Rule bars the expansion of the two 4-item clusters of (b) above by mà. The resultant sequences are syntactically well-formed but rejected because of their length; 4-item clusters of the (a) type above are used instead.

9.33 CLUSTER OF MODALS ONLY

Normally, all Modals are mutually exclusive. As shown in Table 4, however, the cluster yíò báá² is possible. This is a literary form that owes its survival to the influence of the Bible.

In speech, báá² máá¹ is used.

The cluster yíò báá² cannot be expanded.

9.34 CLUSTER OF AUXILIARIES FROM DIFFERENT CLASSES

The normal 'order of syntactic precedence' among all auxiliaries is:

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1 (+FULL VERB)
MODALS	mà	kàn	tiè	dè	kúkú	sì	máán	lè	M
							máá ¹		
		sáà	sì			ti			
		└──────────────────┘				└──────────────────┘			
		INTENSIFIERS				PRE-EMPTIVES			

Subject to Rules 1, 2 and 3, (9.2 and 9.31), any Aux. cluster may be formed using this sequence. (As noted in 9.31, the only clusters which do not conform to this sequence are the Pre-emptive clusters lè ti and máá¹ ti). The clusters will include not only those dealt with in 9.31-9.33, but also the following sequences:

- (a) Modal + Pre-emptive;
- (b) Intensifier + Pre-emptive;
- (c) Modal + Intensifier;
- (d) Modal + Intensifier + Pre-emptive.

In all cases except the literary (and archaic?) yíò báá², only one Modal element is possible in any cluster. Not more than three Pre-emptives are permitted. But the number of Intensifiers may reach four. Theoretically, then, an Aux. cluster with eight constituents may be expected. In speech, however, the cluster hardly ever exceeds six or seven. The underlined cluster in the following sentence exemplifies what seems to be the limit acceptable:

Ò báá mà sáà dè ì lè máa lẹ ọ

Six-item clusters are regularly attested in speech but seven-item ones are found mainly in 'linguist's examples'.

9.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF AUXILIARY AND FULL VERB IN 'VP' STRUCTURE

9.40 The normal sequence of the co-occurrence of Auxiliaries and Full Verbs is:

Aux + Full Verb

This normal order is subject to modification as noted in Table 2, (5.11 above) and 9.411 below - 'Irregular Distribution of M and máán.' Such modification depends on what class of Full Verb or what individual Aux. element is involved. In this description, only the salient modifications of the sequence stated above are noted. Several other possible modifications owe their origins to the dialectal background of speakers; and where these are not widely accepted in the literary and spoken forms of the Standard dialect, they are ignored here as minor.

9.41 CO-OCCURRENCE OF AUXILIARIES OF EACH CLASS WITH FULL VERBS

9.411 INDIVIDUAL PRE-EMPTIVES AND FULL VERBS

Co-occurrence with Single Verbs:

Whenever a Pre-emptive co-occurs with Single Verbs, the order is: Aux. + Full Verb

Any Pre-emptive other than M may precede all Single Verbs except ni² 'BE'. The element M is incompatible with the Single Verbs in the following list.

List:

The Single Verbs fall into two classes:

- (a) Those that always exclude a preceding M;
 (b) Those that permit a preceding M when they occur as 'vb' in the Complex Verb (3a) phrase Vb sí i (lit. 'Vb in addition to it'); e.g. dára sí i 'become more beautiful' (lit. 'is good in addition to it').

Using the 'lexicon' in Appendix I for reference, the following is a complete list² for each of (a) and (b).

(a)	bá ¹ (1)	bà ² (1)	bẹ ² (B)	bìkítà(B)
	dà ³ (5)	dáké ² (2)	dé ¹ (4)	dilẹ ² (B)
	gọ ¹ (1)	gbọ(A1)	gúnwà(B)	gbàgbé(2)
	gbajúmọ(B)	gbé ¹ (B)	jà ⁴ (B)	jàn ¹ (B)
	je ³ (1)	jìn ¹ (B)	jọ ² (1)	jòwọ(2)
	kẹrẹ(B)	kín(1)	kò ¹ (A2)	kò ² (1)
		kù ¹ (5)	kú ² (5)	kùnà(B)
	kúndùn(2)	là ² (A1)	là ³ (A1)	lé ¹ (5)
	mọ ¹ (B)	náání(2)	ni ² (5)	nù ¹ (B)
	pa ¹ (B)	pé ¹ (B)	pé ² (1)	pegedé(B)
	pẹlú(2)		pọdà(B)	
		rí ² (1)	run ¹ (A1)	sé ² (1)
	sìn ¹ (B)	şàákí(B)	şe ² (5)	şẹ ¹ (B)
	şò(1)	şó(B)	taayo(2)	tálákà(B)

²We are, however, not sure of the relationship between M and the following listed verbs which do not occur in the idiolect of any of the informants: bàlágà, tunlà, yọrọ.

The figures and letters after each item refer to the group in which it is listed in Appendix I. A figure such as '(1)' should be read as "Transitive 1"; letters refer to Intransitive classes.

List (a) continued

tan(B)	tém̀b̀élú(2)	tì ² (B)	tó ¹ (1)
wá ¹ (B)		wo(B)	wúlò(B)
	yá ⁴ (1)	yè ¹ (B)	yé ¹ (1)

(wá in this list is always replaced by bé¹ after M; and this is the only position in which bé¹ occurs).

(b) burú(B)	dára(B)	dè(A1)	dùn ¹ (B)
férè(B)	ga(B)	gò(B)	gùn ³ (B)
gbón ¹ (B)		kéré(B)	kúru(B)
lẹ(B)	mó ¹ (B)	ná ¹ (B) pò ¹ (B)	rò ¹ (A1)
sunwòn(B)	şoro(2)	wón ¹ (B)	wúwo(B)
yun(B)			

Two points of observation may be made in connection with the above lists. First, all Single Verbs of (b) have a semantic feature in common: attribution. 'Attribution' is a semantic feature by which the quality or attribute of 'NP-subj.' (to which any of these Single Verbs is related in the clause) is specified. Secondly, the distinction made, in 9.0 and later in this section between n¹ and n² is further confirmed by the fact that all Verbs in (a) and (b) may regularly be preceded by n² (or máan) but not by n¹ (i.e. M).

Co-occurrence with Complex Verbs

As indicated in Table 2 (5.11) most Complex Verbs of the

2a(B) sub-class may be split by Pre-emptive Auxiliaries. The only information lacking in Table 2 is the form of M that is selected in each case.

In sentences of Primary Pattern,

$$M \rightarrow \underline{n}^1$$

in all cases except fèrèé Vb, tó² Vb and gbòòdò Vb. Whenever these three are split by M, and whenever any Complex Verb of sub-class 2a(B) occurs in Secondary Pattern,

$$M \rightarrow \underline{máa}^2.$$

All individual Pre-emptives may regularly precede Complex Verbs of any sub-class except 2a(B). In the 2a(B) sub-class, there is need to set up the following groups on the criterion of how freely they can be preceded by Pre-emptives

(1) Those that can be preceded by ALL Pre-emptives:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------|------------|
| (a) | dá + Vb | mòòmò + Vb | nìkan + Vb |
| (b) | jọjọ + Vb | jùmò + Vb | kókó ++ Vb |
| | tètè + Vb | túnbò + Vb. | |

In the case of those listed as (b), whenever they are preceded by M, a double occurrence of M (realised as n¹) is obligatory - one before and the other after the first (Bound) element of the Complex Verb- as described below under 'Irregular Distribution of M and máan'.

e.g. 'jọjọ + Vb' becomes 'M + jọjọ + M + Vb', as in:

Wón n jọjọ n ẹ é l'ọwọ báayi

'Right now, they are doing it together'.

(2) Those that are normally not preceded by ANY Pre-emptives:

(a) se³ + Vb

(b) sè̀sè̀ + Vb; sá̀bà + Vb

The two listed under (b) may be preceded by máan. In both cases, a double occurrence of the preceding Aux. is obligatory; and the result is:

n̄² + sè̀sè̀ + n̄² + Vb, as in:

Wón n̄ sè̀sè̀ n̄ se é ni 'It's only recently they've been doing it'

n̄² + sá̀bà + n̄² + Vb, as in:

Wón n̄ sá̀bà n̄/á se é 'They usually do it'.

None of our informants uses these forms; but they are well known forms used by many educated speakers of standard Yoruba especially if their native dialectal background is that described in E. C. Rowlands (c) as 'Oyo' as distinct from Lagos and other dialects. (see 'Irregular Distribution of M and maan' (three paragraphs below) for Rowland's distinction between 'Oyo' and 'Lagos' dialects).

(3) Others:

The co-occurrence of a preceding Pre-emptive with the remaining 2a(B) Complex Verbs is tabulated here.

(Notation: '+' means 'the Complex Verb listed on the left CAN be preceded by the Pre-emptive listed above.

'*' means that the double occurrence of M as described for 1(b) is permitted. This is an 'Oyo' dialectal form used by many speakers of the Standard dialect).

	ṣì	ti	máá ¹	máán	lè	M
dédé + Vb			+	+	+	
féréé + Vb		+	+	+		
gbòòdò + Vb	+					
jàjà + Vb		+	+	+		
pàpà + Vb	+		+			
tún + Vb	+	+				*
fi ³ + Vb			+	+		
fi ⁴ /ṣe ⁴ + Vb	+					
gbé ⁴ /ti ² + Vb	+		+			
ṣe ⁵ /ti ³ + Vb			+			
tó ² + Vb	+					

Co-occurrence with Compound Verbs

All individual Pre-emptives precede Compound Verbs of all classes, subject to the modification noted below concerning the irregular distribution of M and maan.

Co-occurrence with Composite Verbs

Where a Composite Verb is initiated by a Bound Verb of a 2a(B) Complex Verb base, this initial Bound Verb may be split from the rest of the Composite Verb by the Pre-emptive Auxiliaries

that are noted at the foot of Table 2, and the realisation of M in such cases is as described above. With other types of Composite Verb, the Aux. element regularly precedes the Composite Verb.

Irregular Distribution of 'M' and 'maan'

Any cluster involving more than one occurrence of the same Aux. is excluded by Rules 2 and 3 (9.2, 9.31 above). But in two cases, a sequence of (forms of) the same Aux. does occur within the same VP, although not as a cluster. The two cases are:

'M... + M...' and 'máań... + n'²...'

The environment in which this irregular type of sequence is permitted is normally a VP with a minimum of two Full Verb elements - i.e. a Complex Verb, a Compound Verb, or Composite Verb expansions of them; although in the case of 'máań... n'²...', a sequence of lè (aux.) + Single Verb is also a possible environment.

Examples: (exponents of M and maan are underlined)

- (a) i ó n bá ɔmɔ rɛ́ é s' eré (M...M... + Complex Verb).
 'She is playing with her child'
- ii ó n lù 'lù ú bò (M...M... + Compound Verb).
 'He is drumming towards us'
- iii ó n bá wa á fi ɛrɔ rɛ́ jó o (M...M... + Composite Verb).
 'He is helping us weld it with his engine'.
- (b) i Wón máań bá wa á s' eré pé (máań...n'²...+Complex Verb).
 'They usually play with us for long'

- ii Wón máán ʒe 'ranù ú kiri (máán...n²... + Compound Verb).
'They are in the habit of roaming about'
- iii Wón máán bá wa á fi èrọ́ jọ́ o (máán...n²... + Composite Verb).
'They usually help us weld it with an engine'
- iv Njé e máán lè é ʒe tán? (maan...n²... + aux + single Vb).
'Do you usually find it possible to finish?'

As the examples show, the second occurrence of the Aux. within the VP is assimilated by the preceding vowel. This assimilation is common. It is, however, not obligatory, as there are many speakers (of what in our judgment is sub-standard Yoruba) who use the non-assimilated n in these positions.

The occurrence of n before a second Full Verb element (or after lè as in (b) iv) is optional. The exemplificatory sentences above would be no less grammatical if the second occurrence of Aux. were deleted.

This irregular distribution is touched upon in D3.1 of Bangboṣe (1966). There the second occurrence of M is treated as 'an optional junction consisting of an addition of a high-tone syllable to the final syllable of [the] verb or its complement, if another Verb follows it' (p.67). There is no recognition that the additional 'high-tone syllable' is an assimilated form of n or that there are two different forms n: one being the exponent of the 'verbal particle' and the other a variant of máán. Why the additional 'high-tone syllable'

is treated as 'an optional junction' is not explained; but it is presumably because in the illustrative examples, the additional high-tone syllable may be deleted.

E. C. Rowlands (c) treats this irregular distribution of auxiliary elements with greater understanding. The points relevant to the present discussion may be summarised as follows:

1. In some two-verb sequences, 'the vowel preceding the second verb morpheme is extended on a high tone'. This is to be distinguished from a similar phonological sequence in the language (cases of FV + Vn.2 analysed in Chapter 6 of this study).
2. The extension occurs if and only if the first of the two verbs is preceded by n' or 'by the high-tone assimilated vowel prefix (usually represented in the orthography by 'i') which gives 'habitual' meaning...': this is a way of describing what is recognized here in our study as n'².
3. Noting three 'sub-dialectal' variants - one with n' (non-assimilated) before the second verb, another with n' assimilated before the second verb, and the third with no n' at all before the second verb - Rowlands suggests that 'the absence of a repeated prefix is a characteristic of 'Lagos' as opposed to 'Oyo' speech' (though his example of an informant who used only that form is a 'speaker of Abẹ̀okuta [rather than Lagos] origin');

while 'an 'Oyo' speaker from Shaki' normally used the form with the assimilated prefix and that with non-assimilated n̄ only as 'a minor variant of his own form').

4. 'We clearly have to deal here with variants of a high-tone prefix with 'progressive' or 'habitual' meaning'.

There is syntactic justification for accepting the suggestion in (4). The auxiliaries which normally express these two meanings are M and maán respectively; but in several instances, each is replaceable by n̄ and thus a phonetic merger of two syntactically and semantically distinct forms results. However, the Negative forms of n̄ + Vb reflect the basic forms M and maan just as do the adverbials that collocate with them. It is thus clear that, although there is only one phonetic form n̄, there are two underlying syntactic and semantic forms. This is why, for clarity, we distinguish between n̄¹ and n̄².

The alternation of a form containing n̄ (assimilated or not) before the second verb with a form containing no n̄ at all may be due to cross-dialectal influences; but, for our purpose, it is sufficient that both forms are freely used in Standard Yoruba.

9.412 INDIVIDUAL INTENSIFIERS AND FULL VERBS

With the exception of mà and kúkú, all Intensifier elements regularly precede any Full Verb - Single, Complex, Compound or Composite.

(a) mà: The element mà is syntactically irregular only before two Complex Verbs - tó² Vb and fi³ Vb. Otherwise, it normally occurs, like any other Intensifier element, before all Full Verbs.

Whenever it precedes tó² Vb and fi³ Vb which always occur in Dependent clauses, a repetition of mà is obligatory in the accompanying Free clause (the Main clause).

Examples:

Kí ẹ mà tó dé ni mo mà ti se 'nkan mi o

'I certainly got my thing done before you came'.

Títí ó mà fi dé 'bí kò mà s'eni t'ó mò

'Nobody noticed anything till he came right up here'.

(b) kúkú: The element kúkú cannot precede the following 2a(B)

Complex Verbs:

dédé Vb; jàjà Vb; kókó Vb;

pàpà Vb; sàbà Vb;

But it normally precedes all other Full Verbs - Single, Complex, Compound or Composite.

9.413 INDIVIDUAL MODALS AND FULL VERBS

Except in the following cases, any Modal may precede any Full Verb other than the Single Verb ni 'BE'.

All the exceptions are 2a(B) Complex Verbs. (In the following list, the term 'clause-bound Complex Verbs' is

used to describe:

fi^3 Vb ; $fi^4/ṣe^4$ Vb; $gbé^4/ti^2$ Vb;
 $ṣe^3$ Vb ; $ṣe^5/ti^3$ Vb; $tó^2$ Vb.)

The List

(i) a cannot precede

$gbòṛṛdò$ Vb; and all clause-bound Complex Verbs except fi^3 Vb.

(ii) á and yíò cannot precede

$tó^2$ Vb; $gbòṛṛdò$ Vb; $sábà$ Vb.

(iii) báá¹ cannot precede

$tó^2$ Vb; $gbòṛṛdò$ Vb.

(iv) báá² cannot precede

$gbòṛṛdò$ Vb; and all clause-bound Complex Verbs.

(v) báá cannot precede

$tó^2$ Vb; fi^3 Vb; $ṣe^3$ Vb; $ṣe^5/ti^3$ Vb; $gbòṛṛdò$ Vb.

A permissible co-occurrence that is probably not so obvious
is

$báa\ fi^4/ṣe^4$ Vb

as in the attested phrase:

Ìdíkiídí è báa $fi/ṣe$ nà á...

'For whatever reason you may have caned him...'

(The attested sentence had $ṣe^4$; but would be equally well-formed
with fi^4).

(vi) báá cannot precede

$férèṛṛ$ Vb; $ṣèṣè$ Vb; $gbòṛṛdò$ Vb; $sábà$ Vb;

and all clause-bound Complex Verbs.

9.414 CHANGES IN THE PHONETIC FORM OF AUXILIARIES CO-OCCURRING WITH
OTHER VP ELEMENTS

Some auxiliaries have more than one phonetic form. The different phonetic forms are used as indicated in the following description.

n̄¹ or n̄². This is basically a high-tone nasal which retains this phonetic form before a Single Verb, in a positive VP. In these positions, it is homorganic with the first consonant of the following Full Verb element. Between two Full Verb elements, it is normally assimilated by the final vowel of the preceding Full Verb element; but in a type of idiolect which we regard as sub-standard, assimilation may not take place. (see 9.411 above).
máa¹ or máa². This is often reduced to ma, especially in informal speech.

ṣi. This is often reduced to i in speech but not in the written form.

yíò. The forms [jóò], [jóó] are the only ones used whenever the 'NP-subj.' to which yio + Vb is related is 3 Pers. Sg. They can also be used after any other 'NP-subj.'; but this usage is clearly a reflection of the written form. The normal forms in the circumstance are [óò], [óó] and sometimes [óó].

9.42 CO-OCCURRENCE OF AUXILIARY CLUSTERS WITH FULL VERB

9.421 Clusters of each Aux. Sub-class in co-occurrence with Full Verbs

All Pre-emptive clusters normally precede Full Verbs; but

where the cluster contains M or maan, there is the option of infixing n¹ or n² after the first element of the Full Verb.

Intensifier as well as Modal clusters normally precede Full Verbs of any class.

9.422 Clusters of mixed Aux. sub-classes in co-occurrence with Full Verbs

Auxiliary clusters formed as in 9.34 may all regularly precede Full Verbs of all classes. If the cluster contains M or maan, an optional n¹ or n² may be embedded in the Full Verb as indicated in 9.411.

