

Constituent and Sentence Negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ Dialect of Yorùbá

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Abstract

This paper is a study of negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect classified under the South-East Yoruba (SEY). The data for the study were obtained through oral interviews from native speakers in specific communities in Okitipupa Local Government Area, Ondo State, Nigeria namely Àyèkà, Aaye, Erékìtì, Òde-Erinje and Òde-Ìtèpe. Five informants ranging from ages 52 to 62 were selected in order to authenticate the data. The randomly selected informants were fluent native speakers living in the communities. The Principles and Parametres theory made popular as Government and Binding Theory (GB) was adopted for this work alongside Jackendoff's Paraphrase Criterion, to differentiate between constituent and sentence negation. The views of previous scholars on negation both in the Standard Yorùbá as well as some other dialects of the language were examined and they helped in analyzing the notion of negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. In the analysis of constituent negation, focus constructions were considered, since the different constituents of a sentence that can be focused can as well be negated. In constituent negation, the negative marker 'ée' is introduced and used along with 'ṣe' before the focused constituent, while in sentence negation, éè is used as the negative marker in all sentence types except for imperative sentences where mǎǎ is introduced before the verb by adjunction. The study concluded that while there are two forms of constituent negative markers in the Standard Yoruba, there is only one constituent negative marker in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

Keywords: constituent negation, sentence negation, Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, negative markers, word negation, focused constituents

Introduction

Awóbúlúyì (1998, p. 10) opines that there are two bodies of knowledge that can be derived from the study of Yorùbá dialects. First is the knowledge about the composition and structure of the dialects themselves. Second, is the knowledge that we derive about the structure of the Standard Yorùbá by studying the Yorùbá dialects. In view of the bountiful knowledge that abounds in the studying of the dialects, Awobuluyi goes further to urge scholars and researchers to beam their searchlight on the Yorùbá dialects and have a closer look at their structures holistically. To him, this would help in clarifying issues that may remain obscure in the standard variety of the language.

Awobuluyi's position stated above compels us to embark on this work. We have decided to examine the process of negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. We shall examine the negative markers in the dialect and then later, compare the markers with the negative markers in Standard Yorùbá. In fact, Salawu (1998, p. 15) posits that a critical analysis of the concept of negation in the Yorùbá language is not yet enough. According to him, the number of dialects in Yorùbá should be directly proportional

to the number of existing works on negation. This further informs the decision to embark on the study of negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yorùbá.

Williamson and Blench (2000, p. 31) classify the Yorùbá language under the West-Benue-Congo. Other languages under this classification are Edo, Akoko and Igbo. Yorùbá is spoken in nine States in Nigeria. They are Òyó, Òsun, Ògùn, Òndó, Èkìtì, Lagos, Edo, Kogi and Kwara. In Benin Republic, formerly called Dahòmì, the Yorùbá race there, is referred to as Àṅagó. Also, the Yorùbá language is spoken in countries like Togo, Cuba and Brazil. (Fabunmi, 2004).

Ìkálẹ̀ is the dialect spoken in Òkìtìpupa and its environs such as Àyèkà, Aaye, Erékìtì, Òde-Erinjẹ, Òde-Ìtẹ̀pẹ, etc in Òkìtìpupa Local Government Area of Òndó State. These towns fall under Òkìtìpupa Division. Scholars, including Adétúgbò (1973), Oyelaràn (1976) and Awóbúlúyì (1998) classify Ìkálẹ̀ under South Eastern Yorùbá (SEY). Some other dialects classified with the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect are Ìlàjẹ, Òndó, Òwò, Ìkàré, etc. Táíwò (2003) identifies Ào as one of the dialects of the South Eastern Yorùbá (SEY).

Studies on negation in Yoruba have focused on highlighting the negative markers in the Standard Yoruba as well as in some dialects of the Yoruba language (Awobuluyi, 1978; Bamgbose, 1990; Adewole, 1999; Fabunmi, 2001, 2004; Salawu, 2005; Adebayo, 2021). However, studies on the notion of constituent and sentence negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yoruba, especially within the framework of the Principles and Parameters theory are sparse, hence this study. This study is a response to the challenge posed by Awobuluyi (1998) and Salawu (1998) to scholars to investigate the dialects of Yoruba for the knowledge about the Yoruba language that abounds in researching the dialects. This study aims at examining the operation of constituent and sentence negation within the framework of the Principles and Parameters theory in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yoruba. Specifically, the objective of the study is to identify the negative markers utilized for the negation of focused constituents as well as declarative, imperative and declarative sentences in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect of Yoruba.

Review of Studies on Negation

Negation is a syntactic process that is concerned with changing affirmative statements to negatives. Olowookere (1980, p. vi) views the concept of negation from two perspectives. From a semantic point of view, he defines negation as “the act of denying – which implies denial with respect to action, assertion, quality, state, idea, entity, etc.” To him, the act of denying is embedded in negation. He also believes that there is nothing that cannot be denied. From a syntactic point of view, Olowookere defines negation as “a grammatical process by which positive sentences are converted into negatives.” However, it should be noted that it is not only sentences that can be converted into negatives, words, phrases can be negated as well. Several scholars have carried out studies on the concept of negation either in the Standard Yorùbá or in a given dialect of the Yorùbá language. Some of these works shall be examined.

According to Awóbúlúyì (1978, pp. 125-128), “There are several kinds of negative sentences in the language. Every such sentence contains at least one negative word... negative words come from the classes of verbs, introducers and modifiers.” The negative words identified by Awóbúlúyì are **tì, kò, kó, ì, máa/má**. However, it

is observed that Awóbùlúyì view of *ì* as a negative marker is defective, in view of the example that Awóbùlúyì employed to establish his point. The example he used is presented below as:

1. Mo lè şe àìdébè
I MOD do act of not reaching there
'I may not get there.'

In the above sentence, Awóbùlúyì says *àìdébè* is a word derived by prefixing *à-* to the verb phrase *ì dé ibè*. We believe however, that *àì-* is the negative prefix prefixed to the verb phrase *dé ibè*.

Rather than Awóbùlúyì's
à - + ì dé ibè
the structure should be
àì- + dé ibè
Neg reach there
Not reaching there

Olówóòkéré (1980, p. 25) posits that negation can be expressed either overtly or covertly. He opines that overt negative is expressed uniquely by means of grammatical morphemes while inherent negative is shown through lexical means." Olówóòkéré identifies *kò*, *kì* and *máa* as grammatical morphemes expressing negation overtly, in Yorùbá, while *kò*, *tì*, *ràrá*, *pèè*, *kankan*, *mó*, *rí* are lexical means of expressing negation inherently. Furthermore, Olówóòkéré posits that *kò* is often reduced to *ò*, *è*, *òn* and *à*. He also observes that negation can be applied to a single word or to an entire sentence. Our observation is that although the terms *ràrá*, *pèè*, *kankan*, *mó*, inherently express negation, they actually belong to the class of adverbs.

Bámgbóšé (1990) did exhaustive work on negation in Yorùbá. In his analysis, he posits that three forms of negation do occur in grammar. There is the word negation, constituent negation and sentence negation. He explains word negation in Yorùbá as occurring in nominalized structures. For constituent negation, he posits that this is when the negation does not affect the entire sentence, rather only part of the sentence is negated. He then explains that when an entire structure is negated, it has the meaning that the event or action stated in the sentence did not happen at all.

Bámgbóšé identifies *kò/ò*, *kì*, *máa/má* as negative markers used in sentence negation. He identifies *kò* and *kì* *še* as negative markers in constituent negation, especially in focus constructions. He posits that *kò/ò* and *kì* marks negation in declarative and interrogative sentences while *máa/má* marks negation in imperative sentences. Furthermore, Bámgbóšé identifies the occurrence of double negation in a single sentence. He posits that double negation often occurs in structures where we have the grammatical items *ìbá*, *ìbáà*, *gbòdò*, *lè*, *fèrè*, *kí*. He, however, adds that double negation also occurs in focus sentences. Bámgbóšé goes further to present the relationship between negation and some other grammatical notions in Yorùbá, like Tense and Aspect, Focus Constructions, Serial Verbal Constructions, etc.

Adéwọlẹ (1999, pp. 397-403) is based on a dialect of the Yorùbá language. His work is based on negation in the Ifẹ dialect. In his study, he opined that the negative

markers in the Ifè dialect are quite different from that of the Standard Yorùbá. For instance, he explains that instead of **má** as a negative marker for imperative sentences, the Ifè dialect uses **mọ̀**, as in the sentence below:

2. (a) Má lọ (Standard Yorùbá)
“Don’t go”
(b) Mọ̀ọ̀ lọ (Ifè dialect)

Also, instead of **kò** and **kì í** in the Standard Yorùbá, the Ifè dialect uses **ù** and **íí** respectively, as in the sentences below:

- | | Standard Yorùbá | Ifè Dialect |
|----|--|--|
| 3. | Olú kò lọ
Olu neg go
‘Olu did not go’ | Olú ù lọ
Olu neg go
‘Olu did not go’ |
| 4. | Èmi kì í rí i
I neg hab see him/her
‘I don’t always see him’ | Èmi íí rí i |

Adéwólé’s observation is that where the phonological processes such as vowel or consonant elision and assimilation are optional in the Standard Yorùbá, the phonological processes are compulsory in negation in the Ifè dialect. Fábùnmi (2001) focuses on the study of negation in the Ìjèsà dialect. Fábùnmi (2001, p. 52) posits that the Ìjèsà dialect does not make use of **kò**, **kì í**, **má** and **kọ** as negative markers like that of the Standard Yorùbá. Rather, in the Ìjèsà dialect, what operates is that there is a lengthening of the last vowel of the Subject NP, which is then pronounced with a Low Tone on it to mark negation. Fábùnmi goes further to give examples of sentences with negation:

- | | Standard Yorùbá | Ìjèsà Dialect |
|------|---|--|
| 5(a) | Mi ò le fò
I neg mod jump
‘I cannot jump’ | Mèè yé fò
I+ neg mod jump
‘I cannot jump’ |
| (b) | Yẹ́jú kò ní pàtẹ̀wọ̀
Yeju neg fut clap hands
‘Yeju will not clap hands’ | Yẹ́jú ù ní pàtẹ̀wọ̀
Yeju neg fut clap hands
‘Yeju will not clap hands’ |

Fábunmi (2004) also examines negation in the Mọ̀fọ̀lì dialect of Yorùbá. He identifies Mọ̀fọ̀lì as one of the dialects under the South-West Yoruba (SWY) spoken in the outskirts of Nigeria. According to Fábunmi, the negative markers in the Mọ̀fọ̀lì dialect are: **kè**, **kàn**, **kà**, **kọ**, **kọ**, **mé**. He posits that **kè**, **kàn** and **kà** are used in negating focus constructions while **kọ** is used for constituent negation in focus constructions.