9.5 THE AUXILIARY IN RELATION TO NON-VERBAL CONSTITUENTS OF THE CLAUSE

9.51 The Auxiliary in relation to immediately preceding NPs

The onset of a positive VP is normally marked by a high-tone on the last syllable of the NP (or any other element) preceding the VP (see 3.111, v). When certain Auxiliaries occur as the first element of VP, the following modifications are necessary.

a) báá¹ and báá. With these two Modals, the preceding NP obligatorily ends on a low tone. If it is a non-emphatic 1st or 2nd Pers. Pronoun, Singular or Plural, the obligatory low tone is on the pronominal element; and the 1 Pers. Sg. Pronoun can only be m (rather than the basic mo). If the preceding NP is a 3 Pers. Pl. (won) or any Noun or qualified Noun, an extra low-tone vowel intervenes between the NP and the auxiliary. The

intervening extra vowel has the same quality as the final vowel of the NP³. (The case of the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun is isolated for later consideration).

Examples:

ò báà lọ (NP = 2 Pers. Sg. Pronoun: 'O')

òkẹ́ ẹ́ báà lọ (NP = òkẹ́)

(b) ń¹ or ń². If the preceding NP is a non-emphatic 1st or 2nd Pers. Pronoun, Singular or Plural, it may take a low tone instead of its usual mid tone. The resultant clause is a free variant of the form with the basic mid tone. This probably results from cross-dialectal influences.

Example:

Mò ń lọ = Mo ń lọ 'I'm going'

(c) á: whenever the preceding NP is a non-emphatic 1st or 2nd Pers. Pronoun, Singular or Plural, it takes an obligatory low-tone. The form of the 1st Person Sg. is ma (rather than the basic mo); while the 2nd Pers. Sg. is wa - both due to regressive assimilation by a (mà á from mò + á; wà á from 'wò or ò + á).

Examples:

Mà á lọ 'I shall go'

È é lọ 'You will go'

The 3rd Pers. Plural form won has a high tone in this position.

3

This is the reverse of the regular rule by which NP ends on high tone or induces an extra syllable on high tone.

(d) a, yio: The juncture between these and a preceding NP is not marked by tonal change; the NP retains its normal lexical tone. All non-emphatic pronominal forms other than won (they) are excluded from the position immediately preceding a.

Examples: (NP underlined)

Won a kó 'ra wɔn jɔ... 'They usually assemble...'

Ayò óò s'isẹ̀ rẹ̀ ; Orẹ óò sẹ̀ tirẹ̀

'Ayò will do his work; Orẹ will do his'.

Preceding NP = Non-emphatic 3 Pers. Sg. Pronouns:

Before all auxiliaries apart from the following exceptions, the non-emphatic form of the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun is ó.

á : The non-emphatic form of the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun preceding á is á.

Example: Á á lọ 'He will go'

yíò : NP as 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun is not overtly expressed.

T.J. Bowen (1858) offers an explanation:

"The particle 'óò'... is frequently preceded in all persons and numbers by the pleonastic pronoun yi, he, she, it..." (parag. 134, p.29 of Grammar section).

In present-day Yoruba, however, there is no 'pleonastic pronoun' yi and there is no suggestion in Crowther (1852) that yíò was a compounding of different forms. In addition to this, the 3 Pers. Sg. pronoun is idiosyncratic in its syntactic

relations with several other syntactic elements of present-day Yoruba; and we do not see any need to seek a far-fetched historical explanation of yíò which will fail to throw much light on the other idiosyncratic relations.

báá¹ and báà: Before these, the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun is i. If one accepted Bowen's explanation of the structure of yíò, perhaps it could be said that the same 'pleonastic pronoun' recurs here. This would be the only way in which his explanation helps beyond the structure of yíò. But he himself did not see the 'pleonastic pronoun' as recurring in what he cited as iba (p.31, Grammar); and we do not see any need to find historical justification for the occurrence of i as the form of the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun before báá¹ and báà in present-day Yoruba.

The non-emphatic form of the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun does not co-occur at all with a.

9.52 The Auxiliary in relation to Adverbial Phrases or Clauses

In basic clause structure, adverbials normally occur after VP or after the NP complement if the Full Verb of VP is Transitive.

There are few cases of Adverbials collocating with one and only one Auxiliary. The only ones known to us are:

- (i) l'qwo báàyí, 'right at this moment', which co-occurs only with M or clusters containing M.

(ii) l'áti-NP (where NP is a word or phrase denoting past time; e.g. àná 'yesterday'; òsè t'ó kojá 'last week'). The meaning of l'áti-NP is 'since NP'; and it co-occurs only with ti or clusters containing ti.

(iii) K'a ní NP VP (e.g. K'a ní wọn wá) 'If NP VP', which co-occurs only with báá'.

This is a syntactic fact which, in our view, seems more relevant to the use of the adverbials concerned than to the syntactic use of the auxiliaries.

9.6 SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY CLAUSE PATTERNS AND TYPES ON THE USE OF AUXILIARIES

9.61 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY PATTERNS

Individual Auxiliaries in Secondary Pattern

Pre-emptives:

Only the following Pre-emptives occur in clauses of Secondary Pattern. M and ṣì occur in Positive as well as Negative Secondary Pattern clauses; while ti occurs in Negative Secondary Pattern only. The form of M is always máá²;

e.g. máá lọ 'Get going'

In the Positive, ṣì normally retains the consonant though this is not a rule. In the Negative, the consonant is obligatorily deleted.

(a) An extra syllable, with the same phonetic quality as the last vowel of the normal clause, is added at the end of the clause. This syllable is given a tone which is phonetically between a mid tone and a low tone of Yoruba. Phonemically, it may be regarded as a mid tone or a low tone. I can think of no good case for regarding it as either; but to achieve an economy in the inventory of tones, there seems to be no reason for recognizing it as a fourth tone in Yoruba.

(b) If the last syllable of the clause without mà is the 'emphatic' o or the particle kè, the extra syllable is optional. Without an extra syllable, the tone described in (a) falls on o or the vowel of kè.

Examples:

Máà mà wá o 'Please, don't come'.

O mà rí se e 'You have certainly become prosperous'.

In D8.2 of Bamgboṣe (1966), mà is regarded as the sole marker of a 'system' of Emphasis in the verbal group. The justification is that all occurrences of mà are in clauses marked by the kind of tono-syntactic features described in (a) and (b) above: while such clauses may occur without mà, mà cannot occur without them⁴. The observation is valid; but, in our view, it is relevant only in a detailed description of the use of mà and not in the over-all classification of verbal elements. The rather

⁴ Bamgboṣe (1966), p.89, foot-note 46.

chaotic treatment of 'preverbs' (auxiliaries) in that work puts mà out of its proper syntactic context and concentrates on its tono-syntactic idiosyncrasy, once again justifying the criticism that 'the basis of categorization is phonological' where it might have been more usefully syntactic.

Modals: All Modals occur in Primary Pattern only.

Auxiliary Clusters in Secondary Pattern

If an Aux. is individually excluded from the Secondary Pattern, then any cluster containing that Aux. is also excluded from clauses of Secondary Pattern. Thus, no cluster containing a Modal or a Pre-emptive other than M, si and ti ever occurs in the Secondary Pattern. On the other hand, clusters containing combinations of M, si, ti with one another or with Intensifiers, and clusters involving combinations of Intensifiers alone, may be expected to occur in Secondary Pattern. In fact, and for reasons not clear to us, not all such clusters do; and we list those clusters that actually have this privilege of occurrence in the following three general statements.

(In any of the three statements, a permutation of any two or more of the auxiliaries in a left-to-right order will produce all the clusters that occur before the Full Verb in Secondary Pattern. The symbol '(' means that the Aux. following may be deleted; while '{ }' means that only one of the enclosed elements can occur at a time in the cluster).

The Statements:

1. (tiè (kúkú (M + Full Verb.
2. ({sáà } (tiè (dè (M + Full Verb.
 {kàn }
3. ({sáà } (dè (şì (M + Full Verb.
 {kàn }
 {tiè }

There are only two clusters involving ti in the (Negative)

Secondary Pattern:

tiè tii	:	Máà tiè tii lo	'Don't bother to go yet'
sáà —	:	Máà sáà tii lo	} 'Just don't go yet'
		Sáà máà tii lo	

9.62 FREE AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent Clause Auxiliaries:

There are three auxiliaries which occur only in Dependent clauses. These are the Modals:

- (a) báá² which occurs only in clauses with the initiator bí³ or tí¹ (i.e. bí³-clauses) - see 3.421
- (b) báà which occurs in Dependent clauses initiated by LT (see 3.421). These clauses are henceforth referred to as 'LT-clauses'.
- (c) bàá which occurs in Dependent clauses initiated by kí¹ (i.e. kí¹-clauses) - 3.421. Whenever a kí¹-clause occurs as subject of a sentence derived by T-Emph., bàá is deletable; e.g.

(Tori) kí e (bàá) lè lo ni a şe fun yin l'owó
 'We gave you money so that you might go'.

Any Aux. cluster in which these Modals occur is also restricted to Dependent Clause structure.

Free Clause Auxiliaries:

All other auxiliaries occur in Free Clauses. In addition, some of them also occur in Dependent clauses as follows:

1. bí¹-clause: (i) M (as ń), lè, máá¹. These intervene between şe/ti and the Free Verb.

e.g. (a) (A ń şà wón) bí wón şe ń wò

'(We were picking them) as they fell'.

(b) (A fẹ 'mò) bí ẹ şe lè/máá şe é

'(We wish to know) how you can/will do it'.

(ii) All Intensifiers except mà can precede the Bound Verbs şe/ti in this clause type.

e.g. (A fẹ 'mò) bí ẹ dẹ şe/ti mú u kúrò

'(We wish to know) how you also removed it'.

(iii) The Modal báá¹ can occur in this clause type; it always precedes the Bound Verbs şe/ti.

e.g. (A mò) bí ẹ báá şe/ti şe é

'(We know) how you could have done it'.

2. bí²-clause: máán occurs in this clause type, intervening between the Bound Verb (şe or ti) and the Free Verb.

e.g. (Mo şe é) bí wón şe/ti máán şe é

'(I did it) as it is usually done'

3. bí³-clause: Whenever the initiator is tí, the Modal báá² is obligatory before the Full Verb of the clause; but whenever

it is the variant bí³, báá² is deletable. The deletion of báá² in this position makes it appear that some of the auxiliaries normally following it in a cluster are also free to occur in a bí³-clause.

These auxiliaries are:

şı, tiè, şı, dè.

e.g. Bí ẹ (báá²) şı ọ 1'òla, (kò burú)

'If you go tomorrow, (it's still alright)'

4. kí¹-clause: lè occurs in this clause, probably as a result of the deletion of báá.

e.g. kí ẹ (báá) lè ọ (ní a ẹ fún yín ní káà)

'(We gave you a car) so that you might be able to go'

5. kí²-clause: The Pre-emptives M (as máá²), lè, şı, ti; and the Intensifiers tiè, şı, dè, kúkú all occur before the Full Verb of this clause.

e.g. (Mo fẹ) kí ẹ lè ọ

'(I want) you to be able to go'

6. kí³-clause: (i) The Pre-emptives M (as máá²) and lè occur between the Bound Verb tó and the Full Verb in this clause.

e.g. Kí ẹ tó lè ọ 'before you can go'

(ii) All Intensifiers occur before tó in this clause although the use of má and kúkú here seem to be substandard.

e.g. Kí ẹ tiè tó ọ 'before you even set off to go'

7. Kí⁵-clause: All Pre-emptives, the Intensifiers tiè, sì, dè, kúkú, and the Modal yíò occur before the Full Verb in this clause.

e.g. K' a ní ẹ̀ lẹ̀ lọ, (ì báá dára)

'(It would be good) if you could go'.

8. pé-clause: All Pre-emptives, all Intensifiers except má, and the Modals á, yíò and báá¹, occur before the Full Verb in this clause.

e.g. (A gbọ) pé ẹ̀ máá¹ lọ s'Àmériká

'(We heard) that you were to go to America'.

9.7 SEMANTIC USES OF THE AUXILIARIES

970 INTRODUCTORY

Our aim in this section is to state the semantic uses of the Auxiliaries. This is a difficult task in several ways.

First, the Auxiliaries are all Bound Verbs. In contrast to Most Free Verbs which can occur as whole utterances and may, by virtue of that, be more easily glossed as lexical items, Bound Verbs are difficult to interpret in isolation. This seems to be a general problem of semantic interpretation and may not be peculiar to Yoruba Auxiliaries. For instance, in a general observation of 'Semantic Correlations', R. H. Robins (1964) notes:

"...it is a question to be answered empirically to what extent independently storable meanings

can be usefully ascribed to bound morphemes in isolation; and it must be borne in mind that the isolation of a bound form is an activity of the analyst, not of the speaker of the language."⁵

In spite of the difficulty arising from stating the meanings of Bound forms, we shall attempt a statement of the semantic uses of Yoruba Auxiliaries given our view (see p.76 above) that a grammar needs to indicate how the linguistic forms classified are used and interpreted.

The second difficulty is that if the answer is empirical, the statement of meanings is likely to be vague. We note, however, that the statement of meaning - even of Free forms-- in linguistic descriptions generally lacks the precision of, say, syntactic analysis; and this is no sufficient reason for linguists to ignore the representation of meaning. Pending the development of a good semantic theory, semantic statements are likely to continue to lag behind syntax and phonology in their degree of precision. In our view, in any case, a vague semantic statement is better than none. In the statement of semantic uses in the following sections, we however attempt to make our interpretation less empirical by relying, to a limited extent, on the evidence of adverbial forms that collocate

⁵ R. H. Robins (1964), p.278.

with particular auxiliary forms. Collocable adverbials may, to some extent, be relevant to the semantic interpretation of the Auxiliaries; since the total range of the distribution of a given Auxiliary is probably what we sub-consciously use as our reference in its interpretation even in cases where no adverbials occur within the clause. For the following reasons, however, our reliance on the evidence of collocable adverbials to throw light on the semantic use of the Auxiliaries is less than might be expected.

1. The same adverbial may collocate with several different Auxiliaries. In such cases, it is of limited help in explaining the differences of meaning between one Auxiliary and another with which the same adverbial collocates.
2. Where the collocable adverbial is a clause, the clause itself contains a VP with an Auxiliary. Where the VP contains no Auxiliary, the absence of an Auxiliary is itself semantically significant. In clarifying the use of an Auxiliary, it seems methodologically wrong to use a form with another Auxiliary which also requires clarification.

The third and, perhaps, most important problem is the form in which the semantic statements are presented. Two forms of presentation have been tried and we prefer the latter.

The first is to accept from traditional grammar some arbitrary categories of meaning and see how Yoruba Auxiliaries

are patterned to express these. This, in effect, is what we criticise in certain earlier Yoruba grammars: accepting categories like Mood, Tense, etc., and their subcategories as if they were linguistic universals and attempting to see how Yoruba expresses all of them. We object to this on two grounds:

(a) It is premature at this stage in the study of human languages to determine what semantic categories are universal.

(b) By this approach, we may have more categories than are actually expressed by Yoruba forms while certain meaning types actually expressed by the language may be ignored.

As a practical measure, we reject categorial labels like Tense, Aspect, Mood, etc. The traditional treatment of Yoruba in terms of these produces at best neat generalizations. But, in fact, these generalizations are often irrelevant and always inadequate in the detail of usage and meaning presented.

A second form of presentation is to take each Auxiliary and describe, as fully as possible, the range of meaning expressed by it. Since our present study proceeds from Form to Meaning, this is the solution we adopt. There are two likely objections to its use.

The first is that a statement of semantic uses based on the distribution of each individual Auxiliary is bound to be uneconomical since several Auxiliaries are synonymous. In 9.71,

we avoid making uneconomical statements by grouping together all forms that may be substituted for one another in a VP without changing the basic meaning of the VP. Any slight differences of usage may then be treated as peculiarities of the particular member of the group. Auxiliaries which do not fall into any groups are treated individually.

The second objection is that the statements of usage made for (groups of) individual Auxiliaries do not give any information on the use of the Aux. clusters. Certainly, the use of the categories of traditional grammar cannot solve this problem either. In 9.72, we examine three possible ways of accounting for the semantic content of Aux. clusters; and propose a Rule ('Rule B') for the interpretation of Aux. clusters within the VP.

9.71 USES OF INDIVIDUAL AUXILIARIES

9.710 We make a distinction between the uses of Intensifiers and the uses of the other two Aux. sub-classes. There are semantic links between members of the two Non-Intensifier classes; whereas no Intensifier expresses any meaning that can be identified with the meaning of any Modal or Pre-emptive. Furthermore, while collocating adverbials may sometimes be useful in validating semantic features assigned to a Modal or Pre-emptive, Adverbials are totally irrelevant to the syntactic use and semantic interpretation of Intensifiers.

9.711 INTENSIFIERS

Intensifiers may be semantically classified as

A Intensifiers with clause-level relevance; and

B Other Intensifiers.

This is a rather tenuous distinction to make because, strictly speaking, every verbal element has a semantic contribution to make in the interpretation of the whole clause. It is, however, a justifiable distinction and seems useful in specifying the meanings as we do below.

A Intensifiers with clause-level relevance: mà, sì, dè.

(i) mà: The tono-syntactic features described as obligatory in the occurrence of mà in 9.61 (see under 'Intensifiers') seem to give syntactic justification to regarding mà as having clause-level relevance.

Semantically, mà emphasises what is stated in the Verb or sequence of verbal elements immediately following it; but the obligatory mid or low tone 'o' or extra syllable terminating any clause in which mà occurs emphasises the certainty which the speaker feels about the whole statement.

Earlier grammars or dictionaries did not attempt a description of its semantic use; but their translations and grammatical labels are significant.

Abraham (1958) : mà 'definitely'

Bamgbose (1966) : mà 'emphatic preverb'

Bowen (1858) : mà 'adv. very, truly, well'.

Delano (1958) : mà 'neg. part. a maa ran ɔrɔ-ise
(vb) lɔwɔ' - i.e. 'as a 'neg. part',
it helps the verb'.

It is impossible for us to see anything 'negative' about it (his examples and the entry for mà show that it is mà rather than the Negator máa that the author intends).

Example of the Use of 'mà':

Ó mà dùn mí o (It certainly gives me much pain).

(ii) dè; sì. Semantically, these serve to relate the content of the VP in which they occur to the content of an immediately preceding clause uttered by the same or another speaker.

In most occurrences, they are variants of each other, the duplication within the language being attributable to probable cross-dialectal contributions to the Standard dialect. But as Table 4 (9.2) shows, the distributional similarity is not complete: dè occurs in a few clusters where sì is excluded.

Examples:

(a) Mo kó gbogbo wọn jọ; mo dè/sì dá 'ná sun wọn

'I gathered them together and burnt them'.

(b) O ò dè/sì màa lọ

'If you don't go, who cares?'

Traditionally, these are treated as clause conjunctions;

the following quotation from Abraham (1958) is illustrative of this:

"sì A (a verb meaning 'and in addition': it forms the first element of compound verbs. In practice, sì joins two verbs in successive clauses in the sense of 'and')".

B Other Intensifiers: kàn, sàà, tiè, kúkú.

(i) kàn specifies that the meaning expressed by the following VP sequence is the only activity (or state, or quality) that the speaker intends to attribute to the preceding NP or, in Secondary clause pattern, to the person to whom the utterance is addressed.

Examples:

(a) Wón kàn ní p'aruwo l'asán ni

'They are merely letting off steam'

(b) Kàn dúró jé'é è 'If you could only keep still'.