Sàláwù (2005) is a study carried out on the Èkìtì dialect of Yorùbá. The negation markers identified by Sàláwù (2005) in the dialect are: **è**, **mọ̀**/**mo**, **i** and **ée**. The sentences used by Sàláwù to present his views are given below as (6a – d).

6. (a) Adé è sùn
Adé NEG sleep
“Adé did not sleep”
(b) Mọ mutín
NEG drink alcohol
“Don’t drink alcohol”
(c) Ée ̣se Báyo
NEG be Bayo
“It is not Bayo”
(d) Adé i sùn
Adé NEG sleep
“Adé is not sleeping”

He, however, points out the fact that the negative marker è often changes and gets assimilated to the final vowel of the subject NP. Examples are:

7. (a) Sànyá à sùn
Sànyá NEG sleep
“Sànyá did not sleep”
(b) Ayọ `ọ dide
Ayọ NEG stand up
“Ayọ did not stand up.”

He proposes that there are two phonological processes that must be undergone to derive the negative formatives namely, consonant deletion and vowel assimilation. He, therefore, accounts for the derivation of sentence 7 (a) as presented below:

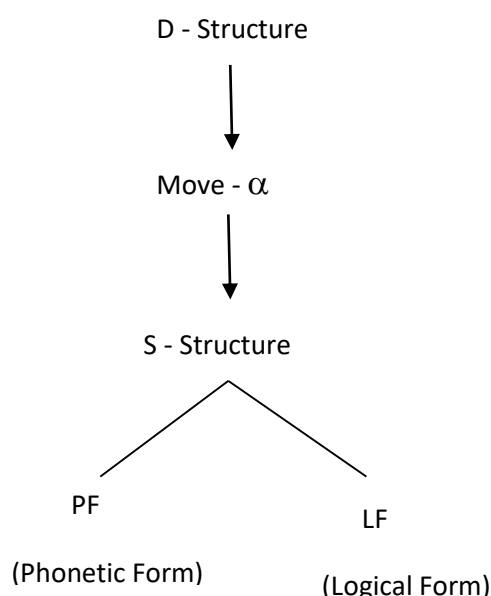
Sànyà kẹ̀ sùn	Base form	
Sànyá kẹ̀ sùn	Tonal change	
Sànyá è sùn	Consonant deletion	
Sànyá à sùn	Vowel Assimilation	Sànyá NEG sleep
Sànyá did not sleep.		

Adebayo (2021) on his own part focused more on a morphological analysis of negation in the Standard Yoruba. The study identifies only four sentential negative markers in Yoruba, namely: *kíí*, *kò*, *kọ́*, and *má*. Furthermore, the study subcategorizes the negative markers into two groups (the k- morpheme and the ma-morpheme) Adebayo sees the negative markers *kíí*, *kò*, *kọ́* as allomorphs of the k-morpheme. Also, Japhet (2021) opined that short pronouns are used as negation, tense and aspect markers in the Ìlajẹ dialect, which is classified under the South-Eastern Yoruba, alongside the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect.

The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is Chomsky’s Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT), popularly referred to as Government and Binding Theory

(GB). Also, Jackendoff's Paraphrase Criterion was employed to attempt a semantic analysis of constituent negation. The Principles and Parameters Theory made popular as Government and Binding Theory (GB) in Chomsky's (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding* has the D-Structure as its base. There is the transformational component subsumed as Move - α which applies midway to result in the S-structure, which is then represented as the Logical Form (LF), which is the output of grammar at the meaning end, and Phonetic Form (PF), which is the output of grammar at the sound end.



Chomsky identifies different modules or sub-theories of the Principles and Parameters Theory, which though different are interrelated. Chomsky (1981, p. 5) refers to these modules as sub-systems of principles. Some of the sub-systems of Principles that Chomsky (1981) identifies which are relevant to this work are discussed below:

Bounding Theory

Chomsky posits that Bounding Theory poses locality conditions on certain movements. There is the transformational component which could be different forms of movements that applies to the D-Structure to give us the S-Structure. In the Standard Theory (ST) and its further revisions, such as the Extended Standard Theory (EST) and the Revised Extended Standard Theory (REST), there were different rules for the different movement processes. In GB, however, these different movement rules have been collapsed into one single movement rule known as move - α . Move - α simply implies moving anything. This tends to give us the impression that movement could take place from anywhere to anywhere within a clause. But in reality, the impression of moving anything from anywhere to anywhere does not really happen. To check illicit movement, Bounding Theory thus imposes some restrictions on the rule move - α . Bounding Theory restricts movement by proposing the subadjacency condition. Move - α then implies moving anything subject to the subadjacency condition. The subadjacency condition states that “no constituent can move

across more than one bounding node in any single rule application.” (Yusuf 1997, p. 168).

Bounding nodes are seen as boundaries that movements cannot just cross over anyhow. In a single movement rule application, the movement cannot cross more than one bounding node. If the movement has to be beyond one bounding node, there must be a stop-gap in between. This long movement is referred to as successive cycle movement. As a general principle, all human languages have bounding nodes. However, each individual language has, as a parametric variation, different elements as its bounding nodes. While in some languages, the bounding nodes are IP, NP, some languages have CP, NP as their bounding nodes.

Trace Theory

Trace theory hypothesizes that after movement transformation which displaces a category from its extraction site to its landing site, the extraction site does not become absolutely empty. Rather, a phonetically null instance of the displaced category remains at the site where it moves from. Usually, the phonetically null trace is coindexed with the moved category to show coreferentiality. Let us consider the sentence below:

[The thief]_i was sentenced t_i to death

In the passive sentence above, the letter ‘t’ is used to indicate the trace of the moved NP. The trace indicates that the moved NP ‘the thief’ actually serves as a complement of the verb ‘sentenced’. In other words, the moved NP is the object of the verb, since the verb ‘sentenced’ is a transitive verb that needs to take an object. The moved NP in its landing site is coindexed with its trace at the extraction site. This is indicated with the subscript ‘i’. The moved NP is referred to as the antecedent of the trace.

Radford (1988, p. 555) presents the Trace Movement Principle as “Any moved constituent X leaves behind at its extraction site an identical empty category [X^{ne}]. This empty category is known as a trace and the moved constituent is said to be the antecedent of the trace.” His presentation implies that after movement, what is left behind as a trace can only be an empty category which is usually phonetically null. However, in Yorùbá, it was discovered that after movement, traces left behind are not always phonetically null elements as will be discussed later.

Jackendoff’s Paraphrase Criterion

Klima (1964) and Jackendoff (1972) are classical works on Negation in the English Language. Their works are based on distinguishing between sentence and constituent negation. Klima’s work is not too useful for us in this study because his analysis appears to be more relevant to the English Language. Besides, Klima posits different rules to account for different negative markers in English. This is in contrast with the principles in GB, employed for this study, where generalized rules have taken over individual rules, as obtained in Standard Theory.

However, Jackendoff’s work is very useful for us in this study, especially as it helps us distinguish between sentence negation and constituent negation. According to Jackendoff (1972, p. 321), “A sentence [sX – neg – Y] is an instance of sentence

negation if there exists a paraphrase (disregarding presuppositions)... It is not so that [sX – Y].” This paraphrase criterion given by Jackendoff is exemplified below:

- (a) Not many of the students passed the exam.
- (b) It is not so that many of the students passed the exam.

Sentence (a), according to Jackendoff can be said to be an instance of sentence negation, since it has the paraphrase in (b). Jackendoff’s paraphrase criterion can be applied to the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect in distinguishing between sentence negation and constituent negation as would be seen in this study.

Research Method

The data for this study were obtained from the field by paying several visits to Òkitipupa and its environs. A list containing over four hundred words, phrases, clauses and sentences in the Standard Yorùbá was compiled. Some informants, ranging from middle-aged to aged, literate and illiterate were selected in order to authenticate our data. These include four men and one woman. They are: Mr. Akínmóyè Ségún, a sixty (60) year old man residing in Ìdo Erinje, Òkitipupa Local Government Area (LGA); Mr. Akinolá Bòbòrẹ̀, a sixty-two (62) year old man from Òdeaye, Okitipupa LGA; Mrs. Fápẹtù Christiana, a fifty-nine (59) year old woman residing at Odeaye, Okitipupa LGA; Mr. Ọnọgoróyẹ Emma, a fifty-two (52) year old man who lives in Odeaye, Okitipupa LGA; Mr. Fásawẹ̀ Pòróyẹ̀, a fifty-four (54) year old man who resides in Iju-Odò, Okitipupa LGA. The selection of the informants from different communities was purposively done to ensure that the informants represent the different geographical locations within Okitipupa LGA. The informants were asked to produce the list in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect in audio recordings. The data were transcribed with Yoruba orthography and morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glosses were provided in English. The works of several scholars on negation also served as a guide in this study.

Negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ Dialect

As mentioned earlier, negation has to do with denial, a change of affirmative statements to negative. As a syntactic process, the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, henceforth IKD, marks negation in a way quite different from the Standard Yorùbá, henceforth, SY. In IKD, there is word negation, constituent negation and whole sentence negation, just as it operates in SY. This section explores word, constituent and sentence negation in the dialect using the Government and Binding Theory (GB) as our theoretical framework, supported by Jackendoff’s Paraphrase Criterion.

Word Negation

Morphologically, a word is said to be either derived or non-derived. A word is derived when it can be broken into different morphemes, whether free or bound morphemes. For non-derived words, they are free morphemes and are also root morphemes. It is observed that there exist in IKD some words, free morphemes that inherently have the concept of negation in them. Such words are inherently negative words. An example is the word “**rárá**” “no”. “Rárá” as a word negates “**béèni**” “yes”

just as in SY. In fact, “**rára**” can stand alone as a reply to an interrogative statement, as in (8) below.

8. (a) **Şé Adé wúlí?**
 “Did Ade come home?”
- (b) **Rára.**
 “No”

“**Rára**” is a single word which functions as a negative sentence. That is why one may decide not to say “**rára**” as a reply to (8a). Instead, one would utter a whole negative sentence as in 9.