In meaning as well as in phonetic form, this is closely related to the word for 'one' as in

òkan (noun); kan (adj.); nìkan (Full Verb);

all these occurrences of kàn bear low tone in several major dialects.

Abraham (1958) records this auxiliary as an extension of "Kòn B. reached". This is clearly a mistake: the example given (Kòn B: n, iii) -

"Yíóó kòn rí mi fín he'll disregard my orders..." -

is syntactically and semantically different from the other cited occurrences in which kàn is a Full Verb often followed by a

NP-obj. Bamgboṣe (1966) records kàn as a 'preverb' translated as 'only'. Bowen (1858) and Delano (1958) do not record it at all.

(ii) sàà has two semantic uses:

(a) It may mean: 'what is semantically specified in the following verbal sequence is all that the speaker intends to specify. This is probably the meaning referred to when Abraham (1958) and Bamgboṣe (1966) - p.70, gloss it as 'just'; and Bowen (1858) as "adv. ...only".

In the sense that it specifies the content of a following verb or verbal sequence as contrasting with all others that can equally well follow it, it is partially synonymous with kàn.

Examples:

Sàà fi wá s'ilè (All that is required is that you
leave us alone)

Wòn sàà dú-ró jé'é (They did no more than stand still)

(b) It may also mean: 'what is specified in the following verbal sequence is a certainty'. This is that aspect of its meaning that is glossed in Abraham (1958) as "for sure" (saa A, 2).

Examples:

Ó sàà dára ju tẹ̀mi lọ

'It is certainly/at least better than mine'

Mo sàà ̀̀ sì máa bá wòn dé 'bè

'For sure, I'll get there with them'.

(iii) tiè (with an alternative form tiè) specifies that what is semantically stated in the following verbal sequence is as simple as that and that there is no need to conceive of any meaning more complex. Thus, it covers a semantic area in common with kàn and sáà: that which is specified as 'only X, and no more'. To express this meaning, all three are interchangeable; e.g.

Wón kàn/sáà/tiè dúró jé'ẹ́

(They did no more than stand still).

But the total semantic area covered by tiè is not co-terminous with kàn or sáà. The feature we represent as 'simple' in the above semantic statement for tiè is not shared by sáà or kàn; and in the clusters sáà tiè and kàn tiè, not only is this semantic feature represented, the clusters do not signify a re-inforcement of the meaning 'only' which its constituents have in common.

Examples:

B'ò kàn tiè lọ (lit. If the only thing you do is simply to go)

Wón sáà tiè lọ (lit. For sure, they did nothing harder than to go)

(iv) kúkú has two semantic uses one of which is clearly a recent innovation:

(a) It may mean: 'committed only to what is stated in the following verbal sequence, in preference or contrast to any other thing'. In this sense; it is translated as 'rather' in Bamgboṣe (1966) - p.70, and Bowen (1858). Abraham (1958), however, translates it as "actually did: really did".

Examples:

Mà á kúkú tà á 'I'd prefer to sell it'

Ó kúkú burú já 'lè 'It is unmistakably bad right through'.

(b) The more recent usage has, in addition to the above meaning, the sense: 'and there is no doubt about it' or, depending on the context, 'and there's nothing anyone can do about it'. Although we have no statistical proof, this usage seems to be common only among young people.

Examples:

1. X : Gèlè yí kò dára à

'This head-tie is decidedly not good'

Y : Sé iwọ̀ ni kò wù : mo kúkú n' lo òhkan mi

'You may not like it; but there's no doubt that I always use it and that's all that matters'.

2. X : Ng ò rò pé Olú gbọ̀ pé mo fé 'rí i

'Perhaps Olu didn't hear I would like to see him?'

Y : Ó kúkú gbọ̀; kò fé 'wá ni

'There's no doubt he heard; he only didn't want to come'.

9.712 NON-INTENSIFIER AUXILIARIES

Some Non-Intensifier Auxiliaries fall into easily defined semantic classes. In order that the statements of uses may be as economical as possible, we shall describe their semantic uses in groups before discussing the use of individual auxiliaries that do not seem to fall into any classes.

A. Auxiliaries used in the expression of Time Orientation

These are yíò, á, máa¹ (F-Auxiliaries) and the absence of these elements (for easy reference, we call it 'zero') in the VP.

The 'Time' content of the Yoruba VP is either FUTURE or NON-FUTURE.

Use of the 'F-auxiliaries':

They indicate Future Time. "Future Time" here is future only in relation to a Time of Reference specified or implied in an accompanying clause or understood to be synchronous with the time of encoding if there is no accompanying clause. In terms of ordinary language- independent Time, the Time of Reference may be :

PAST, indicated in the underlined clause of

A mò l'oió yen pé yíò kú
'We knew that day that he would die';

PRESENT, indicated in the underlined clause of

Ó dá wa l'ojú báayi pé yíò kú
'We are now sure that he will die';

or the absence of an accompanying clause, as in

Yíò kú 'He will die';

or FUTURE, indicated in the underlined clause of

Á á mò n'lobà yen bóyá bába óò kú

The F-auxiliaries indicate 'time after the Time of Reference'.

Examples (with a PRESENT REFERENCE):

Yíò wá 'he will come'

Á á wá "

Ó máa wá "

Since no F-auxiliary occurs in Secondary Pattern, the expression of Future Time in the VP is confined to clauses of Primary Pattern.

Significance of 'zero' in the VP.

The absence of the F-auxiliaries in the Yoruba VP indicates that the 'time' element expressed is NON-FUTURE; i.e. in terms of language-independent Time, Present Time or Past Time.

The use of 'zero' in the VP involves two kinds of 'non-futurity':

(i) 'Non-futurity' = either Past or Present Time

When the Full Verb occurring after 'zero' is a Stative^{5*}, the kind of 'non-futurity' indicated in the VP is undefined: it is either Present Time or Past Time but there is no indication within the VP as to which one is intended.

Examples:

Ó dára 'It is/was good'

Ó jóókó 'He is/was in a sitting position'.

An accompanying Present or Past Time Adverbial (e.g. l'owó báàyí 'at this moment'; l'aná 'yesterday') is required to indicate precisely what semantic area of non-futurity is intended.

(ii) Past Time only:

When the Full Verb occurring after 'zero' is a non-Stative Verb, the time element expressed in the VP is Past Time; e.g.

Wón lọ s'ibè 'They went there'

A fò 'sọ wa 'We washed our clothes'.

In spite of the semantic significance of 'zero' before Full Verbs, it is not useful to represent it as an auxiliary element since this will raise

5* "Stative" is here used to describe two types of verbs:

- (a) any Full Verb having the semantic feature described as attribution" on p.198 (i.e. any single verb that can occur in the environment Ó - 'He...' in answer to the question: Kí l'ó se/ti rí? 'How is it?'); e.g. dára 'is good'; dọtí 'is dirty';
- (b) any Full Verb denoting an action as well as the state resulting from that action; e.g. dọ̀bálẹ̀ 'lie prostrate'; dúbúlẹ̀ 'lie down'; dúró 'stand'; jóókó 'sit'; kúnlẹ̀ 'kneel'; sùn 'sleep'; wọ̀ 'put/have on (clothing; shoes)'.

We owe the term to Welmers (1964). But whereas in that paper, "stative verbs in Yoruba" is explained as "verbs that refer to the activities of the sense organs or the mind and the will" (p.4), we use the term here to describe some verbs that do not obviously refer to such activities.

problems while solving none. Among the problems that would be raised is the one that, syntactically, 'zero' also occurs before the Full Verb in Secondary Pattern; but in that position, it does not signify Past Time. It will thus be the only auxiliary that changes its meaning as clause patterns change; for M and si retain the same meaning in both clause patterns.

The expression of Time in the VP is largely irrelevant in the semantic function of all other auxiliaries.

B. Auxiliaries used to express Habitual Action:

These are máán, a, and the cluster a máá².

All these three auxiliaries are used to specify that the content of the following Full Verb or verbal sequence takes place habitually or periodically. A collocating adverbial may specify the frequency or leave it vague.

Of the three, a máá² is found mainly in literary usage. a and máán, which are used in speech, do not have exactly the same distribution. The use of a, which is normally found in narratives, usually anticipates an immediately following sentence in which the auxiliary itself recurs, unless it is followed by the Intensifier si or dè.

e.g. Wọn a jẹ; wọn a mu; wọn a si/dè bù lọ fún ará-ilé

'They usually eat, drink, and take some provision home to their people.'

máán or its variant form, n², is the most common of all three and is used in normal conversation.

e.g. (i) Àwọn ọlọppá máán/n² ẹ bí wèrè n'ìgbà kòòkan

'Policemen sometimes behave like mad men'

(ii) Wọn máán/n² dá 'ko tẹlẹ rí

'They used to keep a farm'.

The effect of collocating adverbials (e.g. l'ojoojúmọ 'daily'; tẹlẹ rí 'in the past') is to define the regularity of the periodic action or the time during which the action was habitual. Without them, however, the auxiliaries still clearly express the meanings specified above.

Auxiliaries of this group also share a common syntactic feature: the same Negative form kíí orukò máán serves for all three of them (see 10.211, AII, 1b).

C. Auxiliaries used to express continuity

These are M and ṣì

M: In clauses of Primary Pattern, M semantically defines the content of the following Full Verb as continuing at the time of encoding if no Time Adverbial follows. When it collocates with an adverbial signifying Past Time (e.g. l'áná 'yesterday') or Present Time (e.g. l'ọwọ báàyí 'right at this moment'), it defines the content of the Full Verb as continuing at the Time specified by the adverbial.

Examples: (i) Wọn n ẹ́ é 'They are doing it'

(ii) Wọn n ẹ́'isẹ́ l'ọwọ báàyí

'They are working at this moment'

(iii) Wọn n ẹ́'isẹ́ l'òsán àná

'They were working yesterday afternoon'

In clauses of Secondary Pattern, M signifies continuous activity if no Time Adverbial follows; e.g.

Máa rìn ẹ̀dó 'Keep moving on'

But whenever Time Adverbials signifying periodicity (e.g. *l'ojoojúmọ* 'daily'; *n'igbà kòòkan* 'from time to time') occur in the clause, M signifies habitual action; e.g.

Máa mu síbí kan l'aràárọ 'Take one spoonful every morning'.

şì: In clauses of both Patterns, it signifies that the content of the following verbal sequence is in a continuing state at the time of referenceng but implies that it is expected to cease.

Bangboşe (1966) cites it as: preverb "şì; i 'still'"; and Abraham (1958) as "şì B. (verb used adverbially)...up to the present".

Examples:

- (i) *Ó şì lè mí* 'He is still able to breathe'
(ii) *Şì máa lọ* 'Keep on going (till you are asked to stop)'.

In general M and şì collocate with Time Adverbials signifying Present or Past Time but not with Future Time Adverbials. In the use of şì, the reason is clear: the meaning defined by şì has relevance (from Past Time) only up to Present Time. M on the other hand, collocates with a Future Time adverbial (as far as we know) only when the Full Verb is lọ 'go' or bọ 'come'; e.g.

Ò n lọ l'ọla o 'You will have to be going tomorrow'

Şé ò n bọ l'ọla? 'Will you be coming tomorrow?'

If it does in these cases, it is not clear why it should not in other cases.

D. The Use of 'ti'

The auxiliary ti signifies that the content of the

following verbal sequence has been brought to an end and no longer continues. It occurs mainly in the Primary Pattern although its Negative form (tii) occurs in the (Negative) Secondary Pattern.

It collocates with Past Time adverbials, signifying that the content of the following verbal sequence was perfected by the time specified in the Adverbial; e.g.

- (i) Ó ti se é tán lát' ijeta 'It's three days since he finished it'
(ii) Ó ti se é tán k' a tó dé 'He had finished it by the time we arrived'

When it collocates with no Adverbial at all, it signifies that the content of the following verbal sequence was perfected Before Present Time.

The meaning of tii is mainly that stated above for ti; but it is to some extent complicated by its characteristic environment: Negation, or Question; e.g.

- (i) Kò (ì) tii lq 'He hasn't yet gone'
(ii) Máà tii lq 'Don't go yet'
(iii) Njé wón tii lq? 'Have they gone yet?'

E. The Use of 'lè'

The auxiliary lè is used in two senses.

1. Capacity: It is generally used to signify 'capacity' (usually potential capacity) of the content of the following verbal sequence to happen; e.g.

- (i) Mo lè se é 'I can do it'
(ii) O lè sòrò jù (You have a capacity for talking too much)

2. Permission: It is also used to request or grant permission to

do what is specified in the following verbal sequence; e.g.

(i) *Şé mo lè gun kèké yín lq?* 'May I go on your cycle'

(ii) *O lè kó gbogbo wọn (t'o báá fẹ)*

'You may take them all (if you wish)'

In this usage, lè cannot be preceded by any auxiliary other than Intensifiers; but it may be followed as usual by M.

F. The Use of 'báá¹'

This auxiliary indicates that the content of the following verbal sequence could have been realised but was not actually realised.

Clauses linked to the báá¹ - clause fall into two semantic types:

1. Those that specify the consequence that might have followed if the content of the verbal sequence in the báá¹-clause had been realised. These clauses always contain a VP with another occurrence of báá¹. In this sequence of two linked báá¹-clauses, the second is always the one that expresses the consequence while the first is always synonymous with a bí³-clause; e.g.

<p>ò báá şe é, ò báá jiyà</p> <p>= B'/T' o báá şe é, ò báá jiyà</p>	}	'If you had done it, you could have been punished'.
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2. Those that specify the reason for not actually realising the content of the verbal sequence in the báá¹-clause. They are either kí⁵-clauses (Dependent) or Free clauses often linked to the báá¹-clause by şùgbón 'but', 'however'.

e.g. (i) À báá lù ú k' a ní a à ro ti bàbá rẹ̀

'We could have beaten him, if we had not considered his father's position'.

(ii) À báá lù ú; sùgbón a ro ti bàbá rẹ̀

'We could have beaten him; however we considered his father's position'.

'Sùgbón' is deletable in this position, as in the proverb:

Ìmàdò ò báá ẹ̀ se bí ẹ̀lẹ̀dẹ̀ a bà 'lú jẹ̀

(The wild pig might have been allowed in domestic premises; but if so he would ruin cities).

(The proverb is used to warn of the bad consequences that might follow if people were suddenly transferred to higher positions for which they had not been prepared).

In expressions that are not fixed, a deletion of 'sùgbón' usually necessitates two structural changes:

(a) The order of occurrence of the báá¹-clause in relation to the linked clause is no longer fixed: either can precede the other.

(b) The verb ni is normally required at the end of the linked clause.

Thus, the exemplificatory sentence (ii) above could become:

À báá lù ú : a ro ti bàbá rẹ̀ ni

OR A ro ti bàbá rẹ̀ ni : à báá lù ú.

G. The Use of báá²

This auxiliary signifies that the content of the following verbal sequence is not actually realised but it is conceded that it

might be realised. Generally, the bí³-clause in which it occurs defines a condition in which something specified in a collocated Free clause will take place or would have taken place. Since báá² always occurs in a bí³-clause, it cannot be specifically stated that the defining of a condition is a semantic feature of báá² rather than of bí/tí...báá.

The Free Clause collocated with a báá²-clause always specifies the consequence that should follow if the condition defined in the báá²-clause was created; e.g.

(i) B'/T' o báá lọ, o gbé

(If you go, you are doomed)

(ii) B'/T' o báá ní s' Ọlórún, òjò kò níí rò s'ayé)

(If you were God, the earth would have no rain).

II. The Use of 'báà'

The meaning of báà may be stated as a sequence of the following features:

- (a) the content of the following verbal sequence may possibly be realised;
- (b) at the time of encoding, it is not yet realised;
- (c) the consequence of realising it is stated in the collocated obligatory Free Clause; this consequence is the opposite of that normally anticipated.

báà is translated in Bamgboṣe (1966) - p.70, as "even if". This is an English equivalent which seems adequate for all the occurrences of báà.

e.g. Ò báà da gbogbo owó rẹ s'ilẹ̀, o ò lẹ̀ rí i gbà

'Even if you were to stake all your money on it, you can't get it'.

Although báá¹, báá² and báà all share the semantic feature 'unrealised', this would not justify grouping them in a single semantic class. The F-auxiliaries and lẹ̀ (potential capacity) all contain the same semantic feature, 'unrealised'; but the feature 'Time element' which the F-auxiliaries share with 'zero' is certainly a more relevant feature of them than the feature 'unrealised'.

I. The Use of báà

báà always occurs in a kí¹-clause and it is difficult to say to what extent the meaning associated with kí...báà is due to báà only rather than to the structure of the whole clause.

The sequence kí...báà, however, indicates the purpose of the activity designated by the collocated Free clause.

e.g. A gun 'gi kí a báà rí i

'We climbed a tree so that we might see him'.

9.72 USES OF AUXILIARY CLUSTERS

There are three ways in which we think the meaning of an Auxiliary cluster may be explained.

1. It is possible to regard Auxiliary clusters as constituting units of meaning which are substitutable for individual Auxiliaries in the environment:

Aux + Full Verb

By this, a cluster like ṣì máá¹ would be considered as replacing

M in the following sentences:

- 1 (a) Wón n' lỏ 'They are going'
(b) Wón sỉ máa¹ lỏ 'They will still go'.

Such a semantic interpretation is the probable goal (or basis?) of the syntactic representation of Aux. clusters in Delanq (1958) which treats clusters like yíò ti, ti n', etc., as exponents of Tenses in exactly the same way as the individual Auxiliaries yíò, ti and n' (pp. xxiii-liii).

As a semantic (or syntactic) explanation, this is unacceptable. In the first place, the individual elements with which the clusters are supposed to contrast are themselves constituent parts of the clusters in which they retain the meanings they have as individual items. For instance, ti has the same meaning ('perfective') in:

- 2 (a) Mo ti lỏ 'I have gone'
(b) Mo ti n' lỏ 'I have been going'.

Any analysis that regards ti n' as a unit of meaning (and of structure) in contrast with ti is unsatisfactory because it fails to see the pattern of recurrence of ti and similar elements in the language. Secondly, it is much less economical than our alternative analysis that recognizes only the individual Auxiliaries and postulates a few rules by which clusters may regularly be derived from them. As an instance of the uneconomical nature of the approach, it may be pointed out that Delanq (1958) lists 32 units (called 'Tenses') - an inventory that could be much enlarged if the

work did not stop at an inexhaustive list of mere 2-item clusters. Thirdly, this kind of semantic statement would have the implication that native speakers learn the large number of possible Aux. clusters of the language as units of usage in much the same way as they learn the individual constituents. This would be a ridiculous suggestion. There are patterns of syntactic construction and of semantic usage which would be overlooked by this type of explanation.

2. Alternatively, we may regard the meaning of a VP with the structure: Aux. (cluster) + Full Verb

as simply the aggregate of the meanings of its constituents. Given no further qualification, this would present the semantic interpretation of Aux (cluster) + Full Verb

in an unordered way. Of course, we see nothing in the meaning of

(3) Mo n' lo 'I am going'

which suggests that, in the interpretation of n' lo, the 'progressive' meaning of n' precedes or follows the meaning of lo 'go'. But this explanation would lead us to accept that, in the interpretation, for instance, of ti máan' + Full Verb in

(4) A ti máan' lo 'We have been in the habit of going',

the semantic explanation would be equally satisfactory if it derived 4 from

(5a) A ti lo 'we have gone' + máan' 'Habitual'

or from

(5b) A máan' lo 'we are in the habit of going' + ti 'Perfective'.