9. **Adé éè wúlí**
 Ade NEG come home
 “Ade did not come home”

On the other hand, derived words are often formed by conjoining a prefix or suffix to an existing root word. In this category, there is a negative affix which is prefixed to a root morpheme, most often Verbs or VP, which then result in a Noun. These nouns inherently entail negation. They are inherently negative words. Examples are:

10. (a) **àì- + hùn → àìhùn**
 Neg sleep
 “the fact of not sleeping”
- (b) **àì- + wúlí → àìwúlí**
 Neg come home
 “the fact of not coming home”

The prefixation of the negative affix to the VP’s in the above examples changes the words from positive to negative words. (10b) could also be seen as constituent negation. This is because **wuli** ‘come home’ is actually a VP, which is also a constituent part of a sentence.

Constituent Negation

Constituent negation is when a part of a sentence is negated. In other words, the negation does not affect the entire sentence; rather a word, phrase or clause in the sentence is negated. We shall explain the concept of Constituent negation using focus constructions. This is because, in focus constructions, different constituents which make up a sentence can be focused. The scope of negation in a focused construction is thus within the focused constituent. Some of the constituents that can be focused include the subject of the sentence, object of the verb, the verb, and possessor of NP. Olodude (2021) examined comprehensively the concept of focus constructions in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. In focus constructions, there is movement. This is captured under move – α in GB. The constituent to be focused moves from its base, the extraction site to a

landing site at the sentence initial position and it leaves behind at its extraction site an identical category known as a trace. This trace could be either an empty category or a resumptive pronoun (as modified by Táíwò 2007) as shown in the example below:

Tolú_i ni ó_i sùn.

The sentence above is an instance of focus construction. After the movement of the NP ‘Tolu’ from the subject position to the [SPEC, CP] position, its extraction site is not left empty, rather, it leaves behind an overt lexical category which Taiwo (2007) calls a resumptive pronoun. In some other NP- movement cases, it was observed that what is left behind at the extraction site could be an empty category or an overt lexical category. It was this observation that led Taiwo (2007, p. 126) to revise the Trace Movement Principle, thus:

‘Any moved constituent Xⁿ leaves behind at its extraction an identical category. The identical category can be:

- (i) An empty category or
- (ii) A resumptive pronoun.

The category is known as a trace, and the moved constituent is said to be the antecedent of the trace.’

Subject Negation

When a focused constituent is to be negated in Standard Yorùbá, it can be done in two ways. One is the introduction of the item **kó** immediately after the focused item. The second way is by introducing **kì í ẹ** before the focused constituent. However, in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, to negate a focused constituent, **Ée ẹ** is the only negative marker used, as shown below:

11. (a) Àwa rín
We Foc
“It is we”
- (b) Ée ẹ àwa
NEG we
“It is not we”
12. (a) Kítà ó pa ẹran Ìyábò rín
Dog HTS kill animal lyabo FOC
“It was a dog that killed Ìyábò’s animal”
- (b) Ée ẹ kítà ó pa ẹran Ìyábò
NEG HTS Pro kill animal lyabo
“It was not a dog that killed lyabo’s animal”

11(b) negates (11a) while sentence (12b) negates (12a). In sentence (12b), what is negated is the subject of the sentence. Semantically, the negation does not affect the entire sentence. The negation is within the scope of the focused constituent. This is why the negation is termed constituent negation.

The fact that 'Ìyábò's animal was killed is not denied. Rather, what is denied is the subject of the sentence; the performer of the action of 'killing' in the sentence. In other words, it is not the 'dog' that killed 'Ìyábò's animal, but something or someone else. In 11(a), the sentence consists of the subject NP and the focus marker, which indicates an emphasis on the subject. In the negative counterpart in 11(b), the negative marker is simply introduced before the focused subject. We also observe that when a constituent is negated in focus constructions in IKD, the focus marker 'rín' does not surface again. However, the presence of the negative marker **ée se** indicates that the construction is a focus construction.

Object Negation

In object focusing, the object NP moves from its extraction site to the sentence initial position. It however, leaves behind at the extraction site an empty category. In negating the focused object, the negative marker **ée se** is introduced before the focused object, as in:

12. (a) Délé fọ ọfọ mùèn
 Dele speak word another
 "Dele spoke another word"
- (b) Ọfọ mùèn Délé fọ rín
 Word another Dele speak Foc
 "It was another word that Dele spoke"
- (c) Ée se ọfọ mùèn Délé fọ
 NEG word another Dele speak
 "It was not another word that Dele spoke"

In (12b), the object of the verb is focused. In (12c), the focused object "**Ọfọ mùèn**" is negated with the introduction of the negative marker **ée se**. The fact that Dele spoke is not denied. Rather, it is the object of the verb 'speak' that is denied or negated. (12c) is, therefore, an instance of constituent negation.