In our view, the meaning of (4) is explained by (5b) and not by (5a).

This, however, is a matter of intuition; and, since this has not been subjected to any objective test, we do not consider it a very good reason for rejecting the explanation of the meaning of Aux cluster + Full Verb

as simply the aggregate of the meanings of the constituents.

This counter-intuitive explanation is, however, less acceptable to us than the third possibility.

3. As a third possibility, we may start by regarding the meaning of Aux + Full Verb

as ordered and involving the modification of the Full Verb by a preceding Auxiliary. This is justified by the fact that the Full Verb, and not the Auxiliary, is the syntactically and semantically obligatory element in the VP. Thus, the following Rule may be proposed for the interpretation of Aux. + Full Verb.

Rule A:

In a VP containing only one Auxiliary and a Full Verb, the meaning of the Full Verb is modified by the Auxiliary in accordance with its semantic significance as described in 9.71 above.

It is feasible to go further, as in the case of the syntactic description of Aux. cluster structure (Rule 1, 9.2), and propose a Rule which interpretes semantic modification of the Full Verb by elements in an Aux. cluster in the same direction as stated in 'Rule A' - a left-hand semantic expansion of the Full Verb. Thus, the following Rule may be proposed for the semantic interpretation of Aux. cluster + Full Verb.

Rule B:

In a VP having the structure Aux cluster + Full Verb, each Auxiliary within the cluster semantically modifies only the verbal sequence directly following it.

Implications of Rule B

(i) The Rule implies that, in the sentence (4) discussed above -

A ti máań lq 'We have been in the habit of going'

- ti modifies only the meaning of máań lq and not of lq; and justifies the explanation of (5b) rather than (5a).

(ii) The semantic structure of a VP with an Aux. cluster is a hierarchical layer of meanings starting with the Full Verb and expanding left-wards.

(iii) No two Auxiliaries semantically modify each other. Rather, every auxiliary not in cluster-final position is semantically related to a sequence of which the Full Verb is the semantic core.

(iv) It would appear that (iii) implies further that the Full Verb functioning as VP constitutes a semantic whole that is then further modified by an expander auxiliary; and that each such expansion constitutes a mere enlargement of the semantic whole without affecting its basic unity. There seems to be syntactic support for this in some aspects of Negation. For instance, the Negative-Nominalization prefix àì- is freely combined with Aux. (cluster) + Full Verb sequences as it is with single verbs (or any other Full Verb); e.g.

àì-lè-lq 'the inability to go' (from lè lq 'can go')

àì-tíì-lọ 'the fact of not having gone' (from ti lọ 'have gone').

It may, of course, be argued that it is the auxiliaries that are nominalised and not the whole VP. Not only would this explanation be counter-intuitive; it would fail to explain the negative-nominalization of máà (itself a Negator) in àì-máà-lọ which occurs in:

Mo s' àì-máà-lọ rí?

'Did you ever know me not to go?'

Our explanation is that auxiliaries (and particles sharing some of their distributional characteristics⁶) combine with the Full Verb to produce a unit of meaning which is then treated like basic semantic verbal units in the language: namely, Single Verbs. Thus máà lọ is syntactically treated like Single Verbs and has the 'negative-nominaliser' prefixed to it.

Of these three possible ways of explaining the meaning of an Aux. cluster within a VP, we are inclined to accept the third as the least unsatisfactory. But it does not account for the explanation of ALL Aux. clusters.

Two Aux. clusters are exceptions to the application of 'Rule B'. These are the irregularly formed lè ti and máà¹ ti which are semantically substitutable for their regularly formed variants ti lè and ti máà¹. If 'Rule B' operates without exceptions, the meanings of the

⁶ For ways in which máà is like an Auxiliary, see 10.11.

irregularly formed pair should be different from the meanings of the regularly formed clusters. For instance, with lè ti and ti lè occurring before the same Full Verb (e.g. lọ 'go'), we should expect the following different meanings: ('+' marks the fixed sequence of features specified before and after)

(a) lè ti lọ : 'Potential capacity' + 'Perfective' + lọ.

(b) ti lè lọ : 'Perfective' + 'Potential Capacity' + lọ.

One of the two meanings of ti lè + Full Verb is regularly formed as in (b);

e.g. A ti lè ɕe é bááyí

(We have now acquired the ability to do it)

But the meaning it shares with lè ti + Full Verb is that specified in (a);

e.g. Wọn lè ti lọ (k' a tó dé)

Wọn ti lè lọ (k' a tó dé)

'They may have gone (before we arrive)'.

With máa¹ ti and ti máa¹ occurring before the same Full Verb (e.g. lọ 'go'), we should expect the following meanings:

(c) máa¹ ti lọ : 'Futurity' + 'Perfective' + lọ

(d) ti máa¹ lọ : 'Perfective' + 'Futurity' + lọ.

Both sequences however express the meaning specified by (c).

The synonymy of lè ti + Full Verb with ti lè + Full Verb may suggest that the second explanation presented above (that the meaning of an Aux. cluster is an aggregate of the meanings of its constituents - NOT NECESSARILY IN AN ORDERED SEQUENCE)

is preferable to the third. In order to justify the third explanation, it would be useful to compare the meanings of clusters in which the same constituents are differently ordered syntactically; and these are the only two such cases in the language. If these two cases also prove to be the only exceptions to the application of 'Rule B', this is enough to cast doubt on the plausibility of the third explanation presented above. But the second explanation is no good alternative. Not only is it counter-intuitive in contrast to the third explanation which is intuitively satisfactory, it will also not explain why ti lè + Full Verb has two different meanings; and why one of them (that which is specified above as 'Perfective' + 'Potential capacity' + Full Verb and translatable in English as : 'have been able to + Full Verb') puts together the meanings of the individual constituents in a way that reflects the syntactic order of elements within the cluster while the other meaning reflects a different syntactic order. If the meanings of clusters were simply an aggregate of the meanings of the individual constituents in an unordered sequence, then the choice between the two interpretations of ti lè + Full Verb is presumably a random choice; which, in our view, is not so. It would also be necessary to explain why, in all clusters other than ti lè, only one choice is always made among many possible ways of ordering the sequence of meanings of the individual constituents. For instance (taking another 2-item cluster rather than probing the much more complex

multi-item clusters), why in lè + M (e.g. Wón lè máá² ló 'They may get going'), the semantic interpretation is always ordered to reflect the syntactic sequence of the constituents and not the other way round. The meaning of lè M + Full Verb is always 'Potential capacity' + 'Progressive' + Full Verb; and never 'Progressive' + 'Potential capacity' + Full Verb which would result in a meaning translatable in English as:

'is having the ability to + Full Verb'.

The first explanation proposed (that Aux. clusters constitute units of meaning) would be able to deal with the synonymy of lè ti with ti lè and of máá¹ ti with ti máá¹ by suggesting that these are units to which the language ascribes certain semantic interpretations and it is a coincidence that two such units have the same meaning. The weaknesses of this way of explaining the meaning of clusters have been pointed out above and we do not consider it as a feasible explanation of the meaning (or syntactic structure) of Aux. clusters.

In conclusion, we accept the third explanation because it satisfactorily accounts for the interpretation of all clusters other than the exceptions pointed out here. The fact that many (largely non-Ọyọ) users of standard Yoruba treat the irregularly formed clusters - lè ti and máá¹ ti - in Negation as if they were not different from their regularly formed synonyms may also suggest that, while these two pairs of regular and irregular clusters do occur, for many users of the standard each member of the pair is not really different from the other.

10. NEGATION OF THE VERB PHRASE

10.0 NEGATORS OF THE VP.

There are two Negators which operate on the VP within clause structure. These are:

KÒ and MÁÀ

Their Phonetic Forms:

KÒ has four phonetic forms.

- (i) [kò] which sometimes occurs in slow or formal speech, and always in clause-initial position (where the 3 Pers. Sg. Pronoun subject is not overtly expressed). We regard this as the base form.
- (ii) [ò] - i.e. with a deletion of [k]. Wherever [kò] occurs in a position that is not clause-initial, it may be replaced by [ò] which is the more commonly used form.
- (iii) An assimilation of [ò] by the vowel immediately preceding it. This occurs only when KÒ is preceded by a non-emphatic form of a Pronoun; e.g. a 'we'

A à lɔ = A ò lɔ = A kò lɔ 'We didn't go'.
- (iv) [kì] - a syntactically conditioned form of KÒ which occurs only before ní², baa and yíò (see 10.2 below).

The conventional orthography (often inconsistently phonetic) represents kò and kì differently but fails to represent the other two phonetic forms at all. To represent them all as kò in this study will create some difficulty for the reader; but we also do not follow the inconsistency of conventional orthography in

representing some of the spoken forms while ignoring the others. Without claiming any merit for our practice as an orthographic device, we shall spell all four forms of KÒ as they occur in our speech.

MÁÁ is normally realised as [máà] but sometimes, especially in fast speech, as [má]. It is spelt throughout this study as máà.

10.1 PROBLEMS OF STATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATORS.

10.11 The Problems

There are two problems in attempting a neat and adequate statement of the distribution of the two Negators.

Firstly, though both of them indicate negation, they do not share syntactic characteristics. While KÒ has a fixed position within the clause relative to VP, MÁÁ can occur in any of several positions within an Aux-cluster or between two Full Verbs, as several Pre-emptives do. According to the definition of VP in 3.111, KÒ lies outside the VP, but MÁÁ is very clearly included in it. Furthermore, though MÁÁ has a negative meaning, it creates a cluster which behaves like a syntactically positive sequence in that it may be negated (like any positive verbal sequence) by KÒ. As an example, the following three sentences may be contrasted:

(a) Olú lè lọ 'Olu can/may go'
(b) Olú lè máà lọ 'Olu may fail to go'
(c) Olú ò lè máà lọ 'Olu cannot fail to go'

All these suggest that MAÂ shares some characteristics with the auxiliaries. But it can also be seen in terms of KÒ rather than of the auxiliaries. It is in complementary distribution with KÒ which never occurs in Secondary Pattern where MAÂ freely occurs. In clauses of Primary Pattern where both may occur, KÒ precedes the VP - a position in which MAÂ cannot occur; while MAÂ freely occurs within the VP - a position from which, in present-day Yoruba, KÒ is totally excluded. Furthermore, they express the same meaning.

The first problem, then, is about the syntactic status of MAÂ. In view of its apparent distributional similarity to the auxiliaries, is it to be syntactically analysed as an auxiliary element? Or is it to be considered as a non-VP element (Negator) like KÒ?

The second problem is that a combination of Negators within the same VP sometimes produces a double negative meaning (i.e. two verbal elements within the same VP are negated by the occurrence of the two Negators) and sometimes a mere reinforcement of the negative meaning that an occurrence of one Negator alone would have produced.

The only existing Yoruba grammar that recognizes that a problem is raised by the distribution of KÒ and MAÂ is Bangboṣe (1966)¹. There the problem is not stated but the analysis presented shows that the author did not fully recognize the

¹ Bangboṣe (1966), D8.44. This is repeated in Bangboṣe (1967) p.38.

complexity of the problem. A "Double System of Polarity" is postulated to account for the Double Negation in a sentence like;

Olú ò lè máà lọ 'Olu cannot fail to go'

(negator elements underlined)

The analysis is unsatisfactory. Apart from making false claims with regard to what is possible in the language², it fails to see that while the three forms with possible double negation -

kìbá máà, kò lè máà, kò gbòḡḡḡ máà -

are syntactically alike, kìbá máà is semantically very different from the other two. While the other two express double semantic negatives, kìbá máà (even in Bamgboṣe's examples) expresses only one negative meaning and the deletion of one of the Negators would still leave the one negative meaning intact. Thus, the "Double System of Polarity" is no more than an explanation of the "double negation" involved only in the two sequences:

kò gbòḡḡḡ máà, kò lè máà;

and shows no awareness of the problem of apparent double negatives with the meaning of a reinforced single Negator.

²"When the preverbs ìbá, ìbáà, gbò.ḡḡ, kí, lè and fèrèḡ occur in the verbal group, there is a system of double negation. This means that the preverb and the verb following it may be separately or jointly turned into the negative". (Bamgboṣe (1967), p.38. In fact, this is impossible with three of the six 'preverbs' listed: * kìbáà máà (from ìbáà); *kò kí...máà (from kí); and * kò fèrèḡ máà (from fèrèḡ) are not possible Yoruba sequences and will not produce grammatical sentences.

10.12 Suggested Solution

As a solution to the first problem (the syntactic status of MAA), we classify MAA as a Negator and not an auxiliary for two reasons:

- (a) If considered as an auxiliary, it would be the only auxiliary that is almost exclusively restricted to the Secondary Pattern and Dependent clauses.
- (b) It would be unlike any other auxiliary in its freedom of co-occurrence with verbal elements - with potential capacity to precede all but a few Free clause Full Verb elements as well as all auxiliary sub-classes (including Modals; e.g. it precedes bàá as in;

Kí a máà bàá/bàà 'so that we may not...')

In view of this freedom of co-occurrence, MAA would constitute an auxiliary sub-class by itself.

In recognition of the different syntactic roles of KÒ and MAA (both of which we consider as belonging to the same class: Negator), we give them different labels for the purpose of further description. Thus KÒ is the Primary Negator, and MAA the Secondary Negator.

As a solution to the second problem, we distinguish between two syntactic features of the VP: "REINFORCED NEGATION" and "DOUBLE NEGATION".

REINFORCED NEGATION describes a sequence of two Negator elements operating on the same VP, provided this sequence is not

split by gbòòdò or lè. The first of the two Negator elements is always a deletable Primary Negator. Semantically, Reinforced Negation produces only one emphatic negative meaning; and a deletion of the first Negator would produce the same meaning only with a loss of emphasis.

In the following examples, compare the sentences of (1) with the corresponding sentences of (2) from which the first Negator has been deleted.

Examples:

- 1.a. Kò (dè) mǎà lọ ọ 'Who cares whether he goes or not?'
b. Kì báá mǎà rí i 'He surely wouldn't have found it ...'
c. Kò kì ń jẹun l'òsán 'He doesn't eat in the afternoon'.
- 2.a. Kí ó(dè) mǎà lọ ò 'It doesn't matter whether he goes or not'
b. Ì báá mǎà rí i 'He wouldn't have found it'
c. Kì ń jẹun l'òsán 'He doesn't eat in the afternoon'.

DOUBLE NEGATION: Whenever gbòòdò or lè intervenes between the sequence of two Negators, the feature is Double Negation. Semantically, two verbal elements in the VP are separately negated.

Examples:

- (a) O ò gbòòdò mǎà lọ 'You must not fail to go'
(b) O ò lè mǎà rí i 'You cannot fail to find it'

A deletion of the Primary Negator (ò) from these sentences would produce different meanings with only one verbal element negated.

From the structure of Reinforced Negation, it is clear that the Primary Negator is not always a semantic negator. Whenever it is followed by another occurrence of the Primary Negator or by the Secondary Negator without an intervening gbòòdò or lè, it serves merely to intensify a negative meaning that is already present in the clause and does not have a negative effect on that meaning.

10.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATORS IN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

10.21 NEGATION IN PRIMARY PATTERN CLAUSES.

10.211 FREE CLAUSES OF PRIMARY PATTERN

A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRIMARY NEGATOR, 'KÒ'

A Free clause of Primary Pattern may or may not contain an Aux. (cluster). Whenever no Aux. (cluster) occurs, the VP is merely a Full Verb.

A.I. Occurrence with VP containing no Aux.

The Primary Negator always precedes the Full Verb - Single, Complex, Compound or Composite³; and its phonetic form may be any of the four realizations of KÒ, except [kì]. e.g. È kò/ò/è lẹ
'You didn't go'.

3

In nominalized-verb forms, there is evidence suggesting that in the history of the language, KÒ PROBABLY intervened between the two elements of a Compound Verb. The following are just a few of such nominalized-verb forms:

àkòògbà 'a badly behaved child' (from kò, gbà)

àwààrí 'that which is searched for and not found' (from wá, rí)

àseègbowó 'that which is done without due reward' (from se, gb'owó)

The low-tone third syllable of each of these nominals clearly represents an assimilation of [ò] (KÒ). Since these lie outside our present subject, they are of no direct interest to us here.

The negation of the Full Verb še 'to be' sometimes involves the use of the [ki] form of the Primary Negator. The negative form is ki í še, which is formed as if the Positive base were n² še. In one type of usage, however, še is negated, like all other Full Verbs, by kò. In this usage, the negative sequence kò še NP is always synonymous with ì báá¹ še NP. e.g. Kò še ìwọ (K'o wá rí b'o'ó še n'dun 'ni) = Ì báá še ìwọ (ò báá rí b'o'ó še n' dun 'ni) 'You should have been in that position (to know how much it hurts)'.

All Full Verbs occurring in Free Clauses may be preceded by the Primary Negator, except the following Complex Verbs:

fèrèfè Vb; sèşèşè Vb; jàjà Vb.

The form of the Full Verb is itself not affected by Negation except in the following cases where the Positive form of the Full Verb is replaced by a suppletive element in the Negative:

wà 'to be; exist': replaced after Negator by sí.

jé, ní 'to be' : " " " " şe.

A.II Occurrence with VP containing Auxiliaries.

The Primary Negator always precedes the single auxiliary or the first in an Aux. cluster. Since the Primary Negator is not uniformly phonetically realized before all auxiliaries, it is necessary to consider the forms that precede different Aux-elements.

1. Individual Auxiliary Elements.

(a) yíò, á, máá¹ (labelled 'F-auxiliaries');

All three auxiliaries are replaced in the Negative by a suppletive element níí which is always preceded by any of the

phonetic forms of KÒ other than [kì],

In addition to the regular negative form, kò níí, there is an accepted form which pre-poses kí to yíò without any need for a suppletive níí. This occurs only when yíò is a single auxiliary in the VP or in any of the 2-item clusters:

yíò + Intensifier; yíò lè; yíò máá².

The resultant negatives are rarely used in speech and are preserved mainly in religious texts. (The negated VP is underlined in the following example).

e.g. Bèè ni mo si búra ní íbinú mi pé:

Wòn kí yíò sì wò ibi ísìmi mí (Psalm 95, verse 11)

(And I swore in my anger that they would not enter my place of rest).

(b) a, máán, n² (labelled 'H-auxiliaries' for easy reference):

Of these three, a does not appear at all in the Negative.

The most frequently used form in the Negative is n²; and the phonetic form of the Primary Negator commonly used before it is [kì], although [kò] is also used by some people. After [kì], n² is often, but not always, assimilated as [í], the choice not to assimilate being free of any grammatical considerations but possibly due to a stylistic desire to sound 'correct',

e.g. A kí í/n rí wòn 'We never see them'.

máán may also be used in the Negative to serve for all three H-auxiliaries. It is normally preceded by [kò], [ò] or the assimilated form of the Primary Negator. Sometimes, however,

maan' may be preceded by ki i/n which is itself, structurally, a composite form of KÒ + H-aux. This occurrence is, however, not semantically different from ki i/n' or kò maan'.