Negation of the Verb

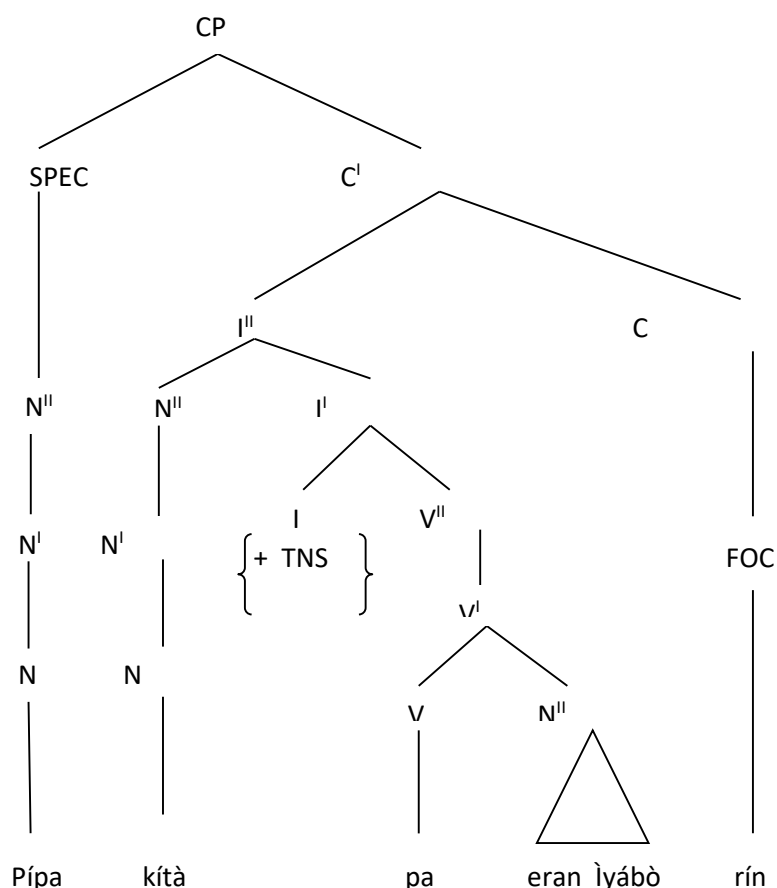
When a verb is to be focused, it is first of all nominalized before it is brought forward to the sentence-initial position. In nominalizing the verb, as in the case of *pa* "kill" which then becomes *pípa* "the act of killing", the initial consonant of the verb is reduplicated, then the vowel /i/ with a high tone is introduced in between the reduplicated consonant. The vowel is introduced in between the consonants in order to avoid a situation where there would be consonant clusters since the phonology of Yorùbá does not permit the occurrence of consonant clusters in the language. The nominalization is necessary in view of the fact that when a verb is to be focused, it is

brought forward to the sentence-initial position. It moves to the position of (SPEC, CP). This position is usually occupied by nominal items.

When the verb is focused, unlike other constituents, the verb is still sighted at the extraction site. The identical category left behind is neither an empty category nor a resumptive pronoun; rather it is an exact lexical category as itself. Shada (1991, p. 68) posits that the reasons for the nominalization of the moved verb at the landing site are two folds; one semantic, the other syntactic. The semantic motivation, according to her, is that when a verb is focused, it is the action, event or process denoted by the verb, as represented in its nominalized form that is given prominence and not its citation form. Syntactically, Shada posits that since the landing site of the moved element is [SPEC, CP] which is a non-verbal position in IKD as well as in SY, the form of the verb must change and the only way to do this is to nominalize it.

An example of verb focusing is presented below:

13. Pípa kítà ó pa ẹran òyábò rín
 Killing dog HTS kill animal òyábò
 It was killing that a dog killed lyabo's animal



In IKD, the constituent to be focused is moved to the Specifier of CP. The focus construction, a CP is thus headed by the C, which is the focus marker. The focused constituent serves as the Specifier of the CP. To negate the verb and deny the action, the negative marker **ée ẹ** is introduced before the focused nominalized verb as in:

14. Ée ʒe pípa kítà ó pa ɛran òyábò
 NEG + BE killing dog HTS kill animal lyabo “It wasn’t
 killing that a dog killed òyábò’s animal”
15. Ée ʒe rírà iba ó ra bàtà
 NEG+BE buying father HTS buy shoe “It
 wasn’t buying that our father bought the shoe”

In (14), it is the act of ‘killing’ that is denied. In other words, the dog did something else to the animal, other than killing. In (15) also, what is negated or denied in the sentence is the act of ‘buying’ and not the entire sentence. These are therefore instances of constituent negation, since it is the constituent parts of the sentence focused that is negated.

Negation of Possessor of NP

When an NP either as subject or object of the sentence, consists of a noun as the head and another noun, as the possessor of the noun, such a construction is referred to as Noun-Noun construction. The possessor of the NP can be brought forward to sentence initial position and focused. When it is moved to be focused, it leaves behind at its extraction site an overt lexical category which is a resumptive pronoun, as highlighted below as (16a and b).

- 16a. Kítà ó pa ɛran òyábò
 Dog HTS kill animal lyabo
 “A dog killed lyabo’s animal”
- b. òyábò_i kítà ó pa ɛran rè_i rín
 lyabo dog HTS kill animal Pro FOC
 “It was lyabo that a dog killed her animal”

In (16a), the NP ‘òyábò’ is the possessor of the NP ‘animal’. In (16b), the possessor of the NP is moved forward and focused. The focused NP can be negated by simply introducing the negative marker **ée ʒe** before the NP. Thus, in negating (16b), we have:

17. Ée ʒe òyábò kítà ó pa ɛran rè
 NEG+ BE lyabo dog kill animal Pro
 “It wasn’t òyábò that a dog killed her animal”

We need to add that whenever movements take place in Focus Constructions, the movements do not violate the Bounding Theory. In other words, movements are not just illicit but are regulated by the subadjacency condition. Now, let us recall, Jackendoff’s Paraphrase criterion: “A sentence [*s* X – Neg – Y] is an instance of sentence negation if there exists a Paraphrase (disregarding presuppositions). It is not so that [*s* X – Y].” According to Jackendoff, a structure is said to be an instance of sentence negation if it can be paraphrased as ‘It is not so that...’. We will like to add, however, that if this Paraphrase Criterion is applied to focus constructions, what is negated is still the focused constituent. In other words, instead of the Paraphrase Criterion leading us to conclude that the sentence in which it is applied is an instance of sentence negation, in

line with Jackendoff's, we observe that when applied to focus constructions, it still gives us constituent negation.

In fact, the Paraphrase "it is not so that..." is very similar in meaning to the negative marker in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. Let us consider the following English sentences:

18. (a) Ade killed a dog
- (b) It was a dog that Ade killed
- (c) It was not a dog that Ade killed
- (d) It is not so that it was a dog that Ade killed

Of course, what is similar to focus constructions is topicalization in English. In (18b), the object NP 'a dog' is topicalized and moved from its extraction site. In (18c), the topicalized object NP is negated. The negation only takes effect on the constituent object NP. In (18d), Jackendoff's Paraphrase Criterion is applied to sentence (18c). We can therefore say that (18d) is a Paraphrase of (18c). However, with the application of Jackendoff's Paraphrase criterion to (18c), we can rightly observe that (18d) is still an instance of constituent negation. Despite the paraphrase in (18d), what is still negated is the topicalized object NP. (18d) has the meaning "Ade killed something, but it wasn't a dog that was killed."

Therefore, Jackendoff's Paraphrase Criterion when applied to focus constructions or topicalized structures gives us instances of constituent negation, rather than sentence negation as posited by Jackendoff. In fact, in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect the negative marker 'ée şe' is somewhat similar in meaning to the paraphrase 'it is not so that...' except that pé "that" is not added. If pé is added, then sentence (18d) can be translated into Ìkálẹ̀ dialect as in (19) below:

19. Ée şe pé kítà Adé ó pa
NEG+ Be that dog Ade HTS kill
'It is not so that it was a dog that Ade killed'

Sentence (19) is an instance of constituent negation since the object NP is negated rather than the entire sentence. The fact that Ade killed something is not denied, rather, the object of the verb 'kill' is what is negated.

Sentence Negation

As mentioned earlier, a single word can be negated, a constituent in a sentence can be negated, and an entire sentence can also be negated. When a constituent is negated, the entire sentence is not denied, rather, only the constituent part negated is denied, hence the name constituent negation. However, in sentence negation, the entire action in the sentence is denied. It implies that the event or action in the sentence did not take place at all or the situation referred to in the sentence did not exist. Bamgbose (1990, p. 217) posits that if a sentence consists of a single verb as its predicate, it is only sentence negation that can be done to it. But when there is more than one verb in the sentence, then either constituent negation or sentence negation can be applied to such a sentence. This is true in IKD as will be shown in this work. We shall examine some sentence types and see how they are negated.

The Simple Declarative Sentence

Based on usage, the declarative sentence is used to pass information. Examples of simple declarative sentences in IKD are:

20. Olú ó fọfọ múèn
Olu HTS speak word another
“Olu spoke another word”
21. Olú ó háré wá
Olu HTS run come
“Olu ran here”

To negate the above declarative sentences, the negative marker ‘*éè*’ is introduced to negate the verb as given below:

22. Olú éè fọfọ múèn
Olu NEG speak word another
“Olú did not speak another word”
23. Olú éè háré wá
Olú NEG run come
“Olú did not run here”

In (22), the negation affects the entire sentence. In other words, the scope of the negation cuts across the entire predicate. The negated sentence implies that the action of ‘speaking another word’ did not take place at all. Sentence (23) is a declarative sentence; however, it is a serial verbal construction (SVC) since it has more than one verb in the VP. When the negative marker is introduced as in (23), we have a case where the scope of the negation may affect the two verbs or just one of the verbs in line with Bamgbose’s observation. If (23) is taken as sentence negation, semantically, it means that the idea that *Olú came* is denied not to talk of his running while coming. Here, the scope of the negation is the entire sentence. We may also see (23) as an instance of constituent negation. In this case, we see the negation as negating the first out of the two verbs in the SVC. In other words, the fact that *Olú came* is not denied, rather, what is denied is the fact that he did not run while coming.

Let us also consider another example of a Serial Verbal Construction (SVC) where the introduction of the negative marker ‘*éè*’ affects just one of the verbs. In this case, we cannot refer to it as sentence negation but rather as constituent negation. An example is presented below:

24. (a) Ìyábọ́ ó gbé usu wá hí ọjà
lyabo HTS bring yam come to market
“lyabo brought yam to the market”
- (b) Ìyábọ́ éè gbé usu wá hí ọjà
lyabo NEG bring yam come to market
“lyabo did not bring yam to the market”

In (24a), the SVC presented consists of two events or actions.

- (i) lyabọ́ brought yam

- (ii) Iyabọ came to the market

In (24b), where the negative marker is introduced, the negation affects the first event or action in the sentence. The fact that 'Iyabọ came to the market' is not denied, rather what is denied is the 'bringing of yam to the market'. Therefore, in SVC, while in some, the scope of negation cut across the series of actions, events or verbs in the construction, it is not so for some. When the negative marker is introduced in some SVCs, it results in constituent negation, rather than sentence negation.