Examples:

Wọn kíí dé l' àsikò 'They never arrive punctually'

Wọn ò maan' dé l' àsikò "

Wọn kíí maan' dé l' àsikò "

In forming the Negative of the irregular form maan' ... n'² ... (see 9.411 above), the Primary Negator regularly precedes maan' as described above (or the negative form derived from n'² is used instead of maan'); while n'² intervening between two Full Verb elements is not affected.

e.g. Wọn kí n' lé wa á padà 'They don't usually drive us back'

(from Wọn maan' lé wa á padà)

(c) báá¹ is preceded by the [kí] form of the Primary Negator; and the low tone which is obligatory on the last syllable of the preceding NP in a Positive clause is replaced by the normal tone it would have when lexically isolated.

e.g. E kí báá lọ 'You wouldn't/shouldn't have gone'

(This auxiliary also uses an alternative form of Negation by the Secondary Negator - see B.II below).

(d) Intensifier Auxiliaries: All Intensifiers may be preceded by any phonetic form of the Primary Negator other than [kí].

e.g. A kò/ò/à mà gbọ́ ò 'We really didn't hear of it'.

(e) ṣì: Only the reduced form of ṣì, i.e. ì, is used in the Negative. This is normally preceded by [kò] but sometimes by [ò] or the assimilated form.

e.g. A kò ì sùn 'We are not yet asleep'

(f) tì: The form used in negation is tíì. Any of the phonetic forms of the Primary Negator, except [kì], may precede tíì.

The relationship of tíì to tì is not clear. Phonetically, it is partially similar to tì; syntactically, it is always substituted for tì in the Negative whenever tì is not in a cluster. But it contrasts with tì in questions as the following example shows:

Njé ẹ ti rí i ? 'Have you found it?'

Njé ẹ tíì rí i ? 'Have you found it yet?'

(g) lè: Any of the phonetic forms of the Primary Negator other than [kì] may precede lè.

e.g. A kò/ò/à lè lọ 'We can't go'.

(h) M cannot be preceded by a Primary Negator. All clauses in which M is the only auxiliary are negated like Full Verbs before which no auxiliary occurs.

A.2. Auxiliary Clusters

In the negation of 'Aux. cluster + Full Verb', the Primary Negator directly precedes the first auxiliary in the VP; and the choice between [kì] and the other three phonetic forms of the Primary Negator is determined by that auxiliary except in the following cases.

(a) Whenever maán or n̄² occurs with any auxiliary, the phonetic form of the Negator is always determined by maán or n̄².

(b) Whenever ti is preceded by lè, or máa¹ (producing irregularly formed clusters lè ti, máa¹ ti), the negative forms of the regularly formed variants (ti lè, ti máa¹) are used by many people, to the exclusion of negative forms based on the irregular clusters.

- e.g. (i) Pos. Wón máa¹ ti lọ }
 Wón ti máa¹ lọ } 'They will have gone'.
 Neg. Wón kò tíí níí lọ 'They will not have gone'.
 (ii) Pos. Wón lè ti lọ }
 Wón ti lè lọ } 'They may have gone'.
 Neg. Wón kò tíí lè lọ 'They cannot have gone'.

As noted on p.315, however, many other speakers, notably native speakers of the Ọyọ dialect, use negative forms based on the irregularly formed clusters. Thus,

- (iii) Pos. Wón máa ti lọ 'They will have gone'.
 Neg. Wón kò níí tíí lọ 'They will not have gone'.
 (iv) Pos. Wón lè ti lọ 'They may have gone'.
 Neg. Wón kò le tíí lọ 'They cannot have gone'.

When the negative forms with Aux-clusters containing ti occur in questions, the form of ti is always ti and never tíí.

e.g. Njé/Şé wón kò ti níí máa lọ bááyí? 'Isn't it likely they are on their way now?'

B. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECONDARY NEGATOR, 'MÁA'

B.I. Occurrence with VP containing no Aux.

Except in Double or Reinforced Negation, the Secondary Negator never precedes a Verb Phrase in the Primary Pattern. However, it intervenes between the Bound Verb and the Free Verb in the following sub-class 2a(B) Complex Verbs:

dédé Vb	féréé Vb	gbóóòó Vb
jàjà Vb	mòmòmò Vb	şéşé Vb
fí ⁴ /şé ⁴ Vb	gbé ⁴ /tí ² Vb	şé ³ Vb

10.212 DEPENDENT CLAUSES OF PRIMARY PATTERN

A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRIMARY NEGATOR, 'KÒ'

A.1. Occurrence with VP containing no Aux.

Whenever the Primary Negator occurs in a Dependent Clause, it always precedes the Full Verb as in a Free Clause.

In addition to fèrèè Vb, sèsè Vb and jàjà Vb which cannot be preceded by the Primary Negator in any clause type, the 'clause-bound' Complex Verb tó² Vb is also never preceded by the Primary Negator.

Examples of the occurrence of the Primary Negator in Dependent Clauses

- (i) B́í ǒ ò lǒ (ǽlǒmíràn á lǒ) 'If you don't go (someone else will)'
(ii) (A gbǒ) pé wǒn ò wá '(We heard) they didn't come'

A.II. Occurrence with VP containing Aux.

Whenever any of the (Free Clause) Aux. (clusters) discussed in 10.211 A.II occur in Dependent clauses, their negation by the Primary Negator is as stated in that section.

e.g. (A gbà) pé wǒn ò níí lè wá (We admit) they won't be able to come'.

(The underlined portion is the Negative form of yíǒ/á/máa lè wá occurring as in Free clauses of Primary Pattern : 10.211 A.II)

The auxiliaries that are of interest in the present section are the three Dependent clause auxiliaries listed in 9.62 : báá², báà and bàá. báá² always occurs in a bí³-clause where, for Negation, it is always preceded by the Primary Negator. The phonetic form of the Primary Negator in this position is [kò], [ò]

or the assimilated form. Any cluster in which báá² occurs, except the literary yíò báá, is also regularly preceded by these forms of the Primary Negator. The cluster yíò báá takes the negative form of báá² máá¹ (= kò báá níí).

Examples:

- (i) Bì wòn ò báá wá, à á jiyà púpò
'If they don't come, we shall suffer a lot'
- (ii) T' Olú ò báá ti lè wá, a k'èran n'iyen
'If Olu cannot come, we shall be in trouble'

báá and báá: The Primary Negator does not occur with either of these.⁴

B. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECONDARY NEGATOR, 'MAA'

B.I Occurrence with VP containing no Aux.

The Secondary Negator never precedes a Full Verb in a Dependent clause of Primary Pattern, but may intervene between the Bound Verb and the Free Verb in a few Complex Verbs. We may add to those listed in 10.211, B.I. the following 'clause-bound' Complex Verbs:

fi³ Vb : Títí ó fi máá wá mó (kò sọ f'eni kankan)

(Till things reached a point where he stopped coming,
(he said nothing to anybody)).

4

We note that in "footnote 56" (p. 97), Bamgboṣe (1966) records "Kòbáá wà nilé ọkọ è ... 'Even if she's in the husband's house ...' as an instance of the anomalous use of kò as "an exponent of the positive term". We have not yet found any native speaker who considers this as a Standard Yoruba form.

tó² Vb : Kí ó tó máà kú (wón á s'èbò s'èrù)

'In order to save him (they must try everything they know)'

B.II Occurrence with VP containing Aux.

Whenever lè occurs in the VP of a Dependent clause, it can be followed by the Secondary Negator; e.g.

(i) B' ó báà lè máà gbá bọ̀lu mó (esè rẹ̀ á tò)

'If he can stop playing football (his fractured leg will heal)'

(ii) (A mò) pé ẹ̀ lè máà gbọ̀ '(We know) you may not hear it'.

Dependent Clause Auxiliaries: Of the three, báà² cannot be preceded or followed by the Secondary Negator. The other two, however, do not co-occur with the Primary Negator and the only way to negative any clause in which they occur is to use the Secondary Negator as follows:

báà : The Secondary Negator always intervenes between báà and a following verbal sequence (Full Verb, or Aux. (cluster)+ Full Verb); although in báà + Intensifier, the Secondary Negator may precede or follow the Intensifier; as in:

ò báà dẹ̀ máà ẹ̀ é }
ò báà máà dẹ̀ ẹ̀ é } 'Even if you don't do it'

Of all 2-item Aux. clusters involving báà, only báà máán cannot be negated: in spite of the Positive form:

Ò báà máán lọ n'ìgbà méewá l'òsẹ̀ 'Even if you usually go
ten times a week',

there is no syntactically corresponding Negative:

* Ò bàà màà mááí lọ ...

bàá: The Secondary Negator may intervene between bàá and a following verbal sequence (Full Verb, or Aux. (cluster) + Full Verb); or, alternatively, precede bàá in the VP. In the latter case, the Modal is more commonly bàà rather than bàá.

Examples:

(i) Kí a bàá màà lè se é 'In order that we might not be able to do it'

(ii) Kí ẹ màà bàà sẹ kú 'In order that you may not die suddenly'.

10.213 COMBINATION OF NEGATORS WITHIN A VP

The syntactic features described as Reinforced Negation and Double Negation in 10.12 are possible only in clauses of Primary Pattern. There are only two possible combinations of Negators, with the first constituent in the combination always a Primary Negator:

(i) Primary Negator + Secondary Negator : KÒ (...) MÁÁ

(ii) " " + Primary Negator : always as kò kí

10.22 NEGATION IN SECONDARY PATTERN CLAUSES

Here, there is only one clause type - the Free Clause, since all Secondary Pattern clauses are Free clauses (see 3.422 above).

10.221 THE PRIMARY NEGATOR AND THE SECONDARY PATTERN

The Primary Negator never occurs in clauses of the Secondary Pattern.

10.222 THE SECONDARY NEGATOR IN SECONDARY PATTERN

All Negation in clauses of the Secondary Pattern are done by the use of the Secondary Negator.

I. Occurrence of the Secondary Negator with VP containing no Aux.

Any Full Verb (Single, Complex, etc.) occurring in Secondary Pattern is directly preceded by the Secondary Negator.

e.g. (i) Mǎà lọ 'Don't go'

(ii) Mǎà bà á jẹ́ 'Don't spoil it'

II. Occurrence of the Secondary Negator with VP containing Aux.

The Secondary Negator always precedes the Aux. (cluster) except when the first (or only) Aux. element in the Positive is sáà; in that case, the Secondary Negator may precede or follow sáà.

The form of tí after the Secondary Negator is always tíí.

Examples:

(i) Mǎà mǎà yá 'jú s'àgbà 'Don't be cheeky to elderly people'

(ii) Mǎà (tíè) tíí lọ 'In fact, you shouldn't go yet'

(iii) Mǎà sǎà tí mí sùbú }
Sǎà mǎà tí mí sùbú } 'Just don't push me down'

11. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study, as stated in 1.0, is a descriptive grammar of the Yoruba Verb. In Chapter 1, we attempt to show that, in a variety of ways, earlier grammars have failed to provide a satisfactory representation of the Yoruba Verb system. This failure, in our view, makes the study presented in Chapters 3 to 10 a worthwhile exercise.

In Chapter 3, the syntactic position of the Verb Phrase in a clause is defined. A distinction is drawn between Auxiliary verb elements and Full Verb elements. Aux. elements are sub-classified as Pre-emptive, Intensifier, and Modal; while Full Verb elements are sub-classified as Transitive and Intransitive. A distinction is also made between Free Verb elements (those that can occur as the only verbal element in a clause) and Bound Verb elements (those that cannot occur as the only verbal element in a clause). In 3.42, clauses are classified along three dimensions in which they affect the distribution of the verbal elements. First, clauses may be Free (Independent) or Bound (Dependent): a Free clause may occur alone as a full utterance; but a Bound clause is obligatorily joined to a Free clause to make a full utterance and includes in its structure a 'clause-initiator'. Different kinds of Dependent clauses relevant to the distribution of the verbal elements are listed (3.421). Secondly, a clause may be of Primary Pattern or of Secondary Pattern.

The Patterns are defined in terms of the relation of a NP to the VP: in Primary Pattern, the NP is in 'Subject relation' to the VP and is not deletable; in Secondary Pattern, the NP is in 'Hortative relation' to the VP and is a deletable element in the structure of the clause. Thirdly, a clause may have a Basic or a Derived Pattern: the Basic structural pattern is one that is not the result of the application of a transformation, while the Derived structural pattern is one that results from the application of a transformation.

In Chapters 4 to 8, the syntactic distribution of Full Verb elements is discussed in four separate sub-classes: Single Verb (Chapter 4), Complex Verb (Chapter 5), Compound Verb (Chapter 7) and Composite Verb (Chapter 8). The Single Verb is a Free Verb occurring as the only verbal element in a clause. The Complex Verb involves a sequence of two Full Verb elements - of which at least one is a Bound Verb - within the same VP. In a Compound Verb, there is a catenation of two Free Verbs within the same VP. A Composite Verb is a sequence of more than two Full Verb elements within the same VP; it is derived from Complex and Compound Verbs by operations stated in Chapter 8. Chapter 6 deals with the catenation of Full Verb elements with nominalized forms of other Full Verbs.

In Chapter 9, the Auxiliary is discussed in three sub-classes: Pre-emptive, Intensifier, and Modal. The structure of Auxiliary clusters is also discussed.

In Chapter 10, the Negation of the Verb Phrase is discussed.

Two Negators are recognized: a Primary Negator, KÒ, and a Secondary Negator, MÁÁ. Two syntactic (and semantic) features of Reinforced Negation and Double Negation are described.

In this analysis, a number of questions arise and we have suggested answers or, at least, attempted to justify our own procedure on issues from which such questions arise. We list here four such questions which seem to us to be of considerable importance to the analysis presented in Chapters 3 to 10.

1. Studying the Verb in isolation

Since the Verb is not altogether an autonomous system but interacts with other constituents of the clause or sentence in which it functions, the question arises as to whether it can be studied in isolation and, if it can, to what extent.

This question is raised in 2.2 where, for three reasons, we reached the conclusion that the verb can and should be studied in a degree of isolation that does not totally exclude a consideration of other parts of the clause or sentence in which the Verb normally operates. All through this study, we have had recourse to other constituents or features of clause structure in our description of the characteristics and distribution of verbal elements. For instance, the syntactic relationship of a Full Verb element to a following NP has been the sole criterion of classification of individual Full Verb elements (Table 1, 3.225; and the whole of Chapter 4); the nature of the clause - Free or Dependent, Primary

or Secondary - as shown in Chapter 9, influences the syntactic distribution of Auxiliaries; while, in Chapters 6 and 7, it is found necessary to consider the deep structure of the sentence as a whole in order to clarify the syntactic structure of the VP and its relevance to the semantic interpretation of the whole clause.

2. The scope of the syntactic label 'VERB'

Since this study is specifically concerned with the Verb, we have found it necessary to ask the question:

What is a "Verb" in Yoruba?

To some analysts, this may seem an unnecessary question; for it could conceivably be argued that whatever elements the analyst regards as 'verbs' are, for that reason, 'verbs' for the purpose of his analysis provided he consistently regards them as such. This, in our view, is the kind of argument that can justify the practice in Ward (1952) and Bamgbose (1966) of offering no justification whatsoever for including certain syntactic elements in a class set up by fiat and labelled as "verb"¹. A rigorous definition of terms is probably not an essential pre-requisite to a grammatical analysis since the characteristics of members of a class arbitrarily set up may help to define the class label.

We have, however, defined the syntactic class described as "verb" in the above study because we wish to make it clear what exactly we are writing about. We have no satisfactory precedent

1. c.f. Ward (1952) para. 144, p.76 and Bamgbose (1966), D1(a), p.67 where the authors simply start discussing the 'verb' without a definition or clarification of the syntactic scope of that label.

to refer to for a clear definition of the 'verb' and have, therefore, had to state the characteristics listed in 3.11 to define elements of the VP as a whole.

Some traditional grammars indeed provide some definitions of the "verb" in Yoruba. These definitions are purely notional and difficult to work with. An example is the definition in Delano (1965):

"If a word tells us what a person does or something about a thing, or explains or clarifies our thought concerning certain objects, that word is a verb" - p.7.

However, we do not see any advantage in the avoidance of definition by the two modern grammars of the Yoruba Verb - Ward (1952) and Bamgboṣe (1966)². The practice in these two grammars is to list forms that are considered to be 'verbs'. But, since these lists are far from exhaustive, the lack of definition makes it difficult to know what other unlisted elements of the language are to be classified as verbs. In the case of Ward (1952), the author probably finds no reason to define 'verbs' since she is primarily concerned with providing notes for the teaching of Yoruba, especially to European learners. The lack of a definition of the 'verb' in Bamgboṣe (1966), however, enables the author to classify elements

² Bamgboṣe (1967) is, of course, one of the 'modern grammars'; but since it is only a summary of Bamgboṣe (1966) with no modification of the treatment of the Verb, it is sufficient to refer to the 1966 version only.

as verbs when, within the framework of his methodology, they cannot be classified as anything else. An example of this will be discussed in detail here.

The clause initiators ki' and pe' are conveniently classified as verbs in B 3.114 (p. 35). In D 3.21, ki' is further classified as "preverb" and, perhaps because the assigning of verbal status to ki' must have seemed ridiculous, an attempt to justify the classification is made in Appendix I with the implausible conclusion that

"in a ki' clause (ALONE OF ALL CLAUSES), the subject-predicator structure is partially discontinuous, with the preverb ki' PRECEDING THE SUBJECT" (capitals ours)

Meanwhile, in the sub-classification of verbs, pe' is totally left out of the list of Preverbs, Free Verbs, Bound Verbs, or Post Verbs. If it were to be included on any list, it would inevitably be classified as a Post Verb in view of such sentences as:

1. Ó wù wá pé ẹ ò wá 'We were delighted that you didn't come'

A gbọ́ pé ó kú 'We heard that he died'

The distributional similarity to ki' would be obvious as in the sentences

2. Ó dára kí ẹ wá 'It's good that you should come'

Wón fẹ́ kí ó kú 'They want him to die'

This similarity would lead to one of three conclusions on the syntactic status of ki':

- (a) ki' like pe' is a Post Verb;
- (b) neither ki' nor pe' is a Post Verb or a verbal element at all. In view of clause-transpositions like:

3. Pe' e ò wá yèn l' ó wù wá 'It was the fact that you didn't
come that delighted us'

Ki' ó kú ni wòn n' fè 'It's his death they want',

both ki' and pe' are clause initiators of the type that Bamgbose labels in the same Appendix as 'subordinating conjunction' (p. 149);

- (c) There are at least two homonymous but syntactically different ki' forms, one of which occurs in Free Clauses and is therefore to be differentiated from that which has a similar syntactic distribution to pe'.

Of these three conclusions, (c) would be very helpful; but would still not resolve the syntactic status of ki' and pe'; to do that, a choice would have to be made between (a) and (b). In view of the distributional dissimilarity of ki' (and pe') to Bamgbose's Post Verbs³ - a dissimilarity shown by sentences of the type in (3) above - it would be indefensible to regard ki' or pe' as a Post Verb. (b) together with (c) would provide the only satisfactory solution. But classifying ki' and pe' as clause

3 "The complete list of post verbs is:
sí 'into', lé 'on', kà 'on', dè 'for one's arrival', ní 'in'
- Bamgbose (1966), D 3.5, p. 78.

initiators would expose the weakness of Bamgbose's classification of sentences as Simple and Compound. The Simple sentence is described as "one in which there is no linking element" while the Compound type is characterised by the presence of a "linking element" (A 1 and A 2, pp. 28-29). There are three linking elements:

sùgbón 'but', tàbí 'or', yálà ...táíbí 'whether ... or'

These always link "two or more simple sentence structures" to form a Compound Sentence. The Simple sentence is sub-classified as Single or Complex, the characteristic structure of the Complex Sentence being a Free clause preceded by one or more Bound clauses.

The problem raised by this type of classification of sentence structure is that kí and pé, like Bamgbose's three "linkers" also "link" two simple sentence structures;

e.g. Ó yẹ (kí) ẹ lọ 'It is fitting (that) you should go'

A mò (pé) ẹ lọ 'We know (that) you heard'

But they are different from the three "linkers" in that there is a kind of syntactic cohesion between them and the following simple sentence. This can be demonstrated by the kind of clause-transposition shown in the sentences (3) above and by the fact that the clause initiated by kí or pé can be replaced after a Transitive Verb by a NP. They share this feature of syntactic cohesion with the initiators of some Dependent clauses in Bamgbose's Complex sentences; e.g. the initiators in his examples

tó bá dọjọ ọdún

kó tóó lọ

Clauses initiated by ki' and pe' thus participate in sentences that cannot be regarded as Complex sentences or Compound sentences as far as Bamgboṣe's definition goes. The problem of classifying both elements is solved by conveniently shoving them into the class of verbs in B 3.114 where clause structure is discussed. In section D where verbs are discussed, pe' is, again conveniently, left out; ki' is classified as a preverb and a most unconvincing argument follows in Appendix I, with the conclusion that ki' is the only verb in the language which has a post-posed instead of the normal pre-posed subject.

This, in our view, means that the lack of a definition of the scope of a syntactic label, while it allows the term to be "non-committal" as Ward claims ⁴, leaves room for much vagueness which, as in the example of ki' and pe' given above, enables the analyst to include any syntactic item that cannot be easily classified. The paucity of morphological evidence in the Yoruba VP makes it necessary to rely on syntactic (including tonal) evidence in the Yoruba clause to define the "verb" fairly clearly so that it may be clear what the study is about. Not only have we, on the strength of the syntactic evidence available, attempted a statement of the defining characteristics of verbal elements operating within the VP (3.11), we have gone further to draw a line between two major classes of verbal elements - Auxiliaries and Full Verbs.

⁴ Ward (1952), para. 147, p.76

The evidence used for the latter is partly syntactic (3.22) and partly morphological (3.22; 5.022, 1)

3. Difficulty arising from the Free/Bound Verb distinction

The fact that certain verbal elements may occur as the only verb of a clause while others are obligatorily accompanied by other verbal elements in the VP makes it necessary to distinguish between what are labelled in this study as Free Verbs and Bound Verbs. This, however, raises two questions.

In the first place, there are a few cases where it is not easy to say whether a verbal element is a Bound Verb or an occurrence in a Full Verb cluster of a form which in some sentences is clearly a Free Verb. An example is lù which occurs as a Free Verb with the meaning of 'beat', but in a verbal sequence like fò lù 'fly against' is not indisputably a Free Verb. The question arises:

When are two such occurrences of the same phonetic form to be regarded as a recurrence of the same syntactic element (bearing in mind that they bear a partial semantic similarity to each other) and when are they to be regarded as syntactically distinct elements?

Our solution relies again on syntactic evidence. If elements like lù in a 'cluster' of Full Verbs were Free Verb elements, the 'cluster' of Full Verbs would be a Compound Verb (Chapter 7) with plausible underlying structures in which lù (or similar elements concerned) would be the Free Verb of one of the clauses. Where no such underlying structure exists, elements like lù in the

cluster are regarded as Bound Verbs.

A second question arises from the fact that all Auxiliary elements are Bound Verbs while some Full Verbs also belong to that class. In many cases, this raises no problem because the Full Verb status of some Bound Verbs is clear from the syntactic characteristics listed in 3.22; for instance if a Bound Verb is followed by a NP, it cannot be an Auxiliary. In a few cases, however, it is not so easy to distinguish the Auxiliary from the non-Auxiliary Bound Verb. The question then arises:

When is such a Bound Verb a Full Verb and when is it an Auxiliary?

In 5.022, the problem is discussed; and our procedure is to rely on morphological (5.022, 1) as well as syntactic (5.022, 2) evidence which, in our view, helps to draw a fairly clear distinction between the two verbal sub-classes and classify the few verbal elements the status of which is in doubt.

4. Homophony

Homophony of verbal elements is very common in Yoruba. Dictionaries and grammars do not ignore this in the listing of Full Verb forms. This study, however, goes beyond plain lexical items and lists homophonous but syntactically distinct forms wherever syntactic evidence justifies this procedure - whether with Free Verbs or with Bound Verbs. It seems to us that earlier grammars have under-differentiated syntactic forms and this has contributed to their inadequate representation of the Yoruba Verb System.

In the present study, we have distinguished between báá¹ and báá²; máa¹ and máa²; n¹ and n² because the members of each pair are syntactically and semantically distinct. One aspect in which they are syntactically distinct, for instance, is Negation (see 10.211 and 10.212). We have also recognized (5.11) a set of Bound Full Verbs which are described on p. 149 as 'syntactic markers' but some of which are homophonous with Free Verb elements. A complete reliance on syntactic form rather than on meaning may replace under-differentiation of forms with over-differentiation. This is probably the case in our distinction between to¹ and to² where both elements have similar meanings. But even if, from a semantic view-point, these are regarded as instances of over-differentiation in our analysis, the differentiation seems to be syntactically justified.

The answers proposed to the questions raised above represent, to a great extent, an original contribution to the study of the Yoruba Verb. But there are more important ways in which the analysis presented in Chapters 3 to 10 is original and more far-reaching than any earlier analysis.

In the first place, most earlier grammars have unaccountably described the Yoruba VP in a way that suggests that it has only single-item non-auxiliary verbal constituents. In Ward (1952) and Delano (1965)⁵, a few sequences of two non-auxiliary verbal

⁵ Ward (1952) pp. 107 - 116, Delano (1965), p. 94. The use of the term "Compound Verb" in Abraham (1958) does not necessarily (contd.)

elements are listed with no attempt at systematic description. Bamgboṣe (1966), in the definition of Bound Verbs and Post Verbs⁶, implies without any further elucidation that two non-auxiliary verbal elements may occur within the same VP; while in Appendix III, p. 158, a few examples are given of the derivation of sequences of Free Verb elements within the same VP. Similarly, earlier grammars, with the exception of Delanṡ (1958) and Bamgboṣe (1966), have described the auxiliary constituent of a VP in a way that gives the impression that only single-element auxiliaries occur within the VP. Delanṡ's exemplification of auxiliaries stop at 2-item clusters; while Bamgboṣe gives no indication whatsoever as to the number of items permissible in an auxiliary cluster; and, in fact, says nothing at all about the structure of auxiliary clusters⁷. The Yoruba VP, however, may contain up to five Full Verb and up to seven Auxiliary elements. The construction of these multi-item clusters is not left to chance but is subject to rules. The

5 continued.

imply a sequence of two verbal elements. The term is not defined; but in V (1), p. XXX, we find the statement: "When a compound verb consists of verb + noun ..." which shows that the term sometimes refers to a sequence VP + NP.

6. Bamgboṣe (1966), D 3.3; and D 3.5 respectively

7. By such statements as:

"Unrestricted preverbs do not exclude any preverb ..." (D 3.22) and "Preverbs are found in the following sequence for which eight places have been set up ..." (D 3.25),

Bamgboṣe gives the impression that auxiliary clusters are used in Yoruba; but in no part of the grammar are these statements further developed.

analysis presented above, in our view, fully describes the derivation of Full Verb as well as Auxiliary clusters. In Chapters 5 and 7, the structure of the simplest Full Verb clusters (the 2-item clusters) is discussed in form of the Complex Verb and the Compound Verb. Chapter 8 shows that larger Full Verb clusters are derived from these two classes of 2-item clusters and describes the operations by which permissible clusters are derived. In Chapter 9, the construction of Auxiliary clusters is fully discussed and (in 9.4) the co-occurrence of individual Auxiliaries and Auxiliary clusters with Full Verbs is described.

The description of the sequence of verbal elements labelled in Chapter 6 as Catenative Pattern 1 (CP1) is, in our view, an original contribution to the grammar of the Yoruba Verb. This is not the first time attention has been drawn to the type of CP1 containing the vn.2 of our description (6.11 above). But, as pointed out in 6.5, attention has been drawn only to its phonological structure. In Chapter 6, we have described three kinds of this sequence of verbal elements (FV + Vn.), explaining their syntactic structure and their role in the semantic interpretation of the clause in which they participate. Our procedure in the explanation of the syntactic and semantic role of CP1 sequences is transformational. Not only has this facilitated the explanation, but, in ways pointed out in 6.3, it helps to resolve ambiguity in some sentences containing CP1 and to establish paraphrase equivalents among sentences containing Vn.2, Vn.3 and Vn.4 in their CP1 sequences.

Our analysis of the Complex Verb V-tr + ní in 5.241 will probably go a long way to clarify the syntactic status of ní occurring in this position in Yoruba. On pp.177 - 185, we have attempted to show that V-tr.-ní is transformationally derived from four different structures. This is not the first study that regards ní as a verbal element. Not only does Bangboṣe (1966) classify ní as a verbal element (a Post Verb : D 3.5), it also regards it as the second element of "a verbal group structure" transformationally "derived from another verbal group structure consisting of one verb, and a following nominal group complement which has the structure: head plus nominal qualifier".⁸ We, however, go much further to show (in 5.241), first, that there are three other underlying structures producing V-tr. + ní and, secondly, that not all syntactic occurrences of V-tr + ní derived according to Bangboṣe's description are instances of a "verbal group structure". The four different syntactic occurrences are exemplified by the following sentences 1 to 4 (V-tr ... ní is underlined)

1. O fún mi l' owó 'You gave me money'
(base: fi¹...V-tr.) = O fi owó fún mi.
2. Ó n fé òrè rè l' aya 'He is courting his friend's wife'
(base: V-tr + NP1 + NP2 - possessive) = Ó n fé aya òrè rè.
3. Ó kán mi ní kónódó 'He struck me with a baton'
(base: V-tr + mó ...) = Ó kán kónódó mó mi.

⁸ Bangboṣe (1966), Appendix III, (d).

4. Olú tóbi l' ẹ̀sẹ̀ 'Olu's legs are fat'

(base: NP1 + NP2 - poss. + V-intr.) = Ẹ̀sẹ̀ Olú tóbi

In 5.241, we have specified the transformational operations by which v-tr ... ní is derived from the four different bases, and have adduced syntactic evidence to show that ní in Vb + ní in sentences of the type of (4) and some of type (2) in the above examples is not a verbal element. We noted also that in those two types of sentence in which ní is not accepted as a verbal element, the base forms from which Vb + ní is derived are not only syntactically, but also semantically, similar. Syntactically, both base forms involve a sequence of 'NP1 + NP2 - poss.'. Semantically, NP1 must be a physical portion of NP2;

e.g. ẹ̀sẹ̀ mi 'my leg'

We attempted to show in 5.241 that, in sentences of the type of examples 2 and 4 above, this sequence would not produce a Complex Verb vb + ní. That is, ní in the following sentences 2 (a) and 4 (a) is not a verbal element:

2 (a) Ó gbá mi l' ẹ̀sẹ̀ 'He kicked my leg' (= Ó gbá ẹ̀sẹ̀ mi)

4 (a) Mo tóbi l' ẹ̀sẹ̀ 'My legs are fat' (= Ẹ̀sẹ̀ mi tóbi)

Our syntactic test is the application of T-Emph. which will show that l' ẹ̀sẹ̀ is a syntactic unit (easily separable from the "vb"), and that it behaves syntactically as a place-adverbial because the sentence derived by T-Emph. requires the syntactic markers gbé⁴ and ti² as in the sentences 2 (b) and 4 (b):

2 (b) L' ẹ̀sẹ̀ ní ọ́ gbé/ti gbá mi ('It was on my leg that he kicked me')

4 (b) L' ẹ̀sẹ̀ ní mo gbé/ti tóbi ('It's in the legs that I am fat')

Our syntactic classification of Single Verbs in Chapter 4 is another original contribution to the study of the Yoruba Verb. In particular, no grammar has ever drawn attention to the classes of verbs labelled as 'Intransitive A 1' (4.311) and Intransitive A 2 (4.312). Not only have they been syntactically identified in this study as classes different from others, they have been shown to influence the meanings of clauses in ways that lend semantic support to their syntactic classification. Verbs of 'Intransitive A 1' class permit clause structures that express the meaning 'causative' or 'non-causative'. Verbs of 'Intransitive A 2' class are used to signify feelings of pain, relief, etc., pertaining to the body.

Finally, the treatment of Negation in Chapter 10 of this study is a new approach that proposes a solution to the problem of describing the occurrence of two Negator elements within the same VP sometimes resulting in a Double Negative meaning and sometimes a Reinforced Negative meaning. Two non-verbal elements, KÒ and MÁÀ are set up as Primary and Secondary Negators respectively. A sequence of the Primary and the Secondary Negators with an intervening gbòṣṣò or lè constitutes Double Negation; while a direct sequence of both or a double occurrence of the Primary Negator

within the same VP constitutes Re-inforced Negation.

Our argument in 2.2 above is that the Yoruba Verb can be studied as a semi-autonomous sub-system of the language, with the concession that the autonomy of the verb as a sub-system is so incomplete that results must be regarded as tentative and related to the results of the study of other sub-systems. In the light of this, we regard the analysis resulting from the present investigation as tentative and expect parts of it to be validated or modified by results of investigation into other sub-systems and, particularly, into the history of the Yoruba language. In particular, we expect the following types of study to yield valuable information that may improve the analysis presented in this work.

An investigation into the semantic interaction of collocated clauses would almost certainly improve our knowledge of the semantic uses of the auxiliaries. Similarly, a thorough study of verb nominalization is likely to throw more light on the VP. Among questions to ask would be one on the range of distribution of verb-nominalizing prefixes some of which seem to attach only to Full Verbs (e.g. à-) while others seem to attach freely to any first element of the VP. The answer is likely to throw some light on the syntactic status (Full Verb, Auxiliary, etc.) of certain verbal elements.

justification of 'Divide and conquer'. A broad, though shallow, study of the whole language is necessary to provide an over-all picture. However, the limitations of such a study (which are understandable) must be recognised. The lack of thoroughness which was a characteristic of all earlier grammars called for a deeper and more meaningful analysis of narrower portions of the language. It is in partial fulfilment of this need that the present study has been done.⁹

⁹A. Oladele Awobuluyi's Studies in the Syntax of the Standard Yoruba Verb, (Columbia University Ph.D. thesis, 1967) has not been referred to in the above study because we have not yet seen a copy of it. An abstract of it in Dissertation Abstracts, Oct. 1967, vol.28, no.4, p.1417-A, which came to our notice after the present study was completed, however shows that the claim to originality made for the analysis presented in Chapters 3 - 10 above is not affected by Awobuluyi's 1967 study. Apart from 'evaluating the contributions of earlier writers in very general terms in its first (introductory) chapter', and 'offering a (syntactic) definition of the Verb at the beginning of Chapter 2', it seems (judging from the Abstract) that it has little else in common with our present study. It seems to have ignored the same questions that earlier grammars have neglected (e.g. clusters of verbal elements). It appears, however, to challenge the setting up of what we here regard as an Auxiliary (Verbal) sub-class by 'rejecting the claim that preverbs are a class of verbs'.

APPENDIX I.

1. This is not intended to serve the purpose of a Dictionary of Yoruba Verb elements. It is merely a list of verbal elements used in verb classification in some chapters of the above study. In those chapters, we avoided both the listing of ALL members of a Full Verb class (wherever there were many of them) and the translation of many verbal elements as a practical measure to save space and to focus attention on the points of syntactic analysis presented.

2. The list below is compiled largely from Abraham (1958) and Delano (1958). Compounded forms (e.g. Verb + Verb or Verb + Noun) have been excluded where they can be shown by syntactic devices to be more than minimum verbal elements. We have also added some verbs not cited in any of the two Dictionaries.

3. Verbs are listed here in classes outlined in Table 1 (3.223).

TRANSITIVE VERB ELEMENTS.