The Imperative Sentence

The Imperative Sentence is basically used for issuing commands. At the S-Structure, imperative sentences usually do not have overt subject. This is because it is believed that the addressee is nearby. At the D-Structure therefore, it is believed that the subject is the second person pronoun "you" which is then deleted at the S-Structure. Examples of imperative sentences in IKD are:

25. Háré wá!
Run come
"Run here!"
26. Lọ!
Go
"Go!"

Máà is the negative marker used to negate imperative sentences. To negate (25) and (26) above, the negative marker is simply introduced before the verb by adjunction, thus, we have:

27. Máà háré wá
NEG run come
"Don't run here"
28. Máà lọ
NEG go
"Don't go"

The negated sentences presented above are instances of sentence negation since the negation implies the denial of the action expressed in the sentences. In (27), either of constituent negation or sentence negation could apply. Semantically, we may posit that only the first of the two verbs is negated. In this case, the addressee is still expected to come but he is not expected to run while coming. We may also posit that both verbs are negated. In this case, the addressee is told not to come at all and so he is not expected to run. In (28), the event or action referred to is barred from taking place as a result of the negative marker adjoined to the VP.

The Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative sentences are used for asking questions. Bamgbose (1990, pp. 183 – 186) identifies different ways of deriving interrogative sentences in Yorùbá. Some interrogative sentences are derived via the introduction of 'ṣé'. The question marker

is not based generated in the D-Structure unlike in the English language. It is rather derived by adjunction. The question marker is not moved but is an adjunction to the sentence-initial position. It then occupies the complementizer (COMP) position as in the examples below:

29. Şé Olú wúlí?
Did Olú come home
“Did Olú come home?”
30. Şé Dàda hanghó?
Did Dàda pay money
“Did Dàda pay money?”

To negate the above interrogative sentences, the negative marker ‘**éè**’ is introduced before the VP. Negation of (29 and 30) thus gives us (31 and 32), respectively.

31. Şé Olú éè wúlí?
Did Olu NEG come home
“Did Olú not come home?”
32. Şé Dàda éè hanghó?
Did Dàda NEG pay money
“Did Dàda not pay money?”

There are other interrogative sentences which uses interrogative nouns such as **kí**, **kî**, **kéèlú** etc. In these constructions, the interrogative nouns are actually the objects of the verbs in the S-Structure before they are moved to COMP position as shown below:

33. Kí ànań jẹ?
What they eat
“What did they eat”
34. Kî yí wọ fẹ?
Which this you want
“Which of these do you want?”
35. Kéèlú ànań gba ?
How much they collect
“How much did they collect?”

The above sentences are negated as (36 – 38) below:

36. Kí ánàń jẹ ?
What Pro.neg eat
“What did they not eat?”
37. Kî yí wéè fẹ?
Which this Pro.neg want
“Which of those do you not want?”
38. Kéèlú ánàń gba?
How much Pro.neg collect

The pronouns inflect for negation as can be observed in (36) to (38). The third-person plural pronoun simply changes from ‘àńán’ to ‘ánàn’ in the negative sentence. In (34), the second person singular pronoun changes from the affirmative form ‘wọ’ to the negative form ‘wéè’. This is similar to the findings of Japhet (2021) on the Ìlájẹ dialect. Another set of interrogative sentences are derived by the adjoining of what Bamgbose calls interrogative verbs. They are ‘han’ and ‘kẹ’ in IKD, as in

39. Kítà mi han?
Dog Pro where
“Where is my dog?”
40. Aṣò mi kẹ?
Cloth Pro what
“What of my cloth?”

These set of interrogative sentences in (39) and (40) cannot be negated. The introduction of negative marker renders the sentences ungrammatical as presented below:

41. * Kítà mi éè han?
Dog Pro NEG where
* “Where is not my dog?”
42. * Aṣò mi éè kẹ?
Cloth Pro NEG what
* “What of not my cloth?”

Conclusion

Ìkálẹ̀, being a dialect of the Yorùbá language shares some peculiarities with the language, not minding the many differences that exist between them. As mentioned earlier, negation entails changing affirmatives to negatives. When these changes occur, there are certain items called negative markers which perform the function of marking the negation process in the language. When a constituent is focused, it can be negated in two different ways in the Standard Yoruba. The first way is by introducing the negative marker ‘kọ’ immediately after the constituent that is brought forward to be focused. The other way is by introducing the negative marker ‘kì í’ used along with ‘se’ before the focused constituent. However, in Ìkálẹ̀ dialect, there is only one means of negating focused constituent. This is by introducing the negative marker ‘éè’ used along with ‘se’ before the focused constituent as this study shows.

In sentence negation, **éè** is used as the negative marker in all sentence types except for imperative sentences where **máà** is introduced before the verb by adjunction. Furthermore, some pronouns inflect for negation in the Ìkálẹ̀ dialect. The third-person plural pronoun changes from ‘àńán’ to ‘ánàn’ in the negative sentence, while the second person singular pronoun changes its form from the affirmative ‘wọ’ to the negative ‘wéè’. This study is however, not exhaustive. We therefore, call on scholars to show more interest in the studies of the dialects of Yorùbá so as to unravel more depths of knowledge about the Yorùbá language, which are inherent in these dialects.

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