CLASS 1. (NP-obj. obligatory or optional :

elements marked '*' require optional NP; if not so marked,

NP-obj. is obligatory)

B.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| bà ² :touch; strike | bà ⁵ | : (Bd. v in bà...kù/tì) |
| bá ¹ find; overtake | bá ² | (Bd. v) accompany |
| * bẹ ¹ reproduce (animals) | bẹ ⁴ | cut; take share of... |
| bẹ ³ slice | bẹ ¹ | beg |

bẹ ²	:(Bd.v in bẹ...wò 'visit')	bì ¹	: push
[#] bì ²	vomit	bi	ask
[#] bí ¹	give birth	bí ²	(only in idiom <u>bí 'ní/ inú bí(NP)</u> 'to be angry')
bọ ²	enter	bọ	worship
bọ ⁴	feed	bọ ⁵	make smooth
bù ²	(Bd.v in bù...v-tr)	bú ³	insult, curse
^D _# dà ¹	vomit (babies only)	dà ⁴	betray
dà ⁶	(Bd.v in dà...kọ...) 'turn in the direction of'	dá ⁵	create
dá ⁶	strike, hit (in dá..mọ..)	dá ⁷	throw down in a struggle
dá ⁸	contribute	[#] dá ⁹	cease
dá ¹⁰	(Bd.v in dá...ní/sí)	dá ¹²	(Bd.v in dá...kojá 'pass over')
dán ²	(Bd.v in <u>dán wò</u> 'test')	dé ³	put on (a cap or crown)
dè ¹	tie	dè ²	(Bd.v)'pending one's arrival'
dẹ ¹	make device for catching game	dẹ ²	tease
dì ²	tie up	dín ²	fry
dó ²	prick, drive into with force	dù	scramble for
dùn ²	give pain to		
^F .fá ²	scrape	[#] fẹ ¹	like
fẹ ²	woo	fi ¹	(Bd.v) take, put
fi ²	(Bd.v) use	fi ³	(Bd.v; syntactic marker used in <u>tí-cl. qualifying Time Nom.</u>)
[#] fò ²	skip over	fọ ¹	wash
[#] fọ ²	speak	fọn ²	(carry (heavy weight))
fọn ¹ /fun	blow (trumpet)	fu(n)	(only in idiom <u>fu(n)'ra/ ara fu(n)(NP)</u> 'have premonition')
fún ³	give		
fún ⁴	(Bd.v in <u>vb + fún...</u>)		

G.	gàn	scorn	gán	cut off
	gè	trim off	gó	disgust
	gùn ¹	climb	gún ²	pound
	gún ³	pierce		
GB.	*gbà ²	admit, receive	gbà ⁴	wrap
	gbá ⁴	sweep	gbá ⁵	kick
	gbè	serve as support for	gbé	carve, dig
	gbln	plant, sow	gbo	rub, scrub, squeeze
	*gbó ²	bark	gbó ³	(Bd.v in <u>gbó...mó...</u> 'strike against')
	*gbọ	hear	gbọn ²	scoop out liquid
	gbún	strike foot against		
H.	há ²	distribute	há ³	hack off
	hán ²	break from a larger body (branch, leaves, etc.)		
	*han	shriek	he	snatch, sieze
	hó ²	peel off	họ ²	scratch
J.	*jà ³	give pain to	já ⁴	disentangle, solve
	já ⁵	(Bd.v in <u>já...mó...</u> 'strike lightly against')	*jẹ ²	eat
	jẹ ³	assume title	*jẹ ⁵	respond to
	*jì ²	(Bd.v in <u>dá/fi orí jì</u> 'forgive')		
	jí ²	steal	jìn ²	trip someone from behind
	jọ ²	resemble	*jù ²	exceed
K.	kà ¹	count, reckon	*kà ²	recall things while one is in a state of delirium
	*ká ³	(Bd.v in vb + ká...) 'round'		
	kàn ¹	touch	kàn ²	hammer

*kàn ³	butt	kàn ⁴	(Bd.v in <u>dá kàn...</u> 'interfere with')
kán ²	(only in idiom: <u>kán'jú/ojú kán</u> (NP) 'to be anxious')		
ké ¹	pet	ké ²	set delicately
ki ¹	press tightly together	ki ²	address by <u>oriki</u>
ki	greet	kín	to be near to
kó ²	collect	kó ³	embroider
kò ²	meet	kò	refuse, reject
kọ ²	write	kọ ³	sing
kọ ¹	exchange knowledge (teach/learn)	kọ ²	build
*kọ ³	hang	kun	dismember animal
kùn ²	paint	kún ²	(Bd.v in <u>dá kún...</u> 'interfere with')
L. lá ¹	lick	lé ³	chase
lé	transplant (crop)	lò ²	use
lò ²	announce	lù ²	(Bd.v in <u>vb +lù...</u>) against
M.			
mì ²	swallow	*mò	know
*mọ ²	build	*mọ ³	stick to, to be sticky
mọ ⁴	(Bd.v in <u>vb + mọ...</u>) 'close to'	mu	suck, drink
mú ²	take, seize	mú ³	(Bd.v in mú ³ + vb) 'cause to do'
N. ná ²	beat with whip	ná ²	spend
ni ¹	(only in idiom: <u>ni 'ra/</u> <u>ara ni</u> (NP) 'to be uneasy)	*ni ²	be
ni ²	hurt by means of	*ni ⁴	have
nù ³	feed	nú	fill up
P.			
pa ²	crack	pa ⁵	kill
pa ⁶	rub on to	pè	call

*pé ²	profitable for	*pé ¹	to be late
pé ²	skirt round	*pò ²	vomit
pòn	carry on the back	pòn	draw liquid
pòn ²	wrap	pòn ³	flatter, praise
R. rà ³	buy	ra ³	rub
ràn ³	assist	ràn ⁴	infect, spread to
ràn ⁵	to be effective on	rán ³	send
rán ⁴	sew	rè ²	take care of
ré ²	pare	rè ²	render tired
rè ⁴	plaster	ri ²	see
rín ²	tickle	rín ³	press down
rò ²	stir	rò ³	think
*rò ⁴	relate story	ro ³	remove weed from
ro ⁴	give pain to	ró ³	put roof on
ró ⁴	tie cloth as women do	rò ⁴	appease
rò ²	pour	rò ³	forge metal
rò ⁵	relate (dream)	rù ²	carry
rú ³	haft	run ²	(only in idiom: <u>inú run (NP)</u>)
run ³	eat(sauce only)	'give stomach pain to'	
rún ²	chew	rùn ²	chew
S. sá ²	spread out to dry	san	repay
sán ²	tie	sè	cook
sé ²	miss	sé ³	run stick or thread through
sè	strike against	sé ¹	deny
sé ²	strain liquid	sí ²	(Bd.v in <u>vb + sí²...</u>)

si ³	BE (with Negator only)	*sin ²	serve
sin ³	ask for repayment	sin ⁴ /si	accompany (on a trip)
sin ² /si	precede	sin ³ /si	bury
sin ³ (=sé ³)	run thread through	sin ⁴	incise
*so ³	tie	*sò ²	descend
*sò ¹	speak, say	*sò ⁴	dig into
sò ⁵	(Bd.v in sò...dà/di... 'turn into')	sò	drive compulsively
sú ¹	disgust	sùn ²	make a complaint
sùn ³	aim at	sún ²	prick
ş.şà	pick up, select	şá ²	slash
şàn ²	rinse	şán ²	cut down (bush, etc.)
şán ⁴	bite, eat without proper condiment	şe ⁵	do
*şè ²	offend	şl ²	mistake
şln = şàn ²		*şò	fit loosely
şó	watch	*şu	defecate
şún	chip off		
T.ta ⁵	sting	ta ⁶	tie into a knot
ta ⁷	pierce, puncture	ta ⁸	stretch from one prop to another
tá	grope for	tàn ²	deceive
tè	treat tenderly	tè	press down
tè	pick pieces together	tì ¹	(only in idiom: <u>o.jú tì (NP)</u> 'to be ashamed')
tì ³	push	tì ⁴	(Bd.v in vb + tì...) 'by the side of...'
tì ³	scrape off for eating	tí ²	hit
*tò ¹	to be enough	tò ²	follow
tò ²	tease		

tó ³	deal out in small quantities	tó ⁴	pick (leaves) off branch
tù ¹	propel (boat)	tù ²	(only in idiom: <u>ara tù (NP)</u> '(NP)feels comfortable')
tù ³	calm down	tù ⁴	(Bd.v in <u>tù...jó</u> 'scrape together')
*tu ³	spit		
W.wà ³	drive a vehicle	wà ⁴	dig
wá ³	look for	wá ⁴	prepare (food)
wé ²	mimic	wì ²	snatch
*wí ²	say	wín	press down with force
wò	look	wò ³	wear
wò ⁴	scoop out	wò ³	rub on
wòn ¹	measure	wòn ² = hàn ²	
wòn ⁴	throw down without much concern, sprinkle	wòn ⁵	catch
wù	please		
Y.yà ³	become	yà ⁴	comb
yà ⁵	sketch, draw	yá ¹	borrow, lend
*yá ²	hasten	yá ³	carve (image)
*yá ⁴	to be ready	yàn ²	pick out, elect
yè ²	put roof on	yé ¹	stop
*yé ²	lay(eggs)	yé ³	to be intelligible to
*yẹ	suit	yẹ	(Bd.v in <u>yé...sí</u> 'honour')
yín ²	praise	yín ²	take in small quantities
*yò ²	rejoice	yùn	saw off

CLASS 2. (NP-poss. obligatory or optional : '*' = optional)

B.baaná	waste (Delanq, 1958)	báára	beg alms
búra	swear, vow	bòró	deceive (Delanq, 1958)

S.	ṣáátá	: despise	*ṣòro	: to be difficult
T.	taari	push headlong	*taayo	surpass
	témbéḷú	spite	tójú	take care of
	tòro	beg for		
Y.	*yòòda/yònda	allow		

CLASS 3 (+ vn.1).

Full list given in 4.23 (p.129)

CLASS 4 (NP-place obligatory or optional : '*' = NP optional).

D.	*de'	arrive		
GB.	*gbé ²	inhabit, live		
J.	jà ¹	to break through		
K.	kà ³	(Bd v in <u>vb + kà...</u>) 'upon'	*kiri	roam
L.	lé ⁴	(Bd v in <u>vb + lé...</u>) 'upon'	*lọ	go
R.	rè	go to		
S.	sí ¹	(Bd v in <u>vb + sí¹...</u>) 'to, towards'	*sùn	sleep
T.	ti ¹	issue from (Bd v in <u>vb + ti¹...</u>)		
W.	*wá ¹	come		
Y.	*yún ¹	visit		

CLASS 5 (+ other NP types).

Full list of Free Verbs of this class is given in 4.25 (pp.132-133).

In addition to those Free Verbs, the Bound Verb ni⁵ in vb + ni⁵... is a member of this class.

INTRANSITIVE VERB ELEMENTS.

CLASS A1. (Potentially Transitive: + NP-obj. or NP-poss.)

a) potentially '+ NP-obj.'

- B.
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| bà ³ | : (Bd v in <u>bà...jẹ́</u> 'spoil') | bà ⁴ | : ferment |
| ba ³ | weave | bẹ́ ² | burst, puncture |
| bò ¹ | cover | bó | peel off |
| bò | boil | bọ́ ³ | cast off foot-wear or clothes |
| bù ¹ | break, cut | | |
- D.
- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| dà ² | pour | dà ⁵ | compel to move |
| dá ² | (Bd v) 'alone' | dá ⁴ | snap |
| dá ¹¹ | (Bd v in <u>dá...dúró</u> 'stop') | dé ² | shut |
| dán ¹ | to be shiny | dẹ | easy, soft |
| dí ¹ | block | di (with <u>etí</u> 'ear' only) | deaf |
| dín ¹ | less | dò | mince |
- F.
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|
| fà ² | pull | fẹ | wide |
| fẹ́ ³ | blow | fì | sway, throw |
| fọ́ ¹ | break | fọ́n | scatter |
| fọ́n ² | lose quantity | fún ² | squeeze |
- G.
- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------|-----|
| gà | spread or set delicately | gé ¹ | cut |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------|-----|

GB.	gbá ³	fry	gbé ³	rise, lift
	gbò	shake, sway	gbò	thrive
	gbòn	shake		
H.	há ¹	narrow, tight	há	scratch
	hù ¹	germinate	hú	dislodge
	hun	shrink, weave		
J.	já ²	lose grip	já ⁶	cut into pieces
	jé ²	efficacious (medicine)	jì ¹	shake, swing
	jí ¹	wake	jó ²	burn
	jò	leak	jò ²	sieve off refuse
	jù ¹	move to and fro, throw		
K.	ká ¹	drop out of position,	ká ²	fold
	kán ¹	drip	pluck kán ³	break, snap
	kè ¹	spoil, decay	kù ²	bustle, shake, stir
	kún ¹	full		
L.	là ²	survive	là ³	rich
	là ⁴	split	lé ²	stand out conspicuously
	lè	stick together	lò ¹	to be bent
	lò ¹	grind	lò ¹	to be twisted
	lù ¹	strike, beat	lu	have holes
M.	mí ¹	move, sway	mù	dive, immerse in liquid

şù : take a round shape

T.	tà ¹	sell	ta ¹	: shoot
	ta ²	jerk, knock off	ta ³	scatter
	ta ⁴	project, protrude	tàn ¹	spread
	tàn ²	to be alight	tán	come to an end
	tè ¹	bend	té ¹	spread out
	té ²	lose one's importance	tì ⁵	shut
	tò	to be in order	tó ¹	straight, correct
	tu ²	dislodge	tú ¹	to be loose
	tu ²	gush out	tún	(Bd v) happen repeatedly

W.	wé ¹	coil	wè	wash
	wé ¹	tiny	wó	crash
	wó ¹	drag	wón ²	to be hacked off
	wón ³	stop suckling	wú ¹	= hú

wun = hun

Y.	yà ¹	turn aside	ya	tear
	yan ¹	roast	yán ¹	lose covering (like hair, grass, etc)
	yè	get dislocated	yí	turn
	yìn ¹	shoot (guns only)	yín ¹	twist
	yó	become replete	yò	to be fine-grained
	yq	escape	yó	slip, melt
	yún ²	itch		

b) potentially '+ NP-poss.'

Full list is given in 4.311 (p.137)

CLASS A2.

Full list ts given in 4.312 (pp. 140-142).

CLASS B: (always INTRANSITIVE).

B.	bà ¹	: perch	ba ¹	: hide
	ba ²	(Bd v in <u>tè...ba</u> 'bow')	bàlágà	reach puberty
	bẹ ¹	(always preceded by Aux. <u>M</u>)=wà 'exist'	bẹ ²	frivolous
	bẹ ³	bound, bounce	bẹrẹ ²	stoop
	bíkítà	feel concerned	bò ²	full of leaves (of trees only)
	bọ ²	(always preceded by Aux. <u>M</u>)=wá 'come'	bọ ¹	escape
	bọ ²	drop	bù ³	(Bd v in <u>bù se/parí</u>)
	bu	mouldy	bú ¹	roar
	bú ²	burst	bùáyà	to be on a large scale
	burú	bad		

D.	dà ⁶	(Bd v in <u>pa...dà</u>)	dá ¹	to be clean/clear
	dá ³	(Bd v in <u>dá kú</u> 'die suddenly')	dá ¹³	rouse oneself
	dálẹ̀	travel	dára	good
	dédé	Bd v in <u>dédé + vb</u> 'chance to'	dẹ̀hìn	return
	dilẹ̀	(NP-subj.= <u>qwo</u> 'hand') to be at leisure	dó ¹	inhabit
	dòṣbálẹ̀	prostrate	du	flee
	dú(dú)	black	dùn ¹	sweet

F.	fà ¹	crawl	fẹ̀rẹ̀	to be light
	fẹ̀rẹ̀	(Bd v in <u>fẹ̀rẹ̀ + vb</u>) almost	fín	to be clean
	fò ¹	fly	fó ¹	to be clear
	fó ²	float	fù	grow

fún/funfun	white	fúyẹ́	: to be light
fi ⁴	(Bd v; Subj. always an Adv-Reason)		
G.			
ga	tall	gan	stiff
gò	foolish	gọ	lie in ambush
gu'	to be spoilt	gùfẹ́	belch
gùn ²	pregnant (animals only)	gùn ³	tall
gún ¹	straight	gúnwà	sit like a king
GB.			
gbà ¹	spread	gbajúmọ	famous
gbá ¹	grow fat	gbá ²	move oneself aggressively
gbé ¹	to be lost	gbé ⁴	(Bd v; Subj. always Adv-place)
gbẹ	dry	gbin	sigh
gbó ¹	ripe	gbóná	hot
gborín	big	gbòorò	wide
gbóòdò	(Bd v in <u>gbóòdò + vb</u>) must	gbón ¹	knowledgeable
gbonsẹ	defecate	gbun	wet, in a rotting state
H.			
hó ¹	froth	họ ¹	flee
hùn	snore		
J.			
jà ¹	fight, struggle	jà ²	smooth
jà ⁴	effective	ja	(Subj.=ojú 'eye') see great trouble
jàjà	(Bd v in <u>jàjà + vb</u>) manage to	ján	become thin
jàn ¹	obtain unsuccessful result	jẹ	roam (animals only)
jẹ ¹	wear off	jẹ ⁵	(Bd v in <u>bà...jẹ</u> 'spoil')
jìn ¹	deep, far	ji-n-gíri	act obstinately
joro	become lean	jò ¹	to be in good condition

jọ ¹	: assemble	jọ(jọ)	: (Bd v in <u>jọjọ + vb</u>) together
ju	worm-eaten	jùmò	(Bd v in <u>jùmò + vb</u>) together
K.			
kan ²	sour	ké	cry
kéré	small	kẹ ²	spread (fire only)
kẹ̀rẹ̀	to be wanting	ki	thick
kò ³	(Bd v in <u>ká/şé...kò</u>)	kó ¹	lose freshness
korò	bitter	kọ ¹	crow
kọ́(kọ́)	(Bd v in <u>kọ́kọ́ + vb</u>) 'first'	kù ³	make booming noise
kú ¹	die	kùn ¹	grumble
kùnà	fail	kúnlẹ̀	kneel
kúrò	leave	kúrú	short
L.			
le	hard, difficult	lẹ	lazy
lọ ²	warm		
M.			
mí	breathe	mọ ¹	limited to a stated quantity
mọ ¹	clean, clear	mọ ²	(Bd v in pa...mọ)
mọ̀mọ̀	(Bd v in <u>mọ̀mọ̀ + vb</u>) intentionally	mú ¹	sharp
N.			
ná ¹	petty (person only)	ní ⁶	(Bd v in <u>dá...ní</u> 'grip')
nikan	(Bd v in <u>nikan + vb</u>) alone	nù ¹	to be lost
P.			
pa ¹	to be in a state defined by a following Adv., e.g. lóló, gírí		
pa ⁸	(Bd v in <u>vbs + pa</u>) tight	pàpà	(Bd v in <u>pàpà + vb</u>) contrary to expectation
pé ¹	to be complete	pegedé	finally come through
pèle	increase	pélé	wear ipélé part of Yoruba women's outfit
pin	terminate	po	(Bd v in <u>şé/yí...po</u>)

ṣẹ̀ ¹	: originate	ṣẹ	: become fulfilled
ṣẹ̀ ¹	well out of a place	ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀	(Bd v in <u>ṣẹ̀ṣẹ̀ + vb</u>) recently
ṣì ¹	stale	ṣì ²	flee
ṣó	malignant	ṣù ¹	become dark
ṣubú	fall		

T.	ta ⁵	move oneself aggressively	táábà	wash parts of the body before prayers
	tálákà	poor	tan	to be someone's relative
	tètè	(Bd v in <u>tètè + vb</u>) early	tì ²	reach a sticking point
	ti ²	(Bd v; = gbé ⁴)	ti ³	(Bd v; = ṣe ⁵)
	ti ¹	stale	tiro	walk tiptoe
	tó ²	(Bd v; always in a <u>ki³-clause</u>)	tóbi	big
	tòrò	to be in settled condition (water, community)		
	tọ	hop	tu ¹	spring out of confinement
	túbá	surrender		
	túbò	(Bd v in <u>túbò + vb</u>) increasingly	tunlà	reach old age
	tutù	become cold or cool		

W.	wà ¹	BE, exist	wà ²	crouch, cling to
	wẹ	drizzle	wẹ ²	play light-heartedly with someone of opposite sex
	wo	to be petrified	wọ ¹	drop
	wọ ²	go into hiding	wọ	drizzle
	wọ ²	crooked	wọ́n ¹	costly
	wú ²	swell	wúlò	useful
	wúwo	heavy		

Y.						
	yà ²	:	split	yàn ¹	:	propitious
	yan ²		march	yán ²		eager
	yan ³		yawn	yangàn		to be boastful
	yè ¹		survive	yi		tough
	yò		leap	yó ²		move sluggishly
	yun		to be of stunted growth	yún ³		pregnant

APPENDIX II

OBJECT FORMS OF THE PRONOUNS.

I. Without their usual syntactic features of tone and vowel lengthening the Object forms of the Pronouns are:

	Sg.	Pl.
1	mī	wā
2	ē	yín
3	v̄	wōn

(In this outline, 'V' stands for 'a vowel having the same quality as the vowel of the preceding transitive Verb; [˘] for low tone; [ˊ] for High tone; [ˉ] for hypothetical absence of all tones. The Mid tone is represented by the absence of any tone mark).

2. The tone of the Object Pronoun is determined by the tone of the preceding Transitive Verb.

(A) If the tone of the Transitive Verb is Low or Mid, all object Pronouns take a High tone.

e.g. (Transitive Verb = lù 'beat' OR pa 'kill' ; obj. pron.=3 Sg).

Mo lù ú 'I beat it'.

Mo pa á 'I killed it'.

(B) If the tone of the Transitive Verb is High, Object Pronoun takes a Mid tone. In the 2 Pl., an obligatory mid-tone 'V' intervenes between the Transitive Verb and the Object form of 2 Pl.

e.g. (Transitive Verb = rí 'see' ; Obj.Pron. = 2 Pl.)

Mo rí i-yín 'I saw you'.

3. In the conventional orthography, the syllable 'V' in the 2 Pl. form is not represented.

APPENDIX III

POSSESSIVE FORMS OF THE PRONOUNS

I. Without their usual syntactic features of vowel lengthening the possessive forms of the Pronouns are:

	Sg.	Pl.
I	mi	wa
2	(r)e ₁	yín
3	(r)e ₂	won

(In this outline, tone marks and the symbol 'V' have the same values as described in Appendix II).

2. (a) The tone of the Possessive form of a Pronoun is determined by the tone of the last syllable of the preceding lexical item in the ways described in A and B below.

(b) In all cases, except when I Sg. and 2 Sg. occur after a Low tone element, 'V' obligatorily intervenes between the Possessive Pronoun and the preceding element.

(A) If the last syllable of the preceding element has a Low tone, the intervening 'V' takes a Mid tone. In I Sg. and 2 Sg. where there is no intervening 'V', the pronominal forms retain their mid tone.

e.g. (Possessive Pron. = I Sg. OR 2 Pl. ; preceding element = ɛ̀rù
'luggage')

I Sg. ɛ̀rù mi 'my luggage'

2 Pl. ɛ̀rù u-yín 'your luggage'

(B) If the last syllable of the preceding element has a Mid tone or a High tone, the obligatory intervening 'V' takes a Low tone in I Sg. and 2 Sg. ; and a Mid tone in 3 Sg. and all Plural forms. e.g. (Possessive Pron.= I Sg. OR 2 Pl.

Preceding element = eja 'fish' : ending Mid tone;
oju' 'eye' : ending High tone).

I Sg.	eja à-mi	'my fish'
	oju' ù-mi	'my eye'
2 Pl.	eja a-yín	'your fish'
	oju' u-yín	'your eyes'

3. As in the case of the Object pronouns, an intervening 'V' is not represented in the conventional orthography.

APPENDIX IV

RULES OF STRUCTURAL DERIVATION THAT APPLY TO

CATENATIVE PATTERN I : 6.22-6.23

In the following statement of 'Rules',

- (a) = Surface Structural pattern.
- (b) = Underlying structural pattern.
- (c) = Rules of structural derivation of (a) from (b).

Notation is as explained in fn. 2 of chapter 6.

I. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'A' (6.22I)

- (a) NP + FV +Vn
- (b) [NP + FV] * [V-tr. + NP]
- (c) (i) Nominalise 'V-tr.' of (b) by the appropriate prefix — Vn.2, Vn.3, or Vn.4. (obligatory).
(ii) Delete NP in the constitute following '*' (obligatory).

2. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'B' (6.222)

- (a) NP + FV+ Vn.
- (b) [NP + FV] * [NP + V-intr.]
- (c) (i) Delete NP in constitute following '*' (obligatory)
(ii) Nominalize 'V-intr.' of (b) by the appropriate prefix (obligatory).

3. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'C I' (6.223I)

- (a) NP I + FV + Vn. + NP 2
- (b) [NP I + FV] * [V-tr. + NP2]
- (c) Nominalize 'V-tr' of (b) by the appropriate prefix (obligatory).

4. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'C 2' (6.2232)

(a) NPI + FV + NP2 + Vn.

(b) [NPI + FV] * [V-tr.' + NP2]

(c) (i) Nominalize 'V-tr.' of (b) by the appropriate prefix (obligatory).

(ii) Re-order [Vn. + NP2] as [NP2 + Vn.]

5. Non-Instrumental Pattern 'D' (6.224)

(a) NPI + FV + NP2 + Vn.

(b) [NP2 + V-tr. + NPI] * [NPI + FV-tr. + NP2]

(c) (i) Delete NP2 of constitute preceding '*' (obligatory).

(ii) Nominalize 'V-tr.' of that constitute by the appropriate prefix (obligatory).

(iii) Delete NPI of constitute following '*' (obligatory).

(iv) In the resultant [Vn. + NPI + FV-tr + NP2]

transpose Vn. to final position in construction

(optional).

Note:- The actual surface pattern of 'D' results only from an application of the optional 'Rule' iv. However, the result of the application of (iii) is an actual sentence which is a stylistic variant of the product of (iv).

6. Instrumental Pattern (6.23)

(a) NPI + FV + Vn.4 (where Vn = nominalized form of Complex Verb, fi²...Vb) or

NPI + FV + Vn.2 (where Vn = nominalized form of Single

Verb or of Complex Verb, fi²...Vb).

(b) [NP_x(< [fi² + NPI + Vb]) + FV]

(c) A: Primary Rules:

(i) Nominalize [fi + NPI + Vb] by Vn.2 and Vn.4 prefixes only. (obligatory).

(Result: [([Vn.(prfix)-fi + NPI + Vb] = NP_x) + FV

(ii) Re-order [Vn-fi + NPI + Vb] as [NPI + Vn-fi + Vb] (obligatory)

Result: [[NPI + Vn-fi + Vb] + FV]

(iii) Re-order Result of (ii) so as to transpose FV after NPI (obligatory).

Result: NPI + FV + Vn-fi + Vb

(iv) If and only if Vn. = Vn.2,

Delete fi and transfer Vn- prefix to "Vb" (optional).

B: Secondary Rules

Treat FV as

(i) Optionally Transitive if and only if it is one of :

pé , tó , yá² , yá⁴

(ii) Obligatorily Transitive if and only if it is one of :

ni , rò , wù

'NP-obj.' after ni = ara ; after rò = orùn unless they are affected by the localized application of T-ni 2 (see 5.24I p.179)

(iii) Intransitive if and only if it is one of :

dára , dùn , gbádùn , şe , şòro , yẹ

Notes on 6:

I. The transposition Rule 'Aii' is a very common optional rule in Yoruba: whenever a nominalized verb is followed by a 'NP-obj.', that is

not a non-emphatic Pronoun, this transposition regularly takes place;
e.g. kíkà wé > ìwé kíkà 'the reading of books.'

2. The application of 'Aii' results in some actual well-formed sentences that are semantically close to the sentence ultimately generated; e.g.

Bàtà fífi rìn dára.

However, we mark 'Aiii' as "obligatory" rather than "optional" for two reasons:

(a) The choice of FV in any actual sentence resulting from the application of 'Aii' would be limited to only a few of the I3 verbs involved.

(b) The choice of Vn at that point will similarly be restricted to Vn.2 , excluding the semantic alternative Vn.4.

A P P E N D I X V

ON THE STRUCTURE OF máán.

1. A case can be made for considering the máán of the above grammar as an auxiliary cluster with the two constituents máa and n'; although one of the main problems would be to determine which máa is in construction with which n' form to produce the cluster máa n'.

Our analysis may recognize only one common form máa (henceforth referred to as máa*) and only one common n' (to be referred to as n'*). This would mean that wherever máa occurs in the language, we are dealing with one and the same syntactic form. Similarly for n'*, it would mean that wherever n' occurs in the language, we are dealing with one and the same syntactic form. On the other hand, the analysis may recognize two forms each of máa and n' as is done in Chapter 9 above. This means recognizing máa¹: máa², and n'¹: n'². A third possibility is to recognize three of either: i.e. there may be máa¹: máa²: máa³, and n'¹: n'²: n'³.

These three possibilities are discussed in 3 below; but before that, it may be useful to see how máán is described or represented in earlier grammars.

2. 'máán' in earlier grammars:

The three grammars in which máán features at all are Ward (1952), Delanç (1958), and Bamgboşe (1966, 1967).

Ward (1952) writes máán of the present grammar as máa n' as in

Ó máa n'se é 'He usually does it'

(parag. 328 (c); p. 148). But this sequence only incidentally appears in a few examples illustrating the 'Habitual' use of máa. No consideration is given to the fact that máa is here followed by ń.

Delanq (1958) records ti máa ń (Tense 15) in which our máań is written as a sequence of máa and ń. The grammar pays no attention whatever to máa ń which, again, is only incidentally included in the cluster ti máa ń on which attention is focused.

Bangboṣe (1966) treats our máań as a combination of the "verbal particle [i.e. ń] with the bound verb máa" (DB.411, iv; p.91).

In two of these three grammars, the structure of máań is not described. In Bangboṣe (1966) where it is described, the grammar does not recognize any problem of description. This is understandable, given that the grammar recognizes only one máa and only one ń.

3. How many forms máa and ń do we need to recognize in an adequate description of Yoruba?

Since the problem we are now considering derives from our recognition of more than one máa and more than one ń, the following question may be asked:

by recognizing two forms máa and two forms ń, is the grammar not in fact over-differentiating grammatical forms and, by so doing, raising a problem which could be avoided by simply recognizing only one form máa and only one form ń as Bangboṣe does?

In our view, it would be inadequate to recognize only one máa. It seems obvious that there is a semantic difference between the two forms

máa occurring in:

- 1(a) Ó máa sùn 'He will sleep'
and 1(b) Yíò máa sùn 'He will be sleeping'.

máa in 1(a) marks 'Futurity' in the verb phrase while máa in 1(b) marks 'Continuity'.

In Bamgboṣe (1966), máa is glossed as 'be going to' (p.69). This seems to suggest that what we see here as different meanings, 'Futurity' and 'Continuity', could be seen as only one. However, Bamgboṣe (1966) seems to be inadequate on this issue.

In the first place, the English gloss of máa as 'be going to' (p.69) does not adequately interpret all occurrences of máa. The phrase 'be going to' suggests to us that the content of the verb occurring after máa has not yet been realised but is expected to be realised. This is the meaning of máa in sentence 1 (a) above. This same meaning is expressed by yíò and á both of which are glossed in Bamgboṣe (1966) as 'will'. But there is something of the "Continuous" in the use of máa as in:

- (2) Maa fà á 'Keep pulling it'
(cf. Fà á 'Pull it');

and this probably explains why in Bamgboṣe (1966), máa is glossed not as 'will' but as 'be going to'. The interpretation 'be going to' probably represents an attempt to find a kind of highest common factor between the features of 'Futurity' and 'Continuity' denoted by máa. But the meaning 'be going to' is not obvious in the sentences 1(b) and (2) above. In fact, it would be wrong to interpret máa as 'be going to'

in:

- (3) Yíò máa sùn n' ìgbà tí ẹ báá dé 'bè
'He'll be sleeping when you get there'

because the action denoted by sùn 'sleep' will already be in progress and not just going to begin.

Secondly, as pointed out on p.307 above, Yoruba has a sequence máa máa as in:

- (4) Wón máa máa jà n' ìgbà tí ẹ báá dé 'bè
(= Wón yíò/á máa jà n' ìgbà tí ẹ báá dé 'bè)
'They'll be fighting when you reach there'.

If our grammar were to recognize only one máa, the sequence máa máa would make this the only auxiliary that is juxtaposed to itself in the formation of auxiliary clusters. Perhaps the grammar would proceed to describe this as a case of syntactic reinforcement similar to that described for Negation in 10.12 above; but this would still ignore the two different meanings expressed by máa even in this sequence. In this case, recognizing two forms, máa¹ (marker of Futurity) and máa² (marker of Continuity), would simplify the description and adequately account for the two types of meaning expressed by máa.

Perhaps a stronger case can be made for recognizing only one ní than we can make for only one máa. For instance, in all its occurrences, ní denotes 'CONTINUITY'. From this, we could argue that the traditional distinction made in Yoruba grammar between the 'CONTINUOUS' and the 'HABITUAL' is unnecessary, given that the 'HABITUAL' could be seen as 'CONTINUITY with intermission'. If our grammar recognized only one form ní, the structure of máań could be described as máa² + ní, a case of

syntactic reinforcement in which two forms of the M postulated in 9.0 above are juxtaposed to each other.

Although this description of the structure of máan' would be simple and reasonable, for the following reasons it seems better to recognize two different forms n'.

In the first place, by recognizing only one form n', we shall be ignoring the fact that there is ambiguity in a sentence like:*

- (5) Ó n' s'òrò jù bí mo ti fẹ́
(a) 'He usually talks/talked more than I like(d)'
(b) 'He is/was talking more than I like(d)';

and that the ambiguity can be traced to the fact that n' may be interpreted in two different ways.

Secondly, there are two syntactic reasons for postulating two forms n'.

* 9 native speakers were separately asked to interpret sentence (5) in Yoruba or English. Of these, 7 are highly literate - a physician (Mrs. O.A. Okẹ), a linguist (Dr. A. Afọlayan), an Assistant Librarian at the University of Ife Library (Mr. Deji Adelabu), and four undergraduates from different departments of the University of Ife, Nigeria - and 2 have very little formal education.

3 of the 9 (including one of the two with little formal education) said straight-away that the sentence had the two meanings given above. To the remaining 6, the ambiguity was not immediately obvious; 5 of them immediately interpreted it as 5(a) while the remaining 1 spontaneously interpreted it as 5(b). However, as soon as a relevant situation was described in which the meaning they did not immediately see was the only interpretation possible, each of the 6 to whom a second meaning was not immediately obvious readily agreed that these two interpretations of (5) were normal.

(i) A verb like wá 'come' does not occur after n̄ in the expression of the "continuous"; instead, the verb bò is used. Thus, to express the meaning 'He is coming', we have the sentence

6(a) Ó n̄ bọ;

but not

6(b) Ó n̄ wá.

6(b), of course, is a well-formed sentence of Yoruba; but it means 'He is in the habit of coming'. Similarly, in expressing 'continuity', the verb wá 'be' is not immediately preceded by n̄; instead the verb -bẹ is used after n̄. Thus,

7(a) Ó n̄ bẹ n' ibẹ 'He is there';

but not

7(b) Ó n̄ wá n' ibẹ.

Again, the sentence 7(b) is a well-formed variant of the more commonly used

8. Ó máa n̄ wá n' ibẹ 'He is usually there'.

It seems from these examples that n̄ having the meaning of 'continuity' has a different syntactic distribution from n̄ having the meaning 'habitual'.

(ii) In Negation, there is also a difference between n̄ expressing 'continuity' and n̄ expressing 'habitual'. The sentence

9. Olú n̄ lọ { 'Olu is going'
{ 'Olu usually goes'

has two Negative forms corresponding to the two different meanings. Thus,

10(a) Olú kò lọ

is the Negative form when the meaning intended in the Positive is 'Olu is going' - i.e. where the verb is marked for the 'continuous'; and

10(b) Olú ki í (kò ń)lọ

is the Negative form when the meaning intended in the Positive is 'Olu is in the habit of going' - i.e. where the verb is marked for the 'habitual'.

Taking all these into consideration, our practice in this study is to describe two different ń forms : ń¹ marking the 'continuous', and ń² marking 'habitual'. Of course, by so doing, we are ignoring a third possibility, viz: that of recognizing three different forms máa (máa¹ marking 'Futurity', máa² marking 'continuous', máa³ occurring only in máa ń) and three different forms ń (ń¹ marking 'continuous', ń² marking 'habitual', ń³ occurring only in máa ń). If we had adopted this third possibility, the structure of máa ń would then be máa³ + ń³. This seems implausible because, while the recognition of máa³ and ń³ further increases the total inventory of grammatical forms, none of the two additional forms has any independent occurrence or meaning of its own. Thus, there would be no other need for them in the grammar than to explain the structure of máa ń.

4. An examination of 5 possible descriptions of the structure of 'máan'

Given máa¹, máa², n¹ and n², máan' may be explained as a cluster in which one of the forms máa is in construction with one of the forms n. Alternatively, it could be described as a single auxiliary which is anomalous in structure. That is, it could be structurally described as:

- (i) máa¹ + n¹
- (ii) máa¹ + n²
- (iii) máa² + n¹
- (iv) máa² + n²
- (v) máan'

Any analysis considering máa¹ 'will, shall' as a constituent of máan' seems rather weak on the semantic ground that while máa¹ is largely synonymous with yíò and á (marking Futurity), máan' has no element of 'futurity' in it. For instance, in the sentence

11. A máan' lq 'We usually go',
the action has been taking place in a past time and continues with intermission up to a later time; but there is no indication whatever as to what will happen in future time. It does not seem plausible to describe máan' as a cluster of two elements one of which has a meaning that appears to be in no way related to the meaning of the whole cluster. No other auxiliary cluster in the language behaves like that. For this reason, descriptions (i) and (ii) above are considered implausible.

Description (iv) (máan' = máa² + n²) can be more easily justified than (iii). The meaning of máan' is the same

as that of \underline{n}^2 (both mark the 'habitual'). It could be argued that because the homophony of \underline{n}^1 and \underline{n}^2 leads to ambiguity, users of the language prepose \underline{maa}^2 to \underline{n}^2 to form a cluster which is not at all ambiguous. While this seems to us highly plausible, we hesitate to adopt it in the present study. Any analysis that considers \underline{maa}^2 as a constituent of \underline{maan}' is weak on the grounds that this would be the only case in which \underline{maa}^2 occurs directly after the subject -NP in a clause of Primary Pattern. At the same time, it would also be the only case in which \underline{maa}^2 is followed by any auxiliary in the language. For those reasons, the descriptions (iii) and (iv) above are weak.

We would, therefore, suggest that while it is plausible to describe \underline{maan}' as $\underline{maa}^2 + \underline{n}^2$, this, or any other description of \underline{maan}' as an auxiliary cluster, is not fully satisfactory.

The description (v), by which \underline{maan}' is considered as a single auxiliary rather than a cluster, is also weak in the sense that this is the only auxiliary having two portions that are homophonous with other auxiliaries in the language. This, however, is the description we adopt in the above study. We note that \underline{maan}' has two Negative forms : $\underline{ki\ i}$ and $\underline{kò\ maan}'$. The more commonly used of these is $\underline{ki\ i}$ which is the Negative form regularly derived from \underline{n}^2 . This seems to suggest, of course, that \underline{n}^2 is present in \underline{maan}' and is probably the dominant element. It seems to us, however, that \underline{maan}' is

relatively new in the language: for instance, it is not recorded in any of the grammars antedating Ward (1952). As an innovation, its purpose is probably to enable speakers avoid the ambiguity inherent in the use of n̄. In that role, it is needed only in Positive constructions since there is no corresponding ambiguity in the Negative. The result is that at the present stage in the development of Yoruba, while máan̄ is increasingly being used for n̄² where ambiguity is likely to arise, ki í (the regularly formed Negative for n̄²) continues to be used to negative the meaning expressed by n̄² or máan̄. However, many people use kò máan̄ as the Negative form of máan̄. The attested form kò máan̄ appears clearly to be based on the recognition of máan̄ as a single auxiliary. If máan̄ were a cluster, máa + n̄, the Negative form could not be kò máan̄; for there is no sequence kò máa in the language. It is for this reason that we prefer to describe máan̄ as a single auxiliary in spite of the fact that its phonetic structure makes it suspicious.

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